Arts and Archaeology
of the Islamic World
Volume 20

Architecture of Anxiety

Body Politics and the Formation of Islamic Architecture

Heba Mostafa

BRILL

Architecture of Anxiety

Arts and Archaeology of the Islamic World

Edited by

Margaret Graves (*Brown University*)
Marcus Milwright (*University of Victoria*)
Mariam Rosser-Owen (*Victoria and Albert Museum*)

VOLUME 20

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/aaiw*

Architecture of Anxiety

Body Politics and the Formation of Islamic Architecture

By

Heba Mostafa

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Dome of the Rock in the Mosque of Omar, Jerusalem. Chromolithograph by H. Clerget and J. Gaildrau after François Edmond Pâris, 1862, Souvenirs de Jérusalem, held in the Wellcome Collection.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Mostafa, Heba, author.
Title: Architecture of anxiety : body politics and the formation of Islamic architecture / by Heba Mostafa.
Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2024] | Series: Arts and archaeology of the Islamic world, 2213-3844 ; volume 20 | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2023054640 (print) | LCCN 2023054641 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004677777 (hardback) | ISBN 9789004690189 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Islam and architecture. | Architecture—Psychological aspects. | Islamic architecture—Political aspects. | Islamic architecture—Historiography.
Classification: LCC NA2543.I74 M68 2024 (print) | LCC NA2543.I74 (ebook) | DDC 720.88/297—dc23/ENG/20231206
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023054640
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023054641

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2213-3844
ISBN 978-90-04-67777-7 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-69018-9 (e-book)
DOI 10.1163/9789004690189

Copyright 2024 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill NV via brill.com or copyright.com.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

For my parents

Contents

Acknowledgements IX
List of Figures and Plates XII
Note on Transliteration XV
Plates XVI

1 **Introduction** 1
1 An Architecture of Anxiety 1
2 Body Politics and Chimeric Caliphs 7
3 Histories of the Formation of Islamic Architecture 10
4 Book Structure 15

2 **The Caliph's Multivalent Body**
The Minbar and Seat of Rule 17
1 The Caliph's Multivalent Body 17
2 Muhammad in the Mosque: The Minbar and Throne 18
3 In the Shadow of Muhammad's Minbar 24
4 The *Kursī* and *Sarīr* 29

3 **Death of a Caliph**
Modalities of Existential Safety at the Mosque and Dar al-Imara 35
1 Death of a Caliph 35
2 Authority, Public Audience, and Sanctuaries in Early Islam 36
3 The Maqsura 38
4 The Mosque and Dar al-Imara in Early Islam 41

4 **United under the Dome of Heaven** 50
1 The Qubbat al-Khadra' and Civil Strife in Early Islam 50
2 Retrieving the Lost History of an Islamic Heavenly Dome 53
3 What is this Khadra'? 61
4 Fit for a Caliph: The Khadra' of Mu'awiya 70

5 **Sedition Is Worse Than Murder**
The Mosque and Dar al-Imara in Iraq 73
1 Ziyad in Iraq 73
2 Portrait of a Caliphal Protégé 75
3 Early Islamic Urbanism in Iraq 79
4 The Mosque and Dar al-Imara in Iraq 82
5 The Mosque and Dar al-Imara in Iraq Reconsidered 90

6 **Existential Anxiety, Temporality, and the End of Days in Islamic Jerusalem** 95
1 Jerusalem under the Umayyads 95
2 The Appointed Time and the Divine Encounter 97

3 The Dome of the Rock in the Shadow of God's Celestial Court 101
4 Ritual Practice and Embodied Sanctity at the Dome of the Rock 109
5 Architecture for an Otherworld 113

7 **Epilogue** 121
1 Architecture of Anxiety Redux 121
2 Body Politics and the Formation of Islamic Architecture 129

Bibliography 133
Index 149

Acknowledgements

This book would not have been possible without the support of advisors, mentors, friends, family, as well as multiple institutions and funding bodies. These acknowledgements can never do justice to how I have been lifted by every person and institution named and unnamed. I wish to thank my academic advisors without whom none of this would have been possible. I owe immense gratitude to my thesis supervisor at the Department of Architecture at Cambridge University, Wendy Pullan, for her expansive vision that laid the foundation for this work. She inspired, nurtured, and led by example. I could not have wished for a better guide. A special thanks to my advisor and mentor Bernard O'Kane, with whom I began my academic journey and who remained a steadfast guide and inspiration all these years. To my colleagues and mentors who read earlier versions of this work, I am eternally grateful. I wish to thank my advisor at Cambridge University, Peter Carl, who taught me so much about how to solve history problems like an architect. I also wish to thank my dissertation examiner Hugh Kennedy whose generosity and thoughtful considerations of this work's scope enriched it immensely. My mentor and friend, Jere Bacharach, not only inspired through his brilliant scholarship but also believed in me resolutely and encouraged me to think boldly but write clearly.

The earliest iteration of this work was generously funded by Cambridge Overseas Trust, The British Petroleum Scholarship, and King's College, Cambridge. A special thanks to the University of California, Berkeley's Center for Middle Eastern Studies and the Sultan Postdoctoral Fellowship Program for much needed funding. A thanks to the Department of Art History at UC Berkeley for offering guidance and mentorship early in my academic career. I owe a debt of gratitude also to my supervisor at UC Berkeley, Nezar AlSayyad, who offered encouragement and mentorship during the various stages of this book. A heartfelt thanks to my colleagues at the University of Kansas and the generous financial support of the Murphy Travel Fund. A special thanks to my Department Chairs, Linda Stone-Ferrier and David Cateforis, my faculty mentor, Anne D Hedeman and colleagues Sherry Fowler, Majid Hannoum, Katie Batza, and Pamela Sullivan who exemplified academic wisdom and kindness. Parts of this research were carried out while I was a postdoctoral fellow at the Kunsthistorisches Institut-Florenz. Being part of the KHI was an intellectual turning point and it inspired so many trajectories brought to fruition here. I wish to thank everyone at the KHI, particularly my supervisor, Gerhard Wolf, who inspired new ways of asking questions. I would also like to thank the Getty Foundation and the conveners of the *Arts of the Crusades: A Reassessment* which funded fieldwork and afforded opportunities to deepen my understanding of early Islamic architecture. A special thanks to Scott Redford, Doris Behrens-Abouseif, Robert Ousterhout, Eva Hoffman, Maria Georgopoulou and Edna Stern who offered guidance, collegiality, and friendship.

Parts of this book appear in earlier publications. Portions of Chapter 2 and 3 derive from "The Early Mosque Revisited: Introduction of the Minbar and Maqṣūra." *Muqarnas* 33 (2016): 1–16. Chapter 6 also integrates material from "The Appointed Time: Early Islamic Temporality and the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem." *Time and Presence in Art*. De Gruyter, (2020): 53–70. I would like to thank the editors of these publications for their insight and rigor. A special thanks to Prof. Gülru Necipoğlu (Editor-in-Chief) and Karen Leal (Editor). I owe gratitude to my friends and collaborators, the editors of *Art and Presence*, Andrew Griebeler and Armin Bergmeier for their generosity and vision.

The University of Toronto has been my home for many years. I could not have hoped for a more nurturing institution. I was fortunate to receive multiple forms of support in terms financial, intellectual, and moral. Thank you to my former Department Chair, Carl Knappett, who took time

out of a busy schedule to read my work, met for many lunches and coffees, and helped me stay the course. A special thanks to my Department Chair, Giancarla Periti, for reading portions of this book and for her unwavering faith in my abilities. I would like to also thank Joseph Clarke, convener of the Architectural History Working Group, which has been a home to experiment and think expansively. My colleagues in Toronto were a constant source of support, wisdom, and guidance. I would like to thank Elizabeth Legge, whose warmth and encouragement set me on a steady path at UofT. A special thanks to John Paul Ricco who was a friend and companion on this writing journey. I also wish to thank my colleagues Adam Cohen, Linda Safran, Jill Caskey, Jordan Bear, Mark Cheetham, Seungjung Kim, Christy Anderson, Matt Ethan Kavaler, Elizabeth Harney, Kajri Jain, and Katherine Blouin. You all encouraged and motivated me along this path, including me in your intellectual communities and offering your support and generosity. My writing partners, Deepali Dewan and Sarah Fee, shared many triumphs and challenges along this journey. I owe you both so much and look forward to many years writing together. Being part of a stimulating community of Islamic art historians in Toronto has contributed so much to my happiness and fulfillment. I wish to thank my co-chairs of the Islamic Art and Material Collaborative at the Institute of Islamic Studies at UofT; Anver Emon, Ruba Kana'an, Fahmida Suleman, Ulrike al-Khamis, and Michael Chagnon.

On the long road to complete this book, the support of my students and research assistants was one of a kind. A warm thanks to Xin Yue Wang and Sanniah Jabeen. You enriched the experience of writing this book and offered valuable supports and insights into its reception among graduate students. A very special thanks to Jillian Husband, who was my intellectual support for the duration of this book's completion, providing invaluable feedback and research support that solidified my process and enriched my experience. My students across the globe at so many institutions motivated me in many ways and were my mainstay and inspiration. A warm thanks to my designer Reham Shadi, who brought creativity and insight to the graphics of this book. I would also like to thank my copyeditor, Roxanne Bess Goldberg, for her thoroughness and precision. A special thanks also to the editors of this series, Marcus Milwright, Margaret Graves, and Mariam Rosser-Owen. A thanks also to Teddi Dols, editor at Brill, for her support and patience bringing this book to completion. Finally, a very warm thanks to my anonymous readers who gave of their time so generously and engaged so thoughtfully.

My family and friends have been a source of comfort and inspiration. They listened to endless renditions of this book's premise, offering unwavering love and motivation. My parents, Azza Naguib and Hosam Mostafa, taught what it means to persevere, dream big and believe in myself. They trained me to be fearless in the face of challenges, to channel my creativity and to write with generosity and grace. My lifelong companions and sisters, Hoda, Magda and Mona Mostafa, were the ones that nurtured and cheered me along this entire journey. I would not be here without them. My nieces, Jenna and Zeina, and nephews Abdelrahman, Hassan, Mahmoud, Tameem, and Hashem were always there to bring joy and happiness to my life. A special thanks also to my brothers-in-law, Ashraf Tawfik and Hisham Issa. I have been fortunate to have extended family all over the world who were lovingly engaged throughout this journey. My dear cousins Yasser Mohsen, Sherif Aboushadi, Heba and Shahira al-Soufany, Ahmed, Tarek, and Dina Naguib were my friends and companions. My Uncle Hassan and Aunt Marsha Naguib were there for so many of the highs and lows. I am grateful for all their love. I wish to also thank my friends Rose Marie, Antoinette, and Joseph Pietras, who stood by me during challenging times and whose love and kindness meant so much. The Lolley family were such a great support, a warm thanks to Brenda, James, Christine, Tom, Sarah, Peter, and the children. I am eternally grateful to my dearest friends Alia al-Kadi, Aliaa Abaza,

Inji Mekhemer, Ed Shadi, Rizwan Mawani, Carol Bier, Jeanne Pansard-Besson, Katrina Gold, Amir Gohar, Mohamed Safwat, Philippe Lavoie, and Lia Grimberg Lavoie. Some of you wrote with me, some of you thought with me, and all of you fought with me. You will never know what a difference that made. A final special thanks to the Belinko family who cheered me on in the critical final stages. To my loved one who asked not to be named. You live in my heart and you are its fortress. Your love can be traced through many of these pages.

Figures and Plates

Figures

1.1 Standing Caliph Dinar, Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, issued in 694/5 CE. (Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford) 8

1.2 Mihrab in the cave below the rock with inset black stone disc, Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem. (Heba Mostafa) 10

2.1 An early minbar and maqsura (862) in carved teak wood, the Great Mosque of Kairouan. (Bernard O'Kane) 25

2.2 The minbar of the Vizier Badr al-Jamali (d. 1094) under the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustansir (r. 1036–1094) at the Mosque of Abraham, Hebron. (Originally located in the Shrine of al-Husayn, Ascalon). (Heba Mostafa) 26

2.3 Fresco depicting Caliph al-Walid II reclining on a *sarīr* at the Umayyad palace of Qusayr ʿAmra, Jordan. (Heba Mostafa) 32

2.4 Fresco depicting enthroned ruler in the throne niche of the Umayyad palace of Qusayr ʿAmra, Jordan. (Heba Mostafa) 33

2.5 Fresco of footstool beneath the *sarīr* of Caliph al-Walid II at the Umayyad palace of Qusayr ʿAmra, Jordan. (Heba Mostafa) 33

2.6 Carved Stucco depicting lower portion of enthroned ruler at the Umayyad Palace of Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, Damascus National Museum. (Heba Mostafa) 33

3.1 Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, based on Akkouche's reconstruction. 42

3.2 Great Mosque of Damascus under Caliph al-Walid I. (K.A.C. Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford) 45

3.3 Great Mosque of Damascus indicating location of courtyard connecting the mosque and the palace (Qubbat al-Khadra'). (Richard Phené Spiers) 45

3.4 The Mosque at Wasit, showing location of Dar al-Imara to the south and change in qibla alignment. (Fu'ad Safar) 47

4.1 Aerial view of the Great Mosque of Damascus showing location of Qubbat al-Khadra' to the south of the qibla wall. (Robert Harding-Alamy Stock Photo) 52

4.2 Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem (reconstruction), showing Christ Pantocrator in the apex of the dome. (Heba Mostafa) 55

4.3 Astrological ceiling showing signs of the zodiac, Temple of Bel, Palmyra, Syria, *c.*32 CE. (Heba Mostafa) 56

4.4 Astrological ceiling showing locations of constellations, located above the caldarium at Qusayr ʿAmra. (Heba Mostafa) 57

4.5 Paradisiacal dome, stucco, Khirbat al-Mafjar, Jericho. (Rockefeller Archaeological Museum) 57

4.6 Church (Basilica A), view toward the apse, al-Rusafa, Syria, *c.*500. Mosque built by Caliph Hisham lay to the north. (Heba Mostafa) 63

4.7 Domed gateway to Umayyad palace complex (which also served as audience hall), Amman, Jordan. (Heba Mostafa) 64

4.8 Remains of the Umayyad Dar al-Imara in Jerusalem with connecting bridge to the mosque of al-Aqsa visible to the left. (Heba Mostafa) 65

4.9 The Round City of Baghdad, showing location of the Qubbat al-Khadra' at the center. (K.A.C. Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford) 65
4.10 Al-Iwan al-Kabir (Dar al-Adl), Mamluk audience hall, Cairo, fourteenth century, exterior. (Stanley Lane-Poole) 66
4.11 Umayyad brazier (iron and bronze), c. eighth century. Excavated at the Umayyad palace of al-Fudayn, Jordan. (Jordan Archaeological Museum) 69
5.1 Silver Drachm of Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan, 673. (British Museum) 77
5.2 Timeline of the reign of Mu'awiya (as governor under 'Uthman and 'Ali and as caliph) and Ziyad as governor 78
5.3 The Great Mosque of Kufa (reconstructed) as built by Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan. (K.A.C. Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford) 85
5.4 Reconstruction of the Dar al-Imara and Mosque at Kufa. 85
5.5 The Dar al-Imara at Kufa showing Layer 1, Layer 2, and Layer 3. (K.A.C. Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford) 87
5.6 Plan of Sarvistan indicating locations of sampled timber. 1. Main domed hall, 2. Internal courtyard, 3. Main Iwan, 9. Western columned hall, 10. Northeastern domed hall, 12. Eastern columned hall, 11. Western entrance Iwan. (Morteza Djamali, et. al.) 88
5.7 The Dar al-Imara at Kufa, columned hall preceding domed audience chamber. (Crystal Kessler) 88
5.8 Dar al-Khatib (Dar al-Imam) at the Umayyad Mosque at the Citadel of Amman, ground floor plan (Umayyad layer in red). Note the location of the qibla wall as indicated by the niche mihrab and the axiality of the entrance of the Dar to the mosque entryway. (Ignacio Arce) 89
6.1 Umayyad Jerusalem, showing location of the Haram al-Sharif 96
6.2 The Dome of the Ascension (left), the Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem. The current dome post-dates the Umayyad period, with the original constructed under Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan, *c.*692. (Heba Mostafa) 97
6.3 Timeline of Second Islamic Civil War 98
6.4 The Dome of the Rock and the Dome of the Chain, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan, 692. Jerusalem. (Heba Mostafa) 99
6.5 Layout of the Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem. 104
6.6 The Dome of the Rock, ground floor plan. (K.A.C. Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford) 108
6.7 Khirbat al-Mafjar, figures in the pendentives of the dome leading into the bathhouse, under Caliph Hisham b. 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walid II, *c.*743. (Rockefeller Archaeological Museum) 109
6.8 Khirbat al-Mafjar, under Caliph Hisham b. 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walid II, Standing Caliph on lion pedestal, *c.*743. (Rockefeller Archaeological Museum) 110
6.9 Betyl within niche, al-Siq, Petra, Jordan (Heba Mostafa) 112
6.10 The Dome of the Rock, mosaics showing winged motif. (Bernard O'Kane) 115
6.11 Stucco fragment showing partial winged motif, Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, Caliph Hisham b. 'Abd al-Malik, Damascus National Museum (Heba Mostafa) 116
6.12 The Dome of the Chain, the Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem, under 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan, *c.*692. (Heba Mostafa) 118

7.1 Mosaics at the Great Mosque of Damascus, al-Walid I, 705–15. (Heba Mostafa) 122
7.2 Qusayr ʿAmra, main hall, with the enthronement scenes, within throne alcove upon a *kursī* (center) and upon the bedstead or *sarīr* (right). (Heba Mostafa) 124
7.3 The Great Mosque of Cordoba, maqsura and mihrab, extension of al-Hakam II, 965. (Heba Mostafa) 130
7.4 General view of the Maqsura of al-Hakam II, Great Mosque of Cordoba. (Heba Mostafa) 131

Plates

1 Map of the Umayyad Empire indicating locations of Umayyad mosques xvi
2 Timeline of the Formation of Islamic Architecture and the Formation of the Islamic State xvii

Note on Transliteration

Transliteration of names and Arabic terms that entered common parlance follow the IJMES system but without the addition of dotted consonants and the marking of long vowels. Arabic transliterations in the text and notes that follow the IJMES system are italicized.

Plates

PLATE 1 Map of the Umayyad Empire indicating locations of Umayyad mosques
DRAWN BY REHAM SHADI

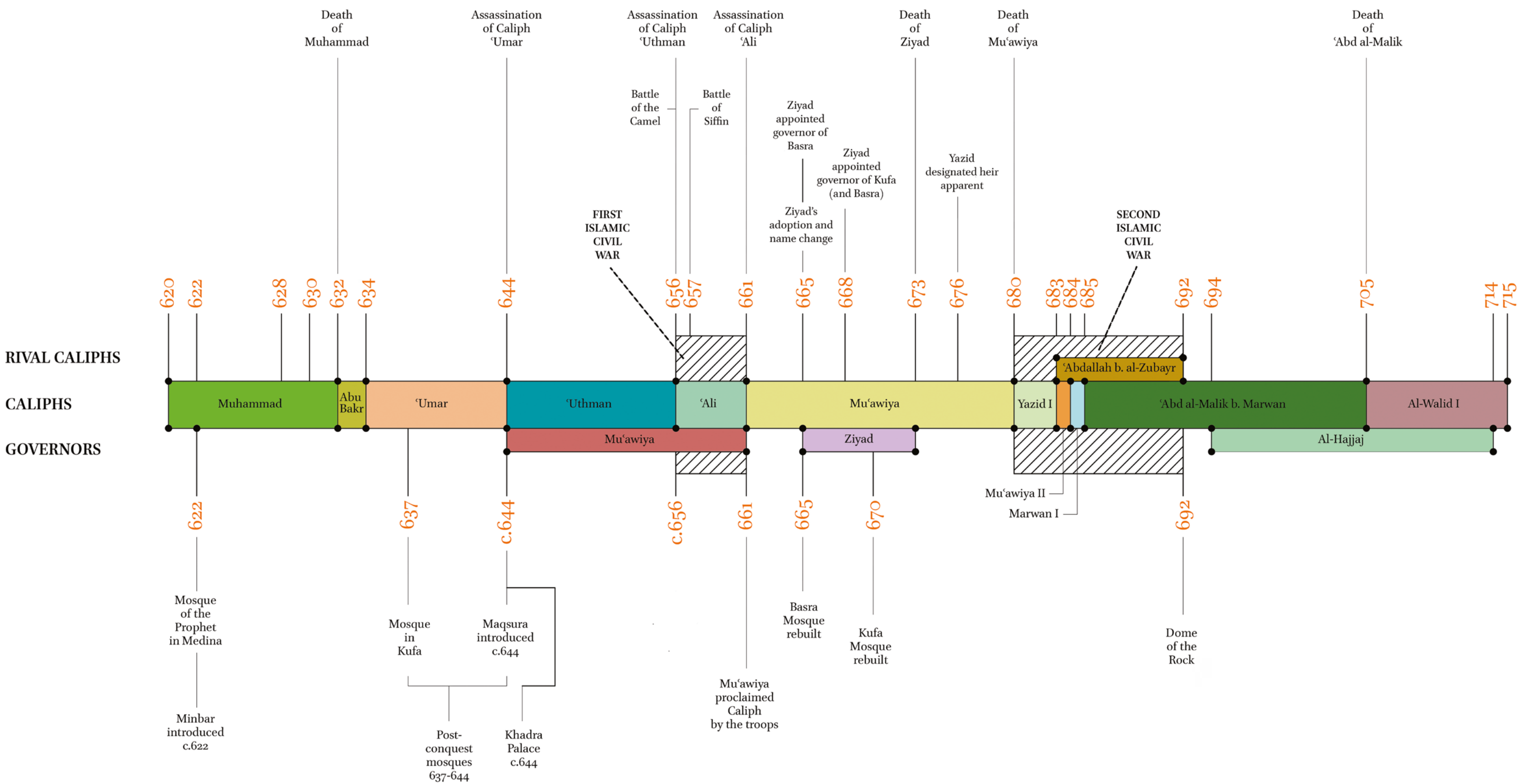

PLATE 2 Timeline of the Formation of Islamic Architecture and the Formation of the Islamic State
DRAWN BY REHAM SHADI

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1 An Architecture of Anxiety

In the northern end of the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul is a room that exudes sanctity. With the hushed tones of visitors and around the clock Quranic recitation, it feels more like a shrine than a museum. This is the Chamber of the Holy Relics, home to what are believed to be Islam's most revered and celebrated objects. Collected over centuries, they reportedly include body remnants of the Prophet Muhammad as well as his clothing, weaponry, and letters alongside other sacred objects.[1] Taking pride of place is a Quranic codex in Kufic script known as the Topkapı Manuscript, claimed to have belonged to the third Rightly Guided Caliph, ʿUthman b. ʿAffan (r. 644–56). It forms part of a contested collection of ʿUthmanic relics that include several Qurans, now spread across collections worldwide, alongside other relics of the Prophet.[2] ʿUthman's relics have been treasured for centuries across multiple continents for various spiritual and political reasons. They were typically deployed at pivotal moments in history, often in emotionally charged processions and ceremonies, such as those that took place at the Great Mosque of Cordoba in the tenth century under the Cordoban Caliphate.[3]

The enduring power of these relics can be traced to ʿUthman's own history. After a prolonged siege, following years of political tumult, ʿUthman's killing occurred at the hands of dissenting factions while he was sequestered at his house in Medina. Immediately following his death, his bloodied shirt, the blood-spattered Quran he was reading at the time, and clippings from his beard were preserved by his family and sent to ʿUthman's clansman and the governor of Damascus, Muʿawiya b. Abi Sufyan.[4] Muʿawiya's reaction was swift. He rushed to Medina with an army and proceeded to the Mosque of the Prophet to demand retribution for the caliph's death. Displaying ʿUthman's bloodied shirt on the Prophet's minbar (elevated seat within the mosque), Muʿawiya delivered a rousing speech during which he accused ʿAli b. Abi Talib (r. 656–61), cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet

1 Haydar Yağmurlu, "Relics of the Prophet Muhammad," *Apollo* 92, no. 101 (1970): 50–53; Hilmi Aydın, *The Sacred Trusts: Pavilion of the Sacred Relics, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul*, ed. Ahmet Doğru and Talha Uğurluel (Clifton, NJ: Tughra Books, 2014); Wendy M.K. Shaw, "Between the Secular and the Sacred: A New Face for the Department of the Holy Relics at the Topkapı Palace Museum," *Material Religion* 6, no. 1 (2010): 129–31. For a discussion of the afterlife of Muhammad's relics, see Richard McGregor, "Repetition and Relics: Tracing the Lives of Muhammad's Sandal," In *Islam through Objects*, ed. Anna Bigelow. (Bloomsbury Academic, 2021); Michael Muhammad Knight, *Muhammad's Body: Baraka Networks and the Prophetic Assemblage*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020).

2 Collections that claim to possess an ʿUthmani Codex include Dar al-Kutub in Cairo, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Muyi Muborak Madrasah (School of the Sacred Hair) in Tashkent, and the University of Birmingham.

3 For the use of an ʿUthmani codex at the Great Mosque of Cordoba, see Nuha Khoury, "The Meaning of the Great Mosque of Cordoba in the Tenth Century," *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 85; Amira K. Bennison, "The Almohads and the Qurʾān of ʿUthmān: The Legacy of the Umayyads of Cordoba in the Twelfth Century Maghrib," *Al-Masāq* 19, no. 2 (2007): 133–37. The so-called ʿUthmani Codex played a prominent ceremonial role at the Great Mosque of Cordoba after the caliphal proclamation of the emirs of Cordoba in 929–30 and again under the Almohads in the twelfth century. See also Jerrilynn Denise Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 100–101.

4 For a discussion of the ʿUthmani Codex in the context of the assassination of ʿUthman, see Travis Zadeh, "From Drops of Blood: Charisma and Political Legitimacy in the Translation of the ʿUthmānic Codex of al-Andalus," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 39, no. 3 (2008): 331–32; Bennison, "Qurʾān of ʿUthmān," 151.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2024 | DOI:10.1163/9789004690189_002

Muhammad, of complicity and vehemently contested his election to the caliphate.[5] After returning to Damascus, Muʿawiya displayed ʿUthman's blood-spattered Quran prominently at the mosque to further inflame the Syrians and raise an army.[6] The strategy worked. The Islamic world exploded into civil war (known as the First Fitna) that raged for over four years and only ended in 661 when ʿAli was assassinated and Muʿawiya was elected the first Umayyad caliph.[7] By the second half of the seventh century, the specter of these events had further fractured the nascent community, polarized debate, and culminated in the outbreak of a second civil war (the Second Fitna).[8]

These events and their destabilizing origins unfolded from a moment further back in time: the death of the Prophet Muhammad and disagreement over his succession in 632.[9] Varying interpretations of the Prophet's directives before his death and the impetus to conform to popular consensus, or *ijmāʿ*, played a central role in sowing the seeds of dissent and discontent. Tribal kinship among early Muslims bred a particular form of intimate violence characterized by betrayals within clans and tribes that further exacerbated conflict over succession to the Prophet. Three of the four Rightly Guided Caliphs who succeeded the Prophet Muhammad fell victim to this cycle in public and bloody political assassinations.[10]

5 For the context of discontent towards ʿUthman that culminated in his death, see Martin Hinds, "The Murder of the Caliph ʿUthmān," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 3, no. 4 (October 1972): 452–57. See also G. Levi Della Vida and R.G. Khoury, "ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. Brill, 2012, accessed April 8, 2023, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1315.

