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أقوال الخلفين الراشدين  
أبي بكر وعمر رضي الله عنهما  
دراسة أصولية

د. عبد العزيز محمد إبراهيم العويد (\*)

28 Mayıs 2017

MADDE YAMINLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

(\*) أستاذ مشارك بقسم أصول الفقه، كلية الشريعة والدراسات الإسلامية، جامعة القصيم، المملكة العربية السعودية.

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فصلية علمية محكمة تصدر عن مجلس النشر العلمي بجامعة الكويت  
تسعى بالبحوث والدراسات الإسلامية

رجب: ١٤٣٤ هـ  
يونيو: ٢٠١٣ م

السنة: الثامنة والعشرون  
العدد: الثالث والتسعون

253950

# Jews, Christians and Muslims in Medieval and Early Modern Times

*A Festschrift in Honor of Mark R. Cohen*

Edited by

Arnold E. Franklin  
Roxani Eleni Margariti  
Marina Rustow  
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MADE YANIMLANDIKTAN  
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## The Muḥammadan Stipulations: *Dhimmī* Versions of the Pact of 'Umar

Phillip I. Ackerman-Lieberman

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In his important 1999 article, "What was the Pact of 'Umar? A Literary-Historical Study,"<sup>1</sup> Mark Cohen sets out to "make sense of the puzzling literary frame of the text" of the pact as a letter addressed to conquering Muslim forces by vanquished *dhimmī* communities, subsequently returned to the *dhimmīs* with the conqueror's endorsement. It is easy to see why Cohen focuses on the literary frame: as he points out, there are significant parallels to the letter-form in the formulae for peace treaties that appear in chancery manuals, but the Pact of 'Umar per se is not to be found among these peace treaties; and when Islamic chronicles do recapitulate a letter or agreement between victors and vanquished (such as in al-Ṭabarī's account of 'Umar's conquest of Jerusalem in 638 CE), it is the former who compose the missive to the latter—suggesting that the Pact of 'Umar itself is not an ordinary peace treaty.<sup>2</sup> As Cohen notes, other early accounts of *dhimmī* stipulations avoid the letter-form entirely.<sup>3</sup> Part and parcel of what Cohen describes as the "authentic" pact in terms of its form, drawn from the *Sirāj al-mulūk* of the twelfth-century Andalusī jurist al-Ṭurṭūshī, is a confirmation or "amendment clause" noting that the letter suing for peace was brought to the caliph and subsequently confirmed by him—and, in al-Ṭurṭūshī's version, even amended by him prior to its confirmation. Pointing to legal compendia that dispense with the literary form of the pact yet nonetheless indicate that the conquered peoples sued for

- 1 Mark R. Cohen, "What was the Pact of 'Umar? A Literary-Historical Study," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 23 (1999): 100–57.
- 2 Thus, Yohanan Friedmann translates "He ['Umar] wrote for them the peace conditions." Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī: An Annotated Translation*, ed. Yohanan Friedmann (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 12191, in accordance with the Arabic text "*wa-kataba lahum fihā l-ṣulh*," Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-Ṭabarī*, ed. Ṣidqī Jamīl al-ʿAṭṭār (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1998), 4190. Note, too, al-Balādhurī's report that Muḥammad himself wrote the peace treaty with the Jews of Maqna (Aḥmad b. Yahyā al-Balādhurī, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, ed. and trans. Philip Khuri Hitti and Francis Clark Murgotten (New York: AMS Press, 1968), 93; Aḥmad b. Yahyā al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. Ridwān Muḥammad Ridwān [Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1991], 71).
- 3 See, for example, Abū Yūsuf's *Kitāb al-kharāj* (Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, *Taxation in Islām*, ed. and trans. A. Ben Shemesh, [Leiden: Brill, 1969], 3:92ff).

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HİBRI, Tayeb el-. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and the Abbasids. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 136 iv (2016) pp. 763-783. Argues "that in the historical texts the image of 'Umar as caliph and orthodox example is heavily dependent on the image of the Abbasids, and that the latter in turn used the biography of 'Umar as an occasion to build their centrality as rulers and official purveyors of Islamic law."

ömr b. Hatlab  
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موقف عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه من منعة الحج  
(دراسة وتحقيق)

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(\*) مدرس بقسم التفسير والحديث - بكلية الشريعة والدراسات الإسلامية - جامعة الكويت.

