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DEVIN DEWEESE

16 Ekim 2016

## Baghdad, from 1500 to Iraqi independence

**Baghdad**, spanning the banks of the Tigris at latitude 33°26'18" N, longitude 44°23'9" E, has been an important metropolis in the Muslim world since its founding in the second/eighth century. Its history **from 1500** reflects the importance of its strategic location, which often placed the city at the frontiers of imperial rivalries. In the tenth/sixteenth century,

Iraq was the battleground for the rivalry between two Turco-Muslim empires, the Ottomans and the Ṣafavids, the Twelver Shī'ī rulers of Iran (r. 907-1135/1501-1722). In 941/1534, the Ottoman army, led by Sultan Süleyman I (Sulaymān I, r. 926-74/1520-66), conquered Baghdad in the so-called Campaign of the Two Iraqs. Unlike the Ṣafavid rulers, who had destroyed many Sunnī shrines (here, the tombs of Abū Ḥanīfa, the eponym of the Ḥanafī school of law, d. 150/767, and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, the Ḥanbalī theologian and eponym of the Qādiriyya Sūfī order, d. 561/1166), Ottoman sultans rebuilt and renovated Sunnī as well as Twelver Shī'ī shrines, such as the tombs at Kāzīmāyn, in northern Baghdad, on the western bank of the Tigris. Kāzīmāyn, "the two Kāzims," refers to Mūsā al-Kāzīm and his grandson, Muḥammad al-Taqī, the seventh and eighth Twelver Shī'a imām, respectively. Sultan Süleyman stayed in Baghdad four months and laid the foundation for the Ottoman administration by stationing a Janissary garrison and ordering a survey of the land. The governors of Baghdad were chosen from among first-rank *wazīrs* and had influence over other provinces of Iraq as well, namely Mosul, Ṣehrīzūr (Shahrīzūr), and Basra. Similarly, the *qādī* of Baghdad held superior rank to that of *qādīs* of other Iraqi cities.

As several of the most important Twelver Shī'ī shrines were in Iraq, the Ṣafavid desire to control this region persisted even after the Ottoman conquest, making Baghdad an important frontier province from which the Ottoman defence against the Ṣafavids could be organised.

The first quarter of the tenth/sixteenth century witnessed growing Janissary power in Baghdad. One of the Janissaries, Bakr, the *subaşı* (town commander), soon rose in power and became a leading

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020083

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## Badajoz

The city of Badajoz is situated in western Spain near the Portuguese border. The name Badajoz is well documented in Arabic sources as Baṭalyūs and Baṭalyaws, probably an arabization of an earlier Latin name. According to the historiographer Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (1286), quoting Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 1076) in his *Kitāb al-Mughrib fī Ḥulā al-Maghrib*, the city was refounded by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Marwān al-Jiliqī during the emirate of ʿAbd Allāh (r. 888–912). It became a breakaway region from Umayyad central authority and was only taken back by Caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in 930.

In the taifa (party kings) period, Badajoz was a large and important kingdom ruled most of the time by the Aftasid Berber dynasty. The Jewish community of Badajoz gained importance when the city became the Aftasid capital.

The city's name appears as the *nisba* (relational name) of Judah al-Bargushī, the author of a Geniza letter addressed to Judah ha-Levi and written in 1040 or 1041. The Geniza letters of Ismāʿīl ibn Ishāq, a young merchant who dealt in silks and lived in Tyre and also in Egypt, mention the Jewish community of Badajoz in the eleventh century. The letters testify that the Jewish community of Badajoz maintained ties with other important Mediterranean Jewish centers.

The region was conquered by Christians in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, and the city of Badajoz fell in 1230. There is extant documentation about the Jewish community of Badajoz under Christian rule until the expulsion in 1492. The city then became an important frontier crossing on the route to Portugal taken by expelled Jews.

According to Lacave, Jews lived throughout the city until 1480, when the laws of the *apartamiento* (separation) were adopted. There were two synagogues, but neither of them is standing today.