6 Estelle Whelan, "The Origins of the Mihrāb Mujawwaf: A Reinterpretation," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 18, no. 2 (1986): 213.

7 M. Hinds, "Muʿāwiya I," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. Brill, 2012, accessed April 8, 2023, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_5279; Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. M.J. de Goeje et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1879–1901), 15:181–223. On how military violence shaped the late antique world, see also Thomas Sizgorich, *Violence and Belief in Late Antiquity: Militant Devotion in Christianity and Islam*. Divinations. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009; Christian Lange and Maribel Fierro, *Public Violence in Islamic Societies: Power, Discipline, and the Construction of the Public Sphere, 7th–19th Centuries CE*. *Public Violence in Islamic Societies*. Edinburgh University Press.

8 The scholarship is vast on this subject. See G.R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate, AD 661–750*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2000); Patricia Crone, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century*, 2nd ed. (Harlow, UK: Pearson/Longman, 2004); Chase F. Robinson, *Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquest: The Transformation of Northern Mesopotamia* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Fred McGraw Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010); Fred M. Donner, "Umayyad Efforts at Legitimation: The Umayyads' Silent Heritage," *Umayyad Legacies: Medieval Memories from Syria to Spain*, ed. Antoine Borrut and Paul M. Cobb (Leiden: Brill, 2010): 185–211.

9 Mahmoud Mustafa Ayoub, *The Crisis of Muslim History: Religion and Politics in Early Islam* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2003); Jonathan Porter Berkey, *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East, 600–1800* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Monique Bernards and John Nawas, *Patronate and Patronage in Early and Classical Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

10 The three caliphs in questions are ʿUmar, ʿUthman, and ʿAli. For an in-depth discussion, see Chapter 3. The term *fitna* and its varied meanings of trial, temptation, and deviation derive from its Quranic associations. See Quran 2:191, 217. Quranic associations with killing and murder likely gave rise to the later adoption of the term *fitna* in apocalyptic traditions to mean tribulation, dissension, and civil strife. See David B. Cook, "Fitna in Early Islamic History," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, ed. Kate Fleet et al. Brill, 2012, accessed April 8, 2023, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_27151. See also Hichem Djaït, *Al-Fitnah: jadalīyat al-dīn wa-al-siyāsah fī al-Islām al-mubakkir*, Ṭabʿah 2 (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿah, 1993). For a recent study that nuances acts of destruction in the Medieval Islamic period, see Jennifer Pruitt, *Building the Caliphate: Construction, Destruction, and Sectarian Identity in Early Fatimid Architecture*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020).

Nevertheless, the Islamic empire grew rapidly, fortified by a newfound solidarity and political unity achieved only under Islam, despite serious challenges to this unity internally.[11] The implication in the killing of ʿUthman of the Prophet's mosque and minbar, ʿUthman's residence, his Quran, and clothing, and the post-conquest mosque in Damascus is one of several examples of how historical narratives of the unraveling of the Islamic community invariably includes histories of operative spaces and objects.[12] Inextricably entangled with the First and Second Islamic Civil Wars is a parallel history of non-human protagonists: architecture and material objects.

Consider, for example, changes at the mosque and palace, or Dar al-Imara (House of Governance), and their implication in the political events and turbulence during the formative period of Islam.[13] Disagreements over the conduct of caliphs and governors in relation to the minbar—how they sat upon it and how they behaved in relation to it—are a central theme in many of the sources, along with accounts of the minbar's sanctity, particularly the minbar of the Prophet Muhammad. Following the assassination in 644 of his predecessor, ʿUmar b. al-Khattab, ʿUthman introduced the *maqṣūra* (enclosure screen within the qibla area of the mosque) to the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina.[14] Just over a decade later, a synchronized Kharijite attempt on the lives of Muʿawiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs (d. 664), companion of the Prophet and governor of Egypt, in tandem with the successful assassination of ʿAli further vindicated the need for physical security of Islam's leaders.[15] Such synchronic histories preserve for architectural historians a vivid picture of the role played by the early mosque and palace in Islamic governance and, more importantly, how the community and its leaders framed their conduct in relation to these architectural spaces.

Against apparently insurmountable odds, by 750 the early rulers of Islam had secured an empire extending from Spain to Central Asia (Pl. 1). In fact, the early Islamic empire can be defined by a precarity that could have precluded its survival. It stands to reason that architecture responded to such existential threats as they arose across various scales. Close readings of the architecture can explain how and why the empire survived against such insurmountable odds. The forms of anxiety that early Islamic architecture responded to and the forms this response took can be traced by aligning changes in architecture to moments of heightened anxiety and civil strife within the mosque, palace, and shrine. This is nowhere clearer than in the audience event, during which an authority figure meets with a member of their court or public.

11 Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad*, 1–8.

12 For example, the circulation of anti-image hadith in Basra in the seventh century has been identified as a sectarian response to Umayyad attitudes to figural imagery. See Mika Natif, "'Painters Will Be Punished': The Politics of Figural Representation Amongst the Umayyads," in *The Image Debate: Figural Representation in Islam and Across the World*, ed. Christiane J. Gruber (London: Gingko, 2019), 34–35.

13 Heba Mostafa, "The Early Mosque Revisited: Introduction of the Minbar and Maqṣūra," *Muqarnas* 33 (2016): 1–16.

14 ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Samhūdī, *Khulāṣat al-wafā bi-akhbār dār al-Muṣṭafa* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Būlāq, 1869), 134. See also al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18:75 and Ibn al-Faqīh al-Ḥamadhānī, Kitāb al-Buldān, ed. Yūsuf al-Hādī, 3 vols. (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1996), 159. J. Pedersen et al., "Masdjid," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. Brill, 2012, accessed April 8, 2023, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0694. See also K.A.C. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, rev. and ed. James W. Allan (Aldershot: Scolar, 1989), 11, who credits Muʿawiya in this instance. Jean Sauvaget, "The Mosque and the Palace," in *Early Islamic Art and Architecture*, ed. Jonathan Bloom, trans. Matthew Gordon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 139–41.

15 Ibn Khaldun believed that the maqsura was linked to the attempt on Muʿawiya's life and thus dated its introduction to a later period. This is reluctantly accepted by Creswell. See K.A.C. Creswell and Marguerite Gautier-van Berchem, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 33–34. Other accounts credit the introduction of the maqsura to Marwan b. al-Hakam, following an attempt on his life while governor in Medina *c.*663, and claim that Muʿawiya mirrored this act in Damascus. See ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Habīb, *Kitāb al-Tārīkh*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ghanī Mistū, 1st ed. (Sidon: al-Maktabah al-ʿAṣrīyah, 2008), 125.

This book frames the formation of Islamic architecture as five audience-focused architectural microhistories at the nexus of the intersecting timelines of the formation of the state and the establishment of the architecture of Islam between 632 and 705.[16] The choice of audience as the structuring principle of this book derives from the nature of the formation of Islamic architecture in relation to public audience. Public audiences in early Islam typically took place between the palace and mosque and melded the political and religious in various ways. As an embodied experience, the audience event reveals much about architectural history. Tracing it is an effective framework because audiences were typically worthy of inclusion in the historical record. This means that they are often attested across various sources with a high level of consistency. Moreover, changes in Islamic architecture align perfectly with such audiences, from the introduction of the minbar, maqsura, and development of the qibla area to the Dar al-Imara and its audience hall. For these reasons, architecture was capable of supporting Umayyad resiliency in the face of seemingly insurmountable challenges, even past the dynasty's demise.[17] Collapsing a timeline of Islamic history that isolates moments of internecine strife, violence, and political anxiety onto the history of early Islamic architecture exposes a pattern of microhistories that presents a very different story of the formation of Islamic architecture (Pl. 2). Scrutinizing this timeline illustrates alignment between the audience event and the introduction of such seminal elements as the first minbar, the maqsura in the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, the first monumental domed audience hall in the form of the Qubbat al-Khadra' of Muʿawiya in Damascus, and the earliest surviving mosque-palace complex in Kufa. This timeline also shows that the period of the First and Second Islamic Civil Wars and the antebellum and interbellum years were the crucible of the formation of Islamic architecture.

This book deploys microhistories of architectural paradigms centered on the audience event to offer an alternative history for the formation of Islamic architecture. As microhistories that provide thick descriptions of early Islamic architecture across the mosque, palace, and shrine, each chapter traces a chronological narrative driven by the audience event.[18] These five entangled microhistories thereby serve as both histories of the formation of Islamic architecture and architectural histories of the formation of the Islamic state. Together, they manifest an architectural perspective on how and why Muslims succeeded against all odds at forging a lasting empire. Each of these select microhistories is structured around the phenomenon of embodied audience and encounter at the mosque, palace, and shrine. The book

16 The microhistorical approach is also evident in Oleg Grabar's *The Formation of Islamic Art*. Framed as seven thematic essays, Grabar intended this work as a preliminary query into the challenging question of the formation of Islamic architecture. See Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), xvi–xix.

17 Andrew Marsham, "Introduction," in *The Umayyad World*, ed. Andrew Marsham (London: Routledge, 2020), 8. See also John Haldon, "Historicizing Resilience: The Paradox of the Medieval East Roman State—Collapse, Adaptation, and Survival," in *Empires and Communities in the Post-Roman and Islamic World, C. 400–1000 CE*, ed. Walter Pohl and Rutger Kramer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 89–120.

18 These microhistories are, by necessity, "thick" descriptions, to borrow Clifford Geertz's concept that contextualizing is essential to understanding. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 3–30. For a state of the field of microhistory writing, see Francesca Trivellato, "Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?" *California Italian Studies* 2, no. 1 (2011). On the role of bodies in space, the extent to which they participate in storytelling and their utility in the writing of microhistories, see Thomas V. Cohen, "The Macrohistory of Microhistory." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 47, no. 1 (January 1, 2017): 53–73: 62–4. On the importance of foregrounding biography in microhistory writing, see Mark Gamsa, "Biography and (Global) Microhistory." *New Global Studies* 11, no. 3 (December 1, 2017): 231–41; Scott W Stern, "Big Questions in Microhistory." *Journal of Women's History* 32, no. 2 (2020): 128–36.

engages the vector of being in the presence of authority while navigating a spectrum of embodied experiences that are framed as modalities and levels of audience: risk, threat, awe, and wonder. Throughout, the book articulates and foregrounds Islamic attitudes towards embodiment in relation to these various modes of audience. It also shows how early Islamic architecture was shaped by the evolving lifeworld of early Muslims as they navigated, with their rulers, a complex and entangled framework of being in the world as mandated by Islam.[19]

The main argument is that Islamic architecture emerged parametrically as a product of an evolving anxiety around the identity of the caliph and governor, which in turn shaped attitudes towards public audience and governance.[20] Located at varying degrees of intimacy from the body of authority, these architectural changes emerged temporally as Islam navigated challenges concerning empire and the unsettled nature of caliphal identity. In this sense, architecture scaffolded intimate human encounters to support empire during a particularly embattled period of Islamic history that saw multiple civil wars and rampant internecine conflict. This work shows how architecture emerged as a compromise brokered between the Islamic community and its caliphs to ensure the survival of Islam as a polity. Consequently, architectural change emanated from the caliphal body as he governed within the community. Acting as a submerged logic that shaped early Islamic architecture, the framing of anxiety around audience draws into the interpretive orbit a multitude of deeper histories of Islamic architectural formation. Conversely, embedded within early Islamic architecture are traces of a divided community striving for unity.

Yearning for an unattainable identity while haunted by another may in fact be the very definition of an existential crisis. As a psychosocial construct intended to aid in existential survival, anxiety is a helpful framing because it humanizes early Muslims while rendering legible to an interdisciplinary audience the complexities and nuance of the formation of Islamic architecture. The writing of such a history by necessity implicates the body of authority, in most cases the caliph or governor, in relation to the community. This study reveals the human and far less heroic side of monumental history by foregrounding moments of insecurity, panic, fear, and danger as well as what must have been widespread grief, loss and trauma resulting from years of warfare. Centering caliphal anxieties and the nature of brokered compromise in their politics brings these political elites down to earth, exposes their vulnerabilities, and uncovers the fact that their authority was contingent on the agency of communal consensus, public sentiment, and optics. Interpreting space from a perspective of embodied authority thus unfolds as a "representation of human praxis"; that is, a nexus of mimetic experience and symbolic repertoires that enables the development and articulation of a shared cultural reality instead of a top-down history.[21] Despite foregrounding internecine conflict and the role of violence in the formation of Islamic architecture, this work does not claim a sectarian approach.[22] Rather, sectarianism emerges as an

19 On the importance of foregrounding the complexities of Muslim identity to understand early Islam, see Robert G. Hoyland, "Reflections on the Identity of the Arabian Conquerors of the Seventh-Century Middle East," *Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā* 25, no. 1 (2017): 116–31. On Muslim lifeworlds, the divine covenant, and sacred spaces, see Heba Mostafa, "Locating the Sacred in Early Islamic Architecture," in *Religious Architecture of Islam: Asia and Australia*, ed. Kathryn Blair Moore and Hasan-Uddin Khan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 12–23.

20 For a parallel methodology that considers the adoption of the pearl motif in the mosaics of the Great Mosque of Damascus as part of a "cycle of equivalence," see Finbarr Barry Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 45.

21 Dalibor Vesely, *Architecture in the Age of Divided Representation: The Question of Creativity in the Shadow of Production* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), 367.

22 For a critique of the utility of foregrounding sectarianism in architectural historical analysis, see Sheila S. Blair and Jonathon M. Bloom, "The Mirage of Islamic

organizing principle from the act of collapsing two timelines: the formation of the Islamic state and the formation of its architecture. It follows then that change aligns and coincides with moments of upheaval because of how early Muslims governed and observed their faith in public space.[23]

This book adopts a periodization informed by these moments of historical violence. It foregrounds the tumultuous nature of early Islamic politics and contested legitimacy while also responding to trends in the study of early Islamic history.[24] In doing so, it heeds calls within both Islamic art and Islamic studies for creative approaches to periodization that challenge the canon.[25] This method orients narratives of borrowing and appropriation toward more situated readings. It allows closer readings that connect histories of the formation of the Islamic state with the currency of the emblems of commands foregrounded in this book: the minbar, pseudo-thrones, maqsura, mosque, Dar al-Imara, audience hall, and sacred enclosures (*ḥaram*) in their various manifestations. It additionally captures the intrinsic intertwining of religion and politics in Islam, and therefore contributes to conversations about the need to reexamine the religious/secular binary in several disciplines.[26] This approach also attempts to sidestep the more common problems that plague the architectural survey, particularly those that relate to the thorny archaeological record of the palace.[27] Crucially, this work offers a conceptual foundation for understanding the mosque and palace in subsequent periods of the Islamic empire as well as the role of embodiment in the formation of Islamic architecture. While it is customary to elucidate a gap in scholarship, the fact is that we are up against an intractable problem to which generations of scholars have contributed, methodologically and conceptually.[28] This work thus joins a polyphony of voices that contribute

Art: Reflections on the Study of an Unwieldy Field," *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 1 (March 2003): 173.

23 For a critique of universalism and essentialized Muslim identity in the study of Islamic art, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Concept of Islamic Art: Inherited Discourses and New Approaches," *Journal of Art Historiography* 6 (2012): 4–6.

24 For recent re-examinations of central questions related to the formative period of Islam from the field of Islamic studies, see Marsham, ed., *The Umayyad World*; Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers*; Robert G. Hoyland, *In God's Path: The Arab Conquests and the Creation of an Islamic Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Aziz Al-Azmeh, *The Arabs and Islam in Late Antiquity: A Critique of Approaches to Arabic Sources* (Berlin: Gerlach Press, 2014); Peter Webb, *Imagining the Arabs: Arab Identity and the Rise of Islam* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016); Greg Fisher, ed., *Arabs and Empires before Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); G.W. Bowersock, *The Crucible of Islam*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2017); Sean W. Anthony, *Muhammad and the Empires of Faith: The Making of the Prophet of Islam* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2020); Tilman Nagel, *Muhammad's Mission: Religion, Politics, and Power at the Birth of Islam*, trans. Joseph Spoerl (Munich: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020). On contested legitimacy in early Islam, see H.A.R. Gibb, "The Evolution of Government in Early Islam," *Studia Islamica*, no. 4 (1955): 5–17. For calls for novel periodizations, see Antoine Borrut, "Vanishing Syria: Periodization and Power in Early Islam," *Der Islam* 91, no. 1 (2014): 37–68; and Antoine Borrut, "The Future of the Past: Historical Writing in Early Islamic Syria and Umayyad Memory," in *Power, Patronage, and Memory in Early Islam: Perspectives on Umayyad Elites*, ed. Andrew Marsham and Alain George (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 275–300.

25 Necipoğlu, "The Concept of Islamic Art," 12.

26 For the notion of the "church as state" in Islam, see Marsham, "'God's Caliph' Revisited: Umayyad Political Thought in its Late Antique Context," *Power, Patronage, and Memory in Early Islam: Perspectives on Umayyad Elites*, ed. Andrew Marsham and Alain George (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 26; Wendy M.K. Shaw, *What is "Islamic" Art? Between Religion and Perception* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 44–48.

27 Blair and Bloom, "The Mirage of Islamic Art," 167–68.

28 Oleg Grabar was emphatic regarding the provisional nature of his narrative for the formation of Islamic art. This book is a response to his call to action to frame similarly bold questions and conceive of new ways to query Islamic art's formation within ever more complex hermeneutical contexts. See Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art*, xvi–xix.

provisional histories for the formation of Islamic architecture.

2 Body Politics and Chimeric Caliphs

The void caused by the Prophet's death destabilized the community due to variance in belief about rightful successorship and understanding of obedience to a chain of command.[29] The chain of command was understood to emanate from God, mediated through the Prophet Muhammad, and extended to "those vested with authority." This last stipulation is defined in the Quranic Obedience Verse (Quran 4:59), which states that Muslims are ordered to obey God, the Prophet Muhammad, and "those vested with authority" (*wa aṭīʿū allāh wa rasūluh wa ūlū al-amr minkum*).[30] It defined politics in Islam and problematized a clear path to succession.[31] Disagreement over the category of *ūlū al-amr minkum* drove a wedge within the nascent Islamic community that continues to reverberate today. For these reasons, the burden of governance was laid upon rulers with a contested, ambiguous, and embattled identity.

Ambiguity around caliphal identity is another symptom of this latent anxiety. It is best exemplified by the complex historiography, informed by literary (mainly Quranic and exegetical) and material evidence, of caliphal titles during the formative period of Islam.[32] On the literary front, the early and Quranic origin of prophetic successorship to God (*khilāfa*) leaves open multiple possible timelines for the adoption of the "caliph" title.[33] Derived from surviving material objects, textual accounts (primarily state letters), and Quranic evidence, these histories propose provisional timelines for the parallel emergence of two forms of titles: God's Caliph (*khalīfat Allāh*) and Successor to Muhammad (*khalīfat rasūl Allāh*), alongside the more common title of Commander of the Faithful (*amīr al-muʾminīn*).[34] The earliest evidence of the use of the title Commander of the Faithful is found in a Greek inscription at Hammat Gader in reference to Muʿawiya. The first use of the title God's Caliph is found in the poetry of Hassan b. Thabit (d. 674), incidentally, also in reference to Muʿawiya.[35] The parallel use of both titles, Commander of the Faithful and God's Caliph, appears on coinage under Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwan (r. 685–705) in which the two titles encircle the standing figure of the caliph

29 Deeply entangled with caliphal identity and early Islamic politics is the notion of secular versus religious authority. See Aziz al-Azmeh, *Muslim Kingship: Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian, and Pagan Polities* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 154–80; and Majid Khadduri, *The Islamic Conception of Justice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).

30 Wadad Al-Qadi, "The Primordial Covenant and Human History in the Qurʾān," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 147, no. 4 (2003): 336–38.

31 For an analogous analysis of medieval exegetical trends as compared with the Verses of the Covenant, see al-Qadi, "The Primordial Covenant," 334.

32 For a comprehensive recent overview, see Hugh Kennedy, *Caliphate: The History of an Idea* (New York: Basic Books, 2016). For a recent discussion of the historiography of caliphal titles that problematizes them within the late antique context, see Marsham, "'God's Caliph' Revisited," 3–10, 28. For a summation and analysis of primary source material on the topic, see Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds, *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986). For the Quranic context, see Wadad Al-Qadi, "The Term 'Khalīfa' in Early Exegetical Literature," *Die Welt Des Islams* 28, no. 1/4 (1988): 392–411, esp. 397. For a discussion of caliphal identity in relation to coinage and poetry, see Nadia Jamil, "Caliph and Quṭb: Poetry as a Source for Interpreting the Transformation of the Byzantine Cross on Steps on Umayyad Coinage," in *Bayt al-Maqdis: Jerusalem and Early Islam*, ed. Jeremy Johns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 11–57.

33 The designation of the prophets Adam and David is the most commonly cited precedent, see Al-Qadi, "The Term 'Khalīfa' in Early Exegetical Literature," 395, 404.

34 For a recent discussion of the historiography of caliphal titles, see Marsham, "'God's Caliph' Revisited," 3–10.

35 Marsham, "'God's Caliph' Revisited," 27.

FIGURE 1.1 Standing Caliph Dinar, Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, issued in 694/5 CE. (Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford)

(Fig. 1.1).[36] Forged in the crucible of absent prophetic charisma and ambiguous caliphal identity, early Islamic architecture can thus be read as a product of such anxiety. Acknowledging the ambiguity of caliphal identity allows readings of the architecture in relation to identities in flux. These readings are further complicated by recent explorations of similarly faceted and layered communal identities at the time.[37]

Yet another manifestation of anxiety around caliphal identity is revealed in the contingency of early Islamic governance upon simultaneous and interconnected public audience in palace and mosque. In the mosque rulers delivered the Friday sermon (*khuṭba*), which was both religious and political in nature, and in their palace audience halls they engaged in public spiritual and religious debates.[38] The textual sources describe the mosque-palace complex precisely in this manner as a somewhat seamless whole in which rulers began their day in the palace and then moved between the palace and mosque, often without leaving the complex.[39] Central to this argument is the history of Islamic governance and the contingency of rulership upon regular public exposure to the scrutiny of the community. Key moments in the lifecycle of the Umayyad caliph took place in the mosque, including pledging oaths of allegiance (*bayʿa*), debates about succession, and political speeches imploring community support. Textual accounts of these narratives preserve an internal logic that explains events in not only time but also space, thus betraying attitudes towards elements within the mosque and palace.[40] Take, for example, the events following the untimely death of Muʿawiya II in 684, when potential successors gathered in the mosque in Damascus and jockeyed for the position of caliph. The Great Mosque of Damascus is also implicated in Yazid III's assumption of the caliphate following the assassination of al-Walid II in 744. That event involved the duplicitous act of gaining access to the maqsura by assuming the identity of al-Walid II's messengers and hoarding weapons inside the mosque.[41] Scrutiny of episodes that describe and debate such events by necessity narratively implicate architecture and thus demonstrate the saliency of its role in the scaffolding of caliphal identity.

36 Marsham, "'God's Caliph' Revisited," 21.

37 On the study of communal identities in early Islam, see Peter Webb, "Identity and Social Formation in the Early Caliphate," in *Routledge Handbook on Early Islam*, ed. Herbert Berg (London: Routledge, 2017), 129. See also Hoyland, "Reflections on the Identity," 116–31. See also Thomas Sizgorich, "Narrative and Community in Islamic Late Antiquity." *Past & Present*, no. 185 (2004): 9–42.

38 Linda G. Jones, *The Power of Oratory in the Medieval Muslim World* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 8–10.

39 Oleg Grabar, "Ceremonial and Art at the Umayyad Court," (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1955), 21–25.

40 For the *bayʿa* to ʿAli b. Abi Talib, see Al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī =Taʾrīkh al-Rusul waʾl Mulūk* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985–2007), 16:2–14. The public nature of proclamations at the mosque played a key role, particularly in avoiding the perception of "backroom deals." Al-Tabari goes into exhaustive detail describing the negotiations that occurred in this specific context and highlights the importance of such an arena for public debate and consensus building.

41 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 26:143–44.

Analysis of pre-Islamic and early Islamic beliefs around the body and its ability to broadcast "the true inner states of the mind, soul or spirit" that informed, and even mandated, subsequent modalities of audience reveals a far more complex impetus for public preaching than does the Prophet's precedent of preaching publicly at the mosque from a minbar.[42] For example, the skill of *firāsa*, defined as "inductive divination which permits the foretelling of moral conditions and psychological behavior from external indications and physical states," is most effective as a tool of governance in public displays of character and judgment by the ruler.[43] In this sense, the very act of public exposure offers the opportunity for God to lay bare the inner workings of the mind and expose true intentions, which in turn offers the community an opportunity to observe such bodily revelations, reach consensus and avoid outright conflict on that basis. This dynamic is further substantiated by the actions of caliphs and governors throughout the first dynasty of Islam, whereby the comportment of leaders at the mosque was specifically cited as grounds for acclaim or disdain and a sign of true character.[44] Present physical bodies exerted influence and the memories of past occupants also left potent traces on the shaping of early Islamic space.[45] When Ibn Jubayr (d. 1217) visited the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, the Prophet's minbar had an ebony cover hovering above the seat that allowed the faithful to stroke it but prevented later occupants from making physical contact, even as they preached upon it.[46] Thus, both present, visible bodies and absent, invisible bodies continued to exert a pull on the earliest spaces of governance.[47]

Similarly, the memory of Muhammad's physical presence is a defining characteristic of the early mosque, specifically in relation to the minbar and mihrab. Take, for example, the series of black stone discs, credited to al-Walid I (r. 705–15), that commemorate the prayer of the Prophet Muhammad in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem; an extant disc remains embedded in the mihrab within the cave below the Dome of the Rock (Fig. 1.2).[48] Consider also how memories of the thwarted assassination attempts against Muhammad shaped reactions to later assassinations, particularly the role played by divine intervention as he eluded the Quraysh tribe and fled to the safety of Medina.[49] Muhammad's survival is ascribed to his divinely inspired

42 Linda G. Jones, "Bodily Performances and Body Talk in Medieval Islamic Preaching," in *The Ends of the Body: Identity and Community in Medieval Culture*, ed. Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Jill Ross (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 212; Sauvaget, "The Mosque and the Palace," 122–23.