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*Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, vol. 65, no. 1, 2017 Karachi*

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**AN ANALYSIS OF THE EXPANSION OF THE  
MOSQUE OF THE PROPHET (ﷺ) BY  
CALIPH 'UMAR B. AL-KHATTĀB (رضي الله عنه)**  
(d. 24 A.H./744 C.E.)

*Mescid-i Nebevi (131070)*

1-2 Ocak 2018

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*— Omer (150133)*

This paper discusses the expansion of the mosque of the Prophet (ﷺ) in Madinah by Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khattāb (رضي الله عنه). The paper concludes that the undertaking was in full consonance both with the spiritual benchmarks of the Islamic message and the emerging socio-cultural *Traditions* and norms of the nascent Muslim community. So significant was the expansion and at such a critical juncture in the Muslim history, that it set some high standards for the future development and nurturing of the spiritual as well as human dimensions in the sphere of Muslim architecture. The main discussion of the paper focuses on three vital dimensions of the Mosque expansion which proved significant for the early development of the authentic identity of Muslim architecture: the role of consultation and mutual agreements, which is tantamount to what is today called public participation in architecture; the significance and impact of the dynamic process of institutionalization of the mosque of the Prophet (ﷺ) myriad religious, educational, social, cultural and political activities; and the austere, yet judicious, views of 'Umar b. al-Khattāb (رضي الله عنه) on architecture which, by and large, reverberated the core of the Islamic attitude towards the prospect of erecting buildings. The three dimensions are dealt with after the main physical features of the Mosque's expansion have been expounded. The paper also shows that so interwoven were the evolution of Muslim architectural identity and the community development processes in Islam, that successfully investigating the former without systematically referring to the latter can never be complete. Thus, the orb of Muslim architecture, both as a concept and sensory reality, should always be seen as a multidimensional, universal, fluid, vibrant, expressive and as much scientific, technological and applied, as spiritual, educational and ethical, phenomenon.

**Keywords:** 'Umar b. al-Khattāb (رضي الله عنه); The mosque of the Prophet's (ﷺ); Expansion, Madinah.

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MADE YAMMLANDIKITAN  
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حدیث ۴۸۳؛ مصادر فقه الشیعه، ۱۲۳/۱؛ روضة المتقین، ۲۱۱/۱۴؛  
بحار الانوار، ۲۲۰/۱۲؛ تنقیح المقال، ۳۴۲/۲؛ جامع الرواة، ۶۳۳/۱؛ معجم  
رجال الحديث، ۳۱/۱۳. سیدمهدی حائری

**عُمَرُ بن حَنَظَلَة**، (۴۰ قبل از هـ - ۲۳ هـ) عمر بن خطاب  
بن نُفَیل قرشی عَدَوِی. مُکَتَّبٌ به ابوحفص و ملقب به فاروق، خلیفه  
دوم از خلفای راشدین و یکی از مردان مشهور اسلام، و اولین  
خلیفه‌ای که امیرالمؤمنین خوانده شد.

عمر از قبیلهٔ قریش و از تیرهٔ عَدَوِی ابن کَعْب بود. لقب  
فاروق، به معنی فرق گذارنده (بین حق و باطل) را پیروان ادیان  
دیگر به او داده‌اند. مادرش حَنَنَمَة دختر هاشم ابن مُغیره مخزومی  
بود. پسرش عبدالله ابن عمر که از راویان بزرگ است و دخترش  
حفصه که زن حضرت رسول (ص) بود، هر دو از زن او به نام زینب  
بنت مظعون بودند. پسر دیگرش عُبَیدالله، قاتل هرمزان، که در جنگ  
صِفِّین در صف معاویه کشته شد، از زن دیگرش به نام مُلَیکه بنت  
جَرَّوَل خُزاعی بود. یکی از زنان عمر، ام کلثوم، دختر علی (ع) بود.  
زندگی و خصایص/اخلاقی عمر، عمر در زندگی شخصی،  
ساده و بی آرایش بود، بدین معنی که حکومت اسلامی را محفوظ  
می‌داشت و حیثیات بیرونی آن را مراعات می‌نمود، هر چند که شیوه  
او باروش حضرت رسول (ص) متفاوت بوده، چنان که تاریخ به  
وضوح گواه این مدعی است.