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### 1. Medieval

Baghdad was founded by the caliph al-Manṣūr (r. 754–775) as the new capital of the Abbasid state and served as the seat of the caliphs till the Mongol conquest in 1258. Jews apparently settled in Baghdad from the very beginning, most of them arriving at first from neighboring towns in Iraq, and later from distant lands as well. At some point in the eighth century, Baghdad became the largest Jewish center in Iraq. Although most of the Jews in Baghdad were concentrated in the Dār al-Yāhūd quarter, many, especially merchants and tradesmen, lived elsewhere. Al-Karkh, a commercial district on the west side of the Tigris, was one such area. The bridge connecting al-Karkh was called Qanṭarat al-Yāhūd (The Jews' Bridge). The number of Jews who lived in Baghdad in the medieval period, as well as the size of the population as a whole, is difficult to estimate. According to various Muslim sources, in the tenth century Baghdad had a population that exceeded one million—no doubt an inflated number. As there were no reliable ways of calculating population at the time, even → Benjamin of Tudela's assessment that Baghdad had forty thousand Jews around 1170 should be taken with a grain of salt. → Petahiah of Regensburg, who visited Baghdad a little over a decade after Benjamin cites an equally unlikely estimate of only one thousand Jews (although if a thousand families is what he meant, this might be a more accurate figure). More plausible is Benjamin's account that Baghdad had twenty-eight synagogues and ten yeshivot. Since right before the Mongol conquest another report mentions only sixteen synagogues in the city, one may assume that

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Armed forces & military service

## Recent Constructions: How the Churches of Classical Baghdad Were Built

Joshua Mugler  
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- Kilise (111086)

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- Bağdat (020083)



This monastery is on the fertile ground by the Shammāsiyya Gate in Baghdad. . . It is lovely, with numerous trees and gardens. . . This monastery is large and is inhabited by monks, priests and ascetics. It is one of the places that people visit for amusement, and where they go to drink and to take walks. . . The Christians of Baghdad gather there, and everyone who loves pleasure and depravity follows them.

—Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Shābushtī (d. 388/998?)<sup>1</sup>

11 Ocak 2018

### Introduction

A standard doctrine in the works of most medieval Islamic jurists, often supported by recourse to the so-called “Pact of ‘Umar,” is that Christian, Jewish, and other non-Muslim populations living under Islamic rule should be allowed to retain their existing places of worship, but should not be allowed to construct new ones, or to make major renovations to those that already exist. This prohibition is meant to be especially stringent in newly-built Muslim cities, and typically extends even to the rebuilding of churches, synagogues,

<sup>1</sup> ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Shābushtī, *al-Diyārāt [Monasteries]*, ed. K. ‘Awwād (Baghdad: Maṭba‘at al-Ma‘ārif, 1966), 3–4. An alternative interpretation of this passage can be found in the French translation by Gérard Troupeau and Anne-Marie Eddé and the English translation by Françoise Micheau, suggesting that al-Shābushtī does not show any disapproval toward this sort of monastery visitation. From the Arabic terminology, it seems that the author disapproves of at least some elements of the practice, referring to it as “pleasure and depravity” (*al-lahw wa-l-khalā‘a*). The point, however, is that monasteries existed in Baghdad and were visited by both Christians and Muslims. Significantly, when Yāqūt quotes this passage, he replaces the entire final sentence with “the Christians and spectators gather there,” leaving out the moral ambivalence. A.-M. Eddé, F. Micheau, and C. Picard, *Communautés chrétiennes en pays d’islam du début du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle au milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: SEDES, 1997), 204; F. Micheau, “Baghdad in the Abbasid Era: A Cosmopolitan and Multi-Confessional Capital,” in *The City in the Islamic World*, ed. S. K. Jayyusi, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2008), i. 221–245: 238; Yāqūt b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Mu‘jam al-buldān [Dictionary of Countries]*, 5 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1956), ii. 509.