43 T. Fahd, "Firāsa," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. Brill, 2012, accessed April 8, 2023, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_2374.

44 Caliphal conduct in the mosque, specifically upon the minbar, is discussed in Chapter 2.

45 For the centrality of embodiment in devotional acts in Islam, see Finbarr Barry Flood, "Bodies and Becoming: Mimesis, Mediation, and the Ingestion of the Sacred in Christianity and Islam," in *Sensational Religion: Sensory Cultures in Material Practice*, ed. Sally M. Promey (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 459–62.

46 Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr: A Medieval Journey from Cordoba to Jerusalem*, trans. Ronald Broadhurst, introd. Robert Irwin (London: I.B. Tauris, 2019), 220.

47 Inherent to this understanding is the structuring of architecture "through degrees of embodiment, which represent a continuum of mediation between the human and divine, terrestrial and celestial, sensible and intelligible levels of reality." See Dalibor Vesely, "The Architectonics of Embodiment," in *Body and Building: Essays on the Changing Relation of Body and Architecture*, ed. George Dodds, Robert Tavernor, and Joseph Rykwert (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 31–32.

48 Finbarr B. Flood, "Light in Stone: The Commemoration of the Prophet in Umayyad Architecture," in *Bayt Al-Maqdis: Jerusalem and Early Islam*, ed. Jeremy Johns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 315–16, 320–23, 348–49. The disc was highly polished to reflect light. A geometric form, composed of a central medallion around which eight rhomboidal projections radiate, is inscribed on the disc and may allude to the seal of the Prophet.

49 For a comprehensive survey of such attempts, see Maḥmūd Muḥammad Maḥmūd Ḥasan Naṣṣār, *Muḥāwalāt ightiyāl al-Nabī wa-fashaluhā* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1996).

FIGURE 1.2
Mihrab in the cave below the rock with inset black stone disc, Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem. (Heba Mostafa)

foreknowledge of the conspiracy and ʿAli's courage in offering to wear the Prophet's cloak and take his place in bed. These and other accounts serve as reminders of the protection offered to Muhammad not by actual architectural spaces like the maqsura but by "invisible barriers" that Muhammad summoned as he recited the opening verses of Surat Yasin (Quran 36:1–9); they blocked the conspirators "from the front and the back" and blinded them to his escape.[50] These accounts bring attention to the idea that Muhammad's body is metaphorically shielded by an invisible, otherworldly power and that through his prophetic charisma, he can invoke protection in times of need. Consequently, while the relics of ʿUthman vividly evoke the memory of violence perpetrated against the caliphal body and encode evidence of communal breakdown and the bloody consequences of the loss of consensus, they also signal to a time when protection was offered by far more exalted means.

3 Histories of the Formation of Islamic Architecture

Study of the formative period of Islamic architecture dates from the field's inception. It was a chief concern of K.A.C. Creswell and Jean Sauvaget, who surveyed the canon largely through the lens of its late antique and classical origins. Their work lays at the foundation of later inquiries and casts a long shadow despite ongoing attempts to destabilize its core colonial narratives. Notwithstanding Creswell's infamous framing of the first several decades of Islamic architecture under the heading of "Primitive Islam" and problems inherent to the typological survey, his meticulous documentation, particularly the publication of contemporaneous archaeology, remains critical to the field.

50 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 6:142–43.

Sauvaget's many publications on the Umayyad Mosque pioneered approaches refined by Oleg Grabar that regard the origins of the mosque as a product of Umayyad habitus, specifically in relation to ceremony. Sauvaget's identification of what is understood as the entry of the language of the palace into the mosque raised important questions about the multivalency of caliphal identity before its nuance was fully appreciated in the discipline of Islamic architectural history.[51]

Later generations have had to contend with two chief methodological issues: the fragmentary archaeological record and problems inherent to early textual sources. These issues pose a particular challenge for defining such non-extant monuments of early Islam as the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina and the early urban palaces that remain largely invisible to the canon.[52] Located in nearly every major Islamic city, these urban palaces, known as Dar al-Imara, were often attached to mosques or located near them. Regrettably, unlike many mosques, few of these palaces survive.[53] Even fewer of the earlier palaces were documented archaeologically in the past one hundred years, and those that have were recorded with varying degrees of reliability and interpretative utility.[54] Disparity in the archaeological record extends across the early Islamic world. Evidence of the extra-urban palaces of the Umayyads is well documented throughout the southern Levant and has consequently impacted the study of early Islamic architecture. By contrast, archaeological evidence of palaces in the major urban centers of Syria and Iraq is scant and presents a critical lacuna in the understanding of the formation of Islamic architecture.[55] This book engages the problematic archaeological record through a microhistorical approach defined by close readings of the biographies of chief protagonists, the history of governance, and other evidentiary assemblages that include material evidence and poetry.

Epistemological challenges that center on the utility, nature, and reliability of Arabic texts remain formidable. Recently, these challenges have been tempered by the productive use of critical text analysis, which has paved the way towards more

51 Sauvaget, "The Mosque and the Palace," 145. A case in point is Sauvaget's conclusion about the palatial origins of the mihrab, in which he saw parallels with the late antique royal audience hall and the qibla space itself. He likened the maqsura to the curtain that hides the enthroned king from view, the minbar to the throne, and the dome to the domed audience spaces of late antiquity. In this theory the qibla configuration under the Umayyads is regarded as an architectural response to the forces of ceremonial, royal audience, and processional within the mosque and is therefore considered to be a specifically Umayyad expression. See also Nuha N.N. Khoury, "The Mihrab: From Text to Form," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 1 (1998): 2–3.

52 Gülru Necipoğlu, "An Outline of Shifting Paradigms in the Palatial Architecture of the Pre-Modern Islamic World," in "Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces," ed. Gülru Necipoğlu, special issue, *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 5–6. Necipoğlu explains that the transformation of the Umayyad Dar al-Imara to the Abbasid *dār al-khilāfa* (palace of the caliphate) is a product of the shift from "Umayyad tribalism" to Abbasid "sacred absolutism," which revived ancient Near Eastern kingship models.

53 The few urban palaces that have been discovered and are relatively well preserved and documented, such as those in Amman and Jerusalem, date from later periods. Still, archaeological and material evidence from these palaces present their own unique problems. As a result, the picture remains largely incomplete.

54 The problems of incomplete archaeological records that plague other fields apply here too, with the added challenge of ongoing destruction and looting endemic in war-torn areas.

55 The interpretation of palaces excavated in the early twentieth century, as in the case of the Dar al-Imara in Kufa, Iraq, is often challenging because of the limited availability of reports and questions regarding their reliability. Ziyad's Dar al-Imara, excavated in 1938 by the Iraqi Directorate General of Antiquities, entered the canon of Islamic architecture directly through the efforts of K.A.C. Creswell, who communicated in person with the archaeologist and commissioned Crystal Kessler to prepare an English translation of the Arabic excavation report. See Crystal Kessler, "A Translation of M.A. Muṣṭafa's 'Ṭaqrīr Awwalī 'an Ṭanqīb Fī'l- Kūfa Lil-Mawsim al-Thālith," *Sumer* XIX (1963): 36–65.

nuanced readings that challenge monolithic attitudes towards historical biases and other issues.[56] While written historical accounts rarely provide descriptions of monuments, and may even contradict the archaeological record, critical text analysis has paved the way for productive engagement with written text in the absence of concrete or complete archaeological evidence.[57] Studies that re-assess textual narrative as a carrier of meaning have been particularly productive in this regard.[58] The field of early Islamic archeology continues to offer new insights at the intersection of pre-Islam and early Islam,[59] particularly with respect to the institution of the caliphate and the formation of the Islamic state, from which a mostly reliable repertoire of textual, numismatic, epigraphic, and architectural evidence has survived.[60] Such studies are supported and enhanced by substantial work on the history of Islamic governance and urbanism.[61] Scholarship on the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina has contended with extreme forms of both challenges and has deeply shaped the methodological outlook presented here.[62] Following in its vein, this work deploys critical text analysis alongside the study of surviving archeological, architectural, and material evidence.

This work further affirms current trends that challenge the insularity of Islamic architectural history by expanding conventional frames of reference beyond their late antique and ancient Near Eastern roots. Sauvaget's framing of Umayyad

56 Antoine Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir: L'espace syrien sous les derniers Omeyyades et les premiers Abbassides (v. 72–193/692–809)* (Leiden: Brill, 2010). Narratives composed at the courts of political adversaries decades or even centuries after the fact present their own interpretive challenges.

57 For recent discussions of the archaeological record of the early Islamic period, see Marcus Milwright, *An Introduction to Islamic Archaeology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010); Andrew Petersen, "What Is 'Islamic' Archaeology?," *Antiquity* 79, no. 303 (2005): 100–106; Stephen Vernoit, "The Rise of Islamic Archaeology," *Muqarnas* 14 (1997), 1–0.

58 Nancy A. Khalek, *Damascus After the Muslim Conquest: Text and Image in Early Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 4–38; Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir*; Borrut, "The Future of the Past," 275–300. Following these scholars, the approach presented in this work rests on the notion that if a history of the early Islamic state can be retrieved through narrative sources and fragmentary material evidence, then so can the history of its lost mosques, palaces, shrines, and other material and spatial protagonists. Unlike histories of the caliphs of early Islam that are written unapologetically by contemporary scholars, the entangled histories of the material and spatial protagonists of the early Islamic state survive with far less embedded bias and narrative distortion.

59 Denis Genequand, "The Archaeological Evidence for the Jafnids and the Naṣrids," in *Arabs and Empires before Islam*, ed. Greg Fisher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 172–213; Katia Cytryn-Silverman, "The Umayyad Mosque of Tiberias," *Muqarnas* 26, no. 1 (2009): 37–61; Katia Cytryn-Silverman, "City Centre of Early Islamic Tiberias (Tabariyya)," *Fondation Max Van Berchem Bulletin*, no. 23 (2009): 5–7.

60 Jeremy Johns, "Archaeology and the History of Early Islam: The First Seventy Years," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 46, no. 4 (2003): 411–36; R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry*, rev. ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 69–70. For an examination of the Umayyad and Abbasid inscriptions at the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina that deploys textual sources to great effect, see Harry Munt, "The Umayyad and Early Abbasid Inscriptions in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina." *Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭa* 30 (June 27, 2022): 79–147.

61 Jelle Bruning, *The Rise of a Capital: Al-Fustat and Its Hinterland, 18/639–132/750* (Leiden: Brill, 2018); Petra M. Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State: The World of a Mid-Eighth-Century Egyptian Official* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

62 Jeremy Johns, "The 'House of the Prophet' and the Concept of the Mosque," in *Bayt Al-Maqdis: Jerusalem and Early Islam*, ed. Jeremy Johns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 59–112. For a challenge to the central premise of John's argument, see Essam S. Ayyad, "The 'House of the Prophet' or the 'Mosque of the Prophet'?," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 24, no. 3 (September 2013): 333. See also Aila Santi, "*Masjidu-hu wa masākinu-hu*: 'His Mosque and His Dwellings'. New Perspectives on the Study of 'the House of the Prophet' in Madīna," in *Mantua Humanistic Studies*, ed. Riccardo Roni, vol. 2 (Mantova: Universitas Studiorum, 2018), 97–116. For a reinterpretation of the Mosque of the Prophet that considers close readings of hadith, see Essam Ayyad, *The Making of the Mosque: A Survey of Religious Imperatives* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2019).

habitus was prescient of later approaches that further problematize Umayyad art history.[63] Grabar's probe of the notion of Muslim agency within the repertoire of late antiquity in *The Formation of Islamic Art* inspired subsequent scholars to isolate discrete historical narratives and deploy an array of interpretive tools to understand the rise of the visual idiom in Islam. Robert Hillenbrand's writing on the Umayyad palace, particularly his articulation of the role of awe and wonder at the later Umayyad palace, situates caliphal identity within the context of the lived realities of courtly audience.[64] While Grabar opened the field to questions of Muslim agency, Finbarr Barry Flood and others have in recent years considered Umayyad visual culture to be self-conscious in the way in which it selectively appropriated and suppressed aspects of pre-Islam to create an Islamic visual language.[65] Nasser Rabbat has shown that attempts to identify "extra cultural models" and "decipher the channels of appropriation they traversed" should be recast in terms of the role played by the Umayyads in "supplementing, transforming, and enriching that repertoire with new expressive elements and interpretive tools, which they invented, brought with them, or borrowed from somewhere else."[66] Rabbat's analysis emphasizes the repertoire of ideas about architecture and visual culture that Umayyad patrons brought from Arabia, embedded within their poetry, and experienced as "a more general fondness for the emphatic pictorial potential of words and the inherent structural capacity of rhyme."[67] Building on the work of an earlier generation of scholars, Mattia Guidetti isolates and foregrounds salient features of the late antique context to reinterpret the rise of the Islamic architectural idiom, thereby challenging the periodization of early Islamic architecture and unsettling its assumptions.[68] The linguistic metaphors of translation and dialogue adopted by Flood and Rabbat are further extended in the work of Alain George, particularly in his most recent contribution on the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus and his use of the Quranic notion of polysemy as an interpretive lens.[69] The use of poetry as an interpretive tool has been a constant theme in studies of Umayyad visual culture, particularly in the case of the palace.[70] Garth Fowden's pioneering

63 Sauvaget's work later became the foundation of Grabar's doctoral dissertation, "Ceremonial and Art."

64 Robert Hillenbrand, "La Dolce Vita in Early Islamic Syria: The Evidence of Later Umayyad Palaces," *Art History* 5, no. 1 (1982): 1–35.

65 Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art*, 211–13; Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus*, 10–12, 203–6. Flood's argument of cultural translation between late antiquity and Islam foregrounds how Muslims understood their world in relation to the iconographic legacy of pre-Islam, particularly Byzantium. He argues that Umayyad visual culture attempted to address two separate audiences—the new Islamic community and the existing Christian population—and in doing so exhibited innovative versatility. See also Mattia Guidetti, "Sacred Spaces in Early Islam," in *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture*, ed. Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülru Necipoğlu, 2 vols. (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2017), 130–50.

66 Nasser Rabbat, "Umayyad Architecture: A Spectacular Intra-Cultural Synthesis in Bilad al-Sham," in *Residences, Castles, Settlements: Transformation Processes from Late Antiquity to Early Islam in Bilad al-Sham: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Damascus, 5–9 November, 2006*, ed. Karin Bartl and Abd al-Razzaq Moaz (Rahden/Westf: VML, Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2008), 13–16.

67 Nasser Rabbat, "The Dialogic Dimension of Umayyad Art," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 43 (Spring 2003): 79–80. On rhyme, see Rabbat, "Umayyad Architecture," 15–16.

68 Mattia Guidetti, *In the Shadow of the Church: The Building of Mosques in Early Medieval Syria* (Leiden: Brill 2016), 1–2, 6–8.

69 Alain Fouad George, "The Dome of the Rock," in *Routledge Handbook on Jerusalem*, ed. Suleiman A. Mourad, Naomi Koltun-Fromm, and Bedross Der Matossian (London: Routledge, 2018), 193; Alain George, "Paradise or Empire? On a Paradox of Umayyad Art," in *Power, Patronage, and Memory in Early Islam: Perspectives on Umayyad Elites*, ed. Andrew Marsham and Alain George (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 39–68; and Alain George, *The Umayyad Mosque of Damascus: Art, Faith and Empire in Early Islam*, ed. Melanie Gibson (London: Gingko, 2020), 199–203, 207–209.

70 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The Lion-Gazelle Mosaic at Khirbat al-Mafjar," *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 11–18. Behrens-Abouseif takes al-Walid II's poetry into consideration

work on the Umayyad palace of Qusayr ʿAmra, intertwined historical and literary evidence to reveal nuances of Umayyad courtly life in dialogue with those of late antiquity.[71] Aligned with these approaches are articulations of discrete histories of architectural elements, most of which survive only within textual accounts. The most relevant of these studies is the work of Estelle Whelan and Nuha N.N. Khoury on the linguistic, historical, and iconographic implications of the adoption of the mihrab as a concept and the niche mihrab as an element within the early mosque.[72]

Scholars of early Islamic architecture have long fought to render whole a history fragmented and contested by nature. Given that recent scholarship employs microhistories defined by a theme or idea alongside microhistories of monuments in the *longue durée*, the field is past the point of writing summative or grand histories of the formation of Islamic architecture. This methodological shift follows another longstanding disciplinary trend, that of tracking change over time, as exemplified by Jere Bacharach's groundbreaking study of the transformation of the administrative complexes of medieval Islam,[73] the myriad studies that isolate the development of individual sites in Jerusalem,[74] and those that foreground the role of craftsmen as repositories of knowledge and creators of meaning in early Islam.[75] Histories of embodiment, the gaze, ritual practice and the sensory continue to influence the field and have been particularly informative for the study of the earlier period of Islamic history.[76] Such discrete histories are themselves

in her interpretation of this mosaic. She argues that the caliph is represented as the virile lion in pursuit of his beloved, Salma, who is represented in the mosaic as the gazelle. For an interpretation of the bathhouse at Khirbat al-Mafjar in light of al-Walid II's poetry, see Robert Hamilton, *Walid and His Friends: An Umayyad Tragedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). For a similar approach in relation to the Umayyad desert palaces in general, see Hillenbrand, "La Dolce Vita," 1–35.

71 Garth Fowden, *Quṣayr ʿAmra: Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

72 Khoury, "The Mihrab: From Text to Form," 1–27; Whelan, "The Origins of the Mihrāb Mujawwaf," 205–23.

73 For a critical study that explores the Dar al-Imara in relation to broader urban, historical, and political trends and foregrounds the shifting nature of rulership and ruled, see Jere L. Bacharach, "Administrative Complexes, Palaces, and Citadels: Changes in the Loci of Medieval Muslim Rule," in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, ed. Irene Bierman, Rifaʿat A. Abou-El-Haj, and Donald Preziosi (New Rochelle: A.D. Caratzas, 1991), 105–22. See also Paul Wheatley, *The Places Where Men Pray Together: Cities in Islamic Lands, Seventh through the Tenth Centuries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

74 Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Andreas Kaplony, *The Ḥaram of Jerusalem, 324–1099: Temple, Friday Mosque, Area of Spiritual Power* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002); Lawrence Nees, *Perspectives on Early Islamic Art in Jerusalem* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Jacob Lassner, *Medieval Jerusalem: Forging an Islamic City in Spaces Sacred to Christians and Jews* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017). For recent studies that explore individual sites or parts of sites through time, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: ʿAbd al-Malik's Grand Narrative and Sultan Süleyman's Glosses," *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 17–105; Heba Mostafa, "From the Dome of the Chain to Miḥrāb Dāʾūd: The Transformation of an Umayyad Commemorative Site at the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem," *Muqarnas* 34, no. 1 (2017): 1–22; Kathryn Blair Moore, "The Dome of the Rock Through the Centuries." In *Religious Architecture of Islam*, edited by Kathryn Blair Moore and Hasan-Uddin Khan, Volume I: Asia and Australia, Turnhout: Brepols, 2021, 109–23.

75 Nadia Ali and Mattia Guidetti, "Umayyad Palace Iconography," in *Power, Patronage, and Memory in Early Islam: Perspectives on Umayyad Elites*, ed. Andrew Marsham and Alain George (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 175–252; Marcus Milwright, *The Dome of the Rock and Its Umayyad Mosaic Inscriptions* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016).

76 For the foregrounding of the body as an analytical framework, see Finbarr Barry Flood, "Bodies, Books and Buildings: Economies of Ornament in Juridical Islam," in *Clothing Sacred Scriptures: Book Art and Book Religion in Christian, Islamic, and Jewish Cultures*, ed. David Ganz and Barbara Schellewald (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2018), 49–68. For a different approach that considers interment on an urban scale, see D. Fairchild Ruggles, "Visible and Invisible Bodies: The Architectural Patronage of Shajar Al-Durr," *Muqarnas* 32, no. 1 (2015): 63–78. For the body in the context of death, internment, and sanctity, see Adam Bursi, "A Holy Heretical Body:

responsive to calls within the discipline to mobilize novel periodization and mindfully adopt diachronic and synchronic history writing.[77]

4 Book Structure

The book is structured in three parts. Each part examines a modality of encounter between the Islamic community and both the present and absent body of authority (caliphal, prophetic, and divine). It charts these encounters from the most intimate—the seat of caliphal rule at the mosque and palace—to the transcendent, abstract, and cosmological. It probes early Muslims' relationships with divine authority through devotional practices, specifically those that evoke God's Throne. Each part is integrated within the overarching structure of the book and simultaneously addresses salient and self-contained arguments relevant to each audience event. Chapters 2 and 3 map the first zone around the caliphal body by situating him within the mosque and palace (Dar al-Imara). Chapter 2 tackles the multivalency of the caliphal seat of rule through analysis of the minbar, *kursī* and *sarīr* (early Islamic pseudo-thrones) at the mosque and palace, situating these various seats within the context of early Muslim audience, ceremonial, and ritual practice. Chapter 3 picks up the narrative from the moment of ʿUmar's assassination outside the mosque. It shows how the maqsura commissioned by his successor, ʿUthman, and adopted by later caliphs was emblematic of a reconciliation between the two conflicting needs of holding audience publicly at the mosque and avoiding assassination. The development of the mosque and palace (Dar al-Imara) as a single complex is interpreted through this lens to offer a nuanced reading of the history of the mosque-palace complex as a reaction to the specificities of local history and internecine conflict. By acknowledging and foregrounding the mosque and palace as a unified complex, we can recognize these architectural structures as the nexus of communal and caliphal activity, and see how together they represent the lived reality of early Muslims.

Chapters 4 and 5 revisit the theme of multivalent caliphal identities and public audience beyond the mosque. These chapters identify a new stage of architectural anxiety spurred by the outbreak, interim, and aftermath of the First Islamic Civil War. This period spanning 656 to 680 is framed as a spatio-social and political negotiation between Muʿawiya, who ruled in Damascus first as governor and then as caliph, and his chief governor and ally, Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan (also known as Ziyad b. Abihi, Ziyad b. Sumayya, and Ziyad b. ʿUbayd), who ruled in Kufa and Basra. Chapter 4 and 5 identify Muʿawiya in Syria and Ziyad in Iraq as working in tandem to enclose the community in a coercive embrace. Through the architecture of governance, caliph and governor aimed to reassure, negotiate, and arbitrate in Syria while threatening, asserting control, and intimidating in Iraq.

Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh's Corpse and Early Islamic Sectarianism," *Studies in Late Antiquity* 2, no. 2 (2018): 147–79. On the senses, see Adam Bursi, "Scents of Space: Early Islamic Pilgrimage, Perfume, and Paradise," *Arabica* 67, no. 2–3 (2020): 200–234; Christian Lange, "Introduction: The Sensory History of the Islamic World," *The Senses and Society* 17, no. 1 (2022): 1–7. On the gaze in early Islamic art, see Theodore Van Loan, "Signifying Visions in Early Islam: From Jāhiliyya Idols to the Dome of the Rock and the Great Mosque of Damascus," *Beiträge Zur Islamischen Kunst Und Archäologie Jahrbuch Der Ernst Herzfeld-Gesellschaft, Encompassing the Sacred in Islamic Art* 16 (2020): 25–42. On ritual in early Islam, see also Najam Iftikhar Haider, *The Origins of the Shīʿa: Identity, Ritual, and Sacred Space in Eighth Century Kūfa*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization. Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2011). See also A.C. Bursi, "Fluid Boundaries: Christian Sacred Space and Islamic Relics in an Early Ḥadīth." *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 27, no. 6 (2022): 478–510; G.R. Hawting, *The Development of Islamic Ritual*. Formation of the Classical Islamic World; Volume 26. (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016).

77 See Finbarr Barry Flood, "From the Prophet to Postmodernism? New World Orders and the End of Islamic Art," in *Making Art History: A Changing Discipline and Its Institutions*, ed. Elizabeth Mansfield (London: Routledge, 2007), 44–47. Necipoğlu, "The Concept of Islamic Art," 12–15.

Chapter 4 shows how Muʿawiya's Khadra' palace can only be understood in the context of his governance and succession predicaments. In the form of a heavenly dome, it invoked diplomacy, forbearance, negotiation, and arbitration with hegemonic allusion to a divinely sanctioned space of rule.[78]

Despite the evident importance of these histories, a lacuna is apparent in the field. Other scholars have persuasively analyzed the Qubbat al-Khadra' as a heavenly dome, but it has until now resisted adequate interpretation, leaving many questions unanswered as to its chronology and historical implications. Even though the Dar al-Imara of Ziyad is one of the earliest surviving urban palaces in the archaeological record, it is conspicuously absent from most survey texts and therefore represents a critical lost chapter in the history of early Islamic architecture. Chapter 5 applies the lens of governance and Ziyad's prosopography to the architectural patronage of Ziyad in Basra and Kufa to reveal the governor's architectural patronage in Iraq as a heretofore unacknowledged and critical turning point in the history of Islamic architecture.

Chapter 6 transposes the argument of political negotiation onto Jerusalem and frames fears around the End of Days as the final chapter of early Islamic existential anxiety. Covering the period from the Islamic conquest (*c.*638) to the end of the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik in 705, with an emphasis on Muʿawiya's reign, Chapter 6 presents divine encounters as the apogee of audience in Islam. Further, it frames the longing for proximity to divine-encounter sites of memory as key to understanding Islamic architecture in the Holy City. Chapter 6 returns once more to the throne to problematize the parameters of caliphal investment in Jerusalem and expands the arguments in Chapter 2 to show how caliphal identity comes to transcend the shadow of Muhammad's authority. This chapter also reexamines the architecture of the Haram al-Sharif and Dome of the Rock as the grand finale of the assuagement of Muslim existential anxieties, whereby eschatological anxieties and political survival converged when Muslims adhered directly to the aura of God's celestial court. The book concludes with the argument that the framework of imperial and existential anxiety that defines the first century of Muslim rule explains al-Walid I's identity as an architectural patron at the turn of the eighth century. The history of Islamic architecture as forged in a crucible of anxiety is a product of Islam's tribulations as well as its success at building empire. While the maqsura may be a product of violence, it also shielded its occupants and mitigated the complex needs of a young empire in flux. Theorizing the formation of Islamic architecture from within engages meticulously recorded narratives of the loss, angst, triumph, fear, and awe that inspired it, thus animating architectural histories beyond what stones alone can tell.