عمر را مردی بلند قد و گندمگون و بعضی او را با چهره‌ای متمایل  
به سرخی معرفی کرده‌اند. وی مردی با اراده و قوی، دارای قدرت  
تصمیم‌گیری، باصلابت و با مهابت، ولی با همهٔ اینها گاهی نرم  
می‌شد و به رقت می‌آمد. این حال را می‌توان در اسلام آوردن او  
مشاهده کرد. او نخست خواهر و شوهر خواهر خود را که اسلام  
آورده بودند کتک زد، ولی پس از آنکه آیاتی از سورهٔ «طه» را که  
نزد ایشان بود خواند، به رقت آمد و بلافاصله پیش پیامبر (ص) رفت  
و اسلام آورد.

اسلام آوردن شخصیتی قوی مانند عمر مایهٔ قوت قلب و  
اسلام آوردن ۴۵ مرد و ۲۱ زن گردید. عبدالله بن مسعود می‌گوید:  
ما اسلام آوردن نخستین ابتدا نمی‌توانستیم در کعبه نماز بگذاریم، و  
چون عمر اسلام آورد چندان با مشرکان مبارزه کرد که توانستیم در  
کعبه نماز بخوانیم. در متون تاریخی عمر مردی بی باک معرفی  
می‌شود و در عین حال به اندازهٔ حضرت علی (ع) باخبر از احکام  
دین نبوده است. ابن ابی الحدید معتزلی دانشمند نامی در مورد صفت  
بی باکی و خصایص اخلاقی عمر می‌نویسد: که وی گاه متانت در

بود، خسته و بی حال شده ولی توانست قاتل برادرش زَجْرین بدر  
الجُحفی و عُقبَة العَتَوِی را به قتل برساند. سپس بی حال بر زمین  
افتاد و به شهادت رسید، رضوانُ اللّٰه عَلَیْهِ. امام (ع) به سوی او  
شتافت و پیکر مطهر وی را به خیمهٔ مخصوص شهدای بنی هاشم  
منتقل فرمودند که بعداً توسط قبیلهٔ بنی اسد در مقبرهٔ دسته جمعی  
شهدای بنی هاشم به خاک سپرده شد.

قول دوم چنانچه عمری در *المُجَدِی* و به نقل از وی ابن عَنَبَه در  
*عمدة الطالب* نقل کرده است، عمر الاطرف از الحاق به حضرت  
سیدالشهدا تخلف کرده، ولی بعداً به خونخواهی او برخاسته و نیز تا  
حدود ۹۶ ق زنده بوده و در سن ۷۷ سالگی وفات یافت؛ این قول  
بسیار بعید به نظر می‌رسد و حقیقت ندارد، زیرا اکثر منابع سنی و  
شیعی تصریح کرده‌اند به حضور عمر الاطرف در واقعهٔ طَف و  
شهادت او در روز عاشورا ۶۱ ق. محقق و رجالی خبیر شیخ  
محمد تقی شوشتری در *قاموس الرجال* قول دوم که عمر الاطرف از  
واقعه طف تخلف نموده است را رد کرده است. و بسیاری از عامه و  
خاصه به حضور وی در طف و شرکت او در جنگ و شهادت عمر  
در رکاب برادرش در کربلا تصریح کرده‌اند.

بسیاری از سادات و علویان عراق و ایران و سایر بلاد اسلامی از  
تبار او هستند و بدین جهت او را عمر الاطرف می‌خوانند (بنی عمر،  
دایرة المعارف تشیع، ۴۸۲/۳).

منابع: بحار الانوار، ۳۷۱/۵؛ تاریخ طبری، ۱۵۴/۵؛ عمدة الطالب،  
۴۴۴؛ نرسان السیاح، ۱۳/۲؛ قاموس الرجال، ۲۱۲/۸؛ کربلاء فی حاضرها و  
ماضیها؛ مقتل خوارزمی، ۲۸۱/۲؛ المناقب، ۱۰۷/۴؛ وسیلة الدارین، ۲۵۹.  
عبدالحسین شهیدی صالحی