and other places of worship that have been destroyed in a riot or in war.<sup>2</sup> However, these theoretical strictures were not universally applied in the classical Islamic world, and whatever power they had to shape society seems to have been somewhat late in development. One obvious example in which these restrictions were not applied is the case of Baghdad, built in the second/eighth century by the ‘Abbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr (r. 136-158/754-775)—long after the Muslims had gained control of Iraq—and yet home to numerous churches, monasteries, and synagogues. In the early ‘Abbāsid era, non-Muslims remained the caliphate’s demographic majority and many of the court’s most noteworthy scholars and royal employees came from these communities. These prominent non-Muslims worshiped at churches and synagogues that were almost exclusively built after the Muslim conquest. Thus, any attempts on the part of legal scholars to prohibit the construction of non-Muslim places of worship in this early period seem to have failed. The lived reality of this period was no doubt far more complex than any later judicial theory would be likely to recognize.

In this article, I explore the origins of the churches and monasteries of Baghdad, to the degree that there is information available in the extant sources. Using both Christian and Muslim histories and descriptions of Baghdad (in both Syriac and Arabic), I have searched for information on the negotiation processes that led the caliphs to grant permission for Christians to construct places of worship in the earliest years of ‘Abbāsid rule. Though the history of Iraqi Judaism is largely outside my realm of expertise, it would be beneficial for a more knowledgeable scholar in that field to undertake a similar study of the history of Baghdad’s synagogues. The founding of a glorious new Islamic capital must have provided a prime site for intercommunal discussion and controversy on the topic of church construction. This paper sheds light on the negotiation processes that went into the real-world application (or lack thereof) of Islamic legal theory—then still in an inchoate stage of development—in the early ‘Abbāsid period, and on the ways that Muslims of this time period conceptualized the place of non-Muslims in their society.

### The Theory

Once the discourses of Islamic legal theory had become an established and influential part of society in the course of the controversies and societal shifts of the third/ninth century, the dominant voices within the juristic community argued that relations between Muslims and their non-Muslim subjects in lands under Islamic rule should be regulated

<sup>2</sup> A. M. Emon, *Religious Pluralism and Islamic Law: Dhimmīs and Others in the Empire of Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 119–123.

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played an important role in the establishment of autonomous cities. However, the Khurāsāni leaders of Tunisian autonomy were probably descendants of the Abbasid revolutionary soldiers of Khurāsāni origin (Tunis was an Arab cantonment founded during the Umayyad caliphate).

In marked contrast to Muslim citizens, the medieval northern Italian citizens were partly militarized. Bourgeois citizens eagerly imitated the lifestyle of knights, who had been forced to abandon their fortress-residences in the countryside and immigrate inside walled cities. Young citizens frequently received military training in the form of jousts, mock battles, palios and regattas, sometimes resulting in open struggles between youth organizations or between urban districts. These feasts and games facilitated the municipalities' control over young men. On the other hand, the youths, who opposed the value system of older generations and the old order they represented, organized themselves by adopting distinctive rules and ceremonies. They were prone to violence and burglary, provoking police forces on the streets.<sup>37</sup> In Islamic cities too, the people took advantage of youths' susceptibility to violence to form armed groups or militias. In al-Andalus and Ifrīqiya, however, the organization of lower- and middle-class people into militias lagged behind Syria, except the *dā'ira* and *jund al-baladiyyin* of Cordoba, and the citizens of Tunis trained as footmen.

Lastly, all the cities treated in this book included many Christians and to a lesser extent Jews, albeit minorities.<sup>38</sup> The Christians played an important role in the struggles of Damascus, Aleppo and Valencia (the Jews also in Damascus), but their activities were less obvious in other cases.