78 Mediation and arbitration were widespread practices, the social, religious, and cultural contexts of which are highly relevant to an analysis of audience spaces. See Petra Sijpesteijn, "Establishing Local Elite Authority in Egypt Through Arbitration and Mediation," in *Transregional and Regional Elites—Connecting the Early Islamic Empire*, ed. Hannah-Lena Hagemann and Stefan Heidemann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 387–406. See also Benjamin Anderson, *Cosmos and Community in Early Medieval Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

CHAPTER 2

The Caliph's Multivalent Body

The Minbar and Seat of Rule

1 The Caliph's Multivalent Body

In the days that followed the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632, the community gathered for communal consultation (*shūra*) in Medina to pledge allegiance to his successor and esteemed companion, Abu Bakr. A turning point in Islamic history like no other, this episode came to be known as the event of the *saqīfa*, after the simple roofed structure in which it took place.[1] The dual titles that Abu Bakr and his successors assumed, the militaristic Commander of the Faithful and the novel title of caliph (successor, *khalīfa*), are emblematic in their duality of the uncharted political waters that followed the loss of the charismatic authority of the Prophet Muhammad. The death of the Prophet and election of Abu Bakr mark a paradigmatic shift because these events transformed what Muslims had come to accept as the orthodox chain of command. It is the double bind of an absent chain of authoritative transmission that arose with the death of the Prophet Muhammad and the anxiety spurred by ambiguity around the identity of "those vested with authority" that explains the multivalency of caliphal identity in early Islam. With no precedent, the role and titles assumed by Islam's early leaders can only be described as chimeric and variably responsive to their changing context.[2] Oscillating along a spectrum of established norms of rulership yet unable to settle on any, the spaces of caliphal rule at the mosque and palace, and the seats they assumed during the first century of Islam were analogously nebulous. The identity of the caliph as a *negative*, neither Prophet nor king, explains the anxiety framed in the title of this book. The rulers of early Islam were left haunted by identities that they both longed for and feared; prophethood was sealed yet kingship seemed cursed.[3]

Confusion around who the caliphs were and were not permitted to be extended to the very question of who they were succeeding. Were they God's caliphs, like the prophet Adam as described in the Quran, or were they successors to the Prophet Muhammad?[4] The synthesis, contestation, and unravelling of this amorphous caliphal identity was far from a rarefied debate. This question had serious implications for governance, the survival of the Islamic empire, and the formation of its architecture. As demonstrated here, the architecture of early Islam acted not so much as a panacea but as a compromise that needed to be brokered between the Islamic community and their rulers to ensure their survival and avoid societal and political collapse from within.

The architectural remediation of this oscillating caliphal identity had concrete spatial consequences. Traces are found primarily in textual accounts and supported by surviving physical evidence in archaeology, architecture, and material culture. This chapter maps this evidence at the first degree of bodily proximity to the caliph. These seats are tracked from the palace to the mosque across different situations and times of

1 G. Lecomte, "al-Saḳīfa," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. Brill, 2012, accessed April 8, 2023, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0980.

2 Marsham, "'God's Caliph' Revisited," 4–5.

3 Attributes of prophethood were unattainable in every definition of the word. Claiming prophetic knowledge or ability would have hamstrung the tenet of Islam that asserts Muhammad as the seal of prophethood.

4 This is a debate with a longstanding history. For the most recent and relevant works that engage with the context of the use of caliphal titles, see Introduction.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2024 | DOI:10.1163/9789004690189_003

day.[5] Just as variable caliphal titles were used in different contexts, so too were seats of caliphal rule differentiated at the mosque, palace, and beyond. The minbar appeared in the mosque, the *sarīr* (bedstead or couch) was used in the palace, and the *kursī* (chair) migrated between mosque and palace.

The community that followed the Prophet Muhammad into exile in Medina *c.*622 was uniquely comprised of both the disenfranchised population and the wealthy elite of Meccan society. The early community's interactions when gathered in the courtyard attached to the Prophet's residence, which served as the Mosque of the Prophet, inevitably shaped the mosque's early architecture and elements. In this sense, the early mosque can be viewed as the spatial component of Muhammad's spiritual, political, and economic counternarrative. It functioned as a space of persuasion capable of upholding a novel paradigm of being in the world. The minbar and other seats associated with the mosque and early palace should be understood as part of this spatial counternarrative. Their continuous use after the Prophet's death is moreover emblematic of the ongoing construction of spatial narratives that countered the spaces Islam's rivals inhabited.

Navigating civil war, sedition, and challenges to their legitimacy, early Muslim caliphs adhered to Muhammad's precedent by adopting the minbar as the quintessential seat of the caliphate. This choice transcended a mere homage to the Prophet. It also aligned with how caliphs came to understand themselves as leaders of a world empire. While Muhammad's adoption of the minbar at his mosque in Medina appears to align with his stated austerity and avoidance of vestiges of pre-Islamic despotic kingship, such as crowns and scepters, textual sources convey a more complex narrative about the seat of rule in early Islam. The Prophet and the early caliphs not only used various pseudo-thrones, including the *sarīr* and *kursī*, but also adopted attitudes towards the seat of rule that were neither homogenous nor monolithic, but rather situated, contextual, rarefied, and invariably ambiguous. When the throne and pseudo-thrones are approached as a gestalt in context, they emerge as the spatial component of the negotiation of a religious and political counternarrative. This analysis reveals the embeddedness of historical and discursive thrones in Muhammad's choice of the minbar as a seat. Its gravitational pull as a symbol and relic continued to inform other modes of audience and differentiated seats of rule at both mosque and palace for the duration of the Umayyad period and beyond.

2 Muhammad in the Mosque: The Minbar and Throne

On the surface, Muhammad's adoption of the minbar and its later exaltation by Muslim caliphs suggest that sitting upon a throne was purposefully avoided. This view is supported by accounts that report the minbar was introduced to the Prophet's Mosque *c.*628–30 to comply with requests by the Prophet's companions that he be seated above visiting delegations.[6] Likely commissioned from a Byzantine carpenter, Muhammad's minbar functioned as an elevated platform and seat upon which the Prophet both stood and sat during his delivery of the *khuṭba* and when acting as judge. Although the Prophet's adoption of the minbar implies his desire to avoid a throne-like seat in the mosque, he also reportedly sat on a *kursī*, or what was considered by commentators to be a throne-like seat.[7] The sources frame Muhammad's

5 Chapter 4 extends this discussion to consider the itinerant caliphal seat.

6 J. Pedersen et al., "Minbar," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. Brill, 2012, accessed April 8, 2023, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0744.

7 Pedersen et al., "Minbar." In the sources, the terms *kursī* (pseudo-throne) and *sarīr* (couch/bedstead) are not necessarily associated with a specific use at the mosque or palace. *Sarīr*, which has also been interpreted as a bedstead, may have functioned as a bier or been otherwise associated with funerary functions in early Islam. See Muhammad Qasim Zaman, "Death, Funeral Processions, and the Articulation of Religious Authority in Early Islam," *Studia Islamica*, no. 93 (2001): 27–58.

reluctance and subsequent acquiescence to adopt the minbar as part of Islam's fraught relationship with despotic pre-Islamic kingship. They also paint a nuanced picture of the Prophet's minbar vis-à-vis Muslim kingship (*mulk*) and the throne.[8] Paradoxically, although early Muslims established their identity as distinct from and often juxtaposed with kingship, it was not viewed as problematic in and of itself. Rather, kingship was contextually disparaged only as it related to ancient Near Eastern and late antique despotism.[9] It is also likely the avoidance of an elevated and exalted seat at the mosque was a conscious choice to avoid summoning the bishop's cathedra, which took the form of a seat, or the synagogue's bema, which took the form of an elevated platform or pulpit, although the sources are silent on this matter.

Establishing an identity of just rulership distinct from despotic kingship, especially the clientism of the Lakhmids, Ghassanids, and other Arab kings, was of particular importance to early Islamic rulers.[10] When asked to distinguish kingship from the caliphate, the second Rightly Guided Caliph, ʿUmar, responded, "If you have taxed the lands of the Muslims one dirham, or more or less, and applied it to unlawful purposes, then you are a king, not a caliph."[11] Although kingship was not inherently vilified, it appears that, for at least the first hundred years of Islam, there was tension around visible metonyms of kingship. Unsurprisingly, the absence of recognizable emblems of kingship, such as crowns, attracted the attention of contemporary commentators. This was the case when Muʿawiya received the oath of allegiance and acceded to the caliphate in Jerusalem *c.*661. His refusal to wear a crown and "go to the throne (minbar) of Muhammad" in Medina was particularly noted in this instance.[12] Such deviation from the norm would have struck observers as highly unusual, which may in fact have been the intended purpose of Muʿawiya's choice.[13]

Accounts of renowned pre-Islamic thrones permeate the Arabic textual tradition and were by no means universally condemned. Rather, they were differentiated along lines of righteousness and tyranny, despotism, and idolatry. They feature prominently in the Quran, hadith, historical compendia, literary accounts, and exegetical discourse. The thrones of the righteous, including the thrones of the prophets Solomon and Joseph, are cast as bending to God's will, for example.[14] In exegetical treatises the throne of the biblical Queen of Sheba

8 It should be noted that various pseudo-thrones, including the *sarīr* and *kursī*, replaced the monumental thrones of pre-Islam in the mosques and palaces of major cities. It is assumed, based on representations of pseudo-thrones in several surviving desert palaces, that by the end of the Umayyad period, the monumental throne was more common in desert palaces, perhaps as a result of the less formal nature of the desert palace setting.

9 Sean Anthony, "Prophetic Dominion, Umayyad Kingship: Varieties of *mulk* in the Early Islamic Period," in *The Umayyad World*, ed. Andrew Marsham (London: Routledge, 2020), 41–42, 57.

10 The Lakhmids and Ghassanids ruled along the frontiers of the Sasanian and Byzantine empires and served as their clients. For a discussion of the clientism of Arab tribes in pre-Islam, see Yāsamīn Zahrān, *Ghassan Resurrected* (London: Stacey International, 2006); and Yāsamīn Zahrān and Robert Hoyland, *The Lakhmids of Hira: Sons of the Water of Heaven* (London: Stacey International, 2009).

11 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-Rusul waʾl-Mulūk* 1:2754.

12 Andrew Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy: Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 87. By establishing his new capital in Damascus, Muʿawiya consolidated a new power base in Syria away from the opposition in Kufa, Medina, and Mecca. Muʿawiya was, however, accused of sitting upon what observers referred to as a throne, most likely a reference to the *sarīr* and *kursī* used in his palace as well as his mosque in Damascus. See Hoyland, *In God's Path*, 140.

13 For an analysis of Muʿawiya's accession in Jerusalem in the context of the city and its architecture, see Andrew Marsham, "The Architecture of Allegiance in Early Islamic Late Antiquity: The Accession of Muʿāwiya in Jerusalem, ca. 661 CE," in *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Alexander Beihammer, Stavroula Constantinou, and Maria G. Parani (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 87–112.

14 Over and above prophethood and the authority of scripture, kingship is endowed, and the prerogatives of the king are alluded or referred to directly, such as the *ʿarsh* (throne) of Joseph in Surat Yusuf (Quran 12:100–101):

(*Bilqīs*), which was brought to Solomon as part of her subjugation, is not stigmatized but exalted to serve the narrative purpose of enhancing Solomon's dominion.[15] Such pre-Islamic thrones of righteousness were further incorporated into narratives of the caliph's divinely endowed right to rule. To mention one of many examples, according to the Damascene historian Ibn ʿAsakir, marble slabs retrieved from the legendary throne of Solomon reportedly flanked the restored mihrab at the Great Mosque of Damascus under al-Walid I.[16] As spolia of a legendary throne, the slabs supported the caliph's attempt to forge an association with Solomon's kingship and his subjugation of *Bilqīs*.[17] Understandably, such positive associations did not extend to other monumental thrones of pre-Islam, particularly thrones stigmatized by despotic kingship, such as the magnificent yet ostentatious revolving throne of Khusrau Parvez, the Taqdes.[18] In other words, there were thrones of righteousness (those endowed by God) and thrones of tyranny (those whose occupants stood in opposition to God, such as Pharoah). This is not to mention the prominence of the Divine Throne (*ʿarsh*) and Footstool (*kursī*) in Islamic cosmology, to which I shall return in Chapter 6.[19]

The shunning of kingship vestiges extended beyond the obvious metonyms of thrones, crowns, and sceptres to include all trappings of kingship, including ceremonial guards. This explains ʿUmar's negative reaction to Muʿawiya's adoption of guards and processional while governor in Damascus.[20] ʿUmar's resistance to Muʿawiya's actions was undoubtedly related to the damaging optics of a Muslim governor acting like a Byzantine emperor. It was also related to the equally ruinous implications of pomp, majesty, and wealth, which were associated with the wordliness and corrupting power involved in multiple egregious affronts to God in Islamic tradition.[21] Furthermore, the inherent folly of the magnificent thrones of pre-Islamic rulers was seen as symptomatic of the debauched courtly expenditure that led to the corruption and ultimate downfall of their rivals, the Sasanians and Byzantines, in the seventh century.[22] Take, for instance, how the Sasanian general Rustam's arrogance upon his throne is contrasted with the subsequent defeat of his army in ninth-century historian al-Baladhuri's *Book of Conquests*: Rustam's imperious rejection of the Muslim commander's request to be seated next to him on his throne during negotiations at the Battle of Qadisiyya is juxtaposed with his gory death and preceding undignified escape from the palace, where he left behind his riches, concubines, furnishings, jewelry, crown, and throne.[23]

"And he raised his parents upon the throne (*ʿarsh*), and they bowed to him in prostration."

15 For an examination of how narratives of the Queen of Sheba evolved, see Jacob Lassner, *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba: Boundaries of Gender and Culture in Postbiblical Judaism and Medieval Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

16 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tarīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Umar b. Gharāma al-ʿAmrawi (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1996), 42:34; Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 106.

17 Allegra Iafrate, *The Wandering Throne of Solomon: Objects and Tales of Kingship in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 198–201.

18 Anderson, *Cosmos and Community*, 19.

19 Kaplony, *The Haram of Jerusalem*, 38–42.

20 Grabar, "Ceremonial and Art," 23–24.

21 Quran 89:6–14 outlines the most egregious of these affronts: the folly of the people of Iram, Thamud, and Pharaoh. Their lofty and unrivaled cities were a source of wonder and awe, but their arrogance and tyranny were considered precursors for their punishment and ultimate annihilation.

22 Hans Peter L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* (New Rochelle: Caratzas Bros., 1982), 21.

23 Ahmad Al-Balādhurī, *The Origins of the Islamic State: Being a Translation from the Arabic Accompanied with Annotations, Geographic and Historic Notes of the Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān of al-Imām Abu-l ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn-Jābir al-Balādhurī*, trans. Philip Khūri Hitti (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2002), 411–5. The general in question was al-Mughira b. Shuʿbah. He was sent by the commander Saʿd b. Abi Waqqas and later became governor of Kufa under the Umayyads. Avinoam Shalem, "The Fall of Al-Madāʾin: Some Literary References Concerning Sasanian Spoils of War in Mediaeval Islamic Treasuries," *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 32 (1994): 78.

In al-Baladhuri's account, objects seized from the vanquished Sasanians were treated by Muslim soldiers with a bewildering combination of reverence and disdain. While Sasanian crowns most likely hung in the Kaʿba and Dome of the Rock as votives, trophies, or spoils of war, the luxurious carpet used by the Sasanian kings during winter festivities was unceremoniously cut into pieces on the orders of ʿUmar and distributed to the soldiers who fought on the eastern front, despite the reluctance of his commander to do so.[24] The Muslim conquests further entrenched the disempowering qualities of kingship, for had they not defeated their rivals despite the Sasanian's wealth, guards, and well-equipped armies?

This tension still does not explain why the Prophet Muhammad, who had the option of invoking a throne of righteousness like that used by Solomon, chose to adopt a minbar in its stead. Although the functionality and simplicity of the minbar as both platform and seat may in large part explain this choice, aligned as it was with the Prophet's stated austerity, Muhammad's choice of seat transcended Islam's challenge to despotic kingship and its associated metonyms. However, the reaction of the Prophet's companions to his sitting on the ground when meeting visiting dignitaries suggests that the minbar was more of a brokered compromise between the Prophet and the community than an actual choice. Prior to the adoption of the minbar, the Prophet sat on the ground, reportedly with his back against a palm trunk that supported the roof of his mosque.[25] He may also have sat in a pose known as *iḥtibāʾ*, a supported seated position whereby clothing is wrapped around the knees to brace the back, so the sitter does not need a supporting wall.[26] *Al-iḥtibāʾ* was a point of pride in pre-Islamic Arabia and referred to as the "walls of the Arabs" (*ḥiṭān al- ʿarab*), emblematic as it was of Arabian self-reliance and emancipation from the need for the shelter of buildings.[27] Reading the early mosque as the spatial component to Muhammad's religious and political counternarrative, crafted in dialogue with communal attitudes and anxieties, casts a new light on the introduction of the minbar as the seat of the Prophet in Medina.

Hints of such negotiation are traceable in an account of ʿUmar's visit as an envoy of the Prophet to the Sasanian court of Kisra b. Hurmuz (r. 592–628)[28] to beseech the ruler's conversion. Brought before Kisra to read the letter out loud, only to be rebuked and ignored, ʿUmar returned dejectedly to the Prophet and decried the contrast to how the Prophet sat in his mosque: "O Messenger of God, may God make me thy ransom [...] you sit upon a couch woven of palm fibres, while Kisra b. Hurmuz sits upon a throne of gold covered with brocade." To ease ʿUmar's frustration, the Messenger of God replied, "Are you not content for them to have this world while we have the next?" to which ʿUmar replied, "I am content."[29] This account served as more than a mere rebuttal of the monumental throne; it served as a mission statement to establish austerity as a prerequisite for piety and claims on the world to come. Contrasted with the implied piety and invulnerability of the Prophet who sits upon a couch "woven of palm fibres," Kisra's brocade-covered throne of gold is incriminated with the loss of "this world." In other words, his need for luxury broadcasted his vulnerability.

Viewed as an act of resistance indigenous to pre-Islamic Arabian practices of "self-reliant sitting," Muhammad's throne avoidance and assumption

24 Shalem, "The Fall of al-Madāʾin," 78–79. This carpet is described as representing scenes of nature, rivers of golden waters, and fruit-bearing trees within a paradisiacal setting.

25 Pedersen et al., "Minbar."

26 M.J. Kister, "'The Crowns of This Community': Some Notes on the Turban in the Muslim Tradition," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 24 (2000): 223. Muslims awaiting prayer also reportedly sat in this pose.

27 Kister, "The Crowns of this Community," 223. *Al-iḥtibaʾ* is linked to the absence of sheltering spaces or walls in the *bādiya* (desert).

28 Alternatively, Khusrau Parvis or Chosroes II.

29 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 15:62–3.

of a minbar as a compromise to appease his followers aligns most closely with the sum of the evidence. Contextualized by the contours of his austerity, the Prophet's minbar emerges as a carefully crafted rebuttal to circulating arguments that denied his prophethood due to his penury and lack of elevated standing among his tribe. As it is communicated in the Chapter of Adornment (Quran 43), this logic denies the Quraysh tribe's claim that wealth implies sanctity or prophethood and, more importantly, argues that neither wealth nor poverty should be taken as a sign of God's grace or displeasure.[30] The Quran focuses its criticism on the worldliness of adornment, golden adornments in particular, which places luxury objects and monumental architecture in a position of guilt by association. In this view, luxury and adornment are only a "problem" in *this* life. Correspondingly, luxurious sitting was by no means stigmatized in the absolute. In fact, the Quran repeatedly promises the faithful an afterlife of reclining in perpetual comfort on luxurious couches.[31] Although this reading goes a long way towards explaining thrones as neutral carriers—condemned or elevated only by virtue of their occupants—it also deepens the gravitational pull of Muhammad's choices and explains later caliphal attitudes towards the throne, adornment, luxury, and architecture in general. Muhammad's deliberate avoidance of monumental thrones entrenched lingering tainted entanglements of enthronement and pre-Islamic Arabian subservience. The subsequent sanctification and relicization of the Prophet's minbar exerted a further attraction. Yet, the absence of meaningful adoption of monumental thrones during the early Umayyad period suggests that further damaging associations must have been at play.

A resolution of this tension may be found in the intertwining of idolatry with thrones and other chairs. Thrones were collectively considered part of the idols of pre-Islam—*ṭāghūt*, *aṣnām*, and *anṣāb*. The carved winged thrones and the standing idols of pre-Islamic Arabia were in many ways synonymous.[32] In pre-Islamic poetry, thrones are sometimes referred to as *duwār*, in reference to the ritualistic circumambulation around these idols and thrones.[33] The damaging implications of venerating a chair associated with an illustrious figure is brought home in the rather unusual accounts of the infamous chair of ʿAli (also known as the chair of al-Mukhtar) that was implicated in the events of the Second Islamic Civil War. Al-Tabari (d. 923) reports two accounts of a filth-crusted chair that came into the possession of the leader of the pro-ʿAlid movement, al-Mukhtar b. Abi ʿUbayd al-Thaqafi.[34] The chair reportedly belonged to Jaʿdah b. Hubayrah, a nephew of ʿAli, and was thus considered a relic of the fourth Rightly Guided Caliph, ʿAli.[35] Crafted from tamarisk wood and draped in precious cloth (in some accounts silk and brocade), the chair of ʿAli was displayed draped in its cloth coverings. A dramatic unveiling formed part of the ritual revelation of its sanctity. Such performative relic displays were of course not uncommon. They echo ʿUthman and Muʿawiya's practice of covering the Prophet's minbar as well as the cloth draping of the Kaʿba.[36] Al-Tabari also

30 Walid A. Saleh, "Meccan Gods, Jesus' Divinity: An Analysis of Q 43 *Sūrat al-Zukhruf*," in *The Qurʾan's Reformation of Judaism and Christianity: Return to the Origins*, ed. Holger M. Zellentin (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019): 100–102.

31 Quran 76:13, 18:31, 36:56, 83:35, 56:16.

32 Quran 5:60, 4:51, 4:76, 6:74. *Anṣāb* derives from the Semitic root, *nṣb* (standing stone). See Robert G. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam* (London: Routledge, 2001), 185.

33 Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs*, 185. These stones also took simpler forms, conical and cuboid, and were either set into niches carved out of rock faces, as was common in Petra, or positioned as freestanding stones.

34 G.R. Hawting, "Al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. Brill, 2012, accessed April 8, 2023, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_5473. As a pro-ʿAlid leader, al-Mukhtar claimed to represent a son of ʿAli.

35 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 15:72.

36 On the covering of the Kaʿba in precious cloth under various caliphs and governors during the early Islamic period, see al-Balādhuri, *Origins of the Islamic State*,

suggests that the chair may have been circumambulated and revered as part of a messianic ritual, chiefly the anticipated return of their messiah, the Mahdi.[37] Accounts that reflect the apocalyptic mood of the time also describe the chair of ʿAli as possessing "the news of what will come to be," a reference to the End of Days.[38] Belief in the potency of such a relic would not have been out of place during the Second Islamic Civil, when warring factions vied for evermore compelling claims in support of their spiritual legitimacy.

In a further nod to the idolatrous pre-Islamic precedent of carrying idols into holy wars, the chair of ʿAli was reportedly carried into battle against the Umayyads, similar to how the Israelites carried the Ark of the Covenant into battle.[39] Al-Mukhtar's followers ultimately earned the title of the "troops of polytheism" due to the association of the chair of ʿAli with the carriage of idols into battle. It should come as no surprise that the veneration of the chair of ʿAli was considered particularly idolatrous by al-Mukhtar's enemies. Al-Tabari further accused al-Mukhtar of likening the chair to the Ark of the Covenant: "Among the Children of Israel there was the Ark, in which there was a remnant of what the family of Moses and the family of Aaron left behind. Among us, this is like the Ark."[40] Unfortunately for al-Mukhtar, his defeat at the Battle of Khazir and the subsequent disintegration of the movement further entrenched the error of his ways in the eyes of the community.

Al-Tabari's account was undoubtedly intended to negatively cast the followers of al-Mukhtar as idolaters and to bolster the orthodox Sunni narrative he subscribed to. However, al-Tabari's account also implies that claims about the chair of ʿAli as a relic, its veneration, and association with the Ark of the Covenant were dangerous and threatening in their historical context. Denial of the chair's sanctity included repudiating its lack of *sakīnah* (divine presence) despite its accepted provenance and treatment as a relic.[41] Furthermore, the equivalency between the chair of ʿAli and the Ark of the Covenant in terms of ritual practice—the ritual circumambulation, carriage into holy war, covering with a cloth, and association with the *sakīnah*—suggests the integration of such beliefs into early Islamic horizons. This account brings home the potency of seat relicization, namely seats associated with such holy figures as ʿAli, and discloses a particular early Islamic discomfort towards veneration of a seat as a metonym of authority and sanctity. The context of the Second Islamic Civil War renders these accounts fraught. Nonetheless, they reveal the entanglement of idolatry with chairs or thrones in early Islam and should be foregrounded in analyses of early Islamic attitudes towards the seat of rule.

Monumental thrones of pre-Islam encode, on the one hand, righteousness and prophethood and, on the other hand, despotism, subservience, and idolatry. Carefully negotiating this fraught terrain, the minbar was chosen as the quintessential seat of Muslim rule in favor of the single monumental throne. The adoption of the minbar thus emerges at once as a claim against the monumental throne of pre-Islamic despotism and idolatry, and in favor of the establishment of a

75–76. See also Mostafa, "The Early Mosque Revisited," 6–7.

37 The implication is that observers were moved to tears by its sanctity. For the references to clans of the tribe of Hamdan circumambulating the chair, see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 15:71–72, esp. n279 for references to the weeping clansmen. For the association between the chair of ʿAlī and the Mahdī, see Hawting, "al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd."

38 Hawting, "al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd." For a discussion of the apocalyptic mood in early Islam, see Hoyland, *In God's Path*, 80–83, 270.

39 Al-Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis Al-Majālis Fī Qiṣaṣ Al-Anbiyāʾ or "Lives of the Prophets*," ed. and trans. William M. Brinner (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 473.

40 Al-Ṭabari, *Taʾrīkh*, 15:70–71. The Sabaʾiyya reacted to this accusation by raising their hands and shouting, "God is great," three times.

