

Sumer, c. 20 (s. 1-2) 1964 Bagdad

BAGDAD

# LES PROBLEMES DE PROTECTION ET DE REINTRODUCTION DANS LA VIE DES MONUMENTS HISTORIQUES DE BAGHDAD

By

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[Architecte]

Dans l'ensemble des nombreuses et très importantes tâches de sauvetage des vestiges du passé qui se posent à la Direction Générale des Antiquités, Bagdad monument historique par excellence en tant qu'ensemble, est un exemple et possède une signification tout à fait particulière.

Les grands et très importants monuments de l'Irak datant du début de la civilisation humaine, comme Ur, Babylone, ou Ninive, ou même ceux plus récents, datant du début de notre ère chrétienne, comme Hatra, ou encore du début de l'ère islamique, ces monuments, dispersés sur tout le territoire de l'Irak comme témoignages des cultures et civilisations depuis longtemps mortes ou dépassées, présentent des problèmes de conservation ou de restauration dans le sens orthodoxe et d'un caractère statique.

Bagdad, la Ville des Mille et Une Nuits, est à la fois un monument et un organisme vivant. Il faut protéger sa renommée historique "conserver" sa grande "tradition" et satisfaire l'"ima-

gination" de ses visiteurs. Pour cela, des méthodes usuelles et communes de protection et de conservation ne suffisent pas. Il faut appliquer une méthode de reconstruction d'un caractère créatif.

Visiter et voir Bagdad, cette ville légendaire, est quelquefois un vain désir, mais une fois le désir accompli, on reste non satisfait. On n'en a pas eu ce que l'on en attendait. Ceci veut pas dire qu'il faut restaurer le Bagdad de Harun el Rachid, ce Bagdad qui est non seulement disparu pour toujours, mais qui est même resté inconnu jusqu'à présent. Mais quelque chose est quand même connu. On sait que c'était une ville bien conçue et bien aménagée que, d'une façon splendide, avait exprimé les possibilités de son temps et satisfait les besoins de sa vie très intense.

Avec une volonté puissante, disposant de ressources très grandes, les Abbassides avaient su créer leur propres concepts des villes, des mosquées, des palais (Bagdad, Samara, Raka). Ces concepts étaient la base et présentaient en même temps des exemples merveilleux d'art et

## B

**bab**

gate.

**badgir**

Iranian term for wind tower. Tall chimney-like structure which projects above the roof of a building to expel warm air in the day and trap cooler breezes at night.

**See also:** mulqaf

**Badr al-Jamali, Tomb of (also referred to as the Mashhad of al-Juyushi)**

*Important eleventh-century Fatimid tomb complex in Cairo.*

This complex was built by the Armenian general Badr al-Jamali, chief vizier of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir, in 1085. Although it is known as a mashhad or tomb complex, the name of the person buried or commemorated is not known (Badr al-Jamali is buried elsewhere).

The complex consists of a prayer room, a small domed room (possibly a tomb) and a tall square minaret built around a small courtyard. The courtyard façade of the prayer room consists of a triple-arched arcade with a large central arch and two smaller side arches. The prayer room is cross vaulted except for the area in front of the mihrab which is covered with a large dome resting on an octagonal drum resting on plain squinches. Both the mihrab and the dome are decorated in stucco work in an Iranian style.

The minaret or tower consists of a tall rectangular shaft with a two-storey structure on the top. This is a square room with a domed octagonal pavilion above it. A significant feature of the design is that at the top of the shaft is a muqarnas cornice which may be one of the first occurrences of this decoration in Egypt. On the roof of the complex are two domed kiosks containing prayer

niches. The exact function of these is not known although it has been suggested that they were shelters for the muezzin who would make the call to prayer from the roof similar to the goldasteh found in mosques in Iran.

The exact purpose of this unique building is not known although there have been suggestions that it is a watchtower disguised as a mosque or that it is a victory monument commemorating the victories of Badr al-Jamali.

**Further reading:**

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**bagh**

Iranian and Mughal term for garden or garden pavilion.

**See also:** chahar bagh

**Baghdad (Madinat al-Salam)**

*Capital city of Iraq.*

Baghdad was founded by the Abbasid caliph al-Mansur in 762. According to historical accounts al-Mansur built a round city with four gates and a palace and mosque at the centre. Leading from the four gates to the centre there were streets lined with shops and markets whilst the area between these streets were quarters reserved for different groups of people. The round shape of the city may be derived from Central Asian ideas of planning or may have some symbolic significance. In any case a round city wall would be both cheaper to build for a given area and would be easier to defend (no weak corner points). The defensive nature of the city is further emphasized by the bent entrances

# سجلات المحكمة الشرعية ببغداد

رأهيتها في دراسة تاريخ العراق الاجتماعي والاقتصادي

في العصر العثماني

بقلم الدكتور

عبد السلام زؤوف

كلية التربية - جامعة بغداد

بالعربية ، بل ثمة سجلات برمتها مكتوبة بالعربية وحدها .

وكتاب هذه السجلات هم قضاة بغداد انفسهم ، وهم - عادة - يتولون مناصبهم لمدة قصيرة ، سنة او سنتين ، لذا فانها مكتوبة بخطوط عديدة ، لكنها جميلة غالباً . وتوجد في الصفحة الاولى من كل سجل بيانات باسم القاضي الذي يتولى التسجيل فيه ، واولها فرمان توليته في منصبه ، وتاريخ ذلك ، وموضوع السجل ، والزمن الذي يوثقه ، وتوقيع القاضي نفسه ، الذي هو غالباً على نمط واحد يتكرر لدى جميع القضاة .

تنقسم السجلات ، في وضعها الحالي في قسم الملفات في المحكمة الشرعية الى مجموعتين رئيسيتين ، هما :

## اولا : المجموعة العامة :-

واقدم سجلات هذه المجموعة عهداً ، يرقى الى ٢٠ رمضان سنة ١١٩٨هـ / ١٧٨٣م ، وليس المحكمة علم بالسجلات السابقة على هذا التاريخ ، واعتقد انه لم تكن ثمة سجلات اصلاً قبل التاريخ

توجد في المحكمة الشرعية بالرصافة مجموعة مهمة من السجلات المرتقية الى العصر العثماني في العراق ، يبلغ عددها ( ٦٨٠ ) سجلاً . وهي توثق الحقبة الممتدة من سنة ١١٩٨هـ / ١٧٨٣م وحتى نهاية العصر العثماني واحتلال بغداد سنة ١٣٣٦هـ / ١٩١٧م .

وتفاوت اعداد صفحات كل من هذه السجلات ، فتبلغ صفحات القديمة منها ( حتى سنة ١٣٠٠هـ / ١٨٨٢م ) ما بين ٨٤ و ١٥٠ صفحة ، في حين يستقر عدد صفحات السجلات التالية ( حتى نهاية العصر ) على ٢٠٠ صفحة ، وكلها مجلد تجليداً محكماً على النمط القديم . وبعض هذه السجلات يتضمن نحو مائة معاملة ، بينما يرتفع عدد المعاملات في سجلات اخرى الى نحو الف معاملة . وعلى الرغم من اختلاف مقاييس السجلات ، الا ان السمة العامة لها انها طولانية بشكل مفرط ، حيث يتراوح عرضها بين ١٢ و ١٦ سم ، وطولها بين ٤١ و ٤٥ سم .

ولغة السجلات الغالبة هي التركية العثمانية ، ولكنها تحتوي أيضاً على وثائق عديدة كتبت

## بغداد - Bagdad

من قلم جناب المعلم داود افندي صليبا

بغداد اعظم مدن العراق وامين (ويقال لها مدينة السلام وقد لُقبت بالزوراء ايضاً) بناها الخليفة  
النصور عوضاً عن قطفون وسلوق المعروفين بالمداين اللتين خربتا على يد المسلمين . وجعلها مقر  
الخلافة وكانت في عصر عرسها ينبوع المعارف في كل علم وفن ومعدن العلماء والشعراء والفقهاء المشاهير .  
وكا يبتنا تاريخها ان عصر العلوم العربية الذهبي لم يبتدئ الا بعد قسمة المملكة الاسلامية وقيام بغداد  
من غرب الامور التاريخية ان اوروبا نفسها صارت مدبوتة لخالف ديانتها وحرّيتها بائن دروسها في  
العلوم والفنون وهم بنو العباس وغيرهم في بغداد

ووجه تسميتها بغداد ان يغ بالعجمية بستان وداذ اسم رجل اي بستان داذ ولعل هذا اجود التعليل  
الذي ذهب اليها المؤرخون . وهي على ضفتي دجلة في عرض شمالي ٣٣ ١٩ ٥٠ " وطول شرقي ٤٢  
١٥ " فيقسمها الى شطرين ويسمى الجانب الشرقي منها بالرصافة . ومجده شمالاً سهل واسع وجنوباً  
مردجلة وشرقاً ارض كرامة ونهر ديالة وغرباً الامام الاعظم . ويسمى الجانب الغربي بالكرخ . ومجده  
شمالاً نهر دجلة وجنوباً نهر المسعودي ونهر الخرز . وشرقاً ملتقى نهر الخرز ودجلة وغرباً الامام الكاظم .  
واهلها يعبرون النهر على جسر مرگب من علة زوارق وهي مدينة من اشهر مدن العراق (لانها كانت في  
الادي امرها مقر الخلافة والدولة الاسلامية والآن قد صارت مركز ولاية العراق) ذات ابنية جميلة  
وعمارات فاخرة ولاسيما الجديدة منها . وبنائها من الآجر والكلس والحص والرماد الاسود والنورة  
والطين وفيها الزجاج بانواعه وياتيها المرمر من الموصل . وترى عن بعد من اجل المدن والظنبا  
منظراً وقد ركب داخلها على النهر انايب حديدية تحت الارض تجري منها المياه الى بعض الدور  
واقصّب في برك لتسقي الجنائن والمخدائق . وغير حديدية تجري الى حماماتها وتسقي بساتينها وفي بعض  
الساتين نواعير لطيفة . وكانت هذه المدينة ذات سور حصين يبلغ ارتفاعه ما ينيف على مئة قدم . وقد  
هدم اغلبه حضرة ذي الابهة دولتو مدحت باشا وشيد بمجاره معامل ومدارس كما سيجي . واهلها يسكنون  
صيفاً سراديب تحت الارض لشدة الحرّتها رأ ويرقدون ليلاً فوق الرصيف . ويعسر سلوك ازقتها في  
الشتاء ولاسيما في الايام التي تسكب عليها السماء غيث مراحها وذلك لكثرة الطين والوحل خصوصاً في  
الطرق التي يسير فيها السقاؤون . وكذا صيفاً لكثرة الغبار والتراب . ويبلغ عدد سكانها من  
الذكور نحوستين الفاً مسلمين ونصارى ويهوداً وفيها لنيف من اجناس مختلفة كالفرس والاتراك والهنود  
والاكراد والافرنج وغيرهم ولم تنزل ارجل الضيوف تطأها احياناً انواعاً افواجاً من كل ملة وقبيلة  
لاسيما العجم الذين يبرون فيها في زيارتهم الامام الكاظم والحسين والمشهد الح . هذا فضلاً عن الذين

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ALI BAHRAMIAN  
TR. RAHIM GHOLAMI

Baghdad, both a historic province and a city in Iraq, and today the country's capital.

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20 Temmuz 2016

İSLAMİ YAYINLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

## مدارس بغداد

D340

## في العصر العثماني



السيد ميعاد شرف الدين الكيلاني

الحضرة الكيلانية

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

20 Mart 2016

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السيره والمغازي (٥)، وان يدفن كذلك فيها الامام موسى الكاظم عليه السلام في أرض بغداد (٦)، فأحيطت بغداد منذ بداية تأسيسها بأل النبي الأطهار وبالفقهاء الاجلاء والعلماء الكرام . هذه الإحاطة كانت إحاطه بركه، أدت الى ازدهار العلماء والفقهاء عليها، حتى ان المتصفح لكتاب تاريخ بغداد للخطيب البغدادي يعجب من أعدادهم (٧)، والذي أعترف فيه مؤلفه في مقدمته، من إن القاعده عند علماء الأمة صارت تقول: من لم يزيه علماء بغداد لا يعتد بعلمه . فكانت بغداد حينئذ دار العلم ومدينة العلماء، هذا العلم الذي كان موطنه الطبيعي المساجد والجوامع، وهذه المساجد كانت بمثابة مدارس بكل ماتعنيه الكلمة من معنى، تدرس فيها العلوم الإسلامية المختلفة (٨)، بنظام الحلقات المتحلقة حول الشيخ، عند أحد أركان المسجد أو أعمده، وأستمر هذا النظام طويلاً، ولا زال بعض منه قائم الى يومنا هذا، إلا إن القرن الخامس الهجري جاء بحاجاته الملحة الى تأسيس مدارس مستقلة، لعوامل وأسباب كثيرة (٩)، منها الحاجة الى منشآت متخصصة بالتدريس والتعليم لوحدة، بعيداً عن أي تدخل، وبأجواء ملائمة للدراسة، فبدأت المدارس بالظهور في مختلف محلات وأحياء بغداد.

### بداية ظهور المدارس وأنتشارها

تعرف (المدرسة) بأنها منشأة مستقلة مختصة بالتدريس وحده، وإن لفظ (مدرسة) مشتق من درس، ودرست أي قرأت، ودارست أي ذاكرت (١٠)، ويعموم الدلالة فأنها امتداد اصطلاحي للتدريس في المساجد، وتطور لدور العلم التي سبقت ظهورها، فذكر لنا ابن كثير في البداية والنهاية، من إن الوزير ابا نصر

قبل خمسة الاف سنة شهد العراق اختراع أول حرف مكتوب (١)، عرفه الانسان في زيادة معرفية غير مسبوقه، هذا الاختراع الخالد كان له الفضل الاول والاخير، على تطور جميع المعارف والعلوم فيما بعد، وهو فضل لا ينكره علينا علماء الغرب، فهذا جان بوتيرو يقول: (ان هذه الكتابة المدهشة... قد تكون أبهرو أسخى اسهام قدمه سكان بلاد الرافدين القدامى لنمو فكرنا وتقدمه) (٢)، وتبع هذا التأسيس المعرفي إنشاء أولى المكتبات والمدارس ونظام للتدريس في العراق، إلا انه \_\_\_ مع الاسف \_\_\_ شدة الاهوال والحروب والكوارث التي مر بها هذا البلد عبر تاريخه الطويل، ادت الى ضعف التوثيق في فترات معينة، ومنها العصر العثماني، لذا عزمنا بعد التوكل على الله، تلبية الدعوة الكريمة والاتفاقة الذكية من السيد الدكتور محمد جاسم المشداني الامين العام لاتحاد المؤرخين العرب، بالبحث في مدارس بغداد في العصر العثماني، وتقصي أخبارها ومعرفة أعلامها وأساتذتها، وبرأينا المتواضع فأن تقاليد تأسيس المدارس والتعليم في العراق قديمه، يقدم تاريخه العتيذ الطويل وانها لم تنقطع عنه، بالرغم من الفترات المظلمة التي مرت عليه، فظهرت تراكماتها المعرفية واضحة، فور بزوغ شمس الاسلام عليه، فسرعان ما جذب العراق أقطاب العلوم الاسلامية العقلية والنقلية، فظهرت في وقت مبكر من تاريخ الاسلام مدرسة البصرة والكوفة في اللغة، وتبعها ظهور مدارس علم الكلام والاصول والفقهاء والعقائد فيه (٣)، ولانعتقدها مصادفة ان يقوم الإمام أبو حنيفة النعمان الفقيه المحدث بالمشاركة بنفسه ببناء مدينة بغداد (٤)، وليست مصادفه ان يدفن فيها محمد بن أسحاق صاحب اول كتاب في

Bagdat (020023)

## بغداد في العصور القديمة

D340

أ. م. د. احمد لفته محسن

كلية اللغات - جامعة بغداد

MADDE YARIMLAŞTIRILMISIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN



(بل) ومنهم من يقول بأن الاسم بابلي من عهد حمورابي في القرن الثامن عشر قبل الميلاد وان اصله (بيت كدادا) اي بيت الغنم حيث ورد ذلك في لوح وجد في سبار منطقة ابو حبة ويرى بعض الباحثين ان كلمة بغداد ارية الاصل وان الكشيين استعملوها اول مرة في مستهل الالف الثاني قبل الميلاد ومعناه عطية الاله. والفرس يفسرونها على عادتهم ويرجعونها الى اصل فارسي هو (باغ داد) اي بستان دادويه او (بغ داداي) اي الصنم بغ اعطاني او باغ اي داد وهو اسم بستان انشأه كسرى انوشروان (٥٣٢-٥٧٩ م) في هذه البقعة فسميت القرية باسمه.

لكن بعد ظهور المكتشفات الحفرية او الاثرية وحل الكتابه المسماية والحصول على مدونات اكدية و آرامية كشفت لنا الكثير من الامور التي من جملتها اسم بغداد وان هذه المكتشفات اثبتت ان اسم مدينة بغداد قديم جداً يعود الى اكثر من الفي سنه قبل الميلاد حيث يقول يوسف غنيمه: ان اسم بغداد ارامي مبنى ومعنى وهو مؤلف من كلمتين من (ب) المقتضية من كلمة بيت عندهم وكثير ماتقع في اوائل اسماء المدن ولأنه توجد اسماء عراقية عديدة في الشمال والوسط التي تبدأ بحرف الباء كما هو الحال في الاسماء باعقوبا (بعقوبة) بيت الحارس، وياقوفا: بيت الاخشاب، وياجسرا: بيت الجسر، وبعزاني: بيت المشهد، وبعشيقا: بيت الظالم، وباطنايا: بيت الطين، وياعويرا: بيت المعبر، وياصخر سحرايا: بيت اصحاب القصور، وياكلبا: بيت الكلب، وياמרني: بيت حصين، وباريما: بيت الرفعه.

واللفظة الثانية (كدادا) بمعنى غنم او ضان فيكون مفادها بكدادا مدينة او دار او بيت الغنم وذلك يتعزز بالطبيعة الزراعية للمنطقة اضافة الى وجود سوق بغداد والذي كان يباع فيه الاغنام في اول نشوئه، الا ان انستانس الكرمللي يقول: اسم

من أين جاء اسم بغداد؟ وماذا يعني؟ أسئلة خطرت وتخطر على بال كثيرين من الباحثين والمؤرخين . ولا بد لهذه الاسئلة من أجوبة والتي سنحاول استعراضها على صفحات هذا البحث الذي يكشف عن ما ذكره الباحثون عن بغداد العتيقة البابلية وروده في اخبار فتوحات العرب للعراق مما يؤكد أن حقيقة وجودها ثابت وأصيل حتى قبل تأسيس حضارة العباسيين لمدينتهم المدورة التي اشتهرت في التاريخ والعلم والثقافة على مدى الازمان ومختلف العصور والانظمة الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والسياسية .

أن ما يهمنا ان تسميتها اقترنت بالعرب وبمؤسسها ابي جعفر المنصور وبالحضارة العربية الاسلامية في عصرها الذهبي وعصورها الاخرى.

ومن الطريف ذكره ان العرب صرفوا كلمة بغداد بالانتساب فقالوا (تبغد الرجل) اذ انتسب اليها او تشبه بأهلها على قياس يتمعد وتُعرب اذ تشبه بمعد بن كُرب والعرب او انتسب اليهما . وقيل كذلك بشأن مدلولاتها بأنه (تبغد الرجل علينا) اذ تكبر وتعظم وفيه اشارة الى ارتفاع مكانة بغداد والبغداديين في تلك العصور وانها تذكر وتؤنث اذ يقال هذه بغداد وهذا بغداد .

### التسمية :

أختلف المؤرخون في بيان اسم بغداد وتعيين معناه فمنهم من قال أن اصله (بعل جاد) باللغة البابلية ومعناه معسكر بعل ومنهم من قال انه (بعل داد) أي اله الشمس ومنهم من قال انه كلداني وان اصله (بلداد) و (بل) اسم الاله الكلداني و(داد) كلمة ارامية معناها (الفتك) ويذهب هؤلاء الى انه حدث على عهد بنوخذ نصر (٦٠٤-٥٦٢ ق.م) ملحمة عظيمة ظفر فيها بأعدائه، فأنشأ هذه القرية تخليداً لهذه لظفره وسميت بأسم الصنم

state's official Shīʿī ideology, arrears of unpaid tribute to the Mughals, the general chaos in the Deccan prompted by the rise of the Marāṭhās, and renewed expansionist sentiment in the Mughal government now under Awrangzīb, led to a determined Mughal effort to end Golkondā's subordinate but semi-independent status and annex it to the Empire. In 1098/1687, after a protracted siege of Golkondā fort, the Mughal conquest and annexation of the kingdom was accomplished.

In its two centuries of rule, the Kuṭb Shāhī monarchy sank roots deep into Indian society and culture by successfully integrating multiple groups into its political fabric, by founding an efficient economic basis for the kingdom, and by forming a distinctive Indo-Muslim culture that accommodated itself in important ways with the pre-existing Hindu culture. On the political level the dynasty, faced with the choice of dislodging or absorbing the indigenous class of Hindu warrior chiefs (*nāyaks*) already dominant in Telugu society, adopted the latter alternative, employing *nāyaks* in garrisons throughout the kingdom and even in the royal guard at the capital. The other indigenous élite group, the Brahmīns, were likewise absorbed into the dynasty's political structure, especially in the central revenue administration as clerks, accountants, and even chief administrators. On the local level too, virtually the entire revenue system was entrusted to Brahmīns who functioned as agents, brokers or accountants. In fact the more important members of this rural gentry received royal orders guaranteeing their tenure, frequently hereditary, and assuring them of royal support against rivals.

By far the greatest share of the kingdom's revenue was derived from the land tax, collected in cash through a highly-organised and ruthlessly efficient revenue bureaucracy. Further contributing to the kingdom's economic stability, and also its notorious wealth, was the successful exploitation of a number of diamond mines discovered in the Krishna river valley during the early years of the dynasty's history. The diamond enterprise became a vast state monopoly that involved several hundred thousand labourers, officials, and merchants, and made Golkondā the world's most important diamond market in the 11th/17th century.

A distinctive aspect of the dynasty was its composite culture that combined Islamic and Indian styles, as reflected in the nature of its rule, in the flourishing of Telegu, Persian, and Dakhnī literature, and in painting and architecture. Having lived seven years in exile in Vijayanagar, where he learned Telugu and acquired a Hindu wife, Ibrāhīm Kuṭb Shāh set the tone of this syncretic culture. He adopted not only the usual symbols of Muslim sovereignty (*sikka*, *khutba*, etc.), but also the style of a traditional Hindu rajah, reserving tax-free lands for the support of Brahmīns and temples, erecting pillars on which the sworn loyalty of *nāyaks* was inscribed, patronising Telugu poets, and reviving the ancient Telugu monarchical tradition of building large irrigation works. Moreover, extensive contact between Hindus and Muslims in the Deccan gave rise to a new language, Dakhnī, which achieved its first literary expression in Golkondā in the 10th/16th century, with Sultān Muḥammad-Ḳulī himself being one of the foremost writers in the language. A blending of Hindu and Muslim styles is similarly reflected in contemporary painting and architecture, especially the architecture of Ḥaydarābād. Planned in 999/1690-1 by Muḥammad-Ḳulī Kuṭb Shāh as a suburb of

Golkondā fort, the city of Ḥaydarābād [q.v.], with its gardens, bazaars, palaces, and such architectural masterpieces as the Cārminār, has indeed remained the dynasty's most lasting legacy.

**Bibliography:** Original authorities include *Burhān-i ma'āthir*, completed in 1004/1596 by Sayyid 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā, Dihlī 1936; Firīshṭa, abridged tr., J. Briggs, *History of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India*, Calcutta 1910; *Tārīkh-i Sultān Muḥammad Kuṭb Shāh*, compiled anonymously, in 1026/1617, mss. in India Office Library, etc., see Storey, i, 747; *Ḥadīqat al-salāṭīn*, completed in 1054/1644 by Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad, ed. S. 'Alī Bilgrāmī, Ḥaydarābād 1932; Mackenzie Collection, London, India Office Library; J. B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd. edn., London 1925; W. H. Moreland, ed., *The relations of Golconda in the early 17th century*, London 1931; S. N. Sen, ed., *Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri*, New Delhi 1949. Secondary authorities include Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Calcutta 1912-30; P. M. Joshi, *Coins current in the Kingdom of Golconda*, in *J. Num. Soc. of India*, v (June 1943), 85-95; Jagadish N. Sarkar, *Life of Mir Jumla*, Calcutta 1951; Abdul Majeed Siddiqui, *History of Golconda*, Hyderabad 1956; Percy Brown, *Indian architecture (Islamic period)*, Bombay 1956; Tapan Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company in Coromandel: 1615-1690*, The Hague 1962; J. F. Richards, *Mughal administration in Golconda*, London 1975; H. K. Sherwani, *Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah*, London 1967; idem, *History of the Qutb Shahi dynasty*, New Delhi 1974 (the most comprehensive study). (R. M. EATON)

**KŪTHĀ**, a very old town of 'Irāq, on one of the canals joining the Euphrates and Tigris and one stage from Baghdād on the Kūfa road. The town as well as the canal are often mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions (cf. the references in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, 1920-5, Indices, s.v. Kutū and the map by Schwenzner in vol. i). The town is said to be identical with the place mentioned in 2 Kings, xvii, 24, from which came a part of the people whom the king of Assyria settled in Samaria in place of the deported Israelites. The course of the canal, at least for its western part, coincided with that of the modern Ḥabl Ibrāhīm; on modern maps, this last ends in the Shaṭṭ al-Nōl; the Arab geographers make no reference to this, but make this canal flow direct into the Tigris (cf. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Map II facing p. 25).

The Arab geographers distinguish two places called Kūthā Rabbā and Kūthā al-Ṭarīq, but only give further information about the former. (The distances from other places are collected in Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, 11.) The geographers also mention the bridge of boats over the canal at Kūthā, which gave it the further name of Dīsr Kūthā, and the Abraham legends, which are associated with the town; al-Muḳaddasī (*BGA*, iii<sup>1</sup>, 121) actually calls the town Madīnat Ibrāhīm, and to this day the ruins of the town are erroneously located in the Tell Ibrāhīm which lies approximately on the site of the ancient Kūthā. Abraham is said to have been born at Kūthā, and the name of the town comes from that of his maternal great-grandfather. When his mother (her name is very variously given: Yākūt writes Būnā bint Karnabā b. Kūthā; the Talmud, *Babāḏ bathrā*, 91<sup>a</sup>. אמלתאיבת כרנונו; for other names, see Eisenberg, *EI*<sup>1</sup> art. IBRAHIM and *The life of the prophets according to Arabic legend*. ii. *The life of Abraham* [in Hebrew, 1912], 9 n.) was about to give



The Bab's demure demeanor as a child matured into quiet, religious contemplation, as noted by his contemporaries. His personal piety led him to undertake a pilgrimage to the Shi'ite holy shrines in Iraq between 1840 and 1841. While there, the Bab, an adherent of the Shaykhi school of Twelver Shi'ite Islam, attended a few classes given by the Shaykhi leader Sayyed Kazem Rashti. On 22 May 1844, three years after his return to Shiraz, the Bab advanced his claim to divine authority from God to one of Kazem's students, Mulla Hosayn, and soon after gained a large following among seminarians who in turn made many converts among merchants and even upper-class landowners, including Mirza Husayn 'Ali Nuri, who later founded the Baha'i religion.

Although the Bab couched his claims in abstruse language early in his career, the implications were not lost upon the Shi'ite ulema. In particular, they viewed his assertion to reveal verses in the same manner as Muhammad as a violation of a cardinal tenet of Shi'ite and Sunni Islam—that Muhammad was the last of God's messengers. He was tried by religious judges and condemned to death for heresy. As a result of clerical agitation, he was soon arrested and suffered imprisonment until his execution on 9 July 1850, at the age of thirty.

During his prophetic career, the Bab composed numerous religious texts of varying genres. Some of the more notable titles include the *Qayyum al-asma'* (his earliest, post-declaration doctrinal work), the Persian and Arabic *Bayans* (two separate books detailing the laws of his new religion), and *Dala'il sab'a* (an apologetic work).

See also **Babiyya; Baha'allah; Baha'i Faith.**

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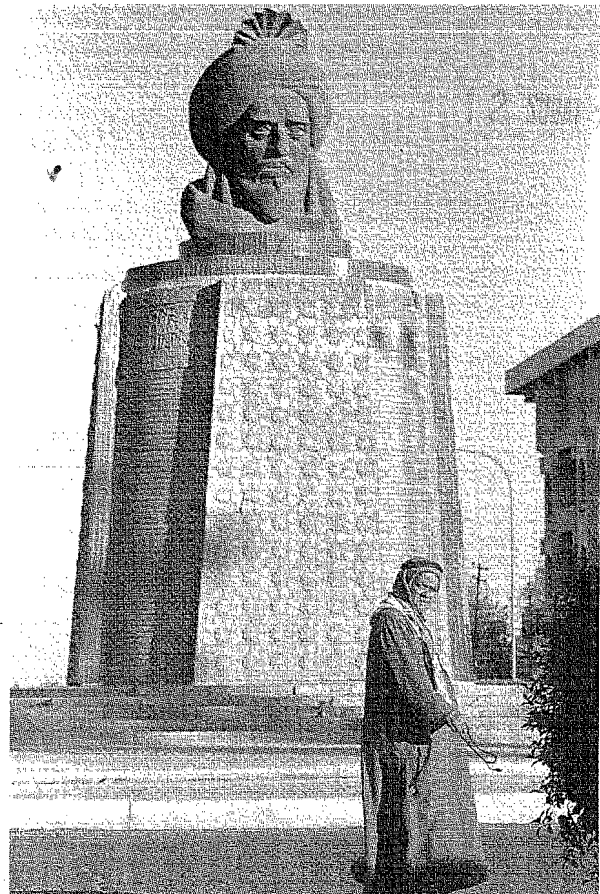
William McCants

#### BAGHDAD

“Have you seen in all the length and breadth of the earth  
A city such as Baghdad? Indeed it is paradise on earth.”

(al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, in Lassner, *Topography*, p. 47)

Thus begins a poem attributed variously to 'Umara b. 'Aqil al-Khatafi and Mansur al-Namari in praise of Baghdad, the illustrious capital of the Abbasid caliphate in Iraq for close to



A bust of Muslim caliph Abu Ja'far al-Mansur, in Baghdad, which he founded. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

five centuries. The city was founded by the second Abbasid caliph, Abu Ja'far al-Mansur, on the banks of the Tigris River where it most closely approaches the Euphrates. While officially called Dar al-Salam, or the Abode of Peace, which recalls Qur'anic descriptions of Paradise (6:127; 10:25), the name Baghdad itself is reminiscent of a pre-Islamic settlement in the vicinity. However, this metropolis is not to be confused erroneously with the ancient towns of Babylon, Seleucia, and Ctesiphon.

Following the turbulence and social upheavals of the Abbasid assumption of power from the Umayyads, al-Mansur sought to move his capital to a more secure location in the East. The proclamation of Abu l-'Abbas as the first Abbasid caliph in 749 c.e. had irrevocably shifted the locus of imperial power away from Damascus, the Umayyad capital, to a series of successive sites in Iraq. Al-Mansur himself was initially based in al-Hashimiyyah, adjacent to Qasr Ibn Hubayra and close to Kufa. The Rawandiyya uprising of 758 c.e., however, soon exposed the location's vulnerability, and al-Mansur began a thorough investigation of sites from which he could consolidate his rule.

## بعداد عاصمة الادب العباسي\*

بقلم فؤاد افرام البستاني

استاذ الآداب العربية في كلية القديس يوسف

تمهيد

اصبح من النافل ان نتبسّط في البرهان على تأثير البيئة في الادب، ودلائل هذا التأثير ظاهرة واضحة في الفنون الادبية جميعها، بل في ما وراء ذلك من مفردات وتعابير لغوية. حتى اجمع ذوو البحث على ان البيئة تكيف الفرد بل الشعب، وتسم بسمتها الخاصة كل ما يولده هذا الشعب من آثار متنوّعة المظهر والغاية، فلخصوا ذلك بالقول المأثور: «الانسان ابن بيئته ا»

وما كان الشعب العربي ليشذ عن هذا الناموس، وما كان الادب العربي ليقى بعزل عن هذا التأثير. ونحن لا نفهم الشعر الجاهلي حق الفهم، بل لا ندرك معاني التعابير العربية نفسها، الا اذا عرفنا حياة العرب في تلك الصحراء القاحلة، الحارة، القليلة المطر؛ فننقه اذ ذاك لماذا يدعو العرب بالشر فيقولون: اسخن الله عينك! ويدعون بالخير فيقولون: سقاك الله! رعاك الله! واقر الله عينك! ثم يغدقون الرحمت على قبور موتاهم فيتمنون الرطوبة اثارها ويكون عليها «الغواصي الرائحات» ا وهم، لو عاشوا في بلاد غزيرة المياه، شديدة البرد، لعكسوا تعابيرهم دون شك، فتمنوا الجفاف لقبور موتاهم، والدفء والحرارة لاجابهم ا<sup>1)</sup>

هذا مثال ضئيل على تأثيرات البيئة الجغرافية المادية. فكيف بها، لو

(\*) مادة المحاضرتين الاولييتين من محاضرات «معهد الآداب الشرقية»، في فرع «الفلسفة والآداب السامية».

(١) راجع في ذلك ما كتبناه في «المشرق» (٣٠٠ [١٩٣٢]: ٢٠٥-٢٠٦)

نرجع القاء المير فيها. اوردنا ذلك أولاً لثنيان غرض صاحب المير من استهلاله بآية المزامير «ملك الرب» وايراد غيرها من الآيات المثبتة ملكوت المسيح، ثانياً لنلقي في كفة نسبة المير الى القديس كيرلس برهاناً يزيد في ترجيحها. واليك بعضها: «ملك الرب فلتتهال جميع الامم» (صفحة ١٨٧). «أترى هو منتظر الى زمان ليملك. ليس الملك كله له والرؤية من الابتداء. كما قال دانيال النبي ان مملكته دائمة الى الابد وربوبيته من البحر الى البحر ومن النهر الى اقصى المسكونة. فان كنت تريد ان تعلم ايها المناصب ان المسيح ملك الملوك فاسمع... الخ» (صفحة ١٨٨)

الا تراه يعني مركلوس بلقب «مناصب» وانه يرمي الى الرد عليه بالآيات المذكورة؟ ونحن نعلم ان هذه البدعة كادت تطفئ في اواخر القرن الرابع فلم يعرفها صاحب المير الا قليلاً من الاهمية. وهذا دليل على ان المير ألقى في هذه الحقبة، اذ لا داعي لتفنيد ما لا يقول به احد.

ولما كان هذا المير خالياً من رائحة كل البدع الشرقية، حتى لنا ان نسأل الذين يعارضون في نسبته الى القديس كيرلس: ما هي غاية واضعه من هذا التزوير؟ لو انه دس فيه ادنى سم هرطقة ام رأي شاذ، لادررنا انه اقدم على هذا التزوير ليتسنى له تسميم عقيدة المسيحيين بسهولة دون ان يتخذوا حيلتهم؛ اذ انه ينسب آراءه الفاسدة الى قديس قديم من أشهر علماء الكنيسة وواسمهم حجة. اما والواقع غير ذلك فما هو غرضه من اخفاء اسمه؟ لو جردنا هذا المير من ثوبه المستعار وعبارته الركيكة الغريبة، لافيناه من أجل المواعظ التي ورثناها عن الآباء الاولين معنى ومبنى، وأغزرها فوائد تاريخية وتقاليد ثمينة. فهل حمل فرط التواضع صاحبه على التستر وراء هذا القديس؟ ولكن ما قول اصحاب هذا الرأي في رجل صالح سارع في طريق الكمال المسيحي يرتكب الكذب والتلفيق والتزوير، فيسند اقواله الى احد اعظم معلمي الكنيسة ويصفها على لسانه بصورة المتكلم «انا كيرلس. مسكتي انا حقير كيرلس»، وما شاكل ذلك! (للبحث صلة)

Asian Affairs, c. XXXIV (S. III-IV), p. 251-261

## LIFE IN BAGHDAD

ANNIVERSARY LECTURE

1947 (Germany)

By STEWART PEROWNE

BAGDAD

I AM very conscious of the privilege which I enjoy this afternoon in addressing this Society, on the occasion of the Anniversary Lecture. As one of the members of the Society who spend their lives overseas, I know I speak for hundreds of my fellows when I say that the Royal Central Asian Society is not to us a body of people which meets periodically in London but a living bond and influence on our lives and work. To have the pleasure of addressing the Society is one to which one naturally looks forward. But may I preface my observations this afternoon with two caveats: first, in the presence of this august audience I regard myself less as a lecturer instructing students than as a candidate facing examiners. Secondly, it is possible to live as many lives in Baghdad as in London and what I say about life in Baghdad is based merely on my own observations, and I do not wish it to be regarded as in any way a dogmatic statement of affairs and politics in that country.

A century ago, indeed but thirty years ago, antiquity was almost the only interest that attracted visitors from the West to Iraq. Ever since the days of Herodotus the imagination of man had been kindled by the tales of Nineveh and Babylon, and to no nation had they made a greater appeal than to the Bible-reading British. In the early years of the nineteenth century archæology, as a science, was almost unknown; but there was a fairy-tale glow, reinforced and ratified by religion, which gave to the activities of Rich, of Layard and of Rawlinson an almost saintly aura; particularly when the gigantic results of their labours were hauled in triumph to the national temple, the British Museum. Rossetti dedicated a sonnet to them, for they were the stuff of poetry, not science. A far cry from modern archæology, with its "levels" and its laboratories, its potsherds and flints, where a broken bowl, or the fragment of a clay tablet are treasured, for the history that lies buried in them, as a block of stone may reveal to the eye of science the presence of oil or uranium.

The oil age was to come in Iraq. It is there now. But as we stand in the halls of the *Mustansiriya*, or before the gold masks and daggers in the Baghdad Museum, we slip back in time—how far? To the dim, unknown, unknowable eras of Sumer and Babylon and Nineveh, or to the nineteenth century, when our countrymen gave these civilizations, as it were, a second birth?

Oil and science, that is the new age. But before we return to it, there is another aspect of the past which arrests us, for it is as romantic as antiquity, though far more inconstant. Claudius James Rich, the almost fabulous British Resident in Baghdad during the first two decades of the last century, gained his fame, it is true, by his descriptions of

adventure of the practical commercial advantage he had sought and foreseen for it. For it was Chesney who established the fact that the sea levels at Suez and what is now Port Said are the same, and thus, as de Lesseps himself declared, made the Suez Canal a practical proposition. With the construction of the Canal, interest in the northern route disappeared. Only in our own day, with the advent of the automobile and the aeroplane, has it returned. That is a cliché, I know; but I am not ashamed of uttering it, because it is modern Iraq, Baghdad of to-day and to-morrow, that we are considering; and it seems to me that to the understanding of modern Iraq by Britons two things are necessary. First, some appreciation of how long, honourable and productive Britain's association with the country has been; secondly, how sudden, almost cataclysmic, has been the change wrought by the coming of the internal combustion engine. It seems to me important not to confound the two: yet it is sometimes done by European and American observers. They appear to assume that our connection with Iraq began in 1916 only, and that because the motor-car and the aeroplane, and all that they together symbolize, have ever since been familiar in Iraq, the development of modern Iraq should follow the same lines as that of modern Britain or America, and at the same speed.

So far as we Britons are concerned we are not newcomers of but thirty years ago, military conquerors, invaders. Let us disclaim and forget that transitory rôle. No; we are the responsible, proud inheritors of a creative tradition of at least two centuries, enriched and ennobled by a list of great names which has continued into our own day and generation. But the motor-car and the aeroplane *are* upstarts. Last month, I drove across the desert from Baghdad to Amman. The road is excellent. The wayfarer's comfort is enhanced by the welcome which awaits him in the neat houses and bright gardens of the Iraq Petroleum Company's stations. It is hardly more than a day's journey. By air it is but an hour or two. In England, the coach gave way to the postchaise, the postchaise in its turn to the railway, the railway to the motor-car, the motor-car to the aeroplane. A Telford, a Macadam, a Brunel, a Rolls, orderly as the procession of Britain's monarchs, they succeed and fulfil one another. Not so in the East. Let me give an example.

There is a certain senior official in Baghdad who is often regarded as a pioneer of the younger generation. And rightly so. He is a man of great energy and understanding; a man in the prime of life, completely contemporary in outlook. But ask him where he was educated, and he will tell you that he went to school in Aleppo; that, to get there, he travelled by carriage; and that it took him twenty-four days from Baghdad. Twenty-four days, travelling by daily stages, from khan to khan, from Baghdad to Felluja, to Ramadi, Hit, Haditha, Ana, Abu Kemal, Deir ez Zor, past the remains of Assyrian and Roman and Byzantine forts—once again the familiar route which Shirley and Chesney traversed by ship, and before them, Xenophon, Trajan, Julian and many another by land. This route was still in use thirty years ago, but to-day it is dead and gone. There has been no evolution, no gradation; at one blow antiquity is killed and buried. To-day, the khans are in ruins, the

**KALPI**, once a powerful town in Uttar Pradesh, northern India, 26° 8' N., 79° 45' E. The old town and fort stand on clay cliffs overlooking the river *Djāmnā* [q.v.]; there is a modern town to the south-east of the old one, which has some commercial importance and where a fine quality paper is still made by hand. The town was traditionally founded by a *rādīā* of Kannawdj in the 4th century A.D., and fell into Muslim hands in the first conquest in 593/1196. The high fort, walled on three sides and defended on the fourth by the cliffs and river, was an important stronghold on the Dihli sultans' line of communication along the *Djāmnā*. In the early 9th/15th century, after Tīmūr's devastation of Dihli, Kalpi became independent for a short time under a former governor, Muhammad Khān b. Malikzāda Firūz, until in 837/1433-4 Ibrāhīm Shāh of *Djawnpur* sought to annex it to the *Sharḳī* sultanate; a counter-attack by Mubārak Shāh Sayyid of Dihli regained it, but in the following year during the Dihli-*Djawnpur* wars it was seized by Hūshang Shāh Ghūrī of Mālwa and remained in the possession of Mālwa for the next ten years. About 847/1443 it was sacked by Maḥmūd of *Djawnpur*, but after the eventual fall of the *Sharḳī* sultanate to Bahlūl Lodī, Kalpi reverted to Dihli, and Bahlūl appointed Kuṭb Khān Lodī as its governor. There were in addition several minor incidents during the 9th/15th century in which possession of Kalpi fluctuated between Dihli, *Djawnpur* and Mālwa. It fell into Mughal hands in 933/1527, and under Akbar became the headquarters of a *sarkār* and a copper mint. After the Marāthā wars in the early 18th century Kalpi became the residence of a Marāthā governor.

Among a number of old Muslim tombs to the west of the old town, one is outstanding, the Čawrasī Gunbadh (lit. "84 domes"; this name is obscure). This is a square, nine-domed structure in a walled courtyard, with two graves under the central dome; popular belief assigns it to a Lōdī sultan; it is possible that it may have been of a Lōdī governor, as the style of its arches and the supporting systems is consistent with a late 9th/15th or early 10th/16th century date; certain *Djawnpurī* motifs in its decoration do not necessarily vitiate this conclusion, as stonemasons would have had no difficulty in travelling from one area to another on the *Djāmnā*. It is possible that the "84" of its name represents a date; if so 1584 V.S., about 934/1527-8, would be the most likely.

**Bibliography:** A. Cunningham, in *ASI*, xxi (1885), 131-3; J. F. Blakiston, *The Jami Masjid at Badaun and other buildings in the United Provinces*, [= *MASI*, xix], Calcutta 1926, 6-7 and plates xvi-xxi. See also Bibliographies to DIHLI, *DJAWNPUR*, *MĀLWA*, *SHARḲIDS*. For the Lodī style of building see *HIND*, Architecture.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

—**KALŪDIYA** [see *KALAWDHĪYA*].

**KALWĀDHĀ**, a locality situated on the left bank of the Tigris, not far south of East Baghdād, capital of a district (*tassūdjī*) of the same name. Here the Nahr Bin flowed into the Tigris; a branch of the Nahrawān, it provided East Baghdād with a network of canals. Kalwādhā was a large town endowed with a Great Mosque frequented by the people of Baghdād since it was only a short distance to travel (Ibn Rusta-Wiet, 214, estimates it at three parasangs, but Yāqūt, s.v., reduces it to one parasang, specifying that in his day the place was in ruins). The town is often mentioned in verses of the 2nd/8th century which extol its pleasures.

Tradition attributes its foundation to Kalwādhā, son of Tahmūrath, but philologists connect the name with *kilwādh*, the Ark of the Covenant, which was supposed to be buried there.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hawḳal-Wiet, 234; Salmon, *Introduction*, 151 n. 1; Le Strange, index; idem, *Baghdad*, 195-6. (E.D.)

**AL-KALWADHĀNĪ**, ABU 'L-KHAṬṬĀB MAḤFŪZ B. AḤMAD B. ḤASAN B. AḤMAD AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, a celebrated jurist (*faḳīh*) of the Ḥanbali school and one of the architects of what Makdisi called "the resurgence of traditionalist Islam in the 11th century". Born on 2 Shawwāl 432/6 June 1041, he was the disciple of Abū Ya'fā during the same period as Ibn 'Aḳīl. He studied *hadīth* and *fiḳh* under his master "until he was pre-eminent in his knowledge of the Ḥanbali rite" (*bara'a fi'l-madhhab*). His other teachers were less well known, apart from 'Abd Allāh al-Wannī (d. 450/1058), under whom he studied the law of inheritance. It is said that he and Ibn 'Aḳīl attended al-Ghazālī's classes at the Nizāmiyya, but nothing is known of his opinion about the young man from *Khurāsān* who had just arrived in Baghdād (484/1091, see Ibn Radjāb, *Dhayl*, i, 177). Like the majority of Ḥanbalites, Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb did not share al-Ghazālī's taste for theology and philosophy. His speciality was *fiḳh*, and in this field he acquired the status of a *mudjtahid* who was accorded the right to put forward, in particular cases, new solutions according to his own judgement. Ibn Radjāb (*op. cit.*, 147-54) gives a number of examples of these solutions; in one striking case Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb went against the consensus of scholars (*idjmā'*) in deciding that the marriage contract is not automatically broken when one of the partners is held prisoner of war by non-Muslims. In defence of his opinion he even declared that a *hadīth* of Abū Sa'īd, recorded in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīh*, was not authentic; according to this *hadīth* a marriage is broken when the wife is held captive in the *dār al-ḥarb*, in the country of the impious.

Despite such independence of spirit, in most of his works al-Kalwadhānī is much more classical and less original than his rival, Ibn 'Aḳīl. Among his works, Ibn Radjāb thought the most important were: *al-Hidāya fi'l-fīḳh*, *al-Khilāf al-kabīr*, also called *al-Intiṣār*, and *al-Khilāf al-saghīr*, which is also known as *Ru'ūs al-masā'il*. Manuscripts of the first two are extant in Damascus, along with *al-Tamhid fi uṣūl al-fīḳh* (see Brockelmann, *SI*, 687), an important work on the basic of the law.

Al-Kalwadhānī died in Baghdād, where he seems to have spent all his days, on Wednesday, 23 *Djumāda* II 510/7 November 1116, and was buried at the feet of Ibn Ḥanbal beside another celebrated Ḥanbali contemporary, Abū Muḥammad al-Tamīmī. By far the most important of his disciples was 'Abd al-Qādir al-Djilānī, who studied under him and Ibn 'Aḳīl at the same time.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Radjāb, *Kitāb al-Dhayl 'alā Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ed. H. Laoust and S. Dahan, Damascus 1951, 143-54; G. Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqil et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* Damascus 1963, 259-63. (P. NWIYA)

**KALYĀNĪ**, a fortified town of the Deccan [see *DAKHAN*], 17° 53' N., 76° 57' E., about 37 miles west of Bidar [q.v.]. In the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, it was the capital of the Late Western Čalukya *rādīās*, passing later to the Yādavas of Devagiri (= Dawlatābād, [q.v.]); after the foundation of the Bahmanī [q.v.] dynasty at Devagiri, Kalyānī was annexed as one of the strongholds on their northern borders; but there had presumably been a previous

porated into the Uzbek literary heritage since they were written in the Chaghatay, or Eastern Turkic, literary language which Soviet scholarship eventually officially designated as "Old Uzbek."<sup>93</sup> Moreover, in the process, Bābur became more of an Uzbek than the historical Uzbeks themselves who were passed over almost entirely in the reevaluation of the Uzbek literary and historical heritage despite the fact that, as founder of the Transoxanian Uzbek state, Muḥammad Shibāni Khān, had played a prominent role in the ethnogenesis of the modern Uzbek people and, like Bābur, even wrote poetry in the Chaghatay Turkish language (the "Shibāni" component of his name actually being his pen-name).<sup>94</sup> Thus, Bābur's identity crisis seems to have been "solved" for him by the Soviet reinterpretation of Central Asian history, but Bābur himself would no doubt have been greatly amazed to find himself affiliated so closely with these most rival and most distant of all his relations.

Indian ruler and military leader" (v. 2, p. 519). For the pejorative connotation of the term "Uzbek" in Bābur's time, see SUBTELNY, *Art and Politics*, pp. 132-133, 137.

<sup>93</sup>) For the uses of the terms "Chaghatay" and "Old Uzbek" see EDWARD ALLWORTH, *Uzbek Literary Politics* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1964), pp. 18 ff., 81 ff., esp. p. 83, n. 3.

<sup>94</sup>) ALLWORTH, *Uzbek Literary Politics*, pp. 85-86, 98. See the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* under the entries, *Sheibanid state* (v. 29, p. 570), *Uzbeks* (v. 26, p. 651), and *Uzbek literature* (v. 26, p. 680). See also SUBTELNY, *Art and Politics*, p. 121, n. 1.

*A. Orzech*

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3 EKIM 1996

## Die osmanische Belagerung Bagdads 1034-35/1625-26

Ein Augenzeugenbericht.

Von Claudia Römer (Wien)

In der Wiener Handschrift A. F. 2(68), die 20 Originaldokumente aus verschiedenen Zeiten enthält (FLÜGEL I, p. 248, Nr. 256), stellt das als Bl. 1 zu bezeichnende Dokument (Maße: 42 x 26 cm, braunes Papier, Tintenfarbe: schwarz, Duktus: *Neshī* mit *Riq'a*-Elementen) einen Bericht des *Ṭurmafībaṣī* 'Alī' an seinen Freund, den Imam einer *Mahalle* in Aqsarāy, Istanbul, namens Mehmed Efendi über die erfolglose osmanische Belagerung Bagdads in den Jahren 1034-35/1625-26 dar.

Bevor wir uns dem Text selbst zuwenden, fassen wir die Vorgeschichte der Belagerung in groben Zügen zusammen:

Seit der Eroberung durch Süleymān den Prächtigen während des persischen Feldzugs 1534 gehörte Bagdad zum Osmanischen Reich. Im Jahre 1623 kam es in Bagdad zu einer Janitscharenrevolte unter der Führung des Bekir Sübaṣī, in deren Verlauf die Aufständischen die Zitadelle belagerten und schließlich eroberten. Daraufhin wurde der Beglerbegi von Diyārbekir, Ḥāfīz Aḥmed Paṣa, zum Oberbefehlshaber des Heeres ernannt und gegen Bekir Sübaṣī geschickt. Dieser hatte Ṣāḥ 'Abbās zu Hilfe gerufen und sich bereit erklärt, die Stadt den Safawiden zu übergeben. Um den Verlust Bagdads an Persien zu verhindern, wollte Ḥāfīz Aḥmed Paṣa Bekir Sübaṣī zum Beglerbegi von Bagdad einsetzen. Da in Istanbul aber Gerüchte laut wurden, Bekir Sübaṣī habe den Oberbefehlshaber bestochen, belagerte dieser Bagdad. Erst als Ṣāḥ 'Abbās den Statthalter von Hamadān, Ṣafī Qulī Ḥān, zur Übernahme der Schlüssel Bagdads entsandt hatte und sich dieser der Stadt schon näherte, ernannte Ḥāfīz Aḥmed Paṣa Bekir Sübaṣī zum Beglerbegi von Bagdad. Da für diesen nun kein Grund mehr bestand, die Stadt an die Safawiden zu übergeben, hielt er Ṣafī Qulī Ḥān einige Tage hin, nachdem er den Abzug Ḥāfīz Aḥmeds erreicht hatte. Im Juli 1623 zog Ṣāḥ 'Abbās mit seinem Heer gegen Bagdad und belagerte die Stadt, bis sie schließlich am 28. 11. 1623 durch den Verrat des Sohnes des Bekir Sübaṣī an die Safawiden fiel. Ṣafī Qulī Ḥān wurde zum Oberbefehlshaber der Stadt ernannt.

Nach dem Tod des Großwesirs Čerkes Mehmed Paṣa am 18. Rebi' II. 1034/28. 1. 1625 wurde Ḥāfīz Aḥmed Paṣa Großwesir und Oberbefehlshaber der Truppen,

<sup>1</sup>) im folgenden mit TB abgekürzt.

BAGDAT

المؤرخ العربي

C. 19 / 1981 S. 138-152

## كيف ساد إسم بغداد على إسم مدينة السلام والأسماء الأخرى

بقلم

الدكتور / عواد مجيد الأعظمي

أستاذ التاريخ الاسلامي المساعد

كلية الآداب - جامعة بغداد

١ - إستهلال:

حسب تقديري أن هذا السؤال لم يطرق ذهن أحد وان كان قد طرق، لكن لم يتقدم أحد لمعالجته وتبيان دوافعه وأسبابه...

رغم الآراء والأفكار المتعددة في تحليل اسم «بغداد» واشتقاقه، ولكن هذا الاسم قد دخل في صميم حضارتنا، وفي صميم تراثنا ولغتنا العربية.. فاصبح بذلك جزءاً لا يتجزأ من الحضارة والتراث. كما أصبح هذا الاسم -وعبر اثني عشر قرناً ونصف من بنائها- علماً عربياً وإسلامياً، وشريحة من شرائح تراثنا الانساني الخالد.. واصبح لاسم بغداد مكاناً راسخاً وعلى مختلف الأصعدة القطرية، والقومية والعالمية..

وقد أسهب المؤرخون والباحثون القدامى والمحدثون في البحث والكتابة والتأليف عن بغداد.

غير أني من خلال قراءاتي ودراساتي لمعظم هذه الأبحاث والمؤلفات قديمها وحديثها أخذت تحتلج في نفسي بعض التصورات، وتبلور في ذهني بعض الأفكار والآراء، وجدت أن لامناص من تدوينها وتسجيلها قد يكون لها من الأهمية في إعادة النظر في بعض التقويمات والآراء، وذلك من خلال

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DOKÜMANTASYON MERKEZI

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عرضها وتقديمها في ضوء ما سوف أبرزه من تحليل وتصوير وإيضاح على النصوص التاريخية التي استقيتها من مصادرها الأولية والثانوية.

وعليه، فإنني في بحثي هذا عن «بغداد» وكيف ساد إسمها وشاع على إسم «مدينة السلام» والأسماء الأخرى التي نعتت بها، إنما هو بحث لا يتعدى عن كونه بحثاً أكاديمياً، صرفاً، باعتبار ذلك جزءاً لا يتجزأ من دراسة تراثنا العربي الاسلامي الخالد.

٢ - إختيار الموضوع وأسمائه:

رأى أبو جعفر المنصور<sup>(١)</sup> بعد أن انتقل مركز الخلافة من دمشق إلى العراق، أن لا بد من بناء عاصمة جديدة تتوفر فيها شروط ومواصفات خاصة بها من أمنية، واقتصادية وجغرافية.

ولغرض تحقيق هذه المواصفات، بدأ البحث والتفتيش عن بقعة من الأرض تتوفر فيها كل هذه الخصائص والمميزات.. ويعني هذا أن أبا جعفر المنصور قد صمم على ترك كل المدن، التي اتخذت عاصمة للخلافة العباسية في أول الأمر المشيدة منها والتي شيدت على نهر الفرات، من الحيرة، والكوفة، والهاشمية، والأنبار.. ويعني هذا أيضاً أن العاصمة الجديدة سيكون موقعها على نهر دجلة، وهذا ما قد تم فعلاً.

لا شك أن بقعة الأرض التي وقع عليها الإختيار لبناء المدينة الجديدة، كانت أرضاً زراعية، ومرعى للماشية، وموطن سكن لنصر من الناس، ولم تتعد عن كونها قرية من قرى طسوج بادوريا<sup>(٢)</sup>.. وليس فيها إلا دير على مصب الصراة إلى دجلة يقال له «قرن الصراة»، ويسمى «الدير العتيق»<sup>(٣)</sup> والقرية هذه ما هي إلا عبارة عن أجمة ليس فيها

(١) وهو الخليفة العباسي الثاني: ١٣٦-١٥٨هـ/٧٥٤-٧٧٥م.

(٢) أنظر: يعقوب، كتاب البلدان، ص ٥.

(٣) أنظر: نفسه، ص ٥.

المؤرخ العربي

C. 23 1983

S. 65-80

BAGDAD

الأسماء الأخرى التي نعتت بها

بغداد

إعداد

الدكتور عماد مجيد اللوحيني

الأستاذ المشارك - كلية الآداب

جامعة بغداد

DOKÜMANTASYON MERKEZİ 32

- ٢٤ - «الآثار الأندلسية الباقية في أسبانيا والبرتغال»، القاهرة، ١٩٦١.
- \* كحالة، عمر رضا كحالة.
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A. Miquel,

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\*R. Dozy

33- Histoire des Musulmans D'Espagne,

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**BAĞDAD.** Irak'ın hükümet merkezi ve en büyük şehri'dir. İslâm âleminin başlıca şehirlerinden biri ve Abbâsîlerin idâre merkezi olan Bağdad, Dicle'nin iki sâhilinde 33° 19' kuzey arzı ve 44° 24' doğu tûlü (Greenwich)'nde yer almıştır.

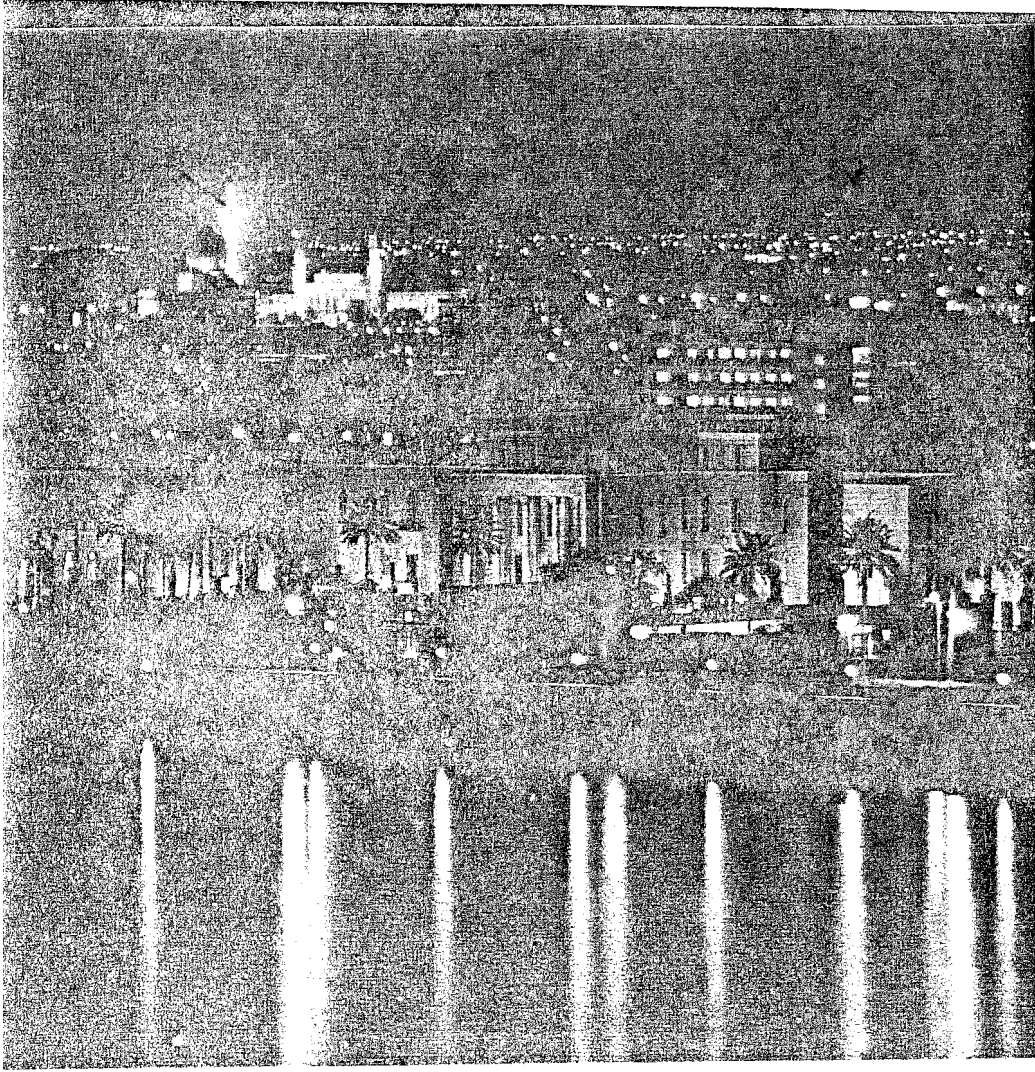
a. Tarih: İranî asıllı bir kelime olan Bağdad adı "Tanrı vergisi veya hediyesi" mânasına gelip Buğdad şeklinde de telaffuz edilmekle birlikte Orta-çağ'da en çok Bağdân olarak geçmektedir. Halife el-Mansur'un bu yeni şehrine verdiği Medinetü's-selâm ve Dârü's-selâm (sulh veya selâmet şehri yahut evi) adı, resmî vesika ve sikkelerde de görünür. el-Mansur, yeni idâre merkezine bu ismi vermekle burayı cennete benzetmek istemiştir. Müslümanların *Cennetü'l-arz* sıfatını verdikleri dört yerden biri de Bağdad'dır. Buraya, kurucusuna izâfetle el-Mansûriye denildiği de görülür. Şehrin, mânası pek açık olmayan bir diğer ismi de ez-Zevrâ (eğrilme)'dir.

Orta-çağ'ın Avrupalı seyyahları Bağdad'ı çok kereler Babilon, Seleucia ve Ktesiphon ile karıştırmışlardır. Bunların eserlerinde Bağdad şehri için Babel, Babellonia isimlerinin de kullanıldığı

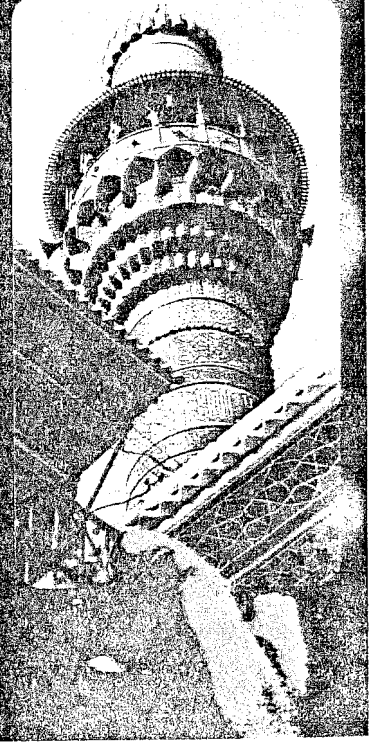
Küçük Türk-İslam Ans.

(s. 4), s. 284-293, 1981 (15T)

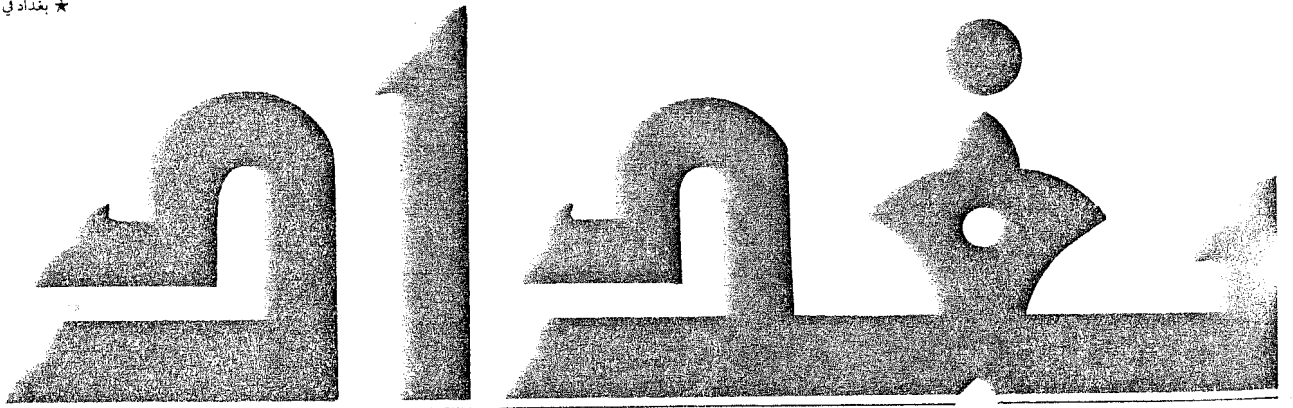




مكتبة  
وتاريخ



★ بغداد في الليل ★



# المدنية المدورة

هي عين العراق .. ومجمع الراقدين .. ومعدن الظرائف واللطائف .  
كان ابن العميد إذا طرأ عليه أحد منتحلي العلوم والآداب وأراد امتحانه  
سأله عن بغداد .

• BA'AD (240-246)

آینده و روندہ فی اطعامہ مخصوص بر زاویہ کریمہ بولتور . تربہ شریفہ نک  
قبوسندہ حاجب و دیدبانلر واردر . بونلرک اذنی اولمدتجہ ، درونہ کیسہ  
کیرہ مز . کموشدن معمول اولان اشکی تقیل اولتور . مشہد مقدسہ قتادیل  
سیم وزر و قبوزینہ حریر بردہ لر معلقدر . بوبلدہ اہالیسی بری (اولاد رخیک)  
دیگری (اولاد فائر) نامیلہ ایکی فرقہ یہ منقسم اولوب جملہسی (امامیہ)  
بولندیغی و بر پدرک اولادی اولدینی خالدہ ، بینرندہ قتال دائمیدر . طرفین  
میانندہ مشتعل اولان آتش شورش و فتن سیبلہ ، بلدہ مزبورہ خرابدر . بعدہ  
اورادن (بغداد) سفر ایتدک .

(بغداد) بلدهسی

(بغداد) بلدہ دارالسلام و مقر اسلام ، حائر قدر شریف و فضل منہف  
و تختکاخ خلفا و مقر علمادر . (ابو حسین نجیب) رضی اللہ عنہ بیوردک  
(بو بلدہ عتیقہ ، مقر خلافت عباسیہ و محل دعوت امامیہ قرشیہ اولدینی خالدہ ،  
آناری زائل اولہرق یالکتر اسمی باقیدر . مصائب زمانک اورایہ حوالہ شمشیر  
خونبار و نواب دورانک نصب انظار ایتمسدن اولکی حالہ نسبتلہ ، بلدہ مزبورہ  
شمسی بر اثر مندرس و مضحکل یا خود تمثال خیال زائلدر . (دجلہ) نہرندن  
ماعدنا جلب ابصارہ قابل یا مرد شتابانی ترک غفلتہ امالہ نظرہ دعوتہ کافل  
حسن و لطافتی یوقدر . نہر مزبور (بغداد) ک جهت شرقیہ و غریبہسی آراستہ  
ایکی چارچوبہ بیندہ کی آیینہ جلادارہ یا خود بوغازک طرفینی میانہ معلق بر عقد  
مرواریدہ مشاہددر . (بغداد) ، بونک صویلہ دیان اولہرق ، تشکیکن آزادہ  
بولتور وژنک ناپذیر اولان شوهرات مجلادہ جمالنی تماشا ایدر . حسن حریمی  
ہوا و صوتی ایلہ آب و تاب بولور .)

(ابن جزری) دیرکہ «ابوتمام حیب بن اوس، ابیات آتیہ فی انشاد ایتدیکی  
زمان کویا بوبلدہ نک عاقبت حالہ اطلاع کسب ایتدیکنہ احتمال ویریلور :

- لقد اقام علی بغداد ناعیہا . • فلیکھا لحراب الدرہ پاکیہا
  - کانت علی ماہبا والحرب موقدہ . • والنار تطفی حسنا فی نواحیہا
  - ترجی لها عودہ فی الدرہ صالحہ . • فالان اضر منها الیاس راجیہا
  - مثل العجوز التي ولت شیبته . • وبان عنہا جمال کان یحظیہا
- (بحر بیطدن)

معنی ابیات : (بغداد) بلدهسہ ناعیسی یعنی تحیر موی و دلایل مصیبتی کلدی .  
ارتیق دنایکدہ بزلکنده خراب اولہ حتی دوشو بہرک (بغداد) ، اعلایان اغلاسون .  
بو شهر دزوستہ دااما آتش جنک ووغا شررنا واطرافندہ رونق حسن وکمال  
نار عدوان ایلہ رهین انظفا اولوق کی بونجہ مساوی بی جامع ایکن ، بنہ کونک  
برندہ بحت وسعادتک کندوستہ یازویاور اولہرق عودت ایدہ کی امید اولتور  
ایدی . (بغداد) عنقوان جوانیسی کنار ایدن واولجہ حقندہ انظار تقدیری  
حالی جمالی کندوستدن زائل اولان ہرہ زنہ یکیند .

شعرا ، (بغداد) ک مدجندہ و ذکر محاسنندہ ، بر جوق ایسات نظم ایلہ لطائف  
ایتمش و میدانی واسع بولدقلری ایچون کیت خامہ یو ارطخی بخان یا بیدرک اشیمان  
جیدہ میدانہ قوم شلردر . امام قاضی (ابو محمد عبدالوہاب بن علی بن نصر) ملکی  
بغدادی) نک آتیہ کی بیتلری بوجہ دز اولہرق ، یدرم رحمہ اللہ دفعات ایلہ بکا  
انشاد ایدر ایدی :

- طیب الہواء ببغداد یشوقنی • قربا الیہا وان عاقت مقادیر
  - وکیف ارجل عنہا الیوم اذ جمعت • طیب الہواء من ممدود مقصور
- (بحر بیطدن)

معنایی : مقدرات مانع اولیندہ ، بنہ (بغداد) ک لطافت ہواسی بی اورادہ  
اقامتہ تشویق ایدر . اوراسنی نصل ترک ایدہم کہ شمعی ممدود واورایہ مقصور  
اولان ہوا ی شبالی و جنوبی بی جامعیدر .

بنہ شاعر : موی الیہ رحمہ اللہ شو بیتلری نظم ایدر :  
سلام علی بغداد فی کل موطن . • وحق لها من السلام المضاعف  
فواللہ ما فارقتہا عن قلبی لها . • وانی یسطی جانبہا لعارف  
ولکنہا ضاقت علی رجسہا . • ولم تکن الاقدار فیہا تساعف  
وکانت کخزل کنت اہوی دنوہ . • واخلوقہ تنسای بہ و تخالف  
(بحر طویلدن)

معنی ابیات : ہر موطندن (بغداد) ، سلام اولسون بوبلدہ بتدن سلام  
مضاعفہ مستحقدر . واللہ بن بعض وعداوت سیبلہ آندن مفارقت ایتدم . ایکی  
طرفک ساحل لری بیلورم . لکن بونجہ وسعتلہ بکا تنک کلہرک اورادہ قدر روی  
۱۶ — این بطوطہ ترجمہ

ARABICA, T: IV (1959)

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ELEVENTH CENTURY  
BAĞDĀD: MATERIALS AND NOTES (I)BAGDAD

BY

GEORGE MAKDISI

BAĞDĀD, capital of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, underwent important topographical changes in the eleventh century, after the fall of the Buwayhid dynasty and the rise of the Salġūqids to power. This change in the political order, which took place in mid-century (447/1055), introduced an accelerated change in the topographical order, so that, by century's end, after the Salġūqid dynasty had risen to the apogee of its glory and begun its decline, the face of Bağdād was transformed.