This study does not aim at a total revision or sharp criticism of older theories, but is intended as an overall survey of civic autonomous Muslim cities from Syria to al-Andalus during the later tenth to early twelfth centuries. Its theoretical framework is indebted to Weber's patrician and plebeian forms of domination, though these concepts are considerably remodeled. Despite rather short-term survival as compared with medieval European cities, autonomous cities did exist in medieval Islam in a more significant degree than has been hitherto considered.

One problem in conducting this kind of study is to tackle the often ornate, ambiguous style of Arabic texts open to different interpretations, especially Ibn Ḥayyān's *Matīn* and Ibn Bassām's *Dhakhira*. That is the reason why the author decided to quote rather lengthy English translations of key Arabic texts.

37 Crouzet-Pavan, A Flower of Evil, in *A History of Young People* i, 173–221; *Venice Triumphant* 249–51.

38 For a general survey of the Islamization of al-Andalus and Ifrīqiya see Valerian (ed.), *Islamisation et arabisation*. For recent works on the Arabization of Mozárabes and their struggle for survival see Christys, *Christians in Al-Andalus*; Aillet, *Les mozarabes*.

## Ninth-to-Eleventh-Century Baghdad: An Early Abortive Example

Bagdat (020083)

Civic movements and attempts at establishing patrician domination first developed in Baghdad since its plebeian resistance in support of the 'legitimate' Abbasid caliph al-Amīn (193–8/809–813) against the besieging Khurāsāni-Central Asian warriors dispatched by his brother al-Ma'mūn (198–218/813–33) during the years 196–8/812–3.<sup>1</sup> Militiamen of lower-class origin fought much more tenaciously than the privileged *abnā' al-dawla* (descendants of the Khurāsāni revolutionary warriors of Arab and Iranian origin). They were called 'ayyārūn (also called *dhu'ār*, *shuṭṭār*, *fussāq*, *ghawghā* and *andhāl*, generally meaning bad people),<sup>2</sup> either because they were thinly dressed ('urā, 'uryān),<sup>3</sup> or because they were paid in kind (e.g. corn, textile, gold, silver and bronze wares) in certain measures ('yārs).<sup>4</sup> Even after the Khurāsāni occupation of Baghdad its people, both *abnā'* and 'ayyārūn, continued their armed resistance against the Khurāsāni-Central Asian warriors, establishing their own rival government under the 'caliph' Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, until al-Ma'mūn's return to Baghdad in 204/819.<sup>5</sup>

In the absence of effective authority one important leader of *abnā'* origin, Abū Ḥātim Sahl b. Salāma al-Anṣārī, recruited the people of his neighborhood by distributing stipends and enjoined them to live according to the precepts of the Qur'ān and Sunna under the slogan of *al-amr bi-l-ma'rūf wa-n-nahy 'an al-munkar* (commanding right and forbidding wrong), tacitly ensuring the right of property. He went so far as to oppose Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī's

1 For the siege of Baghdad see Shaban, *Islamic History* 2 41–7; Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate* 135–63; *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* 148–54.

2 Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* iii, 849, 858, 865–7, 872–907.

3 Ṭabarī, iii, 896–7.

4 Ṭabarī, iii, 869, 897; Shaban, *Islamic History* 2 45. For the late appearance of the word 'ayyār in classical Arabic dictionaries and, moreover, the attribution of strange meanings to it see Tor, *Violent Order* 27–34, esp. 51, note 64; 'Ayyār, in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, 2014–1, 38–40. Tor, disregarding Baghdadi 'ayyārūn, propounded his theory of *mutaṭawwi'a* (frontier volunteer jihadist warriors) origin of 'ayyārūn in both Byzantine Thughūr and Sīstāni frontiers with Zābulistān (land of the king Zūnbīl, modern Ghazni region). *Violent Order* 46, 51 (note 64), 81–4.

5 Ṭabarī, iii, 1008–12, 1023–5, 1034–6, 1075.

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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'd 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.