41 See also Reuven Firestone, "Shekhinah," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾan*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe, vol. 4 (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill Academic Publishers, 2004), 589–91.

novel seat of rulership with neutral associations and less stigma. Intended to empower the early Islamic community by disempowering narratives that associate righteousness with worldly wealth, Muhammad rid his adversaries of the spiritual and psychological upper hand by adhering to austerity and offering reassurances of wealth as a possible reward—rather than a prerequisite—for righteousness in this life and favor in the next. By supporting counternarratives to the Qurayshi denigration of Muhammad's penury and austerity, the minbar in its simplicity had the potential to strip the occupants of thrones of their pride while restoring dignity to a community that shunned such seats. Evocative as it was of the austerity and self-reliance of pre-Islamic Arabia, the minbar also leveraged ubiquitous notions entangling Arab identity and "self-reliant" modes of sitting, including *iḥtibāʾ*. As Islamic spaces of rule increased in complexity from the mosque to Dar al-Imara, the portable pseudo-thrones, *kursī* and *sarīr*, joined the minbar in negotiating this terrain.

3 In the Shadow of Muhammad's Minbar

Under the first three Rightly Guided Caliphs, the minbar seems to have been perceived as an exclusive symbol of caliphal authority. That is certainly the impression from the reign of the second Rightly Guided Caliph, ʿUmar. When he directed his governor of Egypt, ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs, not to erect a minbar at his mosque in Fustat, he reasoned, "Muslims should not be seated beneath [his] heels."[42] Although this directive may have mirrored Muhammad's reluctance to be seated above his followers, this stringent position softened over time with the wide adoption of the minbar in the earliest congregational mosques across the provinces of the Islamic empire. Under the Umayyads minbars were movable structures that may have been placed either in front of or within the mihrab, the latter presumably once it became a niche mihrab.[43] Although the minbar was typically located near the qibla wall, its position was not necessarily fixed throughout the Umayyad period. According to the ninth-century historian-geographer Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadhani, Ziyad was the first to move the minbar in the mosque in Basra from the middle of the building to a location near the qibla.[44] Minbars were introduced in other locales as well. Muʿawiya, for example, was reportedly the first to preach from the minbar at the haram in Mecca.[45] Muʿawiya brought the minbar, described as a small, three-stepped structure, from Syria during the Hajj. Judging by a reference to the governor of Mecca, Khalid al-Qasri (d. 743), who ordered the minbar brought to the haram when needed, it was not a fixed structure.[46] It remained on-site at the haram in Mecca until it was replaced by a larger minbar commissioned by the Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid (r. 786–809), who relocated Muʿawiya's minbar to Mount ʿArafa in Mecca.[47]

In terms of function, the minbar maintained its role as the seat of the governor or caliph to be used when preaching, adjudicating, and consulting on affairs of state (Fig. 2.1 and 2.2). ʿAbd al-Malik ascended the minbar when consulting on important matters, such as when he imposed the death sentence upon Yahya b. Saʿid b. al-ʿAs (d. 689) following the rebellion in Damascus between 688 and 689.[48] Before revolting against ʿAbd al-Malik, Muttarrif b. al-Mughira, who was made governor of al-Madaʾin (Ctesiphon) in 697, likewise

42 G. Fehérvári, "Miḥrāb," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. Brill, 2012, accessed April 8, 2023, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0733.

43 Joseph Schacht, "An Unknown Type of Minbar and Its Historical Significance," *Ars Orientalis* 2 (1957): 173.

44 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 231.

45 Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah wa-mā jāʾa fīhā min al-āthār*, ed. Rushdī al-Ṣāliḥ Malḥas (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1969), 2:100.

46 Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 2:108.

47 Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 2:100.

48 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 21:164.

FIGURE 2.1 An early minbar and maqsura (862) in carved teak wood, the Great Mosque of Kairouan. (Bernard O'Kane)

proclaimed from his minbar that he would "sit to receive [the people] morning and evening" and urged the people to come to him with their grievances. He then received people in his *iwān*, probably the *iwān kisra* (the Sasanian "Arch of Chosroes" in Ctesiphon).[49] Muttarrif b. al-Mughira's proclamation reproduced the practices of Muʿawiya at the mosque and his reception in the *iwān* further strengthened the connection to similar practices at the palace in Damascus.

As a seat of authority, the minbar seems to have been reserved exclusively for caliphs and their governors, who represented caliphal authority within provincial centers. It appears that no one else could make proclamations from the minbar. After the death of Muʿawiya in 680, one of his followers and former commanders, al-Dahhak b. Qays al-Fihri (d. 684), stood next to, rather than upon, the minbar that bore the caliph's shroud as he eulogized the caliph.[50] There is also evidence that the role of the caliph as preacher (*khaṭīb*) within the mosque became integral to the Umayyad caliphs' image as rightful rulers.[51] It has been suggested, for example, that the image of the ruler flanked by two attendants on the "Orans" drachm of Bishr b. Marwan (*c.*694–95) represented the caliph preaching in the mosque. If that is the case, such attitudes would affirm that the mosque space

49 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 22:128–29.

50 Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd* (Cairo: al-Matbaʾa al-Jamaliyya, 1913), 3:132. This account, however, is contradicted by al-Tabari, who mentions that he ascended the minbar. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18:214–15.

51 Luke Treadwell, "The 'Orans' Drachms of Bishr ibn Marwān and the Figural Coinage of the Early Marwanid Period," in *Bayt Al-Maqdis: Jerusalem and Early Islam*, ed. Jeremy Johns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 260–70.

FIGURE 2.2 The minbar of the Vizier Badr al-Jamali (d. 1094) under the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustansir (r. 1036–1094) at the Mosque of Abraham, Hebron. (Originally located in the Shrine of al-Husayn, Ascalon). (Heba Mostafa)

was cultivated as a metaphor for the vital role the caliph played within Islamic society, and the qibla space emerged as the arena for the expression of this identity.

The minbar was also the place from which to point out caliphal misconduct, as inferred from the proclamations of ʿAmr b. Saʿid b. al-ʿAs, the Umayyad governor under ʿAbd al-Malik. Upon revolting and taking control of Damascus, he proclaimed from the minbar, "No one from Quraysh ever stood on this pulpit before me without asserting that his were a heaven and a hell, and that he would cause whoever obeyed him to enter the heaven, and whoever disobeyed him to enter the hell. But I tell you that heaven and hell are in the hand of God, nothing of that belong to me, save that you have a claim to equal treatment and good stipend from me."[52]

By 665 the minbar had become the ultimate platform for the promotion of ideology. In that year the Umayyad governor Ziyab b. Abi Sufyan famously declared from his minbar in the mosque of Basra, "Indeed, lies from the pulpit remain well-known, so if you catch me in a lie it is permissible for you to disobey me."[53] He continued to proclaim the obligation of obedience from the people in return for justice on his part.[54] Upon completing his speech, ʿAbdallah b. Ahtam asserted that he had "been granted wisdom and unmistakable judgment," to which Ziyad responded, "You have lied. That was the Prophet of God, David," in reference to Quran 38:20.[55] It is expected that ideologically charged conversations between rulers and the Muslim community occurred within the mosque in this period, but the association of ideology with the minbar is notable. The prominence of the minbar in these exchanges enforces the argument that the mosque space operated as the ultimate locus of audience well before it was articulated in the architecture under al-Walid I and other later Umayyad caliphs. The hegemonic nature of these sermons, with their threatening tenor, references to the Prophet Muhammad, and invocation of the authority of the prophet-king David, only enhances the position of the minbar as the ultimate platform from which to spread ideology.

The ruler, however, was not always in a position of power within the mosque space, and in these cases the maqsura assumed the utilitarian purpose of protecting the ruler. Take, for example, the events that occurred when Ziyad simultaneously held the position of governor of Basra and that of Kufa and split his time between both locations by residing for six months at a time in each city. Upon his arrival in Kufa, he spoke to the community from the minbar, only to be pelted

52 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 21:156.
53 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18:79–80.
54 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18:89–91.
55 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18:81.

with pebbles.[56] He responded by "making use of the maqsura"[57] and then adjudicating at the gate of the mosque while seated upon a *kursī*,[58] from which he punished wrongdoers by cutting off their hands.[59] This event provides insight into the very practical impetus behind the introduction of protective measures for the ruler in the mosque. As this chapter has shown thus far, the precedent of open access conflicted with Umayyad tendencies towards autocratic rule, and the mosque responded accordingly.

The minbar also became the place from which to present a crucial message in times of conflict or to curse an opponent. The latter act stirred even more controversy, given the sanctity of the seat. Following the death of ʿAli's son and the Prophet's grandson, Hasan b. ʿAli b. Abi Talib (d. 670), Muʿawiya refrained from ascending the minbar in Medina to curse ʿAli because the governor of Kufa, Saʿd b. Abi Waqqas, threatened to leave the mosque and never return. After Saʿd b. Abi Waqqas died in 674, however, Muʿawiya cursed ʿAli unrelentingly and ordered others to do the same.[60] The Umayyads were not the only ones to curse their enemies from the minbar; the ʿAlids did so as well. The anti-caliph ʿAbd Allah b. al-Zubayr (d. 692) reportedly cursed his opponents from the minbar in Mecca following the death of one of his supporters. He also refused to praise the Prophet to spite his enemies within the mosque so as not to "bring pleasure to their hearts."[61]

Caliphs were expected to conduct themselves appropriately at the minbar, and any transgression or deviation from what the community considered the Prophet's precedent was heavily criticized. When al-Walid I visited the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, he delivered the first sermon seated and the second one standing.[62] When the caliph's companion and advisor Rajaʾ b. Haywah (d. 730) was questioned as to the validity of al-Walid I's standing and sitting during the delivery of his sermons, he answered, "Yes, Muʿawiya did it this way and so on." In fact, Muʿawiya is considered the first to have sat down between sermons.[63] Rajaʾ b. Haywah went on to explain that when ʿAbd al-Malik was challenged on his delivery of the Friday sermon, he insisted that ʿUthman delivered it in a similar fashion. To this the challenger responded, "We have not seen any [Umayyad caliph] prouder than [al-Walid]."[64] The textual sources are replete with evidence of the minbar's continued exalted status. When the Umayyad governor of Kufa, al-Walid b. ʿUqbah, was removed from his position following accusations of wine drinking, his replacement, Saʿid b. al-ʿAs, was ordered by ʿUthman to cleanse the minbar of traces of vomit.[65] Loss of status upon the minbar was also perceived as something of a harbinger of doom. According to al-Tabari, ʿUthman was forcibly removed from the Prophet's minbar by an adversary. To add insult to actual injury, he was beaten with the Prophet's staff, one of his most revered relics, and left with a wound that festered until his assassination days later.[66]

Crucially, the minbar was where the oath of allegiance (*bayʿa*) to a new caliph was sworn. In 661 Muʿawiya acceded to power in Jerusalem, most likely in the al-Aqsa Mosque, which he had rebuilt.[67] Muʿawiya "[refused] to go to Muhammad's throne," presumably a direct reference to his minbar in Medina, and instead placed his own "throne," probably an allusion to the minbar in his capital in Damascus. The communal

56 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18:95, 97.
57 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18:99.
58 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18:97, n307.
59 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18:95, 97.
60 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:127.
61 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:156–57.
62 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 23:181.
63 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:126.
64 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 23:181.
65 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 15:120.
66 Al-Ṭabari, *Taʾrīkh*, 15:183. According to Ibn Habib, the staff was collected by Medinese governor Marwan b. al-Hakam and sent to Muʿawiya in Damascus. See Ibn Habib, *Tarīkh*, 125. Al-Tabari also reports on the loss of the ring bearing the seal of the Prophet Muhammad, arguably one of his more important relics.
67 Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy*, 88. See also Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest," 19.

nature of the accession is further emphasized by the description of "the emirs and many nomads" who gathered to pledge their allegiance to Muʿawiya.[68] Muʿawiya is said to have solicited the *bayʿa* for his son Yazid I (r. 680–83), whom he declared heir apparent from the minbar in Medina while surrounded by his entourage from the *ahl al-Shām* (people of the Levant).[69] It is also likely that Jerusalem was one of the locations where ʿAbd al-Malik received the *bayʿa*.[70]

It should come as no surprise that the minbar of the Prophet became increasingly identified as an "eternal seat" exclusive to the caliphs whose victory in the conflicts of early Islam implied divine grace. Over time, it became closely intertwined with other relics of the Prophet Muhammad, such as his staff, which was later appropriated, tellingly, as the staff of the caliphate (*ʿasā al-khilāfa*).[71] As the epitome of authority in early Islam, the minbar maintained an exalted status and was the focus of contested ownership throughout the first decades of the Islamic empire. So sensitive was the community to its sanctity that they resisted its relocation, even within the mosque itself. Muʿawiya attempted to move it to a location near the mihrab, "like all other *manābir* (sing. minbar)," but was forced to abandon the task following an earthquake and lightning.[72] By the time of the governorship of Marwan b. al-Hakam at Medina (661–69 and 676–77), a wooden base was added to the Prophet's minbar and secured to a built foundation near the qibla, perhaps in an attempt to physically secure the minbar and avoid conflict over its location.[73]

Tensions within the community around the perceived usurpation of the Prophet's relics, particularly the contested ownership of the Prophet's minbar, highlights the long shadow cast by Muhammad upon Islam's earliest rulers. Muʿawiya reportedly made several attempts to exert control over the Prophet's sacred relics. He attempted to relocate the minbar and staff of the Prophet to Damascus on the pretense that both minbar and staff should not remain in Medina, the home of the "enemies and murderers" of his ancestor ʿUthman. When challenged, he compromised by instead adding six steps to the original two.[74] In another account Muʿawiya was thwarted by an eclipse of the sun when he attempted to move the Prophet's minbar to his capital in Damascus.[75] He instead covered it, in line with his predecessor ʿUthman.[76] Later Umayyad caliphs made similar failed attempts to secure control of the Prophet's minbar, much to their humiliation and consternation. When ʿAbd al-Malik attempted to move the minbar, he was reminded of his predecessor's failed attempt. Threatened with the weight of that responsibility, he recalled the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad that states: "Whoever swears an oath upon my pulpit sinfully, his resting place shall be in the fire."[77] His son al-Walid I expressed a similar interest but initially failed to secure the minbar's removal to his newly refurbished mosque in Damascus. It was only later in his reign that the minbar of the Prophet was successfully relocated from Medina to Damascus, and comparisons were drawn between its veneration and the veneration of pre-Islamic thrones, such as that of the Sasanian ruler (*kisra*).[78] Al-Walid I's brother Sulayman b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 715–17) declared his disapproval of the way in which his father and

68 Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy*, 88.

69 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:131.

70 H.A.R. Gibb, "ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. Brill, 2012, accessed April 8, 2023, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0733.

71 Jamil, "Caliph and Quṭb," 52. The minbar and the staff of the Prophet were both referred to as *al-ʿūdān*.

72 Shams al-Dīn Abī ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Bannāʾ al-Shamī Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Maʿrifat al-Aqālīm*. 2nd ed. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1877), 83.

73 Schacht, "An Unknown Type of Minbar," 156.

74 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18:101.

75 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 80.

76 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18:101.

77 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18:102. For this hadith, see A.J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition: Alphabetically Arranged* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960), 198.

78 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18:101–2.

brother were disparaged for their failed attempts to move the minbar. Specifically, he condemned the inconsistency and "arrogance" of the people of Medina in the face of the rightful claims of the Umayyad caliphs to the Prophet's minbar. He further emphasized his dismay at the treatment of his father and brother in this instance, stating, "We took over the world, and it is in our hands and we want to support one of the symbols of Islam sent to it by transporting it to our presence. This is not righteousness."[79] According to Sulayman, the supremacy of Umayyad caliphal authority entitled the caliphs to the minbar of the Prophet because his authority ceded to them as world emperors. From Sulayman's declaration, we can also infer that he saw parity between the station of the caliph in his capital's mosque and the station of the Prophet upon his minbar. In other words, the minbar had become a universal "symbol of Islam" rather than the seat of the Prophet exclusively linked to Medina and its people. The history of the minbar thus reveals its multifaceted nature as the locus of governance where political and spiritual guidance was imparted during *khuṭba* and oaths were sworn. The minbar, as the eternal caliphal seat of God's representative, also derived sanctity from its association with the eternal Throne of God.[80] As the supreme reminder of the Prophet Muhammad's charismatic authority, the minbar served both symbolically and functionally to preserve the full weight of his presence in the mosque space with all that his authority entailed, including the parameters of his actions and mode of governance.

4 The *Kursī* and *Sarīr*

Co-opting the charisma imparted by the Prophet's minbar necessitated maintenance of his modes of governance, chiefly his policy of open access to the community. It also involved the adoption of different kinds of seats in mosque and palace under subsequent governors and caliphs: the minbar in the mosque, the *sarīr* in the palace, and the *kursī* that migrated between both. The complementary function of these various seats is evident in the survival of the inherent sanctity of the minbar, which worked in tandem with the *kursī* and *sarīr*. Although such titles as *ṣāḥib al-sarīr* (possessor of the throne) were prevalent, there is little evidence to suggest that these early pseudo-thrones acquired exalted or mythical status.[81] The history of their adoption, however, reveals a compelling chapter in caliphal history and is intimately linked with the development of the qibla space in early Islam.

The transformation of the qibla space may be related to the process of politicization begun in the decades following the death of the Prophet Muhammad.[82] The development of the Dar al-Imara under the early governors and caliphs supports such a reading. Together with the mosque, it formed the foundation for an evolving conception of Arabo-Islamic rulership, whereby the qibla space and Dar al-Imara audience hall work in parallel to fulfill the public audience needs of the community. The historian-geographer al-Masʿudi (d. 956) captures a vivid description of how the mosque and palace worked together to engender complementary forms of reception. As his account makes clear, the setting of the mosque allowed congregants more open access to the ruler in contrast to the more formal type of audience held in the palace. Al-Masʿudi describes how the

79 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18:102. This conversation occurred with the governor (and later caliph) ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz (r. 717–20) during pilgrimage.

80 Jamil, "Caliph and Quṭb," 53.

81 Grabar, "Ceremonial and Art," 65. On other institutions, such as *ṣāḥib al-sitr* who was in charge of the curtain veiling the caliph, see Grabar, "Ceremonial and Art," 309.

82 Jean Sauvaget, *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine: Étude sur les origines architecturales de la mosquée et de la basilique* (Paris: Vanoest, 1947). For a discussion of this parallelism and its abandonment in the later Abbasid palace, see Necipoğlu, "An Outline of Shifting Paradigms," 3–27.

caliph Muʿawiya typically held court five times a day, first at the mosque and later at the palace. The first two of such daily audiences are described below. Al-Masʿudi presents the dual spaces of mosque and palace working in tandem with different seats used in different contexts:

"Coming out he would ask a page (*ghulām*) to have his *kursī* ready and he would go to the mosque. After his ablutions he sat on the *kursī*, leaning back against the maqsura, with his guards standing by. Anybody could come to him, poor people, Arabs from the desert, women, children, and whoever else was destitute. To the one who complained about an injustice, Muʿawiya would order comfort. To the oppressed he sent guards. To the injured he would order an inquiry. And this continued until there was no one left. Next he returned to his palace, and sitting on the throne (*sarīr*), he let people in according to their rank, but forbade anyone to prevent him from answering salutations. This visitor would say: How is the Commander of the Faithful? May God give him long life. And Muʿawiya answered: With the grace of God. Once they were seated, he would say: Oh ye who are called nobles, because, to the exclusion of others you are honoured with sitting in this audience hall (*majlis*), tell us the needs of those who have no access to us."[83]

In the case of Muʿawiya, the relationship between the public audiences held within the mosque and those held in the Dar al-Imara was negotiated with great care. The solution to use different seats for each location—a backless *kursī* for the mosque and a *sarīr* for the palace—clarifies their specific yet complementary functions. It seems that Muʿawiya attempted to orchestrate his audiences between mosque and palace to preserve the pre-Islamic model of open access to the tribal leader while adopting the practices of the late antique ruler seated within a lavish audience hall. His nod towards open access, even within his *majlis*, is further evidence of this balance. It is most legible in the request he made to his nobles to inform him of the "needs of those who have no access to us." It is also worth emphasizing here that Muʿawiya avoided a throne in favor of multiple seats at both mosque and Dar al-Imara. Muʿawiya's adoption of a monumental domed audience hall (*qubbat al-khadrāʾ*) at his Dar al-Imara,[84] likely while still governor, supports the argument that Muʿawiya mindfully orchestrated his identity as ruler of an empire.

This view is further supported by an account by al-Tabari that vividly captures ʿUmar's reaction to Muʿawiya's behaviour as governor in Damascus. According to al-Tabari, the caliph chided Muʿawiya for his use of ceremonial and general conduct as ruler, saying, "O Muʿawiya you go with a retinue, and you leave in the same way. I heard that you start the day in your residence while petitioners are at your door." Muʿawiya is reported to have responded, "O Commander of the Faithful, our enemy is close to us, and they have scouts and spies, so I wanted, O Commander of the Faithful, for them to see that Islam has power." The confounded ʿUmar conceded that Muʿawiya's actions were indeed warranted, and they were "either the ruse of an intelligent man or the deception of a clever man." Nevertheless, ʿUmar expressed awareness of what amounted to an irreconcilable position on expressions of authority at the mosque and public spaces of the city when he retorted, "Woe unto you! Whenever we discuss something which I disapprove of you doing, you leave me not knowing whether I should order you to do it or forbid it."[85]

83 Grabar, "Ceremonial and Art," 23–24.

84 Khaled Keshk, "When Did Muʿāwiya Become Caliph?," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 69, no. 1 (2010): 31–42. Keshk proposes that before the battle of Siffin, Muʿawiya consolidated his authority to the point where he was "an acting caliph." This theory suggests a correspondence between the construction of the *qubbat al-khaḍrāʾ* and the timing of Muʿawiya's accession.

85 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18:218.

This account not only demonstrates the challenges early rulers of Islam faced regarding expressions of their identity but also explains their choices concerning the architecture of both mosque and Dar al-Imara. This message is echoed in an account relayed by the medieval Arab geographer al-Muqaddasi (*c.*945/6–91) in which he questions the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik's motivations for constructing the Dome of the Rock (691), which al-Muqaddasi describes as un-Islamic due to the great expense and lavishness of the structure.[86] Specifically, al-Muqaddasi regards the construction of the Dome of the Rock as a violation of the Prophet's order not to build in imitation of fallen pre-Islamic empires.[87] He compares ʿAbd al-Malik's actions to those of al-Walid I, the patron of the equally lavish Great Mosque of Damascus, and defends both men's deeds in terms of competitive discourse with Byzantium. Forced to justify caliphal investment in costly mosaic decoration and marble revetment at mosques and shrines, these accounts present the most iconic buildings of early Islam as necessary agents in an ongoing struggle against the "seduction of the beauty of Christian churches."[88] Al-Muqaddasi's arguments resonate strongly with the operative logic of Prophet Muhammad's austerity and adoption of the minbar and Muʿawiya's adoption of multiple seats at the mosque and Dar al-Imara. They reveal how the architecture responded to perception and required justification in service of a higher purpose. The development of early Islamic architecture is enmeshed within a process of negotiation, from Muhammad's adoption of the minbar to Muʿawiya's defense of ceremonial in Damascus. Framing investment in architecture as part of competitive discourse with Byzantium emerges as one of many facets of this negotiation.

The continued use of the *sarīr* throughout the Umayyad period at both mosque and palace verifies its importance as a courtly object. ʿAbd al-Malik had his *sarīr* brought into the mosque during his audiences and when acting as judge, perhaps in imitation of Muʿawiya.[89] References to the *sarīr* in the sources suggest that it may have taken the form of a bench, not unlike the type of thrones depicted in later Umayyad frescoes such as those at Qusayr ʿAmra (Fig. 2.3).[90] ʿAbd al-Malik is said to have stored the body of the governor ʿAmr b. Saʿid b. al-ʿAs, wrapped in a rug, beneath his *sarīr* following the governor's execution in the Khadra' palace in 688–89.[91] The *sarīr* seems to have been long enough to accommodate more than one person, as suggested by a reference to Ibn al-Zubayr tossing ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr from it while seated next to him,[92] and another reference to ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs seated next to Muʿawiya upon his *sarīr*.[93] When the Prophet's companion Abu Ayyub al-Ansari died in 674, he was reportedly carried upon the *sarīr* of Yazid I in an honorific act, which suggests that it must have been long enough to accommodate a corpse.[94]

Like many court objects from the Umayyad period, the pseudo-thrones of the Umayyads have not survived except in textual descriptions. Fortunately, several enthronement scenes have been preserved in some of their palaces, including at Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi (724–27) and Qusayr ʿAmra (*c.*700). The frescoes in particular offer clues as to the appearance of the *sarīr*. Although caution should be exercised when considering

86 Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 159–71.

87 Quran 11:95: "As if they had never dwelt and flourished there! Ah! Behold! How the Madyan were removed (from sight) as were removed the Thamud!" Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'an; Text, Translation and Commentary by Abdullah Yusuf Ali*, 3rd ed. (Washington, DC: American International Print. Co., 1946).

88 Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqasīm*, 159–71.

89 Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 21:163.

90 Ibn Manzur relates the *sarīr* to the couches referenced in paradise (*arā'ik*). See Muḥammad Ibn Mukarram Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān Al-ʿArab* (Cairo: 1882–91), 12:269. For a discussion of this type of bench/throne, see Fowden, *Quṣayr ʿAmra*, 115–18.

91 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:154.

92 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:158.

93 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:128.

94 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:128.

FIGURE 2.3 Fresco depicting Caliph al-Walid II reclining on a *sarīr* at the Umayyad palace of Qusayr ʿAmra, Jordan. (Heba Mostafa)

these scenes as anything other than idealized depictions, the Qusayr ʿAmra frescos provide two compelling examples that warrant brief mention here. Curiously, they depict the two modes of enthronement discussed so far: the seated caliph on a *kursī* and the reclining ruler on the *sarīr*. The first fresco is located in the throne niche of the palace and shows the ruler seated under an arch surmounted by birds that give the illusion of forming the arch itself. Probably sand grouses, these birds were imagined as avian supporters in the celestial sphere and, as a motif, are associated with representations of royalty from the ancient Near East (Fig. 2.4). Beneath the caliph's feet is a Nilotic scene. Together, the birds and the water cast the caliph as master of earth and sky.[95] This rendering not only aligns with the cosmic imagery of the throne in late antiquity and the ancient Near East but also visualizes how the Umayyad caliphs saw their thrones within a cosmic context.

The second fresco shows the caliph al-Walid II reclining on what appears to be a *sarīr* with a footstool beneath (Fig. 2.3 and 2.5). A recently uncovered dedicatory inscription to al-Walid II above this scene confirms his identity as patron of the palace and as the reclining figure.[96] A similar footstool is also visible below the feet of the enthroned ruler at Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi (Fig. 2.6). While it is tempting to imagine these pseudo-thrones as representative of the two modes of Umayyad

95 Fowden, *Quṣayr ʿAmra*, 118–20.

96 The identification of the palace with al-Walid II is based on the discovery of inscriptions that mention his name, see Frédéric Imbert, "Le prince al-Walīd et son bain: Itinéraires épigraphiques à Quṣayr ʿAmra." *Bulletin d'études orientales*, no. 64 (April, 2016): 321–63: 332. For earlier interpretations of this fresco as a dynastic scene depicting al-Walid II's mother, see Fowden, *Quṣayr ʿAmra*, 175–95.

