

zamān 16 (1348–9sh/1969–70), 326–33; Nūr al-Dīn Jaʿfar Badakhshī, *Khulāṣat al-manāqib (dar manāqib-i Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī)*, ed. Sayyida Ashraf Zafar, Islamabad 1374/1995; Nūr al-Dīn Jaʿfar Badakhshī, *Khulāṣat al-manāqib*, Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, MS 2312/XXIV, fols. 304b–358b, described (without mention of the date) in A. A. Semenov (ed.), *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii nauk Uzbekskoi SSR* (vol. 3 Tashkent 1955), 255, no. 2391; Johann Karl Teufel, *Eine Lebensbeschreibung des Scheichs Alī-i Hamadānī (gestorben 1385). Die Xulāṣat ul-Manāqib des Maulānā Nūr ud-Dīn Caʿfar-i Badaxšī*, ed. Johann Karl Teufel, Leiden 1962; Ḥusayn Karbalāʾī Tabrīzī, Ibn Karbalāʾī, *Rawḍat al-jinān va jannāt al-janān*, ed. Jaʿfar Sultān al-Qurrāʾī, 2 vols., Tehran 1344–49sh/1965–70; Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Felix Tauer, Prague 1937, repr. Tehran 1363Sh/1984.

STUDIES

Devin DeWeese, The eclipse of the Kubravīyah in Central Asia, *Iranian Studies* 21/1–2 (1988), 45–83; Devin DeWeese, Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī and Kubrawī hagiographical traditions, in *The legacy of mediaeval Persian Sufism*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn (London 1992), 121–58; Ali Asgar Hekmat, Les voyages d'un mystique persan de Hamadān au Kashmir, *JĀ* 240 (1952), 53–66; Muḥammad Riyāḍ, *Aḥwāl va āthār va ashʿār-i Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī, bā shash risāla az way* (Islamabad 1370/1991²), 81–3.

DEVIN DEWEESE

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 Shīʿī 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 ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, the Ḥanbalī theologian and eponym of the Qādiriyya Ṣūfī order, d. 561/1166), Ottoman sultans rebuilt and renovated Sunnī as well as Twelver Shīʿī 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 Shīʿa *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, Şehrīzor (Shahrīzūr), and Basra. Similarly, the *qāḍī* of Baghdad held superior rank to that of *qāḍīs* of other Iraqi cities.

As several of the most important Twelver Shīʿī 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

figure in the city. When he eliminated Yūsuf Pasha, the *beylerbeyi* (*beğlerbeği*, governor-general) of Baghdad, the Sublime Porte declared him a rebel and sent an army led by Hafız Ahmed (Hāfız Aḥmad) Pasha, *beylerbeyi* of Diyarbakır. Bakr's uprising against the Ottoman authority provided an opportunity for the Şafavid Shāh 'Abbās I (r. 995–1038/1587–1629) and resulted in the submission of the city to the Şafavids. Baghdad remained in the hands of the Şafavids for fifteen years, from 1032/1623 to 1048/1638. After unsuccessful attempts by the Ottomans to recapture Baghdad in 1034–5/1625–6 and 1038–9/1629–30, Sultan Murad IV (Murād IV, r. 1032–49/1623–40) and his forces reconquered the city after a forty-day siege, in 1048/1638. The sultan remained there several months and ordered general repairs and restorations in the city. The Qaşr-i Shīrīn Treaty, signed after the recapture, delineated the border and provided relative peace for the rest of the eleventh/seventeenth century.

Unlike in northern Iraq, the *timar* (*tīmār*, “fief”) system was only partially applied in the province of Baghdad. While some of the *sancaks* (sub-provinces) of Baghdad were under the *timar* system, others were ruled as *salyaneli* (in which the provincial ruler sent a fixed amount of tax to the Sublime Porte after meeting the local administrative and military expenses). This meant relative autonomy in provincial administration. In time, the *timar/salyaneli* distinction became more clearly delineated, and while Mosul retained the *timar* system, Baghdad and Basra were allocated to tax-farmers.