**عمر بن حنظله**، ابو صَخْر عَجَلِی بَکَرِی کوفی، از مشاهیر  
محدثین شیعه، از اصحاب امام باقر و امام صادق (ع). برخی از  
علمای رجال به استناد قرائنی او را مورد وثوق دانسته‌اند. جمعی از  
محدثان برجسته مانند علی بن رناب و عبدالله بن مُتَکَنان و سیف بن  
عَمیره و زُرارة بن اَعْتِین و علی بن الحَکَم و صفوان بن یحیی از او  
حدیث گرفته‌اند. در حدیثی گوید: از حضرت امام صادق (ع) شنیدم  
که می‌فرمود: پنج نشانه پیش از قیام حضرت قائم خواهد بود: صیحهٔ  
آسمانی؛ و خروج سفیانی؛ و فرورفتن (سپاه سفیانی در بیداء)؛ و  
کشته شدن نفس زکیه؛ و خروج یمانی. من عرض کردم: فدایت  
شوم! اگر یکی از خاندان شما پیش از وقوع این نشانه‌ها خروج  
نماید با او خروج کنیم؟ فرمود: خیر...

منابع: رجال، شیخ طوسی، ۲۵۱؛ رجال، برفی، ۶۵؛ روضة کافی،

١٩٩٦/٢٦/١ في ١٤٢٠/٦/٢ هـ المبني على تعميم الوزير رقم  
١٣٠٣/ت/١٣ وتاريخ ١٤١٩/١١/٥ هـ حول طلبه استضافة قلمنا  
للمشاركة في موضوعات المجلة، تم لنا اختيار موضوع «نماذج من أقضية  
السلف»، وحيث إن أقضية السلف كثيرة متشعبة يصعب حصرها ويطول  
البحث بذكرها رأيت اختيار واحد من السلف طالت ولايته، وأمرنا  
بالاقتداء به، واتباع سنته، ألا هو «الخليفة الراشد ثاني الخلفاء عمر بن

الخطاب رضي الله عنه، وقد تضمن البحث:

أولاً: ترجمة لعمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه.

ثانياً: ولايته وما ورد في فضله رضي الله عنه.

ثالثاً: رسائله في القضاء إلى عماله وولاته رضي الله عنه.

رابعاً: نماذج من أقضيته رضي الله عنه، وأسأل الله أن ينفع به إنه على  
كل شيء قدير، وصلى الله على محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم.

ترجمة عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه:

هو أمير المؤمنين، ثاني الخلفاء الراشدين المهديين، الصحابي الجليل عمر  
ابن الخطاب بن نفيل بن عبد العزي بن رياح بن عبد الله بن قرط بن رزاح بن  
عدي بن كعب بن لؤي بن غالب يجتمع مع النبي ﷺ في جده كعب.

وأمه: حنتمة بنت هاشم بن المغيرة من بني مخزوم.

Ömer  
150/33

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SUNUŞA GELEN DOKÜMAN

D3140



من أقضية السلف

## عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه

الشيخ / عبدالعزيز بن سعد بن ناصر المعثم \*

02 Temmuz 2018

الحمد لله رب العالمين والعاقبة الحميدة للمتقين ولا عدوان إلا على  
الظالمين، والصلاة والسلام على سيد الخلق أجمعين نبينا محمد وعلى آله  
وصحبه والتابعين وتابعيهم بإحسان إلى يوم الدين، ونسأل الله أن يرضى  
عنا معهم بمَنه وكرمه إنه هو أرحم الراحمين، أما بعد:

فبعد قراءة الخطاب الوارد إلينا من رئيس تحرير مجلة العدل ذي الرقم

\* كاتب عدل محافظة الحريق

## تخطيط الخليفين أبي بكر وعمر رضي الله عنهما

### لفتوح الشام ومتابعتها

د. ارشيد يوسف حميدان\*

الملخص:

يتناول هذا البحث المراسلات المتبادلة بين قادة فتوح الشام وكل من الخليفين أبي بكر وعمر رضي الله عنهما. فقد بين قادة الفتح في رسائلهم المتواصلة خلال ست سنوات، حشود الروم التي واجهتهم في بلاد الشام، وطبيعة الأرض والمدن والمناطق التي تتحرك عليها أو تحاصرها جيوش المسلمين، والإمدادات التي تصل الروم من جهة لأخرى، وخاصة من ملكهم هرقل، الذي كان يقيم بأنطاكية ليتابع مايجري بين جيوش الروم وجند المسلمين، وقد وصفت مراسلات القادة كذلك انتصاراتهم التي كانوا يحققونها والمدن التي يستولون عليها، والمعاهدات التي أبرموها مع الروم أثناء سقوط المدن تباعاً هنا أو هناك. وقد تبين من رسائل كل من الخليفين أبي بكر وعمر رضي الله عنهما لقادة الفتح متابعتها المستمرة لهم، بإرسال الخطط والتعليمات والنصائح، والرد أولاً بأول على