The names, locations and relative distances of places in a city at a given period of its history are of great help to the accurate understanding of that period's events. This is why the historian of Bağdād owes a great debt of gratitude to the scholars whose painstaking work has made it possible for him to place the events related in his documents within a topographical framework. In my own case, the Bağdād of the first Salġūqid Sultans is of particular importance because it is also that of the Ḥanbalite theologian and juriconsult, Abū I-Wafā' Ibn 'Aqīl, whose life and works I have been studying. Among Bağdād's historical topographers there are two whose works are of outstanding importance for the period in question; namely, Guy Le Strange and Louis Massignon. Together, they supply a great deal of information on this historically important city, the former's work being based essentially on textual sources, the latter essentially on the results of an archaeological mission. But the two topographers mentioned are not entirely in agreement as to their findings. As a result of Massignon's work, a problem has been raised which the historian of Bağdād, especially if he is concerned with the eleventh century, cannot ignore.

The problem may be briefly stated as follows. Bağdād, like Paris,

is divided by the Tigris river into two sides: the east side, located on the left bank, and the west side, on the right bank. The problem concerns the east side. Le Strange speaks of a change in position on the east side during the XI<sup>th</sup> century, a movement from northwest to southeast, resulting in two east side cities which he refers to as "earlier" and "later" east Bağdād, both on the Tigris (see sketch). According to him, the "earlier" city, surrounded by a wall built by the Caliph Mustafīn (1, on sketch) in the IX<sup>th</sup> century (251/865), had fallen to ruin by mid-eleventh century, and a new wall was built by the Caliph Mustazhir (2, on sketch) in 488/1095 to the southeast around new suburbs which had come into existence during the reign of the previous Caliph, Muqtadī (467-487/1075-1094). It is this wall which was seen by the XII<sup>th</sup> century traveller Ibn Ğubayr and the traces of it still surround modern Bağdād. Massignon, on the other hand, sees no change in position on Bağdād's east side. According to him, the wall of Mustafīn is not only what Ibn Ğubayr had seen in the XII<sup>th</sup> century, but is also substantially the same as that which surrounds modern Bağdād; what happened in 488/1095 was not the construction of a new wall in a new area, but simply a *restoration* of the old wall, the area remaining substantially the same (2, on sketch).

When Marius Canard came to write his monumental history of the X<sup>th</sup> century Ḥamdānids, he devoted a section of the geographical part of his work to the city of Bağdād, aligning himself with Le Strange's thesis of a shift, but with certain modifications in detail, agreeing in part with Massignon. This is also the case with Muṣṭafā Ğawād, among others, to whose works we will have occasion to refer. On the other hand, an archaeologist of note, Ernst Herzfeld, has aligned himself with Massignon's thesis of the fixity of the east side city.

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The materials and notes in the following pages have a two-fold purpose. To begin with, an attempt is made, on the basis of the evidence they contain, to provide a solution of the above-mentioned problem. It will be seen that I align myself with the thesis of a shift, but not altogether in the circumstances assumed by Le Strange. On the basis of new documents which have come to light after the publication of Massignon's work, an answer will be provided to an

occurred from 1955 to 1965—earlier in that decade for the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and later for most of the countries of western, northern, and central Europe. By 1930, all these countries were already far along in the demographic transition—a shift from initially high to eventually low levels of both mortality and fertility; with the Great Depression of the 1930s, fertility rates plunged to unprecedented lows. Projections of total population size at that time foresaw a leveling off and decline in many of those countries by as early as 1960. The unexpected baby boom undercut those projections.

Several new circumstances common to the economic and demographic history of those countries appear to have been responsible for the baby boom. After World War II, young adults enjoyed an unusually favorable labor market, which resulted from two circumstances: (1) the rapid growth of aggregate product and labor demand that accompanied a protracted postwar economic boom, and (2) an exceptional scarcity of young workers, caused by the depressed fertility rates of the 1920s and 1930s and the war losses in the 1940s. In addition, their goods aspirations were abnormally low, because their economic socialization had occurred during the extended consumer goods deprivation of the depression and war years. Their favorable labor-market experience plus their limited material aspirations resulted in record marriages and immediate families—hence, the baby boom.

In turn, the baby boom had major consequences in the countries in which it occurred (sometimes likened to a pig-in-the-python phenomenon, as the baby-boom bulge worked its way through the population's age distribution). As baby boomers entered the working ages, this turned around the labor-market experience of young adults, by causing a marked increase in the supply of young workers. The increased supply occurred from the late 1960s to the mid-1980s, when the growth of aggregate demand was being constrained by monetary and fiscal authorities fearful of inflationary pressures. The consequent weakening of employment and promotion opportunities among the baby boomers—whose material aspirations had grown by virtue of their upbringing during the post-World War II economic boom—led to new pressures on those of family-forming age. For example, to supplement household income, young women turned increasingly to participation in the labor force at the expense of childbearing, so fertility rates plunged—a “baby bust.” The growth of aggregate demand, which had benefited from the sharp rise in household formation associated with the baby boom, now suffered from much lower rates of demand for new household goods, housing, schools, and associated infrastructure.

In the first decades of the twenty-first century, the impact on society on the large baby-boom generation would still be felt, as the baby boomers began to move into retirement.

The ratio of aged dependents to the working-age population would rise noticeably, placing an unprecedented burden of old-age support on workers and increasing the need for health-care, age-related, and retirement services. In these and other ways, the baby boom has left its imprint on the history of the leading industrialized countries.

[See also Age Composition.]

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RICHARD A. EASTERLIN

**BAGHDAD** was founded in 762 CE, by Caliph Mansur, the first of the Abbasid dynasty, on the west bank of the Tigris River. The site was chosen for its good water supply and freedom from malaria. The capital of the Islamic caliphate was moved from Damascus to Baghdad at the very time of Baghdad’s founding. The city was circular in design with a surrounding stone wall that measured 3.5 kilometers in diameter. The city soon spread onto both banks of the river, and its location made it a center of trade for items coming from China and India by sea and overland. Several bridges crossed the Tigris, and a canal was constructed between it and the Euphrates near Baghdad. Early in the city’s life the canal system in the surrounding countryside was expanded, enabling orchards and gardens in the city and surrounds to flourish. Within thirty years of its founding Baghdad was the second largest city in the Mediterranean and Near East with a population estimated by some as high as 1 million. Early Baghdad was a world center for scientific study with a focus on mathematics, astronomy, and medicine. Paper production began in 795 CE, and bookshops and libraries soon followed. Baghdad became a major banking center, with ownership mainly in the hands of Christians and Jews. By the tenth century CE Baghdad was a world leader in weaving, ceramics, and brick and wood sculpture.

Sporadic floods caused major problems, and succession disputes and religious warfare between Shiite and Sunni Muslims occurred in the city almost from its founding. By the twelfth century the economic prosperity and population

Arabica c. 3 (1962) 3 f. 311-324

Bagdad

## BAGDĀD À L'ÉPOQUE OTTOMANE

PAR

ROBERT MANTRAN

LORSQUE, le 24 *ġumādā I* 941/1<sup>er</sup> décembre 1534, Qānūnī Sulaymān, plus connu en Occident sous le nom de Soliman le Magnifique, sultan des Ottomans, entra dans Bagdād, il complétait ainsi la domination turque sur les territoires arabes du Proche Orient et pouvait se poser en légitime successeur des califes 'abbāsides, dont le dernier avait été fait prisonnier par son père, Selīm I<sup>er</sup>, 17 ans auparavant au Caire.

Mais cette conquête du 'Irāq et de sa capitale correspondait dans l'esprit des Ottomans à de multiples préoccupations. D'abord, la prise de la ville permettait aux Turcs de tenir en mains tous les grands centres urbains du monde arabo-musulman oriental, ce qui leur assurait un prestige politique incontestable et affirmait la suprématie du sunnisme triomphant, représenté par le Sultan turc devenu calife depuis la conquête de l'Égypte. D'autre part, la prise de Bagdād mettait un terme temporaire aux luttes entamées depuis le début du siècle contre les souverains ṣafawides d'Iran. Ceux-ci ne représentaient pas seulement, pour les Ottomans, des rivaux politiques, maîtres des territoires qui s'étendaient à l'Est de l'Asie Mineure, menaçant souvent de façon grave le domaine turc ; ces Ṣafawides étaient aussi les défenseurs acharnés du šī'isme et, à ce titre, constituaient sur le plan religieux des adversaires loin d'être négligeables, car ils pouvaient s'appuyer sur des groupes hétérodoxes épars dans l'Est de l'empire ottoman ; en outre, les territoires des šāhs d'Iran formaient un obstacle important à la pénétration turque vers l'Est, et notamment vers l'Asie Centrale et vers l'océan Indien. Déjà, en 1514, Selīm I<sup>er</sup> avait écrasé les armées ṣafawides à Čāldirān et s'était emparé de Tabrīz, mais ce succès, pour important qu'il fût, n'apportait pas une solution suffisante aux problèmes que les Ottomans s'efforçaient de résoudre à leur avantage. D'autant que le Ṣafawide Ṭahmāsp (1524-1576) avait replacé Bagdād dans la stricte obédience iranienne après la tentative de sécession du gouverneur Dū l-Fiqār (935/1529).

Enfin, et ce n'est pas là le point le moins important, depuis

BAĒDĀT  
090808 IBNŪW-DŪBEYSI

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34683 81

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ibn Sa'īd).

ابن الدبيتي (محمد  
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[8° Imp.or.8011(36)

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IBN al-DUBAYTĪ (Muḥammad  
ibn Sa'īd).

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ابن سعيد).

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[8° Z.40326(36)  
[8° Imp.or.8011(36)

.../...

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34685 81

IBN al-DUBAYTĪ (Muḥammad  
ibn Sa'īd).

ابن الدبيتي (محمد  
ابن سعيد).

- ذيل تاريخ بغداد . . .

[8° Z.40326(36)  
[8° Imp.or.8011(36)

... -Ed. par Baššār 'Awwād Ma'rūf. - Index.301-344.  
Bibliogr., p.345-359. - Ech.int.77-8049. - Br.

34 IBN al-DUBAYTĪ (Sa'īd)

(Muḥammad ibn

الختصر المحتاج اليه من تاريخ الحافظ أبي عبد الله محمد بن  
مسيد بن محمد ابن الأبيشخ. انتقاء محمد بن احمد بن عثمان  
النصبي وفيه زيادة فوائدهم في التراجم له وشيوخ آخرين. عن  
بتحقيقه والتعليق عليه ونشره الدكتور مصطفى جواد...  
بغداد، مطبعة المعارف، 1371هـ - 1951، 1901، 1951، 1n-8°.  
٢٨٤-٢٧٠، facs.

[مطبوعات مجمع العلمي العراقي]

"al-Muhtasar al-muhtāg ilayh min tā'riḥ al-  
ḥafīz Abī 'Abd Allāh... ad-Dubaytī...". résu-  
mé de choix par ad-Dahabī du "Tā'riḥ  
gdād" d'Ibn ad-Dubaytī. Edition et  
notes par Mustafā Ġawād.

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Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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**THE CALIPHATE REVISITED: THE ABBASIDS OF  
11<sup>TH</sup> AND 12<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY BAGHDAD**

by

**Eric J. Hanne**

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
(Near Eastern Studies)  
in The University of Michigan  
1998

Doctoral Committee:

Associate Professor Michael Bonner, Chair  
Assistant Professor Kathryn Babayan  
Professor Alexander Knysh  
Professor Rudi P. Lindner

BAEDAT

37800 69

FAHD ( Badrī Muḥammad ). فهد ( بدرى محمد )  
- العامة ببغداد في القرن الخامس الهجرى ، بحث تاريخي في الحياة الاجتماعية لجماهير بغداد . تأليف بدرى محمد فهد .  
- The Common People in Baghdad during the 5 th century A.D/11 th A. C. .  
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( 'Āmma [Al-] bi baḡdād... )

1 [8° O<sup>2</sup> a. 1424

Bagdad, Société. 11e s.--  
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FAHD ( Badrī Muḥammad )

2

22453 69

FAHAD ( Badrī Muḥammad ). فهد ( بدرى محمد )  
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( 'Āmma [Al-] bi-Baḡdād ff al-qarn al-ḥāmis al-ḥiḡrī. )

Bagdad. Economie sociale.  
11° s.

FAHD ( Badrī Muḥammad )

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- العامة ببغداد في القرن الخامس الهجرى ، بحث  
تاريخي في الحياة الاجتماعية لجماهير بغداد . تأليف  
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[ 'Āmma (al-) bi Baḡdād fi al-qarn al-ḥāmis al-ḥiḡrī. ]

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[Ech. int. 7947-68]

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.../...

54

ARA.III.3803. FAHD ( Badrī Muḥammad ) ( فهد ( بدرى محمد )

العامة في بغداد في القرن الخامس الهجرى . بحث تاريخي في  
الحياة الاجتماعية لجماهير بغداد . تأليف بدرى محمد فهد .

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A.H/XI the A.O. . . . by Badrie Mohammed Fahad .

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( al-'Āmma bi Baḡdād ff al-qarn al-ḥāmis al-ḥiḡrī . )

A.I05438.

Bagdad , couches populai  
fān ,sociologie , folklore  
II°s.

54

FAHD ( Badrī Muḥammad )

فهد ( بدرى محمد )

العامة ببغداد في القرن الخامس الهجرى . بحث تاريخي عن الحياة

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-Baghdad, Maḥba'at al-irṣād, 1967/1387 . -In-8°.  
415 p.

[ARA.III.4156]

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54

FAHD ( Badrī Muḥammad )

2

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(Thèse.Socio.Faculté des lettres.Baghdad. s.d.)

[ARA.III.4156]

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Ministère de l'Éducation  
908. Baghdad  
925. 1967-1968

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*umma* [q.v.] and its faith and for upholding the Prophetic heritage, should come from Quraysh, a feeling later crystallised in a *ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet, "authority shall not depart from this tribe of Quraysh."

It was Abū Bakr who first adopted the title of *khāṭīf-fat Rasūl Allāh* "successor of the Messenger of God", with the implication of a necessity for the caliph to uphold and to further the Prophet's heritage; for the genesis of the title and its early development, see *KHALĪFA* (1).

The three decades of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs saw the extraordinary expansion of the small Arab Muslim community based on Medina as the *mukātila* or warriors overran the outlying parts of the Arabian peninsula, Sāsānid Irāk and Persia, and Byzantine Palestine, Syria and Egypt. By the time of 'Alī's death, the Arabs were already raiding across the Oxus and into southern Afghānistān in the east, into Armenia and the Caucasus region in the north, and beyond Barka [q.v.] towards Tripoli and Fezzān in the west. The administrative and fiscal bases of the later caliphate also being laid down at this time, with 'Umar's institution of the *diwān* in which the pay allotments of the Arab warriors were registered, this military role became the requisite for full membership of the new community, creating the entitlement to share in its privileges [see 'AṬĀ'; DĪWĀN. 1]. The longer-term financial stability of the new state was ensured by the ruling authority's utilisation of a considerable proportion of the booty captured from the conquered lands for state and community purposes rather than it being shared out among the warriors and thereby dissipated [see BAYT AL-MĀL; FAY'; GHANĪMA]. Hence by the end of the period of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, the Islamic community was no longer a purely Arabian affair but was well established outside the peninsula. Although the Muslims were for long a minority in the conquered lands, the bases were being laid for the slow transformation of the societies of the conquered lands and their religious complexions. A pointer to this new orientation of the Muslim state was 'Alī's move of the capital from Medina to the new military encampment of Kūfa in Irāk; it was never to return to Arabia which, whilst remaining the locational focus for the Muslim cult, became from the political point of view, increasingly peripheral.

The end of 'Uthmān's reign and the whole of that of 'Alī's were marked by religio-political dissension. 'Uthmān's murder accordingly inaugurated for the community a period of *fitna* [q.v.] or internecine strife, out of which eventually emerged such groups as the Khāridjites and the Shi'a [q.v.]. Hence the preceding part of the age of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs came in later times to be regarded through a nostalgic haze as a Golden Age of early Islam, when the community was undivided. The period was invested with the pristine virtues of piety, simplicity, justice, equality of all (male, free) Muslim believers, all the more so as later pietistic, traditionalist circles contrasted it with what they regarded as the worldly-oriented *mulk* or kingship of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs' immediate successors, the Umayyads [q.v.]; G.E. von Grunebaum coined the term "Rāshidūn classicism" for this backwards-looking feeling, discernible still in some contemporary fundamentalist currents of Islam.

*Bibliography:* See, in the first place, the separate articles on the four caliphs and the *Bibls.* there. There are relevant sections on the caliphs and their times in the general histories of Islam and its ex-

pansion, including Sir William Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall*, revised ed. T.H. Weir, Edinburgh 1915; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der islamischen Völker und Staaten*, <sup>2</sup>Munich 1943, Eng. tr., *History of the Islamic peoples*, London 1949; J.J. Saunders, *A history of mediaeval Islam*, London 1965; R. Mantran (ed.), *L'expansion musulmane (VII<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris 1969, <sup>1</sup>1991; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Classical Islam, a history 600-1258*, London 1970; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *The Patriarchal and Umayyad caliphates*, in P.M. Holt et alii (eds.), *Camb. hist. of Islam*, i, Cambridge 1970; M.G.S. Hodgson, *The venture of Islam*, i, *The classical age of Islam*, Chicago 1974; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the caliphs*, London 1986; A. Noth, *Früher Islam*, in U. Haarmann (ed.), *Geschichte der arabischen Welt*, Munich 1987. Specifically on the conquests of this period, see A.J. Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt*, 2nd ed. P.M. Fraser, Oxford 1978; F. McG. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981; W.E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the early Islamic conquests*, Cambridge 1992. On the internal evolution of the Islamic community and its stresses during this period, see Hichem Djait, *La grande discorde. Religion et politique dans l'Islam des origines*, Paris 1989; W.F. Madelung, *The succession to Muhammad. A study of the early caliphate*, Cambridge 1997. For chronology, see C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, 1-2 no. 1. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

*AL-KHULD*, KAṢR, the name of a palace of the early 'Abbāsids in Baghdād, so-called because of its being compared in splendour with the *ḡannat al-khuld* "garden of eternity", i.e. Paradise.

It was built by the founder of the new capital Baghdād, al-Manṣūr [q.v.], in 158/775 on the west bank of the Tigris outside the walled Round City, possibly on the site of a former Christian monastery (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 273; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 382). It was strategically placed between the two great military areas of the Ḥarbiyya and al-Ruṣāfa on the eastern side [see AL-RUṢĀFA. 2.] and adjacent to the Upper or Main bridge across the river. The early 'Abbāsīd caliphs, and especially Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Amīn, resided in the Khuld palace, and the latter tried to escape by water from its riverside quay when Tāhir [q.v.] b. al-Ḥusayn's attackers were about to break into the city in 198/813 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 917 ff.). It suffered badly from Tāhir's bombardment, and al-Ma'mūn stayed elsewhere on his first visit to Baghdād from the East in 204/819. The seat of the caliphate was moved to Sāmarrā' some fifteen years later, and the Khuld palace must thenceforth have become completely ruinous; when, at the end of the century, al-Mu'taḍid moved back to Baghdād he occupied palaces on the eastern side. The site was only re-used when in 368/979 the Būyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla built there his Bimāristān or hospital.

*Bibliography:* G. Le Strange, *Baghdad under the Abbasid caliphate*, Oxford 1900, 101-3; J. Lassner, *The topography of Baghdad in the early Middle Ages*, Detroit 1970, 55, 60, 105, 149, 154, 231, 243, 280.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

*KHUMAYN*, a small town in the province of Kum in modern Iran (lat. 33° 38' N., long. 50° 03' E.) some 70 km/42 miles to the south-south-east of Arāk/Sultānābād [q.v.]. It is unmentioned in the mediaeval Islamic geographers, but now has fame as the birthplace of the Ayatallāh Rūh Allāh Khumaynī (1902-89 [q.v. in Suppl.]). It is at present administratively in the *shahrastān* of Maḥallāt. In ca. 1950 it had a population of 7,038, which in 2003 had risen to 59,300.

MAHMOUD YATIMLANMUKHTAR  
KONRA BELEN OOKUMAR

182 EKIM 1993

al-Älusi, Mahmüd Shukri, 1857-1924.  
Bulugh al-arab fi ma'rifat ahwâl al-'Arab / ta'îff  
Mahmüd Shukri al-Älusi al-Baghdâdi; 'uniya bi-  
sharbihi wa-tashbihî wa-dabtihi Muḥammad Bahjat  
al-Athari. — al-Tab'ah 3. — [Cairo; Dâr al-Kitâb  
al-'Arabi], 1923.  
3 v.; 24 cm.  
Arabic  
I. al-Athari, Muḥammad Bahjat. II. Title.  
neb 3-19218

al-Älusi, Mahmüd Shukri, 1857-1924.  
Bulugh al-arab fi ma'rifat ahwâl al-'Arab / ta'îff al-  
Sayyid Mahmüd Shukri al-Älusi al-Baghdâdi; 'uniya  
bi-sharbihi wa-tashbihî wa-dabtihi Muḥammad  
Bahjat al-Athari. — al-Tab'ah 2. — Cairo: al-Mak-  
tabah al-Ahliyah, 1924-1925.  
3 v. in 1.  
Arabic  
I. al-Athari, Muḥammad Bahjat. II. Title.  
neb 3-19219

al-Älusi, Mahmüd Shukri, 1857-1924.  
Bulugh al-arab fi ma'rifat ahwâl al-'Arab / 'uniya  
bi-sharbihi Muḥammad Bahjat al-Athari. — al-Tab-  
'ah 3. — [Cairo; Dâr al-Kutub al-Hadithah,  
[195-]  
3 v. in 2.  
Arabic  
I. al-Athari, Muḥammad Bahjat. II. Title.  
neb 3-19220

al-Älusi, Mahmüd Shukri, 1857-1924.  
Bulugh al-arab fi ma'rifat ahwâl al-'Arab / ta'îff  
Mahmüd Shukri al-Älusi al-Baghdâdi; 'uniya bi-  
sharbihi wa-tashbihî wa-dabtihi Muḥammad Bahjat  
al-Athari. — al-Tab'ah 3. — [Cairo; Maktabat  
Muḥammad al-Tayyib, [1964]  
3 v.; 24 cm.  
Arabic  
I. al-Athari, Muḥammad Bahjat. II. Title.  
DS231.A59 1964 neb 3-19222  
NE65-1136

DLC CLSU CIY CU KU MB Mnl' NN NNC NSyU  
OrPS PPT TU TAU WAU WU

al-Älusi, Mahmüd Shukri, 1857-1924.  
al-Dar'ir wa-mâ yasūghu lil-sha'ir dūna al-nāthir  
/ ta'îff Mahmüd Shukri al-Älusi al-Baghdâdi;  
sharāshu Bahjat al-Athari al-Baghdâdi. — Cairo:  
al-Matba'ah al-Salafiyyah, 1341 [1922 or 1923]  
346 p.; 23 cm.  
Arabic  
I. al-Athari, Muḥammad Bahjat. II. Title.  
PJ6171.A4 58-42936 neb 3-20201  
DLC ICU MH NJP TU

al-Älusi, Mahmüd Shukri, 1857-1924. Fath al-Man-  
nân. 1947  
search under  
Minhâj al-ta'sis wa-al-taqdis fi Kashf shubuhât  
Dawūd ibn Jirjis search under Äl al-Shaykh,  
'Abd al-Latif ibn 'Abd al-Rahmân, 1810-1875.  
Minhâj al-ta'sis wa-al-taqdis fi Kashf shubuhât  
Dawūd ibn Jirjis.  
NEBHANI  
al-Älusi, Mahmüd Shukri, 1857-1924.  
[Ghāyat al-amānī fi al-radd 'alā al-Nabhānī]  
Kitāb ghāyat al-amānī fi al-radd 'alā al-Nabhānī /  
li-Abī al-Ma'ālī al-Shāfi' al-Salāmī. — [Cairo: Mat-  
ba'at Kurdistan al-'Ilmiyyah, 1909]  
2 v.; 28 cm.  
Arabic  
neb 3-20203

al-Älusi, Mahmüd Shukri, 1857-1924.  
Ghāyat al-amānī fi al-radd 'alā al-Nabhānī / li-Abī  
al-Ma'ālī Mahmüd Shukri al-Älusi. — al-Tab'ah 2.  
— Riyadh, 1971.  
2 v.; 25 cm.  
Arabic  
I. Title.  
neb 4-9411

al-Älusi, Mahmüd Shukri, 1857-1924.  
Mâ dalla 'alayhi al-Qur'an mimma ya'dudu al-hay-  
'ah al-jadidah al-qawimah al-burhan. — [Damas-  
cus; al-Maktab al-Islami, [1960]  
152 p.; 24 cm.  
Arabic  
I. Title.  
neb 3-20204

al-Älusi, Mahmüd Shukri, 1857-1924.  
Mâ dalla 'alayhi al-Qur'an mimma ya'dudu al-hay-  
'ah al-jadidah al-qawimah al-burhan. — [al-Tab'ah  
2-j. — Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islami, [1971]  
144 p.  
Arabic  
I. Title.  
neb 3-20205

al-Älusi, Mahmüd Shukri, 1857-1924.  
al-Misk al-adhfar: tarajim 'ulamâ' Baghdâd fi al-  
qarn al-thalâth 'ashar wa-al-thalith 'ashar / ta'îff  
Mahmüd Shukri al-Älusi. — al-Juz' 1. — Bagdad: al-  
Maktabah al-'Arabiyyah, 1930.  
183 p.; 25 cm.  
No more published?  
Arabic  
I. Title.  
DS51.B3A627 73-200290 neb 3-20206  
DLC CLU CSI-H MH MIU

al-Älusi, Mahmüd Shukri, 1857-1924.  
al-Mukhtâr min kitâb Bulugh al-arab fi ma'rifat  
ahwâl al-'Arab / li-Mahmüd Shukri al-Älusi; ikhti-  
yâr Muḥammad Khâlid; murāja'at 'Abd al-Hamid  
Yûnus. — [Cairo: Dâr al-Ma'rifah, 196-]  
10, 250 p.; 21 cm. — (Mukhtarat min turathina)  
Arabic  
I. Khâlid, Muḥammad. II. Title.  
DS231.A6 neb 3-20207  
NE63-1249

al-Älusi, Mahmüd Shukri, 1857-1924  
search under  
Mukhtasar al-Tubfah al-Ithnay 'Ashariyyah search  
under 'Abdul'aziz Dihlavi, 1746-1824. Mukh-  
tasar al-Tubfah al-Ithnay 'Ashariyyah.  
BAEOT - MESKIT  
al-Älusi, Mahmüd Shukri, 1857-1924.  
Tarkh mas'jid Baghdâd wa-biharîhâ. — Bagdad:  
Matba'at Dâr al-Salâm, 1346 [1927]  
160 p.; 26 cm.  
Arabic  
I. Title.  
neb 3-20209

al-Älusi, Mahmüd Shukri, 1857-1924.  
Tarkh Najd / ta'îff Mahmüd Shukri al-Älusi;  
'uniya bi-tabqiqihî Muḥammad Bahjat al-Athari. —  
Cairo: al-Maktabah al-'Arabiyyah bi-Baghdâd, 1343  
[1925]  
116 p.; 25 cm.  
Arabic  
I. al-Athari, Muḥammad Bahjat. II. Title.  
DS247.N4A62 59-36736 neb 3-20211  
DLC CU ICU OU PU

al-Älusi, Mahmüd Shukri, 1857-1924.  
Tarkh Najd / ta'îff Mahmüd Shukri al-Älusi; wa-  
fi akhirihi tatimmah wa-naqd li-Sulaymân ibn Sab-  
mân; 'uniya bi-tabqiqihî wa-al-ta'îq 'alayhi Muḥam-  
mad Bahjat al-Athari. — al-Tab'ah 2. — Bagdad: al-  
Maktabah al-'Arabiyyah, 1347 [1929]  
148 p.; 25 cm.  
Arabic  
I. Sulaymân ibn Sabmân, d. 1930. II. al-Athari, Muḥam-  
mad Bahjat. III. Title.  
DS247.N4A62 1929 72-227765 neb 3-20210  
DLC MH MIU NN

MH  
ÄLUSI, MAHMUD SÜKRI  
al-Älusi, Mahmüd Shukri, 1857-1924.  
'Adâ: al-'Arab fi Jâhiliyyatihim: mukhtasar min  
kitâb Bulugh al-arab fi ma'rifat ahwâl al-'Arab / li-  
Mahmüd Shukri al-Älusi. — Cairo: al-Maktabah al-  
Ahliyyah, 1924.  
104 p.; 21 cm.  
Arabic  
I. Title.  
DS215.A442 75-587072 neb 3-20208  
DLC MH UU

al-Älusi, Mahmüd Shukri, 1857-1924.  
[al-Arar al-Ilahiyah, sharh al-Qasidah al-Rif'iyyah;  
Kitâb al-asrâr al-Ilahiyah: sharh al-Qasidah al-  
Rif'iyyah / ta'îff Mahmüd al-Älusi al-Baghdâdi al-  
Husayni al-Rif'i. — al-Tab'ah 1. — Cairo: al-Mat-  
ba'ah al-Khayriyyah, 1305 [1888]  
96 p.; 29 cm.  
'Sharh 'alâ qasidah allafahâ; Muḥammad Abū al-Hudâ  
Alfandi al-Sayyâdi al-Rif'i. — p. 4  
Arabic  
I. Abū al-Hudâ al-Sayyâdi, Muḥammad ibn Hasan, 1850-  
1909 or 10. al-Qasidah al-Rif'iyyah. 1888. II. Title: al-  
Qasidah al-Rif'iyyah / Abū al-Hudâ al-Sayyâdi, Muḥammad  
ibn Hasan, 1850-1909 or 10.  
BP189.5.R5A5 1888 60-34367 neb 3-20202  
DLC MIU NNC

al-Älusi, Mahmüd Shukri, 1857-1924.  
Bulugh al-arab fi ma'rifat ahwâl al-'Arab. — al-  
Tab'ah 1. — Bagdad: Matba'at Dâr al-Salâm, 1314  
[1896 or 1897]  
3 v. in 1; 20 cm.  
Colophon date, v. 3: 1318.  
Arabic  
I. Title.  
neb 3-19217

laU UU

NJP

## مقاربة لأبحاث التخریب المغولي في بغداد

١٢٥٨ هـ - ١٢٥٦ هـ

أ. د. عماد الدين خليل \*

### التعريف بالبحث:

على كثرة ما كتب عن سقوط بغداد على أيدي المغول عام ٦٥٦ هـ (١٢٥٨ م)، فإن الحاجة تظل قائمة للمزيد من الدراسات لا سيما فيما يتعلق بمقاربة حجم التخریب المغولي في قاعدة الخلافة العباسية، خاصة إذا تذكرنا ما يثيره الموضوع من إشكالية المبالغة، واختلاف التواريخ، والأرقام، وتضارب الروايات، ونحيرها، وعدم تغطيتها الدقيقة للوقائع.

ينمركز البحث في مكان محدد هو بغداد، ومدى زمني لا يتجاوز الأسابيع الخمسة (التاسع من المحرم وحتى منتصف صفر من عام ٦٥٦ هـ) ويستهدف متابعة التخریب المغولي الذي نفذ في بغداد في السيفات التالية:

- (١) الخسائر البشرية (العائلة العباسية، والقادة، والجند، وكبار رجال الدولة، والمشايخ، والأهالي).
- (٢) الخسائر المادية (الأموال، والأثاث، والأبنية، والمواقع، والسلاح، والوسائل الحربية...).
- (٣) الخسائر الثقافية (الكتب، والمدارس، ودور العلم، والعلماء...).

❖ أستاذ التاريخ الإسلامي في كلية الدراسات الإسلامية والعربية بدمشق، ولد سنة (١٩٣٩ م)، وحصل على الدكتوراه في التاريخ الإسلامي من كلية الآداب بجامعة عين شمس بالقاهرة سنة (١٩٦٨ م) بدرجة الشرف الأولى، له أكثر من خمسين مؤلفاً في التاريخ ومناهجه وفلسفته وفي الفكر والأدب الإسلامي.

Bagdat

11 EYLÜL 2007

## محمد عبدالحسين الدعوي

كلية الآداب - جامعة بغداد

# الزمني واللازمي في الاستشراق

تطبيقات في كتاب | عبر الصحراء الى بغداد | تأليف لويزابيب

والحاسمة التي كونها الاعلام الغربي في تكوين هذه الصورة. وكما إنطلق الاستشراق من تراث وخزين فكري قديم مشتت ومختل في جوهره، فانه ولد كياناً فكرياً مختلفاً بسبب إرثه الذي إرتكن عليه. وبغض النظر عن المتغيرات والتجديدات التي ادخلها الاستشراق على صورة الشرق، في محاولة لدراسته بتمحيص علمي جديد، كانت صورة الشرق ناقصة وضعيفة العلمية تماماً. ولعبت دوافعه وطبيعته وظيفته وفوقية منطلقاته أدواراً حاسمة في جعله كياناً فكرياً موهوماً تنقصه العلمية رغم اعلان اعتماده عليها. جاء الاستشراق الى الشرق منفذاً لارادات غربية لاتريد دراسة الشرق لذاتها بقدر ماتريد تخطيط إستغلاله واستعمارها. ورغم تنوع الاصوات واختلاف الاقلام واللهجات التي قدمها الاستشراق، فانه يبقى كذلك كياناً مختلفاً بحسب التحديدات التي وضعها له صانعوه ومشكلوه وممولوه.

من ذات الخلل إنطلقت الاقلام والالوان التي رسمت صورة الشرق المعاصرة كما تقدمها الكتابات المختلفة ووسائل الاعلام المعاصرة. لقد كانت عملية إجتثاث مكامن الخلل في الاستشراق مستحيلة بالنسبة للذهن الغربي ذلك ان الاستشراق أساساً ولد لاغراض وظيفية، فوقية المنطلقات. والحق، فان مايراه الشرق خللاً، يراه الغرب شيئاً ضرورياً لانه يقع في جوهر دوافع الاستشراق وأدواره. واذا ماحاول المرء دراسة صورة الشرق، العربي الاسلامي مثلاً، في الفكر والاعلام الغربي المعاصر فانه سيجد نفسه، في جميع الحالات سالكاً قناة تؤدي الى الاستشراق. ورغم الاختلافات والتباينات السطحية بين الاعلام الغربي المعاصر والافكار

ان أي محاولة لتحليل فكرة الغرب عن الشرق، الشرق العربي - الاسلامي على نحو خاص، تضطر الى دراسة الاستشراق، تياراً فكرياً وظيفياً. وبصرف النظر عن دوافعه وواجباته، يقدم الاستشراق المادة الاكثر أهمية في عملية رصد تفاصيل صورة الشرق، انسانيته وحضارته، كما هي مخزونة لقرون في العقل الغربي. لايغني هذا بالضرورة ان الاستشراق كان منذ أقدم العصور الجهاز والمنظومة المخصصة لدراسة الشرق وللتعامل معه، لكنه كان، عملياً، البؤرة التي إجتذبت جميع خطوط والوان وتفصيل صورة الشرق المتناثرة في الذهن الغربية لتركزها في مساحة محددة مكونة بذلك صورة شرقية متكاملة الابعاد، لكنها بطبيعة الحال، صورة الشرق كما رسمها وكونها وأرادها الذهن الغربي وليس كما أرادها الشرق ذاته أو كما أرادتها الحقيقة. يقع الاستشراق، كياناً فكرياً، بين فكرتين رئيسيتين كونهما الغرب عن الشرق: في الفكرة الاولى إنطلق الشرق من الصورة المبكرة التي رسمتها أوربا للشرق، صورة مهزوزة متناثرة الاجزاء لعبت الضغائن القومية والدينية والاقليمية والاحتكاكات العسكرية أدواراً رئيسية في تكوينها. وكان هذا هو الخزين الاساسي الذي إستقى الاستشراق منه معلوماته الاولى لينطلق الى الشرق متأملاً تكوين صورة جديدة مختلفة تتوافق ومتغيرات عصر الثورة الصناعية ومعطيات عصر جديد كان ابرزها تصاعد القوة العسكرية والتجارية والمالية. في الفكرة الثانية، يقع الاستشراق قبل الصورة الغربية المعاصرة للشرق، كما هي متاحة في الثقافة الجماهيرية الغربية في العصر الراهن وكما رسمتها أقلام عدد من المفكرين والادباء الغربيين فضلاً عن المساهمات الرئيسية

Rachel Milstein

Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad, Costa Mesa,  
IRACA: 29501 CA, USA, 1990

1

## INTRODUCTION

In the year 941/1534, the Ottoman Sultān Süleymān wrested Baghdad from the rule of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Iran. Ottoman rule continued uninterrupted until 1032/1623 when the city was conquered by Shāh 'Abbās I only to be recaptured by the Ottomans fifteen years later. The Ottoman conquest of Baghdad significantly changed the nature of its religious and cultural affiliation and opened up new economic vistas which contributed to a hitherto unknown cosmopolitan atmosphere. Under the Safavid rule, Baghdad had been considered an important station on the way to Mecca and to Karbala, holiest of Shi'i shrines. Because of the proximity of Karbala, a few other Shi'i shrines, such as the Kāzimiyya, were erected in Baghdad itself; these in turn became centers of pilgrimage. While Persian merchants came to Baghdad developing its commercial activity, the customers were still chiefly Muslim Persian. The Ottomans, on the other hand, were interested in Baghdad as a port giving access to the Persian Gulf, and thus as a main commercial link between India, Turkey and the Mediterranean. The Ottoman occupation of the entire Middle East ensured security of passage and unified laws which encouraged international trade.

Iraq was not an easy country to control, as the Shi'a element remained strong and hostile to the Sunni conqueror. The Arab groups were inimical to Turkish race and culture and the nomad Kurds were constantly fighting among themselves and rebelling against the authorities. Moreover, frequent hostilities occurred between the Ottoman Empire and the Safavids. In spite of all this there was a continuous flow of pilgrims to the Shi'i shrines and an exchange of goods with Isfahan and Tabriz.<sup>1</sup> As a result, the markets were rich in spices, gem stones and hand crafts; European travellers who passed through Baghdad at that period expressed their amazement at this variety.<sup>2</sup> Sir Anthony Sherley, who visited the city in 1598, saw "excellent goods of all sorts and very cheap" and noticed that "the people [were] somewhat more abstinent from offending Christians, than in other parts, through the necessity of the trade of Ormus, upon which standeth both the particular and the public wealth of this state."<sup>3</sup>

MADE IN THE MIDDLE EAST  
SUNRISE GALLERY, ISTANBUL  
20 APRIL 1991

بر ۵ شهرستان به نامهای بغداد، کاظمین، محمودیه، سامرا و تکریت است (خلف، ۴۵۰). استان بغداد از شرق به استانهای واسط و دیالی، از شمال به استانهای دیالی و صلاح الدین، از غرب به استان انبار و از جنوب به استان بابل محدود است. رودخانه دجله از میان این استان می‌گذرد (نک: اطلس...).

شهر بغداد پایتخت و بزرگ‌ترین شهر عراق در ۳۳° و ۲۰° عرض شمالی و ۴۴° و ۲۳° طول شرقی در مرکز کشور عراق واقع شده است («بغداد»، گلوبال<sup>۱</sup>). فاصله این شهر تا آخرین نقطه شمالی و جنوبی عراق، تقریباً یکسان است و در عین حال در محل تقاطع راههای ارتباطی شمال-جنوب، و شرق-غرب این کشور قرار دارد. بغداد در زمستان از هوایی نسبتاً معتدل برخوردار است و در مقایسه با شهرهای جنوبی عراق، تابستانی ملایم دارد (عادلی، ۱۱۵). کم‌ترین دمای بغداد در طول سال ۱۰° و بیشترین آن ۳۴/۸ سانتی‌گراد است (صدقی، ۱۱۵؛ «جغرافی»<sup>۲</sup>).

شهر بغداد در دشتی حاصل‌خیز واقع شده است و رودخانه پر آب دجله از میان آن می‌گذرد و آن را به دو بخش شرقی و غربی تقسیم می‌کند؛ این دو نیمه شهر به وسیله ۱۱ پل به یکدیگر مرتبط می‌شوند («بغداد»، عرب نت<sup>۳</sup>). بیشترین فعالیت‌های اقتصادی شهر در رصافه، واقع در کرانه شرقی دجله متمرکز شده است؛ در حالی که بیشتر مراکز و ساختمان‌های اصلی دولتی در کرخ، در نیمه غربی شهر استقرار یافته‌اند («سیمما...»<sup>۴</sup>).

بغداد در اوج شکوفایی خود، یکی از ثروتمندترین شهرهای جهان و عمده‌ترین مرکز فرهنگ اسلامی به شمار می‌رفت. این شهر در طول تاریخ بارها بر اثر نزاعهای داخلی و تهاجمات ویران گردیده است. جمعیت بغداد در طی چند دهه گذشته از رشد چشم‌گیری برخوردار بوده است؛ چنان‌که از ۳۵۰ هزار تن در ۱۳۱۱ ش/۱۹۳۲ م به ۵۶۰۰۰۰ تن در ۱۳۸۲ ش/۲۰۰۳ م افزایش یافته است. بیشتر اهالی بغداد مسلمان و از نظر قومی عربند، اما جمعیت قابل ملاحظه‌ای از مسیحیان و معدودی از یهودیان نیز در آن زندگی می‌کنند. گروه‌های قومی غیرعرب ساکن در این شهر را کردها، ارمنیان، مهاجران هندی و افغانی تشکیل می‌دهند. در گذشته نه چندان دور شمار قابل ملاحظه‌ای از ایرانیان نیز در این شهر زندگی می‌کردند که به علت اختلافات سیاسی میان ایران و عراق در دهه‌های ۷۰-۹۰ سده ۲۰ م، آنجا را ترک کردند («بغداد»، «دائرة المعارف...»<sup>۵</sup>).

بغداد اصلی‌ترین مرکز ارتباط شبکه راههای عراق مشتمل بر جاده‌ها، راه‌آهن و راههای آبی برای شناورهای سبک است. فرودگاه بین‌المللی بغداد، امکان ارتباط هوایی این شهر را با دیگر نقاط جهان فراهم می‌سازد (عانی، ۱۴۲۱-۱۴۲۹، ۱۴۴۱-۱۴۴۲؛ جمبیز...، 51؛ «بغداد»، «عرب نت»؛ «بغداد»، «دائرة المعارف»؛ «اطلس»).

پس از مرگ معتمد، بغا در زمرة سرداران واثق درآمد. در ۲۳۰ به سرکوب قبایل عرب که در اطراف مدینه راهزنی می‌کردند، رفت و یاغیان بنی سلیم را درهم کوبید و پس از موسم حج به سرکوب قبیله بنی هلال در ناحیه ذات عرق شتافت که همانند بنی سلیم طغیان کرده بودند (طبری، ۲۹۱/۹؛ ابن جوزی، ۱۵۰/۱۱؛ مجمل...، ۳۵۹). وی در ۲۳۲ق روانه دفع بنی فزاره و بنی مزه که برفدک دست انداخته بودند شد و قبایل دیگر آن ناحیه را نیز مطیع ساخت (طبری، ۱۴۶/۹-۱۴۸؛ ابن اثیر، ۱۹/۷). سپس به جنگ بنی کلاب در صرته و دفع شورشیان بنی نمیر در یمامه رفت (طبری، ۱۴۹/۹؛ ابن جوزی، ۱۷۶/۱۱؛ ابن اثیر، ۲۰/۷).

به قولی بغا در عصر متوکل نایب پسر او منتصر در جند قنسرین بود و زمانی که متوکل در ۲۴۷ق به قتل رسید، بغا نزد منتصر بازگشت (نک: ابن عدیم، ۷۳/۱). خلافت ۶ ماهه منتصر، با مرگ او در ۲۴۸ق پایان یافت (طبری ۲۴۹/۹، ۲۵۱-۲۵۴؛ ابن جوزی، ۳/۱۲-۴) و با توافق سرداران سپاه و سران دربار، بغای کبیر به همراه بغای صغیر، وصیف و آتامش با مستعین (۲۴۸-۲۵۲ق) بیعت کردند؛ زیرا نمی‌خواستند یکی از پسران متوکل - که خود او را کشته بودند - به خلافت برسد (ابوعلی مسکویه، ۲۹۹/۴؛ ابن جوزی، ۶/۱۲؛ ابن اثیر، ۱۱۷/۷). در این میان بغای کبیر که بیش از ۹۰ سال داشت، بر اثر بیماری درگذشت (مسعودی، همان، ۱۶۲/۴). مستعین پس از مرگ بغا تمام مناصب او را به پسرش موسی داد و دیوان برید را نیز به او سپرد (طبری، ۲۵۸/۹؛ مسعودی، همانجا؛ ابن خلدون، ۳۷۵/۳).

مآخذ: ابن اثیر، الکامل؛ ابن جوزی، عبدالرحمان، المنتظم، به کوشش محمد عبدالقادر عطا و مصطفی عبدالقادر عطا، بیروت، ۱۴۱۲ق/۱۹۹۲ م؛ ابن خلدون، عبدالرحمان، تاریخ، به کوشش خلیل شحاده و سهیل زکار، بیروت، ۱۴۰۱ق/۱۹۸۱ م؛ ابن عدیم، عمر، زبدة الحلب من تاریخ الحلب، به کوشش سامی دهان، دمشق، ۱۳۷۰ق/۱۹۵۱ م؛ ابن عساکر، علی، تاریخ مدینه دمشق، به کوشش علی شیری، بیروت، ۱۴۱۷ق/۱۹۹۶ م؛ ابوعلی مسکویه، احمد، تجارب الامم، به کوشش ابوالقاسم امامی، تهران، ۱۳۷۶ ش؛ صدقی، خلیل، الواقی بالوفیات، به کوشش ژاکلین سوبله و علی عماره، ویسبادن، ۱۴۰۲ق/۱۹۸۲ م؛ طبری، تاریخ؛ مجمل التواریخ و القصص، به کوشش محمد تقی بهار، تهران، ۱۳۱۸ ش؛ مسعودی، علی، التنبیه والاشراف، به کوشش عبدالله اسماعیل صاوی، ۱۳۵۷ق/۱۹۳۸ م؛ همو، مروج الذهب، به کوشش سعید محمد لحام، بیروت، ۱۴۱۷ق/۱۹۹۷ م؛ یعقوبی، تاریخ، نجف، ۱۳۵۸ق.

حسن حسین زاده شانه‌چی

**بغداد**، استان و شهری تاریخی در عراق که امروزه پایتخت آن کشور است.

### I. جغرافیا

استان بغداد با حدود ۷۳۴ کم ۲ مساحت، کوچک‌ترین استان عراق به شمار می‌رود. جمعیت این استان در ۱۳۸۲ ش/۲۰۰۳ م حدود ۶'۴۰۰'۰۰۰ تن برآورد شده است («فرهنگ...»<sup>۱</sup>). این استان مشتمل

# دائرة المعارف بزرگ اسلامی، جلد دهم، تهران، ۱۳۸۰

انوشیروان

۴۰۸

شکارگاهها و گردشگاههای بغداد به شمار می‌رفته، و تفرجگاه نیز بوده است (نک: ابن جوزی، ۲۳۹/۱۸؛ ابوعلی مسکویه، ۲۰۳/۱؛ العیون...، ۳۵۰/۱). اوانا و چند روستای اطراف آن، در اوایل عهد عباسی، رونق داشته است (رشیدو، ۲۳۷). منطقه اوانا تا سالها و حتی در اوایل عهد عباسی، جایگاه مسیحیان بوده است و این نکته به ویژه از تراکم دیرها در این ناحیه دانسته می‌شود (شابشتی، ۹۳؛ قزوینی، ۳۷۱-۳۷۰؛ نیز نک: مارکوارت، ۵۴). گفتنی است که از صوفیان نیز در اوانا، ریاطی برپا بوده است (منذری، ۹۶/۱).

نام اوانا در پاره‌ای مأخذ تاریخی، به سبب وقوع برخی حوادث آمده است، اما به نظر می‌رسد، از سده ۸ ق به بعد، اوانا رونق خود را از دست داد. مهم‌ترین واقعه‌ای که در سده اول ق موجب ذکر نام اوانا شده، مربوط به جنگ و گریزهای مُصعب بن زبیر با لشکریان عبدالملک بن مروان در نزدیکی اوانا بوده است (نک: بلاذری، ۳۳۷/۵).

از آنجا که اوانا بر سر راه بغداد قرار داشت، در برخی وقایع تاریخی نامی از آن به میان آمده است (مثلاً نک: اخبار...، ۳۶۶؛ ابن اعثم، ۳۲۷/۷؛ طبری، ۲۹۱/۹، ۳۱۰؛ ابن جوزی، ۱۱۸/۱۸).

جمعی از مشاهیر، به اوانا منسوب بوده‌اند که از همه مشهورتر ابن بقیه (ه) است (ابن خلکان، ۱۱۸/۵؛ ابن اثیر، ۶۲۸/۸).

مآخذ: ابن اثیر، الكامل؛ ابن اعثم کوفی، احمد، الفتوح، به کوشش علی شیری، بیروت، ۱۴۱۱ ق/۱۹۹۱ م؛ ابن جوزی، عبدالرحمان، المنتظم، به کوشش محمد عبدالقادر عطا و مصطفی عبدالقادر عطا، بیروت، ۱۴۱۲ ق/۱۹۹۲ م؛ ابن خلکان، وقیات؛ ابوعلی مسکویه، احمد، تجارب الامم، به کوشش دخویه، لیدن، ۱۸۶۹ م؛ اخبار الدولة العباسیة، به کوشش عبدالعزیز دوری و عبدالجبار مطبلی، بیروت، ۱۹۷۱ م؛ بلاذری، احمد، انساب الاشراف، به کوشش گویتین، بیت المقدس، ۱۹۳۶ م؛ جواد، مصطفی و احمد سوسه، دلیل خارطة بغداد المفصل، بغداد، ۱۳۷۸ ق/۱۹۵۸ م؛ رشیدو، بی - نن، سقوط بغداد و حکمروایی مغولان در عراق، ترجمه اسدالله آزاد، مشهد، ۱۳۶۸ ش؛ سمعانی، عبدالکریم، الانساب، حیدرآباد دکن، ۱۳۸۲ ق/۱۹۶۲ م؛ شابشتی، علی، الدیارات، به کوشش کورکس عواد، بغداد، ۱۳۸۶ ق/۱۹۶۶ م؛ طبری، تاریخ؛ عبدالؤمن بن عبدالحق، صفی‌الدین، مراصد الاطلاع، به کوشش علی محمد بجاری، قاهره، ۱۳۷۳ ق/۱۹۵۴ م؛ العیون و الحدائق، به کوشش نبیله عبدالمنعم داود، بغداد، ۱۳۹۲ ق/۱۹۷۲ م؛ قزوینی، زکریا، آثار البلاد، بیروت، دار صادر؛ مارکوارت، یوزف، ایرانشهر، ترجمه مریم میراحمدی، تهران، ۱۳۷۳ ش؛ منذری، عبدالعظیم، التکملة لوفیات النقلة، به کوشش بشار عواد معروف، بیروت، ۱۴۰۱ ق/۱۹۸۱ م؛ یاقوت، المشترك، بیروت، ۱۴۰۶ ق/۱۹۸۶ م.

**اَوائل**، سرآغاز یا نخستینها. عشق به آگاهی از سرآغاز پدیده‌های جهان پیوسته کنجکاوی مردمان را برانگیخته است. در میان اعراب این کنجکاوی پایه دامنه «ادب» نهاد و نویسندگان مسلمان از آغاز قرن ۲ ق به تألیف در باب «اوائل» دست زدند. و ذیل «اول... اول من... اول ما...» انبوهی از باورهای عمومی یا خرافات، و یا نکات لغوی را شرح دادند.

«آغاز شناسی» دو جنبه عام داشته است: یکی در مقوله قاموس نگاری، مثلاً بکر: اولین فرزند؛ طلیعه: سرآغاز سپاه؛ و سَمی: آغاز باران؛ جنبه دوم بیشتر در مقوله تاریخ (در همه زمینه‌ها) است، زیرا

۱۴۰۰ ق/۱۹۸۰ م؛ حسینی، علی، زبدة التواریخ، به کوشش محمد نورالدین، بیروت، ۱۴۰۵ ق/۱۹۸۵ م؛ حیص بیص، سعد، دیوان، به کوشش مکی سید جاسم و شاکر هادی شکر، بغداد، ۱۹۷۴ م؛ ذهبی، محمد، سیر اعلام النبلاء، به کوشش شعیب ارتنوط و دیگران، بیروت، ۱۴۰۵ ق/۱۹۸۵ م؛ راوندی، محمد، راحة الصدور، به کوشش محمد اقبال، تهران، ۱۳۳۳ ش؛ سمعانی، عبدالکریم، الانساب، حیدرآباد دکن، ۱۳۹۹ ق/۱۹۷۹ م؛ صفدی، خلیل، الوافی بالوفیات، به کوشش فان اس، و سبیدن، ۱۳۹۳ ق/۱۹۷۳ م؛ قمی، نجم‌الدین، تاریخ الوزراء، به کوشش محمدتقی دانش پزوه، تهران، ۱۳۶۳ ش؛ مرزبان بن رستم، مرزبان نامه، تحریر سعدالدین وراوینی، به کوشش محمد روشن، تهران، ۱۳۵۵ ش؛ ناصرالدین منشی کرمانی، نسائم الاسحار، به کوشش جلال‌الدین حسینی ازبوی، تهران، ۱۳۶۴ ش؛ هندوشاه بن سنجر، تجارب السلف، به کوشش عباس اقبال آشتیانی، تهران، ۱۳۱۳ ش؛ نیز:

Browne, E. G., *A Literary History of Persia*, Cambridge, 1969; Houtsma, M. T., introd. *Zobdat - al - Nosra*, Leiden, 1889; *Iranica*; Storey, C. A., *Persian Literature*, London, 1972. ابوالفضل خطیبی

انوشیروان بن منوچهر، نک: آل زیار.

**انیسی شاملو**، یوقللی بیک (د ۱۰۱۴ ق/۱۶۰۵ م)، شاعر پارسی‌گو. از دوران جوانی و یا تحصیلات او اطلاعی در دست نیست؛ همین اندازه روشن است که او در هرات به دنیا آمده، و از قبیله شاملو بوده است (اوحدی، ۱۸۲؛ ابوالفضل، ۱۷۵/۱). وی مدتی به عنوان کتابدار علی قلی خان شاملو بیگلر بیگی هرات، در خدمت وی بود (نهاوندی، ۵۱۷/۳).

انیسی پس از مدتی به هندوستان رفت و در آنجا با شاعرانی چون نظیری نیشابوری و شکیبی اصفهانی، همنشین شد (همو، ۶۷/۳، ۱۱۶-۱۱۷). او سرانجام در برهانپور بدرود حیات گفت (همو، ۵۲۰/۳).

آثار: سروده‌های انیسی را حدود ۴ هزار بیت تخمین زده‌اند (فخر الزمانی، ۳۰۲) که شامل غزل، قصیده و مثنوی محمود و ایاز است (نک: صادقی، ۱۰۷-۱۰۸؛ نهاوندی، ۵۲۱/۳-۵۲۲؛ اوحدی، همانجا). در میان سروده‌های وی نسخ خطی مثنوی نیمه تمام محمود و ایاز که به سبک خسرو و شیرین نظامی سروده شده، در کتابخانه‌ها موجود است (نک: منزوی، ۷۶۵/۷).

مآخذ: ابوالفضل علامی، آیین اکبری، لکهنو، ۱۸۹۳ م؛ اوحدی بلیانی، محمد، عرفات العاشقین، نسخه خطی کتابخانه ملی ملک، شه ۵۳۲۴؛ صادقی افشار، صادق، مجمع الخواص، ترجمه عبدالرسول خیام‌پور، تبریز، ۱۳۲۷ ش؛ فخرالزمانی، عبدالنبی، تذکره میخانه، به کوشش احمد گلچین معانی، تهران، ۱۳۴۰ ش؛ منزوی، خطی مشترک؛ نهاوندی، عبدالباقی، مآثر رحیمی، به کوشش محمد هدایت حسین، کلکته، ۱۹۳۱ م.

جلال خسروشاهی

اوال، نک: بحرین.

**اوانا**، روستایی کهن در نزدیکی بغداد که ویرانه‌های آن تاکنون برجاست. این روستا در فاصله ۱۰ فرسنگی شمال شرقی بغداد، بر کنار دجله و نزدیک عکبرا واقع بوده است (سمعانی، ۳۸۱/۱؛ عبدالؤمن، ۱۲۸/۱؛ منذری، ۸۳/۱، ۹۶) و به سبب سرسبزی و وجود تاکستانها و درختان انبوه (شابشتی، ۹۷؛ یاقوت، ۳۰؛ نیز نک: جواد، ۱۰۳)، از

MCMXLII  
"ARS ISLAMICA". (IX. C), s. 1-53, N. 1. 1968  
(NEW YORK)

DAMASCUS: STUDIES IN ARCHITECTURE—I

BY ERNST HERZFELD

Saw  
- Nuraddin Zengi (el-Melik al-Adil - Nuriddin el-Kubra)  
(Hasanasi, Turkesi, Medresetin)  
- Zübeyde bint Cafer  
- Hasan el-Basri  
- Süheverdi, Şihabuddin  
- Bağdad  
- Zülfiye (kife)  
- Danyal (kusan)

L'archéologie est à la nature sociale ce que l'anatomie comparée est à la nature organisée. Une mosaïque révèle toute une société, comme un squelette d'ichthyosaure sous-entend toute une création. De part et d'autre, tout se déduit, tout s'enchaîne. . . . De là vient le prodigieux intérêt qu'inspire une description architecturale.

—BALZAC, *La Recherche de l'absolu*

THE MATERIALS HERE PRESENTED—MONUMENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS—WERE SURVEYED AND collected between 1908 and 1930 as part of a broader project, sponsored by the Institut de France, that of van Berchem's *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*. The survey of the province of Syria, entrusted to my late friend Moritz Sobernheim and myself, was begun at Aleppo and carried south to Damascus. By the spring of 1914 the work at Aleppo was finished; but the war, the deaths of M. van Berchem and M. Sobernheim, and years of other explorations on my part prevented the completion of the Aleppo volumes, in manuscript form, until 1937. The survey of Damascus—and of Hama, Hims, and a few smaller places—remained on the whole incomplete; it was almost complete for the most interesting period, that of the crusades. Since I saw no way of publishing this material as a separate volume, I am availing myself of the opportunity offered by the Editor of *Ars Islamica* to bring out at least the most important part in this journal.

I have chosen about eighty monuments, adding some from more eastern provinces of the Muhammadan world, all of them entirely unknown or only partly known. In publishing these in a periodical rather than in the *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, as originally intended, problems in the manner of presentation have arisen. Certain conventions in form and disposition and a method for handling such material has been developed in the *M.C.I.A.* These have had to be modified in order to conform to the style of the journal, and a good deal of epigraphical detail has had to be omitted.

Furthermore, the material which would have been arranged in the *M.C.I.A.* in strictly chronological order, as the monuments of a certain town, is here organized in sections such as "The Muqarnas Dome," "The Syrian Madrasa," "The Turba," and "The Mosque," since the purpose of the present article is to make a contribution to our knowledge of the development of these forms and not to give a description of Damascus between the years 1100 and 1300. At the same time, since the monuments are more or less unknown, it was necessary to give information concerning them, in order that students may use the material as a basis for further research. Thus, descriptive detail beyond the immediate scope of the article had to be included, and this had to be done in the shortest possible form, because it interrupts the sequence of analysis and conclusions. From such considerations a rather complex disposition results.

NOT: Makalenin devamı *ARSAM* > *pojetindedir*



133438

كتاب

# الفوز بالبراءة

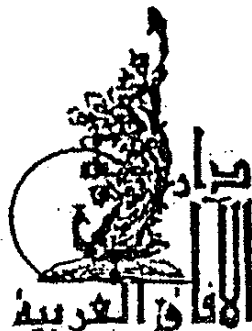
في تايخ بخلالك

سليمان الدخيل

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	133438
Tas. No:	9567 DAH-K

تقديم وتعليق

الدكتور محمد زينهم محمد عزب



Kahone 1623/2003

Author: HECK, GENE WILLIAM  
Title: CAIRO OR BAGHDAD...? A CRITICAL RE-EXAMINATION OF THE ROLE OF EGYPT  
IN THE FATIMID DYNASTY'S IMPERIAL DESIGN (IRAQ)  
School: THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN (0127) Degree: PHD Date: 1986 pp: 349  
Source: DAI 47/06A, p.2276 Publication No.: AAC8621295  
Subject: HISTORY, MEDIEVAL (0581)

Abstract: Modern historiography of Fatimid foreign policy has conventionally  
~~—sought to portray~~ that dynasty's imperial designs in the context of a direct  
Sunni-Shi('c)i confrontation. Because the Fatimids sought universal hegemony  
over the Dar al-Islam, this argument holds, their prime foreign policy  
objectives must have been to eliminate the Sunni-( 'c)Abbasid caliphate and to  
erect an Isma('c)ili caliphate in its stead.

This study challenges those assumptions--contending that from the rise of  
the Fatimid caliphate in North Africa in 297/909, its prime target for an  
imperial base was not Iraq at all, but Egypt. To reach their goal, the  
Fatimids launched four major military campaigns and a variety of diplomatic  
initiatives, all aimed at bringing the Nile Valley under their direct  
control. Similar attempts to subjugate Iraq are conspicuously absent only by their  
absence, as clearly Egypt from the onset was intended to be the seat of  
empire, and not a mere stepping stone to the East.

Once in Egypt, the Fatimids proceeded to develop the country as a  
permanent seat of rule. Their policies, both internal and external, derived  
from precedents established by the country's previous independent rulers.  
In foreign policy, their military posture was defensive. Their diplomatic  
initiatives supported coexistence, not conquest. Unlike the previous  
determined battle for Egypt, there were now no further assaults eastward save  
those required to establish Syria as a buffer zone at the Northeast border of  
their Nilocentric realm. Indeed, even when a curious da('c)wah-inspired coup  
d'etat in Baghdad afforded them great opportunity midway through the 5th/  
11th century, the Fatimid dynasts showed no real interest in it at  
all--instead soon allowing the city to slip back into ('c)Abbasid-Sunni  
hands.

Based on new evidence, then, and on a more accurate reading of existing  
evidence, including eye witness accounts of key participants in early  
Isma('c)ili movement, this study has produced conclusions regarding Fatimid  
foreign policy strikingly different from those conventionally  
portrayed--clearly demonstrating the primacy of Egypt within that dynasty's  
imperial ambitions.

102 EKİM 1997

MADDE ZATILANDIĞI  
SONRA GİLEN DOKÜMAN

93198

# Das Bagdad-Bahn-Problem 1890—1903.

Inaugural-Dissertation

zur

Erlangung der Doktorwürde  
der Philosophischen Fakultät  
der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität  
zu Freiburg i. Br.

vorgelegt

von

Bekir Sıtkı

aus

Viçe (Türkei)

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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1935

Bağdat'ın Klasik Türk Edebiyatında anılması elbette bunlarla sınırlı değildir. Yüzlerce şiirde ve edebî metinde bu kadar geniş bir yelpaze içinde anlatılan şehir azdır. Payitahttan sonra en çok atıfta bulunulan şehirler içinde Şam, Halep, Mısır (ülke ya da imparatorluğun bir eyaleti olması bakımından vilayet anlamında) ile birlikte Bağdat'ın da müstesna bir yeri olduğu muhakkaktır. Bu istisna ve imtiyazın şehrin asırlardır Türk siyaset, kültür ve edebiyat hayatındaki mühim yerinin bir neticesi olduğu unutulmamalıdır.

## BAĞDAT'TAKİ TÜRK ESERLERİ

*Süleyman Faruk GÖNCÜOĞLU*

Bağdat Şehri kültür tarihimizde o kadar çok yer almıştır ki Pa-dışah sıfatlarından, atasözlerine değin hep bizden olmuştur. Ana-dolu halkının gönlünde “Ana gibi yâr, Bağdat gibi diyâr olmaz” diyerek en büyük değerini Bağdatla eş tutmuş; “Aşıkla Bağdat sorulmaz” diyerekten aşka gönlündeki şehirle anlam katmıştır. Ka-nuni Sultan Süleyman ile IV. Murad, pek çok sıfatları yanında “Bağ-dat Fatihî” olarak tarihimizde yer alırlar. Fakat yeni dünyanın mo-dern hayat anlayışı içerisinde pek çok kavramların içi boşaltıldığı gibi, tarihimizi de bir geçmiş gibi algılatır olmuştur. Yaşadığımız bu yakın tarih sürecinde Bağdat esir olurken, bombalanırken, yağmalanırken sanki bu yaşananlar başka dünyalarda gerçekleşiyor gibi dü-şünür olduk. Tarihin bu yorgun şehrinde olup bitenleri medyadan takip ediyorken de pasifik sahillerindeki bir yerde gibi çok uzaktan seyreyledik Bağdat'ı.

Dünya ve tarih mirası içerisinde baktığımızda İstanbul ne ise, Türkiye ve Türk kültür tarihi için Bağdat'ta onu ifade etmektedir. Kanunî Sultan Süleyman tarafından 1534 tarihindeki fethinden itibaren 1917 yılındaki İngiliz işgaline değin 383 yıl Osmanlı yöne-timinde bulunmuş olan Bağdat 862 yıl Türk kültürünün yaşam bul-duğu bir coğrafyayı da temsil etmiştir.

Ticaret yolları üzerinde önemli bir merkez olan Bağdat Şehri İslâm medeniyetinin de en önemli merkezlerinden biriydi. Ancak şehir, Osmanlılar'a geçmeden çok önce bu özelliğini kaybetmişti. Kuruluşundan bu güne değin bakacak olursak tarihi kimliği yan-ında, Mezopotamya'nın merkezinde, antik çağın en önemli şehir-

Bagdat

# المفاهي ووظائفها الاجتماعية

## في بغداد القديمة

MADE BY ATMI ANDRIJAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKUMAN

د. نوري محمودي الفهسي  
رئيس معهد البحوث والدراسات العربية

عند نهايات اطراف الازقة الضيقة، وفي المتسعات الواسعة التي تلتقي في باحاتها لدروب المتناثرة تستنفر مجاميع من المفاهي . وهي تستقطب الأثرياء والرجال الذين يجدون فيها مستقرا للراحة ، وملاذا للهوى وهم يعادرون بيوتهم التي تضيق بهم وتزدحم بأعدادهم ، فيجدون في امكانها فرصة للتحرّك وفي احاديثها مجالا للمناقشة والحوار ، وفي روادها اسبابا من اسباب التعلم والثقيف . . . واذا انحدرت الى اماكن متطرفة صادفتك انواع اخرى من المفاهي تنتحي جانبا من مداخل مدينة بغداد وقد انتشرت مقاعدها على مساحات واسعة ، وانحلت من اروقها مجالس للحديث عن بيع المواشي والخيول والبقر والحبوب وانصرفت اصناف الناس فيها على من تهدهم هذه المعاملات ، واذا كانت محلة ( الحصة ) القريبة من الشيخ عمر و ( الجوبة ) المحاذية لمستشفى الطوري الحالية و ( المعدان ) المحاذية لطبعة الحكومة و ( السور ) الواقعة على امتداد مجرى المعدان تشكل الاطراف الحدودية لمنطقة الفضل فان منطقة الكرخ تهيئ هذه الظاهرة بحدود البحر . لان اتساع قاعدة التعامل ، واستقبال المناطق الموجودة فيها لجمهور المتعاملين والمهنيين هذه المهنة ، قد حولت كثيرا من اطرافها الى اسواق تجارية متحركة وعرفت فيها مقاهي مشهورة يرتادونها في كل الواسم . وينتشرون في كثير من مناطقها يمتارون من اسواقها ، وسعوم فيها مايجنبونه من بضائع واذا تركت المناطق المحاذية لاطراف بغداد من جانبها الشرقي وسطعت الشوارع المفضي الى محلة الفضل استقبلتك اصناف اخرى من المفاهي عرفت واحدة منها باسم ( مقهى التبانة ) وهي حصة بياتعي (البن) وتقع محاذية للخان الكبير المعروف في المنطقة والمنسوب الى عائلة ( نهر ) فيقولون خان ابن نهر وعلى مقربة من هذه المقهى تنتصب مقهى اخرى تختلف من حيث التقاليد وطبيعة الرواد ، واساليب القائمين من ادارتها . وما تقدمه لروادها عن المفاهي الاخرى وهي ما تعرف بمقهى ( عيش النهر ) وقد استطاعت هذه المقهى أن تساهم بدور اجتماعي كبير في تسيير بعض التقاليد ، وتوجيه النائمة ، واستقطاب الرجال ، ورعاية

كل حال اذا خوطب به المذكر والمؤنث والانثان والجمع . لان المثل في الاصل خوطبت به امرأة . . . ( انظر الميداني : مجمع الامثال ٢٠٢ - ٢٣ ) وعن سبب . سريان هذا المثل العربي والمناسبة التي ضرب لاول مرة . راجع م . س . م . س .

٣) يقولون ( موزاوي ) ايضا لم استطع العثور فيما لدى من مصادر على اصل هذا اللفظ الذي يعني في المعاجم العربية ( اي مز ) : الصعوبة والكثرة والقلّة جميعا . و ( المازوزي ) يكون صفة للزرع التي تزرع في وقت متأخر من الموسم . ولعلمهم ارادوا الى القلة المفترضة في معظم الزرع المتأخرة لبذر . ولكن الراي يظل مجرد افتراض .

٤) لفظ (( المدبوز )) كلمة عامية جزائرية زايتها منقلب عن السين . فكان الفلاح الذي هذا سانه ، مضروبا بالدبوس : اي متضررا شقيا . لذلك نصح له بعدم تجاوز اiban تنوير اللوز في حرث أرضه .

ومن الفلاحين من يروي هذا المثل على النحو التالي :  
• مين ينور اللوز ، مايحرت غير القربوز !

ولفظ (( القربوز )) ( بالكاف المعقودة ) قبيح في العامية الجزائرية وفيه فحش . ولكن الفلاحين قصدوا اليه للتدليل على حال من يتأخر في الحرث ، فيتجنب هذا التأخر .

09 AGUSTOS 1997

★ الجليان (بضم الجيم وتشديد اللام المضمومة) نبات عشبي منه نوع يزرع لجمبة ولكلاءه وآخر لزهوره المختلفة الالوان .

### المحبر

★ السفا واحدة (السفاة) او كل شجرة له شوك . السدبل . شوكنيا .