FIGURE 2.4 Fresco depicting enthroned ruler in the throne niche of the Umayyad palace of Qusayr ʿAmra, Jordan. (Heba Mostafa)

FIGURE 2.5 Fresco of footstool beneath the *sarīr* of Caliph al-Walid II at the Umayyad palace of Qusayr ʿAmra, Jordan. (Heba Mostafa)

FIGURE 2.6 Carved Stucco depicting lower portion of enthroned ruler at the Umayyad Palace of Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, Damascus National Museum. (Heba Mostafa)

enthronement, these frescoes warrant further investigation outside the scope of this work.

Co-opting the charisma of the Prophet to support successorship claims required exaltation of the Prophet's minbar, his relics, and his mode of governance, which ultimately entailed the adoption of multiple seats—the *sarīr*, *kursī*, and minbar—at the mosque and Dar al-Imara. However, other narratives were also needed to mitigate and legitimate the caliphal position within an Islamic hierarchy of mediated authority.[97] Over time, the relationship of caliphs, as representatives of God on earth, to other prophets above and beyond Muhammad had to be contended with. While this entailed the evocation of pre-Islamic thrones of such righteous figures as Solomon in literary traditions, it also involved the gradual expansion, repurposing, reinterpretation, and redefinition by the Umayyad caliphs of what the seat of the caliph should be in relation to God's own seat: the Divine Throne, discussed in Chapter 6.[98]

97 For a close reading of the culmination and impact of this dynamic during the Umayyad period, see Abdulhadi Alajmi, *Political Legitimacy in Early Islam: Al-Awzāʿī Interactions with the Umayyad and ʿAbbasid States* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2009).

98 The expansion and reinterpretation of the throne was primarily done by enacting guardianship of the *loca sancta*, which were believed to be the loci of God's

Dismantling the monolithic notion of the throne in early Islam reveals multiple layers of signification. By examining the function, context, and symbolism of the various caliphal seats—the minbar, *sarīr*, and *kursī*—at the mosque and Dar al-Imara, it becomes clear that the shunning of the throne in favor of the minbar was not straightforward. By expanding the concept of the throne, the Umayyads fractured the paradigm of the monumental pre-Islamic throne in favor of multiple portable seats expressive of a new identity. The minbar of the Prophet was the supreme precedent alongside the portable *sarīr* and *kursī* that functioned as flexible multi-use alternatives to the singular throne located in the audience halls of pre-Islam. Although the Umayyad caliphs actively avoided associations with the monumental throne in its idolatrous, debauched pre-Islamic version, they transposed and projected onto their space of rule (at the mosque, palace, and later their shrine) an architectural configuration geared towards the creation of a universal space of rule in line with their aspirations as legitimate caliphs. Theorizing the throne in early Islam as a gestalt elucidates its engagement with an evolving Islamic cosmology in relation to the throne and a set of pre-existing patterns of pre-Islamic authority. Thus, the throne in early Islam emerges as a nexus of mimetic experience and symbolic repertoires that signaled to the community a shared reality centered upon culturally grounded caliphal claims rather than a nebulous identity.

Throne in Mecca and Jerusalem. This not only scaffolded their identity as guardians of the sacred shrines upon which God's Throne hovered but also rescripted the sacred geography of late antiquity in service of their own ends.

CHAPTER 3

Death of a Caliph

Modalities of Existential Safety at the Mosque and Dar al-Imara

1 Death of a Caliph

In 632 the newly elected leader, Abu Bakr, ascended the minbar of the Prophet Muhammad for the first time. In recognition of his relative position, Abu Bakr reportedly stood below the step upon which the Prophet preached. When it was his turn two years later, Abu Bakr's successor, ʿUmar, stood a further step below.[1] The choice made by Islam's first caliphs to preserve the place of the Prophet's physical body upon the minbar recognized the vacuum left by the Prophet's death. It is also emblematic of a far more treacherous abyss that the early Islamic community skirted as they navigated the shifting political landscape of early Islam. This chapter picks up from the politically tenuous moment when ʿUmar was assassinated at the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina in 644, embedded in which are the seeds of Islam's future turbulent political landscape. Widespread religious factionalism and contested legitimacy led to two civil wars and multiple political shifts that eventual culminated in a coup d'état by the Abbasids in 750. Interreligious strife was common as were political assassinations. Not one but three of the four Rightly Guided Caliphs were assassinated: ʿUmar, ʿUthman, and ʿAli. This chapter explores how changes at the mosque and palace were driven by the political implications of public audience and the Prophet's precedent, as discussed in the previous chapter, and were catalyzed by moments of rapid change brought about by outbreaks of violence directed against the caliph's own body. In fact, the mosque and, to a lesser extent, the absence of a secure residence for the caliph are implicated in all three assassinations. Both ʿUmar and ʿAli were attacked in mosques. ʿUmar was assassinated while leading prayer at the Prophet's Mosque in Medina in 644, while ʿAli succumbed at the mosque in Kufa in 661.[2] ʿUthman was stabbed by rebel factions in his house in Medina after a prolonged siege, but the violence began at the Prophet's Mosque. According to al-Tabari, and as discussed in the previous chapter, ʿUthman was forcibly removed from the Prophet's minbar and beaten just days before his sequestration and assassination at his home in 656.[3]

As a result of this history, early Muslim rulers had to contend with their physical safety at both mosque and palace while continuing to provide unfettered access to the public. The early caliphs had the additional challenge of being without the protection of armed guards. This situation created a particular dilemma for the rulers of early Islam, for following the precedent of the Prophet Muhammad of open access to the ruler, governance was contingent upon regular public audience

1 This practice continued throughout the Umayyad period. See Whelan, "The Origins of the Mihrāb Mujawwaf," 215, 222n73.

2 Sean W. Anthony, "The Syriac Account of Dionysius of Tell Maḥrē Concerning the Assassination of ʿUmar b. Al-Khaṭṭāb," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 69, no. 2 (2010): 210–11; L. Veccia Vaglieri, "ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. Brill, 2012, accessed April 8, 2023, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0046.

3 G. Levi Della Vida and R.G. Khoury, "ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. Brill, 2012, accessed April 8, 2023, http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.mit.edu/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1315. The impetus for the assassination of Caliph ʿUthman is complex and varied. For an analysis of the implication of generalized conflict over leadership, rather than localized grievance, in the murder of Caliph ʿUthman, see Hinds, "The Murder of Caliph ʿUthman," 467–68.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2024 DOI:10.1163/9789004690189_004

in both mosque and palace. Caliphs delivered the *khuṭba* in the mosque and engaged in public spiritual and religious debates in their Dar al-Imara audience halls. As connected structures, the mosque and Dar al-Imara operated as a seamless whole whereby rulers moved between both with little need to leave the confines and safety of the mosque-palace complex.

The previous chapter considered the seat of rule in early Islam and the early mosque as the spatial component of a spiritual and political counternarrative first shaped by the Prophet Muhammad's choices at the early mosque and later honed by the intimate encounters and negotiations between his companions and the Muslim community. This chapter explores the subsequent evolution of the architecture as a spatial counternarrative that encoded the architectural traces of the ongoing navigation of embattled and oscillating caliphal identity. Bound in a gravitational orbit that limited viable options and evolved parametrically, the mosque and Dar al-Imara leveraged existing practices of assured non-violence temporally and spatially. This took the form of the enclosure screen, or maqsura, which reconciled the conflicting needs to hold audience publicly at the mosque and protect the caliph. The maqsura itself was in dialogue with pre-Islamic Arabian entities such as harams whereby threats or promises of divine protection and retribution acted as the guarantor of peaceful conduct and good governance.[4] The histories of the haram and maqsura are animated by the pre-Islamic Arabian cultural paradigm of assured non-violence that gave rise also to the inviolable months when violence is banned (the pre-Islamic and later Islamic *ushhur al-ḥurum*). First introduced by ʿUthman in response to ʿUmar's assassination, the maqsura and its history is the starting point for this chapter. As secure complexes that engage the paradoxical need for physical safety with public exposure, the mosque and Dar al-Imara emerge as an architecture reactive to the historical specifics of Islamic authority, public audience, perception, and internecine conflict, further revealing of the parametric logic that informed the formation of early Islamic architecture.

2 Authority, Public Audience, and Sanctuaries in Early Islam

Surviving well into the Islamic period, the pre-Islamic haram and the inviolable months were central to maintaining delicate power balances that protected the nascent state from erupting into further violence. Similarly, the entanglement of authority, public audience, and consultation in the presence of deities had a longstanding history in pre-Islamic Arabia. Authority in pre-Islam was upheld through bonds of tribal cohesion and loyalty secured through oaths undertaken in the presence of deities. This worked because loyalty to the tribe and its elected leader, as well as the upholding of alliances entered by the tribe, was the prime guarantee of survival in Arabia. Disavowal by one's own tribe was tantamount to political and economic suicide. For this reason, pledges of allegiance and oath-taking were central institutions that undergirded pre-Islamic Arabian society. Oath-taking almost always occurred within sacred enclosures, in the proximity of sacred sites, or near natural landscape features where deities were believed to dwell.[5] These sacred sites were typically overseen by a priest (*kāhin*),[6] who was responsible for site maintenance, offered sacrifices, and interpreted the will of the deity, which often involved some form of divination.[7] Herodotus describes

4 For an approach that engages such parametric thinking in the interpretation of the mosaics of the Great Mosque of Damascus, see Rabbat, "The Dialogic Dimension of Umayyad Art," 79–81.

5 Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs*, 157. Incidentally, one of the best-known peace treaties struck during the life of the Prophet took place under a tree. This treaty came to be known as the Tree Treaty (*ṣulh al-shajara*).

6 Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs*, 159.

7 Hamid Dabashi, *Authority in Islam: From the Rise of Muhammad to the Establishment of the Umayyads* (New

one such oath taken by members of an Arab tribe that entailed smearing blood upon seven stones, followed by an invocation of Dionysus and the heavenly Aphrodite.[8] The reciprocity of obedience and reward guaranteed by such oaths is illustrated by the praise poetry of the Lakhmid King al-Nuʿman: "And whoever obeys you, reward him for his obedience, according to how he has obeyed you, and direct him to right-guidance, and whoever disobeys you, punish him severely, obstruct tyrants and do no neglect blood-debts."[9]

In the Meccan context, tribal leaders (*amīr* or *sayyid*) were elected by a council of elders, known as a *shūra* council. Upon reaching consensus (*ijmāʿ*) the council asserted loyalty by swearing a pledge of allegiance, known as the *bayʿa*.[10] The *bayʿa*, which survived into the Islamic period, was a political covenant entered into and guaranteed by deities. It was binding in an absolute sense.[11] In Mecca such councils met to govern and discuss tribal matters at the Dar al-Nadwa (House of Deputies), which was originally the residence of Qussay b. Kalb, the founder of the Quraysh tribe and great-great-great-grandfather of the Prophet Muhammad.[12] It is described as attached to the northeastern side (*al-wagh al-shāmī*) of the Kaʿba's enclosure, which served as the qibla of pre-Islam. This prominent position guaranteed the validity of the oaths sworn there.[13] The exalted status of the Dar al-Nadwa was reinforced after the Umayyad siege, when Ibn al-Zubayr reportedly housed the damaged black stone of the Kaʿba in the Dar al-Nadwa until the fragments could be re-instated in the Kaʿba wall. In addition to its role in governance, the Dar al-Nadwa presents in the sources as a communal, multi-purpose space with a flexible functionality afforded by the addition of lightweight enclosures (*maqāṣīr*, pl. of maqsura).[14] It reportedly contained separate *maqāṣīr* for women and men, possibly for use as a temporary guest house.[15] It also served as a venue for weddings and other social events that may have required segregated spaces.[16]

The Dar al-Nadwa of Qussay was a potent symbol of pre-Islamic tribal authority, its significance only enhanced by the prestige of its owner.[17] In addition to his role as tribal leader, Qussay held the prestigious position of key holder to the Meccan shrine,[18] and was thus entrusted with the provision of water and food for pilgrims.[19] The act of *nadāwa* (consultation) and the holding of *nadwa* was one of many responsibilities allocated to the sons of Qussay, granted to ʿAbd Manaf b. ʿAbd al-Dar, and later passed down to his sons. The Prophet's lineage thus entitled him to perform *nadāwa* and, however obliquely, the Prophet was intrinsically linked through his lineage to the Dar al-Nadwa of his ancestor. This provenance was clearly not lost on Muʿawiya. Upon his accession he purchased the Dar al-Nadwa from one of the descendants of Qussay to house the Umayyad caliphs during the Hajj.[20] However, within the Umayyad context it did not function as a Dar al-Imara in the

Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1989), 21. On spirituality in pre-Islamic Arabia and the role of the priesthood tribal ancestral cult, see Christopher M. Moreman, "Rehabilitating the Spirituality of Pre-Islamic Arabia: On the Importance of the Kahin, the Jinn, and the Tribal Ancestral Cult," *Journal of Religious History* 41, no. 2 (2017): 137–57.

8 Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs*, 115.

9 Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy*, 33.

10 Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy*, 68.

11 Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy*, 54.

12 Al-Muqaddasi, *Aḥsan al-taqasīm*, 4:126; Dabashi, *Authority in Islam*, 25.

13 Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Mecca*, 1:109.

14 Johns, "The House of the Prophet," 87.

15 Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Mecca*, 1:110.

16 Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Mecca*, 1:109n2.

17 On the role of Qussay as religious and political leader and the offices he assumed, see Gerald R. Hawting, "The 'Sacred Offices' of Mecca from Jāhiliyya to Islam," in *The Arabs and Arabia on the Eve of Islam*, ed. F.E. Peters (London: Routledge, 1999), 244–66. See also Dabashi, *Authority in Islam,* 20.

18 Dabashi, *Authority in Islam*, 20.

19 Dabashi, *Authority in Islam,* 25.

20 Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Mecca*, 1: 110. See also M.J. Kister, "Some Reports Concerning Mecca from Jāhiliyya to Islam," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 15, no. 1/2 (1972): 84.

strictest sense. Parts of it were incorporated into the Meccan haram during the refurbishment work done by ʿAbd al-Malik and his sons al-Walid I and Sulayman.[21] As the locus of pre-Islamic Meccan authority, the Dar al-Nadwa likely shaped the Dar al-Imara, albeit with a significant shift in nomenclature: from *nadāwa* and governance by council to *imāra* (governance) by caliphs and their proxies.

3 The Maqsura

The Umayyads never forgot or forgave the bitter humiliation of ʿUthman at the hands of members of their own community, and his death became a rallying cry for their cause. The relics of ʿUthman's assassination are a reminder of how political crises of early Islam, exemplified by the pattern of political assassinations of three of the four Rightly Guided Caliphs, continued to shape the architecture of the mosque and Dar al-Imara for decades. While ʿUthman may have been prompted by ʿUmar's assassination to use a maqsura, the adoption of specific ritual practices, such as the relicization of the Prophet's minbar, likely also played a part. The introduction of ritual into the mosque seems to have begun as early as the reign of the third caliph, ʿUthman, who belonged to the Banu Umayya clan of the Quraysh tribe of Mecca. He reportedly covered the Prophet's minbar in the Medina mosque with cloth in an act of veneration, possibly as an echo of how the Kaʿba was venerated.[22] He is also credited in textual accounts with the introduction of the first maqsura, which he constructed at the mosque in Medina. Built of brick and pierced with windows, it seems to have been more monumental than a mere wooden partition as has been generally assumed.[23] The maqsura eventually became an almost fixed feature of the Friday mosque. Its continuation was justified by contemporary commentators who claimed that it was not so much a partition to separate the caliph from his congregation as a security precaution against assassination attempts.[24] After ʿUthman, Muʿawiya constructed a maqsura of his own at the Great Mosque of Damascus in 664–65.[25] Ibn al-Faqih largely ignored the earlier maqsura of ʿUthman and considered Muʿawiya to be the first caliph to introduce the mihrab and maqsura to the mosque in Damascus, along with such other innovations as guards and eunuchs.[26] This assertion is perhaps an allusion to the introduction of ceremonial into the mosque, which other sources likewise attribute to Muʿawiya.[27]

The maqsura as a typology seems to have been endemic to pre-Islamic Arabia and was by no means exclusively associated with sacred space. It likely offered separation, security, and segregation within open public spaces. This wider use is alluded to in the Quranic context of the term for seclusion: the *ḥūr al-ʿayn* of paradise (the beauties promised to the faithful) are described as confined to tents (*maqṣūrāt fil-khiyām*).[28] In other instances, the term *maqāṣīr* alludes to a form of private enclosure with connotations of distinction and privacy. Al-Azraqi, an early historian of Mecca writing during the ninth century, refers to *maqāṣīr* constructed within the Dar al-Nadwa in Mecca for the use of women.[29] Al-Baladhuri refers to a further example of *maqāṣīr* outside the context of the mosque: the construction of *maqāṣīr* within

21 Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Mecca*, 1:110.

22 Jamil, "Caliph and Quṭb," 54.

23 Pedersen et al., "Masdjid."

24 Pedersen et al., "Masdjid." See also Creswell, *A Short Account*, 11.

25 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18:75. See also Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 159. Muʿawiya is credited in some sources with the introduction of the maqsura, either in response to a Kharijite attempt on his life or after witnessing a dog upon the minbar. In either case, a justification was necessary for its introduction, whether to provide security or maintain ritual purity. See Pedersen et al., "Masdjid"; Henri Lammens, *Études sur le règne du Calife Omaiyade Moʿawia* (Paris: Geuthner, 1908), 202.

26 Whelan, "The Origins of the Mihrāb Mujawwaf," 210.

27 It could also be a reference to the first use of multiple enclosures rather than a reference to Muʿawiya as the first to introduce the maqsura.

28 Quran 55:72.

29 Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 110.

city walls. The precise meaning is not entirely clear from the context,[30] but their inclusion in fortifications suggests they may have housed soldiers who manned the walls.

Islamic governance unsurprisingly involved adversarial public exchanges at the mosque. In these situations, the maqsura served the purpose of not only protecting the ruler from an agitated and enraged public but also acted as a shield or, to use a modern term, a panic room. As discussed in Chapter 2, when the governor of Kufa and Basra, Ziyad, was pelted with pebbles for an unpopular proclamation within the mosque, he temporarily retreated to the maqsura until his troops could both calm the congregants and identify the perpetrators, after which they were judged by Ziyad at the gate of the mosque.[31] Other accounts of armed conflicts within the mosque reveal a less positive outcome for the ruler. This was the case during the revolt of ʿAmr b. Saʿid b. al-ʿAs. In this instance, the "sons of Marwan" (i.e., the Marwanid branch of the Umayyads) secured themselves within the maqsura, which was later broken into by their adversaries.[32] Meanwhile, the embattled governor of Iraq, al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf, similarly sequestered himself, his commanders, and his close circle within the maqsura of his mosque at Wasit, the capital of Iraq and command center during the Second Islamic Civil War, while his troops assembled outside.[33] Reading between the lines of these accounts reveals that the maqsura bought time for the ruler and his inner circle in a way that military manoeuvres might; that is, it created a zone of non-violence for the ruler and his bodyguards while maintaining his physical presence and prestige within the zone of conflict.[34]

Over time, the maqsura assumed even greater prominence, particularly within provincial capitals. In fact, nearly every governor and caliph built a maqsura for himself in an unending cycle of refurbishment, and perhaps also competition. While serving as Muʿawiya's governor in Iraq, Ziyad constructed a maqsura at his Friday mosque in Kufa that was later renovated by the Umayyad governor Khalid al-Qasri.[35] Other governors under the Umayyads also constructed *maqāṣīr* in Kufa and Basra.[36] Marwan b. al-Hakam, Muʿawiya's governor in Medina and the father of ʿAbd al-Malik, rebuilt the maqsura at the Prophet's Mosque in 664–65,[37] prior to his discharge in 669.[38] During his governorship of Medina (705–12), ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz (the future Umayyad caliph ʿUmar II (r. 717–20) again rebuilt this maqsura, this time as a raised structure of teak wood instead of the unbaked brick used in the time of ʿUthman. Although ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz's choice to rebuild in precious teak wood may seem to contradict his austerity, the sanctity of the Mosque of the Prophet may have been a motivating factor in his decision to exalt the maqsura.[39] The maqsura that ʿAbd al-Malik's notorious governor, al-Hajjaj, built in the Friday mosque at Wasit may have even been topped with a dome, as evidenced by the thickened foundations.[40] The fact that this domed maqsura pre-dates the domed *maqāṣīr* at the mosques of ʿAbd al-Malik by several years, and therefore would have been the first of its kind in Islam, further strengthens the framing of the maqsura as aspirational, an exclusive and exalted space which al-Hajjaj may have tried to elevate. The increasing prominence of the maqsura aligns

30 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 445. The term in this case has been translated as "mansions."

31 Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 18:95, 97n307, 99.

32 Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 21:161, 165.

33 Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 22:113, esp. note 434.

34 Yaara Perlman, "The Bodyguard of the Caliphs During the Umayyad and the Early Abbasid Periods," *Al-Qantara* 36, no. 2 (2015): 318–20.

35 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 437.

36 Pedersen et al., "Masdjid." See also al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 277, 348.

37 Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 18:75.

38 Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 18:94.

39 Pedersen et al., "Masdjid."

40 Creswell deduced this from the excavations of the site. See Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2:132–38. See also Fu'ād Safar, *Wāsit: The Sixth Season's Excavation* (Cairo: l'Institut français d'arch'eologie orientale, 1945), 25–32; and Johns, "The House of the Prophet," 59.

with the parallel evolution of ceremonial practices at both mosque and palace. For example, the *ḥijāb* (curtain) was introduced to limit visual access to the later Marwanid Umayyad caliphs, including al-Walid II at his audience hall in Khirbat al-Mafjar (724–74).[41] Within a few centuries the maqsura came to function as a space reserved exclusively for the inner circle of the caliph. For example, the Umayyad Cordoban caliph al-Hakam II's maqsura in Cordoba, *c.*961–66, formed its own extension to the mosque with a private entrance connected to the palace.[42]

As caliphs and governors took on increasingly nuanced roles as both imams and *khaṭībs* within Friday mosques, attitudes towards this shifting identity and perception of the public necessitated architectural remediation to maintain good governance within the turbulent political landscape of early Islam. This analysis challenges conventional views of the maqsura as shaped largely by contemporaneous screened enclosures within sacred spaces of late antiquity (such as churches). It also challenges the views of both the primary sources and contemporary scholarship that present Muʿawiya and later al-Walid I as the one responsible for introducing aspects of the "palace into the mosque."[43] The evidence suggests instead that the introduction and prominence of the maqsura was the result of a more gradual and ubiquitous process harking back to the caliphate of ʿUthman and his departure from the austere policies of his predecessor, ʿUmar.[44] The elevation of the maqsura to a domed space under al-Hajjaj in Iraq may have also been indicative of a monumentalizing trajectory in line with Iraq's burgeoning gravity during the Second Islamic Civil War.

The history of investment in the maqsura suggests that it may have also operated as a metonym of Arabo-Islamic authority. This association was enhanced by the maqsura's pre-Islamic provenance in the Meccan Dar al-Nadwa and its association with demarcating seclusion and privilege for caliphs and governors within large, open-plan hypostyle mosque spaces. Rather than a happenstance borrowing, the maqsura, like other such elements of the mosque as the minbar and later the niche mihrab, emerged in response to the complex liturgical, functional, and social aspects of the early mosque.[45] The monumentalization of the maqsura and its association with caliphal prerogative, so prominently conveyed by al-Hakam II at the Great Mosque of Cordoba in the tenth

41 Behrens-Abouseif, "The Lion-Gazelle Mosaic," 16.

42 Khoury, "The Meaning of the Great Mosque of Cordoba," 86–90.

43 Sauvaget, *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine*, 117–21. For a critique of Sauvaget's findings, see Henri Stern, "Les origines de l'architecture de la mosquée omeyyade à l'occasion d'un livre de J. Sauvaget," *Syria. Archéologie, Art et histoire* 28, no. 3–4 (1951): 269–79. See also Élie Lambert, "Les Origines de la Mosquée et l'Architecture religieuse des Omeiyades," *Studia Islamica* 6 (1956): 5–18; Edmond Pauty, "L'evolution du dispositif en T dans les mosquées à portiques," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 2, no. 1 (1932): 91–124. For a discussion of the mosque within this context, see Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art*, 110–17. For a discussion of the spatial sympathy between mosque and church/synagogue as the signifier of the "mosque concept," whereby the earliest mosque is a structure with an axial peristyle forecourt leading into an enclosed area, see Johns, "The House of the Prophet," 101. For a discussion of the role of sacred hierarchies in the formulation of spatial arrangements within the church space, see Ann Marie Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean: Architecture, Cult, and Community* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

44 These findings have implications for reinterpretations of the development of the qibla beyond those discussed here. The prime example is the introduction in 705 of the niche mihrab by the caliph al-Walid I at his mosque in Damascus. The first recorded use of the niche mihrab at the Prophet's mosque in Medina has been identified as an homage by al-Walid I to the Prophet Muhammad. This reading further problematizes the conventional view that the mosque's qibla area and appearance of the mihrab in the early eighth century is evidence of the migration of the language of the late antique throne room into the mosque. See Whelan, "The Origins of the Mihrāb Mujawwaf," 210–12; Khoury, "The Mihrab: From Text to Form," 3.

45 See Whelan, "The Origins of the Mihrāb Mujawwaf," 211–13 for a parallel refutation of Sauvaget's hypothesis of the niche mihrab as an evolution of the late antique throne niche.

century, suggest a compelling reinterpretation for the maqsura. Just as the minbar was the Prophet's symbol of authority, the maqsura may have evolved to become the symbol of God's other representatives; the caliphs. When viewed contextually, the maqsura presents a deep history for the mosque embedded in the dynamics of early Islamic history and governance.