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*Mecelletü't-Cem'iyeti't-Tarihîyyeti's-Su'udîyye,*  
*Gene 6, aded 12, 1426/2005 Riyad. s. 25-88.*

## متابعة الخليفة عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه لفتوح مصر

### بحث تاريخي وثائقي

من خلال المراسلات المتتابة بين الخليفة عمر بن الخطاب

وقائد الفتح عمرو بن العاص

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طوار أو كوة، وقد طليت جدران هذه الغرفة بطبقة من الملاط لونت ورسم عليها مناظر ونقوش تمثل رحلتي الشمس نهارا وليلا ومناظر مما في العالم الآخر وغيرها<sup>(١)</sup>. هذا وقد عثر على غرفة الدفن منهوبة، وفيما بعد دفنت فيها امرأة ومعها ثلاث أوان فخارية، ويلاحظ أن الدفن كان على الطريقة المصرية البحتة، فما من فرق إلا في طراز بناء المقبرة، وعثر في المقبرة على كثير من اللقى الأثرية باسم تانوت آمون مثل قطع من أواني الأحشاء منقوشة وثلاثة أغطية لها، فضلا عن عدة تماثيل الشوابتي بعضها منقوش والآخر غفل منها وقد بلغ عددها نحو ٣١٨، وكذلك عثر على ثلاث كسر فخارية من الفيانس الأزرق لمائدة قرابين منقوشة بنص مصري (هيروغليفي) وخرطوش الملك، وغيرها من الآثار الصغيرة<sup>(٢)</sup>. وتجدر الإشارة إلي أنه قد كشف عن مقبرة لجوادين يخصان الملك في جبانة الكورو الخاصة بالخيول<sup>(٣)</sup>.

ibid., pls.xviii A, B, xix, xx.

(١)

ibid., pls .xxxiiE, xxxviiE 2,5 , xlv.C.D., xxxiiB. fig.21e.

(٢)

ibid. , p.115 , 219(6),fig.41, 220(6) fig 42

(٣)

#### 4 'Umar in Jerusalem

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SÖZLÜK BOKÜMAN

Ömer (150133)  
Kudüs (111330)

02 Temmuz 2018

Few historical facts are known about the Arab capture of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> Not only is its date uncertain – was it in 636, 637 or 638 CE?<sup>2</sup> – but also how it was achieved. Al-Azdī's account begins with a message that Abū 'Ubayda dispatched to the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem, in which he called upon them to surrender. It strikes one as formulaic, similar to messages sent on various other occasions of Arab siege and hence of little concrete value: "I command you to proclaim the *shahāda* and that Muḥammad's message is true ... I send against you those who love death as you are fond of life, of drinking wine and eating the meat of swine." Thus, by the use of familiar tropes, the Arab general is made to contrast the morally superior Muslims with their materialistic, destined-for-defeat, opponents.<sup>3</sup> To avoid bloodshed in case they refused to convert, he offers to the Christians the standard option, reported for many similar instances, of paying taxes and thus winning their lives.<sup>4</sup> According to another, also al-Azdī's report, it was instead 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ<sup>5</sup> who first sent a message to the Jerusalemites, calling upon them to surrender. 'Amr's, like Khālīd b. al-Walīd's letter to the Persians at Ctesiphon, praises God for driving the foreign kings out of the land and bringing upon the enemy hunger and humility. In what appears to be totally irrelevant to the occasion, but rather an echo to Muslim-Christian theological disputation that emerged by the time of al-Azdī's writing, 'Amr also engages in a brief polemic stressing the inner divisions among Christians concerning God's nature.<sup>6</sup> Yet, this hardly impresses the Christians. Learning about Vahan's enormous reinforcement sent to Jerusalem, they prefer to suspend any decision; in the meantime, Abū 'Ubayda and Khālīd b. al-Walīd arrive with their army in the vicinity of the Yarmūk basin.<sup>7</sup> The Muslims' siege on Jerusalem leaves the local population few chances and, after capitulating, it reaches a protection agreement, the authentic text of which has allegedly been preserved.<sup>8</sup>