### المحبر

Samira Sabari, *Mouvements Populaires A Bagdad*  
A L'Epoque 'Abbassides IX<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles, Paris 1981 s. 7-56

Dergi / Kitap  
Kitapخانه Mevcutlu

I

## LA SOCIETE BAGDADIENNE

### 1. BAGDAD ET SES CARACTERISTIQUES

#### a) *La capitale*

Bagdad ne fut pas fondée pour être une ville de garnison au cours des conquêtes islamiques. D'avance, elle fut destinée à servir de capitale au khalifat vainqueur de la dynastie 'abbasside, de centre au pouvoir gouvernemental, administratif et militaire, économique et culturel de la nouvelle dynastie. C'est en tant que telle qu'elle a bénéficié de palais splendides, d'une population nombreuse, d'une vie économique intense et d'un grand épanouissement culturel. Pendant près de 500 ans (762-1258), l'histoire de la ville fut liée sans interruption à l'institution du khalifat, aussi bien durant la brève période de sa grandeur qu'au cours de sa longue décadence, processus qui a marqué d'un sceau indélébile la vie de la cité, son statut, le caractère de ses luttes politico-religieuses et la fermentation sociale au sein des masses.

Au cours de la première période 'abbasside, le khalife exerce directement son pouvoir sur la capitale, dont la partie occidentale était comprise dans la région fiscale ('amāla) de Badouraya. C'est la raison pour laquelle la fonction de gouverneur de cette région a toujours été confiée aux plus éminents des gouverneurs<sup>1</sup>. La fonction de chef de la police de Bagdad—bras exécutif du pouvoir khalifien—d'abord uniquement occupée par des officiers, les plus fidèles aux khalifes, passa plus tard aux esclaves turcs. Cette charge conférait à son détenteur aussi bien le pouvoir sur l'Iraq qu'un rôle influent à la Cour<sup>2</sup>.

Sous le règne d'al-Rashīd (786-809), la ville atteignit son apogée comme capitale du pouvoir des khalifes. Une centaine d'années plus tard, elle cessait d'être la capitale d'un empire. Bien plus, elle fut dominée et conquise à son tour par des militaires étrangers: institution de l'Emir des Emirs en 935, conquête buwayhīde en 945 et conquête seldjoukide en 1055. Toutefois, elle ne cessa pas d'être la capitale des khalifes 'abbassides. Même lorsque ceux-ci perdirent leur pouvoir réel, c'était l'autorité du khalifat qui était reconnue, non seulement par les 'ulamā sunnites et la majeure partie de la population de la ville, mais encore par une grande partie du monde islamique; elle était l'institution incarnant la loi divine et symbolisant l'unité de la communauté des croyants. "Al-

BAĞDAD YAYINLAMA DİRTAN  
TÜRKİYE GÜVEN DOKÜMAN

182 EKİM 1993

D 817

## I. DÜNYA SAVAŞI'NDA GÜNEY CEPHESİ İNGİLİZLERİN BAĞDAT'A GİRİŞİ

DR. İSMET ÜZEN

11 Mart'ta, saat 15.30'da General Maude nehir yoluyla Bağdat'a girdi. Ailesine yazdığı bir mektupta şunları şöylelemişti: "Gambotların koruması eşliğinde, şehir halkı nehrin her iki yakasına dizilmiş ve bizi alkışlıyordu. Nüfusun %90'ının gelişimizden memnun kaldığı görülmüyordu. Türkler sabah 02.00'de şehri terk ettiği için karmaşa hâkimdi. (...) Biz hemen düzen sağladık." Bağdat'ın ele geçirilmesi sadece İngiliz İmparatorluğu'nda değil, tüm müttefik ülkelerde önemli bir yankı buldu.



General Maude komutasındaki İngiliz birlikleri Bağdat'a giriyor. Yanda ve karşı sayfada.

Aksi belirtilmedikçe fotoğraflar alttaki siteden alınmıştır. www.firstworldwar.com

Birinci Dünya Savaşı başında İngilizler Osmanlı Devleti ile savaşa girmek ihtimaline karşılık, Eylül 1914'ten itibaren Irak'ı işgal etmek üzere hazırlıklara başladı. 10 Ekim 1914'te Hindistan'da hazırladıkları kuvvetin komutanı General Delamain'e, Basra Körfezi'nde İngiliz çıkarlarını korumak için hazırlanması emredildi. Hazırlanan birlikler 16 Ekim'de Bombay'dan hareket etti ve 23 Ekim'de Bahreyn adalarında toplandı. İngiltere'nin 5 Kasım 1914'te Osmanlı Devleti'ne savaş ilanıya Irak cephesindeki muharebeler başladı. Ertesi gün 6. Tümen'den oluşan Hint Sefer Kuvveti "D" Şattularap yakınında karaya çıktı. 22 Kasım'da Basra ve 9 Aralık'ta da Kurna işgal edildi. İngilizler tarafından 23 Kasım 1914'te Basra Vilayeti'ne yayınlanan beyannamede, İngilizler tarafından Türklere verilen garantilerin dikkate alınmadığı, Türkiye'nin Almanya'nın yanında savaşa girdiği, Arapların, İngilizlerin getirdiği özgürlük ve adaletin faydalarını tadacakları, İngilizlerin Araplara dostça davrandığı ve aynı şeyin Araplardan da beklendiği, Arapların önceden olduğu gibi serbestçe işlerine devam edebilecekleri, Basra ticaretinin geçmişten daha hızlı gelişeceğine inanıldığı belirtilmekteydi.<sup>1</sup> Fakat bu, Basra Vi-

layeti için yayınlanmış bir beyannamedeydi ve Irak ve Araplar hakkındaki genel İngiliz politikasını açıklamaktan uzaktı.<sup>2</sup> Tümgeneral C.V.F. Townshend 22 Nisan 1915'te 6. Tümen'in komutasını devraldı. Bundan sonraki muharebelerde İngilizler planlı bir şekilde adım adım Irak içine ilerledi. 3 Haziran'da Amare'yi, 24 Temmuz'da Nasiriye'yi işgal ettiler. Irak'taki İngiliz Sefer Kuvveti Komutanı General John Nixon Bağdat'ın ele geçirilmesini düşünmeye başladı. Bu arada Hindistan'da ve Londra'daki karar

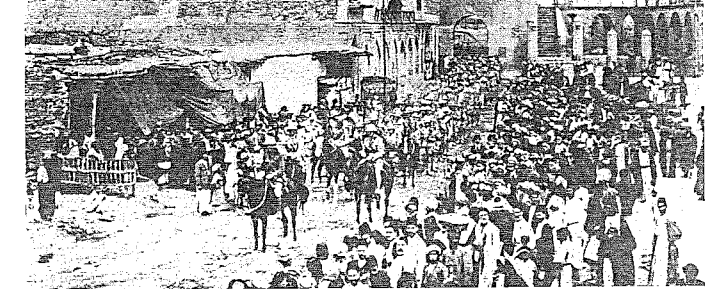
Kasabada yaklaşık 15.900 İngiliz ve Hint askerinden oluşan bir kuvvet bulunuyordu.<sup>3</sup>

Kut'ül-Amare kuşatması 4 ay 23 gün sürdü. İngilizler kuşatma altındaki 6. Tümen'i kurtarmak için bir Kurtarma Ordusu kurdular ama Türklerle yaptıkları muharebeler sonunda başarısız oldular. Sonunda Kut'ül-Amare'deki İngiliz 6. Tümen'i Türklerle teslim olmak zorunda kaldı.<sup>4</sup> Bu, Bağdat'ı ele geçirmeyi hedefleyen İngiliz projesi ve savaş planları için

komutan Vekili Enver Paşa, Fırat ve Dicle cephelerindeki birliklerin İngilizlere karşı savunmada kalmasına, İran'da Hanikin-Kirmanşah yönünde saldırıya geçmesine karar verdi. Nitekim 3 Nisan 1916'da 13. Kolordu'nun İran'da saldırıya geçmesi emredilmişti. 13. Kolordu'nun Irak'tan uzaklaşması sakıncalı olmakla beraber, Enver Paşa kararında direnmiş, Kirmanşah ile Hemedan'ın mutlaka işgal edilmesini emrinin vermişti.<sup>5</sup> Bu da İngilizlere rahat bir nefes alma olanağı sağlamış ve özellikle takviye ve

Kut'ül-Amare kuşatması 4 ay 23 gün sürdü. İngilizler kuşatma altındaki 6. Tümen'i kurtarmak için bir Kurtarma Ordusu kurdular ama Türklerle yaptıkları muharebeler sonunda başarısız oldular. Kut'ül-Amare'deki İngiliz 6. Tümen'i teslim olmak zorunda kaldı. Bu yenilgi İngiliz gururu için büyük bir darbe oldu.

vericiler Bağdat'ın ele geçirilmesinin Çanakkale'deki İngiliz başarısızlığına karşı Orta Doğu'da İngiliz prestijini arttırmakta önemli bir katkı sağlayacağını düşünüyordu. Sonuçta, Eylül 1915'te General Nixon 6. Tümen Komutanı Charles Townshend'e, Amare'den nehir yoluyla 190 km uzaklıktaki Kut'ül-Amare'yi işgal emrini verdi. Kut'ül-Amare'ye çekilen Türklerin kesin sonuçlu bir savaş kabul etmemesi ve burayı boşaltması üzerine İngilizler 29 Eylül'de Kut'ül-Amare'yi işgal etti. 24 Ekim 1915'te Bağdat'ı ele geçirmek üzere hareket edilmesine karar verildi. Bağdat'ın işgali kararından önce, Townshend, ciddi takviyeler almadan daha fazla ilerlemeyi sakıncalı gördü. Siyasi işlerden sorumlu Sir Percy Cox, Townshend'e eğer Bağdat'a girerse, bunun İstanbul'a girmekle eşanlamli olacağını ve bu haberin etkisinin tüm Asya'ya yayılacağını söyledi.<sup>6</sup> İngilizler Noel'de Bağdat'ı olacaklarını hayal ediyordu.<sup>7</sup> Townshend, 20 Kasım'da Selmanipak'a doğru ilerledi. 22 Kasım'daki Selmanipak muharebesinde ağır kayıplara uğradı ve Türk takibi altında Kut'ül-Amare'ye doğru çekildi. 3 Aralık'ta Kut'ül-Amare'ye vardı. Takviyelerin geleceğini umarak Kut'ül-Amare'den savunmada kalmaya karar verdi.



acı bir sonuç ve yine Çanakkale yenilgisinden sonra İngiliz gururu için büyük bir darbe oldu.

Townshend anılarında, kendisinden sonra bu işi üstlenen General F.S. Maude'a yaklaşık 120.000 askerle birlikte çok sayıda malzeme, gemi ve demiryolu malzemesi verildiğini söyleyerek kırılganlığını belirtir.<sup>8</sup> Aynı şekilde, Filistin cephesinde de Kudüs'ü ele geçirmek için General A. Murray'dan esirgenen kuvvetler General E. Allenby'e verilecekti. General, 1917 yılında önce Bağdat'ı, sonra da Kudüs'ü ele geçirecekti.

Nisan 1916 sonlarına doğru, izlenecek strateji hakkında bir karara varmak amacıyla Alman Generali Von Lossaf ile birlikte Bağdat'a gelen Baş-

ikmal için gerekli zamanı kazanmıştı. Daha sonra Bağdat'ın düşme tehlikesi ortaya çıkınca, İran fethine gönderilen 13. Kolordu ve Komutanı Ali İhsan Sabis hemen geri çağırılmıştı ama Bağdat'ın savunmasına yeti-şemeyecek kadar ilerletilmiş olduğu için geri çağırılmasının bir faydası olmayacaktı. Böylece İran fethi hayali Bağdat'ın kaybıyla sonuçlandı gibi, İran'da harcanan çabalar ve can kayıpları boşa gitmiş oldu.<sup>9</sup>

Liman Von Sanders İran seferi hakkında, "İran'a karşı bir harekât, havaya kılıç sallamaya benzer. Çünkü öncelikle oradaki başarılar devam-sızdır. İkinci olarak halkı askerliğe alışkın olmayan ve güven vermeyen İran üzerine tasarlanan baskının, dünya savaşının sonucu üzerine hiç-

فهي عبد الرزاق سعد

# العائنة في بغداد

في القرنين الثالث والرابع الهجريين

Bagdat

ŞADE TATIRLANDIKTAR  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

21 TEMMUZ 1993

Türkiy Diyanet İşleri İslam Araştırmaları Enstitüsü
Kitap No: 14729
Yıl: 1986
Yazar: ABDÜL



21 Temmuz 1993

MADDE TAYINLANDIKTAN  
SONRA SELEN DOKÜMAN

## ŞA'BAN EFENDİ CÖNGÜNDE BAĞDAD ŞEHİRİ İLE İLGİLİ BAZI NOTLAR

Râsim DENİZ\*

### GİRİŞ :

Bilindiği üzere yazma kitaplar, matbulara nisbetle maddî ve mânevi değerleri oldukça fazla olan eserlerdir. Ne yazık ki böylesi kitapları bugün için bulmak, almak mümkün değildir. Avrupanın açığözleri ile yerli işbirlikçiler yazmalarımızı yağmalamış, çok küçük fiyatlara kendi ülkelerine alıp götürmüşlerdir. Onlardan arta kalanları da câhiller, gâfiller ve kültür hâinleri ya yakmışlar, ya satmışlar, ya da kuyulara, mezarlara atmak ve gömmek suretiyle yok etmişlerdir. Çok az bir kısmı da, dindar halkımızın vefalı ellerinde bulunmakta, değerini anlayacak, onları okuyacak ve bugünkü alfabeye aktaracak insanların yetişmesini beklemektedir.

Yazma kitapların çeşitleri oldukça fazladır; matbaa'nın ülkemize gelişinden çok evvel atalarımız hemen her konuda ve her mevzuuda çok değerli eserler kaleme almışlar ve bu kitapların okunmasını sağlamak için çoğaltma (istinsah) suretiyle herkesin almasını temin etmişlerdir.

Ehlinin bildiği üzere, yazma kitaplardan bilhassa tek nüsha ve müellif hattı durumunda olan eserler, nâdide kitaplar olarak düşünülür bunların değerleri için paha biçmek mümkün değildir.

Ecdâdımızın bize miras olarak bıraktıkları çeşitli kitaplar yanında her biri başlı başına bir değer olan ve tek nüsha niteliği taşıyan cönkler de vardır. Çok acı bir gerçektir ki nâdide ve tek nüsha eserlerimizin birçokları gibi cönklerimizden çoğu da, avrupa ülkelerinin kütüphanelerini veya müzelerini süslemektedirler.

Cönkler, halkımızın «sığır dili», «dana dili» diye isimlendirildiği birer defterden ibaret olup şekil bakımından alttan yukarı-

(\*) Erciyes Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Öğretim Görevlisi

## XVI. YÜZYILDA BAĞDAD TARİHİ

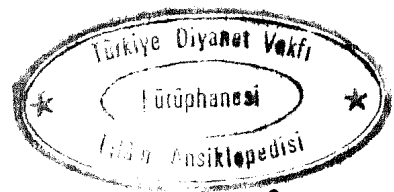
TAHİR AYDOĞMUŞ

Abbasiler zamanında Halife Mansur tarafından M. 762 (H. 145) tarihinde Dicle Nehri'nin kenarında temeli atılan Bağdad şehri kuruluşundan itibaren yüzyıllarca Hilâfet merkezi olmuş ve bugün Irak'ın payitahtı olan bu güzel şehir, bazen dünya çapında bir hüviyete sahip olarak fikrî ve ticarî bakımdan da oldukça ileri gitmiş, milâdi VIII. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru medenî âlemin en inkişaf etmiş bir beldesi olmuş, Osmanlı idaresine girdikten sonra da İmparatorluğun en geniş ve en önemli Eyalet (Paşa sancağı) merkezlerinden biri haline gelmiştir.

Kanuni Sultan Süleyman çıktığı İrakeyn Seferi'nde Tebriz ve civarını fethettikten sonra M. 1534 (H. 941) senesinde Dicle sahilinde eski surlar içerisinde bulunan Bağdad'ı da İmparatorluğa dahil etti. Malûm olduğu gibi Osmanlıların fethettikleri yerlerdeki ilk işi o yerin tahririni yaptırmaktı. Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'da alışageldiği gibi bu usûle uyarak, birkaç ay kadar kaldığı Bağdad şehrinde, yeni fethe edilen ülkenin tahririni emretti. Ülkenin bir taraftan tahriri yapılırken, şehirde de hızlı bir imar hareketine girişildi. O devirde ve daha sonraki senelerde bu imar işi devam etmiş, gerek padişahlar, gerek yetkili devlet görevlileri gayret ve himmetlerini esirgemeyerek şehirde bir hayli dinî, ticarî ve askerî yapılar ortaya koyarak, mamur bir belde haline getirmişlerdir.

Tebliğimde XVI. YÜZYILDA BAĞDAD TARİHİ'nden söz edebilmek için faydalanabildiğim kaynak Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi Kuyud-u Kadime bölümünde bulunan Tahrir defterleridir. İstifade ettiğim defterlerden en eski tarihlisi M. 1544 (H. 951) senesine ait İcmal defteridir. Bu deftere göre merkez hariç Bağdad'ın 18 nahiyesi olduğunu, ayrıca Dekuk, Kerkük ve Dertenk diye üç müstakil livası bulunduğunu görüyoruz. Bağdad'ın nahiye-leri ise şunlardır : Dicle, Halis, Karaniyye, Mihrud, Tarıkı Horasan, Şehriban, Zengiabad, Loristan, Mndelcin, Cevazir, Semavat, Rumadiye, Halid, Malik (bu iki nahiye Rumadiye'ye bağlı nahiye olduğunu görüyoruz), Zebid-i Canibeyn (Zebid-i Canibi Şarki ve Zebid-i Canibi Garbi olarak iki ayrı nahiye mevcut), Hille (H. 972 tarihli İcmal def-

Olda kopye qelab...  
- 2. Kopye...



# الأدب في العثمانية في ولاية بغداد

من عهد الراي مدحت باشا إلى نهاية الحكم العثماني  
١٨٦٩ - ١٩١٧ م

تأليف  
الدكتور جميل موسى النجار

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İrâhânesi	
Sayı:	15152
Tasnif No.:	956.7, MEC. I

مكتبة مندوبولي  
القاهرة

— BAGDAT

BAĞDE YATINLAR DİRYAN  
SONRA SELEN DÖKÜMAN

21 TEMMUZ 1993

حقوق الطبع محفوظة لمكتبة مندوبولي

الطبعة الأولى  
١٤١١ هـ - ١٩٩١ م

الناشر  
مكتبة محبولى  
ميدان طلعت حرب بالقاهرة - ج ٢ ع  
تليفون ٧٥٦٤٢١

**Edit: Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, Stefan Weber, The Empire in the city: Arap provincial capitals in the late Ottoman Empire, Beirut 2002. sh. 311-328 .ISAM 143135.**

## NINETEENTH CENTURY BAGHDAD THROUGH OTTOMAN EYES

CHRISTOPH HERZOG

Posing the question of how Baghdad was seen by the Ottomans is methodologically related to the analysis of Ottoman history writing. More generally speaking it is a matter of second-order-historiography dealing not with how things were, but with how things were seen. It should be noted, however, that this second-order-perspective does not enjoy any epistemological privileges over ordinary historiography. If we accept that Ranke's option to describe "how things really were" ("wie es eigentlich gewesen ist") is *not* one that can be possibly accomplished because the very notion of historiography bears in itself the oxymoron of history and writing, i.e. of reality and discourse (as Michel de Certeau has pointed out),<sup>1</sup> then this has to apply in the same way to the historiography of historiography. In other words: the reconstruction of "how things were seen" is not, and cannot possibly be, closer to reality than the reconstruction of "how things were". This applies regardless of the additional differentiation of history-writing into positivist narration and the construction of analytical frameworks.

Yet, I believe that the question of how Baghdad was seen by the Ottomans is important in at least two respects:

First of all, it may be regarded as a first step preceding the analysis of "how things were" as it focuses on the sources themselves rather than trying to assume them to be a mere looking glass which provides historical factuality. By carving out narrative structures and cultural bias inherent in these texts it may be possible to achieve a more precise view of historical facts by making a more critical use of the sources.

Second, it may contribute to a better understanding of the nature of Ottoman government in Iraq. More specifically it may provide arguments to the question if or in how far the Ottoman government in Baghdad (and by implication elsewhere in the Arab world) may be meaningfully interpreted as a colonial one. Much of the outcome of this second issue, of course, depends on the conception of colonialism. Without going too much into

<sup>1</sup> Michel de Certeau, *Das Schreiben der Geschichte*, Frankfurt 1991, 9.

MARSHAL  
SOUTH  
MAY 19 1991

22 MAR 1995

Author: HECK, GENE WILLIAM  
Title: CAIRO OR BAGHDAD...? A CRITICAL RE-EXAMINATION OF THE ROLE OF EGYPT  
IN THE FATIMID DYNASTY'S IMPERIAL DESIGN (IRAQ)  
School: THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN (0127) Degree: PHD Date: 1986 pp: 349  
Source: DAI 47/06A, p.2276 Publication No.: AAC8621295  
Subject: HISTORY, MEDIEVAL (0581)

Abstract: Modern historiography of Fatimid foreign policy has conventionally sought to portray that dynasty's imperial designs in the context of a direct Sunni-Shi('c)i confrontation. Because the Fatimids sought universal hegemony over the Dar al-Islam, this argument holds, their prime foreign policy objectives must have been to eliminate the Sunni-('c)Abbasid caliphate and to erect an Isma('c)ili caliphate in its stead.

This study challenges those assumptions--contending that from the rise of the Fatimid caliphate in North Africa in 297/909, its prime target for an imperial base was not Iraq at all, but Egypt. To reach their goal, the Fatimids launched four major military campaigns and a variety of diplomatic initiatives, all aimed at bringing the Nile Valley under their direct control. Similar attempts to subjugate Iraq are conspicuous only by their absence, as clearly Egypt from the onset was intended to be the seat of empire, and not a mere stepping stone to the East. 101

Once in Egypt, the Fatimids proceeded to develop the country as a permanent seat of rule. Their policies, both internal and external, derived from precedents established by the country's previous independent rulers. In foreign policy, their military posture was defensive. Their diplomatic initiatives supported coexistence, not conquest. Unlike the previous determined battle for Egypt, there were now no further assaults eastward save those required to establish Syria as a buffer zone at the Northeast border of their Nilocentric realm. Indeed, even when a curious da('c)wah-inspired coup d'etat in Baghdad afforded them great opportunity midway through the 5th/11th century, the Fatimid dynasts showed no real interest in it at all--instead soon allowing the city to slip back into ('c)Abbasid-Sunni hands.

Based on new evidence, then, and on a more accurate reading of existing evidence, including eye witness accounts of key participants in early Isma('c)ili movement, this study has produced conclusions regarding Fatimid foreign policy strikingly different from those conventionally portrayed--clearly demonstrating the primacy of Egypt within that dynasty's imperial ambitions.

29 OCAK 1997

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Author: MALAMUD, MARGARET IRENE  
Title: THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIZED SUFISM IN NISHAPUR AND BAGHDAD FROM THE  
ELEVENTH TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY (ELEVENTH CENTURY, PERSIA, IRAN)  
School: UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY (0028) Degree: PHD Date: 1990  
pp: 160  
Adviser: LAPIDUS, IRA M.  
Source: DAI 52/04A, p.1381 Publication No.: AAC9126683  
Subject: RELIGION, HISTORY OF (0320); HISTORY, MIDDLE EASTERN (0333);  
HISTORY, MEDIEVAL (0581)

Abstract: Eleventh-century Nishapur provides the opportunity to observe the historical development of a particular form of sufism, one that combined law, theology and a moderate form of mystical piety in a way that appealed to a broad stratum of the urban population throughout the medieval Muslim world. This dissertation describes how sufism became the dominant form of mystical expression in Nishapur and traces its influence on the origins of the Suhrawardiyya order in Baghdad.

During the course of the eleventh century, sufism became the predominant form of mysticism in Nishapur. Chapter one suggests that its success was directly related to its connection with the Shafi'imadhab. Chapter two shows how the mystical piety of other movements, the Karramiyya and Malamatiyya, were superseded or absorbed into the sufism cultivated by Shafi'is. Chapter three describes changes in sufi practice and organization in Nishapur, and examines the development of sufi structures of authority and legitimacy. In particular, we look at the change in the relationship between the sufi master and his disciple, and consider the khanagah as an institutional expression of the development of a more personal relationship between masters and disciples. The last chapter shows the connections between sufism as it was organized and practiced by Shafii-sufis in Nishapur and the development of the Suhrawardiyya order in Baghdad. The personal relationship described in chapter three is the thread we follow from eleventh-century Khurasan into twelfth-century Baghdad. The master-disciple relationship is seen as the organizing principle of a new and specifically sufi institution, the tariga.

MADDE YATIRILANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

29 OCAK 1997

بَحْثَات

مُشَاهَدَاتٍ وَفَرَائِغٍ

Bağdad

علي الطنطاوي

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

07 MART 1995

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Demirbaş No:	23891
Tasnif No:	956.7 TAN. B

MADDE YATIRILDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

نشر وتوزيع

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بغداد - العراق

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مركز احياء التراث العلمي العربي  
جامعة بغداد  
مركز احياء التراث العلمي العربي

# بغداد مدينة السلام

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	96083
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ابحاث الندوة  
التي اقامها مركز احياء التراث العلمي العربي  
بجامعة بغداد بالتعاون مع امانة بغداد  
للمدة من ٢٢ - ٢٤ نيسان ١٩٩٠



دین کورجی جلالی  
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Baqdaad



تأليف

دكتور ارشد البراوي

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Demirbuğ No	28670
Yazma No	956.7
	BER.M

الطبعة الأولى

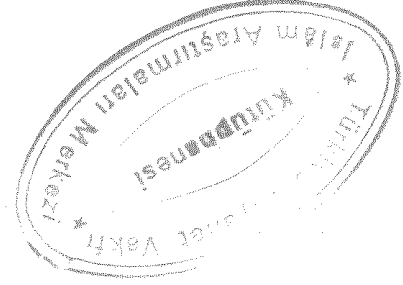
MADDE YAYINLANDIK  
SÖZLÜKÜ

07 MART 1995



مكتبة النهضات المصرية  
لأصحابها حسن محمد وأولاده  
شارع عبد الباقا بالناهما

1977



28 ARALIK 1995

MARUZ KÜTÜPHANESİ  
SONRA BELLEN DE KÜTÜPHANESİ

Bir 3 1995 249-259

İstanbul.

## XVI. YÜZYILIN İLK YARISINDA BAĞDAT

Necdet ÖZTÜRK

İslâm dünyasının önemli tarih, ilim ve kültür merkezlerinden biri ve bugünkü Irak'ın başkenti olan Bağdat, VIII. yüzyılda ikinci Abbasi halifesi Ebû Ca'fer el-Mansur (ö. 775)<sup>1</sup> tarafından kurulmuştur (762-66)<sup>2</sup>. Kuruluşundan Abbasi devletinin yıkılışına kadar (1258) hilâfet merkezi olarak kalan Bağdat, Osmanlılar devrinde Bağdat vilâyetinin merkezi ve 1921'de de Irak'ın başkenti oldu.

Plânı sosyal gayeler gözetilerek çizilen<sup>3</sup> ve şehir plâncılığı<sup>4</sup> için

<sup>1</sup> el-Mansur hakkında bk. *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (=İA), VII, 295 vd.; *Doğuştan Günümüze Büyük İslâm Tarihi* (İstanbul 1986), III, 62 vdd.

<sup>2</sup> Medine, Şam ve Kûfe'yi siyasî düşüncelerle başkent yapmayı uygun görmeyen Mansur, Suriye'ye karşı kendini emniyete almak, Hz. Ali taraftarları ile dolu olan Kûfe'den uzak bulunmak amacıyla Bağdat'ın bulunduğu yeri seçti. Gerçekten de Bağdat, Dicle ile Fırat'ın birbirlerine çok yaklaştıkları, su ve kara yollarının düğüm noktasında, tarıma çok elverişli bir ova üzerinde bulunuyordu. Kanallar ağı hem tarımda bol ürün alınmasını, hem de şehrin su baskınlarından korunmasını sağlıyordu. Bölge ılıman bir iklime sahipti. Şehrin etrafı geniş ve derin bir hendekle çevriliydi. Daha fazla bilgi için bk. W. Barthold, *İslâm Medeniyeti Tarihi* (Ankara 1973), s. 29 vd.; B. Üçok, *Emeviler-Abbâsîler* (Ankara 1968), s. 82 vd.; A.ed-Dûrî, "Bağdat", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (=DİA), IV, 432.

<sup>3</sup> Pazarlar Bağdat'ın plânında önemli bir rol oynar. Her zenaat ve ticaret erbabının müstakil pazar yerleri, çarşıları vardı. Şehrin büyümesiyle buraya Horasan, Semerkand, Merv, Buhara ve Hârizm'den tüccarlar geliyordu. Bunların kendilerine ait mahalleleri ve her gurubun bir reisi vardı. Şehir, merkezinin her taraftan eşit uzaklıkta olması ve kolayca kontrol edilip korunması için daire şeklinde plânlanmıştır. Şehrin yapımında Irak ve başka bölgelerden toplanan 100.000'e yakın mimar, mühendis ve işçi dört yıl boyunca çalıştı. Şehir, çapı 3 km.'yi bulan yuvarlak kutelerle güçlendirilmiş daire biçiminde bir surla çevriliydi. Surların dört kapısı vardı: *Basra* kapısı, *Kûfe* kapısı, *Horasan* kapısı, *Şam* yahut *Suriye* kapısı. Fazla malumat için bk. W. Barthold, s. 29 vd.; Üçok, s. 83; İA, II, 197; DİA, IV, 427.

<sup>4</sup> Plânı için bk. C. Baysun, "Bağdad", İA, II; DİA, IV, 428.

quant la concentration ancestrale des propriétaires fonciers absenteïstes dans les villes, également destinataires des ponctions fiscales des pouvoirs politico-militaires de jadis. À tel point que le concept de « capitalisme de rente » (*Rentenkapitalismus*) élaboré par le géographe autrichien Hans Bobek (1959 et 1974) à partir du cas iranien a été étendu à tout le Proche- et Moyen-Orient où il plonge ses racines dans les sociétés antiques : les citadins (ou plus précisément les éléments dominants de la société urbaine, à travers une grande variété de systèmes politiques) détenaient la terre cultivable et les moyens de production et se contentaient de percevoir la rente foncière sans réaliser aucun investissement. Ce système qui donnait aux villes une position parasitaire et entretenait la sclérose technique s'est prolongé jusqu'au début de ce siècle (Planhol 1993). Les villes concentraient également les activités artisanales et commerciales dans leur bazar et les marchands urbains commanditaient le commerce caravanier à longue distance assuré pour leur compte par les nomades.

La nouvelle prépondérance des villes a d'autres formes : si la propriété foncière absenteïste a vu son pouvoir éliminé, ou amoindri, selon les cas, par les réformes agraires appliquées en Égypte, Syrie, Jordanie et Irak, le rôle commercial des villes s'est encore accru, associant la collecte des produits de l'agriculture et de l'élevage et la distribution des produits industriels, tandis que le renforcement de l'appareil d'État a multiplié les administrations et les services publics en ville, en un maillage de plus en plus serré. Le développement des transports a de plus facilité l'accès à la ville, à ses commerces, services et loisirs, comme à son marché du travail, et des liens extrêmement denses se sont ainsi tissés entre les villes et la quasi-totalité des espaces ruraux, légitimant la formule de « l'urbanisation généralisée » utilisée par Jean-François Troin (1995). Partout, la référence fondamentale est la ville. Mais quelle ville ? Ce singulier générique ne cache-t-il pas un dynamisme et des capacités d'attraction différenciées d'une ville à l'autre ?

## II. — MACROCÉPHALIE ET MÉTROPOLISATION

### 1) *Le poids des plus grandes cités*

À première vue, les plus grandes agglomérations urbaines semblent être les premières bénéficiaires de ces processus de croissance et de polarisation, qui aboutissent donc à des phénomènes de macrocéphalie et de métropolisation.

Sur un plan purement statistique d'abord, une ou deux cités dominent largement le semis urbain de chaque pays, comme nous avons essayé de le montrer dans le tableau 2, qui reste très approximatif.

TABLEAU 2  
*Le poids des agglomérations principales*

	Date	Population milliers	1 <sup>re</sup> agglomération			2 <sup>e</sup> agglomération			Total %
				Pop. (1 000)	%		Pop. (1 000)	%	
Turquie	*1990	56 098	Istanbul	6 620	11,8	Ankara	2 559	4,6	16,4
Chypre	*1993	764	Nicosie	170	22,3	Larnaca	55	7,2	29,5
Syrie	*1994	14 300	Damas	1 800	12,6	Alep	1 200	8,4	21,0
Liban	*1995	3 250	Beyrouth	1 625	50,0	Tripoli	250	7,7	57,7
Israël	*1992	5 059	Tel Aviv	1 843	36,4	Jérusalem	544	10,8	47,2
Palestine	*1995	1 955	Gaza	600	30,7	Naplouze	120	6,1	36,8
Jordanie	*1994	4 200	Amman	1 300	31,0	Zarqa	600	14,3	45,2
Irak	*1994	20 000	Bagdad	5 000	25,0	Bassora	1 500	7,5	32,5
Égypte	*1994	58 900	Le Caire	10 300	17,5	Alexandrie	3 500	5,9	23,4

Sources : Annuaires statistiques divers et ajustements personnels.

On ne sera pas surpris de constater que ce poids relatif des plus grandes agglomérations est le plus grand dans les États les plus petits, à l'exception de Chypre : la première agglomération rassemble à elle seule la moitié de la population du pays au Liban, les deux premières ensemble s'en approchent en Israël comme en Jordanie. Cette prépondérance est moins marquée dans les grands pays, mais présente des écarts considérables puisque les chiffres vont du simple au double si nous comparons la Turquie à l'Irak. La Syrie moins peuplée vient s'intercaler entre la Turquie et l'Égypte.

Ce poids démographique reflète toujours une forte concentration des pouvoirs et des activités. Dans la plupart des cas, elle est plus que proportionnelle à la population de l'agglomération (ou des agglomérations) primatale. Par exemple, Istanbul, avec un peu moins de 12 % de la population turque, rassemble 25 % de la main-d'œuvre industrielle ou de l'activité commerciale du pays (DIE 1993), tandis que Bagdad, avec environ le quart de la population de l'Irak, rassemble 40 % des fonctionnaires, 56 % de la main-d'œuvre industrielle, 88 % des professeurs d'université, et perçoit 95 % des impôts sur le revenu (Bourgey et Mutin 1995). Les aspects qualitatifs sont encore plus importants, car ces métropoles sont pour l'ensemble de la population le vecteur des techniques et des modèles de consommation mondiaux, les relais effectifs de la mondialisation.

04 HAZIRAN 1998

MARUZ KUTUPHANESİ  
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BAGHDAD IN THE ABBASID ERA:  
A COSMOPOLITAN AND MULTI-CONFESSIONAL CAPITAL

Françoise Micheau

The history of Baghdad divides itself into three phases: first, the prestigious capital of the Abbasid caliphs from the time of its foundation in 145/762 by al-Mansur up to its conquest by Mongol armies in 656/1258; then, for centuries, a simple provincial metropolis; and finally, since 1921, the capital of the kingdom of Iraq, whose dramatic reality assails us with daily images of devastation. Here we are interested only in the first of these periods.<sup>1</sup>

Nothing, however, remains of the capital of the Abbasid caliphs, since monuments and urban fabric have, with a few exceptions, disappeared. Fires, floods, destruction, wars, invasions and, more simply, the wear of centuries have erased all trace of caliphal edifices, which were often in unfired brick. Thus, Baghdad has become a capital with no "site of memory." Numerous specific studies touching on the city's monuments have accompanied campaigns of architectural survey and restoration.<sup>2</sup> From these we see that the oldest monumental remains date back to the sixth/twelfth-seventh/thirteenth centuries, and are extremely scarce. The most important is the Mustansiriyya madrasa founded in 630/1232. It was abandoned in the seventeenth century and very crudely restored in 1945 and 1960. Today it houses a museum. We may add four isolated minarets, the Qasr 'Abbasi, built perhaps by the caliph al-Nasir (575/1180-622/1225), two doors of the Mustazhir wall (Bab al-Wastani and Bab al-Talim), and lastly a few tombs. We hardly

<sup>1</sup> On the history of Baghdad in the Abbasid era, see especially G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate* (Oxford, 1900; new edition London and Dublin, 1972); *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, vol. 1, s.v. "Baghdad"; special issue of the journal *Arabica* 9 (1962); special issue of *Al-Mawrid* 8, no. 4 (1979) [in Arabic]; F. Micheau, "Bagdad," in *Grandes villes méditerranéennes du monde musulman médiéval*, ed. J.-Cl. Garcin (Rome, 2000), 87-112.

<sup>2</sup> V. Strija and J. Khalil, "The Islamic Architecture of Baghdad. The Results of a Joint Italian-Iraqi Survey," *Annali Istituto Universitario Orientale*, 1987, suppl. no. 52; M.-O. Rousset, *L'archéologie islamique en Iraq. Bilan et perspectives* (Damascus, 1992).

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SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN  
23 DEKAR 2017

Edit. Salma K. Jayyusi & etc., *The City in the Islamic World*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2008, pp. 221-245-

(Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Near HT 147.5 C59 2008.)

**Arab Scholars From the Ottoman Empire in Russian Universities (The 19th-Early 20th Century)****Svetlana KIRILLINA (Russia)**

The 19th century opened a new significant stage in the development of the cross-cultural dialogue between Russia and intellectual centers of the Ottoman Empire. An important role in the history of relations between and the Ottoman Arab provinces belonged to mutual links in the academic and educational field. The original impulse to their establishment and further progress was made by a well-known Egyptian scholars and writer Muhammad Ayyad al-Tantawi (1810-1861). His pedagogical, scholarly and enlightening activities as a teacher of the Educational Department of Oriental Languages (Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and afterwards as a professor of St. Petersburg University gained him a high reputation of gifted and knowledgeable representative of the Russian academic milieu. Shaykh al-Tantawi was followed by a number of Arab intellectuals mostly from Syria and Lebanon (Selim Noufal [1828-1902], Fadlallah Sarruf [1826-1903], Antun Nashab [1874-?] and others) together with members of the Arab colony which had formed in Russia by the mid of the 19th century (G.A.Murkos [1846-1911]). Their academic and literary interests were remarkably diverse. These scholars contributed successfully to the teaching process in different Russian educational institutions including Universities of St.Petersburg, Moscow and Kazan, enlarged Russian collections of Arabic manuscripts and created cultural and historical inheritance of outstanding value for modern oriental studies.

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**Property Right and Midhat Pasha's Land Reforms in the Province of Baghdad in 1869-72****Keiko KIYOTAKI (England)**

This paper examines the land reforms of Governor Midhat Pasha in Baghdad in 1869-72 in which he established the right in the state land. In his reforms Midhat Pasha reorganized the system of land tenure in accordance with the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 and applied the Code's principles to the state land. In the Code, the government confirmed state ownership of the state land and transferred the right of possessing the state land to the private individual who could cultivate the land and pay the tax from the produce of the land. This right was transferable by sale and transmittable by inheritance to legitimate heirs according to the Code. Although the Code had been proclaimed with the Sultan's order of its implementation, it had rarely been applied in Baghdad before Midhat Pasha, because of the complicated practise of land tenure in cultivated farm lands and large areas of deserted land in which nobody could claim the possessions right. Midhat Pasha proceeded to establish the system of the state land over deserted lands in which the Land Code was applicable and operative. The pasha laid down a new regulation by which he could transfer, without interference of any other title holders, the possession right in the deserted land by auction. He also instituted the system of land

registry in which the purchaser of the possessions right could obtain the title deeds and secure his title under the protection of the Code. Following the reforms, Midhat Pasha publicly admitted the commercial transfer of the possession right and the transmission of the right to more heirs by inheritance—important characters of property rights in land. While retaining the absolute ownership of the state land in the government's hands, the Pasha apparently intended to sell the possession right as the purchaser's quasi-property right, so that he could encourage the purchaser's investment in land and increasing efficiency in land cultivation. The purpose of my paper is to examine in detail the change of the nature of the possessions right in the state land as a result of Midhat Pasha's reforms, in particular, why Midhat Pasha introduced the new concept of the private property in the state land and how he established the possessions right as the quasi-property right in Baghdad.

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**The Ottoman Northern Policy as Seen From the Venetian Archives****Dariusz KOŁODZIEJCZYK (Poland)**

The motto of this paper was provided by the seventeenth-century Venetian bailo in Constantinople, Giacorno Quirini, who wrote in 1676 that:

*Da questo mar Nero dipende la difesa e la conservazione del mar Bianco*

Citing numerous instances when the Ottomans had been forced to send galleys against the Cossacks on the Black Sea that could then not be used against the Venetians in the Mediterranean.

The Ottoman relations with their northern Christian neighbors, namely Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy, were closely observed by Venetian diplomats in Constantinople. Apart from providing the Senate with informations about the volume and character of the Black Sea trade, being of vital importance to the merchant Republic, they reported on the political problems of the region, including riots and turbulances in the Ukraine and the Crimea, especially frequent in the seventeenth century, and sometimes highly influential on the western policy of the Porte.

How close the events in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean were interrelated, can be demonstrated by mere two examples of 1656 i 1669. In the first case the Porte could not directly intervene in the Second Northern War because of its engagement in the war over Crete and the danger posed by the Venetian surrender of Candia, the then third vizier Kara mustafa pasha was already preparing a campaign against Poland, negotiating with the Cossacks and inciting them to rebel against their ruler in Warsaw.

**MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN**

nische Rundfunk auch viele Nichtmekkaner als Sprecher beschäftigt. So findet man z. B. (293, 2 v. u. und 294, 21) Sproßvokale wie in Ägypten plaziert, eine in Mekka nicht mögliche Imāla 'ašēn statt 'ašān (294, 12), *maglāb* (294, 2) st. *maglab*, *ḥarābt* (295, 25) statt *ḥarabt*, *ǧē* statt *ǧayy* „kommend“ (294, 8 u. 9), 'imšī (294, 13) st. *yimšī* „es geht“, 'innu *ibǧa yǧammal* „daß er höflich sein will“ st. 'innu *yibǧa yǧǧammal* (< *yitǧammal*, also 5. Stamm! 295, 26). Nach der Vokalisation ist 'inta *tfukkur* „du denkst“ (294, 27) nicht mekkanisch. Außer den Angaben des Informanten wurde offenbar in einigen wenigen Punkten auch dieser Text für die voraufgehende Beschreibung des Mekkanischen verwendet.

Man könnte einwenden, daß es für das Mekkanische vielleicht wegen der jährlichen Pilgerfahrt und Einflüssen aus anderen arabischen Ländern keine eigentliche Norm gebe und daß verschiedene Formen nebeneinander möglich seien. Aber das trifft nicht zu. Gewiß hat das Mekkanische im Laufe von über tausend Jahren Eigenheiten aus anderen Dialekten übernommen, aber sie wurden rezipiert und in das System eingefügt. Es kann kein Zweifel bestehen, daß der Dialekt von Mekka ein einheitliches, in sich geschlossenes System darstellt, sicher in höherem Maße als das Kairinische und andere Großstadtdialekte, zumal da es in Mekka nie isolierte Bevölkerungsgruppen wie Juden und Christen mit eigenen Dialekten neben dem der Muslims gab. Ein gebürtiger Mekkaner, der wie ich in Mekka fast bis zum 25. Jahr gelebt hat, kann bis heute genau unterscheiden, was echtes Mekkanisch ist und was nicht, obgleich er sehr viele Sprecher anderer Dialekte in Mekka gehört hat. So glaube ich, daß meine obigen Bemerkungen begründet sind.

ZDMG, band: 122 (1972) Wiesbaden,

s. 93-101.

D-841

MADDE VE KİTAP İZLETEN  
SONRA BİRİNDEN BİRİMAN

18 NISAN 1959



## Bagdader Studien \*

Von GEORG KROTKOFF, Baltimore

- Inhalt: III. Miscellen von Bagdader Märkten.  
IV. Metallgefäße.  
V. Kopfbedeckungen.  
VI. Vom Baugewerbe.  
VII. Ein toponymisches Kuriosum.  
VIII. Zu WEISSBACH, ZS 4 (1926), S. 254f.  
Nachtrag zu *Bagdader Studien* II.

### III. Miscellen von Bagdader Märkten

Der Transport der Waren liegt den Lastträgern (*ḥammāl*, pl. *ḥamāmāl*) ob. Diese haben ein keilförmiges Traggelster (*ǧunda*) auf dem Rücken, und große Lasten werden noch zusätzlich von einem um die Stirn des Trägers gehenden Gurt (*nwār*) festgehalten. Kleinere Gegenstände und Schüttgut werden in Körben mit kurzen Henkeln (*gōšar*, pl. *gwāšir*, oder *zambīl*, pl. *zanābīl*; Henkel: 'urwa, pl. 'arāwi) oder mit langen Henkeln ('allāga, pl. 'alālīg) befördert. Ein Warenballen heißt *lāngā*, ein Stoffballen *ḥōl*. Ein Markthelfer ist ein *ḥayyālī*.

Die Menschenmenge setzt sich aus Männern, Frauen und Kindern (*rayāǧīl*, *niswān*, *ǧihāl*) zusammen. Unter ihnen sieht man manchen Bettler (*mgaddī*) und Landstreicher ('ubeyčī, zu 'abā, d. h. er hat nur einen Mantel, aber kein Dach über dem Kopf), die Umhängtaschen ('alǧa) und Stöcke mit rundem Griff (*bākūra*) oder mit hakenförmigem Griff ('očīya) haben. In der Menge mag auch ein Taschendieb (*mḥēbī*) seinem Beruf nachgehen (*yudrub ḡēb*). Die Kinder sind vor allem an billigen Zuckerwaren (*ǧārgāri*) interessiert. Sollte es einmal irgendwo nicht ganz gesetzlich zugehen, so mag ein Aufpasser beim Herannahen eines Polizisten (*šurtī*) den Warnruf: 'abā, 'abā! ausstoßen, als ob er einen Mantel anzubieten hätte.

In Teehäusern (*ḥāyhāna*) sitzen Menschen bei einem Glas (*istikān* < pers. < russ. *stakan*) Tee (*ḥāy*) oder Limonenaufguß (*ḥamud*; engl. lime). Der Tee wird in Teekannen (*ǧūrī*) aufgegossen und in die Kohlen- glut zum Ziehen gestellt, während das Wasser in einem *samāwar* (< pers.

\* *Bagdader Studien* I s. ZDMG 112 (1962/63), S. 319—24; *Bagdader Studien* II s. ZDMG 114 (1964), S. 66—90.

GIFT OF MURTER  
13. 11. 1997

محمد سعد الشيباني

# تَارِيحُ الْعِرَاقِ

زَمَنَ الْخِلَافَةِ الْعَبَّاسِيَّةِ فِي بَغْدَادِ

عَلَى عَهْدِ الْمُعْتَضِدِ بِاللَّهِ الْعَبَّاسِيِّ

289.279 / 902.892 م



DN: 36021

TUNUS

- Irak

- Baqda

- Abbasiler

- Muterizibillah el Abbas

04 HAZİRAN 1998

MADDE YA TERCİHİNDEN  
SONRA GİZLİ BİRÜMAN



بقلم توفیق وهبی

ترجمه دکتر سید علی رضا مجتهد زاده

## بحثی در باب کلمه «بغداد»

سر آغاز

در مجله سومر (المجلد الرابع الجزء الاول كانون الثاني ۱۹۴۸) مقاله‌ای از استاد یعقوب سرکیس خواندم که عنوانش این بود: «بصره - آیا ریشه کلمه آرامی است؟» این مقاله بحاشیه ذیل پایان مییافت: «استاد دانشمند یوسف غنیمه درباره معنی کلمه بغداد دارای عقیده خاصی است که آنرا با کمال احتیاط چنین بیان کرده است: «بگداد» بمعنی شهر یا سرا یا خانه گوسفند و میش است (رجوع کنید بلغه العرب ۴-۱۹۲۶-۲۷-۸۰). سپس بجلد چهارم لغه العرب مراجعه کرده و عقیده استاد غنیمه را مطالعه کردم که عین عبارت آن چنین است: «در باره معنی بغداد عقیده خاصی دارم که از مدتها پیش در ضمن بحث‌های مختلف اظهار کرده ولی تا امروز از انتشار آن خودداری کرده‌ام و اکنون هم آنرا با کمال احتیاط بیان میکنم. بعقیده من نام بغداد از لحاظ ریشه و معنی آرامی است و از دو کلمه مرکب شده است (ب) که مخفف کلمه «بیت» است و در ابتدای نام شهرهای آرامی مانند «بعقوباء و باقوفاء و بطنایا و با عشیقا و با عذراء و با جریمی و غیره» مکرر آمده است؛ لفظ دوم «گداد» بمعنی گوسفند یا میش. (رجوع کنید به دلیل الراغبین فی

فرودمی آید و با مردم آنجا آشنا می‌گردد. اما از حقاقت ایشان که فقط هفتاد و دو حس دارند و پانزده هزار سال عمر می‌کنند در شگفت می‌شود. با وجود این یکی از آنان را به دوستی برمی‌گزیند و او را همراه خود به کلهکشانها می‌برد و در راه ستاره‌های بی‌شماری را به او نشان می‌دهد. تا اینکه هر دو مسافر به زمین می‌رسند و بر روی آن به جستجو می‌پردازند. ولی هرچه می‌گردند جاننداری نمی‌یابند. مسافر زحلی مطمئن می‌شود که چنین کره کوچکی اصولاً قابل سکونت نیست. میکرومگاس که تجربه بیشتری دارد او را به جستجوی بیشتر برمی‌انگیزد. درین گیر و دار گردن بند میکرومگاس پاره می‌شود و دانه‌های آن روی زمین پخش می‌گردد. هر یک ازین دانه‌ها الماس کوچکی است که فقط دویست کیلو گرم وزن دارد!

مسافران آسمانی دانه‌های گردن بند را گرد آورده از آنها میکروسکپی می‌سازند و پس از اینکه چندین بار عدسیها را تنظیم می‌کنند و آنها را بالا و پائین می‌برند، بالاخره «حشراتی ریز» (۱) کشف می‌نمایند! ابتدا می‌پندارند که این حشرات بی‌روح هستند، زیرا چگونه موجودی به این خردی می‌تواند دارای روح و فکر باشد؟ ولی میکرومگاس با هزاران زحمت و اختراع جدید موفق می‌شود یکی از این حشرات را که اسقف بزرگی است به سخن وادارد. آنگاه درمی‌یابد که این حشرات نه تنها خود را ذی‌روح می‌دانند بلکه وجود تمام کائنات را نیز معلق به وجود خود می‌پندارند! با همه اینها میکرومگاس هوش آدمیان را می‌ستاید و سپاس خداوند بجا می‌آورد که اگر چه موجودات را مختلف آفریده ولی تناسب را نیز رعایت کرده است - جز ادعای بی‌نهایت بزرگ آدمیان که خود حشراتی بی‌نهایت کوچک هستند!

۱- ولتر در بسیاری از نوشته‌هایش کره زمین را «لجنزار» یا «مشتی گل» و آدمیان را «حشراتی ریز» یا «کره‌هایی خرد» نامیده است. این حکیم بزرگ تعظیم آفرینش را در تحقیر انسانها می‌دید.

\* این مقاله در «مجله الجمع‌العلمی‌العراقی جزء اول سال اول ۱۳۶۹ هـ چاپ بغداد تحت عنوان «القصد و الاستطراد فی اصول معنی بغداد» بطبع رسیده و در اینجا با عنوان فوق ترجمه شده است. یادداشت‌هایی که در حواشی با ستاره شروع شده از مترجم است.



Sein Tod kam durch den Zug, wird auch dadurch vertrieben,  
denn was er von dem hat durch Phöbus Mund geschrieben,  
kan Cedern würdig sein; es wird auch nicht vergehn,  
so lange Sonn' und Mond der Welt zu Dienste stehn.“

Nun, das meiste von dem, was Fleming geschrieben hat, ist wohl doch vergangen. Geblieben ist aber bis zum heutigen Tage neben dem eingangs erwähnten geistlichen Lied „In allen meinen Taten...“ auch das bekannteste weltliche Lied Flemings, das wie dieses ohne die Reise nicht entstanden wäre und mit dem der Dichter der deutschen Literatur eines ihrer innigsten und volkstümlichsten Liebeslieder geschenkt hat:<sup>14</sup> „Ein getreues Herze wissen / hat des höchsten Schatzes Preis ...“. Fleming schrieb es auf der großen Reise für seine in Reval zurückgelassene geliebte Elsabe Niehus, deren Kosenamen Elsgen sich als Akrostichon, also in den Anfangsbuchstaben der sechs Strophen des Gedichts wiederfindet. Daß Elsgen zu diesem Zeitpunkt durchaus nicht mehr „getreu“, sondern bereits mit einem anderen liiert war, hat der Dichter freilich erst später erfahren. Wie wir gesehen haben, tröstete er sich schließlich mit ihrer jüngeren Schwester Anna, mit der er sich zwar noch verloben, die er aber infolge seines frühen Todes nicht mehr heiraten konnte. Olearius, der kurz nach Flemings Tod wieder nach Reval reiste, um dort Katharina Müller zu heiraten und mit Annas Vater die Herausgabe von Flemings Gedichten vorzubereiten, wird wohl der hinterbliebenen Braut viel von den gemeinsamen Reiseerlebnissen der beiden Freunde erzählt haben.

DIE ISLAMISCHE WELT ZWISCHEN  
MITTELALTER UND NEUZEIT  
FESTSCHRIFT FÜR HANS ROBERT ROEMER  
ZUM 65. GEBURTSTAG  
Herausgegeben von Ulrich Haarmann und  
Peter Bachmann. Beirut-1979, s. 483-502.  
DN 125811

<sup>14</sup> P.F. Deutsche Gedichte. 426.

05 MAYIS 1994

Beirut / Khay  
Etiyaphane de Marcutis

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

## EINIGE QUELLENWERKE ZUR GESCHICHTE BAGDADS IN OSMANISCHER ZEIT

VON

ELKE NIEWÖHNER-EBERHARD

Die Geschichte Bagdads in osmanischer Zeit, hier speziell von der ersten osmanischen Eroberung im Jahr 941/1534 bis zum Ende der Mamlukenherrschaft 1247/1831,<sup>1</sup> ist Provinzgeschichte, und entsprechend sind Quellen für diese Zeit weder besonders reichlich vorhanden, noch von allgemeinislamischer Bedeutung. Selbst für die osmanische Zentralmacht war Bagdad kaum einer besonderen chronistischen Aufmerksamkeit wert. Aber die in Bagdad eingesetzten Wälis begannen mit wachsender Unabhängigkeit auch ein Interesse für die Aufzeichnung ihrer Geschichte zu entwickeln, und so entstanden einige lokale Chroniken über die Geschichte Bagdads. Manche von ihnen sind in osmanisch-türkischer Sprache abgefaßt worden, aber das Interesse iraqischer Gelehrter an ihrer nationalen Geschichte auch in neuerer Zeit hat bewirkt, daß alle wichtigen, im folgenden genannten Werke in arabischer Sprache zugänglich sind.

Für den europäischen Leser existieren zwei Werke über die Geschichte Bagdads und des Iraq in osmanischer Zeit: *Histoire de Bagdad dans les temps modernes* von C. HUART und *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq* von S. H. LONGRIGG. HUART schöpft aus drei der unten genannten Werke, LONGRIGG kennt nur zwei nicht.

Die zerstreuten Angaben über diese Werke, ihre Autoren und vorhandene Handschriften, Editionen und Übersetzungen lassen es geraten erscheinen, alle Informationen einmal zusammenzustellen.

<sup>1</sup> Zur Wahl dieses Zeitraums verweise ich auf die Bemerkungen von LONGRIGG: *Four Centuries*, 277 ff.



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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
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ش.ت.هـ.  
1430  
2009 م.

25

12 TEM 2012



A L - T A S A M O H

## مدينة بغداد في الثقافة الصينية الوسيطة

حاتم الصلوي

Bagdad

# التسامح

فصلية فكرية إسلامية تصدر عن وزارة الأوقاف والشؤون الدينية

في البداية يجب التعريف بأحد أهم المؤرخين الصينيين في العصور الوسطى، وهو شوجو-كوا Chau ju-Kua، الذي أسهم إسهاماً فعالاً في تناول تاريخ العرب والمسلمين، وخاصة صلاتهم السياسية والتجارية مع الصين آنذاك.

كان عمل شوجو-كوا الرسمي مفتشاً للجمارك في ميناء كانتون الشهير في القرن الثالث عشر الميلادي. ولم يكتف بمهنته التي كانت تنحصر في فحص السلع والبضائع الواردة إلى الميناء، وكتابتها وتصنيفها وتسجيلها في دفاتر خاصة بها، مع تقدير قيمة الجمارك المطلوبة فيها؛ بل كان لديه شغف وافر بمعرفة العوالم الأخرى البعيدة عن الصين.

وهكذا صنف كتابه الكبير معتمداً على الحكايات والأخبار التي استقاها من أفواه التجار والبحارة الأجانب والصينيين، الذي ذكر فيه عشرات البلاد والجزر الواقعة في المحيط الهندي والخليج الفارسي والبحر الأحمر متطرقاً في ذلك إلى أحوالها السياسية والاجتماعية، ومركزاً على الجانب الاقتصادي بها، وعلى منتجاتها وحركة الصادرات والواردات بها، وربما كان ذلك راجعاً إلى طبيعة

♦ باحث وأكاديمي من مصر.

التسامح 434 AL-TASAMOH

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عبد الرحمن السالمي

مستشار التحرير

رضوان السيد

19004

B

MADDE TAYINLANDIRAN  
SÜRE UZLEN DOKÜMAN

29 OCAK 2008

## Historic Cities of the Islamic World

edited by  
C. Edmund Bosworth

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Doc. No:	19004
Top. No:	711.297 H.15.C



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON  
2007

**BAGHDAD**, in Arabic Baghdād, a city of central Mesopotamia which existed in Antiquity but which enjoyed an efflorescence as the capital in Iraq, from the mid-8th century A.D. onwards, of the Islamic 'Abbasid caliphate. It lies in lat. 33° 26' N., long. 44° 23' E., on both banks of the Tigris at the point where that river and the Euphrates come, in their respective middle courses, the nearest to each other. Temperatures at Baghdad are high, from 45° C/114° F to 50° C/121° F in summer, and around -3° C/26° F to 0° C/31° F in winter. During World War I, the British and Indian expeditionary force which landed in southern Iraq in autumn 1914 was in late 1915 besieged in Kūt al-'Amāra, which fell to the Ottoman forces in spring 1916; but operations were resumed in autumn 1916 and Baghdad was captured from the Turks in March 1917. In 1920 the state of Iraq was set up under a British mandate and the Hashemite prince Fayṣal b. al-Ḥusayn installed as king. Baghdad became the capital of the new monarchy until the bloody coup of 1958 by 'Abd al-Karīm Qāsim brought the monarchy to an end and ushered in a period of despotic rule culminating in the régime of Ṣaddām Ḥusayn.

## I. ORIGINS

The name Baghdad is pre-Islamic, related to previous settlements on the site. Arab authors realise this and as usual look for Persian origins. They give different hypothetical explanations, the most common of which is "given by God" or "Gift of God" (or the Idol). Modern writers generally tend to favour

this Persian derivation (cf. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 10-11). Others tend to give the name an Aramaic origin meaning, "the home or enclosure of sheep" (Y. Ghanīma and A. Karmalt in *Lughat al-'Arab*, iv, 27; vi, 748). Delitzsch favoured an Aramaic origin without explaining the meaning.

A legal document from the time of Hammurabi (1800 B.C.) mentions the city of Bagdadu (Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, no. 197 l. 17). This indicates that the name was in use before Hammurabi and definitely before any possible Persian influence. Bag and Ḥu are rendered by the same sign. However, a boundary stone from the time of the Kassite King Nazimaruttāš (1341-1316 B.C.) mentions the city Pīlari on the bank of "Nahr. Sharri" in the district of Bagdadi. This with the mention of Bagdatha several times in the Talmud makes Bag the more acceptable reading (*Jewish Encyc.*, art. *Baghdad*). Another boundary stone of the reign of the Babylonian king Mardukapaliddin (1208-1195 B.C.) mentions the city Baghdad. Adad-nirari II (911-891 B.C.) plundered places amongst which was Bagda(du). In the 8th century B.C. Baghdad became an Aramaean settlement. Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.) mentions Bagdadu in connexion with an Aramaean tribe. From all this, is only fair to admit that the origins of the name are not clear. The fact that Bag was adopted by the Persians about the 8th century B.C. to denote "God", and that it figured in personal names does not change the situation.

Al-Manṣūr called his city Madīnat al-Salām (city of peace), in reference to paradise (Qur'an, VI, 127; X, 26). This was the official name on documents, coins,

فاطمة عباس عبدالرحمن مها أحمد علام, دليل الرسائل الماجستير و  
الدكتوراه التي نوقشت في كلية دار العلوم منذ عام 1985 و حتى نهاية  
فبراير 1997, القاهرة 1418 - 1999: (جامعة القاهرة) . ISAM KTP 88569

[٨٤١] إبراهيم سنوسي علي أبو بكر  
المدرسة البغدادية بين الاستقلال والتبعية: إشراف أحمد محمد  
عبدالدايم, ١٩٩٤ - ٢١٨ ورقة - ماجستير  
١٠٦٢

08 TEMMUZ 2005

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

### 167. Hısayn, Ğabbār Yāsın

[Al-qāri' al-baĝdādı. Eŝpañol]

El lector de Bagdad / Jabbar Yassin Hussin ;  
traducción del árabe de Francisco del Rıo Sánchez y  
Abdelrahim Mahmoud El Shafi. - Madrid : Ediciones  
Siruela, D.L. 2004. - 104 p. ; 22 cm. - (Nuevos  
tiempos ; 45)

Traducción de: Al-qari' al-bagdadi

ISBN 84-7844-805-5

1. Narrativa (Iraq). I. Rıo Sánchez, Francisco del. II.  
El Shafi, Abdelrahim Mahmoud. III. Tıtulo. IV. Serie.

821.411.21(567)-34"19"

ICMA 4-48354 R. 49429

### 168. Jaber, Hala

Alfombra voladora sobre Bagdad / Hala Jaber ;  
traducción de Roser Berdagué. - 1ª ed. - Barcelona :  
Roca editorial, 2009. - 287 p. ; 23 cm

Traducción de : The flying carpet to Baghdad

ISBN 978-84-92429-97-4

1. Narrativa (Iraq). 2. Guerra de Iraq, 2003, en la  
literatura. I. Berdagué, Roser. II. Tıtulo.

355.4(567)"2003"(0:82)

ICMA 4-60477 R. 67619

### 374. Ğün, Ğüneli

[On the road to Baghdad. Eŝpañol]

Camino de Bagdad : novela picaresca de aventuras  
mágicas, mendigadas, pedidas prestadas y robadas  
de "Las mil y una noches" / Ğüneli Ğün ; traducción  
de Roser Berdagué. - Barcelona : Anagrama, D.L.  
1993. - 426 p. ; 22 cm. - (Panoräma de narrativas ;  
281)

Traducción de: On the road to Baghdad

ISBN 84-339-0631-3

1. Narrativa (Turquía). I. Berdagué, Roser. II. Tıtulo.  
III. Serie.

821.111-3"19"

ICMA 4-30592 R. 31264

27 MAYIS 1992

MADDE YAYINLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN COZUM

الكبيسي ، حمدان عبدالمجيد . أسواق بغداد حتى بداية العصر البويهي  
١٤٥-٣٣٤ هـ - ٦٧٢-٩٤٥ م - القاهرة ، جامعة القاهرة - كلية  
الاداب ، متعدد الترقيم ، طبع بالرونيو ، خرائط بيليوغرافية  
ط

٨٩٢ BAGDAD  
- SARFI

ص ٣٣٦-٣٦٨ (اطروحة دكتوراه في الاداب) (٩٥٣٠٥١ ك ٢٤٤) .

أحمد بن طاهر « ابن طيفور » - Ibn Ebu Tahir  
Maimun  
Bagdat

٢٨٠

كتاب بغداد<sup>(٨)</sup> «المأمون»<sup>(٩)</sup>: هو من أقدم ما وقفنا عليه من تاريخ بغداد. ولكن لم يصلنا منه إلا الجزء السادس؛ وهو يحتوي على تاريخ «المأمون» من شخوصه إلى بغداد سنة ٢٠٤هـ، إلى وفاته سنة ٢١٨هـ.

والكتاب جليل الفائدة، قديم اللغة، وكثيراً ما نقل عنه المؤرخون؛ وفيه كثير من الحوادث التي انفرد بها. وقد أشير إلى ذلك بالفهرس المفصل العام. وفي الكتاب بحث عن أخبار الشعراء في أيام المأمون، وآخر عن أخبار المغنين. في آخر الكتاب ٤ فهارس. الكتاب جزء واحد، وقد طبع في مصر سنة ١٩٤٩م. عرف الكتاب وترجم للمؤلف وصححه «محمد زاهد الكوثري» عني بنشره، وراجع أصله، ووقف على طبعه «عزت العطار الحسيني».

٨- انظر في تفسير معناها مفاتيح العلوم ٧١.  
٩- في كتاب عصر المأمون ١/٢١٠ موضوع مفصل عن المأمون في ١٦٢ صفحة، التذكرة التيمورية ٣٥٤.

عبد الوهاب الصابوني، عيون المؤلفات، (تحقيق محمود رفا خوري)،  
١٩٩٢ حلب، مج ١، ص ١٠٩-١٢٥. DIA Ktp. Dm. No 25380.

07 JEMMUZ 1994

MADDE YAYINLANDIRILAN  
SONEA GELZEN DORTMAN

Bagdad

048 Bagdad - Planos - 1951  
Bağdād qadīman wa-ḥadīṭan / waḍa‘a-  
hā Aḥmad Sūsa, Muṣṭafà Ğawād,  
Aḥmad Ḥāmid al-Şarrāf ; rusimat min  
qibal al-mulāḥiz al-fannī Muḥammad  
‘Abd al-Wāḥid [Material cartográfico]. -  
Bağdād : Manşūrāt al-Mağma‘ al-‘İlmī  
al-‘İrāqī, 1951 (Maṭba‘at al-Misāḥa). - 1  
plano : col. ; 90 x 57 cm

Escala 1: 3.000.000. - Orientado con  
una flecha hacia el norte. - Margenes  
graduados. - Signos convencionales  
gráficos

Contiene: Mūğaz tārīḥ huṭaṭ Bağdād --  
Mūğaz tārīḥ anhār Bağdād -- Mūğaz  
tārīḥ ğusūr Bağdād

1. Bagdad – Mapas
2. Bagdad – Historia
3. Bagdad - Urbanismo - S.XX
4. Ciudades - Iraq I. Sūsa, Aḥmad II.  
Ğawād, Muṣṭafà III. Al-Şarrāf, Aḥmad  
Ḥāmid IV. Título.

912(567Bagdad)  
94(567Bagdad)  
711(567Bagdad)  
ICMA 4C-114/10 R. 4778  
ICMA 4C-115/10 R. 70152  
ICMA 4C-116/10 R. 70153

19 SUBAT 2011

MADE IN INDIA  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN



MADDE YAYINLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

27 MAYIS 1992

17

Sign.:64279

47) İbrahim, Nagiya 'Abdallah:

Rif Bagdad : Dirāsa ta'rīhiya li-tanzīmatihī al-idariya wa-  
hwalihī al-iqtisadiya 575 - 656 h. (1179 - 1258 m.). Bagdad, Dar  
as-Su'un at-Taqāfiya al-'Amma, 1987. 410 S..

Sign.:61559

BAGDAD

KĀZARŪNĪ (°Alī ibn Muḥammad ظهير الدين علي بن محمد  
Zahir al-Din al-).  
- مقامه في قواعد بغداد في الدولة العباسية / انشأها  
ظهير الدين الكازروني ، ... عنى بتحقيقها ونشرها  
Maqama fi qawa'id Bagh- = كوركييس عواد ، ميخائيل عواد  
dad fi ad-dawlat-il-'abbasyyah / by Zahir ad-Din  
al-Kazaruni, ...; edited by Gurgis Awad, Michael  
Awad. - بغداد : وزارة الارشاد ، 1962 (بغداد : مطبعة -  
الارشاد) . . [8° 0<sup>2</sup>a.1813

KĀZARŪNĪ (°Alī ibn Muḥammad ظهير الدين علي بن محمد  
Zahir al-Din al-).  
- مقامه في قواعد بغداد ...  
[8° 0<sup>2</sup>a.1813  
--- "Maqama fī qawā'id Baghdād fī al-dawla al-'ab-  
basiya". - Ed. par Gurgis 'Awad, Miḥā'il 'Awad.  
- Ech.int.75-7195. - Br.  
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dienne.13e s.(2e  
moitié).Texte.

Br. 8.124<sup>(20)</sup> -KĀZARŪNĪ (°Alī ibn Muḥammad الكازروني  
Zahir al-Din al-) **54**

مقامه في قواعد بغداد في الدولة العباسية انشأها ظهير الدين  
الكازروني من اهل المئة السابعة للهجرة عنى بتحقيقها ونشرها  
كوركييس عواد وميخائيل عواد .

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---(maqāmāt fī qawā'id Baghdād fī al-dawla al-'abbāsīya  
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1820 EICHHOLTZ, Dietrich. Die Bagdadbahn,  
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[English edition lacks subtitle, but contains the same  
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- reporting from beyond the Green Zone". Written by  
the editor of the now-defunct Baghdad Bulletin, the  
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Baghdad after the invasion.]

Bagdad

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collection)  
ISBN 978-1-84885-655-4  
1. Iraq - Descripción  
I. Título.  
908(567)  
ICMA 4-60783 R. 71526

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358 ARNOLD, Felix. Die Rolle der Stadtmauern und  
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Baghdad  
-Abbasiler  
-Fatimiler

27 MAYIS 1992 SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

HAMDANI, Abbas. Urban violence at Baghdad in the rivalry between the Abbasid and Fatimid Caliphates. *Ismaili and Fatimid studies in honor of Paul E. Walker.* Ed. Bruce D.Craig. Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center, 2010, pp.197-219.

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Qom  
-Ray  
-Baghdad  
-Khorasan

27 NISAN

THE FALL OF BAGHDAD AND THE MONGOL RULE IN  
AL-<sup>c</sup>IRĀQ, 1258-1335

WU, Pai-nan Rashid, Ph.D.  
University of Utah, 1974

Chairman: Aziz S. Atiya

Based upon both Arabic and Chinese sources, this study is an attempt to examine the consequences of the Mongol invasion of Baghdad. It has been commonly accepted that the Mongols destroyed the once prosperous civilization of the <sup>c</sup>Abbāsid Dynasty (132-656/750-1258) and were responsible for the backwardness of the Muslim world today, that they massacred all the people of Baghdad, devastated the countryside, burned its libraries, and above all, that they destroyed the irrigation canals--the life line of Mesopotamia. All these allegations are now found to be without foundation, for medieval Muslim historians failed to observe the declining conditions of the latter <sup>c</sup>Abbāsids while laying too much stress on the prosperous side of its earlier period. In order to have a clearer picture of the decline of the <sup>c</sup>Abbāsids, the political, social, and economic conditions have been surveyed briefly in the first chapter where it is shown that long before the Mongol invasion of Baghdad, the once great Empire had already been in trouble and that its downfall was only a matter of time. The elimination of the <sup>c</sup>Abbāsid caliphate in Baghdad only accelerated this process.

Having established that the <sup>c</sup>Abbāsid Dynasty was no more than the ghost of its past glories, an attempt was made to show that the Muslim authorities tended to exaggerate the number of people massacred and the devastation of the cities wrought by the invaders. No contemporary authorities supply us with any figures, which were only given by later chroniclers whose estimates became larger as time elapsed.