4 The Mosque and Dar al-Imara in Early Islam

During the life of the Prophet Muhammad, his mosque and house in Medina acted as both a house of worship and a city hall. The mosque was more than a daily house of prayer; the qibla area acted as a de facto headquarters for the fledgling Muslim community. On Fridays the *khuṭba* was delivered in the mosque, followed by the gathering of the community to discuss their affairs. In his mosque in Medina, the Prophet also held court, settled disputes, and gathered with his followers to teach (Fig. 3.1). Following the Prophet's death in 632, governance took place between the mosque and Dar al-Imara. This was especially the case in the cities recently conquered by Muslim armies. As the Islamic empire spread and secured more territory, the mosque evolved within the framework of austerity and simplicity mandated by the Prophet's precedent. This decision was reportedly implemented through the dissemination of the model of the Mosque of the Prophet by the second Rightly Guided Caliph, ʿUmar, in a bid to thwart unwanted innovation in mosque design, which he feared might lead to a perversion of orthodox ritual prayer.[46] The congregational mosques of the provincial towns and other appropriated structures that acted as temporary headquarters for local governors during the reigns of the Rightly Guided Caliphs were the earliest settings for audiences.[47] As the qibla area evolved in response to the needs of public audience in the mosque, it assimilated more of the qualities of an audience hall and also became more closely connected to the Dar al-Imara.[48]

In early garrison towns the mosque served a critical function. It provided not only a place for congregational prayer but also a public forum in which to discuss the affairs of the emerging community. The early mosques at the garrison towns of Basra (635), Kufa (639), and Fustat (641–42) have been described as forums of sorts, centrally located and accessible to the city's inhabitants.[49] Individual tribes within the garrison towns each had their own masjid (small neighborhood mosque),[50] but it was the centrally located congregational mosque that hosted Friday prayers and, crucially, where the community attended the all-important *khuṭba*.[51] In this sense, the congregational Friday mosques of early Islam offered rulers a critical public platform for the governance of the community, not unlike the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina.[52]

The development of early provincial mosques was driven by cultural concerns, in addition to

46 Johns, "The House of the Prophet," 109.

47 The most significant example of this is the use of the Iwan of Kisra, also known as the audience hall of Chosroes, at Ctesiphon by the governor Saʿd under the Caliph Abu Bakr. See Lionel Bier, "The Sasanian Palaces and Their Influence in Early Islam," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 60–62.

48 Sauvaget, "The Mosque and the Palace," 109–47; Sauvaget, *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine,* 69–92. For the continuation of this trend at other sites, including Jerusalem, see M. Ben-Dov, "The Omayyad Structures Near the Temple Mount (Preliminary Report)," *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies* 10 (1971): 35–40.

49 Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art*, 111.

50 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 434. See also Jamel Akbar, "Khaṭṭa and the Territorial Structure of Early Muslim Towns," *Muqarnas* 6 (1989): 22–32.

51 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 434. See also Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art*, 110.

52 Michael Cook, "Did the Prophet Muhammad Hold Court?," in *Court Cultures in the Muslim World: Seventh to Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Albrecht Fuess and Jan-Peter Hartung (London: Routledge, 2010), 23–25.

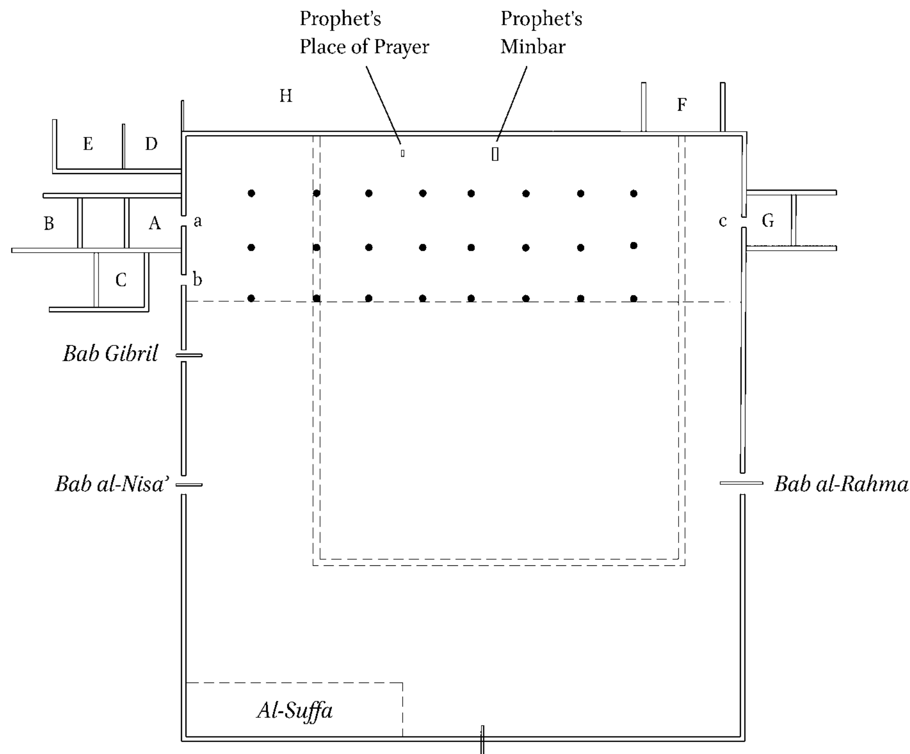

FIGURE 3.1 Mosque of the Prophet in Medina based on Akkouche's recontruction. A. ʿAisha B. Sawda C. Fatima D. Hafsa E. Umm Salama (?) F. Al-ʿAbbas G. Abu Bakr H. ʿAbd Allah b. ʿUmar a. Bab ʿAisha b. Bab ʿAli c. Khawkhat Abu Bakr. Johns, "House of the Prophet," 68.
DRAWN BY REHAM SHADI

pragmatism and economic considerations. A recurrent theme in the sources is avoidance of a whimsical approach or undue innovation to the architecture of the mosque. The unbridled absorption of foreign ritual, practice, form, and ornament was also viewed as a threat to Islam's puritanical rituals and practices. These texts convey a general sense of anxiety surrounding innovation within the mosque. This explains the actions of Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan, governor first in Basra between 664 and 673, and then in both Basra and Kufa from 670 until his death in 673. For instance, when the congregation began clapping dust from their hands following prayer on the dirt floor, Ziyad ordered that pebbles be strewn throughout both mosques lest the act mistakenly become an established ritual of prayer.[53]

ʿUmar's frugality and shunning of accumulated wealth may also have motivated many of his decisions regarding the austerity of the early mosque. Particularly prevalent was the avoidance of investment in features that elevated the status of a mosque's patron. For example, ʿUmar scolded the governor of Egypt ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs for sitting upon a minbar, consequently leaving the Muslims seated "at his heels." ʿUmar also ordered the wooden door to the palace of the governor of Kufa, Saʿd b. Abi Waqqas, burnt down so that nothing would separate the governor from his subjects.[54] He famously stated that accumulated wealth would "not affect [him] adversely, but it would be a temptation for

53 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 436.

54 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 438. Al-Baladhuri implies that the act may have been related to accusations that Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas was derelict in some of his duties.

those who come after [him]."[55] ʿUmar's behavior reflects an awareness of the threat of surrounding cultural practices encroaching upon the nascent Islamic identity and the manifestation of that threat in attitudes towards the design of the mosque. It also reflects a continuation of the Prophet's psychologically and politically necessary framing of austerity discussed in Chapter 2.

While the transformation of the qibla space in the early mosque may be related to a process of politicization that occurred in the decades following the death of the Prophet Muhammad,[56] the development of the Dar al-Imara alongside the mosque under the early governors and caliphs of Islam suggests that, as a complex, mosque and palace ultimately formed the foundation for an evolving conception of Arabo-Islamic rulership. Governor's residences were either newly constructed in founded cities, such as Kufa and Basra in Iraq or Fustat in Egypt, or appropriated in such cities as Damascus and Jerusalem in Greater Syria.[57] Signified by their impermanence, simplicity, and improvisational quality, these early mud-brick structures were soon rebuilt in the second quarter of the seventh century in a more permanent fashion.[58]

By offering an element of protection while providing open access to the ruler, the maqsura served as a microcosm for how the mosque worked in tandem with the Dar al-Imara to secure the governors and caliphs of early Islam. The intimate relationship between the mosque and Dar al-Imara evolved early in the garrison towns of Kufa and Basra.[59] ʿUmar is often credited with the controversial decision to relocate the Dar al-Imara at Kufa behind the qibla wall of the mosque, which at the time was located behind the qibla but separated by a street, and connect it with a private entrance due to a theft in the palace treasury.[60] As the mosque was in use both day and night, this proximity guaranteed the safety of the Dar al-Imara.[61] He made this decision despite the dismay of the community who questioned whether they were now effectively praying to their governor, the military commander Saʿd b. Abi Waqqas. Subsequent governors in Iraq retained this direct relationship between the mosque and Dar al-Imara , arguing that direct entrance from the palace to the qibla area avoided the potential dangers of entering among the congregation. The decision to relocate the Dar al-Imara directly behind the wall of the qibla is also sometimes credited to Ziyad at Basra. In the case of the Dar al-Imara at Basra, Ziyad considered it inappropriate for the imam to walk through the congregation to lead the prayer; the relocation allowed the governor direct access from the palace into his maqsura.[62] In both cases security was a motivating factor, be it of the treasury or the governor.

Unlike the garrison-town Friday mosques of Iraq, the post-conquest Friday mosques of Greater

55 Robert Hoyland, "New Documentary Texts and the Early Islamic State," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 69, no. 3 (2006): 404–405.

56 Sauvaget, *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine*, 135–57. For a discussion of this parallelism and its abandonment in the later Abbasid palace, see Necipoğlu, "An Outline of Shifting Paradigms," 3–27.

57 The earliest residences of Muslim rulers were in Medina, beginning in 622 with the Mosque of the Prophet to which his residence was attached. The residences of the Rightly Guided Caliphs were located close to the mosque but did not form a complex.

58 One of the earliest refurbished palaces was that of the governor and later caliph Muʿawiya b. Abi Sufyan in Damascus. Its dating to the 660s is contested and has serious implications because its monumental domed audience hall, which was given the enigmatic sobriquet the Dome of the Green, is considered by some to be evidence for a pre-Islamic Arabian/early Islamic dome of heaven, see Jonathan Bloom, "The *Qubbat al-Khaḍrā'* and the Iconography of Height in Islamic Architecture," in "Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces," ed. Gülru Necipoğlu, special issue, *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 135–41.

59 Nezar AlSayyad, *Cities and Caliphs: On the Genesis of Arab Muslim Urbanism* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 46–53.

60 Creswell, *A Short Account*, 9.

61 Nezar AlSayyad, *Cities and Caliphs: On the Genesis of Arab Muslim Urbanism* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1991), 57; and Creswell, *A Short Account*, 9.

62 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 230.

Syria were mostly appropriated sites at the city center. These mosques and Dar al-Imaras were either newly constructed in proximity, as was the case in Jerusalem, or appropriated, as was the case in Damascus. The predecessor of the Umayyad Friday mosque in Damascus was founded in 634, during the caliphate of ʿUmar, on the site of the Church of St. John the Baptist, formerly the Temple of Jupiter.[63] Both Muʿawiya and ʿAbd al-Malik attempted to secure the purchase of the *temenos* (temple enclosure) that housed the church-cum-mosque.[64] However, they were thwarted by the terms of the post-conquest treaty. As a result, the mosque in Damascus retained its appearance until 705 when it was rebuilt under al-Walid I,[65] who reportedly bribed and threatened the Christian community into selling the church within the *temenos* (Fig. 3.2).[66]

Muʿawiya's Dar al-Imara in Damascus, where he served as governor from 640 to 661 before becoming caliph in 661, reportedly encompassed the former Byzantine governor's palace, located some distance behind the enclosure's southern-wall qibla (Fig. 3.3). Although this arrangement is identical to other ensembles seen throughout the Islamic provinces, the location of Muʿawiya's Dar al-Imara in Damascus pre-dated the Muslim conquest and aligned with Constantinopolitan imperial prototypes seen in Byzantine provinces.[67] Muʿawiya reportedly held audience in the Byzantine-era chamber that was connected through a door in the qibla wall to his private maqsura at the mihrab of the companions of the Prophet.[68] At some point during his tenure as either governor or caliph, Muʿawiya refurbished the domed audience hall and named it the *qubbat al-khaḍrāʾ* (lit. dome of the green, metaphorically the "dome of heaven").[69] Descriptions of the Khadraʾ palace suggest lavishness, with marble revetments and a garden setting of lush vegetation and fountains.[70] The Khadraʾ palace was later bought by ʿAbd al-Malik from Muʿawiya's son and became an integral part of the complex under ʿAbd al-Malik's son and successor,

63 Jean Sauvaget, "Le plan antique de Damas," *Syria* 26, no. 3/4 (1949): 314–58.

64 For a discussion of the history of the shared space at the Great Mosque of Damascus, see Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus*, 1–5; and AlSayyad, *Cities and Caliphs*, 81–83. The coexistence of the church and mosque in early Islam has been argued for on the basis of textual evidence that describes mosques located in areas around churches rather than within the sanctuaries themselves. There is also limited discussion of churches being converted into mosques. See Mattia Guidetti, "The Byzantine Heritage in the *Dār al-Islām*: Churches and Mosques in al-Ruha between the Sixth and Twelfth Centuries," *Muqarnas* 26 (2009): 1–36. The addition of a mihrab in the Kathisma church during the early Islamic period has been presented as evidence of a shared sacred space among Christians and Muslims. See Rina Avner, "The Kathisma: A Christian and Muslim Pilgrimage Site," *ARAM* 19 (2007): 541–57. For a general history of the treatment of Christian population under Islamic rule, see Sidney Harrison Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

65 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 191–92. See also Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 184.

66 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 192; Grabar, "Ceremonial and Art," 23–24.

67 Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 147. The evidence suggests that the palace in Damascus in which Muʿawiya resided following his appointment as governor *c.*639 was located behind the qibla wall of the *temenos*. The Dar al-Imara at Kufa was relocated *c.*640, roughly two years after the foundation of the mosque in 638 following a fire. It is difficult to state with certainty whether one may have influenced the other, but the relocation of the Dar al-Imara at Kufa involved joining the mosque and palace with no physical separation between the two. There is no evidence that this was the case in Damascus. See AlSayyad, *Cities and Caliphs*, 56–57. It has been convincingly argued that the mosque and Dar al-Imara in Damascus were separated by a courtyard. See Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 147–59. It seems likely, however, that the advantage of having direct access to the qibla wall from the Dar al-Imara was recognized early in the development at both sites.

68 Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 150.

69 Charles Wendell, "Baghdad: Imago Mundi, and Other Foundation-Lore," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2, no. 2 (1971): 99–128; Bloom, "The *Qubbat al-Khaḍrāʾ*," 135–41; Karl Lehmann, 'The Dome of Heaven," *The Art Bulletin* 27, no. 1 (1945): 1–27.

70 Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 148.

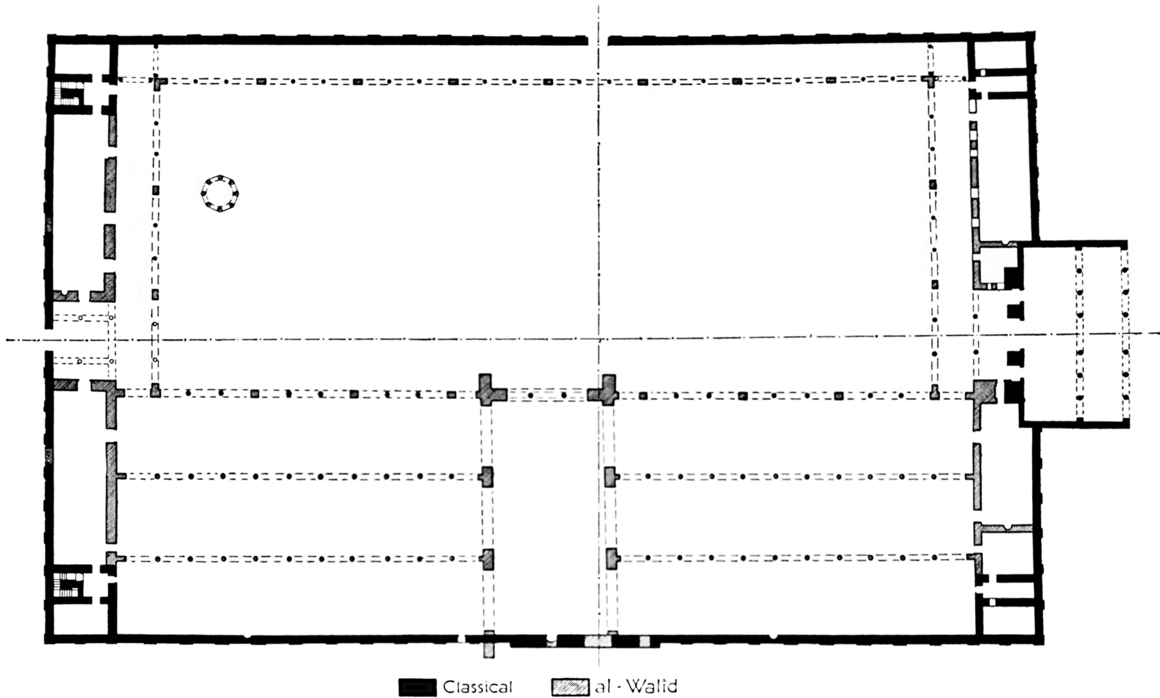

FIGURE 3.2 The Great Mosque of Damascus under Caliph al-Walid I. (K.A.C. Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford)

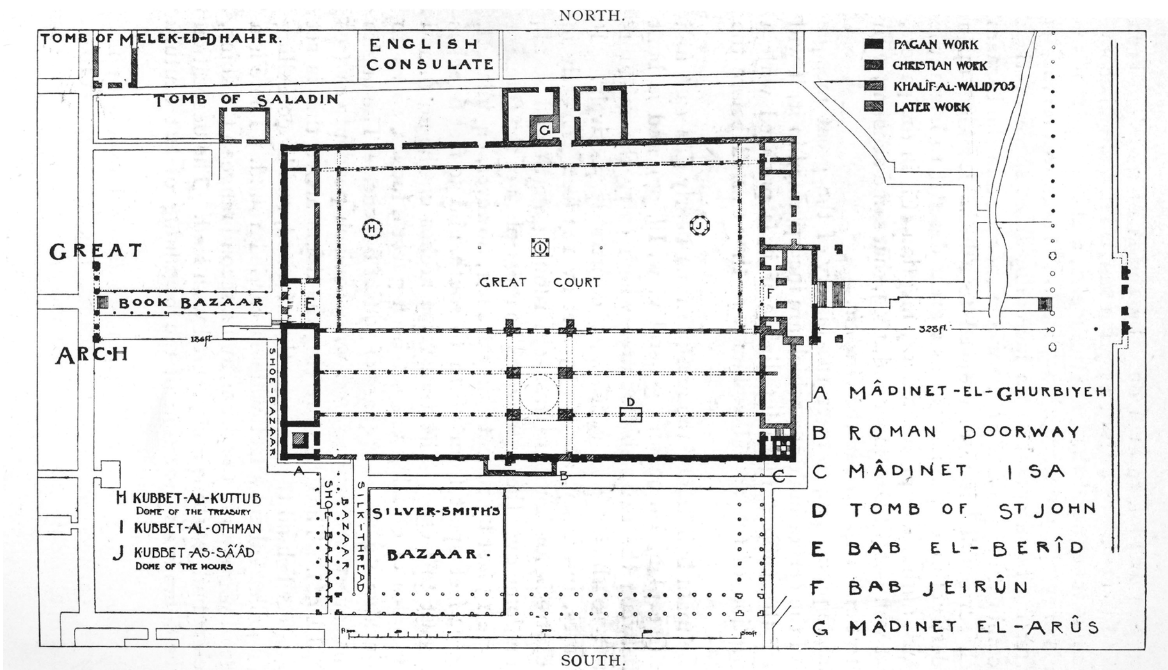

FIGURE 3.3 Great Mosque of Damascus indicating location of courtyard connecting the mosque and the palace (Qubbat al-Khadra'). Richard Phené Spiers, *Architecture East and West: A Collection of Essays Written at Various Times during the Last Sixteen Years*, London, For the committee of the Spiers testimonial by B.T. Batsford, 1905, 218.

al-Walid I, with the entrance connecting the mosque to the maqsura maintained along with Muʿawiya's Khadra' palace itself.[71]

This arrangement was replicated again in Wasit, where a doorway connected the maqsura constructed by al-Hajjaj to his newly built palace, also known as *al-khaḍrāʾ* in a direct echo of the ensemble at Damascus (Fig. 3.4). Like his predecessors, al-Hajjaj was able to privately enter, exit, and perhaps flee the mosque directly from his maqsura. This is a noteworthy design feature, considering that the masqura functioned as a caliphal safe zone within the mosque.[72] Such private entrances between the palace and the maqsura would have essentially forged an expanded exclusive caliphal zone that combined the security of the palace with the public spectacle of the congregational mosque. Combined, the ensemble operated as a seamless whole.[73] This pattern of a secured maqsura with direct access to the palace emerges as a brilliant resolution for the paradox of early Muslim governance. This suite of architectural interventions ensured physical safety while seemingly allowing unfettered access, all without the damaging optics of retreating fully into the safety of the palace. These interventions craftily offered tangible insurance when it mattered the most without the damaging implications of a visibly hidden caliph.[74]

The strongest resonance between the need for enhanced security and the architecture of the mosque and Dar al-Imara is found at the complexes constructed by Ziyad in Kufa and Basra, cities at the frontier of the First and Second Islamic Civil Wars. The post-conquest mosque at Kufa began its history delineated by ditches marked out by arrows shot towards the qibla and the four points of the diagonal marking the enclosure.[75] A simply built structure of reeds,[76] it became an actual building under the governor al-Mughira b. Shuʿba (d. 670)[77] on the orders of ʿUmar.[78] Ziyad is credited with rebuilding the mosque and Dar al-Imara at Basra (665)[79] and Kufa (670).[80] He replaced the earlier mosque at Basra and constructed his new mosque of plaster and baked brick (*al-giṣṣ wal-āgir*).[81] Ibn al-Faqih captures the mixture of astonishment and criticism that characterized reactions to the construction of this mosque, which was one of the first to aspire to monumentality. He writes: "Ziyad built an edifice for the invocation of God of stone (*sakhr*) and plaster (*al-giṣṣ*) not mixed with mud, Had it not been for the scarred hands of its erectors we would have thought it the work of demons."[82] Ziyad's rebuilding of the Dar al-Imara and the mosque in the two major provincial cities of early Islam may be seen as part of a wider policy to create a more permanent residence while Islam secured control of the conquered territories and sought to stifle dissent and stamp out sedition throughout Iraq.

The rebuilding may also have served other commemorative purposes. The mosque at Kufa reportedly incorporated material from the castles of nearby al-Hira, the former capital of the Lakhmids, who themselves were vassals of the Sasanids. This act was perhaps a bid to evoke the past glories of the pre-Islamic Arab rulers of the al-Mundhir clan, who were associated with the spoliated doors installed at the mosque in Kufa.[83] Ziyad's efforts, however, seem here to have transcended mere

71 Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 159; Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 147, 149, 154.

72 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 263; Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 22:113.

73 Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 1:42–58.

74 For an interpretation of the evolution of the Dar al-Imara as a retreat for the ruler from mosque to citadel, see Bacharach, "Administrative Complexes, Palaces, and Citadels," 105–22.

75 Creswell, *A Short Account*, 7.

76 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 434.

77 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 436. See also Hichem Djaït, *Al-Kūfa, naissance de la ville islamique* (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1986), 5–20.

78 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 440.

79 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 436.

80 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 1:230. See also Michael G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2005), 74–78.

81 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 230.

82 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 230.

83 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 444.

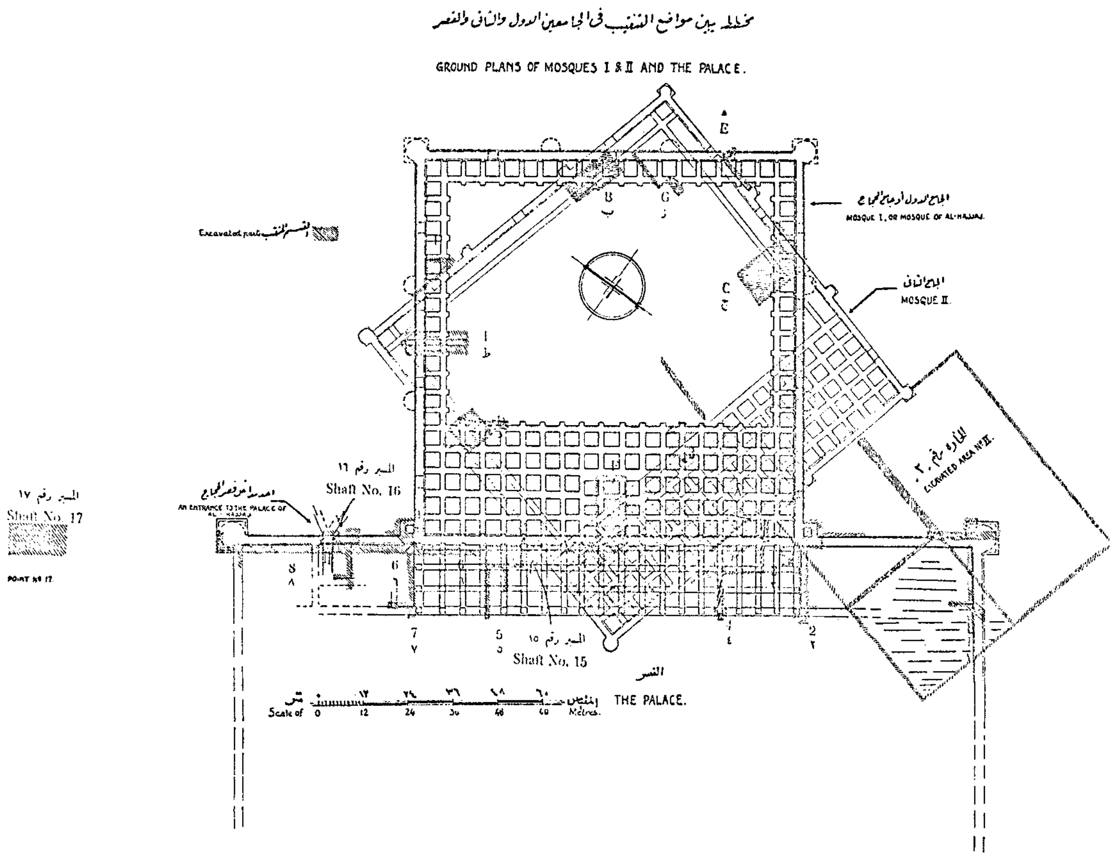

FIGURE 3.4 The Mosque at Wasit, showing location of Dar al-Imara to the south and change in qibla alignment. Fu'ad Safar, *Wāsiṭ: The Sixth Season's Excavations*, 13.

permanence and aspired to unprecedented monumentality, as illustrated by the reaction to the construction of the mosque in Basra. Ziyad's desire to establish a stable headquarters with exalted associations is further supported by his choices surrounding the Dar al-Imara at Basra, which was originally located in the open space (*raḥba*) associated with Bani Hashim and known as *al-Dahnā'*.[84] This earlier Dar al-Imara was thus connected to the premier clan of the Quraysh tribe; that is, the clan of the Prophet Muhammad. The removal of the governor's palace from a public space linked to the Bani Hashim to an area that consolidated the relationship between the governor's palace and his public platform in the mosque signals a shift away from the tribal authority of the Bani Hashim and toward the centrally appointed caliphal governor.