The relatively long governorates of Hasan (Hasan) Pasha (r. 1116–36/1704–24) and his son Ahmed (Aḥmad) Pasha (r. 1136–60/1724–47) were the harbinger of a new period, in that they established

an *enderun*-like school (a palace school for training recruits for the imperial bureaucracy and army) and recruited Mamlūks of Georgian, Abkhazian, and Circassian origin for the provincial army and bureaucracy. The first half of the twelfth/eighteenth century witnessed the development of a largely autonomous provincial administration and the governors even managed to create a kind of dynasty.

The fall of the Şafavids in 1135/1722 presented an opening for the Ottomans to invade the region of Hamadān. Similarly, Iranian claims to Iraqi territories led to several attempts to occupy Iraqi provinces. Nādir Shāh (r. 1148–61/1736–48), the founder of the Afshārid dynasty, which replaced the Şafavids, laid siege to Baghdad in 1150/1737 and again in 1156/1743, and these offensives were met by the Ottoman governor, Ahmed Pasha. The governorship of Süleyman Pasha (r. 1162–75/1749–62), who became Ahmed Pasha's son-in-law, marks the beginning of largely autonomous Mamlūk rule, which lasted until 1831. The Mamlūks succeeded in controlling the Janissaries and restoring order. The attempts of the Sublime Porte to appoint governors from Istanbul were in vain. During this period more than ten governors served in Baghdad; among them, Süleyman (Sulaymān) the Great (r. 1194–1216/1780–1802) represents the heyday of Mamlūk power. During this period, the authority of the governor in Baghdad extended to include Basra and Shahrizūr. The last Mamlūk governor, Dāwūd Pasha (r. 1812–31), came to the forefront with his contribution to the modernisation of Baghdad, particularly with respect to the provincial army and industry.

European influence began to be felt by the early nineteenth century, and a modern munitions factory and a lithographic

press were opened by Dāwūd Pasha. European technicians, engineers, and a French military adviser were brought to Baghdad. British economic influence considerably increased and the British consul at Baghdad became one of the influential figures of the city.

The destruction of Shīrī shrines in Karbalā', in 1216/1802, by the Wahhābīs, the inability of the Mamlūk governors to meet this threat, the decreasing revenue from taxes, and the murder of the *defterdar* (treasurer) Sadık (Şādiq) Efendi by Dāwūd Pasha in the early 1830s forced the Sublime Porte to intervene in the politics of the province. The semi-autonomous character of the Mamlūk regime was not compatible with the centralising policies of Sultan Mahmud II (Maḥmūd II, r. 1223–55/1808–39); consequently, an army under the command of Ali Rıza ('Alī Riḏā) Pasha, then governor of Diyarbakır, marched to Baghdad in 1831. An outbreak of plague and a major flood facilitated the defeat of the Mamlūk forces and the re-assertion of Ottoman direct rule later that year.

Ali Rıza Pasha's eleven-year rule (1831–42) in Baghdad meant the restoration of Ottoman central authority in the city. The Tanzimat (Tanzīmāt) period in Baghdad witnessed centralisation and modernisation under governors Nacib (Najīb) Pasha (1842–9), Raşid (Rashīd) Pasha (1852–7), Namık (Nāmiq) Pasha (1851–2, 1861–8), and Midhat (Midḥat) Pasha (1869–72).

Baghdad became the centre of the newly created Ottoman Sixth Army in 1848. Built upon the remnants of Dāwūd's army and Ali Rıza Pasha's forces, the Sixth Army gradually increased in numbers, reaching 15,000 soldiers in 1867. The Sixth Army played a significant role in Iraqi state building, not only because it

became the nucleus of the modern Iraqi army, but also because many officers were to play important roles in the Iraqi army during the 1920s and 1930s (including Ja'far al-'Askarī and Nūrī al-Sa'īd). Limited conscription in Baghdad, which started during the governorship of Namık Pasha in the late 1860s, gradually expanded to include Mosul and Basra in the next decades.