In fact, not only did the Mongols contribute very little to the devastation of Baghdad and its countryside, but they also kept its administration intact, albeit on a much smaller scale as a result of its being reduced from the metropolitan city to a provincial capital. Under the Mongol rule, al-<sup>c</sup>Irāq soon regained the prosperous conditions of its past through reconstruction of silted canals and the promotion of trade. However, the policy of the Mongols in Persia was hindered by worsened relations with their cousins--the Mongols of the Golden Horde, and of the Chagatai--on the one hand, and the continuous threat posed by Mamluk Egypt on the other hand.

The Mongols in Persia were not the destroyers of the Muslim civilization, but helped to spread Islam to the peripheral areas of the Muslim world. This was the result of their impartial policy towards religions. Although Christians and other religious groups were placed in an equal position with the Muslims, the latter suffered little suppression. In fact, the Mongols were finally converted to Islam.

In conclusion, the study calls for further study of the subject on a broader perspective so that a true picture of the Mongol invasion of the Muslim world may be achieved.

Order No. 75-9617, 356 pages.

1561  
03 EXIM 1997

buttress them against German intrigue, and to do that effectively we must be on the spot in sufficient strength.'

Events after Rashid Ali's defeat demonstrated that Linlithgow was stating the obvious and the inevitable, but while operations were going on in Iraq, Wavell's view received the support of the Arab experts, of the foreign office, and eventually of Cornwallis in Baghdad. So that when at the end of May the Iraqis asked for an armistice, the terms granted by the British negotiators were, in the words of the official historian 'lenient and brief, because the British thought it best to limit their demands to what the Iraqi military authorities could be persuaded to accept[!]. The great thing was to get a friendly government established in Baghdad quickly.' 'The terms,' recited the preamble to the armistice agreement, echoing so much fanciful doctrine then and long afterwards current in official circles, 'have been drawn up in harmony with the declared policy of His Britannic Majesty's Government, which is to abstain from any infringement of Iraq Independence as formally laid down by Treaty, and to afford His Highness the Regent every assistance in re-establishing legal government and assisting the Iraq nation to resume its normal and prosperous existence. His Britannic Majesty's Government have been led to adhere to these two bases of policy by the fact that they realise that the recent regrettable incidents in Iraq were not the outcome of any feeling of hostility between the British and Iraqi nations or any divergence of interests between the two friendly peoples, but that these incidents were engineered solely by a small political party for their own private ends.' The official historian records that the chiefs of staff in London expressed their concern at these terms (I. S. O. Playfair *et al.*, *History of the Second World War: The Mediterranean and Middle East*, vol. II, pp. 192-3 and 332). But the concern was needless, since the point of view of Wavell and his advisers—as unreal as the words of the armistice preamble—prevailed only formally, and in practice until the end of the war Iraq was—and had to be—under British occupation. Prevailed only formally except in one respect. In his telegram of 10 May cited above, Wavell had said: 'As regards Baghdad do not consider occupation desirable except temporarily to secure favourable Government or at request Iraqi Government.' In the event, British troops remained passive onlookers at the gates of Baghdad while the city was given over to murder and rapine. This was meant to show a generous and forgiving forbearance, but was in fact taken for a foolish and mean pusillanimity. It did not enhance British prestige in the eyes of the country's official classes whose friendship was thus being courted, but only succeeded in leaving a stain upon the British name.

## 19. The Sack of Basra and the *Farhud* in Baghdad

Somerset de Chair's book, *The Golden Carpet*, which describes its author's adventures as intelligence officer of 'Habforce' which marched from Palestine on Habbaniyya and Baghdad in May 1941, appeared in a general, trade, edition in 1944. But it had been published the previous year in a limited, private press, edition. This earlier edition has a passage in the preface which the trade edition omits. In this passage, de Chair recounts a story which he had heard from a British officer serving in the Indian army, Colonel W. G. Elphinston, concerning Colonel T. E. Lawrence and the capture of Damascus. Elphinston, wrote de Chair,

threw a new light on [Lawrence's] abrupt departure which appears to have been wrung from a reluctant Allenby at the close of the *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*.

Lawrence had begged Allenby's permission for the Bedouin to occupy Damascus, but they massacred the occupants of the Turkish hospital and hurled the bodies through the windows. Allenby arrived, saw the sickening pile of corpses, said 'enough' and Lawrence was given a single ticket home.<sup>1</sup>

As we now know, there is a large element of truth in Elphinston's story,<sup>2</sup> but when de Chair disclosed it in his book, it gave rise to much indignation on the part of Lawrence's admirers. Sir Percy Sykes, reviewing the work in the *Royal Central Asian Society Journal*, declared that such a statement could not go unchallenged, and to refute it quoted a letter from Colonel Peake Pasha to the effect that the Ottoman army hospitals had been deserted by their staff fully two days before the occupation of Damascus. The review elicited a letter from de Chair in which he declared that discussion with Lord Winterton and Peake Pasha had convinced him that there was no substance whatever in the suggestion that Allenby had given Lawrence 'a single ticket home' and that he was omitting the whole passage from the forthcoming trade edition. Elphinston, who was the head of the combined intelligence centre, Iraq, himself wrote a letter following Sykes' review which throws a significant light on the circumstances in which his conversation with de Chair had occurred:

The only fact [wrote Elphinston in a letter dated 25 November 1943] connected with the story which he relates of which I can speak with first-hand knowledge is that, when riding through Damascus the day

- Baghdad

المدارس في بغداد

بقلم جناب مثير افندي رحيمه

ان نجاح كل امة وطائفة متوقف على دعائم المدارس التي هي ينبوع العلوم والآداب والتمدن .  
ومنها تجري مناهل العمران . فما يسرفي نشره في صفحات مقتطفكم الاغرة بغداد مدارس وطني العزيز  
دار السلام بغداد بوجه الاختصار لكي يفرح معي محبوب التمدن والعلوم والفنون . فمن ذلك مدارس  
الحكومة السنية التي اصبحت الاولى في عراقنا وهي اربعة : الاعلادية والرشدية والمحربية والرشدية  
السكرية . وفي كل منها علوم حجة . ومنها مدرسة الاتفاق الاسرائيلي التي فيها اكثر من مئتي تلميذ  
اصلاً عن التلاميذ الذين انهموا دروسهم فيها ونالوا الشهادات وهم نحو ثمانين تلميذاً اكرم  
وظفوا عند الحكومة السنية ونالوا الرتب ومنهم من بارح بغداد براتب جزيل واعتبار جليل . وفيها  
من المعلمين الماهرين في اللغة الفرنسية والعربية والانكليزية والتركية والعبرانية اكثر من عشرة  
ومن المعاوين ثمانية ويدرّس فيها من العلوم الصرف والنحو والفصاحة والجغرافية والحساب والهندسة  
والجبر والمساحة والموسيقى والفلسفة العقلية وغير ذلك من العلوم الطبيعية وغيرها . ومنها مدرسة  
الاتفاق الشرقي الكاثوليكي المكللة بتيجان الافتخار وقد سبقت الاشارة اليها عدة مرات في البشير  
لسان الحال وغيرها من الجرائد العربية والانكليزية والفرنسية . ويعلم فيها اللغة الكلدانية  
والسريانية والارمنية والفرنسية والانكليزية والتركية ويدرّس فيها من العلوم الصرف والنحو  
والفصاحة والمنطق والحساب والجبر والهندسة والفلسفة العقلية والجغرافية والتواريخ ( مقدسة  
وغيرها ) والمساحة وغيرها من العلوم الرياضية . وقد خلفت لها بنين لا يدرّس ماثرهم تتابع الايام  
وتكرار الاعوام . واغلبهم قد توظفوا وظائف جليلة . والآن فيها ما ينيف على مئتي تلميذ وهي تقبل في  
عضائها من كل الملل والشعوب . بشرط حسن سيرة الطالب

ومنها مدرسة الافرنج تحت ادارة البادري يوسف مارياً ويدرّس فيها اللغة الفرنسية والعربية  
والانكليزية . وفيها معلمان ومعاونان وليس فيها اكثر من مئة تلميذ غير ان اغلبهم صغار السن  
يدرّسون المبادئ وفيهم بعض المتوسطين وهم يدرسون ما روينا . وما بقي من المدارس فهو غير خلق  
التدريس كالمدراس الابتدائية في بعض الجوامع يدرّس فيها القراءة البسيطة لا غير . وما ذكرناه من  
المدارس هو المعتمد عليه

-K...  
"Habitat en Bagdad" paratın de  
MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

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JAOs. 83/4, 1963: New Haven.

NOTES ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF BAGHDAD:  
THE SYSTEMATIC DESCRIPTIONS OF THE CITY AND THE KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ

JACOB LASSNER  
WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

IN 145/762 AL-MANŞŪR built a circular city on the West Bank of the Tigris which he named Madīnat as-Salām. Allowing even for the largest measurements, as indicated by the sources, the area circumscribed by the walls of al-Manşūr's city was too small for a major urban center.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, certain architectural features of the Round City give the impression that it was constructed as a large governmental complex that retained some of the outward features of an integrated city but which was more correctly a "palace precinct."<sup>2</sup> Thus, shortly after its completion, the city began to grow around the walled area, and on the eastern side of the Tigris. The markets which were situated in the arcades (*tāqāt*) of the Round City were relocated, according to a well laid out plan, at al-Karkh and other areas more conducive to commercial activities.<sup>3</sup>

Although the original city of al-Manşūr continued to function as an administrative center, it came to occupy but a small part of the total area comprised by greater Baghdad. Divided by the Tigris into Eastern and Western cities, and further subdivided into suburban districts, Baghdad did not become a fully integrated city but a sprawling urban center of interdependent elements each containing its own markets, mosques, and cemeteries. This rapid growth of the city which began in the lifetime of its founder, presumably necessitated the collection of various data for administrative purposes, including systematic descriptions of the physical layout—that is to say a list of the various places which are situated adjacent to one another in a series of well-defined areas, such as the Round City, and the suburbs of al-Karkh, al-Ḥarbīyah and the like. It therefore seems likely that already beginning in the reign of al-Manşūr, topographical descriptions of the city were recorded in response to the administrative

needs of the 'Abbāsīd regime. These early accounts are not extant, but some information which they contained seems to have been recorded systematically in later geographical and historical works which date from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. The last and most important of these texts is the topographical introduction to the Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's (d. 1071) *History (Ta'rikh) of Baghdad*, which is the basis of the present study.<sup>3a</sup>

It appears self-evident that the growth and decline of Medieval Baghdad must be measured according to some quantitative yardstick. When undertaken in a city circumscribed by its walls, archaeological excavation may yield, in addition to the exact plan of its physical arrangement, relevant data as to the size and density of occupation. No such major excavations have been undertaken at Baghdad, although the area presumed to have been occupied by the original city and the suburbs of the West Side has not been resettled in modern times. In the absence of definitive archaeological evidence, it has become necessary to turn to the above mentioned literary sources for a description of the city as it existed in the time of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs.

Between the completion of Madīnat as-Salām and death of the Khaṭīb in the eleventh century, the topography of the city underwent significant changes as a result of human and natural causes. Any attempt to reconstruct the city according to the respective stages of its historical development is dependent on an analysis of the specialized topographical information which is transmitted in various genres of Arabic geographical and historical literature. In addition to establishing the reliability of certain statements, such a study may fix more precisely the dates of various accounts, thereby providing the chronological framework upon which any topographical history of the city must necessarily be based.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, Oxford (1940), II, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Note the existence of audience rooms built into the gateway of the city; cf. *TB*, I, pp. 74-75 (Cairo).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *TB*, I, pp. 79-80.

<sup>3a</sup> Although they are not part of a comprehensive description, the entries in Yāqūt's *Mu'jam*, and the *Marāsid* are an extremely valuable source of information on the topography of the city, particularly for the later periods.



## THE ARAB TRIBES IN THE MUSLIM CONQUEST OF IRAQ

DONNER, Fred McGraw, Ph.D.  
Princeton University, 1975

The main objectives of this thesis are (1) to establish with greater certainty the composition of the Muslim forces involved in the conquest of Iraq, and the identity of tribal groups migrating into Iraq after the successful conquest; and (2) to clarify the general character of the Muslim conquest movement.

The first objective is approached by means of the usual textual scrutiny, as well as by sifting detailed information from the traditional accounts and assembling this information to form a kind of "mosaic" picture of the composition of the Muslim forces in various campaigns. In the course of establishing more firmly the identity of those tribes which participated in the conquest, there comes to light a good deal of evidence which affects our understanding of the conquest movement in a more general way.

It becomes clear that attempts to explain the "Arab Conquest" as the result of a mass migration induced by various economic pressures within Arabia (desiccation, hunger, collapse of trade) are wanting. The conquest movement is seen here as a conscious, well-organized effort to expand the authority of a new state in Medina, first by relying on tribal contingents - mainly from the Hijaz - which had shown themselves loyal to the new state, and then by using the subjected (partly bedouin) tribesmen of Arabia as "employees" of the state, to expand the Muslim state's dominions. Considerable space is devoted to an attempt to understand which inducements - e.g., the military stipends - were used to bind the tribesmen to the state's interests, and to understand what organizational measures the state employed in order to reduce the possibility that certain tribesmen (notably the pre-Islamic warrior aristocracy) might attempt to break free of state control and set up independent bases of power.

Thus, the Muslim conquest does not represent a victory of "bedouinism" over the settled areas of the Near East; on the contrary, it marks the most complete subjugation of the Arabian nomads by any state with a sedentary basis on historical record, before modern times. Order No. 76-20,357, 328 pages.

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Kerem Kayi

Bagdad

# Bagdad, 1831 – 1869

Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung  
einer osmanischen Provinzhauptstadt  
im 19. Jahrhundert

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المجلد الأول

حَقَّقَهُ ، وَضَبَطَ نَصَّهُ ، وَعَلَّقَ عَلَيْهِ  
الدكتور بشارة عواد معروف



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Beirut, 2006

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1908.

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16 Şubat 2010

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في بيان أحوال بغداد والبصرة ونجد

تأليف

إبراهيم فصيح بن السيد صبغة الله الحيدري البغدادي

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## حول « بغداد في سنة ١٨٥٣ »

*al-Nawal*

يقلم

حميد مجيد هدو

يكن من خطتي او هدي الرئيس تقي الاغلاط اللغوية وتجري التسميات الركيكة والبحث عن الاستعمالات المخالفة للقياس الصربي او القواعد النحوية ، بل جل ما كنت ابتغيه تنبيه المترجم الى ما فاته من معلومات والإشارة الى ما خالف النص الانكليزي ، ولكن بعد زيادة الامعان الدقيق في المادة المترجمة رأيت من الضروري التنبيه الى ما يمكن التنبيه اليه وتقويم الخطأ والإشارة الى الصواب خدمة للتاريخ وانصافا للمؤلف والمترجم والقاريء معا .

ملاحظات وتصويبات في القسم الاول من المقال المنشور في (المورد) الجزء الاول، المجلد الثالث ص ٢١-٤٦ .

١ - كان الاجدر بالمترجم الفاضل ان يذكر اسم الكتاب الذي ضم هذه المذكرات ويشبته بلفظه الاصليه ثم يشير الى الفصل (١) او الصفحات التي استوعبها التقرير عن بغداد لكي يعين الباحث الذي يروج الى النص الانكليزي الذي كتبت به المذكرات وبذلك يكون المترجم قد ادى ما عليه من امانة النقل ، واذا لم يكن هذا فعمله ناقص ، ثم ذكر اسم المطبعة ومكان الطبع وسنته كلها من ضرورات الترجمة الكاملة وفي رأيي الإشارة الى مكان ورقم الكتاب الذي نقل عنه الترجمة من الضروري ذكرها ( لان الكتاب مطبوع قبل ١١٧ سنة فهو اندر من الكبريت الاحمر ) وغير متوفر عند الاشخاص اليوم حسبما اعرف الا في مكتبة الآثار التي تحتفظ بنسختين منه كانتا ملكا في الماضي للاب انستاس ماري الكرمللي .

٢ - كان الاجدر بالمترجم ان يعمل هوامش يصحح بها اوهام المؤلف لا ان يكتفي بنقل ما كتبه المؤلف فينبغي الترجمة على خطأ وقع فيه المؤلف أو دس تعمد الرحالة المبعوث لتجلبى الحقيقة ساطعة امام القاريء .

٣ - ذكر المترجم ان الرحلة انتهت سنة ١٨٥٢ ، بينما عنوان المنشور : بغداد في سنة ١٨٥٣ ، وهذا تناقض في التاريخ لان المذكرات والمشاهدات كتبت في زمن ماض وتصور حوادث وتسد قضايا مضت وانقضت فهي ( أي المذكرات ) ليست تنبؤات عن المستقبل ، ولكن الذي ظهر لي ان التقرير عن بغداد قدم الى حكومة بيهي في ١٩ نيسان من عام ١٨٥٥ ، وان المؤلف

عشقت كتب الرحلات منذ زمن بعيد فطالعت الكثير منها وصرت اسمي باستمرار في الوقوف على آراء تلك النخبة من الرجال .

ومن فرسان هذه الحلبة وابطال ذلكاليدان الرحالة القومندار جيسس فيلكس جونز (Commander James Felix Jones) الذي كتب مذكراته عن بغداد والنهروان القديم وغيرهما مسن المناطق التي عرضت له اثناء زيارته التي قام بها في النصف الثاني من القرن التاسع عشر باشارة أو تكليف من حكومة بيهي . وقد طبعت هذه المذكرات في بيهي بالهند عام ١٨٥٧ م في مجلد ضخم ضم صورا وخرائط مهمة تعكس معالم الحياة العامة في القرن الماضي .

والذي نحن بصدد الان مذكراته عن بغداد وما جاورها لانها تضم معلومات اجتماعية واقتصادية وجغرافية وتاريخية وحضارية مهمة تعكس الحياة في هذه المدينة كما كانت عليه وتكشف لنا اسارا وخفايا يجهلها الباحث ، وان كانت بعض تلك المعلومات والاحصائيات مغلوطة أو ناقصة وفي بعض الاحيان مجافية للواقع الاجتماعي للفرد العراقي أو مخالفة للحالة السياسية التي كان عليها البلد وهذا بديهي اذا ما علمنا الهدف أو الغاية التي جاء من اجلها هذا القومندار والجهة التي بعثته والمؤسسة والاشخاص ( الوكلاء ) الذين زودوه بالمعلومات والخرائط والجداول ، ولهذا فالثقف العربي يعرف كل ذلك ويكون حذرا عند مطالعته لما يكتبه الاجانب عنا .

تصدى لترجمة هذا الجزء من المذكرات التعلق ببغداد : الاستاذ عبدالوهاب الامين ونشر ترجمته في مجلة ( المورد ) الزاهرة وظهرت على صفحات الجزءين الاول والثاني من المجلد الثالث سنة ١٩٧٤ بعنوان : بغداد في سنة ١٨٥٢ . الا ان مما يؤسف له ان الترجمة جاءت ناقصة حيناً ومغلوبة أحيانا وقد شغل قلم المترجم في نقل البعض من المعلومات الى العربية حيث غير وبدل وحرف عما كان في الاصل وقدم واخر ( كالذي حدث في محلات بغداد وجداول اصحاب المهن والصناع والحرفيين واسماء الفواكه اليابسة المستعملة في تلك الاثناء ... الخ ) بالإضافة الى الركافة في الاسلوب والهفوات اللغوية والاغلاط النحوية التي وردت في ثنايا الترجمة لهذا القسم من المذكرات المهمة الطريقة .

واحقاقا للحق والتاريخ والامانة العلمية راجعت الاصل الموجود في خزانة الآثار ببغداد وبعد الاطلاع عليه واجراء المقارنة بينه وبين النص المترجم الذي قدمه الاستاذ عبدالوهاب الامين تجمعت لدي الملاحظات والتصويبات الاتية التي ساذكرها بصورة متسلسلة كما جاءت في المقال المترجم ، وانني في البداية لم

الحكمة من الشعر ، فهما اقرب اليه في طبيعتهما من الابواب الاخرى . وعلى هذا يكون الناسخ قد حذف هذين الفصلين من نسختنا لنقص في الاصل الذي نقل عنه او لجهل فيه .

ومهما يكن من امر فالمسألة تبقى قيد الترجيحات ، تنتظر ان نطلع على نسخ من هذا الكتاب تكشف لنا ان كان الخانجي قد تلاعب فيه او كان قد جازت عليه لعب الناسخ ، على ان في اخبار الابواب المحنوفة واحداها ما يجعلني اميل الى اتهام الخانجي قبل غيره ، والا فمن المستبعد ان تكون النسختان اللتان اعتمدهما في النشر قد اتفقتا على ذكر خمسة ابواب نظر انها ملفقة في الاصل عن ثلاثة ، وبعبارة اخرى ان تكونا قد احتوتا على عشرين ورقة من اصل ما يقرب من ستين .

وازاء هذا فاننا نترجو ان نطلع على هذه النسخ - في فرصة قريبة - فتحل لنا هذا اللغز ، والا فحسبنا ان تكون قد نبهنا الباحثين اليه .

الحمداني ، وعمرو بن هبيرة ، والخليل بن احمد الفراهيدي ، وعمر بن عبدالعزيز ، ونصيب بن رباح .... ويعقب هذا بفصل في ذم السماية واخر فيما وقع اتفاقا من احداث واخبار .

وقبل ان ينتهي الباب التاسع يبدأ النقص في المخطوطة فلا تعرف منه شيئا عن الباب العاشر .

واذ تكون مخطوطتنا قد وقفت عند الباب التاسع كما ذكرنا - ويكون المطبوع قد زاد عليها بباين هما : باب ابليات الامثال المفردة ، وباب اعجاز الابيات ، يكون معنى هذا ان الكتاب قد احتوى احد عشر بابا لا عشرة كما جاء في مقدمة المخطوطة . وعلى ان ليس بين ابيدنا من الكتب التي ذكرت كتاب الاداب ومؤلفه نص يصف الكتاب الا اننا نستبعد ان يكون الامر كذلك فمن المقول ان يكون هذان البابان - أعني الامثال المفردة ، واعجاز الابيات - فصلين من الباب الثالث ، باب

el-Mevrid, alt: IV/sayf:1 (1395/1975)

Bagdad, s. 261-283.

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(١) اسم الفصل الخاص عن بغداد بالانكليزية :

Memoir on the Province of Baghdad Submitted to Government on the 19th April 1855. Bombay 1857.

81609

مطبعة المجمع العلمي العراقي

دراسات في تاريخ بغداد وخطها

كتب مترجمة ( ١ )

أَطْرَافُ بَغْدَادَ

تاريخ الاستيطان في سهول ديار

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تأليف

روبرت ماك آرمر

استاذ في المعهد الشرقي بجامعة شيكاغو

ترجمة

الدكتور عارسليمان

الدكتور علي محمد الجابح

الدكتور صالح احمد العلي



مطبعة المجمع العلمي العراقي

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by

Usāma Nāṣir al-Naqshabandī

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# HISTORY OF ISLAM

(Classical Period 1206–1900 C.E.)

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1988

Baghdad

2

## The Fall of Baghdad

### *Interpretation and Evaluation*

#### **The Fall of Baghdad**

The fall of Baghdad culminating in the dismemberment of the Abbasid caliphate, and the occupation of the Muslim central lands by the Mongols is the saddest event in the history of Islam. Since the fateful year 1258 many tears have been shed at this catastrophe which overwhelmed the Muslim world. Our main concern in this exercise in history is to ascertain the causes which led to this tragedy.

#### **The Abbasids**

According to the law of nature a particular span of life is allotted to each person. On the same analogy dynasties which come to power have a particular span of life, and at the end of this period they disappear from history. The Abbasids remained in power for over five hundred years, and as such they were among the longest lived dynasties in world history. Under the law of nature the Abbasids were bound to disappear sooner or later. Their disappearance was inevitable, but what gives an air of tragedy to this change over is that in this transition millions of people were massacred; innumerable cities were destroyed; and many untold atrocities were committed by a semi-barbarous people emerging from the Steppes of Central Asia. Some six hundred years earlier the Muslims had also emerged from the deserts of Arabia, and spread east and west overthrowing the empires of Persia and Byzantium. The victorious Muslims did not resort to any massacre; they did not destroy any city—they were verily the saviours of mankind. In contrast the Mongols spread over the world as a scourge carrying fire and sword, massacring people, burning and pillaging cities, and destroying cultural heritage of ages. The Mongols as Chenghiz Khan himself said were the scourge of God sent to punish the people for their sins.

#### **Interpretation and evaluation**

In order to interpret and evaluate the tragedy of the fall of

#### **References :**

The interpretation and evaluation contained in this Chapter is based on my own thoughts.

7-12

*The Topography of Baghdad  
in the Early Middle Ages*

TEXT AND STUDIES

*by Jacob Lassner*

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1970

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0 4 HAZIRAN 1985

AMMKTAN  
TOKURMAN

preponderance of one's fear of God's wrath over one's hope for his mercy,<sup>24</sup> the duty of repentance, self-renunciation, and sincerity in word and deed which he eloquently describes as "the sword of God on earth which cuts everything it touches." In other words, there is simply not enough evidence to view his work as marking the decisive transition from ascetic to mystical piety.<sup>25</sup>



Alexander Kynsh

Islamic mysticism: a short history

Leiden-1999, s. 43-67.

DN: 79501

## CHAPTER THREE

## THE SUFISM OF THE BAGHDAD SCHOOL

*The Rise of Mystical Psychology: al-Muḥāsibī*

Dhu 'l-Nūn's teaching had a considerable impact on many of his contemporaries. He was held in high esteem by a leading religious psychologist, theologian and moralizer of the epoch, al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857). Born of an Arab family in Baṣra, where he was introduced to *ḥadīth* studies and where he was exposed to the local ascetic tradition of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,<sup>1</sup> he later took up residence in Baghdad. There he received a solid theological and juridical education under the guidance of the leading scholars of the epoch, including, possibly, al-Shāfi'ī, the foremost jurist of the age and founder of the influential juridical school named after him. Additionally, al-Muḥāsibī's work reveals his thorough acquaintance with "exact philosophical definitions and . . . the dialectical methods" used by various theological schools of the day, especially the Mu'tazilīs.<sup>2</sup> Very little is known of his personal life except for a few anecdotes that illustrate his exceptional righteousness. For instance, he is said to have refused to inherit from his father whom he viewed as an erring heretic outside the pale of Islam.<sup>3</sup> From the scarce evidence found in his writing, it appears that his major occupation in Baghdad was teaching and preaching, which attracted to him a broad popular following. The structure of many of al-Muḥāsibī's works, which often present responses of a spiritual master to the questions posed by his disciple, reflects his pedagogical concerns. Others are "a series of pious sermons on ascetic themes" which are sometimes autobiographical in character. They usually describe al-Muḥāsibī's personal quest for the religious truth and salvation. In 232/846 his use of dialectical reasoning, possibly in the heat of a polemic against the

<sup>1</sup> Van Ess, *Theologie*, vol. 4, p. 195 and 197.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, *An Early Mystic*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> According to one account, his father was an adherent of the doctrine that emphasised [human] free will over against the divine predestination. Another story describes his father as a Khārijite, *ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> Meier, *Abū Sa'īd*, p. 153.

<sup>25</sup> Melchert, "The Transition," *passim*.

05 MART 2002

MADEĞ AYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

**Introductory Guide to Middle Eastern and Islamic Bibliography**, edited by PAUL AUCHTERLONIE. (Middle East Libraries Committee, Research Guides no. 5.) 84 pages, index. Middle East Libraries Committee, Oxford 1990. £9.50 plus 75p shipping.

This guide covers the broad categories of: Bibliographies, Reference Works, Periodicals, Manuscripts, Printed Book Catalogues, Theses, Encyclopaedias, Biographical Dictionaries, Grammars, and Dictionaries, and an appendix on "Standard Texts" (which means things such as good general histories and introductions to Islam, etc.). Almost all entries are accompanied by short evaluations which make surprisingly good reading. The format is generous, and allows space for annotations and additions. A useful handbook.

PIERRE A. MACKAY, *University of Washington*

**Issawi's Laws of Social Motion**, enlarged ed., by CHARLES ISSAWI, illustrated by David Pascal. 256 pages, ills. Darwin Press, Princeton 1991. \$16.95.

In 1973 Charles Issawi's *Laws of Social Motion* was published. The new edition includes 60 additional pages and 11 new cartoons. For purposes of a review, I will let the author speak in his own voice:

On the Distribution of Work: In any organization, work is distributed according to a Pareto equation: 10 percent of the staff does 50 percent of the work.

On Funds and their Allocations: In any enterprise larger than the family or owner-operated state (i.e. corporation, university, government agency, foundation, etc.) funds are like clay, not putty. Once they have been allocated for one purpose, they harden and cannot be used for other purposes.

On Social Science Theories: By the time a social theory is formulated in such a way that it can be tested, changing circumstances have already made it obsolete.

On the Threefold Frustration of Aging Scholars: As they get older, scholars are subject to a threefold frustration. Their field of study constantly expands, and the literature they have to read increases exponentially. Their capacity to absorb new knowledge diminishes drastically. And, after a certain point, they begin to forget what they once knew.

Read the book, you will like it.

JERE L. BACHARACH, *University of Washington*

**Japan and the Middle East**, by KUNIO KATAKURA and MOKOTO KATAKURA. 188 pages. The Middle East Institute of Japan, Tokyo, 1991. Available from the Middle East Institute of Japan, 15th Mori Bldg., 8-10 Toranomon, 2 Chome, Minato-ku, Tokyo 105.

Part one of this valuable volume describes in some detail Japan's early contacts with Muslims, focuses on Tokyo's long-established oil-diplomacy

(dating back to the 1939 Yokoyama Mission), and highlights Japan's need-based policies towards the oil-rich Arab states during the past few decades. The second part examines the cultural aspects of these strategic ties by looking at the traditional and modernizing forces in Muslim states and comparing them with Japan's own value systems. The book closes with a brief chapter on the state of Middle Eastern studies in Japan. Written by one of Japan's most respected couples (Kunio was ambassador to both the UAE and Iraq and Mokoto the author of ground-breaking anthropological work on Saudi Arabia), this study fills an important gap in the literature. The Katakuras weave the past with the present and assess Japan's long-term objectives in this part of the world perceptively. It is the way they look at and see the Middle East which distinguishes their work.

JOSEPH A. KECHICHIAN, *The RAND Corporation*

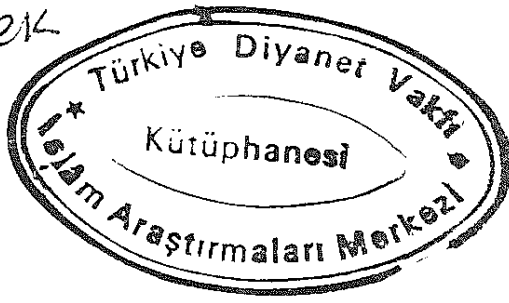
**History and Politics in Eleventh-Century Baghdad**, by GEORGE MAKDISI. (Collected Studies Series, CS 336). viii + 309 pages, addenda and corrigenda, index. Variorum, Aldershot, U.K., 1990. (Distributed in U.S. by Gower Publishing Co., Brookfield, VT.) ISBN 0-86078-289-1. \$81.95.

The present volume consists for the most part of studies from the 1950s on the urban topography and the political/religious conflicts of early Seljukid Iraq, undertaken in connection with Professor Makdisi's magisterial *Ibn 'Aqil et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au xi<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1963).<sup>1</sup> Most of them were published in accessible places (e.g., *BSOAS*, *Arabica*), but they make an impressive package, and it is good to have them in one place. Despite the passage of three decades, they remain essential reading for scholars concerned with these topics—not least because of Makdisi's clear, positive prose. Three of the pieces included here are close textual studies: (1) the Arabic text and a richly annotated translation of a fragment of Ibn al-Bannā' (1005-1078), "Autograph Diary of an Eleventh-Century Historian of Baghdad," which occupies more than one-third of the book; (2) an analysis of a notorious intra-Hanbalite quarrel, "Nouveaux détails sur l'affaire d'Ibn 'Aqil"; (3) a reconsideration of shifting land-use and settlement patterns in Seljukid Baghdad, "The Topography of Eleventh-Century Baghdad, Materials and Notes." These are clearly aimed at specialists, but many scholars will benefit from the more interpretive pieces: "The Sunni Revival" (1973), "Les rapports entre calife et sultan à l'époque saljuqide" (1975), "Authority in the Islamic Community" (1982). These are sometimes controversial, but Makdisi's arguments always repay careful attention. The price of the book will certainly restrict sales, but one hopes that many libraries can be persuaded to purchase it.

R. S. HUMPHREYS, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

<sup>1</sup> For the complete table of contents, see *EWCMC* 4 (1991) no. 59, pp. 41-42

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عبد الحميد العلوحي

ملاحظ الثقافة في وزارة الارشاد

كور كيس عواد

مدير مكتبة المتحف العراقي

A. U. İLÂHIYAT FAKÜLTESİ KÜTÜPHANESİ	
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أصدرته وزارة الارشاد في مناسبة احتفالات بغداد والكندي

مطبعة الرابطة - بغداد

١٩٦٢

edited by  
A. H. Hourani and S. M. Stern  
THE ISLAMIC CITY: a colloquim.  
Oxford-1970, s. 103-118. ON: 63578



MADDE YATIRILAN DOKÜMAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN  
09 HAZİRAN 1999

# THE CALIPH'S PERSONAL DOMAIN<sup>1</sup>

*The City Plan of Baghdad Re-Examined*

by

J. Lassner

Islamic urbanists recognize the existence of two distinct places of major occupation by distinguishing between the created and spontaneous cities of the Islamic realm—between cities built according to a preconceived plan, and those such as the garrison towns of the *amṣār*, whose development was stimulated by response to the particular needs of the Islamic conquest.<sup>2</sup> The early pattern of growth which was characteristic of such military colonies as al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa was rapid and without real awareness of the formal elements of city planning. However, the original military camps soon gave way to permanent installations. Extended routes of supply were replaced by fixed markets and an incipient industrial organization, as an outer town of artisans and merchants grew around the original military settlement. The growth of the *amṣār* town was therefore directed from the centre out, giving the impression that these urban areas were not so much the execution of an orderly plan, but the product of several stages of spontaneous generation.

The historical growth of Baghdad beginning with the magnificent Round City constructed by al-Manṣūr in 145/762 suggests a rather different type of urban development. The Round City or Madīnat al-Salām as it was also called was not a prefabricated military camp given permanence by a growing sedentary environment, but rather the creation of that consummate planning and execution which caused the essayist, al-Jāhiz, to remark: It is as though it was poured into a mould and cast—clearly a major undertaking based on a preconceived plan of the Caliph's own choosing.<sup>3</sup> What then was the design and function of the original

<sup>1</sup> This paper is part of a book which I am currently preparing on the topography of Baghdad.

<sup>2</sup> For a general survey of the Islamic city, see G. Marçais, "La conception des villes dans l'Islam"; *Revue D'Alger*, ii (1945), 517-33.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Khaṭīb, i, 70; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 277; Yāqūt, i, 682.

101A Vakıfı Vakfı  
R.K.



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MADDE YAYINLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

09 HAZİRAN 1974

## THE FOUNDATION OF BAGHDAD

by

Saleh Ahmad El-Ali

I

Arab rulers, unlike the Greek, Roman and Sāsānian Emperors, were reluctant to stamp their names on the cities they founded. But this does not imply that they were ignorant of city life or lacking in appreciation of its importance in the development of human history. Mohammed was born and lived in the religio-commercial centre of Mecca, and spent the last decade of his life in Medina, where he established the nucleus of the Muslim state and laid down the foundation of its administration. His hostile attitude to the nomadic beduin life appears clearly in many Koranic verses and prophetic sayings, as well as in judicial clauses which deprive the nomads of many rights enjoyed by city dwellers.

On the eve of the rise of Islam, Arabia had many urban centres, on the coasts, and in scattered fertile areas. Its inhabitants were familiar with the administrative and legal organizations of other cities through their contacts with neighbouring countries. Such familiarity is reflected in the arabised vocabulary of administration; these penetrated even the Koran, which contains many such terms, as for example, *Umm-al qurā* (metropolis), *hādīra* (emporium), *hadīr* (apanage), *madīna* (city), and so on.

The rapid Islamic conquests enabled the Arabs to dominate lands extending from central Asia to the Atlantic. Their empire included countries of varied and ancient cultures and ways of life, as well as numerous urban centres differing in size and in social, political and administrative organization. By dominating all the Sāsānian Empire and most of the Byzantine provinces, they assumed control of the two differing systems prevalent in the Middle East. The Byzantine Empire had perpetuated the Greco-Roman tradition whereby cities had legal status and definite legal political organization, as well as privileges of local legislation. Each city was usually surrounded by a wall, and had a centre which included the main temple, or cathedral, government offices and the agora. The government was responsible for the numerous public buildings and



The same point is also drawn from investigating the relations between provincial governors and the institution of religious endowments. According to the accepted theory, such high men of state were supposed to have gotten around the inheritance problem by endowing their property to their families. But Kunt found that most waqfs founded by these people were in fact charitable rather than familial, an obvious challenge to the old theory.

The growing importance of the household is explained by the fact that in order to carry out their military and administrative functions, governors were obliged to maintain large retinues, composed mainly of soldiers. Often it was found in documents that someone received a nomination because he possessed a rich household. It would seem, therefore, that the rise of the household was closely associated with the decline of the Ottoman feudal (*timar*) system: as the *timar* fulfilled mainly the function of recruiting soldiers, so also did the big household.

Given this background one can more readily understand one important factor which the author contributes — the rise in the importance of the *beylerbey* (provincial governor) at the expense of the *sancak bey* (district governor). In the first place it was a period of economic crisis, so it would seem logical that the big households withstood it better than the smaller ones. But it would also seem that there developed a kind of competition between bigger and smaller households over territories. Again, it is only natural that the bigger households had the upper hand.

All in all, it is evident that the book breaks new ground and is a welcome addition to the (slowly) growing body of fundamental books on Ottoman social history.

Haim Gerber

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

André Raymond, *The Great Arab Cities in the 16th–18th Centuries. An Introduction*, New York University Press, New York and London 1984, xvi + 155, index, 85 illustrations.

André Raymond's major work on Cairo in the sixteenth till eighteenth centuries (*Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*), was later carried by the same author to its logical conclusion: the description and analysis of the social and economic realities of other major urban centers of the Arab Middle East, possibly including also those of North Africa. Some of his findings were published in earlier articles (*IJMES*, *ROMM*), and most recently in an impressive volume in French (*Grandes villes arabes à l'époque ottomane*; Paris 1985). What seems to be an earlier draft originally delivered as a series of lectures at New York University — and still bearing certain technical and other traces of their initial form — introduces some of the author's main findings to the English reader.

Seven cities — Damascus, Aleppo, Cairo, Mosul, Baghdad, Algiers and Tunis — serve as the main geographical foci; some minor references are made to towns of smaller size and more limited importance (e.g., Rosetta or San'a). As indicated by the name of the book, no attempt is made to portray an exhaustive picture of these urban centers, but rather 'to suggest a few points of reference and to take stock of some of the problems presented by the great cities that came within the Ottoman sphere of influence' (p. x). Archival sources which only recently are being consulted (local court records, central official archives) were used only partially for this work. A more thorough and closer look was taken at another source, that of material culture: buildings, infrastructure, town-planning

and urban developments. All of these, plus a critical look at some of the other well-known and insufficiently perused sources lead the author to revise some major parts of the conventional truth as to the history of the Arab countries under the Ottomans.

The first of the four chapters draws the broad lines of his argument. Ottoman rule did not bring about 'a veritable dislocation of the urban structure' but rather 'urban progress' and development of 'vast suburbs... along the main commercial routes' (p. 5), substantial demographic growth (p. 7), and tolerance toward the various minorities (p. 9). An overall phenomenon was 'a pronounced differentiation' between nuclei of large-scale economic activity and residential areas. These originated during Roman, Arab or Mamlük rule, with the market and the Great Mosque playing a central role. Town's activities 'radiated outward from the [central] zone' (p. 13) in concentric rings. Further away lay the residential quarters, some old, others recently introduced. The number of the latter increased, their overall area expanded, and the various community and judicial institutions that had existed in earlier times were strengthened and their autonomy enhanced with their incorporation in the Ottoman Empire.

Chapters 2 and 3 deal extensively with the city centers and residential districts respectively. The economic role of the towns developed under the Ottomans, the commercial structures in the center proliferated, resulting in 'an accentuation of urban "centrality"' (p. 23). In most cases the seat of political and military power shifted away from the city center, which was thus mainly devoted to economic activity. The development of these central economic areas is most convincingly borne out by the statistical and cartographic data presented. Both 'spontaneous' markets and well-planned building operations of covered suqs of a great variety promoted trade and enabled its easier control in the cities of the Middle East and North Africa. Once again, some of these structures had been erected long before the arrival of the Ottomans, but even there their size increased and the nature of their decorations revealed — alongside with those built by the Ottomans — an ongoing constructive process. Initially undertaken with a predominant commercial aim in mind, many of these building projects had an obvious political significance.

The third chapter, rich with graphic evidence, addresses itself to the description of the residential districts which followed the same basic pattern. It does, however, raise very serious doubts as to some of the stereotypes commonly used in this respect: 'traditional urban Arab society' was far from the egalitarian character usually ascribed to it; the 'traditional Arab house... closed to the exterior, turned inward on itself' is not just an expression of certain sociocultural concepts of Islam and should be seen in a much wider and variegated content (p. 57). The spatial organization of the towns evolved from certain socioeconomic factors (pp. 58–68). Collective housing (*rab*, *hawsh*) and other instances of 'atypical' individual dwellings call for a reassessment of the 'classical theory of the individual habitat' (p. 87).

The last chapter focuses on the architectural and artistic elements of the monumental building activity undertaken in these cities under the Ottomans. The 'imperial' style of these constructions, highly motivated by political considerations, cannot be merely referred to as an attempt to copy monuments built in Istanbul or other provincial centers of Anatolia. Local artistic tradition left its 'discreet touches' in many cases, 'imposed itself on the Ottoman conquerors' in other (pp. 108, 111 respectively). The Ottoman minaret as well as the ornate decorative style predominantly used in ceramics, however, were very conspicuous elements introduced by the Ottoman architects into the Arab cities.

A few details call for correction: the occasional use of the qualifying adjective 'national' for local architectural tradition left over from Mamlük times raises the question of how 'national' the

# دار المسناة الناصرية

دار علم وعلما

الدكتور مصطفى جواد

احتوى الجزء الثامن من مجلة كلية الآداب هذه ، لسنة ١٩٦٠ ، فيما احتوى عليه من المقالات المفيدة ، على مقالة عنوانها « المدرسة الشرايية أو القصر العباسي في قلعة بغداد » ، للاستاذ الفاضل ناجي معروف المعروف ، وقد حاول فيها أن ينفى كون هذه الدار الفخمة بكل معاني الفخامة القديمة « دار المسناة » التي أمر بإنشائها الخليفة الناصر لدين الله أبو العباس أحمد بن المستضيء بأمر الله الحسن العباسي « ٥٧٥ - ٦٢٢ » . وهو الرأي الذي ذهب اليه المحقق الماضي يعقوب السركيسي المتوفى سنة (١٩٦٠) وأيدته أنا فيه لما رأيته فيه من الصحة والأصابة اللتين لا مندوحة منهما ، في الكشف عن تاريخ الآثار العربية الفاضل .

استند الاستاذ الزميل ناجي في نفيه المشار اليه آنفا الى اثبات أن هذه البناية هي ببيان مدرسة لا قصر ولا دار ، وكان ينبغي له أن يذكر معاني « الدار » في الحضارة الاسلامية ، ويقابل بينها وبين المقصود بهذه الدار ، فان لم تلائم معنى من معانيها ، وغاية من غاياتها عمد الى اثبات أنها « مدرسة » ، حسب ، واستحالة أن تكون غير ذلك .

فالدار في الحضارة الاسلامية الاترية تعني ضروبا من الابنية والمنشآت والمؤسسات والعمارات ، لا تخفى عليه ، ولا يراد بها ضرب واحد ، فمنها دار السكنى ودار أستاذية دار الخلافة التي هي نوع من الدواوين ، وكذلك دار الوزارة ودار التشرقيات ودار الرقيق ، ودار الحكمة ودار العلم وهاتان متماثلتان قديما ، ودار الحديث ودار القرآن المجيد ودار الشفاء أي المستشفى ودار الضرب ودار الضيافة ودار العامة ودار العميد ودار قاضي القضاة ودار كتب المدرسة أو المسجد أو الرباط ودار النيابة ودار النقابة ودار السلطنة

Ulecelletu' kulliyet. IV - Adab IV, Bagdad 1961

WASIR LIDINULLAH

Bagdad  
Abbasiler

Bagdad

NOT: Makalenin derami «NASIR LIDINULLAH»  
poşetindedir.

One further attitude on the part of the Porte bureaucracy makes its appearance as early as 1718 but definitely in 1740, in its refusal to become embroiled in the Austrian War of Succession and the offer of mediation, and the sustained and finally unsuccessful resistance to immersion in Polish affairs. To label the tendency "pacific" might be to overstate the case, but the apparently genuine desire to keep peace at home and abroad and an awareness and fear of the dismal state of the Ottoman forces jostled throughout this period with the more typical belligerence of the traditional forces. These men of peace, a few of whom have been mentioned in this paper, were greatly hampered by a lack of reliable information and an anachronistic diplomatic apparatus. The understanding of the need for reciprocal diplomacy which manifested itself in the first permanent mission in 1793, however, was based on the experience of the previous one hundred years.

John R. PERRY

THE MAMLUK PAŞALIK OF BAGHDAD AND  
OTTOMAN-IRANIAN RELATIONS  
IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

I

When an ambassador from Istanbul to Nadir Shah Afshâr of Iran was ingratiatingly congratulating himself on having seen the two greatest men in the world, i.e. the Sultan and Nadir, the latter replied, "No — there is yet a greater, the Pasha of Baghdad, who sets us both at defiance!"<sup>1</sup> The pasha he referred to was Ahmed, ruler of the province of Bagdad-Basra from 1723 to 1747 and effective founder of the quasi-autonomous Mamlûk dynasty (known later as the Al-Dâ'ûd) which lasted until 1831. The aim of this study is to show how, if this remark was true in Nadir Shah's time, it was even more appropriate during the reigns of Ahmed's successors Süleyman (1749-1762), Ömer (1764-1776) and Süleyman II (1779-1802), contemporaneous with the Ottoman sultans Mustafa III and Abdülhamid I, and with the post-Nadir interregnum and the Zand period in Iran, notably the reign of Karim Khan (1751-79). This autonomous buffer zone exerted a quite disproportionate influence on the problems and policies both of its frustrated overlord, the

The following abbreviations are used to refer to British and Ottoman archival materials.

- FR: East India Company, *Persia and the Persian Gulf Records*, vols VI-XIII (Factory Records)  
GD: East India Company, *Persia Gulf Records*, vols VI-XIII (*Gombroon Diary*)  
SP: State Papers in the Public Record Office, London (*Series S.P. Foreign Turkey*)  
HH: *Hatt-i Hümayûn (hülsalar)* [Catalogues and summaries of Imperial Decrees and diplomatic correspondence]  
NH: *Nâme-i Hümayûn* [Copies of diplomatic correspondence] The two last one to be found in the Başbakanlık Arşivi [Archives of the Prime Minister's Office], Istanbul.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia*, London, 1821-22, II, p. 248.

Edited by Sihan KUMRALP

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22 ARALIK 1992

MADDE YAYINLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

## The Baghdad Pact: Cold War or Colonialism?

Richard L. Jasse

On 2 May 1955, the British Air base at Habbaniya outside of Baghdad was transferred to Iraqi sovereignty in ceremonies described by *The Times* special correspondent as signifying 'the opening of a new relationship between Arabs and the West'.<sup>1</sup> This remarkable retreat by the British from what had hitherto been a bastion of their strategic defense arrangements ostensibly came as a result of a pact of mutual assistance signed by Iraq and Turkey that February and providing for a joint defense against external aggression. The agreement stipulated that it was based on the framework of Article 51 of the UN Charter, which allowed the right of collective self-defense. The pact's purpose was to establish cooperation in the defense of the Middle East, not just consultation. Article 5 of the pact was clearly aimed at the creation of a broader alliance as it anticipated further members from the Arab League or 'any other state actively concerned with the security and defense of the region and which is fully recognized by both the high contracting parties.' The United Kingdom and the United States were implicitly invited to join, but Israel was excluded. The pact also provided for a permanent council to be set up when a total of four members belonged.<sup>2</sup>

Subsequently the Baghdad Pact, as it came to be called, was overwhelmingly accepted by the Iraqi Parliament. In the debate on the treaty in the Iraqi Parliament, the Iraqi Prime Minister, Nuri es Said, the longtime collaborator with British interests, expressed his hope that Great Britain and the United States would join the pact and welcomed the possibility that Persia and Pakistan would also join. Nuri also announced that Iraq would definitely terminate the existing bilateral Anglo-Iraqi treaty of 1930 when other nations indicated their intent to join the pact, an action believed imminent. But Nuri made it pointedly clear to the Iraqi politicians that in any separate agreement, the sovereignty of Iraq was to be assured and that 'no one could dictate conditions to Iraq for cooperation'.<sup>3</sup>

The Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930 had been a bitterly controversial issue among Iraqi nationalists, who viewed it as the last vestige of British imperialism in Iraq. Originally negotiated by Nuri, the treaty recognized Iraq's evolution from a mandate to an independent state and facilitated Iraq's entrée to the League of Nations. In return, Great Britain received two air bases that were built at Habbaniya and Shaiba near Basra. Iraq also promised to furnish Great Britain in time of war 'all facilities and assistance in its power including the use of railways, rivers, ports, aerodromes, and means of communications.' Surely this was a friendship to keep. The revision of the treaty was not long in coming. Consequently on 5 March 1955, British Prime Minister Anthony Eden stopped in Baghdad after a 16,000-mile tour of the Middle East and Asia. He dined with King Faisal and afterwards held discussions with Nuri concerning British accession to the Baghdad Pact. They also talked about a tentative draft of a new Anglo-

Iraqi treaty, the subject of ongoing discussions. Eden was pleased that he and the Iraqis were separated only on points of detail. As he reported to the House of Commons three days later, 'Our aim is to forge a new association with Iraq which will bring our relations into line with those which already exist with Turkey and our other partners in NATO'.<sup>4</sup>

Great Britain acceded to the Baghdad Pact on 5 April 1955. As pre-arranged, the 1930 Treaty of Preferential Alliance with Iraq was automatically terminated and was replaced by a new bilateral treaty. Eden announced before the House of Commons that it was 'based on a concept of cooperation between equal partners'. Nevertheless, Great Britain got everything it wanted. Although the two air bases of Habbaniya and Shaiba came under Iraqi sovereignty, the Royal Air Force could still use the fields. Britain still had rights of overflight, landing, and servicing. British personnel, under British command, were to remain in Iraq to help train forces and to install and maintain equipment and aircraft. Iraq was provided with British instructors to assist in training the army and air force. In addition, Britain was able to stock military wares in Iraq for use in war, and repair shops and storage depots were to be maintained for the benefit of both forces. Installations at airfields considered vital were to remain British property, with the excess sold to Iraq. This last item was settled in December 1955. His Majesty's Government would make payment of £2,755M to Iraq for this property in return for Baghdad's promise to spend £2M in purchasing arms from Britain.<sup>5</sup>

Traditional scholarship has generally interpreted the Baghdad Pact as part of the Western Powers' strategy of containment of Russia through a series of encircling alliances. Actually a confluence of other factors contributed to its formation, not the least of which was Great Britain's determination to maintain strategic paramountcy in an area considered vital for the defense of the empire. The concept of the 'Northern Tier' of states, as postulated by the American Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, was certainly interwoven throughout the discussions of the time. This idea manifested itself clearly in the treaty of friendship between Turkey and Pakistan signed on 2 April 1954 and in the subsequent military assistance agreement between the United States and Turkey several weeks later. But how much of the 'Northern Tier' concept served as a rationale rather than as a reason for British support of the Baghdad Pact is open to question.<sup>6</sup>

As early as January, 1954, the Foreign Office was considering the issue of revising the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930 in light of the probable strategic needs of the military. Previously the British Ambassador to Baghdad, Sir John Troutbeck, had wired the Foreign Office that London should demonstrate an 'act of Faith' by returning the air bases to the control of Iraq. He argued that Great Britain would then be in the position 'to replace the present Treaty by a very general expression of friendship under cover of which we might hope by close military liaison and with Iraqi good will, to secure their cooperation'. The Foreign Office realized that 'informal arrangements' could secure British needs, and it was quite clear that no Iraqi government would ever be able to withstand nationalist opposition and negotiate or ratify a treaty similar to that of 1930. The air bases would

Greeks as usually assumed, but from Muslims.

Most importantly, the greatest achievement of Islam was to establish for the first time the tradition of normal science. In order to deal with normal science it was necessary to apply the prevalent paradigm to particulars or facts, but neither Greeks nor Europeans could achieve such a feat, since ancient Greek philosophers had adopted a contemplative attitude whereas Europeans until the impact of Islam wallowed in ignorance and superstition due to the effect of Augustianism.

Therefore, if Muslim scientists and philosophers had not taught the West to verify their theories by means of particulars and experiments, the Scientific Revolution, modern science, and today's technological achievements might not have occurred at all.

AL-SHAJARAH, vol:6 / number: 2 (2001)  
s. 197-227.

D.1631



## THE CREATION OF THE CITY OF BAGHDĀD: STRIKING A BALANCE BETWEEN RELIGION AND THE QUEST FOR POWER

Spahiç Omer

### *Introduction*

The Islamic theory of general planning and urbanization is as old as the Muslim community. Its fundamental principles have been comprehensively laid in the Holy Qur'an, as well as in the sayings and practices of the Prophet, peace be upon him. Certainly, the best manifestation of the early Islamic planning and urbanization is the establishment of the Muslim society in Madīnah in the wake of the migration from Makkah. The matter henceforth was evolving steadily, corresponding with both the rapid spread of Islam throughout the world and the incredible growth of the civilization and culture inspired by the Islamic worldview.

In this article, we shall focus on the creation of the city of Baghdād,<sup>1</sup> the then new capital city of the vast Muslim empire, by the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manşūr. The task commenced in the year 145/762 and was completed the following year. The construction of Baghdād served to the caliph al-Manşūr as an avenue to consolidate his position in particular and that of the 'Abbāsīd family in general on the Islamic political scene, apart from carrying out religious and societal responsibilities as the leader of the Muslims and at the same time help his subjects do

<sup>1</sup> The city was initially called Madīnat al-Salām (The City of Peace) because the Tigris, where the city was situated, was called Wādī al-Salām (The Valley of Peace), or because its establishment was aimed at harboring and disseminating peace worldwide, on one hand, and at creating a platform for advancing the frontiers of the civilization and culture inspired by the Islamic world-view, on the other. (See a lengthy discussion on the matter in: Al-Baghdādī al-Khaṭīb, *Tarikh Baghdād*, Al-Maktabah al-Salafiyah, Al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, vol. 1, 58-62)

zephyr injecting life into souls. Before onlookers she arrays herself like a bride calling them: "Come on to a bridal place and linger."

So much water has the soil of Damascus absorbed that it got sick of it and yearns for thirst. Its solid stones almost cry out to you, "Run barefooted; here is a cool spot for washing and for drinking" (sur. 38: 41). The gardens of the city surround it like a halo around the moon; they contain it as a calyx contains a flower. Its verdant Ghutah stretches eastward as far as the eye can see; in fact wherever you look in all four directions, its bright, green foliage, laden with ripe fruit, holds your gaze. By Allah, they told the truth who said, "If Paradise be on earth, Damascus must be it; if it is in heaven, Damascus can parallel and match it."<sup>10</sup>

*Damascus the fragrant, the oldest continually inhabited town known to history, beauty queen among Moslem cities and one of three paradises on earth, capital of the Umayyad dynasty, was for a time mistress of an empire greater than that of Rome at its height.*

10. Ibn-Jubayr, pp. 234-235; cf. Broadhurst, pp. 271-272. This Spanish Moslem traveler visited Damascus in July 1184.

Philip K. Hitti  
Capital Cities of Arab Islam  
Minneapolis 1973, s. 85-109. DN: 54458

4

~~Baghdad:~~  
*The Intellectual Capital*

*Among the cities of the world Baghdad stands out as the professor of the community of Islam.*

Yaqut

Unlike its three predecessors Baghdad was a purely Arab creation. The name does not suggest Arabic etymology, but the pre-Islamic Persian or Aramaean settlement left no noteworthy political or commercial record. It was the 'Abbasid-built Baghdad that figured in history.

The region around Baghdad saw the rise and fall of more capital cities than perhaps any region of comparable size. Here flourished the earliest ones known to history, the Sumerian city states, such as Uruk, the Erech of Genesis 10:10. These were the cradle of our civilization. They were followed by Agade (Accad of Gen. 10:10), capital of Sargon, the first known Semitic monarch, and by Babylon, seat of Hammurabi and Nebuchadnezzar. A successor of Alexander the Great founded twenty miles southeast of the Baghdad site a city named after him to serve as capital of the eastern wing of his kingdom. Opposite Seleucia on the east bank of the Tigris rose Ctesiphon, capital of the ancient kingdom of Parthia and of Sasanid Persia. The Arab capital can be said to have fallen heir to all these capitals, outshone them all, and outlived them.

Such a rash on the face of a limited area must have been conditioned by special geopolitical factors. The alluvial plain between the Tigris and the Euphrates — where at Baghdad it is no more than thirty-three

855 EYLUL 1998

MARUF YILMAZ ANDINTAN  
 CEMAL

Kölemen Hükümeti zaman zaman kendi başına buyruk hareket etmişse de çoğunlukla merkezî hükümetin buyruklarını yerine getirmiş, bölgede güvenliğin sağlanmasında devlete yardımcı olmuştur.

## KLASİK TÜRK EDEBİYATINDA BAĞDAT

Murat Ali KARAVELİOĞLU

Kültür tarihi içinde bazı mekanların özel bir yeri ve önemi vardır. Böyle yerler asırlarca toplum hafızasından silinmez ve hatıraları her bakımdan övünç kaynağı olarak canlı kalır. Kültür tarihimiz içinde başta İstanbul olmak üzere Edirne, Bursa, Şam, Kahire, Üsküp, Konya gibi siyasal ve kültürel merkezlerin yanında Bağdat'ın hatırasının da özel bir yeri vardır.

Bağdat kelimesi yaygın kanaate göre “Tanrı'nın ihsanı ve armağanı” anlamına gelmektedir. Bunun yanında kelimenin Arâmîce kökenli olduğu ve “koyun ağılı” anlamına geldiğini iddia edenler de vardır. Kelime milattan önceki kayıtlarda (Hamurabi kanunları, Babil krallığı dönemine ait bazı sınır taşları vs.) da geçmektedir. Bağdat yerine Buğdan, Medinetü Ebû Cafer, Medinetü'l-Mansur, Medinetü'l-hulefâ, ez-Zevrâ gibi isimlerin kullanıldığı olmuştur.<sup>1</sup> Türk edebiyatı metinlerine bakıldığında ise Medinetü's-selam, Dârü's selam adlarıyla zikredildiği görülür.

VIII. yüzyılda Abbasi halifesi Ebû Cafer el-Mansur –ki bazı kaynaklarda Müklas adıyla anılır- tarafından kurulan şehir, devletin yıkılışına kadar (1258) hilafet merkezi olarak kalmıştır. Şehir Horasan yolu üzerine, pek çok kervan yolunun kesiştiği bölgeye kurulmuştur.<sup>2</sup> Aslında biraz da bu stratejik öneminden dolayı tarih boyunca hep iktidar ve fetih mücadelelerine sahne olmuş, Halife Emin ile Me'mun arasındaki iktidar mücadelesinden başlamak üzere zaman zaman pek çok talana maruz kalmıştır. Hatta bu talana şehir-

\* Araştırma Görevlisi, İ.Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü.

<sup>1</sup> Abdülaziz ed-Dûrî; “Bağdat” (Genel Bakış), *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, c.4, İstanbul 1991, s.426

<sup>2</sup> Abdülaziz ed-Dûrî; agm, s.425-426

THE PLAN OF THE CITY OF PEACE

CENTRAL ASIAN IRANIAN FACTORS IN EARLY 'ABBÂSID DESIGN\*

CHRISTOPHER I. BECKWITH (Bloomington)

The building of Madînat al-Salâm, the Caliph al-Manşûr's palace-city at Baghdad, was a unique event. Unlike previous and later Arab capitals, its splendor and perfection caught the imagination of the medieval Muslim world. Various persons have been named as designer, and numerous reasons and models given for the unusual circular design. The most detailed and comprehensive of recent treatments is that of Jacob Lassner, who has in two very stimulating books greatly improved our understanding of the city's design and function. Lassner argues that al-Manşûr himself designed Madînat al-Salâm partly on the model of what he claims are similarly-planned cities in Iraq, and that the shape was chosen for purely practical considerations, such as the caliph's desire to save money and his desire for personal security.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, he argues against the view that the building of Baghdad was in effect a visible manifestation of the 'Abbâsid assumption of Iranian rulership tradition, and he rejects the claims of Charles Wendell and others that the palace-city had symbolic cosmological significance.<sup>2</sup> Lassner is in fact arguing generally against cross-cultural fertilization in the early 'Abbâsid realm, and for an Arabo-centric or Islamo-centric interpretation of early medieval Middle Eastern history.

\*

1. Lassner is right to question the supposed astral symbolism of the palace-city, simply because there are no explicit statements in the sources connecting the caliph with such symbolism. On the contrary, al-Manşûr is made out to be a stingy, severe Arab ruler. But there are so many highly suspicious un-Islamic things connected with the City of Abû Ga'far that one is nevertheless unavoidably faced with questions of cosmological symbolism.

\* This article is based on a paper read at the American Oriental Society meeting in Boston, 1981. I wish to thank Dr. Samuel Grupper, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, for very kindly reading through and commenting on an earlier version of this paper; Dr. Wadie Jwaideh, of Indiana University, for assisting me in the elucidation of obscurities in some of the texts used; and Dr. David King, of New York University, for bringing useful material to my attention. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for any errors or misinterpretations that may remain.

Dergi / Kitap  
Kütüphane Mevcuttur

- Abbasiler  
- Bagdat

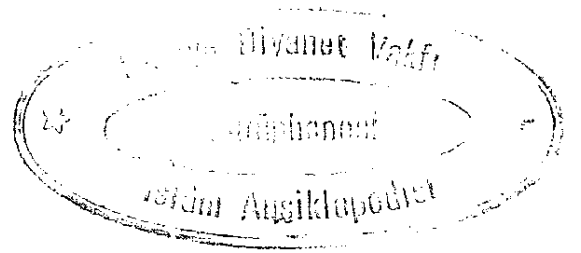
19 AGUSTOS 1992  
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# BAGDAD

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شتاء ١٩٧٩

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بغداد

١٤٠٠ هـ - ١٩٧٩ م



دار الحرية للطباعة - بغداد

in many respects it represented a new conception—as if dropping the name al-Hāshimīyah, which was generic to all the early ‘Abbāsīd centers, signified a decisive break with the recent past. In architectural scope and execution, to say nothing of general planning and urban development, there had never been anything quite like Baghdad in the Islamic world. The essayist al-Jāhīz perhaps put it best when he wrote, “It is as though it were poured into a mold and cast.”<sup>73</sup> Al-Manṣūr’s creation was a unique achievement. It is only from this perspective that the subsequent topographical growth of the city can be properly understood.

## VII

### BAGHDAD: LEGENDARY ORIGINS AND HISTORIC REALITIES

O Commander of the Faithful! You will be situated along the Sarāt [Canal] between the Tigris and the Euphrates. If anyone should attack you, the Tigris and the Euphrates will serve as water barrier for your city. . . . Your enemies will only be able to reach you by way of pontoon [*jīsr*] and masonry bridges [*qanṭarah*]. If you cut the *jīsr* and destroy the *qanṭarah* they will not be able to reach you. You are situated amid al-Baṣrah, al-Kūfah, Wāsiṭ, al-Mawṣil and the Sawād. You are near the land and water [routes] and the mountains.

Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (Beirut), 162

#### A. Choosing the Site

The Arabic accounts that discuss al-Manṣūr’s decision to build a city at Baghdad are an interlacing of various lengthy reports from which two distinct traditions emerge: the first, which reflects the geographical advantages of the site, is evidently factual, the second, which establishes the legitimacy of the Caliph’s decision, is largely apocryphal.<sup>1</sup>

Several historical facts would seem to be self-evident. For al-Manṣūr, the central location of Baghdad made it eminently suitable as the site for an administrative center from which to rule his far-flung empire.<sup>2</sup> Its geographic location gave access to overland routes of trade and pilgrimage, as well as to the major inland water carriers. Its canals not only allowed for the easy transport of materials, but also provided natural barriers against assault from without. Having been persuaded by the obvious advantages of the site, al-Manṣūr began to erect an elaborate series of structures throughout the area. To the north, in the suburb that came to be called al-Ḥarbiyah, he established large military cantonments for his Khurāsānī army. To the south, in an area that had been a small local market, he developed large commercial districts to serve the rapidly growing urban center. Sandwiched between the military and the markets was the magnificent Round City,

Jacob Lassner  
The Shaping of Abbāsīd Rule,  
Princeton - New Jersey, 1980,  
s. 163-163. DN: 24330

Dergi / Kitap  
kütüphanede Meycutlu

RAHBER YAYINLARI  
MİLLÎ KÜTÜPHANESİ

21 ŞUBAT 1996

المحتويات

بغداد ٢٠٠٣

بغداد مدينة السلام  
والحضارة والمحن (\*)



أ. د. عز الدين إبراهيم

MADDE ZA UMLANDIRILAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

غدرات حار طالما عانوا من عدوانه، وقد يكون هناك مهاجرون ومهجرون قد تنفسوا صعداءهم على أمل العودة إلى ذويتهم بعد أن أكرهوا على البعد عنهم، وقد تكون هناك آمال تخالغ دعاة الإصلاح لتنظيم رجعة إلى عهد الاستقرار، تساندها نزعة إلى التحسين والتطوير ووضع بغداد والعراق كله في طريق الحرية، والشورى، والعدالة، والحكم الدستوري الصالح - لكن ذلك كله لا ينفي الحقيقة الحزنة بأن بغداد، مدينة السلام والجمال والعلم والحضارة، وعاصمة الرشيد، وقلعة الأسود - قد

١- بغداد في ضمير الأمة:  
منذ أن وجهت الصواريخ إلى بغداد في بداية أبريل، وأسقطت عليها الآف الأطنان من القنابل من كل نوع، وأصلتها المدافع العملاقة بوابل من النيران والمتفجرات، إلى أن احتل مطارها ثم أحيائها واحداً بعد الآخر، وضمير الأمة العربية الإسلامية يتلظى بالأسى والحزن، فلا الجفون رقدت، ولا الدموع رقات، ولا القلوب الواجفة هدأت واستكنت. نعم، قد يكون الناس فرحوا لسقوط نظام ظالم، وقد يكون آخرون قد أمنوا على ديارهم من

(\*) نشرت بجملة الخليج الأمارية ٢٥ / ٤ / ٢٠٠٣ .

كلمة التحرير  
بغداد: مدينة السلام والحضارة والمحن. د. عز الدين إبراهيم

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ثالثاً : خدمات المعلومات

- رابطة الأدب الإسلامي. د. هانيء محيي الدين عطية ١٧٣



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قديماً وحديثاً. بغداد: المجمع العلمي

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١٩٧٩م)، ص ٣٩-٥٩.

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## عَرْضُ الْكُتُبِ

### بغداد

الدكتور أحمد مطلوب

عضو المجمع

اهتم العرب الاولون ببغداد كثيرا ، لانها عاصمة دولتهم ، ومنار مجدهم ، فمنها نبعت الحضارة العربية الاسلامية التي اهتمدى العالم بها قرونا ، وكانت موئل العلم ، وركن السياسة ، ومحط التجارة . وظلت على الرغم مما مرَّ بها من أحداث النغم العذب الذي يترنم به العرب والمسلمون في كل صقع من أصقاع العالم ، فهي «أمّ الدنيا» و «سيدة البلدان» و «جنة الدنيا» و «قبة الاسلام» و «دار الخلافة» و «مدينة السلام» .

وألفت كتب كثيرة عنها ولعل أهمها «تاريخ بغداد» للخطيب البغدادي الذي يعدّ مصدراً مهماً في دراستها ومعرفة الحركة العلمية فيها . واعتنى بها العلماء في هذا القرن وكان للاجانب دور واضح في القاء الضوء على هذه المدينة التي لاتزال تحمل رسالة السلام وتبني معالم الحضارة الانسانية . وقد اتجه المجمع العلمي العراقي في السنوات الاخيرة الى اصدار الكتب الموضوعية والمترجمة عنها تخليداً لها وتكريماً لماضيها وحاضرها ، فعكف على جمع ما يتصل ببغداد من كتب مخطوطة ومطبوعة بالعربية واللغات الاجنبية ، ومن وثائق وخرائط ، وبدأ بتأليف الكتب ، أو ترجمتها ، واصدارها لتلقي ضوءاً على دار السلام وتظهر دورها في بناء الحضارة الانسانية .

ومن الكتب التي صدرت خلال السنوات الثلاث الاخيرة :

باب الاضداد

الأصمعي : يُقال : سَمِتُ السيفَ : أَعَدتُهُ ، [ وشمته ] (٢٠٩) : سألته (٢١٠) .

[ وعن أبي عبيدة ] (٢١١) : زَوَتُ الشيءَ : شَدَدتُهُ ، وأرخيتُهُ (٢١٢) . [ شك في زَوَتُ : أرخيتُهُ ] (٢١٣) ، قال ليبي :

فخمة ذفراء تُرثى بالعري (٢١٤)

قَرْدُمَانِيَا وتركا كالبصل (٢١٥)

أي : تُشَدُّ . [ و ] (٢١٦) قال الكسائي : غَسِبْتُ الكلامَ ، وغَسِبِي عني (٢١٧) .

(٢١٩) من : ك . (٢١٩) قول الأصمعي في أضداده : ٢٠ وانظر : أبا الطيب ١ / ٣٨٩ .

(٢١٤) من : ك . (٢١٤) لم تُرد هذه المادة عن أبي عبيدة في كتب الأضداد وإنما عن أبي عمرو ، انظر : أضداد الأصمعي ٤٢ وابن السكيت ١٩٦ وابن الأنباري ٨٨ وأبي الطيب ١ / ٣١٤ .

(٢١٣) من : ك . (٢١٤) في ك الشعر الأول ، وأُخِلت بالثاني . (٢١٥) البيت له في : ديوانه ١٥ وأضداد الأصمعي ٤٢ وابن السكيت ١٩٦ وابن الأنباري ٨٩ وأبي الطيب ١ / ٢٧٩ والصناعتين ٨١ ونوادير أبي مسهل ٢٢٨ والمقاييس ١ / ٢٥٣ والسان ٤ / ٣٩٤ . وروى ابن الأنباري والسان ١٩ / ٢١ : « ذفراء » بالبدال المهملة . والقردماني : ضرب من الدروع . والترك : بيض الحديد للرأس .