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SÜ. RA CELEN DOKÜMAN

02 Temmuz 2018

# The Place to Go: Contexts of Learning in Baghdād, 750–1000 C.E.

Edited by  
Jens Scheiner & Damien Janos

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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02 Kasım 2019

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Bagdad  
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## Baghdād: Political Metropolis and Intellectual Center<sup>1</sup>

Jens Scheiner & Damien Janos  
(Courant Research Center "Education and Religion (EDRIS)",  
Göttingen)

### 1.1 Urban Development of Baghdād (1<sup>st</sup>/7<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup>/ 11<sup>th</sup> cent.)

It was on a day in Šafar 204/August 819 that the 'Abbāsīd caliph 'Abd Allāh b. Hārūn al-Ma'mūn (r. 197–218/813–833) entered Baghdād after his stay in Khurāsān for several years.<sup>2</sup> As an (almost) contemporary historian reports:

<sup>1</sup> The following essay offers a general sketch of the political and social history of Baghdād and its environment in the pre-*madrassa* period, i.e. from the 1<sup>st</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> centuries. Economical developments in this period are mentioned only very briefly. For further information about these factors in Baghdād's society, for which evidence is very limited, see Cahen, Claude: L'évolution de l'iqṭā' du IX<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Contribution à une histoire comparée-des-sociétés médiévales. In: *Annales* 7 (1953), pp.25–38. [Reprint in idem: *Les peuples musulmans dans l'histoire médiévale*. Damascus 1977, pp. 231–269]; on the economy of landholding (in the case of al-Basra) see Morony, Michael G.: Landholding and Social Change. Lower al-'Irāq in the Early Islamic Period. In: Khalidi, Tarif (ed.), *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*. Beirut 1984, pp. 209–222; for recent case studies on the economic history of the Middle East see the various publications by Maya Shatzmiller and her research unit. This paper was written within the context of the Courant Research Center "Education and Religion (EDRIS)", of the University of Göttingen, which was funded by the German Initiative of Excellence.

<sup>2</sup> The day was presumably Šafar 11, i.e. August 7, as argued by Keller. See Keller, Hans: *Das Kitāb Bagdād von Abu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad Ibn Abī Tāhīr Ṭāifūr*. Folio 1–26. PhD dissertation. Leipzig 1898, p. 14, n. 1. However, this date is disputed. In another

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## Court Astrologers and Historical Writing in Early Abbāsīd Baghdād: An Appraisal\*

Antoine Borrut

(University of Maryland, College Park)

*Tell the astrologer on my behalf that I  
am an unbeliever in the judgment of the stars  
A believer in that all that was and will be  
is the necessary decree of the all powerful<sup>1</sup>*

It seems especially relevant to talk about astrologers in a volume dedicated to scholarly circles in Abbāsīd Baghdād given the pivotal role they played in the foundation of the city. Indeed, as noted chiefly by al-Ya'qūbī (d. after 292/905), several of them—namely Nawbakht al-Fārisī (d. ca. 160/777),<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī (d. between

\* I am grateful to Paul M. Cobb, Muriel Debié, Ahmet T. Karamustafa, George Saliba, and Sarah Bowen Savant for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this article. This exploratory article is part of a broader project on the much-neglected genre of astrological histories and on alternative forms of historical writing in early Islam.

<sup>1</sup> *Ballighā 'annī l-munajjima annī / kāfirun bi-l-ladhī qaḍathu l-kawākibu / mu' minun anna mā yakūnu wa-mā kāna / qaḍā' un minā l-muḥayyini wājibu*. These verses are attributed to al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. between 160–75/776–91) by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) in his *Risāla fi 'ilm al-nujūm*, and quoted by Saliba, George: *The Role of the Astrologer in Medieval Islamic Society*. In: *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 44 (1992), p. 46, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See in particular Mūsā b. al-Nawbakht [=Mūsā Ibn Nawbaht]: *Al-kitāb al-kāmil. Horoscopes Históricos*. Ed./Tr. Ana Labarta. Madrid 1982, p. 16.

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