Under Ottoman rule, Baghdad was a walled city. The length of the walls given in the different sources varies. While Katip (Kātīb) Çelebi (d. 1067/1657), the most conspicuous and productive scholar of the eleventh/seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire, mentions 12,000 *dhirā'* (cubits) as the length of the wall, the traveller Evliya Çelebi (d. after 1095/1684) registers 28,800 *dhirā'*. According to the same sources, it was 60 *dhirā'* high and 10–15 *dhirā'* broad. The walls had between 150 and 200 towers, as well as four gates on the land side and one on the water side: Tillisim Gate, which was walled up just after the Ottoman recapture of the city in 1048/1638, Bāb al-Imām al-'Azzām to the north, Bāb Kalwadha (Ott. Karanlık Kapu, or "Dark Gate") to the south, and al-Bāb al-Waştānī (Middle Gate, Ott. Ak Kapu, or "White Gate") to the east. Sultan Murad IV had already renovated parts of the wall; similarly the Mamlūk governor Sulaymān the Great ordered a comprehensive restoration. During Midhat Pasha's governorship, the walls were destroyed to make way for urban development outside the city walls. The provincial administrative headquarters was located in the Ruşāfa section of Baghdad, but Midhat Pasha encouraged the enlargement of the city towards Karkh, to the west.

The nineteenth century, and the Tanzimat period in particular, was a time when almost all aspects of life in

Baghdad underwent rapid change and overall improvement. The state, rather than pious endowments (*waqfs*), began to assume more responsibility in public works. An important result of this was the striking improvements in communication and education. Naval communication improved significantly. The river navigation that had begun in the 1840s was further advanced by the purchase of steamers during the governorships of Raṣīd Pasha and Namik Pasha. By the time of Midhat Pasha, river steamers were navigating between Mosul and Basra and, with the improvement of the harbour in Basra, steamers began to transport the people of Iraq to Jidda, Alexandria, Izmir, Istanbul, Marseille, and London. Moreover, the second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the construction of bridges and improvement of the road network, especially between the sub-provinces of Baghdad, such as Sulaymāniyya-Kirkuk and Kirkuk-Mosul-Baghdad. The telegraph line between Istanbul and Baghdad was completed in 1861 and was further extended to Basra by the end of 1863. By the mid-1860s, direct telegraph communication between Europe and India via Fao, Baghdad, and Istanbul was operational, and the telegraph network was extended in many directions, to Ḥilla, Diwāniyya, al-ʿAmāra, and Khānaqīn. Similar developments took place with the printing press. Dāwūd Pasha's lithographic press had disappeared during the cataclysmic events of 1831–2—an outbreak of the plague and a major flood—and it was only in 1869 that Midhat Pasha established a new printing press and published the first newspaper of modern Iraq, namely *al-Ẓawrāʾ*. Midhat Pasha also built a seven-kilometre tramline between Kāzimiyya, a northern suburb of Baghdad, and Baghdad. The

tram was pulled by horses and remained in service until the establishment of the Municipal Bus Management in the 1930s.

The implementation of the Vilayet (Wilāyāt) Law of 1864 and the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 in Baghdad were part of the most important Tanzimat reforms. With the Vilayet Law, the province was divided into ten sub-provinces, of which Baghdad became the administrative centre. The province of Baghdad was re-mapped in accordance with the hierarchy of province (*vilayet*)—sub-province (*sancak*)—county (*kaza*)—sub-county (*nahiye*)—village (*karye*). The law aimed to standardise provincial administration and facilitate participation of the local populace in provincial politics through councils at various levels.

On the other hand, the Land Code, a goal of which was the individual registration of land, aimed at weakening the tribal structure in the province. Although the reform resulted in the development of agricultural lands and a rise in agricultural production, it was not entirely successful. Contrary to its initial purpose of registering lands to individuals, because of fear of taxation and conscription, the lands were instead registered on behalf of tribal *shaykhs* and urban merchants. In time, thanks to the gradual integration of Iraq into the world economy, export-oriented agricultural production made land more valuable than ever. It was for this reason that Sultan Abdülhamid II (ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, r. 1293–1327/1876–1909) significantly restricted further land registration by 1881 and bought significant portions of the cultivated land.