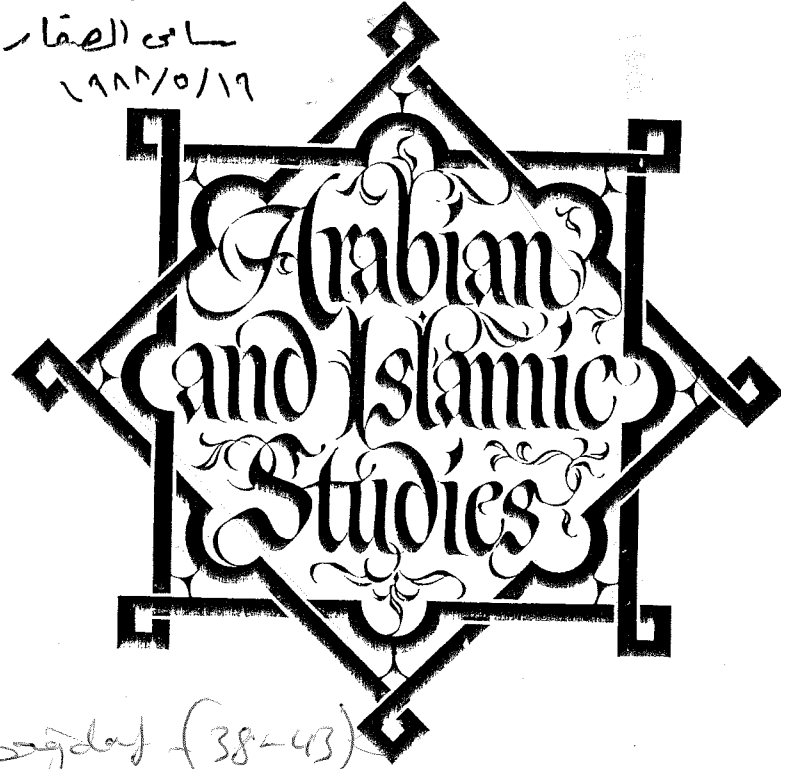
(٢١٩) من : ك . (٢١٩) المادة في أضداد المنشي : ٣٧٤ ولا وجود لها في غيره من كتب الأضداد .



هدية الى مكتبة الموسوعة الاسلامية في استانبول  
مع التقية والتقدير

سامي الصقار

١٩٨٢/٥/١٩



Bagdad (38-43)

Articles presented to R. B. Serjeant  
on the occasion of his retirement from  
the Sir Thomas Adams's Chair of Arabic  
at the University of Cambridge

Editors:

Dr. R. L. Bidwell, Secretary, The Middle East Centre, Cambridge.  
Dr. G. R. Smith, Lecturer in Arabic in the University of Durham.

Longman London and New York



SŪQS OF BAGHDAD

### A legal text to the aid of history: a note on the sūqs of Baghdad in the first century of the Abbasids

Claude Cahen

It is now being realised that Islamic law, although expressed through conceptual outlines, does meet the demands of reality.<sup>1</sup> This is true for all periods, but is particularly evident in the works of those who lay the foundations, and who have no predecessors to copy. Of course people have tended for practical reasons to refer to later more systematic and well-balanced treatises; but it is obvious that the historian should turn first to the earliest works,<sup>2</sup> even if they are less well preserved.

Quite apart from legal factors, the historian will find something more in these early works. Because they deal with real life, he will be able to extract from them material which is valid *per se*, irrespective of the legal considerations. This material is of two kinds: it alludes to events,<sup>3</sup> and it describes aspects of current society. It is this which we can deduce from a reading of *K. al-Aṣl*<sup>4</sup> by Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, younger colleague of and collaborator with the better known Abū Yūsuf. Al-Shaybānī had written methodical analyses of Ḥanafī law which was being established in Iraq under the Abbasids at that period. The works, entitled *al-Jāmi' al-kabīr* and *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaghīr*, had both been published some time earlier. These analyses, the result of an accumulation of material giving us direct insight into everyday life, make up the *K. al-Aṣl*. This feature is particularly obvious in the section on 'Sales' published by T. Chehata in 1954, when the rest was still almost completely unedited and neglected. This evidence is particularly precious because, for that period of Islam, the historiography of the Eastern World has had no documentation from archives, apart from Egyptian ones, on which to base its works of socio-economic history; and while other sources allow us to remedy this paucity of material, they give us more information about the later period than about the first century of Abbasid rule. I shall attempt below to extract from the 'Book of Sales' a brief but comprehensive portrait of the *sūqs* in the time of the author.

One feature is immediately evident: there is no mention of any international trade, or even inter-regional trade, any more than in most other treaties on *fiqh*. It is small business which is being described, or business on a moderate scale at most, such as took place in the everyday life of the *sūqs*, at a period when big business remained in the hands of non-Muslims or of Muslims who had adopted non-Muslim practices. It is true that in some later chapters there are less detailed paragraphs on *qirād* which apply implicitly to big business in particular; but no link is established with

the transactions dealt with in the 'Book of Sales'. Nor does our jurist appear to allude to the multiplicity or manifold variety of the *sūqs*, which no doubt existed; but presumably these did not create any different legal problems. There seems to be no mention of the official in charge of the *sūqs*, either with the title of *muḥtasib* or with the more traditional title of *ṣāhib al-sūq*; it is not certain that the former title was yet in use in Shaybānī's time;<sup>5</sup> anyway, whether it existed or not, the legal problems posed remained the same. There is no mention either of the broker (*simsār*) or of the commission to which he is entitled.

However, Shaybānī does give us quite ample information on the products being sold in the *sūqs*.<sup>6</sup> Of course he does not claim to have given us an exhaustive list, nor does he guarantee that he has actually seen each of the goods he describes sold; but it seems reasonable to suppose that the products he mentions are in the main the ones actually for sale. Similarly when he mentions a price, he obviously did not check it in the *sūq* on that particular day; but it is unlikely that the price mentioned would be very different from the actual average.<sup>7</sup> With these reservations, here are the products that have been noted.

First of all, naturally, a great variety of food produce is included. Corn heads the list, indeed we are told that in current usage in Baghdad it is often referred to by the general word *ta'ām*, 'food', as well as by *hintah* (never by *qamḥ*, which is Mediterranean).<sup>8</sup> Then comes barley, though no other cereal, no rice for example.<sup>9</sup> Among the vegetables, which are often referred to as *baqal* without specification, melons, cucumbers and beans are mentioned in particular, though it is evident the list is incomplete.<sup>10</sup> As for fruit there are good quality dates (*fārisī*) and mediocre ones (*daql*),<sup>11</sup> raisins (*zabīb*), grenadines, quinces and nuts.<sup>12</sup> Oil-yielding products include sesame and olives, the animal fats and butter; cheese is mentioned, eggs, meat, fresh and dried fish, salt (though no sugar), vinegar, wine and pork for non-Muslims;<sup>13</sup> flour is listed, but not bread; clover, lucerne and straw are also mentioned, no doubt for animals.<sup>14</sup> One cooked dish is on the list, *sawiq*.<sup>15</sup>

Next come plants for dyeing and perfuming; saffron, henna, roses for rosewater, violets, jasmin etc., *wasmah* (the indigo dye, *nīl*).<sup>16</sup> Musk is also listed.<sup>17</sup>

Metals and other raw mineral materials follow: iron, lead, copper; assorted woods, *sāj* (teak), bricks, plaster, pitch, glass; amber, pearls and other jewels.<sup>18</sup> The raw materials are handed over to an artisan with an order to produce a certain article.

Then paper and various textiles are listed: sheep-, cattle- and camel-skins; cotton, linen and woollen material, clothes (see below), shoes, bags; live animals, birds, feathers, male and female slaves.<sup>19</sup>

As we have already stated, Shaybānī does not guarantee that the prices he mentions are exact, but they are quite remarkable. For we learn that a *kurr* of corn (about 2,800 kgs.) was worth 50 dirhams which, converted into gold, was at that time about three dinars. This price is about a tenth of what is known elsewhere in either the ninth or tenth century. This could perhaps

Bağdat, 29-41

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DIYANET İŞLERİ BAŞKANLIĞI YAYINLARI/86

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## İSLÂM MEDENİYETİ TARİHİ

PROF. DR. M. FUAD KÖPRÜLÜ

Tarafından BAŞLANGIÇ'la İZAH ve DÜZELTMELER  
Kısmı İlâve Edilmiştir.

Geniş İzah, Düzeltme ve İlâvelerle

ALTINCI BASIM

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1984

tır). Bu kavrus, Arap ilmindeki Yunan te'sirini göstermektedir. İlimlerin tasnifi bu cümledendir. *Felsefe* iki büyük kısma taksim olunuyor: Nazari ve ameli felsefe. Bazıları *mantık*'ı nazari ilimler zümresine sokmaktadır. Diğer birtakımları ise bunun için hususî bir kısım ayırıyorlar. Üçüncü bir sınıf da *mantık*'a felsefenin âleti ismini veriyorlar. Nazari felsefe'nin başlıca üç kısmı vardır: İlâhiyat, tabiiyat ve bu ikisinin arasında bulunan Riyaziyat. Riyaziyat şu kısımlara bölünmüştür: Hesap (aritmetik), hendese (geometri), hey'et (astronomi) ve musiki. İşte Ortazaman Avrupası'nda *quadrivium*'u teşkil eden bilgiler bunlardır. Sonraları, matematik, mantık ile birlikte *mukaddime*, yâni tabiiyat ve ilâhiyatı anlamak için hazırlık olarak kabûl ediliyordu. İlâhiyat'ın kısımları yoktu. Tabiiyat birkaç kısma ayrılmış olup, kimya ve tıp bu cümledendi. Ameli felsefe, ahlâk, iktisat ve siyaset kısımlarına ayrılıyordu. İlimler arasında gramer, retorik, diyalektik de yer almaktadır; lâkin, bunlar ayrı bir zümre hâlinde birleşmiyorlardı. Gramer, akaid ve İslâm fikhî'ndan sonra, kitabet'e, şiir'e ve tarih'e de bir bab ayrılmaktadır. Retorik ve diyalektik, mantık'a ait babta onun kısımları gibi tetkik olunmaktadır<sup>22</sup>.

### ÜÇÜNCÜ BÖLÜM

#### BAĞDAD ve ARAP MEDENİYETİNİN SONRAKİ TERAKKİSİ

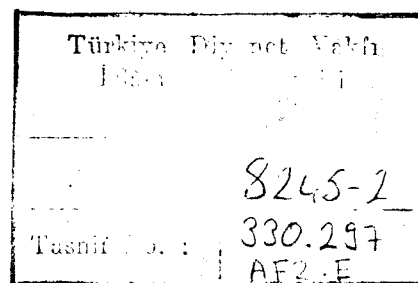
**K**ÜFE ve Basra'da müslüman teolojisinin, Arap gramer ve filolojisinin temeli kuruldu. Bu ilimlerin bundan sonraki terakkisine ve umûmiyetle ilimlerin ve maarifin revaç bulmasına Abbâsî sarayının büyük te'siri oldu. Halife Mansûr, VIII. asrın 60'ıncı yıllarında Dicle'nin garp sahilinde kendine yeni payitaht inşa ettirdi. Evvelce burada bir Nastûrî manastırı ve Bağdat isminde bir köy vardı ki, yeni şehre de bu tarihten isim verildi. Şehre, yeni müessisi tarafından verilmiş olan yeni isim *Medinet-üs-Selâm* halk tarafından kabûl edilmedi. Lâkin halifeler, paralarının üzerinde bu ismi kullandılar (Paralar üzerinde Bağdat ismi yalnız 1258'de Moğol istiyâsından sonra görülmektedir). Halife Mansûr'un çoktan kaybolmuş olan bu şehri, kendine mahsus bir plân ile inşa edilmişti. Bağdat'ın o zamanki meşhur şehirlerden mühim farkı da, plânının bir daire şeklinde oluşu idi. Duvarının dört cihetinde dört kapısı vardı. Her kapının yanında askerî küt'aların oturması için büyük binalar yapılmıştı. Kapıların dördü de merkezdeki meydana açılıyordu. Bu meydana saray, büyük cami ve dîvanlar bulunuyordu<sup>23</sup>. Dîvanların sayısı o devirde yedi idi: (I) Dîvan-ı-Hâtem, yâni Mühür dîvanı ki, hükümdarın tasdikine arzolan evrak ile meşgûl olan dairedir. (II) Diplomatik işlerle meşgûl olan dîvan. (III) Hassa askerî dîvanı. (IV) Dîvan-ı-cünd, yâni devletin askerî kuvvetlerinin işleriyle meşgûl olan daire. (V) Devlet gelirlerinin tahsiliyle meşgûl olan Hazine dîvanı. (VI) Devlet masraflarile, yâni maliye işleriyle meşgûl olan dîvan. (VII) Devlete ait erzak, lévazım vesaire ile meşgûl olan dîvan. Bu Dîvanların bulunduğu

# ECONOMIC DOCTRINES OF ISLAM

Vol. II

*Iraq (arazi)*  
*(14-115)*  
*(iran khalifet devrinde)*

AFZAL-UR-RAHMAN, M.A.  
Chairman, Muslim Educational Trust, London



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to this method the cultivator gave a certain portion of the produce of the land to the landowner. As reported by Jabir, people used to rent land for cultivation in exchange for one-half, or one-third, or one-fourth of the produce of land. According to *Abu Jaffar* there was not a single house of the Immigrants in *Madina* who did not hire land for cultivation in exchange for one-third, or one-fourth of the produce. And *Umar* employed people on his land for cultivation on the condition that they would work on his land while he would supply the seed from his pocket, and the produce would be shared half and half between them. And if they supplied the seed, then they would have such and such a portion of the produce. *Ali*, *Saeed bin Malik*, *Abdullah bin Masud*, *Umar bin Abdul Aziz*, *Qasim Urwah* and the descendants of *Abu Bakr*, *Ali* and *Ibn Seereen*, all gave their lands on hire for cultivation on the above-mentioned principle.<sup>1</sup>

(iv) *Fixed Amount of the Produce for the Landowner* : Another method was that the cultivator had to give a certain fixed amount of the produce of land to the landowner whatever the harvest. It was also common in *Madina* that the land was given on hire for cultivation in exchange for a certain fixed amount of the produce irrespective of the yield of land.<sup>2</sup>

(b) *Iraq* : During the reign of the Persian Kings, rent was collected from the produce of land. The Government Officers used to come at the harvest time and collect a share of the produce. The cultivator had no right to spend any thing from his harvest before the division of the produce by the Government collectors, nor he had the choice to pay his rent in cash instead of the share of his produce.<sup>3</sup>

*Kabad bin Feroze*, father of *Nausherwan*, ordered a new Land Settlement and fixed the rent of land which was not to exceed the value of half of the original produce of land. This method of rent collection continued up to the reign of *Nausherwan*, but after him many additions detrimental to the interest of the cultivator were made to it during the reigns of *Khusro Pervez* and

1. *Bukhari*, op. cit., Vol. I, P. 520.  
2. *Ibid.*, P. 523, No. 2160.  
3. *M. Taqi*, op. cit., P. 252.

*Yuzd Gurd* and very little share of the produce was actually left with him.<sup>1</sup>

(c) *Syria* : In *Syria* land was divided into different grades according to the differences in the produce and different amounts of rent were collected from different lands but the oppression of Government Officials rendered the cultivators completely helpless and destitute.<sup>2</sup>

(d) *Egypt* : The following methods of rent collection were in vogue in *Egypt* before *Islam* :

(i) *From Income of Land* : Rent was collected from the income of land either in cash or in kind but the cultivator was not given sufficient time after the harvest to mobilise his scattered resources in order to make the necessary payment. Besides, the cultivator was made to pay a part of the produce to the King.<sup>3</sup>

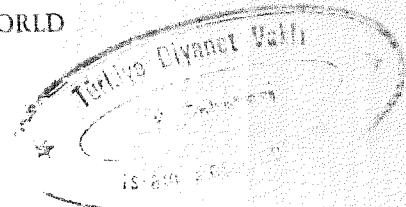
*Dabiranka* reports the condition of the farmers in these words : "The rent collectors accompanied by policemen stood on the spot and demanded rent from the cultivators. If by any chance, he did not have any produce to pay the rent and, therefore, could not pay the rent, he was tied up and thrown on the ground and dragged to the canal and then dipped headlong into the water."<sup>4</sup>

(ii) *Rent according to average of Few years' Produce* : According to this method the amount collected from the cultivator as rent of land was supposed to equal the average produce of a number of years. The authorities took the average of a few years' produce and then fixed rent accordingly.

(iii) *Land Settlement During the Reign of Egyptian Kings* : During the reign of *Egyptian Kings*, the Land Settlement was conducted after every four years. The average of four years' produce was taken to fix the rent of land and no changes or reductions could be made during the four yearly interval, whatever

1. *M. Taqi*, op. cit., P. 252-253.  
2. *Ibid.*, P. 259.  
3. *Ibid.*, P. 261.  
4. *History of old Nations*, P. 90, quoted by *M. Taqi*, op. cit., P. 262.

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- ✗ THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE
- THE MIDDLE EAST
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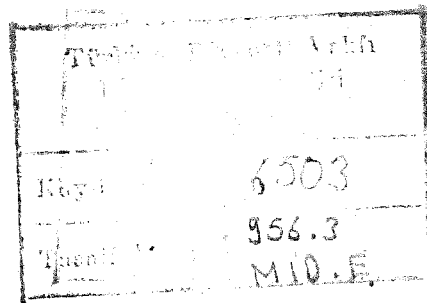


# THE MIDDLE EAST

Edited by

MICHAEL ADAMS

*Irak*



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## IRAQ

PETER SLUGLETT AND MARION FAROUK-SLUGLETT  
SLUGLETT

LIKE most of its neighbors the modern state of Iraq is an artificial entity, in the sense that its boundaries were drawn up in the course of the bargaining between the victorious powers at the end of World War I. For some four centuries before 1920, Iraq, or rather the three provinces of Mosul, Baghdad and Basra, had been at least nominally part of the Ottoman Empire, ruled intermittently either by governors sent from Istanbul or by local appointees of the Ottoman government. In an earlier age Baghdad had been the center of the second great Arab empire, that of the Abbasids, stretching from North Africa to the western borders of India, and as far north as the Caucasus and the steppes of Central Asia. However, neither under the Ottomans nor under the Abbasids, nor, except for very brief periods under the great civilizations of antiquity, did Iraq, or Mesopotamia (although the two areas are not quite coterminous), enjoy a separate existence as an independent political entity. In the third and fourth millennia, Mesopotamia/Babylonia was divided between Akkad in the north and Sumer in the south. Assyria, based on Nineveh, first exacted tribute from Babylonia and was later overcome by it; and Assyria and Babylonia were themselves incorporated into the Persian/Achaemenid Empire. In the 12 centuries between the Persian and Muslim conquests, Mesopotamia and northern Iraq were occupied by the Seleucids, the Parthians and the Sassanians. These waves of invasion and conquest go some way to explain the diversity of Iraq and the heterogeneity of its population, which has been further compounded since the rise of Islam by migrations from Anatolia, Iran and the Arabian Peninsula.

### PRE-ISLAMIC IRAQ

Iraq has the distinction of being the home of the earliest civilization of Western Asia, the Sumerians of Ur in the third millennium B.C., and also of the earliest system of writing, first attested in about 3100 B.C. and later developed into the system known as cuneiform. Politically, this civilization appears to have been centered about a number of city-states, and originally based in Ur—which dates back to at least 2500 B.C. The Sumerians produced a considerable body of literature, consisting of myths, histories, hymns,

### IRAQ

liturgies and epics, and also left numerous records of their commercial transactions on stone and clay tablets. Their script was taken over by the Akkadians, who spoke and wrote the earliest Semitic language. King Hammurabi attempted to unite the populations of Akkad and Sumer by promulgating laws derived from the customs of both peoples; but although the Code of Hammurabi remains a major landmark in the history of Babylon, the division between northern and southern Mesopotamia seems to have remained and to have been perpetuated during the first millennium B.C. by the hostility between the Babylonians and the Assyrians.

Little is known of Babylon between the 18th and the 8th centuries B.C., when it was under Assyrian dominion. Assyria, based on the cities of Ashur, Nineveh, Nimrud and Erbil (one of the oldest continuously inhabited sites in the Near East), was at the height of its powers in the 7th century B.C., under Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal, when its rulers controlled Babylonia, North Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Cilicia and Armenia. The palaces of the Assyrian kings have also been extensively excavated; apart from the winged bulls in the British Museum, the Assyrians are perhaps best known for the Epic of Gilgamesh, a story of the creation of the world and the flood sent to punish mankind. By 612 B.C. Assyria had once more passed under Babylonian dominion, and Babylon experienced a revival under Nebuchadnezzar. This, however, was short-lived, since both the Assyrian and Babylonian civilizations were superseded by those of Persia, notably under Cyrus, the founder of the Achaemenid dynasty and builder of Istakhr (Persepolis), who captured Ecbatana in 550 B.C. and Babylon in 538 B.C.

For most of the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries the Achaemenids were in conflict with the Greeks, whom they managed to keep at bay until the defeat of Darius III by Alexander the Great at the river Issus in 321 B.C.. Iraq then passed under Seleucid and Parthian rule until the advent of the Sassanian dynasty in the third century A.D.. The first of the Sassanians, Ardashir, took the title of Shahanshah, "King of Kings," and established his capital at Ctesiphon (the imposing remains of which are now in one of the suburbs of Baghdad), while maintaining the religious center of the empire at Persepolis. For most of the four centuries of the empire's existence, the Sassanians were at war with Rome and Byzantium, and the exhaustion of these empires as a result of their constant conflict with one another explains the extreme rapidity with which Islam was able to spread in the seventh century, and the relatively few obstacles it encountered in its penetration of Western Asia and North Africa.

### IRAQ 637-1258

The great Islamic conquests began shortly after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632, when the Arab armies swept westward and eastward out of the Arabian Peninsula to occupy Greater Syria, Egypt and Iraq within eight years. The Sassanians were unable to resist the Muslim advance, and were defeated in two great battles, Qadisiya (637) and Nihawand (642). Meanwhile, the fact that—whether by accident or by design—the method of selecting the next leader of the Islamic community had not been defini-



# الفتوح الإسلامية

## بعد مضي الفتوح النبوية

تأليف

السيد احمد بن زيني دحمان

مفتي مكة

Bagdat - 20-24

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١٤ جواد حسي - القاهرة

تليفون ٥٦١٥٥

- ٢٠ -

### ذكر خروج التتر وتملكهم بغداد وانقراض

الدولة العباسية من بغداد

قال ابن خلدون أن التتر من شعوب الترك وأن الترك كلهم من ولد كورم بن يافت ابن نوح عليه السلام ومساكنهم بلاد الصين مما وراء نهر سيحون وهم أمم كثيرة وسيحون نهر مما وراء النهر قريب خجند بعد سمرقند وهو في حدود بلاد الترك ويطلق أيضاً على نهر الهند وأما جيحون فهو نهر خوارزم وجيجان نهر الشام ، وفي سنة ست وخسين وستائة ، كان استيلاء التتر على بغداد وانقراض الدولة العباسية ( وينبغي قبل ذلك ) أن نذكر ابتداء أمر التتر وكيف كان خروجهم على أهل الإسلام ، وذكر كثير من المؤرخين أن حادثة التتر حادثة عظمى ومهيبة كبرى عمت الخلائق وخصت المسلمين بشدة بلائها فلو قال أن العالم منذ خلق الله آدم عليه السلام إلى وقت خروج التتر لم يتبل بمثله لصدق فإن التواريخ لم تتضمن ما يقاربها ولا ما يدانيها ومن أعظم ما يذكر من الحوادث ما فعله بختنغر بنى إسرائيل من القتل وتخريب بيت المقدس وما بيت المقدس بالنسبة إلى ما خرب هؤلاء الملائعين من البلاد التي كل مدينة منها أضعاف بيت المقدس وما بنو إسرائيل بالنسبة إلى من قتلوا فإن أهل مدينة واحدة ممن قتلوا أكثر من بنى إسرائيل ولعل الخلق لا يرون مثل هذه الحادثة إلى أن ينقرض العالم وتفنى الدنيا إلا بأجوج ومأجوج ، وأما الدجال فإنه يبقى من أتبعه ويهلك من خالفه وهؤلاء لم يبقوا أحداً بل قتلوا العلماء والصلحاء والزهاد والعباد والخوفاص والعوام والنساء والرجال والأطفال وشقوه بطون الحوامل وقتلوا الأجنة فإننا لله وإنا إليه راجعون ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم لهذه الحادثة التي استطار شررها وعم ضررها وسارت في البلاد كالسحاب استدرته الرياح فإن قوما خرجوا من أطراف الصين وعبروا نهر سيحون فقصده بلاد تركستان مثل كاشغر وبلاسون ، ثم منها إلى بلاد ما وراء النهر مثل سمرقند وبخارى وغيرها فيملكونها ويفعلون بأهلها ما سئدكره ، ثم تعبر منهم طائفة إلى خراسان فيفرغون منها مسلحاً وقتلاً وتخريباً ونهباً ثم يتجاوزونها إلى الري

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بوهمدان وبلد الجبل وما فيه من البلاد إلى حد العراق ثم يقصدون بلاد أذربيجان وأرمينية وغيرها ويخربونها ويقتلون أكثر أهلها ولم ينج إلا الشريد النادر في أقل من سنة هذا ما لم يسمع بمثله ، ثم لما فرغوا من أذربيجان وأرمينية ساروا إلى دربندشروان فملكوا مدنه ولم يسلم غير القاعة التي بها ملكهم وعبروا عندها إلى بلاد اللادن والترك ومن كان هنالك من الأمم المختلفة فأوسعهم قتلاً ونهباً وتخريباً ، ثم قصدوا بلاد قفقاق وهم من أكثر الترك عدداً فقتلوا كل من وقف لهم فهرب الباقون إلى الفياض ورؤوس الجبال فوفرقوا بلادهم واستولى هؤلاء التتر عليها فملوا هذا في أسرع زمان لم يلبثوا إلا بقدر مسيرهم لا غير ومضى طائفة أخرى غير هذه الطائفة إلى غزنة وأعمالها وما يجاورها من بلاد الهند وسيحان وكرامان ففعلوا فيها مثل ما فعل هؤلاء وأشد هذا ما لم يطرق الأسماع مثله فإن الاسكندر الذي اتفق المؤرخون على أنه ملك الدنيا لم يملكها في هذه السرعة وإنما ملكها في نحو عشر سنين ولم يقتله أحد إنما رضى من الناس بالطاعة وهؤلاء قد ملكوا أكثر المعمور من الأرض وأحسنه وأكثره عمارة وأهلاً وأعدل أهل الأرض أخلاقاً وسيرة في نحو سنة ولم يبت أحد من أهل البلاد التي يطرقونها إلا وهو خائف يتوقمهم ويتربصهم ويصومهم إليه ، ثم أنهم لا يحتاجون إلى ميرة ومدد يأتيهم بل كان معهم الأغنام والبقر والحيل وغير ذلك من الدواب يأكلون لحومها لا غير وأما دوابهم التي يركبونها فإنها تحفر الأرض بجوافرها وتأكل عزوق النبات لاتعرف الشمير فهم إذا نزلوا منزلاً لا يحتاجون شيء من خارج ، وأما دياتهم فإنهم يسجدون للشمس عند طلوعها ولا يحرمون شيئاً فإنهم يأكلون جميع الدواب حتى الكلاب والخنزير والحشرات وبنى آدم ولا يعرفون نكاحاً بل المرأة يأتيها غير واحد من الرجال فإذا جاء الولد لا يعرف أباه بل يولد على الإسلام والمسلمون في مدتهم بمصائب لم يبيل بها أحد من الأمم فهؤلاء التتر قبضهم الله أقبلوا من المشرق ففعلوا الأفعال التي يستعظمها كل من سمع بها ، وكانوا كلما ملكوا مدينة قتلوا العلماء والصلحاء والزهاد والعباد والخوفاص والعوام وخربوا الجوامع وأحرقوا المصاحف وفعلوا أشياء لم يسمع بمثله وفي مدتهم أيضاً كان خروج الفرنج منهم

# ابن بطوطة وطرانه

تحقيق ودراسة وتحليل

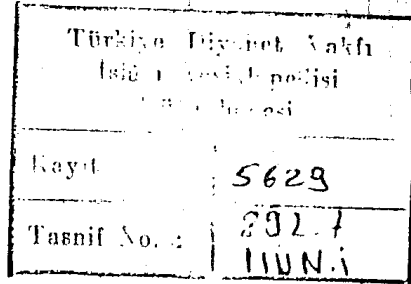


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دارالمعارف

في ذهن قارئه أنه أكمل دراسته على الطريق ، بل يحدد تاريخ هذا السماع كما حدد تاريخ سماعه البخارى ، والتاريخ هو رجب ٧٢٧/ مايو ١٣٢٧ .  
ويطيل ابن بطوطة الحديث عن أبى سعيد بهادرخان سلطان العراقين : أى العراق وفارس ؛ وهو آخر إيلخانات إيران ، وهو ابن السلطان محمد خدابنده المشهور باسم أولجايتو ، وقد حكم فيما بين سنتي ١٣٠٥م و ١٣١٦م .  
وأولجايتو هو ثامن السلاطين من حفدة جنكيزخان ، وهو الذى اعتنق الإسلام ، ولا ينبغي الخلط بين أولجايتو هذا وأولجايتو حفيد قبلاى خان إمبراطور الصين من المغول الذى حكم فيما بين سنتي ١٢٩٤م و ١٣٠٧م .

وجدير بالذكر أن أولجايتو محمد خدابنده الذى اعتنق الإسلام كان قد تنصر في مداخل شبابه ، ثم هداه الله إلى الإسلام ، وإليه ينسب جامع من أجمل مساجد تبريز الباقية إلى اليوم من عصر الإيلخانات . وأبوسعيد هو تاسع الإيلخانات وآخرهم ، وبعده تفرقت السلطنة ، وقد قص علينا ابن بطوطة تفاصيل هذا التفرق .

ومن بغداد يذهب ابن بطوطة في موكب السلطان أبى سعيد إلى تبريز ، ويصف لنا سوق الجوهريين في تبريز قال : « فحار بصرى مما رأيته من أنواع الجواهر ، وهى بأيدى ممالك حسان الصور عليهم الثياب الفاخرة ، وأوساطهم مشدودة بمناديل الحرير ، وهم بين التجار يعرضون الجواهر على نساء الأتراك وهن يشتريها كثيراً ويتنافسن فيها ، فرأيت من ذلك كله فتنة يستعاذ بالله منها » (ص ٢٢٦) .

وبعد أن يصف سوق العنبر والمسك ثم المسجد الجميل الذى عمره الوزير على شاه المعروف بجبلان - يلقي السلطان ، ويبلغه أنه يريد الحج ، فيعطيته السلطان زاداً وحصاناً . ثم عاد إلى بغداد لينتظر موعد خروج الركب ، ويجد أنه بقى على ذلك شهران - فيحفزه حب الرحلة إلى الانتفاع بهذين الشهرين في رحلة استطلاع إلى الموصل وديار بكر .

وفي الطريق إلى الموصل يزور سامرا ويصف خرائبها ، ويأتينا بتفسير غير صحيح لاسمها فيقول : إنه سام را : أى طريق سام ؛ لأن را معناه بالفارسية الطريق ، ومن سامرا يصل إلى تكريت ويطرى حسنها ، ويذكر أن أهلها موصوفون بحسن الأخلاق ،

بغداد

بقية بغداد - تبريز - الموصل - حجته الثانية -  
مجاورته بمكة - خروجه إلى اليمن

يستفاد من كلام ابن بطوطة أن بغداد احتفظت إلى أيامه ببقية صالحة من مجدها العلمى الثالث ، وإذا كانت زعامة العلم قد انتقلت منها إلى غيرها من المدن ، وخاصة القاهرة ودمشق ، ومدن أخرى مثل تبريز التى كانت عاصمة إيلخانية فارس - فإن أهل العلم في بغداد حرصوا على المحافظة على الشكل والهيئة العلمية لبلدهم ، والصورة التالية مصداق لذلك :

« وهذه الجهة الشرقية من بغداد حافلة الأسواق ، عظيمة الترتيب ، وأعظم أسواقها سوق تعرف بسوق الثلاثاء كل صناعة فيه على حدة ، وفي وسط هذه السوق المدرسة النظامية العجيبة التى صارت الأمثال تضرب بحسبها ، وفي آخرها المدرسة المستنصرية ، ونسبتها إلى أمير المؤمنين المستنصر بالله أبى جعفر بن أمير المؤمنين الظاهر بن أمير المؤمنين الناصر . وبها المذاهب الأربعة ، لكل مذهب إيوان فيه المسجد وموضع التدريس ، وجلس المدرس في قبة خشب صغيرة على كرسى عليه البسط . ويقعد المدرس وعليه السكينة والوقار لباساً ثياب السواد معتماً ، وعلى يمينه ويساره معيدان يعيدان كل ما يمليه ، وهكذا ترتب كل مجلس من هذه المجالس الأربعة ، وفي داخل هذه المدرسة الحمام للطلبة ودار الوضوء » (ص ٢١٩) .

وهذه المناسبة يذكر ابن بطوطة كيف قرأ في مسجد الخليفة في بغداد مسند الدارمى ( أبى محمد عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن الفضل بن بهرام ) على مسند العراق ، كما يقول أبو حفص عمر بن على القزوينى ، وهو ينص على ذلك نصاً واضحاً كأنه يريد أن يقر

الدكتور عبد المجيد أبو الفتوح بدوي

- Bagdad

# التاريخ السياسي والفكري

للمذهب السني في المشرق الإسلامي  
من القرن الخامس الهجري حتى سقوط بغداد

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GUL 956.051
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## الخاتمة

سقوط بغداد  
وما أثير عن دور الشيعة فيه

في هذه الخاتمة سأتناول بالدرس والتحليل ما أثير عن دور الشيعة في سقوط بغداد على أيدي المغول. وعندما تعالج القضية في هذا الإطار فإن معالجتها لن تتطلب منا أن نبحث عن أصول المغول ونشأتهم، أو تطور دولتهم إلا بالقدر الذي يلقي الضوء على هذه القضية التي نبحثها.

وبادئ ذي بدء نحب أن ننبه إلى أن الذين أشاروا بإصبع الاتهام إلى بعض عناصر الشيعة هم المؤرخون السنيون وعلى رأسهم ابن واصل، والمؤرخ الفارسي: منهاج السراج الجوزجاني في كتابه «طبقات ناصري» الذي ألفه بعد سقوط بغداد بثلاث سنوات<sup>(١)</sup> وكذلك أبو الفداء، وابن شاعر الكتبي، والسبكي، وابن كثير، والمقريزي، وأبو الحسن والسيوطي، والعماد الحنبلي. أما المؤرخ الشيعي الوحيد وهو ابن الطقطقي فقد انبرى لنفي هذا الاتهام، والرد عليه.

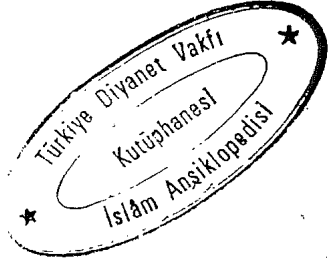
وكان اتهام المؤرخين السنيين منصبا على شخصيتين رئيسيتين: الأولى: شخصية محمد بن أحمد العلقمي (وزير الخليفة المستعصم) والشخصية الثانية هي: نصير الدين الطوسي (مستشار هولاكو) وكلا الرجلين شيعي إمامي، وكما قلنا هما شخصيتان رئيسيتان ومعنى

(١) انظر: تاريخ الأدب في إيران ص ٥٨٧ - ٥٨٨.

# ابن بطوطة ودراسته

تحقيق ودراسة وتحليل

Baghdad (88-91)



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Kayıt	5629
Tasnif No. :	252.7 MÜN.İ



دارالمعارف

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بغداد . وفي كل حمام منها خلوات كثيرة كل خلوة منها مفروشة بالقار ، مطلى نصف حائطها مما يلي الأرض به ، والنصف الأعلى مطلى بالجص الأبيض الناصع ، فالضدائها مجتمعان متقابل حسنها .

ومن الواضح أن هذا القار مأخوذ من آبار النفط أي البترول ، وكانت عينونه كثيرة معروفة بالعراق من قديم الزمان ، وكان الناس لا يخفون له ولا يهتمهم من أمره سوى القار ، وكان يستخرج من آبار البترول التي ينضب ما فيها أو يقل دفع السائل منها . ويصف ابن بطوطة حمامات بغداد وما كان فيها من الخلوات وهو يقول . إن بكل خلوة أنبوبين : واحداً للماء البارد والآخر للساخن ، وفي زاوية كل خلوة أيضاً حوض آخر للاغتسال فيه أيضاً أنبوبان يجريان بالحر والبارد ، وكل داخل يعطى ثلاثاً من الفوط : إحداها يأتزر بها عند دخوله ، والثانية يأتزر بها عند خروجه ، والثالثة ينشف بها الماء عن جسده ولم أر هذا الإتيان بحق في مدينة سوى بغداد ، وبعض البلاد تقاربها في ذلك .

ومعنى ذلك أن بغداد كانت لا تزال تحتفظ بشيء من جاهها وترفها السابق برغم ما جرت به عليها المقادير .

ويقول ابن بطوطة - إن الجانب الغربي من بغداد هو الذي عمر أولاً ، ثم حרב ، وعلى ذلك فقد بقي منه ثلاث عشرة محلة فيها الحمامان والثلاثة ، وفي ثمان منها المساجد الجامعة ، والمفهوم أن المراد بالمحلة الحى ، ويذكر من بين هذه المحلات محلة باب البصرة ، وبها جامع الخليفة المنصور والمرستان فيما بين محلة باب البصرة ومحلة الشارع على الدجلة ، وهو قصر كبير حارب وبقيت منه آثار .

وزار ابن بطوطة في محلة باب البصرة مشهد الصوفي المشهور معروف الكرخي ، وذكر كذلك قبر الإمام موسى الكاظم بن جعفر الصادق والد علي بن موسى الرضا ، وإلى جانبه قبر الجواد ، والقبران داخل الروضة ، عليها دكابة ملبسة بالخشب عليه ألواح الفضة « (ص ٢١٨) »

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أنهم إذا تغير عليهم الهواء أو خافوا اللصوص نذروا لابن إسحق نذراً وكتب كل منهم على نفسه مانذر به !

فإذا وصلوا بر السلامة صعد خدام الزاوية إلى المركب وأخذوا الزمام . وقبضوا من كل ناظر نذره (ص ٢١٢) وهذا أغرب ما قرأناه عن الشيوخ ذوى الكرامات وما ينذر لهم من نذور .

ومر ابن بطوطة بالكوفة ، ولم تطل إقامته بها ولا أفاض حديثه عنها ، ومما تجدر ملاحظته قوله : « ورأيت بغربى جبانة الكوفة موضوعاً مسوداً شديد السواد في بسيط أبيض ، فأخبرت أنه قبر الشقى ابن ملجم ، وأن أهل الكوفة يأتون في كل سنة بالحطب الكثير ، فيوقدون النار على موضع قبره سبعة أيام ، وعلى قرب منه قبة وضعت على قبر المختار بن أبي عبيد .

وقد زار كذلك الحجة ثم كربلاء ، وهو يصفها في صورة قريبة من وصفها اليوم ، ويتحدث عن عتبة مشهد الحسين رضى الله عنه وهى من الفضة ، وأخيراً ينتهى إلى بغداد .

نقف بعض الوقت عند بغداد : فهذه أول مرة يزورها رحالة كبير ، ويصفها لنا بعد خرابها على أيدي المغول ، وكلام ابن بطوطة عنها حزين بالطبع ، يقول : « لم يبق إلا اسمها ، وهى - بالإضافة إلى ما كانت عليه قبل إنحاء الحوادث عليها ، والفتات أعين النوائب إليها - كالطلل الدارس أو تمثال الخيال الشاخص ، فلا حسن فيها يستوقف البصر ، ويستوعى من المستوفز العناية والنظر ، إلا دجلتها التي هى بين شرفها وغربها كالمرأة المجلوة بين صفحتين ، أو العقد المنتظم بين لبنتين ! » (ص ٢١٦) يقول ابن بطوطة : إنه كان في بغداد ، أيام زيارته لها : « جسران يصلان شرفها بغربها ، وفيها المساجد التي يخطب فيها ، وتقام فيها الجمعة أحد عشر مسجداً ، منها بالجانب الغربى ثمانية وبالجانب الشرقى ثلاثة ، والمساجد سواها كثيرة جداً ، وكذلك المدارس إلا أنها خربت . وحمامات بغداد كثيرة وهى من أبداع الحمامات وأكثرها ، مطلية بالقار مسطحة به ، فيخيل لرائيه أنه رخام أسود ، وهذا القار يجلب من عين بين الكوفة والبصرة تنبع أبداً ، ويصير في جوانبها كالصلصال فيجرف منها ويحلب إلى

قبر  
مد الرحمن  
ملجم  
ة المختار ابن  
فى عبيد

بغداد

نظ  
العراق



# درسات في تاريخ الخلافة العباسية

العصر العباسي الأول مع الإمارات  
العربية الإسلامية في المشرق والمغرب

Türkiye Diyanet İşleri İslâm Ansiklopedisi
Tanıf No. : HAM.D

تأليف

الدكتور رشيد عبد الله الجميلي

أستاذ التعليم العالي بكلية الآداب والعلوم الانسانية - الدار البيضاء  
والجامعة المستنصرية - بغداد



الطبعة الأولى  
1984

وحرص الخليفة على ان يرى رسم مدينته قبل الشروع في بنائها ، فأمر أن  
تخط طرقها بالرماد ، وان يوضع على تلك الخطوط كرات من القطن مبللة بالنفط  
وتشعل فيها النيران ، ثم نظر اليها والنار مشتعلة فيها فبانت له خططها  
واقسامها (101).

وقد بنيت بغداد على شكل دائري ليس بالمرعب ولا المستطيل ، وهو اتجاه  
جديد في فن بناء المدن الإسلامية ، وقد استهدف المنصور من ذلك أن يكون  
مركزها على مسافات متساوية من اجزاء الدائرة ، وقد ذكر ابن الفقيه الهمداني أن  
المنصور بنى المدينة مدوّرة « لان المدورة لها معان ليست للمربعة ، وذلك ان  
المربعة اذ كان الملك في وسطها كان بعضها أقرب اليه من بعض ، والمدورة من  
حيث مسحت كان أمرها الى وسطها مستويا لا يزيد بعضه على بعض ، وبنى لها  
أربعة أبواب فكان اذا جاءها الجاني من المشرق دخل من باب خراسان ، واذا  
جاءها من الحجاز دخل من باب الكوفة ، واذا جاء من المغرب دخل من باب  
الشام ، واذا جاء من فارس والاحواز والبصرة وواسط واليمامة والبحرين وعمان دخل  
من باب البصرة » (102).

واحاط المنصور المدينة بخندق وسورين ضخمين بينهما فسحة من الارض ،  
وجعل لها أربعة ابواب متقابلة ، وعند كل باب دهليز عليه قبة ضخمة ، وأنشأ في  
وسطها قصرا فخما له ديوان كبير وعليه قبة خضراء عالية ، ويلاصق هذا القصر  
مسجد جامع واسع ، وعدد من الدواوين ، ويحيط هذه الابنية رحبة ، وبين الرحبة  
والاسوار تمتد دروب كثيرة مستقيمة تقع عليها طاقات وحوانيت ، ووزع على  
حرسه قطائع لينبوا عليها بيوتهم ، ثم مد اليها قناتين تأخذ احدهما ماءها من نهر  
دجلة الذي يقع شمال المدينة ، وتأخذ الثانية من نهر كرخايا الواقع جنوبي المدينة ،  
وكانت كل قناة منها تدخل المدينة وتنفذ في الشوارع والدروب ويجري فيها الماء  
صيفا وشتاء دون انقطاع .

ادى الى خراب السواد وتدهور الزراعة ، فاعتمد المنصور نظام المقاسمة الذي ينص  
على أن يدفع الزراع جزءا معيناً من محصولهم كضريبة ، ويبقى لهم ما يكفيهم ،  
وقد ذكر البلاذري أن المنصور توفي قبل ان يتم هذا الاصلاح فقام به ولده المهدي  
من بعده (94) . وجعل المنصور جباة الضرائب تحت رقابة دقيقة لئلا يظلموا أو  
يستأثروا بأموال الدولة ، ولجأ الى مصادرة أموال العمال الذين تثبت خيانتهم  
ليسترجع منهم ما اختزنوه من أموال الدولة ، كما فعل بخالد بن برمك بعد ان واه  
مقاطعة فارس حيث ألزمه بعد ذلك بدفع ثلاثة آلاف درهم (95) .

## ولاية العهد :

حرص ابو جعفر المنصور على ان يحفظ الخلافة في بيته فجعل ولاية العهد  
لولده محمد المهدي ، مقدما اياه على ابن اخيه عيسى بن موسى الذين كان ابو  
العباس قد جعله وليا للعهد بعد أبي جعفر المنصور ، فلجأ الاخير الى اساليب  
الترغيب والارهاب مع عيسى وارغمه على التنازل عن حقه بالخلافة الى المهدي سنة  
147 هـ على ان تكون له ولاية العهد من بعده (96)

## ب - الانجازات العمرانية

### تأسيس بغداد :

أقام المنصور في الكوفة بعد توليه الخلافة ، وبنى له في طرف منها مدينة  
سمها الهاشمية اتخذها مركزا لدولته ، الا انه لم يكن مطمئنا الى أهل الكوفة ولا يثق  
في ولائهم للعباسيين ، مما دفعه الى البحث عن موقع آخر يتخذة عاصمة للدولة ،  
فشرع في ارتياد مناطق العراق واستمع الى الآراء والمعلومات التي تقدم بها بعض

(94) الماوردي ، الاحكام السلطانية ، ص 170

(95) الجهشيارى ، الوزراء والكتاب ص 99

(96) ابن الطقطقي ، الفخري ص 126 - 127

(101) نفس المصدر، ج 9 ص 242  
(102) ابن الفقيه، مدينة السلام ص 35

# دراسات في الحضارة الإسلامية

تأليف  
دكتور حسين الباشا

Bagdad (208-215)

05. MAYIS 1995.

MADDE YERİNDEN ÇIKTIRILAN  
SARAY KÜTÜPHANESİ

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Deneme No:	21962
Tasni No:	17-23

١٩٩٢

الناشر

دار النهضة العربية

٣٢ هارح عبد الحاق ثروت - القاهرة

مطبعة جامعة القاهرة  
والكتاب الجامعي

- ٢٠٩ -

ومما يسترعى الانتباه أن هذا الموقع بالقرب من مدينة المدائن القديمة (طيسفون Ctesiphon) عاصمة الساسانيين • وكان هذا الاختيار يحمل في طياته منذ البداية ميل العباسيين للفرس وللتقاليد الفارسية •

وبعد اختيار الموقع بدأت مرحلة الإعداد والتخطيط : فطلب أبو جعفر من ولاته أن يوافوه بأفضل من عندهم من العمال والخبراء في تأسيس المدن والبناء والتعمير وزعم يعقوبى في كتاب «البلدان» أن المنصور كتب الى كل بلد في حبل من فيه ممن يفهم شيئا من البناء فحضره مائة ألف من أصناف المهن والصناعات •

وقبل الشروع في البناء خطت المدينة • واتبع في ذلك طريقة معينة ، اذ رسم التخطيط بالرماد ، فوضعت كرات من القطن مشبعة بالنفط ثم حرقت هذه الكرات فتركت آثارا ثم حفر أساس المدينة مكان هذه الآثار •

ويقال انه اشرف على تصميم المدينة خمس من المهندسين واشترك في بنائها أربعة من المشرفين كان أحدهم أبو حنيفة النعمان الذي يقال انه كان يحسب الطوب بعد المداميك بواسطة مسطرة مدرجة •

وفي سنة ١٤٥ هـ بدأ البناء وكان في وقت اختاره نوبخت أحد رجال الفلك والتنجيم ، وفي سنة ١٤٦ هـ نقل الى المدينة بيت المال والديوان ، وفي سنة ١٤٧ هـ تم البناء (١) •

وعرفت المدينة بعدة أسماء : هي بغداد ، ومدينة أبي جعفر ، والمدينة المدورة • أما الاسم الرسمي فكان مدينة السلام وسميت بالمدينة المدورة نسبة الى تخطيطها الذي كان على هيئة دائرة • ويقول يعقوبى انه « لا تعرف في جميع أقطار الدنيا مدينة مدورة غيرها » • غير أنه يبدو

(١) Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, part 2. Taha Bagir, Baghdad, p. 3.

(٢) م ١٤ - دراسات في الحضارة الإسلامية

- ٢٠٨ -

كيف تم حرق القسطنطينية يقول ان شاور نادى بأن لا يقيم في مصر أحد « وأزعج الناس في النقلة فتركوا أموالهم وأثقالهم ونجوا بأنفسهم وأولادهم • وبعث شاور الى مصر بعشرين ألف قارورة نفط وعشرة آلاف مشعل نار فوق ذلك فيها فارتفع لهيب النار ودخان الحريق الى السماء فصار منظرا مهولا واستمرت النار من اليوم التاسع والعشرين من صفر لتنام أربعة وخمسين يوما ••• كل ذلك والنهاية ينقبون في المنازل في طلب الخبايا ومن ثم تحولت مصر القسطنطينية الى تلك الأطلال المعروفة » •

وعندما ولي صلاح الدين حكم مصر شرع في بناء سور يضم القاهرة والقسطنطينية (١) وصار يطلق عليهما معا اسم القاهرة •

## بغداد

بويج لأبي العباس السفاح في مدينة الكوفة بالعراق حيث اتخذها مقرا لحكمه بدلا من دمشق التي كانت عاصمة الأمويين وبها أنصارهم ثم تحولوا الى الأنبار حيث أسس مدينة اتخذها مقر حكمه سميت بالهاشمية •

وأقام أبو جعفر المنصور في الهاشمية في أول الأمر • ثم قرر أن يؤسس مدينة جديدة يتخذها مركزا لحكمه • وكانت الخطوة الأولى هي اختيار الموقع • وقد قام المنصور برحلات كثيرة في سبيل الاهتداء الى المكان المناسب وكان من الطبيعي أن يكون الموقع بصفة عامة أقرب الى الولايات الشرقية حيث قامت الدعوة العباسية ووجد مؤيدوها • وقد وقع الاختيار على موقع قرية ساسانية قديمة تسمى بغداد ومعناها عطاء الله • ويقع هذا المكان في أرض السواد الخصيبة بين العراق وايران ، وتتقابل عنده طرق التجارة الرئيسية سواء عبر البر أو من البحر أو على طول النهر • كما يمتاز بحسن الجو صيفا وشتاء (٢) •

(١) المقرئى : الخطط ج ٢ ص ٢٢٢ •

(٢) بشر فرنيسين : بغداد تاريخها وآثارها عن المقدسى •

MASSIGNON AND BAGHDAD:  
THE COMPLEXITIES OF GROWTH IN AN  
IMPERIAL CITY\*)

BY

JACOB LASSNER  
Wayne State University

For more than half a century, one of the most distinguished contributors to the understanding of the Islamic city and its institutions was the late L. Massignon, whose topographical studies covered such diverse locations as al-Fās, al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, Ukḥaydir, and most relevant to the present study Baghdad<sup>1</sup>). Guided largely by his experiences in cities of the Near East around the turn of the century, Massignon based his methodology from the outset on "un fait constant et général, la fixité de la repartition topographique des corps de métiers dans un cité islamique déterminée à partir du moment de sa fondation." It is, of course, true that the topography of a city may be altered by given historical circumstances; but this will reflect only the changing surface of the city—its monuments rather than its geographical setting. As this position was rigidly held for *all* Islamic cities, regardless of their historical development, the picture of Baghdad, implicit in Massignon's view, is that of an integrated city covering a land surface which must, of necessity, be limited by the distance of any populated location from the services of its single set of markets; for there can be no large urban occupation in the absence of these institutions<sup>2</sup>).

It is this particular position which is the basis of Massignon's controversial views on Baghdad, leading him to disagree with LeStrange on such fundamental questions as the location of certain markets, the

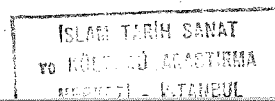
\*) This article is based on a large work on the topography of Baghdad which was recently completed.

1) See index to his *Opera Minora* ed. Y. Moubarac, Beirut (1963); and especially his *Mission en Mésopotamie* (1907-1909), Cairo (1912) = *MIFAO XXI*, v. 2, p. 66 ff.

2) *Mission*, pp. 90-92; also his "Les corps de métiers et la cité Islamique" in *Opera Minora*, v. 2, p. 369 ff.

JESHO, IX

DOKÜMANTASYON MERKEZI 16 U



and Aḥmad Sūsah, more or less, follows the plans of LeStrange<sup>1</sup>).

In the absence of extensive archaeological investigations, the present physical evidence is not sufficient as to allow for a decisive judgment. The proof of Massignon's theory is therefore dependent on the validity of two implicit and related assumptions: the limited size of the city and the centrality of its institutions. Neither seems relevant to the situation at Baghdad; for Massignon allowed himself to be guided by theoretical considerations against the established literary evidence, and more particularly, he apparently did not fully grasp the unique historical development of the city, its royal foundation, and subsequent growth as an imperial center. For three interrelated factors distinguish the capital of the 'Abbāsids from all other cities of the realm: the enormous surface area, the dominant relationship to the land behind it, and the desire to separate the agencies of government from the general populace.

Baghdad was not an integrated city, that is to say, a city built around a single set of municipal institutions over a circumscribed land surface. It was a sprawling urban center of enormous size and population, consisting of smaller interdependent elements, each containing to some extent, its own institutions, and each the creation of specific historical circumstances related to the development of the administrative agencies of the government. The incipient decline of this great urban center can be noticed as early as the tenth century. For official purposes, the passing of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty in 1258 marks an end to the pre-eminence of their capital, although in reality it had at various moments, been eclipsed by other major cities. By the time of Massignon's travels, the land surface had contracted around the old caliphal quarter of the East Side, and a truncated section of al-Karkh across the river<sup>2</sup>). It is, therefore, clear that the city of Massignon's *Mission* in 1907-1908 was not the great 'Abbāsīd capital of the middle ages, a significant though obvious distinction which must serve as the focal point of any study on the growth of the city and the surrounding region.

1) *Atlas Baghdād*, Baghdad (1952).

2) See the chronological map.

Arabica 9 (1962) n° 289-342

M. Tuncel

x Bagdad

x Halife

## BAGDĀD AU TEMPS DE SES DERNIERS CALIFES \*

PAR

CLAUDE CAHEN

LA conquête salgūqide marque, pour le Moyen Orient, le début d'une nouvelle période. Ce n'était assurément pas la première fois que l'on y voyait des Turcs puisque, depuis deux siècles au moins, ceux-ci formaient une partie importante, et souvent dominante, de toutes les forces militaires. Néanmoins, les soldats qui étaient ainsi enrôlés l'étaient comme esclaves, à titre individuel, et jeunes encore ; ils apportaient peu de chose de leur société d'origine et, au contraire, étaient formés et progressivement intégrés par celle où ils se trouvaient introduits. La situation est maintenant assez largement différente, puisque c'est un peuple turc entier qui émigre pour conquérir un territoire nouveau et qui, s'il laisse aux habitants leurs usages et institutions, y juxtapose les siens propres. En outre, le siècle qui avait précédé leur établissement avait été celui du morcellement non seulement territorial, mais religieux, du monde musulman et, en particulier, de l'organisation, en Égypte et autour d'elle, de l'anticalifat ismā'īlien des Fāṭimides ; conviction ou politique, les Salgūqides lient leur sort aux champions indigènes

\* Il est impossible de donner à un article aussi général des références bibliographiques précises et complètes. Qu'il suffise de rappeler les principales sources littéraires, les chroniques d'IBN AL-ĠAWZĪ, IBN AL-ATĪR, SIBṬ IBN AL-ĠAWZĪ, IBN AL-SĀ'Ī et IBN AL-FUWAṬĪ, le voyage d'IBN ĠUBAYR et la géographie de YĀQŪT, les recueils biographiques d'AL-ḤAṬĪB et de ses continuateurs, le journal d'IBN BANNĀ', les *Manāqib Bagdād* d'IBN AL-ĠAWZĪ. La science moderne n'a encore trouvé le moyen de consacrer aucune œuvre d'ensemble à l'histoire de la capitale des Califes, et la période ici étudiée est particulièrement maigre, même en recherches particulières. Qu'il me suffise donc de renvoyer à la bonne orientation générale donnée par 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ DŪRĪ, dans l'article *Baghdād* de la nouvelle *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, en signalant seulement qu'elle a été écrite avant les publications entreprises par G. MAKDISI (voir *Arabica* 1959, *BSOAS* 1956-1957 et 1961, *Mélanges Massignon* III/1957) qui, même sans attendre sa thèse prochaine sur Ibn 'Aqīl, renouvellent plusieurs questions de l'histoire bagdādienne au VI<sup>e</sup>/XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Pour l'histoire générale de la période salgūqide, je me permets de renvoyer à mes chapitres de la *History of the Crusades*, éditée par K. M. SETTON, University of Pennsylvania, I/1955 et II/1962. Voir aussi mes *Mouvements populaires, etc. . . .*, dans *Arabica*, 1959.

moitié du III<sup>e</sup>/IX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Dans le même temps et dans un esprit dénué de préoccupations « scientistes », on entrevoit l'action conjugée d'une certaine aristocratie et de gens (en particulier de chanteurs-compositeurs) qui vivent de cette aristocratie et flattent ses besoins, ses caprices, ses aspirations informulées. Kūfa et Bašra puis après 145/762, Bagdad, sont les creusets où s'opère ce travail. Pour ce qui concerne les deux Muraqqiṣ, les quelques données explicatives, inséparables commentaires des allusions contenues dans les pièces attribuées à ces deux « poètes de tribu », ont fourni une trame d'autant plus appréciée qu'elle était plus lâche ; le thème folklorique de *l'Amant substitué* développé dans le n<sup>o</sup> 14 est un exemple typique de cette tendance. Tout donne à inférer, d'autre part, que ce public « mondain » et ses desservants cessent de considérer *globalement* les pièces de circonstances et les élégies d'allure bédouine. Ils en retiennent seulement les *nasībs* où s'expriment une sensibilité et des émois que les poètes comme 'Umar ibn Abī Rabi'a, au Ḥiğāz, et Baššār ibn Burd, en 'Irāq, reprendront sans lassitude. L'attribution à Muraqqiṣ le Jeune d'une élégie comme le n<sup>o</sup> 15 et, peut-être, d'un certain nombre d'autres de même facture, a agi à son tour comme cause seconde et a confirmé l'aspect « courtois » de l'ensemble de l'œuvre mise sous le nom des deux Muraqqiṣ.

En bonne méthode, il est impossible de dissimuler la part de provisoire et de subjectif contenue dans la dernière des précédentes remarques. On a là, cependant, une ligne de recherches propre à éclairer le double problème de la formation de l'idéal courtois et de la littérature romanesque liée à celui-ci. Une étude poussée des données logographiques relatives à des Amants-poètes comme 'Urwa ibn Ḥizām, 'Amr ibn Qamī'a et surtout Ğamīl serait, croit-on, susceptible de conduire à des résultats positifs et féconds.

12  
DOKÜMANIYASIN MERKEZI

Arabica, Tome VII, Fasc 1, Jan. 1960, Leiden, s. 41-53

Bagdad

## STUDIES ON THE TRANSFER OF THE 'ABBĀSID CALIPHATE FROM BAGDĀD TO CAIRO

BY

DAVID AYALON

### I.

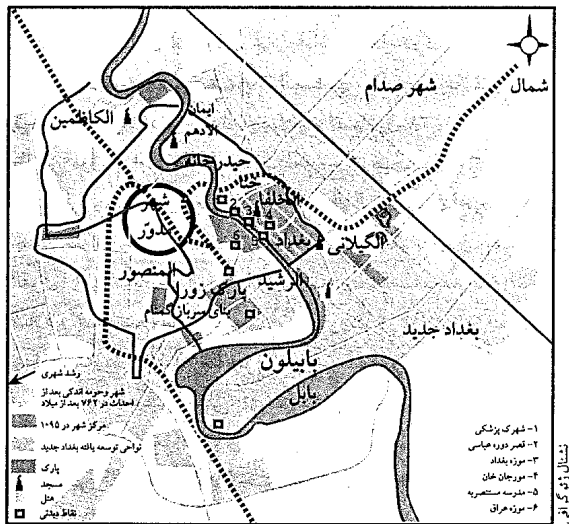
#### DID THE MAMLŪKS RECOGNIZE THE ḤAFṢID CALIPHATE?

THE destruction of the 'abbāsid Caliphate of Bagdād by the Mongols (*Ṣafar* 656/February 1258) and its re-establishment in Cairo by the Mamlūks (*Rağab* 659/June 1261) are events of major importance in muslim history. They have, moreover, for the history of Egypt and Syria, an added significance in that both of them occurred in the period of transition from ayyūbid to mamlūk rule. These two events and the short period of three and a half *hijra* years separating them deserve, therefore, a special attention. Such attention will, however, be adequately rewarded, only if these critical years are examined within the framework of a far wider study. As such a study has not yet been written, it is quite natural that earlier views and theories concerning the above mentioned period will have to be corrected and modified<sup>1</sup>.

In the following pages we shall examine a theory put forward by Richard Hartmann<sup>2</sup> concerning the attitude of the Mamlūks towards the Caliphate during the period under review. Our main purpose here is to prove that Hartmann, in assuming that the

1. One of the great hindrances to the study of the Bahri period in general and of its earlier years in particular is the fact that most of the published mamlūk sources belong to authors of the circassian period, whose picture of the events preceding their own time is, in many cases, inaccurate and misleading. The early publication of the sources for the bahri period would be of great benefit to the study not only of Egyptian and Syrian history, but also of muslim relations with the Mongols and with the Franks.

2. *Zur Vorgeschichte des 'abbāsidschen Schein-Chalifates von Cairo*, *Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1947 N<sup>o</sup> 9, Berlin, 1950, pp. 3-10. For a brief summary of this article and a review of it see: B. LEWIS, *EI*<sup>2</sup>, vol. I, p. 21, art. 'Abbāsids, and *BSOAS*, vol. XIV (1952), pp. 404-405. See also M. CANARD's review in *Revue Africaine*, Alger, 1952, pp. 226 f.



بغداد جدید

اداری، قضایی و آموزشی، در اوایل قرن بیستم انجام گرفت (دایرةالمعارف فارسی، ذیل «بغداد»)، بغداد دارای ظاهری کاملاً سنتی بود و از جهت دینی، اقتصادی، مسکونی، ارتباطی و فضا سازی شهر ویژگیهای سرزمینهای اسلامی را داشت. استحکامات نظامی از قبیل حصار، دروازه‌ها و بندها و دربندهای محلات شهری هنوز در شهر وجود داشت، هر چند مدحت پاشا حصار شهر را در ۱۸۰۶/۱۲۲۱ ویران کرد و به جای آن در محل خندقهای قدیمی سیل بندی ساخت که نقش دفاعی را هم ایفا می‌کرد (برای ویژگیهای شهر اسلامی ← اهلرزه، ص ۳۰-۳۱). در ۱۸۱۸/۱۲۳۳، در دوران حکومت داود پاشا، بازار جدید بغداد، تقریباً در جای بازار قدیمی، سوق‌الثلاثاء (بازار سه‌شنبه) که ویران شده بود، ساخته شد. این بازار، مجموعه‌ای از بخشهای گوناگون بازار (مانند راسته، خان و چهارسو) است؛ برای مثال سوق‌الشورجه از بزرگترین بازارهای بغداد و سوق‌السرای که بازار کوچکتری است. سوق‌السرای مجموعه‌ای است شامل راسته بازار سرپوشیده با درازای حدود صد متر و پهنای چهارمتر که دو راسته موازی حدود دهمتری با پهنای چهارمتر آن را به صورت چلیپایی قطع می‌کنند. در محل تقاطع این دو راسته با راسته اصلی، دو چهارسو ساخته شده که دو گنبد بر فراز آنها قرار گرفته است. بر محور نخستین راسته کوتاه، سر در اصلی مسجدی قرار دارد. این بازار و مسجد احتمالاً در قرن سیزدهم/ اوایل قرن نوزدهم بنا شده و طرح و شکل آن یادآور بازارهای ایران است. بازار سوق‌السرای ظاهراً بزرگتر بوده و قسمتهایی از آن در جریان خیابان‌کشی تخریب شده است (شرابی، ص ۸۷-۸۸). خانها، یعنی مجتمعهای

J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf*, vol. I, pts. I and II, Calcutta 1925; L. Massignon, *Mission en Mesopotamie*, vol. II, Cairo 1912; Ali Haydar Midhat, *The life of Midhat Pasha*, London 1903; Miskawayh, *Tadjarib al-Umam*, vol. I-VII ed. and tr. Amedroz and Margoliouth, 1920-1921; Jacques Jean Marie de Morgan, *Délégation en Perse, mémoires*; C. Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, vol. II, 1780; Obermeyer, *Landschaft Babylonien*, 1929; Olivier, *Voyages*, Paris 1804; Marco Polo, *Travels*, ed. Frampton; Ker Porter, *Travels in Syria, Persia, Armenia, ancient Babylonia*, London 1817-1820; Rauwolf, *Travels*, in Ray's collection, London 1605; *Realexikon der Assyriologie*, Berlin 1928; Rousseau, *Description du pachalik de Baghdad*, Paris 1809; Salmon, *Introduction*; Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin 1900; D. S. Sassoon, *History of the Jews in Baghdad*, Letchworth 1949; Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*; A. Sousa, *Atlas Baghdad, Baghdad* 1952; H. Southgate, *Narrative*, 1851; idem, *Tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia and Mesopotamia*, London 1850; M. Streck, *Die Alte Landschaft Babylonien*, I, Leiden 1900; Tarrāzī, *Arabic Press*; Tavernier, *Travels*, London 1678; Pedro Texeira, *Travels*, ed. Hakluyt; M. de Thevenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*; J. R. Wellsted, *Travels in the city of the caliphs*, London 1840; Ya'kūbī, *Lespays = Ketāb al-boldān*, tr. G. Wiet, Cairo 1937.

/ عبدالعزیز دوری، با اندکی تلخیص و اصلاح از (د. اسلام) /

۲) **بغداد امروز**. بغداد، پایتخت امروزی عراق و مرکز مهم فرهنگی، صنعتی، بازرگانی، با ۳'۶۸۰'۰۰۰ تن جمعیت در ۱۹۹۵ و ۸۶۳ کیلومتر مربع وسعت (>چالش شهرنشینی<<sup>۱</sup>، ص ۲۴؛ قس >دایرةالمعارف ورلد بوک<<sup>۲</sup>، ج ۱۰، ص ۳۴۳)، عمدتاً زیر نفوذ عوامل درونزا و برونزای فرهنگ معنوی و مادی سه دوره مشخص تاریخی شکل گرفته است: دوران حاکمیت عثمانی و حکومت پاشاها (۱۰۴۸-۱۳۳۵/۱۶۳۸-۱۹۱۷)؛ دوران اشغال، قیمومت و تحت‌الحمایگی انگلیس و مشروطه سلطنتی (۱۲۹۶-۱۳۳۷ ش/۱۹۱۷-۱۹۵۸)؛ و دوران جمهوری (از ۱۹۵۸ به بعد).

بغداد در دوران حاکمیت عثمانی اهمیت چندانی نداشت. با وجود گامهایی که در دوره حکومت مدحت پاشا به سوی تجدّدطلبی برداشته شد و اقداماتی که برای نوسازی مالی-

partmental allotments. The proportion of the total budget to be left subject to use at the discretion of the librarian, assuming the librarian to be competent, should probably be as large as possible.

The plan of having the budget for new books considered as a part of the library budget seems to be working more satisfactorily than that of regarding it as part of the departmental budget in the colleges surveyed. However, reasonable freedom in requisitioning needed books should be insured to the departments under this plan.

FLOYD W. REEVES  
JOHN DALE RUSSELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY QUARTERLY  
2/1932

#### FOUR GREAT LIBRARIES OF MEDIEVAL BAGHDAD

AMONG the glories of Baghdad during the days of the Abbasids were its exceptionally fine libraries. Many of the caliphs of that line were patrons of learning and delighted in collecting ancient and contemporary literature. Before their time some of the princes of the Umayyad dynasty had begun to gather and translate Greek scientific literature. Khālid Ibn Yāzid, for example, cultivated Greek and Coptic studies on alchemy and medicine and founded what was probably the first public library among the Arabs.<sup>1</sup> But the Abbasids were the first to foster Greek learning on a large scale; and Al Manṣūr, the founder of Baghdad, was one of its first patrons. This enthusiasm for the products of older cultures grew and expanded to include also works of Persian and Indian sources. Scholars were employed to gather, copy, translate, and comment on all sorts of literature from any and all sources. Much of Greek learning came through Syriac translations, and thereby Arabic savants familiarized themselves with Christian scholarship. Learning, in a sense, may be said to have become fashionable at court; and viziers and other associates of the caliphs followed their examples and supported scholars and literary men, whom they drew to them. Poets and learned men delighted to gather about their patrons to read and discuss. These groups in some cases, as will be seen in that of the coterie of Sābūr Ibn Ardashīr, developed into academies.

It is only natural that libraries, small and large, were soon being collected. Many of them were private collections intended only for the use of the owners and their immediate friends, but the libraries of the caliphs and other officials soon took on a public or a semi-public character. Books which were painstakingly copied and purchased at great expense were

<sup>1</sup> Yākūt, *Biographical dictionary*, "Gibb series," IV, 165 ff.; *Encyclopedia of Islam* article "Kitabhana," p. 1045.

Charles Wendell

BAGHDĀD: IMAGO MUNDI, AND  
OTHER FOUNDATION-LORE

Great cities, no less than small books, have their fates. Some are capable of self renewal from seemingly unsalvageable shards of their older phases, like Alexandria; some continue to add new rings to their girth, preserving alike the evidences of alternating greatness and mediocrity, like Cairo; some disappear entirely into memory and literature, like the Round City of al-Manṣūr, which today has as little to do with its living descendant, Baghdād, as do the City of Brass or Qur'ānic Iram. Despite an absolute dearth of archaeological spade-work on the site, and a correspondingly absolute dependence on written sources, the scholarly literature dealing wholly or in part with al-Manṣūr's Baghdād is by now fairly extensive. For the most part, this literature has restricted itself to discussion of technical and architectural problems, or to those of historical and social geography. This paper proposes to look into the symbology of the city's immediately striking plan, the cross within the circle, as another instance of the *imago mundi*, a fitting pattern for this capital of the world-bestriding 'Abbāsīd Empire. In the course of investigation, some treatment, however summary, of a number of folkloric/literary motives was found requisite, all, it is to be hoped, tending toward the definition of a clear and plausible design.

One of the unendingly fascinating aspects of Islamic culture to those concerned with it is the manner in which it has drawn for inspiration, from its first days, on the great historic cultures of both East and West. Nor can the more primitive but seminal Arabian nucleus be overlooked even momentarily. In al-Manṣūr's day, the mixture was not completely blended and smoothed out into what was to become the Classical Islamic civilization of the later Middle Ages. During this 'archaic' phase, the separate features—at least in their major lines—may still be traced back to their original sources without too great difficulty, even if they combine to form a harmonious whole. Perhaps it is more to be wondered at that harmony was attainable at all at this early date, if the disparate character of these sources is borne in mind.

