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La *ṣadaqa* des chrétiens des Banū Tag̃lib : un enjeu tribal et administratif d'époque abbasside (v. 153–193/770–809)?

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Abstract: The fiscal tradition regarding the taxation of the “Christians of the Banū Tag̃lib” is related to a *ṣulḥ* established by caliph ‘Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb. He is said to have ordered to double the social contribution of Muslims, called *ṣadaqa*, in return for their renunciation of baptizing their children. This contribution analyzes the chronology of the emergence of this case in Abbasid literature. By studying the *isnād* on which scholars, beginning with the Grand *Qaḍī* Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798), relied, I suggest a new theme at the end of the eighth century CE. On the one hand, all the issues of the *ṣadaqa* levying, the social bonds with Christian Arabs, and finally, the category of the Banū Tag̃lib itself, are related to the ongoing construction, and then to the freezing, of two social categories: the ethnical “arabness” and the genealogical tribal organization. On the other hand, Miaphysite ecclesiology confirms a consistent timeline for the rise of the *Tag̃libōyē* bishopric. In order to explain this late inrush of information, two events of ca. 153/770 and 171/787, respectively from the Syrian-Orthodox and the Arab-Muslim literatures, refer first to the migration/invasion of pastoralists and farmers of Banū Tag̃lib towards the north, and second to their anti-*ṣadaqa* revolt in the steppe of the hinterland of Mosul. The second occurrence takes place amidst numerous local insurgencies whose motivations are in part tribal, khariji, and – perhaps foremost – anti-fiscal. Indeed, the dynamics of formation of this peculiar Mosulan tribe were partly generated by the irruption of the state in Northern Iraq and the Jazīra during the 170s/790s, between al-Mahdī’s founding of Rāfiqa in ca. 154/772 and Hārūn al-Rashīd’s strengthening of administrative pressure. The key factor for state building at this time was the development of a new set of taxation on agricultural incomes of (Muslim) Arabs, called *ṣadaqat al-māl* or *zakāt*, whose first traces are attested in Middle Egypt during the late Marwānīd period. A generation later, the anonymous author of *Zuqnīn*, who lived at the beginning of this period, is not only the first Syriac writer to mention the *Tag̃libōyē*, but also bears witness of the first extension of the levy of *ṣadaqa* to Northern Mesopotamia. He even gives data about its *ex officio* settlement (*ta’dīl*) as a non-proportional (*alā misāḥa*) and in-cash tax, exactly the same as for the prop-

erties of the (Christian) Syrians. Both kinds of rural landlords probably petitioned against this system during the following decades, aiming to switch to a proportional (*muqāsama*) and in-kind method of taxation. This resistance perhaps involved the anti-*ṣadaqa* revolt of the Tag̃lib in 171/787, as it was decisive to transform the *kharāj* on the Muslims into a tenth (*ushr*). Whereas Abū Yūsuf suggests an analogical doubling of the tax on a Muslim land to convert it into *kharāj* for a Christian purchaser, the very idea of a double *ṣadaqa* as *kharāj* for Christian Arabs had perhaps been invented a very short time before.

Keywords: Zakāt; Northern Mesopotamia; Mosul; Jazīra; Kharāj; Tribalization; al-Mahdī; Hārūn al-Rashīd; Abū Yūsuf al-Qaḍī; Bēt ‘Arbāyē; Banū Tag̃lib, *ṣadaqa*, *Zuqnīn* chronicle.

Introduction

La tribu des Banū Tag̃lib est pour l’essentiel connue à travers des détails événementiels témoignant de son existence politico-militaire durant le demi-siècle qui encadre la conquête arabo-musulmane. Au sein d’un article monographique fondateur, Michael LECKER a collecté et réuni la plupart des données de ce type qui figurent dans la littérature arabo-musulmane.¹ En ajoutant à ce matériau les vestiges de l’historiographie ecclésiastique syro-orthodoxe au sujet des *Tag̃libōyē*, il apparaît que la mémoire entourant cette tribu mobilise deux figures primordiales et simultanées : l’évêque Marūtā de Takrīt (r. 8–28/629–649) et le calife ‘Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb (r. 13–23/634–644). Le premier est considéré comme le fondateur de la province miaphysite de l’Orient, au nombre des suffragants duquel on comptait traditionnellement un évêque des *Tag̃libōyē*, situé à ‘Āna sur l’Euphrate, en aval de la frontière romaine. Le second est dépeint au sein de la littérature juridique, hadīthique et chronographique islamique comme le concepteur primordial du statut fiscal particulier de ceux qui, parmi les Banū Tag̃lib, n’auraient pas souhaité être comptés comme musulmans au lendemain de la conquête de l’Euphrate, de Takrīt et de Mossoul : une *ṣadaqa* doublée. Claude GILLIOT a procédé à une recension exhaustive et systématique des versions de cet accord de capitulation (*ṣulḥ*) attribué à ‘Umar dans les légendes de conquête (*fuṭūḥāt*) et dans la littérature légale.² En prenant ce même cadre théorique du début du I^{er} siècle de l’hégire, Yohanan FRIEDMANN a proposé quelques réflexions au sujet des causes possibles d’un tel accord,

1 LECKER 2005.

2 GILLIOT 1996.

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