In Baghdad, epidemics, especially the plague, severely affected the urban population and political events. Despite demographic fluctuations, by the end of

the nineteenth century, the population in Baghdad City was about 150,000, of which Jews constituted the greatest non-Muslim community, with a population of approximately 50,000. As the result of reforms aimed at centralisation and detribalisation, the percentage of nomads declined from 35 percent in 1867 to 17 percent in 1905 in the province of Baghdad (see Hasan, 349, 352).

While Abdülhamid II's politics of notables and pan-Islamism were welcomed by the people of Baghdad, the population remained generally unaffected by political changes occurring in Istanbul. In the Ottoman parliament that was re-established after the Young Turk revolution of 1908, Iraqi representatives constituted roughly one quarter of the total of Arab representatives, with their number reaching twenty-five by the beginning of World War I.

After the start of World War I, the Anglo-Indian Expeditionary Forces landed at Fao, on 6 November 1914. Basra fell without major resistance and this encouraged British forces to advance towards Baghdad. However, by November 1915, British forces had been defeated in Kūt al-ʿAmāra where the British commander, General Charles Townshend, surrendered and thousands became prisoners. With reinforcement of the British army, a new offensive succeeded and captured Baghdad in March 1917.

World War I brought Ottoman rule to an end, and the League of Nations awarded the mandate for Iraq to Britain in 1920. This resulted in a nationwide revolt in Iraq, where different communities—Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, tribes and urban populations—came together in a common effort to oppose the mandate. In March 1921 the Cairo Conference set the new

parameters of Iraqi political life: Fayṣal (1885–1933), a son of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (*amīr* of Mecca, 1908–16, and king of the Ḥijāz, 1916–24) became the first monarch of the Kingdom of Iraq. The new Iraqi state owed much to its Ottoman institutional background, especially in the creation of the Iraqi army in 1921, but the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1922 made Iraq politically and economically dependent on Britain. While the treaty was renewed in 1930, Iraq gradually became an independent state, with the end of the British mandate in 1932.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ʿAbbās ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāq bayn al-ihtilālāyn (1258–1917)*, 8 vols., Baghdad 1935–56; ʿAbbās ʿAzzāwī, *Ashāʾir al-ʿIrāq*, 4 vols., Baghdad 1937; Hanna Batatu, *The old social classes and revolutionary movements of Iraq. A study of Iraq's old landed and commercial classes and of its Communists, Baʿthists, and Free Officers*, Princeton 1973; James Silk Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London 1827; Mehdi Jawad Habib al-Bustani, *Bağdattaki kölemen hakimiyetinin tesisi ve kaldırılması ile Ali Rıza Paşa'nın valiliği, 1749–1842*, Ph.D. diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi 1979; Ebubekir Ceylan, *The Ottoman origins of modern Iraq*, London 2011; Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, Istanbul 1314/1896–7; Kātīb Çelebi, *Ḥihannümā*, Istanbul 1145/1732–3; Sulaymān Fāʾiq, *Taʾrīkh al-Mamālīk fī Bağhdād*, Baghdad, Library of the Department of Antiquities, MS 1227; Mohammad Salman Hasan, Growth and structure of Iraq's population, 1867–1947, *Bulletin of the Oxford University Institute of Economics and Statistics* 20 (1958), 349, 352; James Felix Jones, *Memoirs of Baghdad, Kurdistan and Turkish Arabia, 1857. Selections from the records of the Bombay Government, No. XLIII*, Slough 1998; Rasūl Ḥawī Kirkūklī, *Dawḥat al-wuzarāʾ*, al-Kāẓimiyya 1830; Thomas Lier, *Haushalte und Haushaltspolitik in Bagdad 1704–1831*, Würzburg 2004; Stephen H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925; John Gordon Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʿOmān, and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1925; Nasuh bin Abdullah Matrakçı