We are told, in one of the many Buddhist 'birth-stories' from the Jātakas, that a group of Brahmins announced to King Suddodhana that his son to be would select one of two paths: either he would choose the life of a householder, in which case he would become the Cakravartin, the World-Emperor, or he would elect to follow the religious life, and become the Buddha, the Enlightened

alterations and accommodations wrought by native Indian genius. K. de B. Codrington even goes so far as to say that

The history of Indian sculpture begins in the third century B.C. with the sculptured capitals of Asoka's pillars. They are usually discussed in terms of foreign influence, and if Harappan sculpture may be said to be provincial to Mesopotamia, Mauryan sculpture is provincial to the later traditions of the Middle East under Iranian domination.<sup>1</sup>

And N.-R. Ray sees in the royal pillared hall uncovered early in this century at the site of the Mauryan capital Pāṭaliputra, a conscious copy of the 'Hall of a Hundred Columns' at Persepolis, intended as architectural propaganda to fortify the desired imperial image.<sup>2</sup> The ideal of the World-Ruler, which undoubtedly came to Buddhism as part of its ancient Indian heritage, must have been strengthened immeasurably by both the foreign example of Achaemenid Persia and the domestic one of Mauryan India. Zimmer says:

According to the Buddhist conception, the Universal Monarch is the secular counterpart of the Buddha, the 'Enlightened One', who himself is said to have 'set in motion the wheel of the sacred doctrine'. Like the Cakravartin, the Buddha is the master, not of a national or otherwise limited communion, but of the world. . . . The Buddha and the Cakravartin, that is to say, manifest the same universal principle, one on the spiritual, the other on the secular plane. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Doomed in the end to virtual extinction in its homeland, Buddhism migrated along the path of least resistance to the northwest, after the collapse of the Mauryan Empire, expanding first through the Graeco-Indian successor-states to both the Indian and Persian Empires, then in the lands of the Sakas, who followed them, and finally throughout the Kushan Empire, which briefly united northern India with Central Asia. By approximately the end of the first century A.D. it was firmly established in Transoxania, and was beginning its penetration of Han China. Everywhere on its passage through Eastern and Central Asia, Buddhism carried with it the ideological paradigms of the two possibilities for human perfection—the Buddha and the World-Emperor. To either side of the heart of Asia, that giant meeting-place of cultures, religions, and languages that lay between Sasanian Iran and China, two would-be exemplars of the imperial ideal ruled their respective spheres of power—to the West the King of Kings, and to the East, the Chinese Son of Heaven.

The House of Seleucus, which inherited the greater portion of Alexander's Asian conquests, proved unable to found a durable empire, but managed, with the other *epigoni*, to transmit the Oriental imperial ideal in its Hellenized form to the Romans. From the middle of the first century B.C. Parthian, then Sasanian, Iran faced the Roman, then the Byzantine, Empire over a boundary that fluctuated,

<sup>1</sup> K. de B. Codrington, 'Sculpture', *The Art of India and Pakistan*, ed. Sir Leigh Ashton (New York, 1950), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ray, *op. cit.* pp. 18 f. See also George W. Briggs, 'Brief Outline of Indo-Iranian Contacts', *Oriental Studies in Honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry*, ed. Jal Dastur Cursetji Pavry (London, 1933), p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Zimmer, *op. cit.* pp. 129 f.



DOKÜMANTASYON MERKEZİ 4

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ELEVENTH CENTURY  
BAGDĀD: MATERIALS AND NOTES (I)

BY

GEORGE MAKDISI

BAGDĀD, capital of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, underwent important topographical changes in the eleventh century, after the fall of the Buwayhid dynasty and the rise of the Salġūqids to power. This change in the political order, which took place in mid-century (447/1055), introduced an accelerated change in the topographical order, so that, by century's end, after the Salġūqid dynasty had risen to the apogee of its glory and begun its decline, the face of Bagdād was transformed.

The names, locations and relative distances of places in a city at a given period of its history are of great help to the accurate understanding of that period's events. This is why the historian of Bagdād owes a great debt of gratitude to the scholars whose painstaking work has made it possible for him to place the events related in his documents within a topographical framework. In my own case, the Bagdād of the first Salġūqid Sultans is of particular importance because it is also that of the Ḥanbalite theologian and juriconsult, Abū l-Wafā' Ibn 'Aqīl, whose life and works I have been studying. Among Bagdād's historical topographers there are two whose works are of outstanding importance for the period in question; namely, Guy Le Strange and Louis Massignon. Together, they supply a great deal of information on this historically important city, the former's work being based essentially on textual sources, the latter essentially on the results of an archaeological mission. But the two topographers mentioned are not entirely in agreement as to their findings. As a result of Massignon's work, a problem has been raised which the historian of Bagdād, especially if he is concerned with the eleventh century, cannot ignore.

The problem may be briefly stated as follows. Bagdād, like Paris,

is divided by the Tigris river into two sides : the east side, located on the left bank, and the west side, on the right bank. The problem concerns the east side. Le Strange speaks of a change in position on the east side during the XI<sup>th</sup> century, a movement from northwest to southeast, resulting in two east side cities which he refers to as "earlier" and "later" east Bagdād, both on the Tigris (see sketch). According to him, the "earlier" city, surrounded by a wall built by the Caliph Musta'īn (1, on sketch) in the IX<sup>th</sup> century (251/865), had fallen to ruin by mid-eleventh century, and a new wall was built by the Caliph Mustazhir (2, on sketch) in 488/1095 to the southeast around new suburbs which had come into existence during the reign of the previous Caliph, Muqtadī (467-487/1075-1094). It is this wall which was seen by the XII<sup>th</sup> century traveller Ibn Ğubayr and the traces of it still surround modern Bagdād. Massignon, on the other hand, sees no change in position on Bagdād's east side. According to him, the wall of Musta'īn is not only what Ibn Ğubayr had seen in the XII<sup>th</sup> century, but is also substantially the same as that which surrounds modern Bagdād; what happened in 488/1095 was not the construction of a new wall in a new area, but simply a *restoration* of the old wall, the area remaining substantially the same (2, on sketch).

When Marius Canard came to write his monumental history of the X<sup>th</sup> century Ḥamdānids, he devoted a section of the geographical part of his work to the city of Bagdād, aligning himself with Le Strange's thesis of a shift, but with certain modifications in detail, agreeing in part with Massignon. This is also the case with Muṣṭafā Ğawād, among others, to whose works we will have occasion to refer. On the other hand, an archaeologist of note, Ernst Herzfeld, has aligned himself with Massignon's thesis of the fixity of the east side city.

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The materials and notes in the following pages have a two-fold purpose. To begin with, an attempt is made, on the basis of the evidence they contain, to provide a solution of the above-mentioned problem. It will be seen that I align myself with the thesis of a shift, but not altogether in the circumstances assumed by Le Strange. On the basis of new documents which have come to light after the publication of Massignon's work, an answer will be provided to an

Šabbī, qui a réagi vivement contre la tendance de se fier aveuglément aux valeurs consacrées et d'apprécier, sans comprendre, tout ce qui est ancien, connu, à la mode, est devenu lui-même, après sa mort, le type du poète dont les spécialistes et le public devisent en confiance, sans chercher à l'approfondir, sans essayer de pénétrer son mystère. Ainsi le poète original reste, en dépit de son succès, isolé. Ses efforts ne sont pas continués. C'est là, selon nous, l'un des drames de la culture arabo-musulmane à travers les siècles.

Un autre drame, plus particulier à notre époque, est celui du déchirement que ressent l'intelligentsia arabe rongée par ses propres contradictions et tiraillée entre une culture européenne aussi efficace que séduisante et une culture nationale poussièreuse ou en gestation. Cet homme, qui ne savait que l'arabe, a été amené à repousser — avec violence — toute la culture arabe qu'il a reçue. En d'autres termes, il n'a pas su résister à la tentation de détruire tout ce par quoi il a été formé, sans avoir au préalable trouvé et assimilé sérieusement une nouvelle culture.

L'image de Šabbī devant son père, tour à tour respectueux et révolté, sympathisant et ironisant, est le symbole non seulement de deux générations qui s'affrontent mais aussi de deux générations qui se comprennent. Les uns et les autres ont vu le problème, d'où leur inquiétude, mais reconnaissent leur impuissance à le résoudre dans l'immédiat, d'où leurs contradictions.

ARABICA, T: IV (1957)

## THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ELEVENTH CENTURY BAĠDĀD: MATERIALS AND NOTES (II)

BY

GEORGE MAKDISI

### II. THE CHANGING FACE OF BAĠDĀD

THE above description by Ibn 'Aqīl gives a bird's-eye view of Baġdād at some point during his lifetime. It may be used as a reliable sketch of eleventh century Baġdād within which to place the historical data of that period concerning its topography.

We have already noted that the important changes in Baġdād during Ibn 'Aqīl's lifetime (431-513/1040-1119) took place after the arrival of the Salġūqids. These changes were the result of political as well as physical factors. The politically-strong asserted their strength by pulling down palaces and making use of their materials to build their own. They appropriated certain areas and surrounded them with walls. Two such walls are reported as being built in Ibn 'Aqīl's lifetime. The most important physical causes of change were the floods and fires. The changes they brought about were important, but not always permanent. Homes which were flooded or burned were often reconstructed and inhabited again. The chronicles, especially the *Muntazam* of Ibn al-Ġawzī, and the *Mir'āt al-zamān* of his grandson, Sibṭ Ibn al-Ġawzī, report many fires, floods and demolitions throughout the lifetime of Ibn 'Aqīl, as will be seen in the following pages.

These historical reports are given in chronological order; but it will be noticed, on close examination, that the significant periods of change fall into three different periods. First, the decade between 448 and 458 (1056-1066) in which two important events took place: the creation of what came to be known as Madīnat Ṭuġril, or „Ṭuġril City”, following upon the destruction of the riverside palaces. Second, the decade of the 460's (1066-1076), during which no less than four floods worked havoc, especially with the city's east side. And finally, the third period, between 485 and 513 (1092-1119),

03 EKİM 1994

# کنائس نصاری بغداد في العهد العثماني

بقلم : رفائیل بابو اسحق (\*)

## کنیستالارمن الارثوذكس

( المتوفي سنة ١٠٣٧هـ = ١٦٢٧م ) لاسباب سياسية  
فتجارية . ثم لحق بهم غيرهم من بلاد شتى  
ولاسيما من ديار بكر والاسطانة ، وعلى الرغم من  
قلة عددهم فقد عظم يومئذ امرهم ونالوا من  
الثروة والنفوذ ما لم ينلها سواهم من نصارى  
العراق<sup>(٢)</sup> . جاء في كتاب رحلات في الشرق  
ليترمان (Petermann) وقد كتبه عام (١٨٥٠م)  
« ويرجع تاريخ الارمن في بغداد الى (٢٠٠) سنة  
ويحتمل انهم احفاد الارمن الذين جاء بهم الشاه  
عباس الى ايران لان اكثرهم قدم الى بغداد من  
جلفا وهمدان . وان عددا قليلا منهم قدم من  
ديار بكر »<sup>(٣)</sup> .

قبل عام (١٦٠٤م) قد حلّ في بغداد مدينة  
السلام قوم من الارمن الكاثوليك والارمن  
الارثوذكس واقاموا في محلات الميدان والشورجة  
حيث كان النصارى يسكنون<sup>(١)</sup> . ثم اخذ على  
تمادي الزمن يزداد عددهم من القادمين من ايران  
ايام جلالهم قسرا الشاه عباس الصفوي الاول

(\*) توفي كاتب هذا المقال المرحوم رفائيل  
بابو اسحق بتاريخ ٦ اذار ١٩٦٤ . ان مجلة سومر  
اذ تبدي أسفها لوفاة هذا الباحث الفاضل ، تود  
أن تنوه بالبحثين التاليين الذي سبق أن نشر له في  
هذه المجلة :

- ١ - الارميون : لسانهم وقلمهم [ سومر ٣  
(١٩٤٧) ص ٣١٨ - ٣٧٦ ] .
- ٢ - محلة الشماسية ببغداد في عهد الخلافة  
العباسية [ سومر ٩ (١٩٥٣) ص ١٣٢ - ١٥٤ ] .
- (١) طالع كتابنا تاريخ نصارى العراق (بغداد  
١٩٤٨) ص ١٣٠ .

- (٢) مجلة لغة العرب للاب انستاس ماري  
الكرملي في بغداد ٣ : ٥٤٠ - ٥٤١ .
- (٣) بغداد كما وصفها السواح (السياح)  
الاجانب في القرون الخمسة الاخيرة تعريب سعاد  
هادي العمري (بغداد ١٩٥٤) ص ٨٦ .

Saladin peacefully effected the elimination of the former, and the restoration of the Sunni faith and the allegiance of the Egyptians to Baghdad.

In his campaigns against the Crusaders he had great difficulty in collecting forces and keeping them in the field, appealing often in vain to other Muslim rulers to join in the jihad. But as the late Sir Hamilton Gibb points out, it was his reputation for honesty and integrity together with his religious faith and magnanimity, rather than his generalship, that achieved such spectacular results. The Crusaders, offered generous terms, surrendered their fortresses one after the other following the disastrous defeat at Hittin, which was due rather to the Crusaders' mistakes than to Saladin's strategy. They were able to withdraw to Tyre which he failed to capture, and it remained a bridgehead for the Third Crusade. He failed to relieve 'Akka or capture Jaffa and was defeated by Richard I who nevertheless failed to take Ascalon or rescue the Holy City which remained in Muslim hands until 1917. And so largely thanks to Saladin the Crusaders were checkmated.

Sir Hamilton Gibb has based this short book on the writings of Baha ad-Din ibn Shaddad and 'Imad ad-Din al-Isfahani, both of whom were close associates and admirers of Saladin. It is based on a chapter the author contributed to *The History of the Crusades*, first published by the University of Pennsylvania. It is not perhaps for the general reader who is not well informed about the period, as it is full of confusing names and details which the copious footnotes obfuscate rather than illuminate. Yet it is basically a simple study of the man and his achievements, without reference to his fiscal or administrative policies, and he emerges as one who was devoted to the principles of honour and good faith, and of deep religious conviction. It was adherence to these principles rather than Machiavellian statesmanship or brilliant generalship that in the long run crowned his efforts with success.

E. H. PAXTON

**Baghdad During the Abbasid Caliphate.** By G. Le Strange. Reprint. London and Dublin, Curzon Press; New York, Barnes and Noble, 1972. Pp. xxxi+381. Maps. Bibliog. Index. £4.20.

This is the second reprint of a work that was originally published in 1900 and is one of a series of Records of Asian History which attempts to reconstruct the story of Baghdad during the five centuries of its glory under Abbasid rule. Founded by Mansur in A.D. 762 on the right bank of the Tigris as a walled city, circular in shape, it soon sprawled over on to the other bank and in its heyday covered an area of nearly 25 square miles. Accounts of its streets, its markets, its residential quarters and its cemeteries, as also of the numerous mosques, palaces and gardens which adorned it at different stages of its history, are found in several contemporary works of Arabian and Persian writers. Also found in them are descriptions of the complex system of canals which intersected it in several places. The author derives his material from these original sources and, sifting the information carefully, plots out the various quarters of Baghdad as they existed in mediaeval times. At the same time he enlivens his narrative with anecdotes about some of the important figures who lived in them. No less interesting are his excursions into the history of the period and the skill with which he interweaves the fortunes of the House of Abbas with the vicissitudes that befell the city until Hulagu razed it to the ground in 1258 and thereby ended a great epoch in Arabian history.

The book contains a chronological table which is useful for a quick grasp of its scope. It lists the 36 Caliphs of the Abbasid dynasty, their dates, the buildings and events associated with their reigns, and the original authorities who

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into their narratives. At the same time, they had to tell their stories in language that their listeners could easily understand. Thus, instead of the rhetorically elaborate prose of the courtly fiction with its parallelisms and antitheses, rhythmic and rhyming passages, puns and esoteric vocabulary, the storytellers had to use language close to everyday speech.

In 1501 the Safavids established their rule in Persia, and within a short time the country was united under a new dynasty and had officially adopted Shiite Islam. Two results of this change of dynasty and faith were a rapid decline in court patronage of poets, and a suppression of Sufism. Many poets and prose writers left Iran for India, where patronage at the Mughal court and provincial centers was generous. There a new literary style known as *sabk-i Hindī* (Indian style) developed which was quite different from that prevailing in Iran. Sufi poetry virtually died out, and *qaṣīdas* were no longer written to rulers but rather to Shiite holy figures. Much popular literature was recast with a Shiite coloring. Because of these and other changes in the literary situation of Iran, the turn of the sixteenth century is a logical point to end this account.

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WILLIAM LIPPINCOTT HANAWAY, JR.

[See also Arabic Poetry; Ḥāfiẓ; Islamic Art; Mysticism, Islamic; Saʿdī; Shāhnāma.]

**IRAQ**, a region extending over the southern lands of Mesopotamia. As understood in medieval times it was considerably smaller than the modern state of Iraq. To the east its borders generally followed the line of the Zagros range, and its western limits were the steppes beyond ʿAyn al-Tamr and Al-Ḥīra. Iraq included the lowlands at the head of the Persian Gulf (but not the Khūzistān region around Al-Ahwāz), and extended about 465 miles (750 kilometers) to the

IRAQ

northwest, its northernmost towns being Takrīt on the Tigris and Al-Ḥadītha (or sometimes Al-Anbār) on the Euphrates. The lands to the north were part of the province of Al-Jazīra.

The history of medieval Iraq was to a large extent shaped by natural conditions. It was a region of rich alluvial lowlands with vast agricultural potential, but received only meager and intermittent rainfall. Hence, intensive cultivation was possible only through irrigation, and medieval agriculture was totally dependent upon the two great rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates. In the south, swamps and brackish water from the tides of the Persian Gulf hindered agriculture, while to the west the desert limited the extension of irrigated cultivation beyond the Euphrates. But in central and eastern Iraq conditions were more favorable. A vast network of canals running from the Euphrates into the Tigris irrigated the land between the rivers, while the great Nahrawān canal system carried water from the Tigris east and systematically distributed the runoff from Kurdistān and the Zagros range. In addition to providing attractive settings for urban and rural settlement, the Tigris, as a major stream with several large tributaries, was the natural focus of Iraqi navigation and, therefore, commerce. By comparison, the Euphrates was less important. A feeble river fed by no real tributaries, it disappeared below Al-Kufa into a swamp-land, the Baṭāʾiḥ, which had reached vast dimensions by late Sasanian times.

Construction and maintenance of complex irrigation systems, and the promotion of trade, crafts, and industry, required a strong central administration farsighted enough to invest vast sums year after year for the sake of long-term benefits, and powerful enough to maintain its own authority, keep control of taxation, and ensure order and stability. When Iraq was so governed, it was densely populated with a network of agricultural villages capable of supporting large cities with opulent courts and cumbersome bureaucracies. In fact, the lands of Iraq were so renowned for their fertility and productivity that they earned the title al-Sawād (the verdant land; literally, "dark," or "dark green" land), and the crops included dates, wheat, barley, rice, olives, sugarcane, and a wide variety of fruits. Manufactures ranged from reed mats to precious jewelry; the fisheries were highly productive, and the textiles included fine silk, wool, cotton, and linen.

The central geographic location of the region helped to shape its history. Iraq was easily accessible from Syria and Anatolia through the rolling, stony

INTRODUCTION GÉOGRAPHIQUE  
À L'ÉTUDE DE BAGDĀD\*

PAR

L'ABBÉ É. DE VAUMAS

TOUTE ville, surtout si elle a été fondée pour servir de capitale, ne naît pas au hasard. Créée par des hommes et pour des hommes, elle se situe nécessairement en un lieu où puissent converger facilement les armées et les caravanes, les hommes et les biens.

Ainsi en a-t-il été de Bagdād.

Pour expliquer son implantation là où elle est, il est insuffisant de porter ses regards sur les environs immédiats. Il faut bien plutôt envisager l'ensemble de la Mésopotamie et de la Ġazīra à la limite desquelles elle se trouve<sup>1</sup>. Ce n'est qu'à cette échelle qu'il paraîtra

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\* La géographie du Ġrāq en est à ses premiers balbutiements. Nous avons essayé de dire l'essentiel du point de vue physique et sous l'angle du drainage et de l'irrigation dans :

É. DE VAUMAS, *Études irakiennes* (1<sup>re</sup> série), dans *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Égypte*, Tome XXVIII, pp. 125-194, 15 tableaux, 17 figures, 4 planches photographiques.

É. DE VAUMAS, *Études irakiennes* (2<sup>me</sup> série): *Le contrôle et l'utilisation des eaux du Tigre et de l'Euphrate*, dans *Revue de géographie alpine*, Tome XLVI, fasc. 2, pp. 235-331, 4 figures, 1958.

É. DE VAUMAS, *Structure et morphologie du Proche-Orient*, dans *Revue de géographie alpine*, Tome XLIX, pp. 226-274, 433-509, 645-739, 14 figures, 5 planches, 1961.

Du point de vue de la géographie humaine, il n'y a presque rien à citer qui soit de première main. On verra :

J. H. G. LEBON, *Population, distribution and the agricultural regions of Iraq*, dans *Geographical Review*, Tome XLII, pp. 233-228, 1953.

J. H. G. LEBON, *Population distribution in Iraq*, dans *Geographical Review*, Tome XLIII, p. 570, 1953.

J. H. G. LEBON, *The site and modern development of Baghdad*, dans *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Égypte*, Tome XXIX, pp. 7-32, 9 figures, 4 planches photographiques, 1956.

1. Comme on l'a fait déjà antérieurement, il est préférable de réserver le terme de Mésopotamie pour la partie inondable du Ġrāq et celui de Ġazīra pour la partie septentrionale du pays.

"of its inner workings and organization, we know at present very little" [p. 25]); and a learned disquisition on the structure of the charters. This last provides an essential framework for an intelligent reading of the documents themselves. The authors wisely encase the term "feudal" in deflecting quotation marks: in this and other matters of speculation they go only as far as their sources allow.

The second section of the book comprises the translations themselves. These are divided into several parts, according to the concepts of land rights they illustrate. We are given examples of estates granted to holy men in return for their spiritual services, and as part of a policy to settle such men in the vicinity of the royal capital. The grant to high officials of rights over entire communities and over small groups of people is illustrated. Legal decisions of some complexity indicate the reasons for the extremely precise definition of rights and boundaries in the charters. The presentation of estates as royal dowries is illustrated, as is the granting of land to merchants at Kobbei and its vicinity. The translations are supplemented by careful notes and give what may be a surprising insight into the complexity of land tenure systems in the sultanate and into the sophistication of the methods evolved to deal with this.

A third section of the book provides a short bibliography, the notes, and four indices that also serve as glossaries: to titles and honorifics, administrative and legal terms, botanical and topographical terms, and personal and place-names. As glossaries alone, the first three are of much interest and utility, occasionally even including brief bibliographical notes under the indexed terms.

*Land in Dār Fūr* is published in the *Fontes Historiae Africanae* Series. The publisher, Cambridge University Press, is to be congratulated for a book that entailed much careful and detailed work to produce in such an attractive form. The authors and translators themselves have performed a dual service: in presenting these translations and accompanying material they have helped to explain a difficult subject and, more fundamentally, given a signal reminder of the vast scope for research in the Arabic documentary sources for the history of Saharan and sub-Saharan Africa.

*University of Durham*

M. W. DALY

SIMBA SABARI, *Mouvements populaires à Bagdad à l'époque 'abbāsīde, IX<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1981). Pp. 164.

One of the most critical periods of medieval Islamic history was the time of the gradual, but ineluctable decline of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate: that is, the time of the disintegration of the Islamic universal state, which began during the third/ninth century and which was accompanied by major political, military and socioeconomic changes. One clear expression of these events was the formation and development of "popular movements" in the Near East, specifically in the cities of the Syrian, Iraqi, and Iranian provinces.

The present study deals with such popular movements in Baghdad from the beginning of the third/ninth until the end of the fifth/eleventh century. As the political, economic, and cultural metropolis of the 'Abbāsīd empire, Baghdad was most strongly and directly affected by the all-embracing and radical changes produced by the disintegration of the Islamic empire: this seems to explain why most popular movements took place in Baghdad, partly as a reaction to these changes. In any case, the Arabic sources do not report on popular uprisings in any other city with the same frequency and detail as in the case of Baghdad.

Although some of the basic studies regarding both the general development of 'Abbāsīd Baghdad and the popular movements in this city already exist—one must mention first of all the work of Jacob Lassner and Claude Cahen (who was also the supervisor of the present work, a doctoral thesis of 1972)—the author tries to reexplore to the utmost contemporary sources, mainly Arabic chronicles, and to reevaluate all relevant information. By limiting his study to popular movements in Baghdad, the author does indeed succeed in contributing to a better knowledge and understanding of the political and social development of the 'Abbāsīd capital. Nevertheless, in this reviewer's opinion, there should have been at least a few remarks made concerning the existence of popular movements in other parts of the Islamic world (particularly the *ahdāth* movements in Syria) which took place at about the same time, but were in many respects quite different in character. [See Claude Cahen, "Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du Moyen Age I." *Arabica*, 5 (1958), pp. 225-50; Gerhard Hoffmann, *Kommune oder Staatsbürokratie?* (Berlin, GDR, 1975); Axel Havemann, *Ri'āsa und qaḍā'* (Freiburg, 1975)].

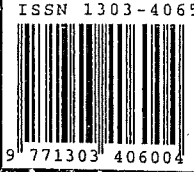
The book opens with a statement of the problem to be investigated, and an assessment of the primary sources. Sabari starts with the hypothesis that there existed three types of popular movements (those of the 'amma, the 'ayyārūn, and the Ḥanbalīs) which were not isolated and momentary, but represented different expressions of popular discontent. In the author's view, although each movement had its specific features, viewed together, they all show common aspects and can be considered as variants of one great popular movement. The aim of the study is to display, in spite of all differences in detail, the homogeneity and unity of purpose of the various popular movements in Baghdad between the third/ninth and fifth/eleventh centuries.

The body of the work is divided into four chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter (pp. 7-55) deals with the social and political situation in Baghdad during this period, describing the city's topography, the social structure of its population, the role of handicraft and commerce, the general economic conditions, and finally, the transformation of the political (and, consequently, social and economic) power bases by militarization, that is, the taking-over and exercising of de facto rule by non-Arab military regimes, the Iranian Būyids (334/945-447/1055) and the Turkish Seljūqs (from 447/1055 onwards). This chapter serves as a background for an understanding of the popular movements which are discussed in the remainder of the book.

In the second chapter (pp. 57-75), the author examines common people (*al-'amma*) as the originators of uprisings, and scrutinizes the social composition, the methods, the claims, and the antagonists of the 'amma movement. Having marshalled the chronology of events—which is itself a valuable aid to work in the field—the author goes on to analyse and interpret the historical data, observing a rather scholarly caution in drawing conclusions from such deficient materials. (The same can be said for the following chapters of this study.) Sabari comes to the conclusion that while some of the 'amma-led rebellions had a political-cum-religious character—which can be seen, for instance, in the practice of putting in their claims in the mosques during the Friday prayer and by interrupting the *khuṭba*—other 'amma-led movements had their origin in economic problems (price increases, famines). In principle, discontent was articulated in a purely defensive way, as a reaction to certain grievances, but often the 'amma and military functionaries of the government were engaged in violent clashes with each other. In some cases, the common people were supported by members of higher social classes, such as wholesale dealers and 'ulamā', but this never happened during purely economic uprisings because richer people, anxious about losing their social status and wealth, preferred "peaceful

MADEB YAYINLANDIRKAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

15 MAYIS 1993



# TARİH

ve DÜŞÜNCE

İngiliz'den  
alacağımız var

Osmanlı'nın  
petrol  
haritası

abd'den  
osmanlı'ya  
haraç

Kırgızistan'da  
taş ribat

ilk biyolojik katliam  
WASP'ın işi!..

## AMERİKA'NIN "HAWAİ" MACERASI

osmanlı'nın imâm-ı rahhânî'ye hakısı

TARİH  
İNCELEME

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

-Abdülhamid II  
-Bağdat  
-Musul

SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

08 MAYIS 2009

Bağdat ve Musul petrolleriyle alâkalı detaylı bilgilere sahip olan II.Abdülhamid, bu zenginliğin gaspını önleyebilmek adına bölgeyi kendi şahsi mülkü olarak ilan etmişti.

# Osmanlı her şeyin farkındaydı, amma

14.000 Osmanlı altınının temininde yaşanan güçlük, bölge petrolünün lâyıkıyla işletilmesine mani olmuştu. Özellikle İttihad ve Terakki iktidarının buraları devletleştirmesi akabinde ve bu sebeple bölge petrolünde gözü olan emperyalist devletlerin ısrarlı tasallutlarına karşı konulamayarak bu hazinenin kontrolü tamamen elimizden çıkmıştır.

Arzu. Terzi



# M

odern dünya siyasetinin şekillenmesinde büyük pay sahibi olan petrol ve yan ürünlerinin kullanımı ve dağıtım meselesi ülkemizi de çok yakından ilgilendirmektedir. Özellikle Bağdat-Musul Petrolleri, konumu ve ehemmiyeti bakımından güncelliğini koruyan ve devletler arası siyasete yön veren bir unsur olma özelliğini sürdürmektedir. Kısa bir süre öncesine kadar Osmanlı Devleti toprakları dahilinde olan Bağdat-Musul petrollerinin

I. Dünya savaşından itibaren başlayan süreçte radikal bir şekilde elden çıkışı hakkında pek çok yayın yapılmış, konuşulmuş ve halen konuşulmaya devam edilmektedir. Ancak meselenin bu boyutu kadar, konunun kaynağını teşkil eden ve düvel-i muazzamanın bu bölgedeki petrole müteveccih ilgisinin artmaya başladığı dönem olan Sultan II. Abdülhamid devri ile I. Dünya Savaşının başlangıcı arasında (1876-1914) kalan zaman dilimine ait bilgilerin de etraflıca bilinmesi, bugünkü siyasi gelişmelere bakış açısının netleşmesi bakımından fevkalade önemlidir. Zira bu dönemde, şimdiye kadar yazılanların aksine, Osmanlı devleti bir yandan bu pet-

rol yataklarının önemini kavrayarak üzerinde bizzat önemli araştırmalar yaptırmış, diğer yandan ise bu zengin kaynakları korumak için pek çok ülkeye karşı siyasi platformda ciddi bir savaş vermiştir. Elde ettiğimiz belgeler ışığında bu mesele bir kitap halinde tarafımızdan neşre hazırlanmaktadır.

### Asırlardır işletiliyordu

Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in sahip olduğu emlakın kapsamına stratejik öneme sahip verimli araziler, gayri menkuller ve yine stratejik ve ekonomik öneme sahip başta madenler olmak üzere her türlü imtiyazlar girmekteydi. Bağdat-Musul petroleri imtiyazı



1934

## الأثار الإسلامية القديمة

بيغداد

لمصطفى جواد

١ - ماذا بقي من مدينة أبي جعفر المنصور ؟

أصبحت بغداد مثلاً لتغير المدن وتحوّلها وتطوّرها ، فلقد تداولتها أيدي الطبيعة وأيدي البشر ، فعمّقت على آثارها وطمست حضارتها وزخرفها ، وشوّهت محاسنها ، فهي ثكلى المدن وسجل المصائب ومدفن العسف والعبث ، ولذلك قلنا في رثاء الملك فيصل الاول :

ثبتت العرش في مهاوي عروش قد رامها الزمان رمياً وبيلاً

كانت تحرق أو تهدم قصورها ودورها وتغير عليها دجلة حيناً بعد حين فتجعل طامرها كغامرها وأهلها كوحشها ، وتتكايف عليها الاحداث فتضع من مكانها وتبعد الناس عنها ، وكانت يد العسف والانتقام تسطو على العمارة والحضارة ، حتى ان ابن بسّام الشاعر لما نعى على أحد الوزراء ما نعى قال له :

بجنبك داران مهدومتان ودارك ثلاثة تهدم

فليت السلامة للمنصفين تدمم فكيف لمن يظلم ؟

فعلنا ان داري وزيرين قد هدمتا بجانب دار هذا الوزير ويحظر بيالي انه « ابن الجراح » واليوم نرى عمارة من مدينة المنصور المدوّرة ولا أترأ ، وآخر الحوادث الخاصة بالقبة الخضراء العظيمة على بناها المنصور بجوار جامعها ان جدرانها وقعت في سنة « ٦٥٣ » هـ أي قبل سقوط الدولة العباسية ثلاث سنوات ، وكانت طالبة ينظر الجالس منها من يخرج من الأبنار <sup>(١)</sup> ، وكان المنصور يجلس بالمتنزهة ، وما زال الخلفاء يجلسون فيها للفرجة الى أيام الرشيد ثم هجرت وصارت مأوى لليوم الغريبان ، وكان بعض الفقراء مجاوراً في جامع المنصور ، فقال في القبة لما رأى ما آلت اليه حالها :

يا بومة القبة الخضراء قد أنست روجي بروحك اذ يستبشع اليوم

زهدت في زخرف الدنيا فاسكنك السربح الخراب فمن يذمك مذموم <sup>(٢)</sup>

(١) الأبنار ذات حوادث عظيمة في تاريخ الاسلام ، ولم يهتد أحد الى موضعها بعد . وجاء « في فوات الوفيات » السفاح « بنيت له الهاشمية الى جانب الأبنار وبها قبره وهي المعروفة الآن بالأبنار لان الاولى درست <sup>(٢)</sup> » (٢) الحوادث الجامعة لعبد الرزاق بن الفوطي (ص ٩٤ من نسختنا الخطية)

التكلم ، ولعلنا نجد مغزى جديراً بالاهتمام في طول المدة التي يقضيها الجنين البشري في رحم امه كما في طول مدة الطفولة التي من شأنها ان تقوي الحياة الاجتماعية وما يلازمها من عطف وحنو بين افراد البشر . ان جميع هذه العوامل تعمل في حقول صالحة فالعطف العائلي يؤتق علاقات المجتمع ويسمو بها الى الحب والتعاون ، وارتقاء الدماغ يقوّي لغة الكلام ويزيد كفاءة الفرد والعناية الوالدية هي مبعث العطف والرفقة والنبيل والعامل في تخليدها في النسل . ان جميع المباحث الجامعة حول هذا الموضوع تقول بنا الى الابتعاد عن تصور الانسان الابتدائي بحالة تطوي على شيء كثير من القسوة والغبابة والدعارة وحب القتال وهناك من الادلة ما يسوّغ اعتبار ذلك الانسان القديم على جانب من المهارة والعطف والمجازفة والاقدام والابتكار

نظريّة البروفسور إليوت سمث \* للبروفسور إليوت سمث Prof. Elliot Smith احد علماء التشريح وزعماء فكرة التطور نظرية في نشوء الانسان يقول فيها « يمكننا ان نعتبر الانسان كنتيجة لارتقاء الدماغ في اتجاه خاص ترجع بدايته الى زمن السعادين المسماة Tree-shrews او Tarsioids فرمما حدثت تحولات فجائية Mutations آلت الى نشوء الانسان Homo في العائلة البشرية القديمة الهيومانويد Humanoid او «الانسان العاقل» في ال Hominids . ولكن حصل وراء هذا النشوء ارتقاء عظيم في الناحية العقلية ظهرت دلائله في مقدرة الدماغ على التخيل من جهة وعلى تنظيم الاعمال البشرية المعقدة من جهة اخرى »

البصر يتغلب على الشم \* نجد في تاريخ تطور الانسال الحيوانية امثلة عديدة يتجلى فيها التقدم المستمر في ناحية معينة وربما كان هو الواقع في نشوء الانسان . فقد تطور في خط من التمر يميز بارتقائه في قوى التخيل والمهارة اليدوية واتساع حجم الدماغ في مقدمة الجبهة الذي يرجع اليه الفضل في قوة الانتباه وتنظيم الاعمال الفكرية يضاف الى ذلك نمو الحب العائلي وما يلازمه من تقدم في الكلام وما يتضمنه من استعمال الكلمات كعقدات في تجارب التفكير وسواعد في الحياة الاجتماعية

\*\*\*

وقد وضع البروفسور إليوت سمث رسماً تخطيطياً حريماً بالذكر في هذا المقام يتضمن هذا الرسم مقابلة ادسعة بعض السعادين مثل Tree-shrews و Tarsiens و Marmosets اظهر فيها التناقض التدريجي لمنطقة الشم والنحو التدريجي لمناطق البصر والسمع واللمس والبكاء والانتباه وما يصدق على « المرموست » وهو أقدم القروود الحية ، يصدق اكثر من ذلك على القروود العليا والانسان بوجه خاص . فالمقابلة بين اوطأ دماغ بشري معروف وأرق دماغ لغورلى معروف يظهر البون شاسعاً بين الاثنين

in dried octopus. Renowned as sailors, they have tackled the business of transporting goods from port to port along the coasts and they have crossed the sea as far as the Orient on board their two-sailed santel, which is well suited to them.

The coastal trading with the stops made on land gives them the opportunity to learn new techniques here and there and to bring back working materials, together with a useful replenishment of supplies. They obtain esparto (*halfa maḥbūla*) in this way, and to gather this they have to go to the Sahelian hinterland or the gulf of the lesser Syrte.

The Kerkenian sea is not really sufficient to guarantee a food supply, so they have to look for complementary activities in the limited agriculture the archipelago permits or as craftsmen. They use everything from the palm-tree: the fibres of the trunk, the tigelles, the palm branches and the stem. Taking advantage of the magnificent retting bed for the esparto offered by the shallows, they undertake there the twisting of alfa for ropes or for plaiting baskets and camel panniers.

The day comes when the islander's ease of adjustment to difficult circumstances, his connexions with the coast, his success in his studies—Karkana benefits from an exceptional percentage of children attending school—give him the chance to emigrate, and then he will leave the archipelago, but not without leaving some of his family there. Doing seasonal activities or employment in the fishing or shipping companies, being a minor civil servant in the large towns, holding important management posts—almost 30,000 Kerkenians live in this way in Sfax, Sousse, La Goulette, Tunis, outside the archipelago to which faithfully they love to return: "yā karkna, yā karkāra", "O Kerkena, you always bring back your children to yourself!"

**Bibliography:** A very rich bibliography has appeared in A. Louis, *Les Îles Kerkena (Tunisie), étude d'ethnographie tunisienne et de géographie humaine*, Tunis 1961-3, 3 vols.; see also A. Louis, *Documents ethnographiques et linguistiques sur les îles Kerkena*, Textes en arabe dialectal avec trad., commentaire et glossaire, Algiers 1961-2.

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**KARKARN** [see BISBARĀY].

**AL-KARKH**, a loan word from Aramaic *karkha* meaning "fortified city", "city" (Fraenkel,

*Fremdwörter*, xx; Pauly-Wissowa, iv, 2122, 2124; *Supplement*, i, 275, 283). In Islamic times, the word is associated with various towns. Found in areas of Aramaic culture before the Islamic conquest, such towns are distinguished from one another by adding the name of their geographic location, e.g., Karkh Baghdād, Karkh Sāmarrā (cf. Yāqūt, *Muḥtarik*, 368-70; *Mu'djam*, iv, 252-7).

In Baghdād, al-Karkh refers to a specific area (Bāb al-Karkh) and more generally to the whole of the west side below the Round City of Caliph al-Manṣūr, the founder of Islamic Baghdād (cf. Iṣṭakhri, 84; also Ibn Ḥawqal, ed. Kramers, 241-2). According to Ya'qūbī, whose account reflects conditions of the 2nd/8th century, the limits of al-Karkh in length were Kaṣr Waḍḍāh (north) and the Tuesday Market (south). The limits in width were the field of al-Rabi' (west) and the Tigris (*Buldān*, 246; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, Maps III, IV and VII).

As the Aramaic name shows, the al-Karkh quarter was already in existence before the foundation of Baghdād by al-Manṣūr (145/762), as a small independent township said to have been founded by the Sasanid Shāpūr II (309-379 A.D.), and which like the other earlier settlements on the site of the future capital of the caliphs was no doubt mainly inhabited by Aramaic Christians.

Before the building of the city of al-Manṣūr, the old market of the west side (Sūḵ Baghdād) was situated in al-Karkh, and there is reason to believe that the Karkh markets continued to service the large population of that area when the Round City was built (Ṭabarī, ii, 910, 914). Towards the end of his reign, in 157/774 al-Manṣūr decided to redevelop the commercial districts to the south of the Round City and re-locate certain markets that had been situated there. To this end government funds were allocated to various entrepreneurs to build their own establishments in al-Karkh. The government on its part also widened the network of roads leading in and out of the suburb (Khatīb al-Baghdādī, Cairo, i, 79-82; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, iii, 323-4; Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 241).

Al-Karkh was watered by the Nahr 'Isā [q.v.], the most northerly large canal of the Euphrates in 'Irāk, as well as by its branches, the Ṣarāt and the Karkhāyā. The latter is the "Karkhian Canal" which left the Nahr 'Isā below the small town of al-Muḥawwal near the village of al-Barāthā (see Yāqūt, i, 665) and supplied the southern part of the western half of Baghdād, i.e., the mercantile quarter and its neighbourhood, with its branch channels, which in places ran underground. Numerous bridges carried the busy traffic over it. On the Karkhāyā and its canal system see Ibn Serapion, ed. Le Strange in *JRAS* (1895), 17-26, 286-8, 292-3; Suhrāb, *'Aḡjā'ib*, ed. von Mzik, 123-4; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Cairo, i, 79-82; Yāqūt, ii, 252; Streck, *Babylonien*, 85-90; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 52-56, 63-80; Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise*, ii, 110. What made al-Karkh commercially advantageous was this intricate network of canals, the most important of which was the Ṣarāt, a waterway large enough to allow for the passage of deep boats, and which connected the Euphrates and the Tigris, the major river systems of 'Irāk.

The suburb, which had its own Friday mosque, was probably considered a municipal entity unto itself, one of several urban aggregations which made up the general metropolitan environment (J. Lassner, in *JESHO*, x, 53-63). Detailed descriptions of the various locations in al-Karkh are preserved by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ya'qūbī, and the unedited *Mashhad* Ms. of Ibn al-Faḳīh, *K. al-Buldān*. The most systematic

BAGDAD

DOKÜMANTASYON MERKEZİ 26

ARABICA,

T: IX (1962)

BAGDĀD AU IV<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE DE L'HÉGIRE  
(X<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE DE L'ÈRE CHRÉTIENNE)

PAR

MARIUS CANARD

LE X<sup>e</sup> siècle et le début du XI<sup>e</sup> (car notre exposé doit inévitablement déborder un peu sur le X<sup>e</sup> siècle) sont pour Bagdād une période de troubles politiques, religieux et sociaux qui, dans l'ensemble, portent un coup sérieux à la prospérité de la ville et à son rang dans le monde islamique. C'est au cours de cette époque que la capitale de l'empire islamique est devenue la capitale d'un État réduit la plupart du temps au Sawād du 'Irāq et qui, n'eût été la fiction califienne, car elle est le siège du califat qui l'auréole encore de son prestige, n'eût été la persistance des organes administratifs du passé, très déçus, la survivance d'une société aristocratique et bourgeoise héritière des gloires de l'époque antérieure, l'activité intellectuelle qui continuait à s'y exercer, n'aurait pas eu plus d'importance que les capitales des États secondaires créés par la désintégration de l'empire 'abbāsīde. À la fin du X<sup>e</sup> siècle, une autre grande capitale islamique, le Caire, est en passe d'éclipser Bagdād, qui ne reste que de nom la grande ville du siècle précédent.

Nous nous proposons d'examiner la vie politique, la vie religieuse et la vie sociale et économique de Bagdād en cette période et d'en tracer les principales étapes.

\* \* \*

*Vie politique*

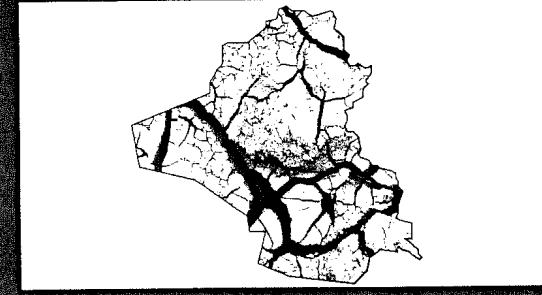
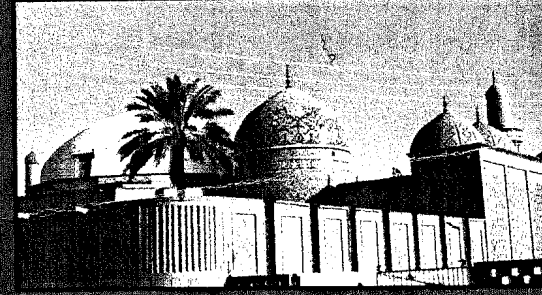
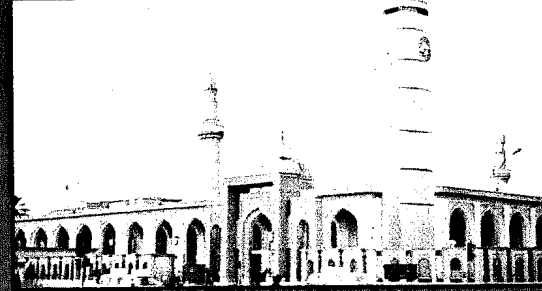
Bagdād a traversé à cette époque une série de graves crises politiques, qui ne pouvaient manquer d'affecter le climat de sécurité et de paix dont a besoin pour sa vie et son développement une grande ville. Nous n'insisterons pas sur la décadence du califat 'abbāsīde qui se poursuit irrémédiablement sous le règne d'al-Muqtadir (295-320/908-932) avec un gouvernement, en fait, de femmes et d'eunuques contre lequel ne peuvent rien un ministre comme 'Alī ibn 'Īsā ou un chef militaire comme Mu'nis. Ce long règne a connu deux crises qui ont failli détrôner le calife. Une

# IRAK DOSYASI

Yayına Hazırlayanlar

Dr. Ali Ahmetbeyoğlu  
Hayrullah Cengiz - Yahya Başkan

I



## BAĞDAT-MUSUL PETROLLERİ ÜZERİNE BİR DEĞERLENDİRME

Arzu T. TERZİ

Günümüzde dünya siyasetinin şekillenmesinde büyük bir pay sahibi olan petrol ve petrol ürünlerinin kullanımı ve dağıtımı meselesi ülkemizi de çok yakından ilgilendirmektedir. Özellikle Bağdat-Musul Petrolleri, konumu ve ehemmiyeti bakımından güncelliğini koruyan ve devletler arası siyasete yön veren önemli bir unsur olma özelliğini sürdürmektedir. Osmanlı Devleti toprakları dahilindeki Bağdat-Musul Petrollerinin I. Dünya savaşından itibaren başlayan süreçte elden çıkması hakkında pek çok yayın yapılmış ve konuşulmuş, halen de konuşulmaya devam edilmektedir. Ancak meselenin bu boyutu kadar konunun kaynağını teşkil eden ve dünya devletlerinin bu bölgedeki petrole olan ilgisinin artmaya başladığı dönem olan Sultan II. Abdülhamid devri ile I. Dünya Savaşının başlangıcı arasındaki zaman dilimini (1876-1914) ihtiva eden bilgilerin de etraflıca bilinmesi, bugünkü siyasî gelişmelere bakış açısını değiştirmesi bakımından önemlidir. Zira bu dönemde şimdiye kadar yazılanların aksine, Osmanlı devleti bir yandan bu petrol yataklarının önemini kavrayarak üzerinde bizzat önemli araştırmalar yaptırmış, diğer yandan ise bu zengin kaynakları korumak için pek çok ülkeye karşı siyasî platformda savaş vermiştir<sup>1</sup>.

Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in sahip olduğu emlakın kapsamına, stratejik ve ekonomik öneme sahip verimli araziler, gayri menkuller, başta madenler olmak üzere her türlü imtiyazlar girmektedir<sup>2</sup>. Bağ-

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<sup>1</sup> Bu dönem tarafımızdan yapılan Osmanlı arşiv belgelerine dayalı detaylı bir inceleme sonucu bir kitap halinde neşre hazırlanmaktadır.

<sup>2</sup> Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in emlak-ı hümayunu, idare ve teşkilatı hakkında tafsilatlı bilgi için bkz. Arzu Terzi, *Hazine-i Hassa Nezareti*, Türk Tarih Kurum Yayını, Ankara 2000, s. 90-115.

1917 (Germany)

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## BAGDAD

COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND presided at a meeting of the Society on April 25, 1917, when Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich read the following paper on Bagdad:

So much has already been written and said about Bagdad that it is difficult to add anything really useful to the mass of information which has been made public, and which has been thoroughly well illustrated by the maps in our daily papers, which now must be familiar to most of the members of our Society. It will perhaps be well to commence with a few personal notes which, without appealing to the fascinating history of that marvellous country which centres in Bagdad, may lead to a realization of the modern atmosphere which surrounds it and foreshadow certain possibilities in the future.

I was led to Bagdad by the exigencies of geographical inquiry. We wished to know more of the regions which lie westward of India in extension to that which we already knew of the more immediate hinterland. It was necessary to learn something of the topography of the southern highlands of Persia through which overland communication might eventually be established with the Persian Gulf. Our surveys accordingly reached outward through the rugged borderland of the Makran coast, where for the first time something like accurate scientific light was thrown on a region of classical history and Arabic romance, which illuminated the stories of Alexander's extraordinary retirement from India, and, many centuries afterwards, the Arab invasion of India under a youth named Mahomed Kassim who occupied the whole of the Indus valley and carried his triumphal campaign as far as Kashmir. It was a marvellous discovery to find for how many centuries this once well-known and well-trodden avenue of approach from Bagdad to the Indus and India had lapsed into utter oblivion. Makran had long been regarded as an unwholesome, dried-up, and impossible region of sand and sun-scorched rock, where no self-respecting traveller would venture with the hope of acquiring fresh laurels. Ancient ports were identified on the coast where the ships of Nearkhos, Alexander's admiral of the fleet, had touched; ancient cities were unearthed where the mediæval Arab geographer had halted on his way to India, or, perchance, had stayed

Baghdad

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SONE ...  
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22 Mayıs 2014

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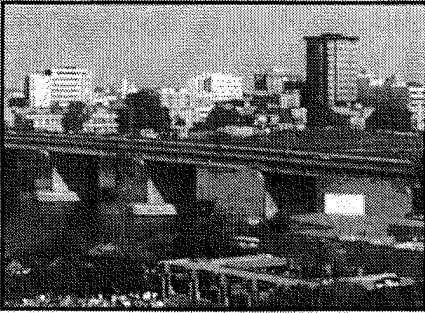
Bagdad  
020083  
Horasan  
081354



## BAĞDAT VE TÜRKLER

### Hollandalı Doğu Gezgini Dr. Leonhart Raufolff'un\* Gezi Notlarında BAĞDAT şehri ve TÜRKLER\*\*

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Nilüfer BAYATLI\*\*\*



Bağdat'tan Bir Görünüm.

Dr. Liyohart Ravolf'un bu gezisi, Avrupalılar'ın doğuya yaptıkları en eski gezilerden biri sayılır. 428 yıl önce gerçekleşen bu gezi, XVI.yy.'ın ikinci yarısına tesadüf etmektedir. Irak, Suriye, Lübnan ve Filistin adlarıyla bilinen bu bölgelerin çoğu, XVI. yy.'da Osmanlı egemenliği altına henüz girmiştir ve yavaş yavaş Türk nüfuzu kendini göstermektedir. İşte bundan dolayıdır ki; Dr. Liyohart'ın bu gezisinin tarihi, siyasi, coğrafi ve toplumsal açıdan incelenmesi biz Türkler için çok önemlidir. Çünkü o, yeni coğrafyadaki Osmanlı toplumunun o günkü durumunu bize yansıtmaktadır. Dr. Liyohart, kendisinin anlattığına göre bitkilerle uğraşan bir bilgidir. Yaptığı bu gezinin amacı ise, Doğu ülkelerinin bitkilerini incelemektir. Ancak bu gezisinde karşılaştığı ve karıştığı bazı olaylar gösteriyor ki, gezinin siyasi yönleri de ağır basmaktadır.

Türkler, eskiden beri Avrupalılar için bir korku kaynağı olmuştur. Bunun

Osmanlı döneminde tek nedeni ise, İslamiyet'i Avrupa'ya yaymak ve oralarda egemenlikleri ile adaleti sağlamaktır. İşte günümüze dek Avrupalılar ile aramızdaki kavga hep bu yüzdendir. Her ne kadar onlara şirin görünsek ve her dediklerini fazlasıyla yapsak bile -ki yapıyoruz da-yine de olmuyor ve olamaz da! En iyisi kendi yüz suyumuzu koruyup bu eziklikten bir an önce kurtulmanın yollarını aramalıyız!

İşte bu gezinin 14. bölümü Bağdat şehri için ayrılmıştır. Biz bu bölümü, diğer ayrıntılarına girmeden önce, direk Türkler'i ilgilendiren konuları Türkçe'ye çevirerek size aktarıyoruz.

Sözde Ortadoğu'nun bitkilerini incelemeyi amaç edinip, o günün şartlarıyla buralara kadar gelen Hollandalı gezginin, gezinin diğer bölümlerdeki bazı davranışlarını inceleyerek, günümüze dek gelen siyasi uzantılarının ortaya çıktığını görürüz. İşte, Konya vilayetimizden daha küçük olan Hollanda, günümüzde iç işlerimize bile küstahça karışabiliyor! Bu bir değil, iki değil.. zira, bu Hollandalı gezgin uzun bir zincirin halkalarından sadece birisidir. Günümüze varıncaya dek aşikâr olarak bildiklerimizden başka kaç halkası daha gelip geçmiş ve paslı izlerini bırakmıştır.

27 Ekim 1574'de sabah erken, ünlü "Baldağ" şehrine vardık. Bu şehir, Türk imparatorluğunun en uç köşesinde, hızlı akan Dicle Nehri'nin kıyısında yer alır. Geniş bir ovası vardır.

Ben ve bir arkadaşım, Hindistan'dan yeni dönen Halepli ünlü bir tüccarın evinde misafir olduk. Bu tüccar bizi çok iyi karşıladı, dört gün misafir etti. Dicle'nin karşı kıyısındaki ikinci şehirde<sup>3</sup> bir Türk Paşası'na ait avluda bulunan Kantin-dükkan gibi bir yere yerleşene kadar bizi dört gün misafir etti.

Bağdat şehri, "Rayn" Nehri üzerindeki "Bazl" şehrine benzer. Ancak yapıları pek iyi sayılmaz. Bunların bazıları tek katlı olup, bazıları da harap olmuştur. Kiliseler<sup>3</sup> de aynı durumdan paylarını alarak siyahlaşmış ve ayakta

duracak halleri kalmamıştır. Ancak bazı eski Arapça ve Kildanca<sup>4</sup> yazıların bir kısmı hâlâ kazılı olarak duvarlarında durmaktadır. Ayrıca burada göze çarpan bir çok eski eserler de vardır, ama ne yazık ki okumak bir tarafa dursun, bunların çevirisini yapacak birilerini de bulamadım. Bunlara rağmen, buralarda görülmeye değer binalar da vardır. Bunlardan, Türk Paşası'nın ikâmet ettiği bina ve Nehrin karşısındaki ikinci şehir<sup>5</sup> de bulunan mal ve eşyalar çarşısı, ayrıca bir de hamamları ki, bunları Halep ve Trablus hamamlarıyla mukayese etme imkanı yoktur. Zira bunların zemini ve duvarları hep zift (katran) ile kaplı olduğu için gündüz bile karanlık görülür.

Burada iki şehir göze çarpar; birisi bu yakadadır<sup>6</sup>, ki burası tamamen açık bir durumda. İsteyen elini kolunu sallayarak geceleri istediği gibi çıkabilir. Burası aslında bir şehir sayılmaz, olsa olsa büyük bir köydür. İkinci şehir ise, Asur<sup>7</sup> memleketi sınırından Faris'e giden yol üstündedir. Dicle boyunca burçlu surlarla ve hendeklerle çok iyi korunmaktadır.

Bu burçlardan ikisi, nehir tarafındaki kapılarındadır. Bu iki burç arasında da şehrin eski ve yüksek surları yer almaktadır. Burçların üst taraflarında altın yıldızlı, her harfi bir ayak boyunda, geniş yazılar kazanmıştır. Bu yazıların anlamlarını öğrenmeye çalıştımsa da, tercümanların bulunmaması nedeniyle bu merakımdan vazgeçtim. Bu burçların yakınında Dicle üzerinde kayıklarla yapılan ve karşı şehre ulaşan bir köprü kurulmuştur. Burada nehir geniştir. "Strasburg"dan geçen "Rayn" Nehri'ne benzer. Çok hızlı aktığı için rengi bulanıktır. İnsanın içini karartıyor ve başını döndürüyor. Şehrin aşağısında ve uzak olmayan bir mesafede bu Nehir, Fırat'la birleşir ve beraberce "Balsra"<sup>8</sup> şehrinde körfeze akarlar ki, buradan<sup>9</sup> doğuya doğru altı günlük bir mesafedir. Dicle üzerinde bulunan iki şehir<sup>10</sup> çok yıllar önce

BADR AL-JAMĀLĪ

Of seven surviving volumes of a copy of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (*The Book of Songs*) from the second decade of the thirteenth century, several contain frontispieces in varied courtly settings; painted inscriptions on their sleeve bands read "Badr al-Dīn Lu<sup>3</sup>lu<sup>3</sup> ibn ʿAbdallāh," the appropriate version of his name in the period before his assumption of sovereignty.

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ESTELLE WHELAN

[See also Islamic Art; Mosul.]

**BADR AL-JAMĀLĪ** (ca. 1010–ca. 1093), commander of the armies and vizier of the Fatimid caliphate in Egypt during the last quarter of the eleventh century, was single-handedly responsible for the rejuvenation of Fatimid power during the long caliphate of al-Mustansir (1036–1094). Badr was an Armenian slave of a Syrian emir, Jamāl al-Dawla ibn ʿAmmār, from whom he derived his name al-Jamālī. Twice appointed governor of Damascus, Badr earned a reputation for toughness toward both the Seljuk Turks and the Syrian army. As the Seljuk threat to the Fatimid state increased, internal tensions mounted in Egypt: a severe famine had depleted the country's resources; the military forces were divided—the Turkish guard fought the Sudani troops, while both demanded payment from the caliph. In 1073, to restore order in Egypt, al-Mustansir summoned Badr from Acre, where he had commanded the army. Badr murdered the Turkish guard, subdued rebellion in the Nile Delta, and reestablished Fatimid power in Upper Egypt, where Arab tribes and Nubians had made incursions. In return for these services, the caliph named him commander of the armies, chief preacher, chief justice, and vizier. For the next twenty years Badr was the de facto ruler of Egypt,

BAGHDAD

but he was unable to consolidate Fatimid power in Syria as he had done in Egypt. His vizierate instituted a change in Fatimid organization: the next—and final—century of Fatimid rule was characterized by weak caliphs under the control of powerful and ambitious viziers.

In Egypt, Badr was a great builder: the most notable of his works are the walls of Cairo and three of their gates (Bāb Zuwayla, Bāb al-Futūḥ, and Bāb al-Naṣr), which still stand; the Mashhad al-Juyūshī, a commemorative structure on the Muqāṭṭam hills overlooking Cairo; and minarets in upper Egypt.

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JONATHAN M. BLOOM

[See also Cairo; Fatimids.]

**BAERZE, JACQUES DE.** Flemish wood-carver active at Dendermonde from before 1390 until at least 1398. With Melchior Broederlam he made two large altarpieces, ordered by the duke of Burgundy for the chartreuse at Champmol near Dijon: one commemorated the life of Christ; the other, the lives of saints and martyrs. The altarpieces are now at Dijon, in the Musée des Beaux-Arts.

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ANNE M. MORGANSTERN

[See also Broederlam, Melchior.]

**BAGH.** See Gardens, Islamic.

**BAGHDAD**, the major administrative center of the Abbasid caliphate and the capital of modern Iraq. It was originally situated along the junction of the Tigris River and the Şarāt Canal. The city was founded in 762 by the second Abbasid caliph, al-Manşūr. Pre-

براء بن مغرور انصاری خزر جی، ابوبشر سلمی (م یک ماه پیش از هجرت) از اصحاب والامقام و برومند رسول اکرم (ص) و از کسانی که شب عقبه برای بیعت و اظهار حمایت از پیغمبر (ص) در مکه حضور یافتند، و پیغمبر (ص) به اشاره جبرئیل دوازده تن از ایشان - از جمله براء بن مغرور - را بگزید و آنها را نقیب (= مهتر و امین قوم) قرار داد. براء در آن شب نخستین کسی بود که با پیغمبر (ص) بیعت کرد، و حمایت و فداکاری همه جانبه خود را به عرض رسانید (بحار الانوار، ۳۷۰/۱۵، ۱۰۲/۲). براء در مدینه سکونت داشته، و یک ماه پیش از هجرت پیامبر (ص)، در ماه صفر وفات یافته است، از همین روی ملاقاتهای او با آن حضرت اندک بوده، ولی دورانیشی و نکته سنجی خاصی داشته چنانکه در حدیثی از امام صادق (ع) آمده: سه کار از براء بن مغرور سنت شد: یکی اینکه وصیت کرد یک سوم دارائیش را پس از فوت به مصرف مورد نظر خودش برسانند، دیگر اینکه در قبر رویش را به سوی کعبه قرار دهند، و سوم به آب استنجا می کرد، در حالیکه مردم با سنگ استنجا می نمودند. از بعضی روایات استفاده می شود که او در نماز نیز به سوی کعبه توجه می کرده، و این پیش از تغییر قبله از بیت المقدس بوده است. همچنین بعضی از عامه روایت کرده اند که وقتی پیامبر (ص) به مدینه آمد، مادر براء از آن حضرت درخواست نمود تا بر قبر او نماز بگذارد، و پیامبر کنار قبر براء آمدند و برایش دعا کردند. بشر فرزند براء نیز از اصحاب حضرت رسول (ص) بوده که در خیبر مسموم شده و در گذشته است (بشر بن براء).

منابع: رجال، طوسی، ۸: الخصال، ۱۹۲/۱؛ کافی، ۱۰/۷؛ الاصابة، ۱۴۴/۱؛ الاستیعاب، ۱۲۶/۱؛ اعیان الشیعة، ۵۵۳/۳ - ۵۵۴؛ جامع الرواة، ۱۱۶/۱؛ تنقیح المقال، ۱۶۳/۱؛ معجم رجال الحديث، ۲۷۴/۳. سیدمهدی حائری

برائا، قریه ای قدیمی در غرب بغداد. نام برائا آرامی است (برئیا) به معنی خارج. آوازه آن از قبل از اسلام است و در عصر عباسی به اوج شهرت خود رسید و آن هنگامی بود که شیعیان در این مکان مسجد عظیمی بنا نمودند و علی رغم اینکه این مسجد در خارج از شهر بغداد بود شأن و منزلت عظیمی داشت. منابع شیعی اتفاق کلمه دارند و بعضی از مصادر سنی هم حاکی از آن است که حضرت امیرالمؤمنین علی (ع) هنگام بازگشت از جنگ خوارج در سال ۳۷ ق در نزدیکی این مکان غسل فرمودند سپس نماز خواندند و از همان موقع شیعیان این محل را مقدس شمرده و به زیارت این قریه می رفتند و در عصر عباسی مسجد عظیمی در این مکان مقدس بنا نمودند که تا عصر حاضر باقی است علی بن عیسی اربلی در کتاب خود کشف الغمه فی معرفة الاثمه از حضرت سجاد (ع) از پدرانش علیهم السلام روایت می نماید: «حضرت امیرالمؤمنین علی بن ابی طالب (ع) پس از واقعه خوارج که با لشکر خویش بازمی گشتند به این سرزمین رسیدند سؤال فرمودند که نام این سرزمین چیست عرض شد الزوراء فرمودند از این سرزمین دوری کنید که ممکن است فرورود.

است. شیخ کنسی از فضل بن شاذان روایت کرده: از جمله سابقین اصحاب پیامبر (ص) که به امیرالمؤمنین (ع) رجوع کردند، یعنی آن حضرت را خلیفه بلافضل حضرت رسول دانستند، براء بن مالک بوده است. براء شیفته جهاد در راه خدا بود، و بیوسته در آرزوی شهادت به سر می برد، لذا بعد از رحلت رسول اکرم (ص) نیز در جبهه های جنگ با کفار و مشرکین شرکت فعال داشت، بی باکی او به حدی بود که از محمد بن سیرین نقل کرده اند: عمر نوشته بود براء بن مالک را بر هیچ لشکری فرماندهی ندهید که آنها را به مواضع خطرناک می کشاند و به هلاکت می اندازد و از برادرش انس نقل شده که گفت: روزی به ملاقات براء بن مالک رفتم، دیدم سرود می خواند و با کمان خود بازی می کند، به او گفتم: تا کی می خواهی چنین باشی؟ پاسخ داد: ای انس گمان می کنی من بر رختخواب خواهم مرد؟ به خدا سوگند تا کنون نود و چند نفر از مشرکان را یک تنه کشته ام به جز آنهایی را که در قتلشان شرکت داشته ام، و امیدوارم خداوند مرا بر رختخواب نمراند. در جنگ یعامه - در نبرد با مسیلمه کذاب و پیروان او - که مسلمانان پیشروی کردند، و پیروان مسیلمه به حدیقه الرحمان - که به حدیقه الموت نام نهاده شد - پناه بردند و در باغ را محکم بستند و در آن سنگر گرفتند، براء بن مالک همچون ابودجانه وارد باغ شد و در آن را گشود و مسلمانان وارد باغ شدند و دشمن را تارومار کردند و هشتاد و چند ضربت بر بدن برآورد آمد، که معالجه و مداوای زخمهایش یک ماه به طول انجامید و سرانجام در جنگ تستر (شوشتر) که مشرکین سرسختی داشتند، و تلفات سنگینی بر مسلمانان وارد ساختند، به براء - که در معرکه حضور داشت - گفته شد: رسول خدا (ص) فرموده است: «بسا افراد ناتوان مستضعفی که با جامه های کم ارزشی به سر می برند، که اگر خدای را سوگند دهند، خداوند خواسته آنان را برآورد، و از جمله آنان براء بن مالک است». پس تو دعا کن تا پیروز شویم. براء دست به دعا برداشت و گفت: پروردگارا تو را سوگند می دهم که ما را بر ایشان مسلط و چیره گردانی، و مرا به پیامبر ملحق نمای. پس مسلمانان پیروز شدند و برآه به شهادت رسید و در آن دیار دفن شد، از این جهت است که بعضی او را «شهید شوشتر» نامیده اند، و آرامگاه او تا زمان ما، زیارتگاه مردم است.

منابع: رجال، طوسی، ۸: رجال، علامه حلی، ۲۴: احقاق الحق، ۳۴۳/۳. جامع الرواة، ۱۱۶/۱؛ الاصابة، ۱۴۳/۱؛ الاستیعاب، ۱۳۷/۱؛ تنقیح المقال، ۱۶۲/۱؛ اعیان الشیعة، ۵۵۳/۳ - ۵۵۴؛ معجم رجال الحديث، ۲۷۳/۳؛ شخصیت های اسلامی شیعه، سیدمهدی حائری، ۱۵۳/۱.

براء بن محمد، از راویان مورد وثوق شیعه در قرن دوم هجری بوده است. وی کتابی - از مجموعه احادیث - داشته و آن را ایوب بن نوح نخعی از راویان و اصحاب امام رضا و امام جواد، و از وکلای امام هادی و امام عسکری علیهم السلام از او روایت کرده است.

منابع: رجال، نجاشی، ۸۲؛ رجال، علامه حلی، ۲۴؛ جامع الرواة، ۱۱۶/۱؛ اعیان الشیعة، ۵۵۳/۳؛ معجم رجال الحديث، ۲۷۴/۳؛ الذریعة، ۳۱۵/۶. مهدی حائری

**Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī** *see* **al-ʿAynī,**  
**Badr al-Dīn**

*badw* *see* **bedouin**

-Bagdad

**Baghdad, medieval**

The capital of the 'Abbāsid caliphate from the city's foundation in 145/762–3 to its capture by the Mongols in 656/1258, apart from a period in the third/ninth century when the caliphs resided in Samarra. The name 'Baghdad' belonged originally to a village with a Christian monastery near the site where the second 'Abbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr chose to build his new capital, which was officially called Madīnat al-Salām, the City of Peace. The site was on cultivated land on the west bank of the Tigris about 30 km upstream from the former Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon. The land was irrigated by navigable canals bringing water from the Euphrates, and the location provided the new city with a fertile agricultural hinterland as well as excellent long-distance riverine communications. The city or conurbation grew quickly into a rich mosaic of built-up areas, market-gardens, fields and date plantations. Building was mostly of mud-brick, easily produced on-site and as easily reducible to its original state.

Al-Manṣūr's original foundation was his famous Round City, a massive circular double rampart of mud-brick enclosing a space about 2 km in diameter, with a mosque and the caliph's palace at its centre. This was not the first such bastion thrown across the Tigris from the east; the Sasanians too had built a round walled city on the west bank of the Tigris opposite their capital on the east bank at Ctesiphon (Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, Princeton, 1984, p. 143). Al-Manṣūr's city was a heavily fortified seat of government, with only the caliph, his household and the leading officers of his Khurasani army and administration settled within its ramparts. The bulk of the army was settled in new suburbs outside the Round City, to the north, west and south. To the north, the suburb of al-Harbiyya became a large popular quarter, while to the south, the existing market settlement of al-Karkh grew into a great commercial district.

The Round City did not long remain the seat of government, and apart from its mosque it gradually fell into disuse. Its ramparts seem to have mostly disappeared during the fourth/ninth

century. During his own lifetime al-Manṣūr moved into a new palace just outside the Round City on the west bank of the Tigris, and began the construction of a new palace-complex on the opposite east bank for his son and successor al-Mahdī. East Baghdad soon became the favoured residence of the government élite, while west Baghdad saw the development of a truly urban economy and society. These were still underpinned by the military salaries and pensions paid to a large part of the population, but Baghdad also became the centre of an enormous free market in both trade and scholarship, rapidly eclipsing all other such centres throughout the Muslim world.

The relationship between city and state broke down in the civil war of 193–204/809–19, which ended, after a long siege, in military and political defeat for the Baghdadis. The caliphs were recruiting new armed forces in the east, and the Baghdadis could not prevent the consequent dilution of their political status and privileges. When the caliph al-Mu'taṣim took his new Turkish army off to Samarra in 220/835, Baghdad was left under the control of the **Tāhirids**, a family of military and political leaders who held simultaneously the autonomous governorship of **Khurasan**. This arrangement confirmed the city's original character as a bridgehead across the Tigris for a regime that drew its strength from the east, and seems to have suited the Baghdadis. Apart from a second long siege by the army of Samarra in 251/865–6, they were mostly insulated from the high politics of the 'Abbāsid court, which at Samarra degenerated into a reckless and brutal struggle for pay amongst a barely civilized soldiery.

Tāhirid power was destroyed in Persia by the **Saffarids**, who tried but failed to replace them in the structure of the 'Abbāsid empire. Al-Mu'tadid, who became caliph in 279/892, once more took up residence in Baghdad. Cut off from its roots in the east, the city became for once in its history the true centre of a reduced, but for a time still vigorous, empire. However, it was during this period that the caliphs constructed yet another palace-complex on the east bank of the Tigris, downstream from the original eastern city and without its organic links to west Baghdad.

Baghdad was again occupied from the east when the **Būyids** captured the city from their base in Fars in 334/945, bringing its people some respite from the renewed depredations of the caliphs' ungovernable armed forces, and affording protection from the rising power of

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for corruption), and in 1867 for London University. But he was a poor speaker and failed each time.

In 1872 Bagehot published *Physics and Politics*, which was an attempt to apply the new discoveries in anthropology to the development of societies and nations themselves. It is largely forgotten by reason of the vigour acquired by sociological investigation in the 20th century, largely under the stimulus of Karl Marx and Max Weber. But one of its central points, the process of unconscious imitation as a molding force in the development of nations—what Bagehot called “the cake of custom”—had a considerable influence on such philosophical sociologists as William James and Graham Wallas.

