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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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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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ARTURO PRATS

Baghdad 020083
 aut. Ariel Z. Ahram

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
Georgetown University

- 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?)¹

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,

¹ ‘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^e siècle au milieu du XI^e 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.² 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 ‘Abbāsīd 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 ‘Abbāsīd 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 ‘Abbāsīd 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 ‘Abbāsīd 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

² 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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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 powerful¹*

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),² 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.

¹ *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.

² 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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