Nasuh, *Beyân-ı menâzil-i sefer-i İrâkeyn-i Sultân Süleymân Hân*, 971/1564, compiled by Hüseyin G. Yurdayayın, Ankara 1976; Nazmizâde Murtaḍâ, *Gulshan-i Khulafâ*, Istanbul 1143/1730; Tom Nieuwenhuis, *Politics and society in early modern Iraq. Manlûk pashas, tribal shayks and local rule between 1802 and 1831*, The Hague 1981; Sabit, *Bağdatta kölemen hükümetinin teşkiliyle inkırazına dair risaledir*, Istanbul 1292/1875; Peter Sluglett, *Britain in Iraq. Contriving king and country*, London 2007; Abdullah A. J. Thabit, *A short history of Iraq. From 636 to the present*, London 2003; *al-Zawwâ*’, official newspaper of Baghdad province.

EBUBEKİR CEYLAN

Bayramiyye

The **Bayramiyye** (Bayrâmiyya) is a Turkish Şūfî order that emerged in Ankara during the ninth/fifteenth century. Its founder was Hacı Bayram-ı Veli (Ḥājjī Bayrām Walī, d. 833/1429–30), a disciple of Hamidüddin Aksarayı (Ḥamīd al-Dīn Aqşarāyī), known as Somuncu Baba, the “bread-maker saint” (d. 815/1412).

The latter received his spiritual authority from Hacı Ali (Khawāja ‘Alī, d. 832/1429), grandson of Şafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī (d. 735/1334), an influential *shaykh* of the Khalwatī lineage who would later become the founding father of the Şafavids, as the order he established became more Shī‘ī and politically ambitious in the next few decades. One of his great-grandsons, Shaykh İsmā‘īl, would become the arch-enemy of the Ottoman dynasty at the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century. Perhaps that is why some sources also mention a Naqshabandī genealogy that emphasises the time Hamidüddin spent in a Naqshabandī convent before he became a disciple of Hacı Ali. This association, however, is hardly convincing and might

have been encouraged by an effort to de-emphasise the Şafavid origins of the order.

The founding saint, Hacı Bayram-ı Veli, has been depicted in conflicting ways in various Ottoman sources. Most of these describe him as a former *madrasa* teacher who was well educated in Islamic theology. While repeated in this manner in hagiological writings until recently, this trend changed with the discovery of a new source, Askeri (‘Askarī, d. 957/15550)’s *Mir’âtü’l-ışk* (*Mir’at al-‘ıshq*, “The mirror of love”), written in 957/1550 (Askeri was a disciple of Pir Ali Aksarayı (Pir ‘Alī Aqşarāyī, d. 945/1539), who belonged to the Melami (Malāmī) branch). Accordingly, Hacı Bayram had been a high-ranking soldier who fought in the battle of Ankara between the Ottomans and the Tīmūrīds in 804/1402. During the chaotic period in Anatolia following this battle, Hacı Bayram became a disciple to Hamidüddin Aksarayı and was eventually authorised to establish a community in Ankara. His influence grew, and, after a period of hostility between him and the sultan, Murad (Murād) II (r. 824–48 and 850–5/1421–44 and 1446–51), the *shaykh* received official support from the Ottoman household. Today, Hacı Bayram Veli Mosque marks the first location of the Bayrami community in Ankara and bears witness to the *shaykh*’s importance to the city.

The earliest detailed view of the Bayramiyye can be found in the writings of Hacı Bayram’s successor, Akşemseddin (Aq Shams al-Dīn, d. 863/1459). One of his treatises, written in Arabic and translated into Turkish under the title *Kāşifü’l-müşkilât* (*Kāshif al-mushkilât*, “Removal of the difficulties”), aimed to harmonise Şūfī practices with the authoritative sources of Islam. According to the prac-