All this time, Bagehot and his wife were living in London and he was editing a weekly of growing influence. In his 40s, he became increasingly frail, and such energy as he had was concentrated on professional economic studies. In 1873 he published *Lombard Street*, which, though really a tract arguing for a larger central reserve in the hands of the Bank of England, in fact contains the germ of the modern theory of central banking and exchange control. He was working on a major series of economic studies when pneumonia struck him down on March 24, 1877, at the age of 51. The economist John Maynard Keynes, two generations later, paid tribute to his insight into business psychology.

But the greatest tribute to Bagehot's lively style, humanity, and insight is that his books have been read, republished, and subjected to a continuous stream of critical essays ever since his death. He once made fun of Thomas Macaulay for seeking posthumous fame but has, nevertheless, received a good measure of it himself.

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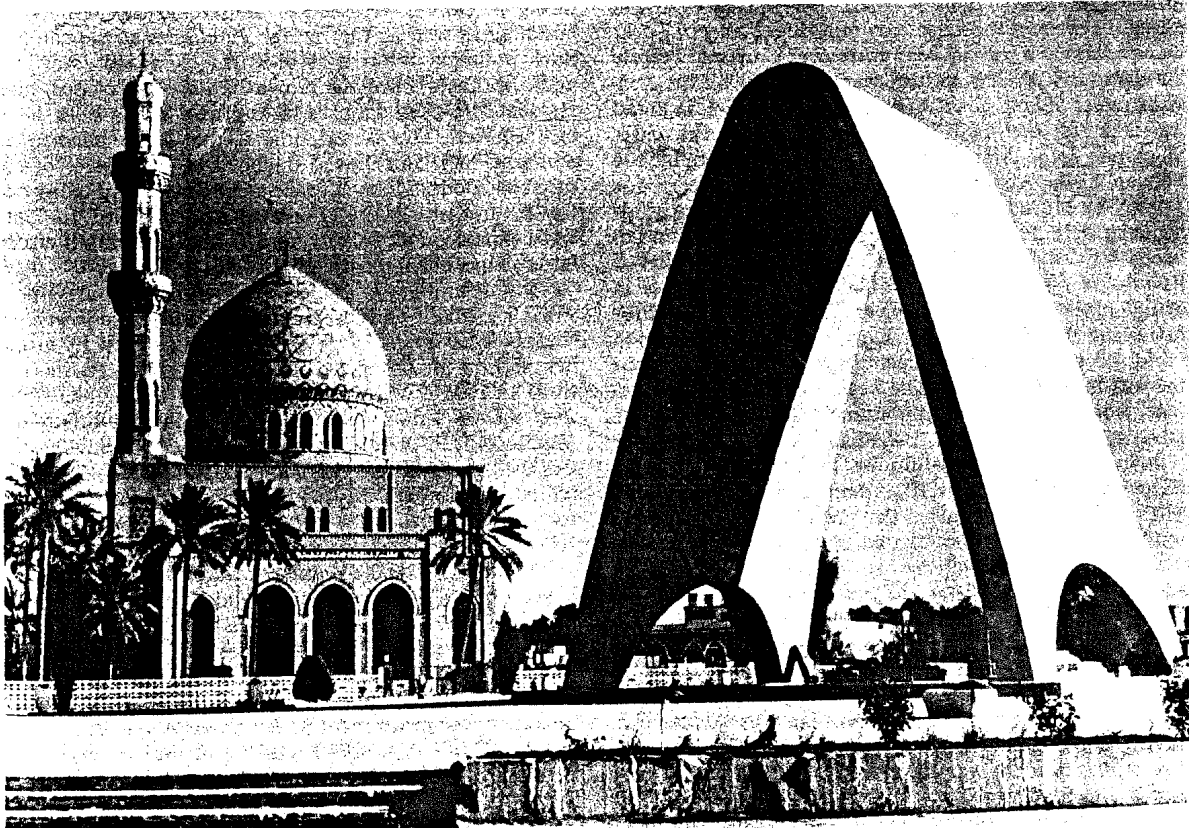
(A.F.B.)

## Baghdad

Baghdad, the foremost city of ancient Mesopotamia, is the largest city and the capital of modern Iraq and of the *muḥāfaẓah* (province) of Baghdad. It is situated on the Tigris River in north central Iraq about 350 miles (560 kilometres) northwest of the Persian Gulf. Since the overthrow of the monarchy in 1958, the capital city has been the scene of political turmoil as the country has tried to establish itself as a modern, Socialist, Pan-Arab state. The population of the city early in the 1970s was over 2,100,000.

**History.** Many capital cities have stood in the vicinity of Baghdad: Agade, Babylon, and Burj 'Aqarqūf, the Kassite capital, lay to the west; Seleucia and Ctesiphon lay about 20 miles to the south. In AD 750 the caliphate was established in Iraq with the foundation of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty by Abū al-'Abbās as-Saffāh, whose brother and successor, Abū Ja'far, known as al-Manṣūr, determined in 762 to build himself a new capital on the site of a Sāsānian village, Baghdad. The Round City of Manṣūr, called Madīnat as-Salām (City of Peace), stood on the west bank of the Tigris, but no traces of its buildings remain, and its exact site is unknown. It was 3,000 yards (2,700 metres) in diameter, with three concentric walls each pierced by four gates, through which passed highways radiating from the caliphal palace at the centre of

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Mosque and arch to the Unknown Soldier In Baghdad, Iraq.

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GIOVANNI CLAUDIO BOTTINI

**BAGHDAD**, the major administrative center of the 'Abbasid caliphate (750-1258 CE) and the capital of the modern state of Iraq (33°26'18" N, 44°23'9" E). The city was founded in 762 CE by the second 'Abbasid caliph Abu Ja'far al-Mansur. Previously, the 'Abbasid rulers had established the center of their administration at a number of sites in Iraq, each of which was called al-Hashimiyyah. It would appear that the 'Abbasids preferred to build their administrative complexes in the vicinity of established urban centers, but they always left a discreet distance between an area reserved for the government and military and the urban population. In this way they hoped to provide for security while availing themselves of nearby goods and services. The pattern seems to have been employed at Baghdad as well.

The caliph's decision to seek a new location at which to build still another administrative center was conditioned by security needs. Al-Mansur's current administrative center was situated in the general vicinity of Kufah, a city known for its residual support of Shi'i causes. After a lengthy search, in which he followed the course of the Tigris River as far as Mosul, the caliph decided to construct a palace complex at the junction of the Tigris and the Sarat Canal, the latter a constructed waterway that bifurcated from the Euphrates River. This particular location offered certain strategic and geographic advantages. The Sarat, which was deep enough to allow for commercial traffic, enabled the caliph to utilize Iraq's two major river systems: the Tigris and the Euphrates. Moreover, the city was astride the major overland highways and pilgrimage routes. Baghdad thus became the commercial as well as geographic epicenter of the newly established 'Abbasid regime.

The palace complex itself was surrounded by three bodies of water: the Tigris and the upper and lower arms of the Sarat. The Tigris, a wide, undulating river, could not be forded at the site of the city. Throughout the history of Baghdad, movement across the Tigris was funneled through

a series of pontoon bridges that could be cut from their moorings, denying potential enemies access to the caliph's flank. The built waterways similarly served as natural barriers in time of attack.

The first major structure to be erected was the Round City, called Madinat al-Salam. It was built on the site of an old hamlet on the west side of the river that was called Baghdad. That name was subsequently applied to the entire urban area. Before the founding of the 'Abbasid city, there were a number of villages in the general area. These were divided among four administrative districts on both sides of the Tigris: Qatrabbul, Baduraya, Nahr Buq, and Kalwadha. A small market area known as the Tuesday Market was situated on both sides of the river, to service the inhabitants of the four districts.

The construction of a major edifice on a sparsely settled site required an organized and highly efficient set of work procedures. It was not until a large labor force had been assembled that construction was actually begun, and it took four years to complete all the major elements of the Round City, thus allowing the caliph time to transfer his old capital from near Kufah. With tens of thousands of workers assembling from the outlying districts and from areas even farther removed, the skilled and unskilled laborers, the artisans, and the military who kept order all required housing and access to established markets for services. Al-Mansur's capital therefore assumed a quality of permanence in places beyond the walls, even before the Round City was completed. The urban area around its original walls eventually developed into a sprawling complex of interdependent elements with markets, mosques, and cemeteries. The area below the Sarat Canal, which contained the Tuesday Market, developed into the great commercial suburb called al-Karkh and was inhabited by the general populace. The area north of the Sarat and beyond the Round City was originally set aside for billeting the army.

The Round City was not a conventional city. It contained no economic infrastructure whatsoever, and strict precautions were taken to limit access by the general populace. It was more correctly an enormous palace complex that housed the residence and mosque of the caliph, the residences of his younger children, the agencies of government, and residences for the government bureaucracy that staffed the agencies of government as well as a skeleton force of security personnel. The size of the complex, 450 ha (1,132 acres) was unprecedented. Though only a palace complex, it was, in fact, larger than any urban settlement in the Diyala plains, the area that was the vast hinterland of Baghdad.

The Round City consisted of four architectural elements: outer fortifications, an inner residential area of symmetrically arranged streets, a second inner area of government agencies, and, moving toward the center of the circle, an inner courtyard in which the caliph's palace and the adjoining Friday mosque were situated. The outer fortifications

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## SOME SPECULATIVE THOUGHTS ON THE SEARCH FOR AN 'ABBĀSID CAPITAL

(Second Installment)

The proximity of the 'Abbāsīd capital to Ctesiphon may be coincidental, but this fact leads to more speculative thoughts. It is noteworthy that the Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī concludes his introduction to *The History of Baghdad* with a chapter on al-Madā'in (Ctesiphon), and preserves in that chapter a historical tradition about the building of al-Manṣūr's city.<sup>34</sup> In order to obtain building materials for the construction at Baghdad, al-Manṣūr is reported to have ordered the demolition of the palace of Khusraw (*Iwān Kisrā*) at al-Madā'in. This step was undertaken despite the counsel of a non-Arab advisor who argued that the ruined palace was a monument to the Arab victory over the Sāsānid Dynasty, and, as such, should not be destroyed. This advice was rejected because the advisor was suspected of pro-Persian sentiments. However, when the undertaking proved unmanageable, al-Manṣūr was forced to halt the demolition. According to a variant in Ṭabarī, the advisor, who is identified as Khālid ibn Barmak, now argued against terminating the project, since this would be an admission of the Caliph's inability to destroy this vestige of Sāsānian rule, thus implying that it would reduce his stature in the eyes of the Persians.

While there is no way of determining any historical basis for this tradition from internal evidence, it is clear that al-Manṣūr was beset at the outset of his reign by the opposition of various dissident groups, particularly in those territories formerly held by the Sāsānian dynasty, and which in Islamic times became the breeding ground of the 'Abbāsīd revolution. To this one can add al-Manṣūr's difficulties with the caliphal pretensions of his uncle 'Abdāllah ibn 'Alī,<sup>35</sup> and the imagined or real disaffection of his previous ally, Abū Muslim, the former leader of the 'Abbāsīd revolutionary movement in Khurāsān.<sup>36</sup> Although the ambitions laid to this convert may be largely the invention of later heresiographers,<sup>37</sup> a real distinction can be drawn between his personal ambitions and the aspirations of others which

The death of Abū Muslim, like that of various Shī'ite imāms, therefore, comes to be regarded as an ophthalmic illusion. In reality he was able to turn himself into a white pigeon and thus miraculously escape death at the hands of al-Manṣūr's executioners. Presently in hiding, his imminent return as the forerunner of the *Mahdī* and the subsequent collapse of Arab rule was eagerly anticipated.

As a serious challenge to the caliph's authority, the power exercised by such dissident groups was probably more apparent than real. But the struggle for rule in a dynastic society extends beyond the formal elements of power to touch upon the fundamental question of legitimacy. It is the historic need of every sovereign, particularly the founder of a newly established dynasty, to announce himself as an authentic successor of the great family of kings which preceded him. This particular need was, no doubt, even more pressing for the early 'Abbāsīds since the basis of their power was to a significant extent dependent on the continued cooperation of their Persian supporters.

If there is any historicity to the accounts reported in Ṭabarī and the Khaṭīb concerning the demolition of *Iwān Kisrā* and the subsequent use of the building materials for the Caliph's palace at Baghdad, then the manner in which the 'Abbāsīd capital was founded at that site may have been more than the logical consequence of certain geographic considerations. It may have the additional nuance of demonstrating that the Caliph was anxious to promote himself as an heir to the defunct Sāsānian Empire, and, as such, could claim the allegiance of those subjects who dwelled on its former territories, the followers of Abū Muslim notwithstanding. This is not to say that the Caliph consciously attempted to emulate a given Sāsānian monarch, but rather that he attempted to associate himself with that particular style of grand rule which characterized the great empires before him, and from which lingering Sāsānian forms provided his most convenient models. It is true that Ctesiphon and its magnificent palaces had become, in the eyes of the Arabs, synonymous with Sāsānian rule, but more generally it was also considered as a city where great kings came to establish their realm. Yāqūt,<sup>43</sup> in an attempt to explain the name al-Madā'in (pl. of *Madīnah*, meaning city), mentions an account indicating that it was so named because each of the Sāsānian monarchs and the rulers that preceded them there built a city adjacent to that of his predecessor. The chain of worthy figures includes Alexander the Great and goes back to Zāb who ruled in the era following that of Moses.

A new capital is therefore not merely the choice of a new city—witness the unsuccessful attempts at al-Hāshimīyah; it carries with it the prestige and authority of the Caliphate itself. The search for legitimacy is concerned with the tangible expressions of that authority.

<sup>43</sup> *Mu'jam*, s.v., al-Madā'in.

<sup>34</sup> Khaṭīb, pp. 130-131. Variants of this account are found in Ṭabarī, *Annales*, v. 3.1, p. 320; Ibn al-Ṭiṭṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, p. 212.

<sup>35</sup> Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, v. 2, pp. 437-439; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, v. 3.1, pp. 93-98.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall*, Calcutta (1927), pp. 488 ff.; G. Van Vloten, *Recherches sur la Domination Arabe*, Amsterdam (1894), pp. 65-70; R. N. Frye, "The Role of Abū Muslim in the 'Abbāsīd Revolt," *Muslim World*, v. 37 (1947), pp. 28-38; also Van Vloten, *De Opkomst der Abbasiden in Chorasān*, Leiden (1890), pp. 70-131; S. Moscati, *Studi su Abū Muslim, I-III*, *Rend. Linc.*, (1949), pp. 323-335, 474-495; (1950), pp. 80-105.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. I. Friedlander, "The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Ḥazm," *JAOS*, v. 28 (1907), pp. 36 ff.; commentary in v. 29 (cf. *Index*, p. 163).

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## SOME SPECULATIVE THOUGHTS ON THE SEARCH FOR AN 'ABBĀSID CAPITAL

(First Installment)

When the Caliph 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib left the holy city for al-Kūfah to do battle with Mu'āwiyah, he initiated a series of events which were to have a profound effect on the course of the next century. In abandoning al-Madīnah for Iraq, he formally shifted the capital of the Muslim world eastward, thus marking an end to the pre-eminence of the Hijāz. Although his decision was born of necessity and later proved to be historically logical, it was at this time ill-fated and premature. The inconclusive battle with the Syrians, followed by a series of diplomatic fiascos, seriously compromised the moral and political status of the Caliph. With the subsequent deterioration of his position, and finally his death at the hands of an assassin, Damascus became the new center of gravity of the Muslim world, and, as the official capital of the Umayyads, it retained this pre-eminence until the fall of that regime. The orientation of the later Umayyads, however, gradually shifted eastward to Iraq, Persia, and the newly acquired territories beyond the Oxus.

The assimilation of the eastern provinces could have firmly established Umayyad rule over a wide geographical area. However, the social and economic abuses levied by the ruling Arab aristocracy on the Muslim clients of Iraq and the newly acquired territories precluded any such success. Owing to serious shortages of revenue, attempts to redress certain economic grievances failed, thereby intensifying the alienation of the inhabitants, and giving rise to the coalition of forces both Arab and Persian which ultimately dislodged the Umayyads from power. The final defeat of the Caliph's armies on the river Zāb was more than a military catastrophe; it marked the complete destruction of the existing ruling institution, predicated as it was on a privileged Arab aristocracy, and paved the way for redefining the Islamic community on a much wider basis, an undertaking of magnitude requiring conspicuous changes in the very nature of the Islamic Empire. Foremost among these was the transfer of the government from Syria to Iraq, a step which signified not only the formal change of dynasty, but a profound understanding of the commercial and political importance of the eastern provinces which spawned and nurtured the 'Abbāsīd revolution.

During the formative years of 'Abbāsīd rule, the center of government in Iraq was shifted from location to location as the Caliph searched for a place at which to establish a permanent capital. This quest came to an end when the Caliph al-Manṣūr (d. 775) built an administrative center near the confluence of the Tigris and Ṣarāt,

later abandoned by the governor of Marwān II. There were, therefore, no less than four 'Abbāsīd capitals: the three capitals of al-Saffāh at Qaṣr b. Hubayrah, at the site opposite that town, and at al-Anbār, and also the capital of al-Manṣūr at Madīnat b. Hubayrah. The proclivity of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs for this constant moving is still unexplained; but it does suggest that they were searching for a site which could satisfy certain particular needs.

Al-Manṣūr's decision to move the government to Baghdad is reportedly the result of several factors. The Caliph's current residence was near the turbulent Shī'ite stronghold of al-Kūfah, a source of potential danger to his rule. His uneasiness as to possible intrigues was heightened in the year 141/758 by the riot of some Rawāndiyah extremists within the very court of his palace.<sup>8</sup> There are indications that the Caliph then was compelled to undertake personally the journey in search of another location for his capital.<sup>9</sup> Following the course of the Tigris upstream, he passed through Jarjarāyā and Baghdad,<sup>10</sup> and then continued on to al-Mawṣil. During the journey, al-Manṣūr dispatched troops in advance of his party to seek an advantageous location.<sup>11</sup> The returning scouts described a place to him which was close to Barrimā, a village situated near al-Mawṣil on the left bank of the Tigris.<sup>12</sup> The Caliph, after spending the night there, consulted with his advisors and agreed that the climate was desirable, but logistically the area could not sustain the required military and civil population.<sup>13</sup> He then returned to Baghdad and traced the city plan,<sup>14</sup> although actual construction did not begin until 145/762.<sup>15</sup>

The Arabic accounts which discuss al-Manṣūr's decision to build a city at Baghdad are an interlacing of various reports from which two distinct traditions emerge: the first is somewhat apocryphal, the second gives some evidence of historicity.

### I. The Story of Miqlāṣ:<sup>16</sup>

Reported with some variation, the story indicates that al-Manṣūr was informed of an old tradition in which a king named Miqlāṣ<sup>17</sup> was

<sup>8</sup> Ṭabarī, *Annales*, v. 3.1, pp. 129-133, 271, 318 ff. also gives dates 136, 7; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, v. 1, p. 680.

<sup>9</sup> Dinawarī, *Akhbār*, p. 379; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, v. 3.1, p. 271.

<sup>10</sup> Situated in Lower Nahrawān between Wāsīt and Baghdad (cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, v. 2, p. 54).

<sup>11</sup> Ṭabarī, *Annales*, v. 3.1, p. 275; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, v. 1, p. 680.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, v. 1, p. 404.

<sup>13</sup> Ṭabarī, *Annales*, v. 3.1, pp. 273, 276.

<sup>14</sup> Ya'qūbi, *K. al-buldān*, BGA VII (Leiden), pp. 237-238; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, v. 1, p. 272.

<sup>15</sup> On the date of construction, see Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* v. 1, pp. 66-67.

<sup>16</sup> Ṭabarī, *Annales*, v. 3.1, pp. 272-273, 276; Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, Cairo (1931), v. 1, p. 66; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, v. 1, p. 680; Ibn al-Ṭīqāqā, *al-Kitāb al-fakhrī*, ed. H. Derenbourg, Paris (1895), pp. 217-218.

<sup>17</sup> Khaṭīb reads *Miqlāṣ*. Note, however, the reading *Niqlāṣ* is preserved in two late (seventeenth century) MSS. of the Khaṭīb; Damād Ibrahim 880, fol. 7b; Nuru Osmaniya 3093, fol. 17a. The name *Miqlāṣ* presumably refers to the Manichaean Imām who resided at Ctesiphon; see text below.

The Muslim World, c. 55 (s. 2), s. 135-142, 1965 (A.B.D.)



# A STUDY OF CONVERSION TO ISLAM WITH REFERENCE TO EGYPT AND IRAQ

A Sulvey of Western Sources

Talip Küçükcan \*

19 SUBAT 1996

## Understanding Conversion

In contemporary social psychological works the concept of conversion appears to have had a comprehensive meaning. In the oft quoted words of Trayisano, conversion refers to a radical reorganization of identity, meaning and life (Trayisano.1970, p.594 cited in Lofland and Skonovd), Heirich explains conversion in such phrases as "conversion is the process of changing, a sense of root reality" or "a conscious shift in one's sense of grounding" (Heirich, 1977, p.674) One can deduce from the above mentioned definitions that conversion is a very remarkable event, tantamount to changes in the life of the one who experiences it. Thus, if one tries to undertake an exploration of conversion experience, many variables should be taken into consideration to reach a sound conclusion. Of those the conversion motives are of great importance.

Lofland and Skonovd suggest six fundamental motives to religious conversion, being identified as intellectual, mystical, experimental, affectional, revivalist and coercive:

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\* Islamic Research Centre, Istanbul.

بغداد عاصمة الادب العباسي

## تمازج العناصر البشرية

في

بغداد العباسيين \*

بقلم فؤاد افرام البستاني

استاذ الآداب العربية في كلية القديس يوسف

تقدّم لنا كلام واسع في تأسيس بغداد وازدهارها ، وما تقلّب عليها من الحوادث <sup>(١)</sup> . فبقي ان ندرس بشيء من التفصيل احوال تلك الشعوب المتنوعة التي كانت تعيش في بغداد ، فتتنازع وتتطاحن في سبيل الحياة ، ولكل منها طريقه الخاص ، فيكتمل لنا درس البيئة الجغرافي .

لقد كان في بغداد العرب ارباب الخلافة ، والدين ، والوزارة احياناً ، والفرس اصحاب الوزارة والادارة ، والجيش ، والولايات ، ورجال الحساب والتنجيم ، والعلوم والصناعات على اختلاف انواعها .

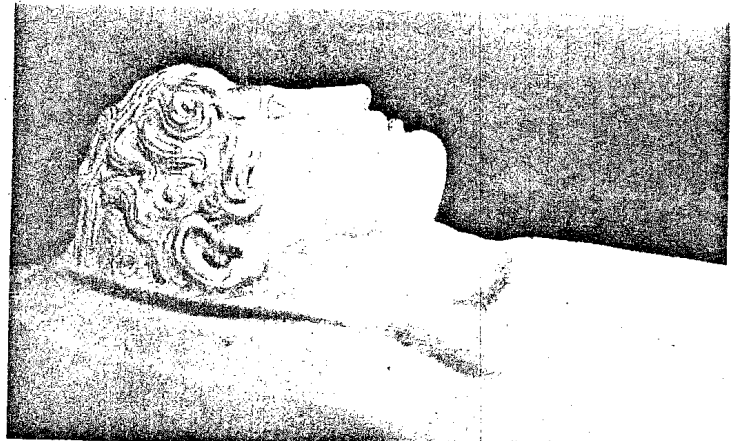
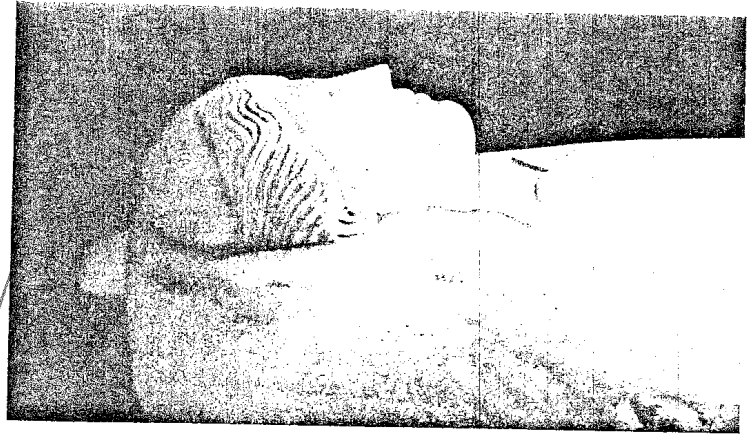
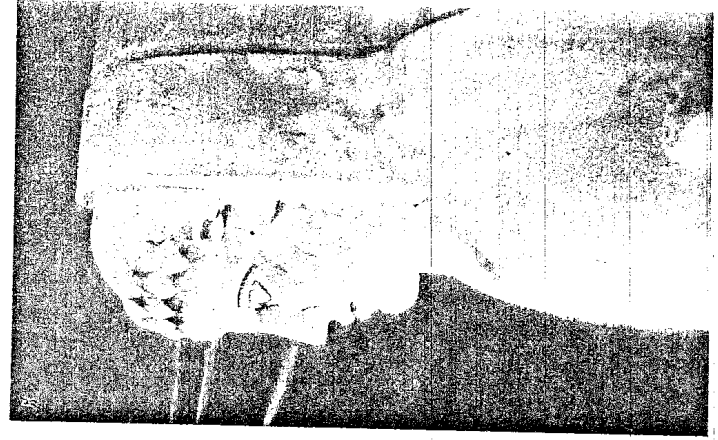
ثم التّرك ضباط العساكر ، ومادّة الحروب .

وهناك الاراميون ثقلة العلوم ، واساتذة المنطق والفلسفة والطب .

(\*) مادة المحاضرتين الثالثة والرابعة من محاضرات « معهد الآداب الشرقية » في فرع « الفلسفة والآداب السامية » .

(١) اطلب الجزء الاول من « مشرق » هذه السنة ص ٦٥ - ١٠٩ ، وقد نشرنا في آخر البحث جدولاً بالآخذ من عربية واجنبية . ولما كانت هي نفسها تمدّنا ايضاً في بحثنا الحاضر ، لم نر من حاجة الى اعادة ذكرها في هذا المقال . اما ما نستند اليه من المآخذ الجديدة ، فنذكره في الحواشي .

DOKÜMANTASYON MÜHÜRÜ



أمثلة من الرؤوس المنحوتة على النواويس البشرية الشكل في مجموعة « فورد »

## Baghdad

It was the second Abbasid caliph al-Mansur (reigned 136/754–158/775)—the Abbasids had previously been installed at Kufa—who had Baghdad built on the west bank of the Tigris, on a site where buildings already existed, in particular, numerous Christian monasteries. The construction of the Abbasid capital began in 145/762—twelve years, that is, after the beginnings of the dynasty—and was effectively an imperial political project.

More than for any other city, sources describing Baghdad need to be read with caution. What are we to make of the description of the round city? And of the dimensions provided (a circumference of between 4,000 and 20,000 “black cubits”)? Numerous writers (Duri, Le Stange, Donne, Massignon, Herzfeld, Susa, Lassner, and so on) have attempted reconstructions. Beyond the shape and the precise dimensions of the new princely city, what we know is that the city’s spatial organization had been conceived in advance. We are dealing with an agglomeration gigantic right from the start, its heart a city girdled with a wall circular in form and pierced by four monumental gates: Bab Basra to the southwest, Bab Kufa to the southeast, Bab al-Khurasan to the northeast, and Bab al-Sham to the northwest. From these, four avenues fanned out, arched thoroughfares leading to an open central square with the palace and mosque. Al-Mansur’s palace was constructed on the model of the Umayyad palace at Wasit, with a green ceramic dome, and it was enclosed by a gate named the “golden gate.” Northwest of the square were the guards and the dwelling of their commander, and the chief of police. Around the square were the residences of the Caliph’s children, the treasury, the administrations for post, land tax (*kharaj*), seal and war, the kitchens, and so on. Other “utilities” were sited in the city, such as the prison between Bab Kufa and Bab Basra. The wall was a piece of sophisticated defensive work. There was a preliminary wall with towers; there was an outer ditch, and the four monumental gates were each equipped with several iron doors. To achieve this surrounding structure, special bricks were manufactured, of one cubit in length. Channels were dug, as wells serving the round city and the suburbs from the water of the Tigris or Euphrates, and this allowed sumptuous gardens to be cultivated. Ya’qubi<sup>28</sup> gives the names of the

<sup>28</sup> Ya’qubi, *Kitab al-buldan*, 240 *et seq.*

streets: “Street of the Police,” “Street of the Women,” “Street of the Water Carriers,” “Street of the Muezzins,” and so on.

The whole programme is there: a perfect form, the power at the centre, the effective manifestation of Islam in the mosque adjacent to the palace of the prince-imams, great axes leading to gates opening out on to the four corners of the empire. The scale of the works was likewise imperial. The sources enumerate the experts from among the different professions (Ya’qubi gives the mythical figure of 10,000 workmen), including astronomers.

From the beginning Baghdad stretched beyond the round city: four suburbs, with their markets and baths, were created at the start, with an urbanist to work out their development. As in the *amsar* of the first times, the occupation rested on a principle of allocating land grants (*qati’a*), individual for Arabs or *mawlas*, collective for the army, within or outside the walls. Ya’qubi provides a list of these.<sup>29</sup> It does not exclude individual properties, for traders for instance.

From the outset the population was multi-confessional: Zoroastrians (*majusi*, whence our word “mage”), Jews, and Nestorian Christians had numerous establishments in the city to which they came from all parts of the Muslim world. It is known that they played a crucial part in the extensive translation of Greek learning into Arabic, via Syriac. As for Muslims, these, coming as they did from throughout the empire, were ethnically diverse. The Abbasid political project was, nonetheless, to unify the culture of their subjects by means of the Arabic language, whether they were speakers of Persian, of a Turkic language (like the Turkomans), or of any other language.

The round city was simply an initial foundation. Thereafter palatine agglomerations acted as focal points and as the centre for new urban quarters. In 157/773, again on the west bank of the Tigris, al-Mansur constructed a palace outside the round city; this gave rise to the quarter of al-Karkh. Then, for his son and heir al-Mahdi, he built another still larger palatine complex on the East bank, and this gave rise to the Rusafa quarter. From this time on, the city saw extensive development on the East bank, with the Shammasiyya and Mukharrim quarters.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 243–254.

Revue du Monde Musulman, t. 23, s. 240-267

1913, PARIS

BAGDAD

## LE VILAYET DE BAGDAD

ET

## SON ORGANISATION ADMINISTRATIVE

Les renseignements qui suivent sont empruntés à l'Annuaire officiel du vilayet de Bagdad (22<sup>e</sup> année) pour l'année administrative 1327, correspondant à 1329 de l'hégire, et à 1911 de notre ère. La Revue a déjà eu l'occasion d'analyser des publications de ce genre, et ses lecteurs savent qu'elles sont une source d'informations précieuses, abondant en détails peu connus chez nous. Parmi les renseignements que contient notre Annuaire, on remarque une liste des tombeaux de saints personnages existant dans le vilayet. Nous la reproduisons, et regrettons de n'avoir pu la faire suivre de quelques détails sur ces saints personnages ; nous espérons, un jour, pouvoir revenir sur ce sujet.

Baghdād Vilayeti<sup>11</sup> Makhsoûs Salnâmê « L'Annuaire spécial du Vilayet de Bagdad » pour 1327 (1329 Hég. = 1911 J.-C.) forme un gros volume in-8 de près de 350 pages, sortant de l'imprimerie de Châhbender, à Bagdad. Il s'ouvre sur une série de renseignements que l'on retrouve dans tous les Annuaire officiels : calendrier avec concordance entre

les mois musulmans et chrétiens (vieux et nouveau style), l'indication des fêtes, heures du lever et du coucher du soleil, etc. Ce sont, ensuite, les principaux faits de l'histoire ancienne et moderne, allant de la création d'Adam, 6212 ans avant l'hégire, du déluge et des origines de la civilisation égyptienne, jusqu'au rétablissement de la Constitution ottomane ; la liste des Khalifes, de l'avènement d'Abou Bekr à la mort d'Al-Mo'tasim, avec la durée du règne de chacun d'eux, un abrégé de l'histoire des sultans ottomans ; la liste des villes ayant servi de capitales à l'Islam, Médine, Damas, Bagdad, Le Caire, etc. ; les listes des titres, fonctions, grades et décorations existant dans l'Empire Ottoman, et celle des épithètes propres à leurs titulaires, et enfin la géographie administrative de l'Empire, divisé en vilayets, sandjaks et cazas.

A la page 68 commence l'Annuaire proprement dit, avec la liste des fonctionnaires composant l'administration centrale : général de division Yousof Aguiâh Pacha, faisant fonctions de gouverneur général (*vâli vekîli*) ; Mehmed 'Asem Efendi, adjoint (*nâib*) au gouverneur, 'Eumer Loutfi Bey, sous-gouverneur (*mou'aven*) ; Ismâ'il Râif Bey, receveur général des finances (*déftêrdâr*) ; Moustafâ Nâdir Bey, secrétaire général (*tahrîrât mudîri*). Le gouverneur général est assisté d'un Conseil d'administration (*Mêdjlis-i Idârê-i Vilâyêt*), qu'il préside, et qui se compose des principaux fonctionnaires. L'administration centrale comprend, de plus, les services suivants :

1<sup>o</sup> Bureau de rédaction (*Tahrîrât-Kalêmi*), comprenant 1 rédacteur en chef, 6 rédacteurs et 6 copistes ; directeur, 'Abdullâh Efendi ;

2<sup>o</sup> Bureau du Conseil administratif (*Mêdjlis-i Idârê Kalêmi*), comprenant 5 employés. Directeur : 'Abdul-Vahhâb Efendi, premier secrétaire ;

3<sup>o</sup> Bureau de la correspondance officielle (*Evrâk Odase*), comprenant 7 employés. Directeur : Rechid Bey ;

4<sup>o</sup> Bureau des affaires étrangères (*Vilâyêt Umouûr-ı Edjnèbiyè Kalêmi*), comprenant 2 employés. Directeur : Arâm Efendi ;

دكتور عبد الرؤوف مخلوف

Beḡdād

# الباقلائي

وكتابه

اعجاز القرآن

دراسة تحليلية نقدية

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922.971
BAK

منشورات

دار الكتب والوثائق  
بيروت

التي عرف بها علماء البصرة . ومع ان المدينة تعرضت كغيرها من مدن الدولة العربية لفتنة عثمان وعلي ، وقتن من جاء بعد ذلك من اصحاب المذاهب والنزعات المتباينة « فان جنوح اهلها للسلم املى عليهم رغبة قوية في الابتعاد عن الامور السياسية التي رأوها تفسد ما بين الكوفة وبغداد كما هيأ لاهلها ان تظهر بينهم كفايات علمية جعلت المدينة محط الراحلين من شدة العلم » (١) .

وقد لمعت في البصرة اسماء رجال كموسى بن سيار الاسواري الذي تحدث عنه الجاحظ على انه كان من اعاجيب الدنيا ، وكانت فصاحته بالفارسية في وزن فصاحته بالعربية » (٢) .

وحسب البصرة ان يعقد الجاحظ فصلا لخطبائها يذكر فيه ما يدل على غناها بهم وبالعلماء وبالادباء ، بل حسبها ان يتولى منبرها أربعة من القضاة وان يكون من بين علمائها المبرد وابن مجاهد والباقلاني واضرابهم » (٣) .

(ب) بغداد : وفيها تعلم الباقلائي ودرس ، وشهرتها العلمية تغني عن المقال وحسبنا ان نقل ما يقوله عنها صاحب فلسفة ابي العلاء - يقول - : « كانت بغداد ملتقى لجموع ذوي الملل والنحل المختلفة من المسيحيين واليهود والبوذيين والمجوس والصائبة ، والمتصوفة والعلماء الطبيعيين ، والفلاسفة المفكرين الذين يحتكمون الى العقل في تفكيرهم » (٤) . ويكتب ابو العلاء المعري عنها الى اهل المعرفة فيقول : « العراق مجتمع اهل الجدل وموطن بقية السلف والعلم بها اكثر من الحصى عند جمرة العقبة ،

- (١) حركات الشيعة المتطرفين ، ص ١٧٢ .
- (٢) البيان والتبيين للجاحظ ، ج ١ ، ص ١٨٦ .
- (٣) البيان والتبيين ، ج ١ ، ص ١٨٦ .
- (٤) فلسفة ابي العلاء مستفاد من شعره ، ص ٩ .



# تاريخ الزمان

لابي الفرة جمال الدين ابن العربي

نقله إلى العربية

الأب إسحق أرملة

307-309 وصدّرت ساعاً في مجلة المشرق (1949-1957)

قتم له

الأب الدكتور جان موريس فييه

صدر لمناسبة المؤيعة التابعة لوفاة المؤلف

1986-1987



دار المشرق للشرق

356.9

ARAB.T

٣٠٦ ابو الفرج ابن العربي

فنيحي اوطوقراطور رومانيا ميخائيل بالبولوغس ا ومن هناك ساروا جميعاً الى نيقية واعتقلوا الطفل قالويان وارسلوه فسجنوه في احدى القلاع ، ونفوا البطريرك ارسانيوس الذي عقنهم على فعلتهم وسجنوه في احدى جزائر بحر البنطس .

وما مر القليل على جلوس ميخائيل حتى اعترم ان يزحف الى قسطنطينية وقد بلغه ان ليس عند الملك بغدوين الفرنجي الا القليل من الجنود . فارسل واستقدم اليه نيقيفورس مطران افسس وولاه البطريكية في غاليلوي بدلاً من ارسانيوس المنفي . وارتحل من هناك الى قسطنطينية ولم يتمكن من اخذها لان اهاليها اتفقوا مع الجنود ووقفوا على الاسوار وحاربوه بشدة وبساله . فتركها وعاد راجعاً خائباً . وبعد مدة وجيزة ثارت فتنة بين تجار الفرنج البنادقة والجنويين في عكة واتفق النيزنيون مع البنادقة . ولما سمع البنادقة ساروا من كل الاطراف الى مساعدة رفاقهم وفرغت منهم قسطنطينية كذلك . واحتال ميخائيل حيلة اخرى بان اشار الى متوكي بعض قلاع الروم ان يتظاهر بالعصيان ويبعث الى بغدوين ليدنه بالمسكر كي يسلمه تلك القلعة . فامتل الامر وخدع بغدوين واطعاه ؟ فارسل اليه ( ٥٠٣ ) فرقة كانت لديه . وعند ذلك تهيأ ميخائيل ويأدر الى المدينة وحاصرها . وفاوض بعض الاهالي ففتحوا له ليلاً باباً عتيقاً لم يفتح منذ عهد قسطنطين الظافر . فدخل اليونان والتحم القتال وتكهن بغدوين من النجاة مع اهل بيته وركب سفينة صغيرة وانزح الى بلاد الفرنج هكذا عادت قسطنطينية الى اليونان بعدما ظلت في حوزة الفرنج ثلاثاً وخمسين سنة .

اما نيقيفورس البطريرك الدخيل فام يش كثيراً لان المنية عاجلته واقام ميخائيل بدلاً منه رومانس مطران ادرنة بطريركاً الا انه ما عم ان عزله بسبب اعماله الشائنة الملوثة . وارسل فاستدعى من المنفي البطريرك ارسانيوس وورعه بان يطلق قالويان ابن الملك من السجن ويوليه مملكة ابيه سوى قسطنطينية التي احتلها هو بالسيف . فرفض البطريرك ودعا له وعاد الى كرسيه . غير ان ميخائيل بعدما صالح البطريرك زاد شراً فوق شر وبدلاً من ان يطلق سيل قالويان ويوليه عرش المملكة ارسل فقفا عينيه كليهما ، فسخط البطريرك واستغنى

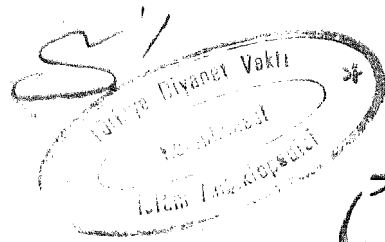
تاريخ الزمان ٣٠٧

وعاد الى سجنه . فاستدعى الملك يوسف رئيس الدير ونصبه بطريركاً وما زال في منصبه حتى يومنا .

## فتح بابل (بغداد)

وفي أيام الشتاء اذ كانت ملطية متقلبة في اسوأ الحال انحدر هولاء كملك الملوك الى بغداد واقبل كذلك بايجو من بلاد الروم . فخرج عساكر بغداد ليأرزوا التتر وعلى رأسهم امير كردي يقال له ابن كورار ومملوك الخليفة واسمه الدويتدار الصغير . ومكث ( ٥٠٤ ) الفريقان ثلاثة وعشرين يوماً دون ان يحارب احدهما الآخر . ويوم الاربعاء ثامن محرم عام ٦٥٦ وهو العام ١٥٦٩ لليونان زحف اولاً بايجو فونين وجنوده نحو المكان المدعو قبر احمد غربي بغداد وتقدم البغداديون كذلك والتحم القتال بين الفريقين فانكسر فريق بايجو وانتصر البغداديون . وكان الامير سليمان شاه وجنوده متولين سور بغداد ، وعند المساء قال الشيخ ابن كورار للفقي الدويتدار : لقد منحنا الله الآن الغلبة فيجب ان نقصد بيوتنا للاستريح ثم نخرج ثانية للقتال . لكن الدويتدار تجيز وتكبر ورفض المشورة ومكثوا جميعاً خارجاً . وكان البغداديون مقيمين في ارض منخفضة فذهب التتر وتغروا ثغرة تفجرت منها مياه دجلة واغرقت البغداديين في نصف الليل . وجعلوا ينهزمون من وسط المياه وقد تبلت قسيهم وسهامهم واعمام سيوفهم . ولما اصبح الصباح انصب عليهم التتر اصحاب هولاء كوا واستغرقت المعركة حتى الساعة التاسعة من يوم الخميس . فانكسر البغداديون وارتحت غزائهم وقتل ابن كورار وانهزم الدويتدار الى المدينة .

وعند ذلك اقبل بايجو في جنوده وحلوا غربي بغداد وحل هولاء كوا في شرقها يوم الاثنين ١٣ محرم وحاصروا المدينة حصاراً شديداً تجاه دار الخليفة . ولما ايس الخليفة المعتم التاعس الخط استدعى ابن العلقمي وزيره ونجم الدين عبد الفتي بن دريوس ومارمكيخا الجاتليق وامرهم ان يأخذوا ذهباً كثيراً وبضائع ملكية وخيولاً عربية وان يطلقوا سفراء التتر من السجن ويوشحهم ويسنوا لهم الهدايا الوفرة ويذهبوا معهم الى ملك الملوك ويطلبوا الأمان له



# نهاية الأرب

في

فتوح الأرب

تأليف (89-92) Baqdaad

شهاب الدين أحمد بن عبد الوهاب النوري

٦٧٧ - ٧٣٣ هـ

الجزء الثاني والعشرون

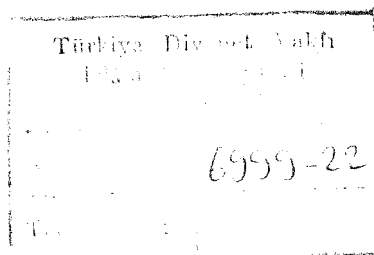
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مراجعة M. 02

إبراهيم مصطفى

تحقيق

محمد جابر عبد العال السحيني



١٤٠٤ هـ - ١٩٨٤ م

إليه فانتهر التجار وشتمهم ، فتزايد طمع الجند فعدوا على صيرفي فنازعه كيسة ، فاستعان بالناس فخلصوه منه<sup>(١)</sup> ، وشكا أهل المدينة إلى ابن الربيع فلم ينكره ، ثم جاء رجل من الجند إلى جزار ، فاشترى منه لحما في يوم جمعة فلم يعطه الثمن ، وشهر عليه السيف فضربه الجزار بشفرة في خاصرته فقتله ، واجتمع الجزارون وتنادى السودان فقاتلوهم ، ونفخوا في بوق لهم فسمع السودان من العالية والسافلة فاجتمعوا . وكان رؤسائهم ثلاثة . وهم وثيق ويعقل وزمعة . فقتلوا في الجند حتى أمسوا . وقصدوا ابن الربيع فهرب منهم ، وأتى بطن نخل على ليلتين من المدينة فنزل به ، وانتهب السودان طعاما للمنصور وزيتا وغيره ، فباعوا الحمل الدقيق بدرهمين ، والراوية الزيت بأربعة دراهم ، ولم يصل الناس في ذلك اليوم جمعة ، فذهب محمد بن عمران ومحمد بن عبد العزيز وغيرهما إلى العبيد فكلموهم ، فقالوا : مرحبا بوالينا ، والله ما قنا إلا أنفة بما عمل بكم ، فأمرنا إليكم ، فأقبلوا بهم إلى المسجد فخطبهم ابن أبي سبرة . وحثهم على الطاعة فتراجعوا ، ثم قال لهم - من الغد إنكم كان منكم ما كان بالأمس<sup>(٢)</sup> - نهبهم طعام أمير المؤمنين . فلا يبتئ عند أحد منه شيء إلا رده فردوه . ورجع ابن الربيع إلى المدينة فقطع يد وثيق ويعقل وغيرهما .

## ذكر بناء مدينة بغداد وانتقال أبي جعفر المنصور إليها

وفي هذه السنة ابتدأ المنصور في بناء مدينة بغداد ، وسبب ذلك أنه كان قد ابنتى المدينة الهاشمية بنواحي الكوفة ، فلما ثارت الراوندية فيها كره سكانها لذلك ، ولجوار أهل الكوفة فإنه كان لا يأمنهم على نفسه ، فخرج يرتاد موضعاً لبنائها ، وكان بعض جنده قد تحلف عنه بالمدائن لرمد أصابعه ،

(١) هكذا في المخطوطات ويظهر أن الضمير يشير إلى فرد من الجند .  
(٢) التعبير في الكامل لابن الأثير جده ص ١٤ : فلما كان الغد قال لهم ابن أبي سبرة . إنكم قد كان منكم بالأمس ما قد علمتم ...

الديباج ، كل ذلك لحوفه من ظهور محمد وإبراهيم ابني عبد الله بن حسن على ما تذكره إن شاء الله تعالى .

ودخلت سنة خمس وأربعين ومائة .

## ظهور محمد بن عبد الله

في هذه السنة : ظهر محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الحسن بن علي ابن أبي طالب<sup>(١)</sup> بالمدينة ودعا إلى نفسه ، وحبس رباح بن عثمان عامل المدينة . وأخرج محمد بن خالد القسري من الحبس ، واستعمل العمال على المدينة ومكة والطائف واليمن ، وكان خروجه لليلتين بقيتا من جمادى الآخرة منها . وكان بينه وبين المنصور مكاتبات سنذكرها في أخبار محمد بن عبد الله . ولم تكن شيئا ، فندب المنصور لقتاله عيسى بن موسى بن محمد بن عبد الله بن العباس ، فالتقوا فقتل محمد في يوم الإثنين بعد العصر لأربع عشرة ليلة نزلت من شهر رمضان منها ، وقتل معه جماعة سنذكر ذلك مستوفى في أخباره إن شاء الله

وفيها ظهر إبراهيم بن عبد الله بن الحسن - وهو أخو محمد - بالبصرة ، وبايع الناس . وكان ظهوره في أول شهر رمضان ، وقتل يوم الإثنين لخمس بقين من ذي القعدة منها . وسنذكر ذلك مستوفى في موضعه إن شاء الله تعالى

## ذكر وثوب السودان بالمدينة

وفي هذه السنة : ثار السودان بالمدينة على عاملها عبد الله بن الربيع لحارثي فهرب منهم ، وسبب ذلك أن المنصور لما استعمله قدم المدينة لخمس بقين من شوال ، فنازع جنده التجار في بعض ما يشترونه منهم ، فشكوا ذلك

(١) في المخطوطات : محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب وهو خطأ أو تعريف .

Capital Cities  
of  
Arab Islam

By  
Philip K. Hitti

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi Furûfhanesi	
Kayıt No. :	12391
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S. 85-109

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Minneapolis

1973

DAMASCUS

zephyr injecting life into souls. Before onlookers she arrays herself like a bride calling them: "Come on to a bridal place and linger."

So much water has the soil of Damascus absorbed that it got sick of it and yearns for thirst. Its solid stones almost cry out to you, "Run barefooted; here is a cool spot for washing and for drinking" (sur. 38: 41). The gardens of the city surround it like a halo around the moon; they contain it as a calyx contains a flower. Its verdant Ghutah stretches eastward as far as the eye can see; in fact wherever you look in all four directions, its bright, green foliage, laden with ripe fruit, holds your gaze. By Allah, they told the truth who said, "If Paradise be on earth, Damascus must be it; if it is in heaven, Damascus can parallel and match it."<sup>10</sup>

*Damascus the fragrant, the oldest continually inhabited town known to history, beauty queen among Moslem cities and one of three paradises on earth, capital of the Umayyad dynasty, was for a time mistress of an empire greater than that of Rome at its height.*

10. Ibn-Jubayr, pp. 234-235; cf. Broadhurst, pp. 271-272. This Spanish Moslem traveler visited Damascus in July 1184.

4

Baghdad:  
The Intellectual Capital

*Among the cities of the world Baghdad stands out as the professor of the community of Islam.*

Yaqut

Unlike its three predecessors Baghdad was a purely Arab creation. The name does not suggest Arabic etymology, but the pre-Islamic Persian or Aramaean settlement left no noteworthy political or commercial record. It was the 'Abbasid-built Baghdad that figured in history.

The region around Baghdad saw the rise and fall of more capital cities than perhaps any region of comparable size. Here flourished the earliest ones known to history, the Sumerian city states, such as Uruk, the Erech of Genesis 10:10. These were the cradle of our civilization. They were followed by Agade (Accad of Gen. 10:10), capital of Sargon, the first known Semitic monarch, and by Babylon, seat of Hammurabi and Nebuchadnezzar. A successor of Alexander the Great founded twenty miles southeast of the Baghdad site a city named after him to serve as capital of the eastern wing of his kingdom. Opposite Seleucia on the east bank of the Tigris rose Ctesiphon, capital of the ancient kingdom of Parthia and of Sasanid Persia. The Arab capital can be said to have fallen heir to all these capitals, outshone them all, and outlived them.

Such a rash on the face of a limited area must have been conditioned by special geopolitical factors. The alluvial plain between the Tigris and the Euphrates — where at Baghdad it is no more than thirty-three





# الفتوح الإسلامية

## بعد مضي الفتوح النبوية

تأليف

السيد احمد بن زيني دحمان

منقح مكة

الجزء الثاني

الناشر

مؤسسة الحلبي وشركاه للنشر والتوزيع

١٤ جواد حسني - القاهرة

تليفون ٥٦١٥٥

- ١٩٥ -

أبطال ذلك الزمان وكان إسكندر الثاني في تلك الأيام بل كان من أعلى السلاطين مقداراً وأوسطهم همة واقتداراً خضعت لعظمته رؤساء الأكامرة وذلت لحرمة وقهره تصلب في قمع المفسدين سديد الرأي في أمره لأنه ابتداءً أولاً باستئصال الطفلة من العسكر الذين قتلوا أخاه، فاهتم بأمر تحصيلهم من البلاد وتبني قتلهم وأجاد وبلغ من قوته أنه رمى بقوس إلى درقة مطبقة إحدى عشرة طبقة فثبت العود فيها فلم يقدر أحد على انتزاع العود منها فأرسلها إلى مصر وبرز أمره إلى المسافر بإخراج العود منها وأن من أخرجه يزداد في علوفته فحاولوا إخراجها ففجروا عن ذلك.

### ذكر استيلاء العجم على مدينة بغداد

لما بلغ العجم قتل السلطان عثمان وأعاد السلطان مصطفى وعلموا اضطراب الدولة العثمانية وضعوا أيديهم على كثير من البلاد التي افتتحتها العثمانيون وملسكوها فن ذلك مدينة بغداد وكانت بغداد في كفالة الوزير يوسف باشا فوقع بينه وبين واحد من كبار عسكره اختلاف يقال له بكر الصوباش فحاصر بكر الوزير في قلعة بواسطة المسكر، فأصاب الوزير رصاصة مات منها فتغلب بكر على بغداد فلما رأى اضطراب أمر الدولة أظهر العصيان والاستبداد فبعث إليه رئيس الدولة جانباً من العسكر لتأديب هذا العاصي وجعلوا أمر هذا المسكر تحت رئاسة حافظ باشا، فلما بلغه ذلك كتب إلى شاه العجم أن يحضر لكي يسلم له بغداد فأرسل من يستلم منه مفاتيح المدينة مع جانب من العسكر نحو ثلاثمائة وأنعم على بكر الصوباش بعمامة قزل باش وقيل وصول العجم إلى بغداد وصلت عساكر الدولة وأقامت الحصار على بغداد فأرسل بكر الصوباش لحافظ باشا يطلب أن يلقيه بكلس بك لكي يطرد الأعجم فلم يقبل منه حافظ باشا ذلك، فوفى أثناء ذلك وصل رسول العجم إلى بغداد وأرسل يقول لحافظ باشا أن بكر الصوباش حاصر يخلص شاه العجم فإذا كنت تريد حفظ الصداقة بيننا فأرحل عن بغداد فغضب حافظ باشا من كلامه هذا وأجابته كلاماً غليظاً واشتبك القتال، فلما رأى حافظ باشا أنه لا يمكنه

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- ١٩٤ -

السلطان بايزيد ووقعت البيعة العامة (للسلطان مصطفى) فجعل زوج أخته داود باشا وزيراً أعظم وبعد العصر من هذا اليوم ذهب داود باشا إلى يدي قلبه من غير علم السلطان مصطفى وخنق السلطان عثمان وغسله وكفنه وصلى عليه ودفنه عند أبيه السلطان أحمد وذلك في اليوم الثامن من رجب وجرت أمور هائلة ونهبت دور كثيرة من دور أركان الدولة وقيل في تاريخ قتله.

مات سلطان البرايا فهو في الأخرى سميد

قال لي الهابف أرخ أن عثمان شهيد

٣١٩ ٦٦١ ٥١

١٠٣١

وكانت ولادته سنة ثلاث عشرة وألف ووفاته سنة إحدى وثلاثين ومدة خلافته أربع سنوات وشهر وعمره سبعة عشر سنة، وبعد تمام البيعة للسلطان مصطفى بيومين جهزت العساكر الصباحية أمام سرايا داود باشا وزير الصدارة يسألونه لماذا قتلت السلطان عثمان ونشأ من ذلك فتنة أخرى آل الأمر فيها إلى قتل داود باشا فقتل بعد عشرين يوماً وصار البحث عن الأشخاص الذين تداخلوا في قتل السلطان عثمان فقتلواهم واضطربت أمور السلطنة والوزارة، وأقام أهل الأناضول وأمرائها ونوابها على ساق فطلب دم السلطان عثمان وأظهروا الاستقلال التام في ولايتهم وامتنعوا من الدخول في بيعة السلطان مصطفى ولم يزل الأمر يزداد شدة إلى أن خلعوا السلطان مصطفى رابع ذي القعدة سنة ألف واثنين وثلاثين فمدة سلطنته سنة واحدة وأربعة أشهر وماعاش بعد ذلك كثيراً وكانت ولادته سنة ألف رحمه الله ولما خلعوه وأقاموا في السلطنة (السلطان مراد الرابع) أخا السلطان عثمان بن أحمد. قال في خلاصة الأثر وكان عمره إحدى عشر سنة وسبعة أشهر وجاء تاريخ ولايته (مراد خان العادل) ١٠٣٢ ومع صغر سنه كان ذا عقل ثاقب ورأى سديد، وكانت تظهر عليه أمارات شجاعة وقوة القلب فكان من أعظم

# صَبْحُ الْأَعْيُنِ

في

صِنَاعَةِ الْإِنشَاءِ

(332-334) Baghdad

تأليف

أحمد بن علي القلقشندي

المتوفى ٨٢١ هجرية - ١٤١٨ ميلادية

شرحته وتعلق عليه وقابل نسوخته

محمد حسين سمير الدين

الجزء الرابع

- ضيقت وتوفيت على طبعة دار الكتب المصرية  
وتل المصادر الأساسية لنصوص الكتاب .  
- مذيلة باستدراكات وتصويبات وهوامش توضيحية .  
- الاستفادة من الدراسات والأبحاث التي كتبت حول  
هذا السفر الفيلس من مكتبة العربية .

دار الكتب العلمية

سنة - لبنان

صبح الاعشى ..... الجزء الرابع ٣٣٣

رجل ومعناه بستان داذ؛ ويقال فيها أيضاً بَعْدَان بإبدال الدال الأخيرة، نوناً؛ ومَعْدَان بإبدال الياء الأولى ميماً. وكان المنصور يسميها مدينة السلام لأن دجلة كان يقال لها وادي السَّلام. وبغداد على جانبي دجلة من الشرق والغرب، والجانب الغربي منها يسمّى الكَرْخ، وبه كان سكنى أبي جعفر المنصور ثاني خلفاء بني العباس، والجانب الشرقي منها بناه المهدي بن المنصور المقدم ذكره وسكنه بعسكره فسمي عَسْكَر المهدي، ثم بنى فيه الرشيد بن المهدي قصرأ سماه الرُصافة فأطلق على الجانب كله الرُصافة. ويسمى جانب الطاق أيضاً نسبة إلى رأس الطاق، وهو موضع السوق الأعظم منها. وبهذا الجانب محلّة تسمى ( الحريم ) يعني حريم دار الخلافة. قال في «المشرك»: «بفتح الحاء وكسر الراء المهملتين ثم مثناة من تحتها ساكنة وفي آخره ميم. قال: وهي قريب من ثلث الجانب الشرقي، وعليه سور ابتداءه من دجلة وأنتهاؤه إليها أيضاً كهيئة الهلال أو كتصف دائرة؛ وله أبواب<sup>(١)</sup> أولها باب الغربية، وهو على دجلة، ثم يليه باب سوق التمر، وهو باب شاهق ولكنه أغلق في خلافة الناصر لدين الله، ثم استمر غلقه، ثم باب البدرية، ثم باب النوبى. وفيه العتبة التي كانت تقبلها الملوك والرسل، ثم باب العامة، ويقال له أيضاً باب عمورية، ثم يمتد السور نحو ميل لا باب فيه إلا باب بستان تحت المنطرة التي تنحرتحتها الضحايا، ثم باب المراتب بينه وبين دجلة نحو رميتي سهم.

وبهذا الحريم محال وأسواق ودور كثيرة للرعية وهو كأكبر مدينة تكون، قال: وبين دور الرعية التي داخل هذا السور وبين دجلة سور آخر، ودخل السور الثاني دور الخلافة لا يدخلها شيء من دور العامة. قال في «مسالك الأبصار»: «وبين الجانبين جسران منصوبان على دجلة شرقاً بغرب على سُنن وزوارق أوقفت في الماء ومدّت بينها السلاسل الحديد المكعبة بالمكعبات الثقال، وفوقها الخشب الممدود، وعليها التراب يمر عليها أهل كل جانب إلى الآخر بالحمر والجمال

(١) عدّ ستة أبواب. وفي ياقوت: ٤٥٩/١: «جعل المنصور...»

..... الجزء الرابع ٣٣٢

## القاعدة الثانية

### المدائن

جمع مدينة وضبطها معروف. قال في «تقويم البلدان»: «وأسماها بالفارسية طيسقون - بفتح الطاء المهملة وسكون المثناة التحتية وفتح السين المهملة وضم الفاء وبعدها واو ونون - ثم قال: وكل ذلك سماعاً وقد تبدل الفاء باء. وهي واقعة في الإقليم الثالث من الأقاليم السبعة. قال في «الأطوال» حيث الطول سبعون درجة، والعرض ثلاث وثلاثون درجة وعشر دقائق. قال في «تقويم البلدان»: «وهي على دجلة من شرقها تحت بغداد على مرحلة منها. قال في «العريزي»: «والمدائن في جنوبي بغداد، وكان بالمدينة الكبرى منها إيوان كسرى في شرقي دجلة ارتفاعه ثمانون ذراعاً. ونقل في «تقويم البلدان» عن بعض الثقات في سعة من ركنه إلى ركنه خمسة وتسعون ذراعاً. وكانت هي قاعدة ملوك الفرس، فلما ولد النبي ﷺ، أنشق هذا الإيوان ثم خرب هو وسائر المدائن في الإسلام.

## القاعدة الثالثة

### بغداد

قال في «اللباب»: «بفتح الباء الموحدة وسكون الغين المعجمة وفتح الدال المهملة وفي آخرها ذال معجمة. وموقعها في آخر الإقليم الثالث. قال في «القانون»: «حيث الطول سبعون درجة، والعرض ثلاث وثلاثون درجة وخمس وعشرون دقيقة. قال في «تقويم البلدان»: «وسميت بغداد بهذا الاسم لأن كسرى أهدي إليه خصي من المشرق فأقطعه بغداد، وكان له صنم يعبد بالمشرق يقال له النبع فقال ذلك الخصي بئع داذ يعني أعطاني الصنم، وكان عبد الله بن المبارك يكره أن يقال لها بغداد بالذال المعجمة في آخرها، فإن بئع شيطان وداذ عطية فمعناه عطية الشيطان وهو شرك. قال: وإنما يقال بغداد بالدالين المهملتين، وقد قال بعضهم: إن بئع بالفارسية البستان وداذ بإهمال الأولى وإعجام الثانية أسم

# تاريخ اليمن

خلال القرون الحادي عشر الهجري - السابع عشر الميلادي

١٠٤٥ - ١٠٩٠ هـ - ١٦٣٥ - ١٦٨٠ م

المسكنى Baqdat

تاريخ اليمن الحادي عشر الهجري - السابع عشر الميلادي

تأليف

عبدالله بن يحيى الوزير

تحقيق

محمد عبد الرهيم هبازم



دار المسيرة  
للطباعة والنشر  
ببغداد

كفايته، وكفاية من إليه، من أصحابه، وأخذانه وأحابه، وأما علي بن شمان، فإن الإمام رجح بقاء ذلك الأوان، وعمّر له داراً فاخرة، وأجرى عليه الإنعامات الغامرة، وبعد ذلك وصل السيد العلامة إسماعيل بن القاسم إلى جبل ضوران، إجابة لداعي أخيه الحسين، فإنه كان قد استدعاه لينوب في تلك الجهات ما دام باليمن الأسفل [١٩]، ولما وصل انتهض السيد العلامة محمد بن الحسين إلى حضرة والده متوخياً التتميم لمقاصده، فوصل وبقي شهر رمضان، وعاد إلى صنعاء في شوال.

وفيها تقدم عز الإسلام محمد بن الحسن من ذمار إلى حضرة عمه الحسين، فوافاه بابّ ثم نزلاً إلى تعز<sup>(١)</sup>، وما زال عز الإسلام يلاطف عمه الحسين في زيادة قطعتة، ويذكر له أنها قاصرة عن الوفاء بما عليه، وفي أثناء هذه السنة ذكر بعض السادات، أن السيد أحمد بن أمير المؤمنين القاسم، أصاب في دار الكيخيا كنزاً عظيماً من الذهب الأحمر، ولعله كان من دفين عبد الله شلي، لأنه كان مستقرّه لما حاصره حيدر باشا، أيام الباشا جعفر.

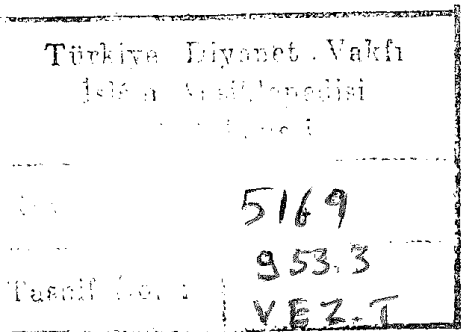
وَدَخَلَتْ سَنَةٌ خَمْسِينَ وَأَلْفٌ -

فيها تهباً شرف الإسلام للطلوع من اليمن الأسفل الى ضوران، ثم الزيارة لحضرة الإمام فسار في شهر ربيع من السنة المذكورة. فَتَحُ بَغْدَادَ<sup>(٢)</sup> -

وفيها وصلت الأخبار من تلقاء الروم، أن السلطان مراد بن أحمد خان بن

(١) تعز: اسم مدينة يمنية تقع شمالي جبل صبر، واسم محافظة خصبة تضم مجموعة من النواحي والقضوات هي الحنا، وموزع، والوازعية، وقضاء الحجرية الذي يضم ناحية جبل حبشي، وتربة المواسط، وتربة الثمانيين، والمقاطرة، والصلو، والقيطة، ودمنة خدير، وقضاء ماوية، والتعزية وتضم ناحية السلام، وشرعب، ومقبنة، إضافة إلى تعز قاعدة المحافظة وصبر الجبل المشهور.

(٢) بغداد: عاصمة العراق شيدها المنصور الخليفة العباسي ٧٦٢ م وسماها (مدينة السلام) وازدهرت أيام الخلفاء العباسيين المنصور والمهدي والهادي والرشيد والأمين والمأمون، وأخذت بالانحطاط بعد أن نقل المعتصم العاصمة الى سامراء ٨٣٦ م، أصبحت عاصمة من جديد ٨٩٢ م، دمرها



# امريكا والوحدة العربية

١٩٨٢-١٩٤٥

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Demirbaş No:	24694
Tasnif No:	956.3 HIL.A

الدكتور علي الدين هلال

١٩٨٩

بيروت

لقد أدرك دالاس مصاعب إنشاء منظمة للدفاع عن الشرق الأوسط بسبب رفض دول المنطقة ذلك. وفي أوراقه الخاصة، كتب تقريرين عن الرحلة ورد فيهما أن المنطقة تسم بغياب الإستقرار السياسي، وأنها وقعت في أسر «روح ثورية متعصبة» أدت بالبلاد العربية المختلفة إلى تضخيم مشاكلها العاجلة والتهوين من الخطر الأساسي الذي يواجهها وهو الخطر السوفياتي، معتبراً أن الخلافات السياسية في المنطقة مثل الصراع العربي-الإسرائيلي، والخلاف بين مصر وانكلترا حول القناة يخلقان مواقف تسم بالحدة والعداء للغرب. ونتيجة لذلك فإن موقف الدول الغربية في تدهور مستمر. فالموقف البريطاني ربما وصل إلى نقطة لا يمكن إصلاحه بعدها في كل بلدان المنطقة، باستثناء الهند والأردن، فهناك عداء شديد وكراهية متزايدة للبريطانيين، والقوات البريطانية الموجودة في المنطقة هي أحد مصادر عدم الاستقرار. أما بالنسبة إلى فرنسا فما زال لها نفوذ ثقافي في سوريا ولبنان، لكن لا يوجد تقدير كبير لدورها كقوة سياسية. وكذلك الموقف الأمريكي فهو في أزمة بسبب تأييد الولايات المتحدة لإسرائيل، وبالنسبة إلى أبناء المنطقة فإن تأييدها لإسرائيل هو «بمشابه طوق حول رقابنا». ويخلص دالاس من هذا التقويم إلى أهمية الدور الأمريكي في تقرير مستقبل المنطقة، وأن ما سوف تفعله الولايات المتحدة أولاً لن يكون له الأثر الحاسم، ذلك أن شعوب المنطقة لم تعد تنظر إلى انكلترا وفرنسا كقوتين كبيرتين.

ويعترف دالاس بأن بريطانيا تنظر إلى السياسة الأمريكية في المنطقة بشك وريبة، وتعتقد أنها تؤدي إلى الإسراع في زوال نفوذها من المنطقة، وأنه من الناحية العملية ربما كان ذلك صحيحاً، ولكن ذلك ليس نتيجة لتخطيط أمريكي ولكنه نتيجة طبيعية للتطور في المنطقة وتغير علاقات القوة بين الولايات المتحدة والمملكة المتحدة.

أما بالنسبة إلى قضية الدفاع عن المنطقة، فقد خلص دالاس إلى أنه لا يوجد في الوقت الراهن نظام فعال للدفاع عن المنطقة، وأن الموقف السياسي في البلدان العربية لا يسمح بانضمامها إلى ميثاق للدفاع المشترك مع الدول الغربية<sup>(٢٨)</sup>، ويمثل ذلك فجوة خطيرة بالذات في «حزام الدفاع الشمالي» الذي يحيط بالاتحاد السوفياتي مباشرة (يقصد تركيا وإيران) ومن ثم على الولايات المتحدة ألا تستمر في الدفاع عن أفكار لا أساس

(٢٨) جدير بالذكر أن وزارة الخارجية الأمريكية قد أعدت في آذار/ مارس ١٩٥٣ بحثاً قانونياً عن كيفية انضمام الولايات المتحدة والدول الغربية إلى ميثاق الضمان الجماعي العربي دون أن نصح أعضاء في جامعة الدول العربية. انظر نص الدراسة، في:  
U.S. Department of State, Office of Intelligence Research (OIR), «Possible Expansion of the Arab Collective Security Pact to Include Non-Arab Powers.» (OIR Report, no. 6249, 31 March 1953).

لها في الواقع، وعليها أن تقوم بالإجراءات التي يمكن القيام بها دون تعقيدات قانونية في هذه المرحلة، وأن يكون التعامل على أساس الصداقة والثقة المتبادلة، وأشار إلى أن أكثر البلدان العربية استعداداً للتعاون مع الغرب في هذا المجال هو العراق.

وفي التقرير الذي أعده دالاس عن الرحلة وأعلنه في أول حزيران/ يونيو ١٩٥٣، ذكر أن إنشاء منظمة للدفاع عن الشرق الأوسط هو هدف غير واقعي في هذه المرحلة، وأنه على الولايات المتحدة الآن تدعيم الدول الراغبة في ذلك وتشجيع كل الجهود التي تتفق مع تصورها لأمن المنطقة وتقديم المساعدات اللازمة لذلك<sup>(٢٩)</sup>، وفي هذا الصدد تم توقيع معاهدة صداقة بين تركيا وباكستان، كما عقدت الولايات المتحدة معاهدة مساعدة عسكرية مع كل من العراق وباكستان<sup>(٣٠)</sup>.

٤ - حلف بغداد، ١٩٥٥

في صيف عام ١٩٥٤ تولى نوري السعيد منصب رئاسة الوزراء في العراق، وخلال العام نفسه وصلت الولايات المتحدة وبريطانيا إلى الاقتناع بأن مصر لن توافق على المشاركة في منظمة الدفاع عن الشرق الأوسط حيث لا بد من البحث عن مكان آخر لإقامة هذه المنظمة. وارتبط ذلك بتبليغ آراء دالاس وتأييده لفكرة إقامة الحزام الشمالي. وبالفعل تم توقيع ميثاق الحلف بين العراق وتركيا في ٢٤ شباط/ فبراير ١٩٥٥، وانضمت إليه بريطانيا في ٥ نيسان/ ابريل، وباكستان في ٢٣ أيلول/ سبتمبر، وإيران في ٢٣ تشرين الأول/ أكتوبر<sup>(٣١)</sup>، دون أن تنضم الولايات المتحدة إلى الحلف آنذاك مع أن الوثائق الأمريكية تكشف عن عمق ارتباطها بالمشاورات التي سبقت إجراء الحلف، وعن تطور العلاقات الأمريكية-العراقية في السنوات التي سبقت قيامه.

كما تبين الوثائق أن عدداً من المسؤولين العراقيين اتجه إلى الولايات المتحدة في بداية الخمسينات طلباً لمزيد من الدعم السياسي والاقتصادي للعراق. ففي ١٢ آب/ اغسطس ١٩٥٢، أرسل السفير الأمريكي في بغداد، بيرتون بري، مذكرة<sup>(٣٢)</sup> عن

Harry Nicholas Howard, «Development of United States Policy in the Near East, South Asia, and Africa during 1953.» U.S. Department of State Bulletin (22 February-8 March 1954), p. 365.