At this point, the Muslim sources converge, maintaining that 'Umar was intimately involved in the pact by coming in person to Jerusalem, though the reasons they give for that vary and some of the circumstances leading to the arrival appear rather fantastic. According to al-Ṭabarī, relying on Sayf, it was 'Amr who urged the caliph to come, after no other than a Byzantine commander (*artabūn*) told him that 'Umar would be the conqueror of Syria and Palestine.<sup>9</sup> Another explanation, which al-Ṭabarī found in another of his sources, is that it

was rather the Christian leadership that forced 'Umar to travel all the way from Medina, as it was ready to conclude peace only with him.<sup>10</sup> It even arranged for a few Byzantines to join a Muslim delegation to Arabia and deliver to the caliph an invitation. Curiously, they had difficulties tracking the Muslim ruler down, for, to their great surprise, he was having a siesta.<sup>11</sup> Another version insists that it was 'Umar's own wish to rectify the treaty that made him travel the long distance to Jerusalem.<sup>12</sup> He consults with his close associates – it being as likely a *topos* as a historical occurrence – about his intention to travel, in the course of which he hears two conflicting (and also contradictorily reported) opinions. The caliph decides to embark on his journey, not before the Christians assure him that they would not change their mind and would not make him return empty-handed.<sup>13</sup> Yet another explanation, allegedly derived from eighth-century Egyptian sources, is that the Muslim commanders, after assembling the booty (*ḡay'*), summoned 'Umar.<sup>14</sup> One report, which renders all the aforementioned practically worthless, predates 'Umar's arrival to the different requests sent to him. Furthermore, it considers the caliph and his 4,000 troops the reason for the city's surrender.<sup>15</sup> Be that as it may, all versions are unanimous that 'Umar did travel to Syria. At al-Jābiya, south of Damascus,<sup>16</sup> he grants the Jerusalemite delegation that comes to meet him a protection agreement.

We need to place all these conflicting versions in some historical context, which is, I suggest, some decades after the Muslim capture of Jerusalem, when caliphs, supported by the scholarly milieu, began in earnest to transform the city also into a Muslim holy site. There are indications that already by Mu'āwīya's time (661–680) its importance was recognized.<sup>17</sup> However, scholars generally agree that the major event signifying Jerusalem's rise to a high status within the caliphate was 'Abd al-Malik's completion in 692 of the Dome of the Rock. One explanation as to the construction of this impressive monument is the caliph's temporary loss, due to internal problems, of control on the Ka'ba in Mecca and his attempt at establishing an alternative pilgrimage center. No less plausible, however, is that the Umayyad ruler wanted to compete with Christian religious supremacy in Jerusalem, which continued in the decades following the Arab capture. The intention behind the Dome of the Rock was to supersede the architectural dominance of the city's churches; both its interior ornamentation and the Qur'ān verses inscribed on the exterior conveyed political and religious messages of Islam's victory and superiority.<sup>18</sup> Under al-Walīd (r. 705–15 CE), but possibly already under his predecessor, 'Abd al-Malik, the al-Aqṣā Mosque was constructed and thus the project of turning Jerusalem into a center of attraction for Muslims from all over the caliphate was completed.

Now, Umayyad building projects provided the impetus for rolling the wheel of history backwards, so to speak, by predating Jerusalem's sanctity in Muslim collective consciousness to an earlier point in time – that is, to Islam's "zero point," the Prophet's time. Whatever the historical facts in this regard – and these appear inaccessible – an intensive religious activity, first under the late Umayyads, then under the early 'Abbāsids, produced an enormously rich literary fabric in the form of prophetic statements and Qur'ān commentaries that worked

# The Encounter of Eastern Christianity with Early Islam

Edited by

Emmanouela Grypeou, Mark Swanson, and  
David Thomas



Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	261422
Tas. No:	291 ENC-E

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THE FACE TO FACE ENCOUNTER BETWEEN  
PATRIARCH SOPHRONIUS OF JERUSALEM AND  
THE CALIPH 'UMAR IBN AL-KHATTĀB: FRIENDS  
OR FOES?