Harry Nicholas Howard, «U.S. Policy in the Near East, South Asia and Africa, (٣٠) 1954.» (U.S. Department of State Publication, no. 5801), pp. 34-35.

(٣١) انظر النص، في:

American Foreign Policy, 1950-1955: Basic Documents, vol. 1, pp. 1257-1259.

«Memorandum of Conversation by the Ambassador in Iraq (Berry), Baghdad, 12 (٣٢) August 1952.» in: Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954, Part 2, pp. 2333-2334.

تاريخ عصر  
الخلافة الراشدة

Türkiye Diyanet İşleri İslam Ansiklopedisi Kütüphanesi	
Kayıt No. :	10743
Tasvir No. :	956.3013

٤٤٠٢

الدكتور  
يوسف العشي

رئيس تحرير  
مجلة أبو الفرج العشي

Mehdi eh Abbas  
3949  
49-51

13 MAYIS 1991

دار الفكر  
دمشق سورية

دار الفكر المصائر  
بيروت - لبنان

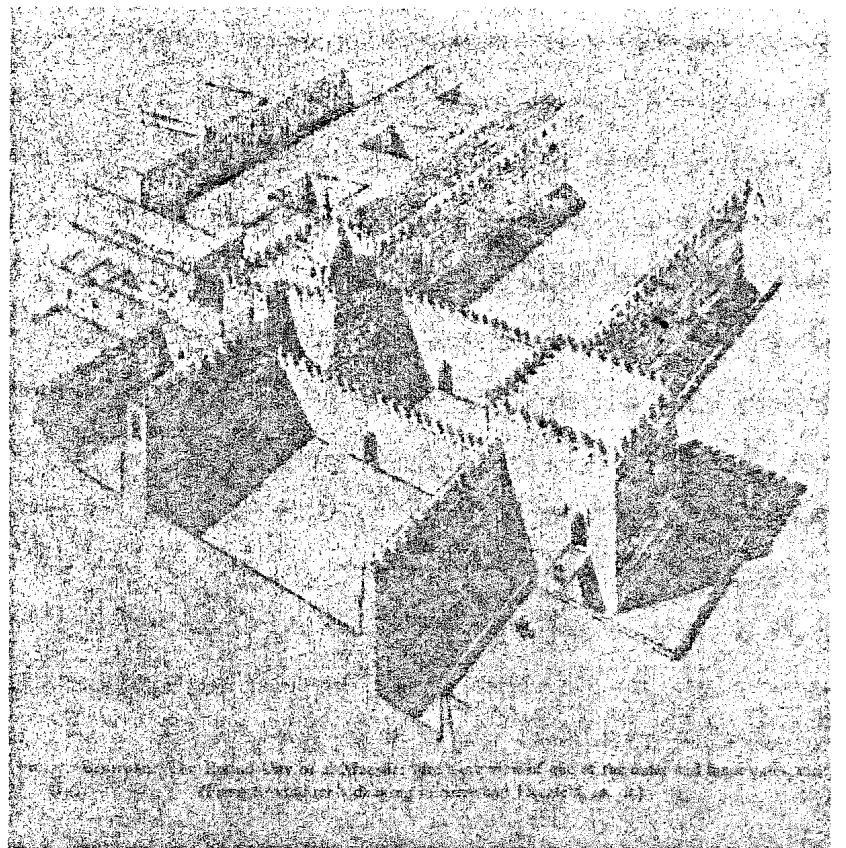
Türkiye Diyanet İşleri  
Kütüphanesi  
İslam Ansiklopedisi

بناء مدينة السلام ( بغداد )

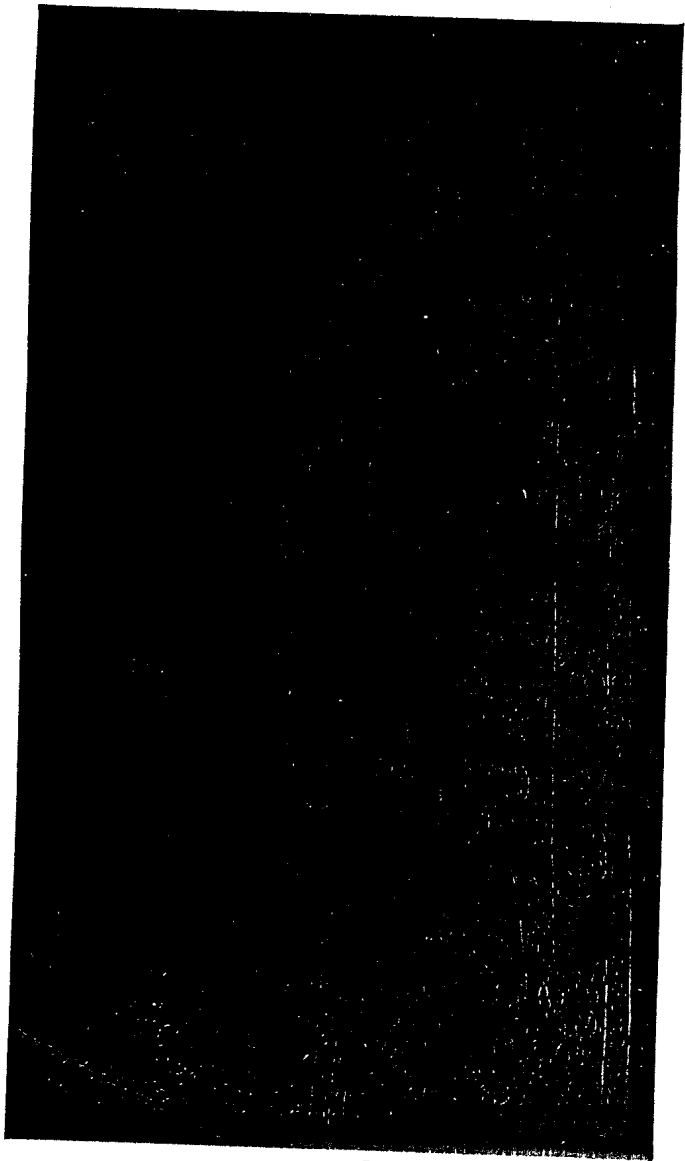
اختتم أبو جعفر المنصور توطيده للحكم ببناء عاصمة له ، وأراد أن يبعد هذه العاصمة عن تأثيرات البلدان الأخرى . فقد رأينا أن العباسيين حالقوا خراسان في أول الأمر ، لكنهم لم يجعلوا مقرهم فيه ، فابتعدوا عن القطر الذي قوى شأنهم وعضد أمرهم ، ثم إنهم لم يستقروا في الكوفة ، وكانت الكوفة قد عاضدتهم أيضاً في الاستيلاء على الأمر . لم يستقروا في الكوفة ولا في خراسان ، بل أسوا لأنفسهم مدينة قرب الأنبار دعوها الهاشمية نسبة إلى جدهم الأعلى هاشم ، وبذلك ابتعدوا عن أهل البلدين اللذين قوي أمرهم بها ، ولم يبقوا حلفهم معها قائماً . لم ترق الهاشمية لهم أيضاً ، فأخذ أبو جعفر المنصور يبحث عن مكان يبني فيه مدينة جديدة تكون مقر حكمه وعاصمة ملكه ، فوجد بعد البحث الشديد مقراً لتلك المدينة يحوي شرائط ملائمة كل الملائمة ، بل كانت تلك البلدة كأنها خلقت لتكون عاصمته . اختار أبو جعفر المنصور موضعاً لمدينة أسماها مدينة السلام في مكان يدعى ببغداد أو الزوراء . وهو يقع على الضفة الغربية من دجلة في مكان تكون المسافة بين دجلة والفرات أقرب ما تكون ، فأقام عاصمته على الطرف الأيمن من دجلة . في هذا المكان يستطيع أن يحصل على الميرة والتجارة التي تأتي من الجنوب ، تلك التجارة إما أن تمر في الفرات أو في دجلة وكلاهما قريب من بغداد . إن موقع بغداد في وسط العراق يجعل اتصالها بمدنه سهلة سريعة وهي تقع في أرض خصبة ، الهواء فيها طيب عليل . أما من الناحية الحربية ، فالمدينة بعيدة عن متناول العدو ، اللهم إلا إذا اجتاز للوصول إليها نهراً ، يمكن أهلها أن يهدموا الجسور فيمنعوه منها .

هذا من حيث موقع المدينة ، أما من حيث مخططها ، ففيه يتجلى

عيسى قد أشرف على الانتهاء من محاربة النفس الزكية ، وعاد إلى البصرة حين ظهر إبراهيم ، فالتحم جيشاها ، وكان إبراهيم قد جمع حوله في البصرة عدداً كبيراً من مختلف النزعات وقوي بهم ، لكنه قهر في المعركة التي وقعت بينه وبين عيسى بن موسى ؛ وبذلك اطمان بال أبي جعفر المنصور ، وألقى عصا التسيار واستقر به النوى .



منظور أحد مداخل مدينة السلام



Courtesy of The Macmillan Co., Ltd.

A CURTAIN AT THE DOOR OF THE KAABA AT MECCA Bearing koranic inscriptions which include surahs 1, 106, and 112. The prominent inscription above the center is the first part of surah 48, verse 27.



## A Short History of the Near East

Baghdad (119-137)

Philip K. Hitti

Princeton University

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi Kütüphane-i	
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14

### Baghdad: Political and Intellectual World Center

Weaknesses in the central government encouraged uprisings in the provinces. Among the provinces Iraq was seething with Shiite discontent and Persia with dissatisfied clients, freedmen and Neo-Moslems. Even certain Sunnite pietists sympathized with the Alid cause; they considered the Umayyad worldly and ungodly. A new claimant to the high office appeared in the person of abu-al-Abbas, a descendant of a paternal uncle of the Prophet. He provided the necessary adhesive force and leadership. An agent of his, abu-Muslim al-Khurasani, was the first to unfurl, in eastern Persia, the black Abbasid banner. Black was supposedly the color of the Prophet's banner and was adopted by the Shiites in mourning for Ali. Abu-Muslim had no difficulty in capturing Marv, capital of the province. Everywhere the white banner of the Umayyads was in retreat before the black banner of the insurgents. In October 749 public homage was paid in the Kufa mosque to abu-al-Abbas as a caliph.

Caliph Marwan II (744-750) resolved on a desperate attempt to stem the tide. At the head of 12,000 loyal Syrian troops, he headed eastward, reaching the Great Zab, a tributary of the Tigris, in January 750. Here he was decisively defeated. The proud capital, Damascus, yielded after a brief siege. Its fugitive caliph was caught hiding in a church in Egypt. He was decapitated; such was the fate of the fourteenth and last incumbent of the Umayyad throne.

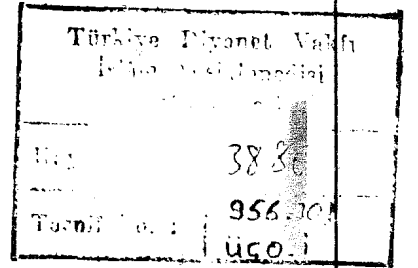
The Abbasids now embarked upon a policy of extermination against the fallen house. Eighty princes who accepted an invitation to a banquet near Jaffa were treacherously cut down while eating. Their dead and dying bodies were covered with leather while their

BAĞDAT

İSLÂM TARİHİ  
EMEVLER - ABBASİLER

Doç. Dr. Bahriye ÜÇOK

Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi



SEVİNÇ MATBAASI — 1968

Abdullah'ın ordusu daha büyük olduğundan, Ebu Müslim bir takım savaş hiyleleri kullanmak zorunda kaldı ve ancak bu yoldan onu 137/754-755 yılında yenebildi. Abdullah bin Ali Basra'ya kaçtı. Mansur onu ele geçirip hapsettirdi.

b) **Ebu Müslim'in öldürülmesi**: Abdullah bin Ali'nin ordusunda bulunan pek çok mal böylece Ebu Müslim'in eline geçmişti. Mansur bu malların deftere işlenmesi amacıyla Ebu Müslim'in yanına bir memur yollayınca, Ebu Müslim hiddetlendi ve «bize can emniyet olunuyor da, mal için emniyet olunmuyor mu?» diyerek Mansur hakkında kötü konuştu. Neredeyse Mansur'un memurunu katledecekti.

Mansur esasen Ebu Müslim'den kuşulanmaktaydı. Onun bu son hareketi kendisini vehme götürdü ve Ebu Müslim'e Şam ve Mısır eyaletlerinin valiliklerini verdi. Hükümet merkezine yakın olmak için Şam'da oturup Mısırı da dilediği gibi yönetmesini yolladığı emirnameye yazdı. Ebu Müslim bundan memnun olarak «Horasan da bizim» deyip Horasan'a gitti. Mansur bundan çok ürktü ve Anbar'dan Medain'e geldi; Ebu Müslim'i yanına davet etti. Ebu Müslim çekindiği için gitmedi. Bu kez Halife, Beni Hâşim'in ihtiyarlarından saygıya değer kimseleri Ebu Müslim'e yollayıp onu kendi yanına gelmeye ikna ettirdi. Böylece Ebu Müslim sâdece 3 000 kişi ile Medain şehrine geldi; huzura çıktı. Tatlı tatlı sohbet ettiler, ertesi gün gene hilâfet makamına girdiğinde, Mansur önceden gizlettiği adamları ile onu katlettirdi (131). İşte böylece Ebu Câfer Mansur, Abbasi İmparatorluğunda bağımsız bir hükümdar mertebesine ulaşabildi.

c) **Bağdat'ın kuruluşu ve merkez oluşu**: Mansur ne Medine, ne Şam, ne de Kûfe'yi siyasî düşüncelerle başkent yapmayı uygun görmediğinden, kendine başkent yapabileceği bir yer aramaktaydı. Suriye'ye karşı kendini emniyete almak, Hz. Ali'nin yandaşları ile dolu olan Kûfe'den de uzak bulunmak amacıyla Bağdat'ın bulunduğu yeri seçti. Daha önce o Kûfe yakınında kendi adını taşıyan bir şehir kurduysa da, mutaassıp Şiilere yakın olmaktan huzursuzluk duyduğu için burayı bırakmaktan çekinmemişti. Gerçekten de Bağdat Dicle ile Fırat'ın birbirlerine en çok yaklaştıkları, su ve kara yollarının düğüm noktasında, tarıma çok elverişli bir yerdeydi.

(131) Makrizî, en-Nizâ, S. 53; İbni Tiktaka, el-Fahrî 282/3.

Mansur devletin yeni merkezinin temelini 145/762'de attı. Irak'dan ve başka bölgelerden toplanan mühendis, mimar ve işçilerin sayısının 100 000 olduğu söylenmektedir. Dört yıl gibi kısa bir zamanda bunlar yeni başkenti inşa ettiler. Şehir bir merkez etrafında daire biçiminde genişleyen bir plâna göre yapıldı. Tam ortasında Bab ül-Zehab veya Kubbet ül-Hadra denilen Halife sarayı ve büyük cami vardı. Devlet büyükleri için tören alanının ortasında binalar yaptırılmıştı. Askerî kışlalar Bağdat'ın karşısında, yani Dicle'nin doğu kıyısında kurulmuştu ve Mudar, Horasan ve Yemen askerlerine olmak üzere üçe ayrılmıştı. Çifte duvarla kuşatılmış olan Bağdat'ın sokakları çok düzenli bir biçimde yapılmıştı. Mansur sonradan oğlu Mehdi için şehrin kuzey bölümünde, surların dışında Rusâfe köşkünün yaptırdı. Kendisi de, belki Bağdat'ın umduğundan çok kalabalık olması yüzünden, Rusâfe'ye çekilmişti. Şehre önce Medinet üs-Selâm veya Dar üs-Selâm adını verdi ama, halk bunu bir süre kurucusunun adıyla (Medinet ül-Mansur) andı (132).

Şehir kurmaya meraklı olduğu anlaşılan Mansur kendisi henüz hilâfet makamına geçmeden önce Bizans imparatoru V. Konstantin'in (741-775) saldırıp bir anbardan başka bir yapı bırakmamacasına yıktırdığı ve halkını sürgün ettiği Malatya'yı 139/756-757'de Sâlih bin Ali'ye verdiği bir emirle yeni baştan inşa ettirmişti. Bu iş için 70 000 asker ve her şehirden işçi gönderdi (133).

d) **Hz. Ali soyundan gelenlerle mücadele**: Mansur'un 144/761-762 yılından sonra Hz. Ali soyundan gelenleri yok etmek için giriştiği savaşlardaki tutumu, onun ne kadar merhamet duygusundan yoksun olduğunu gösterir (134).

**Hz. Hasan'ın iyice yıldırmış olan torunları** bu sıralarda edebiyat, felsefe, sanat ve bilim ile uğraşıyorlar, politikadan uzak sâde bir hayat sürüyorlardı. Abbasilere gelinceye kadar hayatta kalan Ali evlâtlarına halifeler iyi davranmışlardı, ama Emevîler'i yıkmak ve yerine Hâşimî soyundan halife geçirmek bahis konusu olunca, Medine'de Mansur'un da içinde bulunduğu Hâşimîler'den meydana gelen bir toplantı düzenlenmiş ve erdemli bir kişi olmasından ötürü

(132) İbn ül-Esir, el-Kâmil, V., S. 20; Emir Ali, Musavver Tarih-i İslâm, I., S. 216.

(133) Belâzurî, Futuh ül-Buldân, I., S. 301-2; Ebu'l-Ferec, Tarih, I., S. 200.

(134) Ebu'l-Ferec, Tarih, I., S. 200.

- Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine  
(a study of the state system, 1918-1948). London, 1956
- British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901  
(a study of educational and religious institutions). Oxford, 1961
- American Interests in Syria 1800-1901  
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- English-speaking Orientalists: A Critique of their Approach to Islam. London, 1964
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- Muḥāḍarāt fi Tārīkh al-'Arab wal Islām  
(Lectures on the History of the Arabs and Islam)  
2 volumes in Arabic published in Beirut, 1963 and 1966

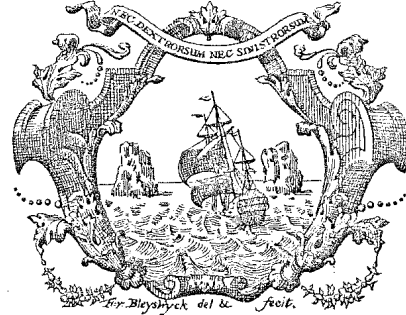
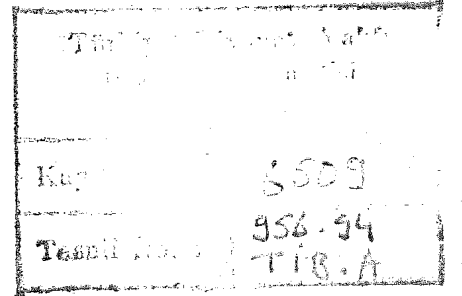
and

## THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE

1914-1921

By

A. L. TIBAWI



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1978

aspirations regarding the area reserved for France in the Sykes-Picot agreement. But the French did not appreciate this British abstinence.<sup>9</sup> The suggestion in all these representations was for the removal of the French mission from Jiddah, but that was too drastic a measure for Balfour to adopt.

However, the British military advance into Palestine, which opened these questions, did not go as well as was expected. The appointment of British and French political officers was no longer significant or urgent. Murray's forces were reduced by at least one division transferred to France for the planned spring offensive. The British limited penetration into Palestine was along the coast south of Gaza. It brought Murray in contact with no considerable or very influential Arab elements prepared to risk Turkish reprisals by negotiating with the enemy. Murray fought two bloody battles to capture Gaza in March and in April, and on both occasions he was repulsed with great loss in men and material. His failure sealed his fate and led the War Cabinet to replace him by the appointment of General Sir Edmund Allenby as his successor.

(2)

The reverses suffered by British arms at Gaza were compensated by a major success in Iraq. British generals had a great respect for the fighting qualities of the Turkish soldier. They undertook no offensive on any Turkish front without first ensuring superiority in numbers and material. The front in Iraq received considerable reinforcements in men and large quantities of arms and supplies. So when General Sir Stanley Maude attacked in February-March 1917 he succeeded in recapturing Kūt and finally securing the precious prize of the city of Baghdad. The event provided another opportunity for an announcement clarifying British policy not only regarding Iraq but also the Arab question as a whole. Such an announcement was called for at least to remove Arab misgivings about the introduction in the province of Basrah of Indian currency and Indian personnel and methods in the civil administration, as if the province was part of the Indian Empire.

But the opportunity was missed. It will be recalled that when late in 1915 the capture of Baghdad was expected, a draft proclamation was prepared for the occasion. It was then decided to express only general sympathy with Arab aspirations to form an 'autonomous state independent of Turkey', but to avoid any specific mention of the province of Baghdad or of Basrah. This was a de-

<sup>9</sup> Wingate's note to Balfour dated 11 February 1917. F.O. 371/3044.

liberate ambiguity resorted to at the insistence of the India Office. Fifteen months later the idea of publishing a proclamation was revived, but now the attitude of the India Office became harder. Sir Percy Cox, the pre-war British Resident in the Persian Gulf and later the Foreign Secretary of the Government of India, was now the Political Officer at Basrah in charge of the civil administration of the occupied territories.

He submitted a draft which was little more than a summary of British proclamations since the outbreak of the war with a great deal of propaganda added. Thus the war was with the pro-German Turkish government, and 'not with the Arab inhabitants'. The British government guaranteed the immunity of the Islamic holy places in the Hijaz and Iraq. Its officials treated the religious leaders in Basrah with great respect. The women 'have been absolutely safe and immune from harm at the hands of our troops.' Good government under the British was contrasted with misgovernment under the Turks. The execution of Syrian Arab leaders was then cited as one of the causes for the revolt of the Sharif of Mecca who 'made himself independent'. Not a word about Arab aspirations, political or national.

Cox's draft was not adopted. Another offered by Sykes was criticised by the India Office who wanted no reference, directly or indirectly, to Arab independence or Arab state. A committee under Curzon revised Sykes's text so drastically that it was rendered too wordy with little political meaning. The final version was laid before the War Cabinet which authorised General Maude to issue it 'in the name of the King and in the name of the people over whom he rules' simply 'to the people of Baghdad'. The document began with the statement that the British did not come as 'conquerors' but as 'liberators'. After recalling the past glory of Baghdad and its neglect by the Turks, the proclamation states that 'It is the wish not only of my King and his peoples, but it is also the wish of the great nations with whom he is in alliance, that you should prosper even as in the past, when your lands were fertile, when your ancestors gave to the world literature, science and art, and when Baghdad city was one of the wonders of the world.'

For two centuries there was commerce and friendship between Baghdad 'and the dominions of my King,' until in recent years 'the Germans and Turks' made it a centre for assailing British interests in Arabia and Persia. The British army came to remove this danger to British interests, but 'the people of Baghdad' must not take that to mean the imposition on them of 'alien institutions'. 'It is the hope of the British Government', the proclamation continues, 'that the



لجنة ابن سينا العراقية

دليل تاريخي

على

مواطن الآشرف في العراق

أصدر بمناسبة انعقاد مهرجان ابن سينا  
ببغداد

مركز الرابطة للطبع والنشر الحديثة  
ببغداد

١٩٥٢

IRCIWA: 16237

## آثار بغداد الاسلامية

### ١ - مواقع بغداد قبل بناء مدينة المنصور

العربي من قواد خالد بن الوليد في حملته الحاطفة على العراق سنة « ١٢ هـ » ٦٣٣ ميلادية عبر من الجانب الشرقي الى الجانب الغربي على جسر ساساني كان معقودا هناك ، فجرت بين العرب والفرس وقعة صغيرة هزم العرب فيها الفرس قرب تل عقرقوف . وقد استفاد العباسيون من كرسى الجسر الشرقي والغربي فعمدوا هناك جسرا سنة ٣٨٣ هـ « ٩٩٣ م » وهو الجسر الذي نزل على مقربة منه الرحالة الشهير ابن جبير أيام زيارته بغداد سنة ٥٨٠ هـ « ١١٨٤ م » . وكان فوق قصر سابور المذكور أي من الشمال قرية « ناورا » و « رثالا » و « الكرخ » و « سونايا » و « برانا » وقد دخلت هذه القرى في ارباض مدينة السلام « مدينة المنصور المدورة » ثم لما استولى الحراب على شمالى بغداد الغربي ، ذهب اسمها أيضا ولم يبق منها الا « المنطقة » التي هي العتيقة في أيام العباسيين التي هي « سونايا » قبل بناء مدينة السلام (٢) .

وكان في الجانب الغربي من أرض بغداد أيضا « دير مارفيثون » على مصب نهر الصراة في دجلة وهو المعروف أيام تأسيس بغداد العباسية بالدير

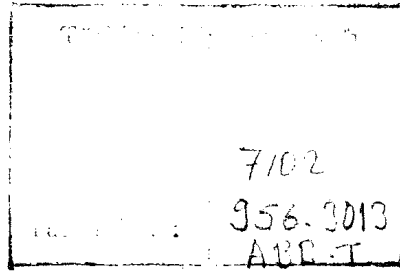
كانت بغداد من القرى القديمة الزمان المحدثه قبل الاسلام وكان موضعها العتيق على دجلة حيث تقع مديرية السكة الحديد (١) في البقعة المعروفة اليوم بالصالحية في الجانب الغربي من بغداد ، وبقيت معروفة بهذا الاسم أيضا في العصور الاسلامية جميعها . وكانت مزارعها وبساتينها تسقى من القرات بالنهر المعروف قبل الاسم بنهر ريفيل « رفايل » المسمى في أيام بنى العباس نهر عيسى بن علي العباسي وكانت المقاطعة التي فيها تسمى في أيام الساسانيين « بادوريا » وبقي عليها هذا الاسم حتى القرن الثامن للهجرة أي القرن الرابع عشر للميلاد .

وكان على مقربة من بغداد من الشمال قرية « قيطفتا » التي دفن فيها الشيخ معروف الكرخي « راجع صورة مرقد في هذا الدليل » وقصر سابور الحاكم الساساني وهو القصر الذي عرف أيام العباسيين بقصر عيسى ، وكان على دجلة في الموضع الذي جعلت فيه « مدرسة الكرخ الثانوية » الحالية ، وبالتقرب منه كان عبور « النسر بن ديسم » القائد

٢ - تسمية الجانب الغربي الحالي من بغداد بالكرخ من باب التعليل لانها كانت اكبر محال الجانب الغربي .

١- لاتزال من ابنتها البابلية سن « ار بقايا مسناة » مشهورة في دجلة تظهر في ايام ضحل ماء دجلة .

## التاريخ العباسي ولفاطمي

BAĠDAT  
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lالأستاذ الدكتور  
أحمد مختار الجبائي  
أستاذ التاريخ الإسلامي والحضارة  
بجامعة كويت والاكاديمية سابقاً

١٩٨٧

مؤسسة شباب الجامعة  
ع. ش. الدكتور مصطفى مشرفة  
٤٨٣٩٤٧٢ - ٤٨٣٩٤٧٢

ببقية أنحاء المملكة . وتمتاز أيضاً بخصوبة أرضها لوقوعها بين نهري دجلة والفرات ، فنهر دجلة يرونها مباشرة لوقوعها على ضفته الغربية كذلك يتصل بها نهر الفرات عن طريق قنواته المتعددة . هذا إلى جانب حصانة موقعها من الناحية الحربية فيروي العقوي أنه قيل للمنصور بصدد أهمية هذا المكان : « وانت بين أنهار لا يصل اليك عدوك الا على جسر أو قنطرة ، فاذا قطعت الجسور وتخربت القناطر لم يصل اليك عدوك » .

ويلاحظ أن كلمة جسر في اللغة تطلق على السفن التي يشد بعضها ببعض بالسلاسل أو الحبال ، وتمتد في مجرى النهر حتى الشاطئ الآخر ، وتغطي بالوواح من الخشب كي يعبر عليها الناس والدواب . فالجسر على هذا الوضع متحرك اذ يمكن قطعه وفتح بعض اجزائه لمرور السفن ثم يعاد شده من جديد مثل الكباري في الوقت الحاضر . اما القناطر فهي ابنية ثابتة بعرض النهر . وهذا يفسر عبارة العقويي السالفة الذكر حينما نص فيها على قطع الجسر وتخريب أو هدم القنطرة .

وموضع بغداد معروف من قديم وكانت تقام فيه اسواق موسمية يجتمع فيها التجار ، وقد وجدت هناك نقوش آشورية تفيد بذلك . كذلك كان الحال بالنسبة لاسم بغداد الذي اجمعت الروايات على أنه اسم فارسي موجود من قديم وان كان قد اختلف في اشتقاقه ومعناه . ومن المرجح انه يتكون من كلمتين فارسيتين : بغ ومعناها الله ، وداد ومعناها عطية أي عطية الله . وكل هذا يثبت وجود بلدة قديمة في هذا الموضع .

ولما بنى المنصور هذه المدينة ، أطلق عليها المسلمون أسماء كثيرة ، فقالوا مدينة المنصور نسبة إلى مؤسسها . والمدينة المدورة نسبة إلى شكلها الدائري ، وسميت بمدينة السلام أو دار السلام تشبيهاً لها بالجنة فضلاً عن أن السلام اسم من أسماء الله سبحانه وتعالى كذلك يلاحظ أن نهر دجلة كان يسمى بنهر السلام ايضاً وسموها كذلك بالزوراء لأن مداخلها كانت مزورة أو منحنية على شكل

وهي السنة التي انتصر فيها على جميع الثورات ، أنه قد صار خليفة حقاً بدون منازع ولهذا عمد إلى تخليد هذا الانتصار فلقب نفسه بالمنصور في تلك السنة .

رابعاً : تأسيس مدينة بغداد (١) :

سبق أن قلنا ان العصر العباسي الأول كان عصرأ فارسياً في تقاليدته ونظمه الادارية وفي حياته الاجتماعية . لهذا كان من الطبيعي ان تكون العاصمة التي اتخذها العباسيون لها نفس هذا الاتجاه الفارسي ، فلم تعد العواصم الاسلامية القديمة صالحة لهذا الاتجاه الجديد : فمدينة دمشق لا تستطيع أن تقوم بهذا الغرض لأنها كانت عاصمة الأمويين من جهة ولأنها مدينة عربية وفي بيئة عربية من جهة أخرى ، والعباسيون اعتمدوا على الفرس ولم يعتمدوا على العرب في قيام دولتهم .

كذلك لم يستقر العباسيون في مكة أو المدينة لأن الحجاز في ذلك الوقت قفر فقير لا يتناسب مع مكانة الامبراطورية الاسلامية آنذاك ، والانسان بطبعه يترك البوادي ليعيش في الحواضر .

فما الكوفة فيغلب عليها التشيع لعلي بن أبي طالب وأبنائه ، والعباسيون لا يستطيعون الإقامة في بلد لا يميل اهله اليهم . وقد رأينا أن الخليفة العباسي الأول ، ابا العباس لم يستطع البقاء في الكوفة وانتقل إلى هاشمية الكوفة ثم انتقل منها إلى هاشمية الأنبار ثم جاء ابو جعفر المنصور فأقام أول الأمر في هاشمية الكوفة ثم انتقل إلى المدائن . ويؤثر عنه انه سب اهل الكوفة بعد انقضاء على ثورة ابراهيم العلوي شهيد باحمري فقال : « فخذعة أهل الكوفة ، اهل الشقاق والنفاق والفتن ، أهل هذه المدررة السوداء » .

اما مدينة بغداد فتمتاز بوقوعها على حدود الاقليمين العربي والفارسي اي على مقربة من البيئة الفارسية التي يعترف بها العباسيون . كذلك تمتاز بأهميتها الاقتصادية كمركز تجاري لوقوعها على الطرق والممرات البرية والبحرية المتصلة

(١) انظر الرسم التخطيطي لمدينة بغداد في نهاية هذا القسم الخامس بالتاريخ العباسي .



منظمة المؤتمر الإسلامي  
مركز الأبحاث للتاريخ والفنون والثقافة الإسلامية (إرسىكا)

## من تاريخ الأقطار العربية في العهد العثماني

بحوث ووثائق وقوانين

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	78504
Tas. No:	956.3 SAL. M

خليل ساحلي اوغلي

استانبول ٢٠٠٠م

التقسيمات الادارية في العراق في العهد العثماني

(Administrative Division of Iraq During the Ottoman Period)

أ. د. خليل ساحلي اوغلي

Prof. Dr. Halil Sahillioglu Istanbul University

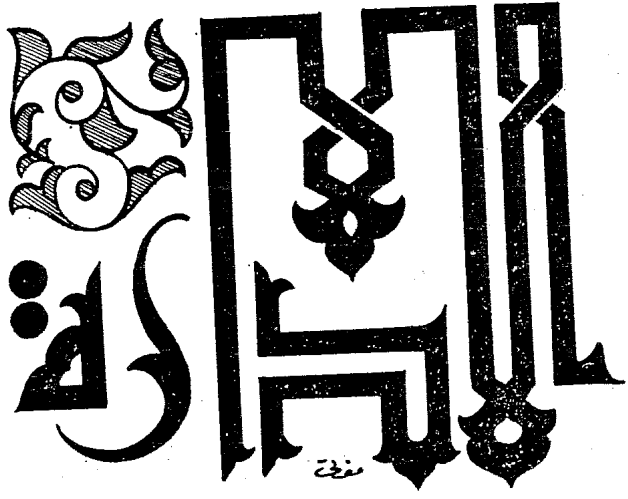
التقسيمات الادارية بصورة عامة :

تقسم الممالك العثمانية الى وحدات ادارية اكبرها هي الولاية او الايالة وتنفس هذه بدورها الى سناجق او الوية تتركب من افضية ونواحي هي عبارة عن مدينة او قسبة مع ماحولها من قرى ومزارع. والولاية والسناجق هما وحدتان اداريتان لهما صيغة مدنية وعسكرية في وقت واحد. ويطلق على الامراء الذين يتولون الحكم فيها اسماء من احدى الثلاث لغات التي تدخل في تركيب اللغة العثمانية فيقال لامير الولاية في التركية بكلكريك وفي الفارسية ميرميران وفي العربية امير الامراء. ويقال لامير الالوية او السناجق في التركية سنحقيكي وفي الفارسية ميرلوا وفي العربية امير اللواء. لما كانت الولاية تظم، في الغالب، عدة سناجق على كل منها بك او امير يكون امير الولاية اميرا على كل امراء سناجق ولايته فهو اذن امير الامراء، او مايقابل ذلك في اللغتين الباقيتين. وامير اللواء وامير الولاية هما من الحكام المدنيين وهما مسؤولان عن كل الشؤون الادارية في مناطق حكمهما. ولكنهما يتوليان في نفس الوقت قيادة القوات التي توجد في امارتهما فامير السناجق يقود السباهية (الفرسان) التي في سناجقه وقت الاسفار والحروب، فيلتحق هو وامثاله من امراء سناجق الولاية بالكلكريك، امير الولاية وقائد قواتها. ويتضم هؤلاء بعدها الى الجيش الذي يقوده اما السلطان بنفسه او الوزير الاعظم، او اي وزير اخر انتدب لهذه المهمة، يطلق عليه اسم سردار اي القائد الاعظم. واللواء اليوم رتبة لاحد ضباط القوات العسكرية في البلدان العربية ويرجع سبب هذه التسمية الى ماسبق سرده. اما الافضية فهي منطقة نفوذ او حكم قاض. والقاضي شخصية ليست ادارية مدنية ولاعسكرية بل قضائية. ولكن اذا كان هو الشخصية التي تمثل الشريعة والقضاء، فانه كان يستخدم ايضا في الامور الادارية.

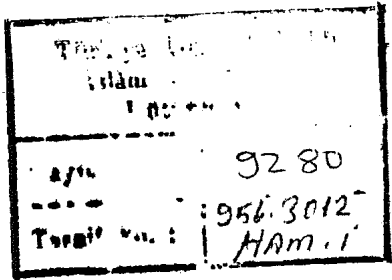
Basra  
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Bagdat  
Lahsa  
Karbala  
14 AGUSTOS 2001  
MADDE YATIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GLEN DOKÜMAN

مَجْدَةُ خَمَّاش

Dinica / Inndi.  
Iraq (86-63)



فِي الْعَصْرِ الْأُمَوِيِّ



دارالفكر

العراق للحكم الفارسي منذ سنة ٢٢٣ م إذ تمكن أردشير بن بابك مؤسس الدولة الساسانية من القضاء على كل مقاومة في أرض العراق وجعله جزءاً من الامبراطورية الساسانية خاضعاً لنظمها وقوانينها وأصبح أحد الأقاليم الاربعة التي كانت تكوّن الامبراطورية الساسانية<sup>(١)</sup>.

وقد اتفق جغرافيو العرب على أن العراق كان يمتد من عذيب القادسية إلى حلوان عرضاً<sup>(٢)</sup>، إلا أنهم اختلفوا في الطول، فبعضهم يذكر أن العراق كان يمتد من حديثة الموصل إلى عبادان طولاً<sup>(٣)</sup> ويذكر البعض الآخر أنها تمتد من تكريت إلى عبادان، ويعلق لوسترانج أن الحدود بين العراق والجزيرة اختلفت باختلاف الأوقات، إلا أن الحد بينهما في العصر الأموي، تبعاً لتقرير الجغرافيين الأوائل، يتفق مع الخط الذي يمر شمالي الأنبار على الفرات إلى تكريت<sup>(٤)</sup>. هذا وإن حدود العراق في العصر الأموي كانت أثبت وأكثر وضوحاً منها في العهود الأخرى، ففي خلافة الراشدين لم تكن الفتوح قد توقفت كما أن حدود العراق في العصر العباسي لم يهتم بأمرها لاندماج بلاد فارس والعراق في وحدة سياسة تامة، وظل هذا الاندماج أو ظواهره حتى سقوط بغداد<sup>(٥)</sup>. وقد أصبح اسم السواد الذي يطلق على المنطقة السهلية مرادفاً للعراق، فابن رسته يذكر أن حد السواد الذي مسحه عثمان بن حنيف هو من لدن تخوم الموصل ماراً إلى ساحل البحر من بلاد عبادان من شرقي دجلة طولاً وعرضه من منقطع الجبل من أرض حلوان إلى منتهى طرف القادسية مما يلي العذيب من أرض العرب<sup>(٦)</sup>.

(١) الدينوري، الاخبار الطوال، تحقيق عبد المنعم عامر، القاهرة، ١٩٦٠، ص ٦٧، يذكر الدينوري أن كسرى انو شروان قسم المملكة اربعة ارباع: فاحد الارباع خراسان وسجستان وكرمان، والثاني اصبهان، وقم والجبل، واذربيجان، وارمينية، والثالث فارس والاهواز الى البحرين، والرابع العراق الى حد مملكة الروم.

(٢) مراصد الاطلاع، ج ٢، ص ٩٢٦، الاصطخري، ص ٧٨، ابن رسته ص ١٠٤، Le Strange p. 24, 25.

(٣) Le Strange p. 24, 25.

(٤) ثابت اسماعيل الراوي، العراق في العصر الاموي، مكتبة النهضة، بغداد ١٩٦٥، ص ١٥.

(٥) ابن رسته ص ١٠٤، ابن الجوزي، تاريخ عمر بن الخطاب، دمشق ١٢٩٤ هـ، ص ١٠٩.

(٦) سمي السواد سواداً لان العرب لما جاؤوا ونظروا الى مثل الليل من النخل والشجر والماء سموه سواداً.

ولّى هشام بن عبد الملك محمد بن هشام بن اسماعيل المخزومي على مكة والمدينة والطائف<sup>(١)</sup>.

رابعاً - اليمن

يفصل بين اليمن وبين باقي جزيرة العرب خط يمتد من بحر الهند إلى بحر اليمن عرضاً في البرية من المشرق إلى جهة الغرب<sup>(٢)</sup> وكانت اليمن تشتمل على تهامة ونجد اليمن ومهرة وحضرموت وبلاد صنعاء وعدن وسائر مخاليف اليمن<sup>(٣)</sup>. وقد جمع رسول الله لباذام حين أسلم وأسلمت اليمن عمل اليمن كلها وأمره على جميع مخاليفها<sup>(٤)</sup>، فلما مات قسمها الرسول إلى ستة أقسام وهي: نجران - حضرموت - صنعاء - كنده والصدف - زبيد ورمع وعدن والسواحل - الجند<sup>(٥)</sup>، فلما كانت خلافة ابي بكر جمع كنده والصدف وحضرموت لوال واحد<sup>(٦)</sup>. وقد جمعت اليمن كلها لوال واحد في خلافة عمر بن الخطاب واستمر الامر على هذا الشكل إلى نهاية العصر الأموي، وأصبح والي اليمن يعين من قبل الخليفة الأموي في دمشق<sup>(٧)</sup>.

خامساً - العراق

أطلق العرب اسم العراق على القسم الجنوبي من عراق اليوم، وقد خضع

(١) خليفة بن خياط، ج ٢، ص ٥٣٤.

(٢) مراصد الاطلاع، ج ٣، ص ١٤٨٣.

(٣) الاصطخري، ص ١٤ - الرازي الصنعاني، تاريخ مدينة صنعاء تحقيق حسين عبد الله العمري، عبد الجبار زكار، ص ٥.

(٤) الطبري، ج ٣، ص ٢٢٧.

(٥) البلاذري، انساب الاشراف، ج ١، تحقيق الدكتور محمد حميد الله معهد المخطوطات بجامعة

الدول العربية، ص ٥٢٩ - الطبري ج ٣، ص ٢٢٨ - القرظي، النزاع والتخاصم، ص ٣٠.

(٦) البلاذري، انساب الاشراف، ج ١، ص ٥٢٩.

(٧) خليفة بن خياط، ج ١، ص ٢٨٤، ٤٢٨، ج ٢، ص ٥٣٤، ٥٥٢.

BAĞDAT (568-570)

GREGORY ABÜ'L-FARAC  
(BAR HEBRAEUS)

Uit  
reeds

## ABÜ'L-FARAC TARİHİ

A. 40.

Cilt II.

SURYANCADAN İNGİLİZCEYE ÇEVİREN  
ERNEST A. WALLIS BUDGE

TÜRKÇEYE ÇEVİREN  
ÖMER RIZA DOĞRUL

2. Baskı

Türkiy - Diyanet İşleri İslâm Ansiklopedisi Kütüphanesi	
Kayıt No. :	9650
Tasnif No. :	956.3 FAR. A

Birinci baskı : 1950  
İkinci baskı : 1987

TÜRK TARİH KURUMU BASİMEVİ—ANKARA  
1987

*Kalavyan*'i hapisten çıkarıp babasının saltanatını kendisine devretmeği ve kılıçla aldığı İstanbul'u kendi nefesine hasredeceğini va'd etti. Bu yüzden patrik ona dua etti, onunla barıştı ve patriklik tahtına tekrar oturdu.

Bunun üzerine *Mihail* patriği küçük düşürdü, kötülük üzerine kötülük işledi ve *Kalavyan*'i hapisten çıkarıp kiral yapacağına gözlerini çıkardı ve kör etti. Patrik keyfiyeti anlayınca tekrar makamını terketti ve mahpesine döndü. Kiral da ismi *Josef*(?) olan bir arhimanderiti getirerek patrik ilân etti. Bu adam hâlâ kilisesinin başındadır. Bu fenalıklar kış günlerinde Malatya'da duyuldu.

### Babil'in, yani Bağdad'ın zaptına dair

Hanlar hanı *Hulabu* Bağdad'a gitmiş, *Baju* da Roma diyarından buraya gelmişti. Bağdad askerleri şehirden çıkarak harp meydanında Tatarlar ile karşılaşmak istediler. Bunların başlarında bulunan kumandanlar şu kimselerdi: İsmi *Ibn Kurar* olan Kürt *Büyük Emir* ve halifenin bir kölesi olan *Küçük Daviddar*. İki taraf muharebe etmeden 23 gün karşı karşıya durdular. Daha sonra Arapların 1 inci ayının 8 inci ve haftanın 4 üncü gününde *Baju Navin* ve askerleri Bağdad'ın garp tarafındaki *Ahmedin mezarı* diye tanılan yere yaklaştılar (Hâdise Arapların 656 [M. 1258] ve Yunanlıların 1569 yılında vuku bulmuştu). Bunun üzerine Bağdad askerleri de yaklaştılar ve iki ordu harp meydanında karşılaştılar. *Baju Navin*'in askerleri kırılmış ve Bağdad askerleri şanlı bir zafer kazanmışlardı. Emir *Süleyman Şah* ile ordusu Bağdad surları üzerinde idi.

Akşam olduğu zaman ihtiyar bir adam olan *Ibn Kurar* genç bir adam olan *Daviddar*'a şu sözleri söyledi: "Bu defa Allah bize yardım etti, muzaffer olduk. Evlerimize gidip dinlenmek hakkımızdır. Sonra tekrar hareket eder ve hücumla geçeriz". Genç adam gitmek istemedi ve ikisi de geceyi dışarıda geçirdiler. Bağdad askerleri alçakça bir yerde karargâh kurmuş oldukları için Tatarlar *Dicle*'nin aktığı büyük bir kanalın kıyılarında bir gedik açtılar ve Bağdad askerleri, gece yarısı sıralarında su altında kaldıklarını görerek sulardan kaçmağa başladılar ve onların okları, yayları, kılıçlarının kınları

su içinde kaldı. Gün doğduğu zaman *Hulabu*'nun kumandası altındaki Tatarlar geri geldiler ve muharebe haftanın 5 inci gününün 9 uncu saatine kadar devam etti. Bağdad askerleri yenilmişler, nâçar vaziyete düşmüşler, *Ibn Kurar* maktûl düşmüş ve *Daviddar* kaçarak şehre girmişti.

Bunun üzerine *Baju* ile askerleri ordugâhlarını Bağdad'ın batı tarafında kurdular. *Hulabu* da şehrin şark tarafında bulunuyordu. Arapların ilk ayının 18 üncü gününe müsadif haftanın ikinci günü Bağdad'a karşı harp bilhassa halife sarayının mukabilinde en büyük şiddeti peyda etti. Sefil bir adam olan halife *Mustasım* ye's içinde kalarak veziri olan *Alkamî*'yi ve *Darnus* oğlu *Necmeddin Abdüljani* ve katolikus *Mar Makik'a'yı* çağırarak bol bol altın ve şâhâne mallar ve Arap atları alarak mahpus olan Tatar elçilerini hil'atler ile süslemelerini ve kendilerine mebzul hediyeler vermelerini ve hep birlikte Hanlar hanının yanına gitmelerini söyledi. Bunlar Halifenin oğullarının ve kızlarının selâmeti için söz isteyecekler ve vuku bulan hâdiselerin ancak fena müşavirlerin eseri olduğunu söyleyerek özür dileyeceklerdi. Şayet Hanlar hanı kendilerini affeder ve hayatlarını bağışlarsa onun kölesi olacaklar ve kendisine vergi veren tebaa olmağı kabul edeceklerdi.

Bu adamlar Hanlar hanının yanına giderek elçilik vazifesini yaptılar. *Hulabu* onları yanında alakoyarak Halifenin tarafına avdet etmelerine müsaade etmedi ve muharebeye daha büyük bir şiddetle devam etti. Tatarlar Ajanmi kulesinde büyük bir gedik açtılar ve ilk ayın 2 inci cuma günü şehre girdiler. Fakat şehirliler galip gelerek onları tekrar püskürttüler. Ertesi gün, yani cumartesi günü Tatarlar daha büyük şiddetle hücum ettiler ve bütün surlara hâkim oldular. Bağdad ahali kaçtılar ve evlerin içinde ve yer altındaki koridorlarda saklandılar. Cumartesi günü Halifenin iki oğlu, Hanlar hanının yanına gittiler ve bir saat sonra Halifenin kendisi de onun yanına gitti. Hanlar hanının emri ile bunlara zincir vuruldu ve 7 gün bir çadır içinde kaldılar. Bu sırada Hanlar hanının kendisi halifenin sarayına gitmiş, hazineleri, güzel şeyleri, depolarda saklı olan eski eşyayı çıkartarak hepsini tetkik etmişti. Moğollar kılıçlarını çekerek bütün Bağdad ahali öldürdüler. Öldürülenler onbinlerce idiler ve bilhassa İberyalılar çok kan

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کد پارسه: B۷۷۸۶۸

شهر و شهر سازی: معماری بنیاد  
بررسی سبکهای معماری و بناهای ساخته شده  
در شهر بغداد و تأثیر آن بر دیگر شهرها و بناهاست.  
نویسنده با بهره گیری از منابع تاریخی و با ارائه تصاویر  
و نمودارهایی در ضمن هفت فصل به پیدایش این  
شهر و سابقه آن قبل از اسلام و گسترش آن در عهد  
خلفای عباسی و انتخاب آن به عنوان مرکز خلافت  
اسلامی از سوی منصور و فلسفه نامگذاری آن  
می پردازد. طرح ظاهری شکل بنیاد و محصور بودن  
آن به دیوار و خندق، و ایجاد دروازه ها و گذرگاهها  
جهت رسیدن به رجه بزرگ که مرکز خلافت عباسی  
است از دیگر قبول کتاب است. مؤلف به توصیف و  
تذریح ویژگیهای معماری آن و توصیف کاخ منصور و  
مسجد جامع آن و ساختن صحن و رواق و تزئین آن  
به انواع زینتها و آرایهها می پردازد. وی بر این باور  
است که این سبک شهرسازی و معماری به دیگر  
شهرها از جمله دمشق، حلب، قس، قدس و قسطنطنیه  
نیز انتقال یافته است و دیگر معماران اسلامی تحت  
تأثیر شیوه معماری بغداد قرار داشته اند؛ به گونه ای  
که شهرهای خود را با محوریت مسجد جامع و یا کاخ  
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کرخ؛ علویان؛ شیعه... در مناطق جغرافیایی - در  
عراق (کلام)

کاوشی است در تاریخ محله کرخ بغداد.  
نویسنده، ابتدا به سیر انتخاب پایتختهای مختلف  
بنی عباس و بررسی تاریخ بغداد و عالی برگزیدن  
آن به عنوان پایتخت از جانب عباسیان پرداخته  
است. آنگاه به سکونت یارهای از مردم دنیای شرق و  
غرب جهان اسلام در این شهر و نیز به قیامهای  
علویان و کشتار بنی هاشم در عهد منصور اشاره  
می نماید. سپس با استفاده از قنار مورخان و مستندات  
تاریخی، به تحقیق پیرامون محله کرخ و آباد  
اجتماعی، اقتصادی، سیاسی و فرهنگی آن می پردازد و  
چگونگی حضور مذهب تشیع و عوامل قدرت  
شمعیان و تأثیرات آنها در آباد گوناگون در کرخ و  
بغداد را از قرن دوم تا نیمه قرن پنجم ارائه می نماید.

08 MAY 2010

23 HAZ 2010

MADDE YAYIMLANDIRILAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

المناعي، نجية عيسى شاهين

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٢٠- بغداد - خلفاؤها ، ولايتها ، ملوكها ، رؤساؤها :  
منذ تأسيسها عام ١١٤٥هـ = ٧٦٢م الى عام ١٤٠٤هـ/١٩٨٤م  
تأليف باقر أمين الورد  
مطابع دار القادسية للطباعة بغداد ١٩٨٤م في ٣٩٢ صفحة من القطع  
المتوسط وبحرف متوسط مزين بالصور .

20 TEMMUZ 1997  
KUTUPHANESİ  
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ARABICA

Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies  
Revue d'études arabes et islamiques

Fondée par E. Lévi-Provençal

Aims & Scope

Fondée en 1954 par Évariste Lévi-Provençal en tant qu'organe des arabisants français, *Arabica* est aujourd'hui une revue scientifique pluridisciplinaire, avec comité de lecture international représentant les divers domaines de recherche. Consacrée aux langues, littératures, histoires, systèmes de pensée et civilisations du monde arabophone aussi bien classique que contemporain, elle est aussi ouverte au domaine général de l'Islam et à l'étude des relations entre cultures arabes et autres cultures au cours de l'histoire. *Arabica* participe activement au renouvellement des approches et des problématiques dans le champ des études arabes et islamiques. Elle publie, prioritairement en français ou en anglais, en plus d'articles de recherche originaux, des « notes et documents », un « bulletin critique » et, occasionnellement, elle ouvre une rubrique intitulée « méthodes et débats ». Des numéros spéciaux peuvent être consacrés à un ensemble de contributions traitant d'un domaine particulier ou reprenant des actes de colloques.

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Translittération de l'arabe

ʾ, b, t, r, ġ, ḥ, ḥ, d, d, r, z, s, š, š, d, t, z, ʿ, ġ, f, q, k, l, m, n, h, w, y.

āʾ marbūʿa = a, at (état construit). Articles : al- et l- (même devant les "solaires").

Voyelles : a, i, u, — ā, ī, ū. Diphtongues : au, ay.

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*Al-Ḥawādīt al-ġāmi'a*: A Contemporary Account of the Mongol Conquest of Baghdad, 656/1258

Hend Gilli-Elewy  
Cal Poly Pomona

Abstract

This article contains a translation (Arabic-English) with introduction and commentary of the events of years 655/1257 and 656/1258 of *al-Ḥawādīt al-ġāmi'a* including two *qaṣidas*, written by an Iraqi anonymous author. It deals with the conquest of Baghdad by the Mongols and the death of the last Abbasid caliph al-Mustaʿim. *Al-Ḥawādīt al-ġāmi'a* is a very interesting local Iraqi chronicle of the VIIth/XIIIth century and provides an abundance of detail that is not to be found elsewhere. Historiography of the period can often be divided along Arabic-Mamluk and Persian-Mongol lines; however, this chronicle cannot really be situated on either side. Translations of other primary sources of this event, both Arabic and Persian, have been made available; this translation not only complements them, but also adds a local perspective to the evaluation of the events.

Keywords

Baghdad, Mongols, Ilkhanids, *al-Ḥawādīt al-ġāmi'a*, Abbasid caliphate, al-Mustaʿim, Hülegü Khan, historiography, XIIIth century, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī

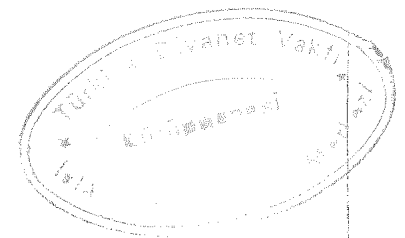
Résumé

Cet article contient la traduction (arabe-anglais), assortie d'une introduction et d'un commentaire, des événements des années 655/1257 et 656/1258 d'*al-Ḥawādīt al-ġāmi'a* incluant deux *qaṣidas*, rédigé par un auteur irakien anonyme. Il a trait à la conquête de Bagdad par les Mongols et à la mort du dernier calife abbasside al-Mustaʿim. *Al-Ḥawādīt al-ġāmi'a* est une très intéressante chronique locale irakienne du VII<sup>e</sup>/XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, fournissant force détails inédits. L'historiographie de cette période peut être divisée en deux tendances, l'arabo-mamelouke et la persomongole; toutefois, cette chronique échappe à ce clivage. Des traductions d'autres sources primaires relatant l'événement, tant en arabe qu'en persan, étaient déjà disponibles; celle-ci, non seulement les complète, mais aussi apporte une perspective locale dans l'évaluation de ce qui s'est produit.

Mots-clés

Bagdad, Mongols, Ilkhanides, *al-Ḥawādīt al-ġāmi'a*, le califat abbasside, al-Mustaʿim, Hülegü Khan, historiographie, XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī

Bagdad



2011-11-14 14:11:47  
Gönderen: CEMAL DOĞRUMAN

24 NISAN 2012

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324 p.: 14 figs.; 23.5 cm.  
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La chute de Bagdad en 656/1258 sous les coups des Mongols a été vue par les historiens contemporains comme un événement symbolique marquant la fin de la grande civilisation islamique du Moyen Age. Le propos de l'A. est de montrer que si l'islam a perdu de son prestige lorsque le centre du monde musulman est passé aux mains des infidèles, ceux-ci se sont finalement convertis, donnant ainsi à l'islam classique une extension dans l'espace et le temps. L'A. détaille les négociations entre le calife et Hulagu et étudie avec précision le rôle de traître joué par le ministre Mu'ayyid al-Din Muhammad b. al-Aqlami qui souhaitait voir les Abbassides remplacés par un descendant de 'Ali avec l'aide des Mongols. Il montre également comment Hulagu restaura ensuite Bagdad, évitant à l'ancienne capitale de tomber dans le *dār al-kufr*.

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1143	والفلك	1141	الولاة الخنابيون في
1147	مجموعات المعلم	1112	الدين
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1148	من الشعراء		الرجال في العهد العثماني
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		1152	العثمانية

- Amanat  
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- Sam  
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شاكرومصطفى، موسوعة العالم الإسلامي ورجالها،  
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أحمد سوسة وأحمد حامد العراف ومصطفى جوار - بغداد قديماً وحديثاً ، (خارطة) نشرها المجمع العلمي العراقي ، بغداد . مطبعة الساحة ١٩٥١  
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L'A. montre, après une étude minutieuse des sources et avec de nombreuses et copieuses notes à l'appui, que parmi les différentes traditions architecturales qui se retrouvaient à Madinat al-Salām, la cité-palais construite à Bagdad par le calife al-Manşur, les principales sont originaires d'Iran et d'Asie Centrale (le plan d'origine étant l'œuvre de Khāled b. Bar-mak). Les conclusions de cet intéressant article viennent nuancer la thèse actuellement en vogue du caractère purement arabe du califat abbasside à ses débuts. M. G.

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Bagdad

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1459. ssa. 16

SUSAH (Aḥmad)  
JAWĪD (Mustafa) and SUSAH (Aḥmad)

دليل  
خريطة بغداد  
قديمًا وحديثًا  
Bagdad

Dalīl khāritat Bagdad kadīman wa-hadīthan.  
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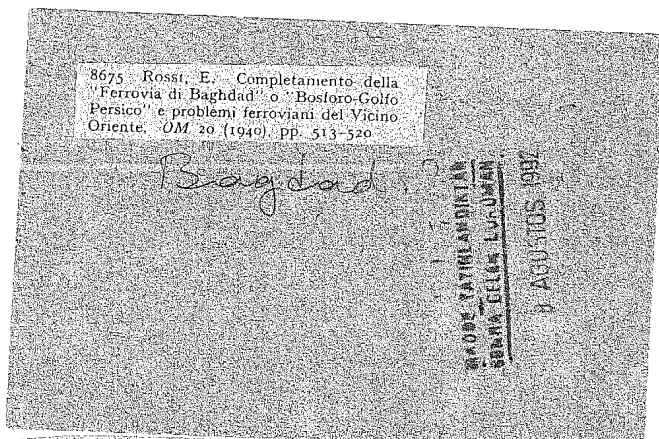
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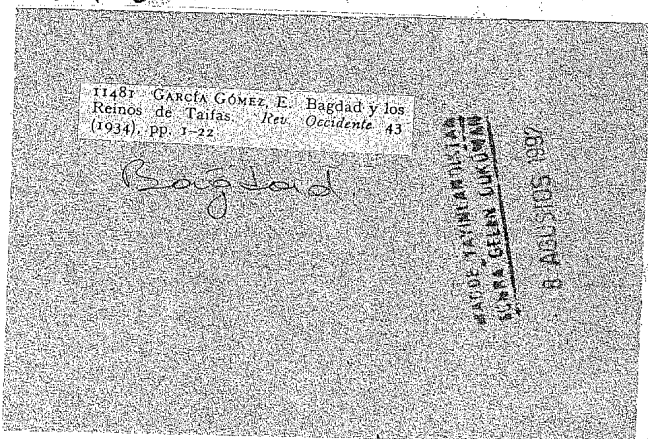
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... بغداد في تاريخ الخلافة العباسية - اقدم ما كتب في تاريخ  
الخلافة العباسية وشرحها الذهبي - تأليف ابني الفضل  
احمد بن طاهر الكاتب - السمرقند بن طيور ...

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تقريب تراجم  
 تاريخ بغداد

انتهى سامي محمد صالح الدلال (بحريني مقيم في الكويت) من إنجاز كتاب بعنوان «تقريب تراجم تاريخ بغداد مع دليله للديبني وابن النجار، والمستفاد لابن الديميطي». وقد عُنِيَ الكتاب بذكر أهم ما امتازت به الشخصيات المترجم لها، مع اقوال المعدلين والمترجمين لها، والإشارة إلى سنة الوفاة، وأضاف في نهاية كل ترجمة ما ذكره الحافظ ابن حجر في تقريب التهذيب من تعديل أو تجريح بين قوسين. وسيتم دفع هذا الكتاب الذي سيقع في حوالي اربعة مجلدات إلى المطبعة قريباً. كما انتهت أيضاً من كتاب آخر مماثل لسابقه، وهو «تقريب تراجم سير اعلام النبلاء»، وعمل فيه وفق المنهج نفسه.

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 - عنوان المجلد في بيان احوال بغداد والبصرة ونجد  
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Bagdad 6100655

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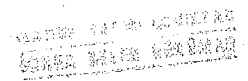
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خارطة بغداد قديماً وحديثاً

تأليف د. أحمد سوسة ، د. مصطفى جواد والاساذ احمد حامد الصراف ، مط المساحة ، بغداد ، ١٩٥١ ، ٥٥٠٠٠٠ سم .

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Abbasiden denemende Bagdad

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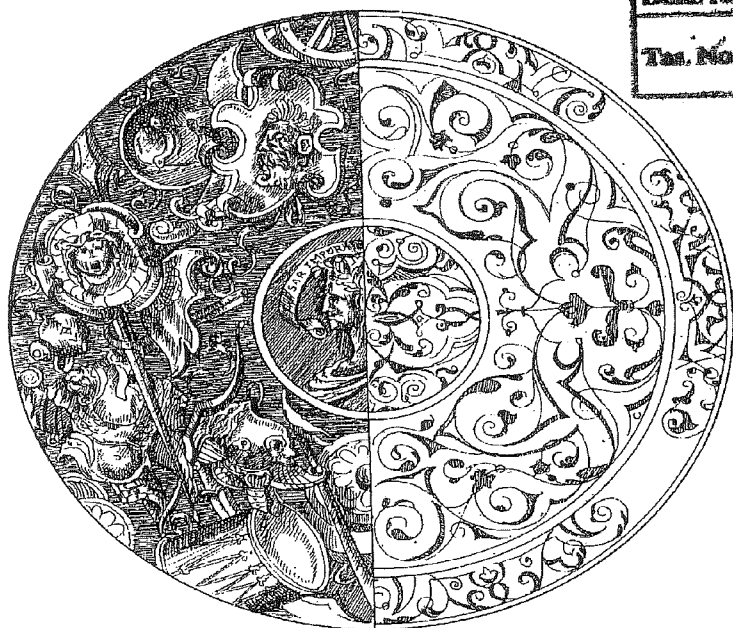
Hans Belting

# Florence and Baghdad

*Renaissance Art and Arab Science*

Translated by Deborah Lucas Schneider

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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enormous variety of natural forms—although they use the different and equally artificial medium of electronics.

*Blickwechsel*: Alhazen or Euclid? The Option for Vitruvius

Piero della Francesca turned to Euclid's geometry in order to quantify things with it, a task for which Euclid was better suited than Alhazen. As his text on points and lines proves, Piero studied Euclid at a time when the latter's work was known only in a translation from Arabic. In one of the first drawings in his treatise on perspective he gave the parallelogram an Arabic name.<sup>64</sup> Yet there is another path by which we can approach Piero's interest in Euclid, namely by way of the great mathematician Luca Pacioli. He is presented in a Venetian portrait dated 1495 (now in Naples) as the Euclid of his day (Fig. 57).<sup>65</sup> Luca and Piero both came from San Sepolcro, and Luca himself edited Piero's writings. In the painting Pacioli is shown demonstrating a geometric problem with a circle and a triangle drawn on a slate tablet; the problem is one Euclid described in the twelfth book of his *Elements*. His left hand is pointing to precisely this passage in a printed edition of the work. Lying in the foreground is Pacioli's own handbook of mathematics, the first of its kind. A transparent polyhedron, one of the "regular bodies" on which Piero wrote a treatise, is hanging from the ceiling of the dark studio. Albrecht Dürer may have seen the portrait in Venice, where it was painted, for his famed copper engraving *Melencolia* seems to have been partly inspired by it.

Finally, Piero's discussion of the geometrical point is Euclidian. Every line proceeds from a point and occupies a particular angle with regard to it. Thus if this point (*A*) is the eye, then everything that reaches the eye or proceeds from the eye stands at an angle to it.<sup>66</sup> Lines must be defined just as geometrically as the eye in perception. The geometric rigor reaches its height in the equation of the eye with a point, since it ignores anatomy. Alhazen speaks of *points in the eye*, which correspond to points on the surfaces of objects, while for Piero the eye itself is a geometric point like other points used in taking measurements. In his sketch of the cross vault it is labeled with the letter *A* (see Fig. 56).

Piero did not want to construct pillars and capitals in the ancient style but to measure them as they had been seen in antiquity. It was his wish to train a kind of gaze that had been lost since antiquity. In contrast, he did not pose any questions

rejection. Moreover, it is in the final episode of the narrative, the construction of the Dome of the Rock, that the process of restoration initiated by 'Umar comes full circle.

Although he makes every effort to claim the city with clean hands, 'Umar is not portrayed as the one who restores the Temple of Solomon to its former glory. Instead, these two works credit the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik with erecting on its site the kind of monumental architecture that would recall the splendor of the Temple.<sup>113</sup> Only, unlike Solomon, 'Abd al-Malik has no *jinn* to help him—merely the blessing of the Muslim community far and near and a surfeit of tax revenue. At first his goals are presented as a simple matter of facilitating already existing ritual practice at the site: “to build a dome over the Rock that would protect Muslims from the heat and cold and [to build] a mosque.” Despite this seemingly uncontroversial proposal, he sends letters to representatives of every city in his empire requesting feedback on the matter, since “he would not want to proceed without the counsel of his subjects.” When he receives responses endorsing his proposal, he starts by assembling a group of builders who mark the foundations on the ground for his approval. Satisfied, he appoints two supervisors and has a treasury built for the funds that he puts at their disposal before returning to Damascus. When the structure is finally erected in 72/692, the supervisors write to 'Abd al-Malik announcing its completion under budget and declaring that “there is nothing left to be said about it.”<sup>114</sup> This declaration may have been intended to preempt the kinds of criticisms that had been lodged against other Umayyad building projects, but it may also have been intended to act as a conclusion to, and thus an acknowledgement of, the conversation that 'Abd al-Malik had opened with his subjects on the topic of the construction, reinforcing the image of community consensus behind the project.<sup>115</sup> Jerusalem is portrayed here as belonging to all Muslims, further evidenced by their rush to take advantage of the new prayer site as soon as it is opened.<sup>116</sup>

Although 'Abd al-Malik's original plan was described as a simple matter of protecting the Rock from the elements, the adornment of the final structure and the elaborate purification ceremony performed before its opening recall the splendor of Solomon's Temple and its association with purity. 'Abd al-Malik puts to use the funds remaining in the treasury after the completion of construction, funds that the building supervisors piously refuse to accept as a reward, by ordering them melted down to coat the dome in gold. The effect was so brilliant that “no one was able to gaze directly at it.” Moreover, elaborate purification rituals anointing the Rock with precious oils and filling the air with costly incense herald its opening for worshippers, such that those returning from a visit to the Dome of the Rock could be identified by their scent.<sup>117</sup> Further reinforcing these images reminiscent of the splendor and purity of Solomon's Temple are the prophetic words recited by Ka'b “from one of the scriptures (*ba'ḍ al-kutub*)” at the

end of the narrative: “*Irūshalāim*, which means Bayt al-Maqdis, and the Rock, which is called the Temple (*al-haykal*), I send to you my servant 'Abd al-Malik to build you and to adorn you. Truly, I will restore to Bayt al-Maqdis its first kingdom, and I will crown it in gold, silver, and pearls. Truly, I will send to you my creatures, and I will establish my throne upon the Rock. For I am the Lord God, and David is the king of the Israelites.”<sup>118</sup> This prophecy repeated by a known, if not uncontroversial, authority on sacred history identifies the Dome of the Rock with the Temple and identifies its builder, 'Abd al-Malik, with the restoration of the kingdom of David and Solomon. Apart from the obvious pro-Umayyad message of this tradition, it also acts as the seal on the foundation narrative presented in these two eleventh-century works. The conclusion of the narrative is a restoration not only of the house of worship built by Solomon but also of the political sovereignty once held by David in Jerusalem. The political authorities of early Islam, beginning with 'Umar and ending with 'Abd al-Malik, restore Jerusalem to its rightful place in sacred history. While this may accomplish the Islamization of the city, it does so by resurrecting the prophetic past and reinscribing it in urban space.

Baghdad

Baghdad (020083)

Baghdad's foundation narrative, by contrast, does not directly engage sacred history. Rather, it combines indirect references to prophecy and divine intervention with direct emphasis on political, military, and economic strategy in justifying and celebrating its origins. One obvious reason for this contrast is that Baghdad's foundation by the Abbasid Caliph al-Manṣūr in 145/762 postdated the coming of Islam by over a century and thus could not be seen as a sign of the antiquity of the Abrahamic tradition or of its culmination in Muḥammad's prophetic career. Nonetheless, in the 150 years that had passed since Muḥammad started receiving revelations from God, dissent, civil war, and revolution had divided the Islamic world. Some of these crises of political and religious authority find their way into the foundation narratives of Jerusalem and Mecca in the form of anti- and pro-Umayyad traditions. However, the foundation narrative for Baghdad represents it as a city that will finally unite Muslims under the Abbasid Caliphate both because of its physical centrality and connectivity and because of its founder's political authority. Thus, of the three cities under discussion, Baghdad's foundation narrative most clearly aspires to a break with the past, only this past is a state of Muslim disunity rather than unbelief. Even so, Baghdad's unifying power is attributed in the narrative to its ability to include rather than to exclude both what came before it and what lies outside of it, and al-Manṣūr is not portrayed as infallible, benefitting as much from negotiation and accommodation as from foresight and inspiration in founding his city.

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# The Age of the Seljuqs

*The Idea of Iran*

Volume VI

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# Baghdad: A View from the Edge on the Seljuq Empire<sup>1</sup>

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From its foundation in 145 (762), Baghdad and the Abbasid caliphate had an ambiguous relationship with Iran and the Persian culture. On the one hand, the new Abbasid capital was located further east than Umayyad Damascus. This demonstrated the interest of the new dynasty in the oriental Islamic provinces, as a political and religious movement that had met strong support in eastern lands, and especially in Khurāsān. On the other hand, a strong and open conflict soon opened between Iraq and the oriental provinces of Iran, culminating during the 'civil war' between the two sons of Hārūn al-Rashīd, in the early third (ninth) century, less than half a century after the foundation of Madīnat al-Salām. Moreover, Baghdad had since its foundation occupied a paradoxical position – at the political centre as the capital of a large empire, but located on the cultural border between the Persian and Arabic spheres of influence. During the first Abbasid period, it became an important cultural melting pot, contributing to the incorporation of the administrative and political traditions of ancient Persia into Arab-Islamic culture, a development that had already begun in the Umayyad period.

The Seljuq domination of Iraq, which lasted about a century (from the middle of the fifth [eleventh] to the middle of the sixth [twelfth] centuries), is usually considered to have both reinforced and renewed the Persian heritage in Iraq and in the wider Islamic world. These issues will be considered from a Baghdadi and Abbasid perspective – that is, for the period under consideration, a perspective from the edge on the Seljuq Empire and its Turco-Persian legacy.<sup>2</sup> The power balance between Abbasid caliphs and Seljuq sultans, and between their respective administrations, will be addressed first, emphasizing the Abbasid recovery after decades of Seljuq domination. The social and cultural consequences of the integration of Baghdad within an expansive eastern empire will then be considered from a local perspective.

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