Daniel J. Sahas

The capitulation of Jerusalem to the Arabs, involving the encounter of Sophronius Patriarch of Jerusalem (634-8) with the second caliph 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (634-44) and the alleged covenant (*ahtnamē*, 'letter of obligation') granted to the Patriarch by 'Umar as a way of securing for the Christians ownership of the holy sites, constitutes an interesting and intriguing footnote, and maybe a valuable chapter, in the earliest period of Christian-Muslim relations.<sup>1</sup> The historical details notwithstanding, this encounter affords an opportunity to concentrate on the two personalities, and to evaluate the relationship that developed between them, speculative though this venture may appear to be.

The dynamics of encounters between people of faith, especially conflicting faiths, are determined by personal predisposition and chemistry. But these are hardly ever recorded, and one has to read between the lines of the written record, allowing the imagination to fill the gaps. Thus the reconstruction of the meeting between these representative men of faith, like the study of the collection of the Qur'an, requires a synthesis of whatever historical fragments can be extracted 'from stones and palm leaves' and 'from the hearts of men', which is to say a kind of 'psychological dissection' of personality traits.

Sophronius' stature, his talent with words, his impressive library (a product of his life at the monastery of St. Theodosius) which was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Daniel J. Sahas, 'Patriarch Sophronius, 'Umar and the capitulation of Jerusalem', and 'The Covenant of 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb with the Christians of Jerusalem' (Arabic translation), in Hadia Dajani-Shakeel and Burhan Dajani, eds, *Al-sira al-islāmī al-farajī 'alā Filastīn fī al-qurūn al-wustā*, Beirut, 1994, pp. 53-71, and 72-7; Heribert Busse, 'Omar b. al-Hattāb in Jerusalem', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 5, 1984, pp. 73-119, and 'Omar's Image as the Conqueror of Jerusalem', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 8, 1986, pp. 149-68.

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# 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	
Dem. No:	268000
Tas. No:	956.7 PLA-G

THE DARWIN PRESS, INC.  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY  
2014

02 Kasım 2018

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Omar  
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7

## 'We shall neither learn the Qur'ān nor teach it to our children': The Covenant of 'Umar on Learning\*

Clare Wilde  
(University of Auckland, Auckland)

The prohibition on learning and teaching the Qur'ān (*wa-lā nata' al-lamū l-Qur'ān wa-lā nu'allimuhū awlādanā*) is among the articles outlined in the clauses of some—although not the earliest—versions of the so-called Covenant, or ordinances, of 'Umar (*ahd 'Umar; al-shurūṭ al-'Umarīyya*).<sup>1</sup> This covenant is commonly understood as the terms of surrender proposed by Christians to the second of the—in Sunnī tradition—'rightly guided' caliphs (*al-khulafā' al-rāshidūn*), 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 634–44), although it more likely dates to the reign of the

\* I would like to thank Jens Scheiner for his organisation of, and generous invitation to, the "Contexts of Learning in Baghdād from the 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> Centuries" conference held in Göttingen 12–14 September 2011. This paper was greatly improved by stimulating conversations with, and the thoughtful remarks of, the participants, as well as the thorough (and painstaking) editing of the original version. An additional debt is owed to Prof. Scheiner and to Dr Yifat Monnickendam (then a post-doctoral fellow at Johns Hopkins University) for supplying me with articles unavailable in Auckland. Any shortcomings are, of course, solely my own.

<sup>1</sup> I have not yet done a comprehensive survey to compare the wording of all of the recensions of the pact, but was struck by the fact that the prohibition on teaching is found in all four recensions preserved in Qāḍī b. Zabīr's (d. 329/940) *Shurūṭ al-naṣārā*, but only the first recension contains both clauses (We shall neither learn the Qur'ān nor teach it to our children: See Cohen, Mark: What was the pact of 'Umar? A literary-historical study. In: *JSAI* 23 (1999), p. 137; according to the other three recensions of the pact preserved in this tract, the Christians only promise not to teach the Qur'ān to their children: *wa-lā nu'allimuhū awlādanā l-Qur'ān*, found on pages 139, 142 and 146 of Cohen's edition.

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22 Ekim 2018

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13/01/20  
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011422

ADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
DOKÜMAN

22 Ekim 2018

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22 Ekim 2018

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FEN DOKÜMANI

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