As arenas of public debate and leadership, the congregational mosques and Dar al-Imara in Iraqi cities were forged in the decades of political upheaval, religious factionalism, and contested legitimacy that prevailed during the middle of the seventh century.[85] Located in Iraq, a hotbed of ʿAlid counter claims to the Umayyad caliphate and later a major center of Shiʿi presence, these

84 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 230.

85 For a discussion of early mosques in the appropriated cities of the classical world, their use as public spaces, and adoption of some of the properties of the pre-Islamic *agora*, see Hugh Kennedy, "From Polis to Madina: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria," *Past & Present*, no. 106 (February 1985): 15–16.

complexes must be contextualized within the First and Second Civil Wars.[86] The historical development of these complexes in Iraq are in fact bracketed by watershed moments from this period. The first is the infamous sermon that Ziyad gave in 665 following his appointment as governor of Basra in 664. Using the mosque as a platform to broadcast his intention to suppress dissent at any cost, Ziyad stood at the minbar and threatened to harvest the "ripened heads of his enemies."[87] The second is the patronage of governor al-Hajjaj, who constructed a mosque and Dar al-Imara in the newly founded city of Wasit in 702–4.[88] Although Wasit was not a post-conquest city nor in existence during the First or Second Islamic Civil War, its mosque and Dar al-Imara were products of that turbulent past.[89] Reportedly on the order of ʿAbd al-Malik, al-Hajjaj incorporated a *qubbat al-khaḍrāʾ* as an audience hall into the Dar al-Imara in 703–4, like Muʿawiya had before him at the Dar al-Imara in Damascus.[90] The tenth-century historian Ibn Rusta describes the dome of al-Hajjaj's palace as a lofty and visually dominant structure (*qubba musharrafa khaḍrāʾ*) that "could be seen from thirty miles away."[91] Al-Hajjaj also brought doors for his palace and mosque from a group of sites with possible iconic pre-Islamic associations.[92] As will be shown in Chapter 4, the various *qubbat al-khaḍrāʾ* of early Islam are without a doubt a turning point in the history of Islamic architecture, even though none survive.

The evidence presented so far suggests that the construction of Friday mosques between the first mosque in Medina in 622 and the emergence of the prototypical domed Umayyad caliphal mosques in Medina, Damascus, and Jerusalem under al-Walid I reveal a process of experimentation intrinsically linked to the contested nature of early Islamic governance. That process resulted from the often-conflicting religious and political agendas of the early governors and Umayyad caliphs. The shift away from the austerity and simplicity of the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina seems to have occurred gradually, perhaps as early as the second half of the seventh century under Ziyad in Kufa and Basra rather than under the Umayyad caliphs in Damascus. This development is particularly worthy of attention. The mosque and palace complexes that Ziyad constructed in two vital urban centers of Iraq exuded an air of unprecedented monumentality—his mosque in Basra was described as resembling "the work of demons."[93] This comment is striking when contrasted with

86 For an in-depth discussion of this history, see Morony, *Iraq after The Muslim Conquest*, 74–78. For a reinterpretation of this history, see Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad*. These complexes are the focus of Chapter 5.

87 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* 2:73–76.

88 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 449.

89 Other mosque-palace complexes were constructed throughout the empire, including at the citadel of Amman in Jordan and in the city of ʿAnjar in Lebanon. For a history of the mosque and palace at Amman, see Antonio Almagro Gorbea, *El Palacio Omeya de Amman* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1983). See also Alastair Northedge, "Survey of the Terrace Area at Amman Citadel," *Levant* 12, no. 1 (1980): 135–54, and Alastair Northedge, "The Qasr of Amman," *Art and Archaeology Research Papers* 15 (1979): 22–38. The palace at ʿAnjar was first discussed in Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 49–50. See also Maurice Chehab, "The Umayyad Palace at ʿAnjar," *Ars Orientalis* 5 (1963): 17–25; and Hafez K. Chehab, "On the Identification of ʿAnjar (ʿAyn al-Jarr) as an Umayyad Foundation," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 42–48; Aila Santi, "The Mosque—Dār Al-Imāra Complex at ʿAnjar: Preliminary Notes from a Multi-Layered Exploration of Ceremonial Spaces in the Marwānid Period." *Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭa* 30 (October 4, 2022): 235–66.

90 Creswell, *A Short Account*, 40–41. Creswell describes this excavation, but it is unclear whether any evidence of physical remains exist or whether records of this excavation may be available.

91 Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad Ibn ʿUmar Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-Aʿlāk al-Nafīsa, Mujallad VII*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1891), 187. See also Bloom, "The *Qubbat al-Khaḍrāʾ*," 135.

92 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 450.

93 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 230.

attitudes towards architecture only a few decades earlier, when the wooden doors of the Dar al-Imara at Kufa were burnt upon the order of the caliph ʿUmar and the governor ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs was scolded for sitting upon a minbar in Fustat. Unlike his predecessors, Muʿawiya's governor, Ziyad, not only sat upon a minbar but also ruled from within a fortified Dar al-Imara and prayed within a maqsura, a right previously believed to be reserved for caliphs. The actions of Ziyad at Kufa and Basra may have resulted from his elevated position and the powers vested in him by Muʿawiya, as exemplified by his inclusion in the clan of Umayya as the caliph's kinsman and brother with his adoption. Thus, in 665 while governor of Basra, Ziyad b. Abihi became Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan; he lost the moniker for illegitimacy (*abīhi*, son of his "unknown" father) and the brand of shame that resulted from his mother's promiscuity.[94] This context along with the shifts in attitude towards the mosque and palace under Muʿawiya may explain Ziyad's ambitious architectural pursuits that paralleled those of his master in Damascus and contrasted with those of his predecessors. The efforts of caliph and governor were not necessarily in competition, but rather they should be interpreted as a strategic consolidation of authority through the establishment of secure centers from which to govern.

94 Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam*, 40–45. See also I. Hasson, "Ziyād b. Abīhi," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. Brill, 2012, accessed April 8, 2023, http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.mit.edu/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_8176; and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:2.

The congregational mosques at Kufa, Basra, Damascus, Wasit, and Medina constructed between 630–715 evidence architectural development in the qibla space driven by contested authority of Islam's early rulers and dependency of that authority on public audience in the mosque. Along with the continued use of the minbar as a platform for the *khuṭba*, the enclosed maqsura and provision of direct access to the Dar al-Imara via the qibla wall responded to the conflicting needs for public audience, security, and unfettered access to the ruler within the mosque. Spatially contiguous with the Dar al-Imara, the maqsura was enfolded into the palace's sphere of influence but remained, for all intents and purposes, the central component of the mosque. The Dar al-Imara and the ensemble at the qibla that included the minbar, maqsura, and later the niche mihrab were shaped primarily by the precedent of Muhammad's governance in Medina, but they evolved in reaction to the harsh lived realities of early Islamic history. The minbar, maqsura, qibla area of the mosque, and Dar al-Imara inhabit the orbit of agile architectural resolutions that mitigated the challenges of early Islamic governance. To the ensemble of minbar, maqsura, and mihrab would be added the maqsura dome, introduced by al-Walid I at the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina and the Great Mosque of Damascus *c.*705 (Fig. 3.5).[95] They moreover navigated the implications of materiality, from the language of austerity promoted by the Prophet Muhammad to the architectural mediations of Muʿawiya.

95 Mostafa, "The Early Mosque Revisited," 11.

CHAPTER 4

United under the Dome of Heaven

1 The Qubbat al-Khadra' and Civil Strife in Early Islam

On his deathbed, Caliph Muʿawiya b. Abi Sufyan had few requests. He wanted to be dressed in the Prophet's shirt and to have the pulverized nail clippings of the Prophet Muhammad placed upon his closed eyes and in his mouth. Additionally, he wanted his successor and heir, Yazid b. Muʿawiya (Yazid I), to be recalled to Damascus to assume the caliphate.[1] Muʿawiya died in his palace in Damascus surrounded by attendants and family, a far cry from the violent deaths of his predecessors, the embattled caliph ʿUthman, who died sequestered in his home, and ʿUmar, who succumbed to fatal wounds within the Mosque of the Prophet. At the time of his death in 680, Muʿawiya handed over an empire nearly twice its initial size, which he had ruled from his Syrian stronghold for almost forty years. Despite his longevity and geopolitical success, few personalities are as divisive as the fifth caliph, Muʿawiya b. Abi Sufyan b. Harb b. Umayya, founder of the Umayyad dynasty (661–750).

Muʿawiya's long reign and position as founder of a burgeoning late antique empire presuppose architectural patronage. However, because traces of the first Umayyad caliph's efforts as a patron are limited to a few surviving inscriptions and links with extant extra-urban palaces,[2] historians mostly rely on textual accounts to reconstruct his attitude towards architecture and the city.[3] Muʿawiya was a companion to the Prophet and served for almost forty years; but, for approximately twenty-five of those years, he struggled to secure the allegiance and support of factions within the Islamic community.[4] At the time of his death, the Umayyad dynasty he founded was by no means secured. The community had barely recovered from the traumatic events of the First Islamic Civil War which included the violent deaths of several members of the Prophet's family and for which he was largely condemned. The impression of Muʿawiya that emerges from the sources is of a shape-shifting character, a sinner and saint who people exalted and reviled in equal measure. The historical Muʿawiya is paradoxical, slippery, and quintessentially chimeric.[5]

This chapter positions Muʿawiya within the context of the early Muslim community as it reconciled the loss of Muhammad's charismatic authority and characterizes him as a ruler who grappled with the implications of the unstable identity of Islam's earliest rulers. It builds on previous arguments that theorize the formation of Islamic architecture

1 Flood, "Bodies and Becoming," 469; Brannon Wheeler, *Mecca and Eden: Ritual, Relics, and Territory in Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006), 72 (after al-Ṭabarī).

2 The only dated inscription that mentions Muʿawiya (as Commander of the Faithful) in Greater Syria was found at Hammat Gader. Clive Foss, "Muʿāwiya's State," in *Money, Power and Politics in Early Islamic Syria: A Review of Current Debates*, ed. John Haddon (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 83–84. For Muʿawiya's winter use of the palace at al-Sinnabra (Khirbet al-Karak), see Donald Whitcomb, "From Pastoral Peasantry to Tribal Urbanites: Arab Tribes and the Foundation of the Islamic State in Syria," in *Nomads, Tribes, and the State in the Ancient Near East: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Jeffrey Szuchman (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2009), 241, 245.

3 For an interpretation of Muʿawiya's patronage in Jerusalem that considers the confluence of accession practices and his aspirational identity as a ruler, see Marsham, "The Architecture of Allegiance," 107–10.

4 Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy*, 86–90.

5 For the various identities of Muʿawiya as depicted in a wide range of literary genres, see Khaled Keshk, *The Historians' Muʿāwiya: The Depiction of Muʿāwiya in the Early Islamic Sources* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2008), 13–22. For shifts in how he is depicted in the sources before, during, and after the First Islamic Civil War, see Keshk, *The Historians' Muʿāwiya*, 23–85.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2024 | DOI:10.1163/9789004690189_005

as emanating outwards from the Prophetic or caliphal body, evolving parametrically as a spatial counternarrative capable of upholding a new way of being conducive to successful empire building. Previous chapters explore how Muʿawiya grappled with access to a paradigm of Prophetic charisma by attempting to secure the Prophet's minbar and navigating his identity in relation to kingship. This chapter expands beyond this finer grain to include his most important architectural intervention: the monumental domed audience hall known as the Qubbat al-Khadra', which literally translates to "dome of the green" but, as this chapter shows, has a complex etymology with implications for its iconography.[6]

Writing an architectural history of the Qubbat al-Khadra' is not without challenges. Although the Khadra' palace survived well into the thirteenth century, no physical trace remains. Today it lies buried to the south of the Great Mosque of Damascus, possibly under the silversmith's market; its remnants are unlikely to be excavated any time soon (Fig. 4.1).[7] A schema of the palace is revealed through topoi related to its foundation legend and other sporadic references in the sources that require contextualization, interpretation, and cautious speculation to be analytically useful.[8] Despite the limitations of this archaeological evidence, the fact that Muʿawiya's Qubbat al-Khadra' was the first monumental audience hall in Islamic architectural history warrants its study.

A particularly vexing question is the relationship of the iconography of the Qubbat al-Khadra' as it relates to domes as metaphors of the heavens and early Islamic cosmography more broadly. One obvious place to look for evidence of this connection is in the Quran. The raising of the firmament is presented as a sign of God's sovereignty and dominion repeatedly and is most vivid in Surat al-Tur (Quran 52). These verses take the form of an oath and invoke God's command through the firmament (*al-saqf al-marfūʿ*) and the Frequented House (*al-bayt al-maʿmūr*), the heavenly analogue of the Kaʿba around which angels circumambulate. It should come as no surprise that such verses appear at moments in Islamic history when the mediation of divine authority was challenged. For example, these verses formed part of the opening proclamation of an oath made by ʿAli when he confronted Muʿawiya on the eve of the Battle of Siffin during the First Islamic Civil War.[9] God's sovereignty as erector of the heavens and the enthronement of rulers under its earthly analogue—the heavenly dome—is certainly an endemic concept in late antiquity.[10] The relationship between caliphs and qubbas, more generally, is demonstrated metaphorically by the letters of al-Walid II, who invoked the qubba as part of his caliphal prerogative, and practically by the enthusiastic adoption of cloth qubbas by later Umayyad caliphs, including ʿAbd al-Malik.[11] This is in

6 Literal interpretations of the sobriquet *al-khaḍrāʾ* as green are refuted by Wendell, "Baghdad: Imago Mundi," 119; and Bloom "*Qubbat al-Khaḍrāʾ*," 136. In his interpretation of Baghdad as an *Imago Mundi*, Wendell describes the *qubbat al-khaḍrāʾ* as a celestial dome, or dome of heaven, which Jonathon Bloom elaborates upon along a different interpretive path. For a wider discussion of this phenomenon, see Bloom, "The *Qubbat al-Khaḍrāʾ*," 135–41; Wendell, "Baghdad: Imago Mundi," 99–128; Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven," 1–27.

7 Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, 300–301. Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 149–50.

8 Similar approaches have informed other attempts at interpreting Muʿawiya's patronage in Jerusalem. See Marsham, "Architecture of Allegiance," 97–101.

9 Quran 52:1–8. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 17:35 for ʿAli b. Abi Talib's use of this invocation in a speech delivered on the eve of a military confrontation with Muʿawiya's troops at the Battle of Siffin.

10 Lehmann, 'The Dome of Heaven," 1–4.

11 Nadia Jamil, "Caliph as Quṭb," 40. See also ʿAbd Allāh Ismāʿīl al-Ṣāwī, ed., *Sharḥ dīwān al-Farazdaq* (Cairo: 1936), 1:7, lines 11–12. On the cloth qubba of ʿAbd al-Malik, see Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 42:567. On the itineracy of Umayyad caliphs, see Antoine Borrut, "Pouvoir mobile et construction de l'espace dans les premiere siècles de l'islam," in *Le gouvernement en déplacement: Pouvoir et mobilité de l'Antiquité*

FIGURE 4.1 Aerial view of the Great Mosque of Damascus showing location of Qubbat al Khadra' to the south of the qibla wall. (Robert Harding-Alamy Stock Photo)

addition to the Prophet's own use of a red leather qubba, a relic mysteriously omitted from the long list of Prophetic traces (*athār*).[12] This constellation of compelling associations may yet reveal new dimensions to the history of the qubba in early Islam and its role in mediating divine, prophetic, and caliphal authority.

Painting a more nuanced picture of this seminal monument in the context of a ruler who so cautiously governed between mosque and palace, this chapter offers an analytical framework that integrates untapped trajectories of the cultural history of the formation of the Islamic state with surviving evidence for the palace and its iconic dome. This analysis includes a close reading of the term *qubba* as a convergent signifier conducive to Muʿawiya's brand of governance, specifically as it relates to the Prophet Muhammad's use of a qubba as a defining metonym of his authority. This is in turn contextualized within a close reading of the moniker *al-khaḍrā'* that considers its invocation of divine protection through its celestial connotations, a re-assessment of the multiple attestations of the palace's foundation legends, and other evidence from Umayyad poetry. Expansively interweaving fragments of Muʿawiya's identity as a ruler, this chapter explores how and why the Khadra' palace fits a historically contingent pattern of behavior. At a time of deep existential crisis, this architectural intervention was part of Muʿawiya's program to mitigate a chimeric caliphal identity and access a paradigm of prophetic charisma through the adoption of artifacts, emblems, and icons that implied a panoply of protective modalities. In

à nos jours, ed. Sylvain Destephen, François Chausson, and Josiane Barbier (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2019), 255–64.

12 Avinoam Shalem, "The Nation Has Put on Garments of Blood: An Early Islamic Red Silken Tapestry in Split," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 73 (2019): 406.

other words, Muʿawiya's Khadra' palace can best be understood within a framework of existential anxiety.

2 Retrieving the Lost History of an Islamic Heavenly Dome

The Khadra' palace, Muʿawiya's primary residence and Dar al-Imara, was named after the monumental domed audience hall known as the Qubbat al-Khadra' and has been interpreted as an Islamized expression of the late antique heavenly or celestial dome.[13] Despite the fact there is no surviving physical or textual evidence, the existence of a pre-Islamic Arabian heavenly dome is possible. The possible meanings of such a dome are unknown, as is the extent to which Muʿawiya might have co-opted or transposed this precedent, seemingly for the first time in Islamic history. Moreover, questions remain regarding how, why, and when the term *khaḍrāʾ*, which has no known precedent in relation to a built dome or audience hall, was applied to one of the earliest audience halls in Islamic history. The following analysis attempts to retrieve this lost history.

The sobriquet *al-khaḍrāʾ* presents the first challenge. The term translates into "Dome *of the* Green."[14] When the palace is referenced in textual accounts, the term *khaḍrāʾ* warrants neither explanation nor rationalization, which suggests that the term was legible to and circulated within the early Muslim community. This is supported by literary sources that explicitly refer to the sky as *al-khaḍrāʾ*, for example, in the adage "it is better (to me) that the firmament (*khaḍrāʾ*) falls upon the dust/earth (*ghabrāʾ*)."[15] In Islamic tradition more broadly, green is loosely associated with the clothing and furniture of believers in paradise (*thiyāb sundus khuḍr* and *rafraf khuḍr*, which refer to green clothing and furnishings, respectively) (Quran 76:21 and 55:76). This idea is likely related to the Prophet's choice of green for his cloak.[16] This polysemic etymology reinforces the notion that "the green" in Qubbat al-Khadra' was a metaphor for the sky and strengthens the identification of Qubbat al-Khadra' as an Islamized late antique heavenly dome.[17]

The concept of the cosmos as an edifice was expressed in late antique and ancient Near Eastern buildings as early as the fourth century CE .[18] The dome of heaven derives its potency from the ability to represent a metaphorical constant for the "temporary but recurring expression of an eternally legitimate power" of kingship.[19] One of the

13 Wendell, "Baghdad: Imago Mundi," 119. The manifest cosmological references of the round city may have reinforced the connotation of a dome of heaven.

14 "The Green Dome" would be a̲l-qubba al- khaḍrāʾ. It is important to note that some sources do refer to the dome as *al-qubbat al-khaḍrāʾ*, for example, the *tashbīb* verses cited in this chapter.

15 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:158.

16 Hadas Hirsch, "Clothing and Colours in Early Islam: Adornment, Symbolism and Differentiation," *Anthropology of the Middle East* 15, no. 1 (2020): 103–104.

17 Wendell, "Baghdad: Imago Mundi," 119–120. Wendell argues that terminology for blue, along with orange and violet, do not appear until the nineteenth century. Arguments focused on the absence of blue as a color from any pre-modern Classical Arabic dictionaries are further asserted by Bloom, "*Qubbat al-Khaḍraʾ*," 136. The consequent use of the term *qubbat al-khaḍrāʾ* to describe actual domes sheathed in green tiles during the Mamluk period is discussed in Nasser O. Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 258–59.

18 Kevin van Bladel, "Heavenly Cords and Prophetic Authority in the Quran and Its Late Antique Context," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 70, no. 2 (2007): 226; and Kathleen E. McVey, "The Domed Church as Microcosm: Literary Roots of An Architectural Symbol," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983): 98, 118.

19 Oleg Grabar, "From Dome of Heaven to Pleasure Dome," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 49, no. 1 (1990): 16. While Grabar recognizes that the heavenly dome is "one of the consistent components of royal space," he argues that the Islamic world simultaneously rejected the notion of a heavenly dome, because of its Christological associations, and actively embraced that of a pleasure dome. As inheritors of the late antique tradition, Muslims were arguably in a better position than their "impoverished" Western Christian contemporaries to embrace the dome in this way. Lehmann, on the other hand, argues that the Islamic heavenly dome

more striking examples is the Byzantine heavenly dome in which Christ's position as Pantocrator dominates the very center of the dome (Fig. 4.2). It is possible that the Syrian Christian milieu of the fifth and sixth centuries partly shaped the Islamic conception of the dome into an analogue of the celestial sphere, as evidenced by the "church as microcosm" logic prevalent in Christian theology.[20] A Syrian hymn composed for the dedication of the Church of Edessa after its reconstruction by Justinian (*c.*543–54) describes the church's ceiling as "stretched out like the sky and without columns it is arched and simple, And it is also decorated with golden mosaic, as the firmament [is] with shining stars. / And its lofty dome—behold, it resembles the highest heaven."[21] The astrological ceiling at the Temple of Bel (*c.*32 CE) offers yet another example of the association between the inner sanctum and the heavens (Fig. 4.3).

Echoes of this cosmological imagery appear in such Umayyad heavenly domes as the astrological dome within the caldarium of Qusayr ʿAmra (Fig. 4.4) and the paradisiacal dome above the *majlis* at Khirbat al-Mafjar (724–43) (Fig. 4.5).[22] The above evidence strongly suggests that the moniker al-Khadra' invoked the heavens. However, this straight-forward understanding is complicated by the history of early Islam. Especially relevant is the actual term *qubba*. The array of this loaded term's significations in pre-Islam and early Islam—sacral, royal, and broadly socio-cultural—has important implications for the interpretation of this enigmatic palace.

In pre-Islamic Arabia, *qubba* was a flexible term that could refer to domes in the conventional sense as well as tents, canopies, and other cloth structures. Arabic poetry is replete with references to different types of these cloth qubbas and their uses. Together, they form a taxonomy in which the *ṭirāf* is the most famous. *Ṭirāf* may derive from the root *ṭaraf* (pleasant or amusing), which could connote high status and thus renders this taxonomy logical. Although typically associated with the commemorative and the cultic, qubbas served many different purposes as marks of honor, reception halls, and makeshift or temporary prisons.[23] In the residential context they were used for sleeping and engaging in sexual intercourse. They were sometimes set up within larger houses or structures and may have also been associated with both licit relations or illicit lovers' trysts, erected either within domiciles or in remote locations.[24] In pre-Islamic texts qubbas are cited as accommodating personages of importance: royalty, nobility, judges, and other arbiters. The Arab Lakhmid and Ghassanid kings sat beneath adorned tanned leather canopies, typically red, that served as their audience halls.[25] This historical context explains the association between tents, canopies, space of rule, and dynastic authority found in the poetry of Hassan b. Thabit, who refers to the Jafnid ruler as the "abode of him whose tent was raised on lofty poles."[26] Qubbas were also widely used during military campaigns. During his campaign to attack

is an "offshoot and descendant" of its predecessors. Lehmann, 'The Dome of Heaven," 1–2.

20 McVey, "The Domed Church as Microcosm," 110.

21 McVey, "The Domed Church as Microcosm," 95, 99. McVey argues that the domed portion and the ceiling "without columns" together formed the roofing structure of the church. References to the absence of columns resemble descriptions in the Quran of the heavens "not borne on visible columns." Quran 31:10.

22 See Bloom, "*Qubbat al-Khaḍrā'*," 136 for a discussion of the possibility that the astrological ceiling at Qusayr ʿAmra is derived from pre-Islamic astrological treatises or celestial globes.

23 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 163n195. For carriage of the idols of al-ʿUzza and Allat into battle against Muslims in the battle of Uhud, see Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 221.

24 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 163n195.

25 For a reference to the use of a red leather qubba by women during desert travel, in this instance in relation to an amorous encounter, see Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:451. See also Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 131.

26 Harry Munt et al., "Arabic and Persian Sources for Pre-Islamic Arabia," in *Arabs and Empires before Islam*, ed.

FIGURE 4.2 Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem (reconstruction), showing Christ Pantocrator in the apex of the dome. (Heba Mostafa)

the Kaʿba, the commander Abraha al-Habashi met with ʿAbd al-Muttalib, the Quraysh's representative and the grandfather of the Prophet, in a red tent (*qubbatin ḥamrāʾ*) outside of Mecca.[27] To take another example, Muhammad's uncle al-ʿAbbas b. ʿAbd al-Muttalib served wine and gruel in a qubba at the conclusion of his pilgrimage to Mecca.[28]

The most renowned qubba with sacral qualities is undoubtedly the martyrium in Yemen known as Qubbat Najran, commonly known as the Kaʿba of Najran. Its mythical status in pre-Islamic Arabia partially derived from its competition with the Kaʿba in Mecca, not unlike the church of Abraha in Yemen. Reportedly large enough to house 1,000 men and maintained with a yearly expenditure of 10,000 dinars, Qubbat Najran is described in the sources as a cubic structure with a rounded tent-like domical or conical form made of 300 pieces of reddish leather.[29] Qubbat Najran retained this sacral identity well into the Islamic period when it was listed by the Prophet alongside the shrines in Mecca, Medina, and Ilia (Jerusalem) as blessed. According to the Prophet, Qubbat Najran was blessed by 70,000 angels who prayed for the Christian martyrs of Najran (People of the Rift) each night.[30] The interchangeability of the

Greg Fisher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 487–88.

27 For the use of this red qubba during the conquest of Mecca and Muhammad's receipt of the oath of allegiance there, see Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 19:449. For the use of qubbas in pre-Islamic military campaigns related to al-Harith b. Zalim and Khalid b. Jaʿfar, see Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:62.

28 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 203.

29 Irfan Shahîd, "Byzantium in South Arabia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979): 70–72.

30 Zakāriyya ibn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-ʿIbād* (Bierut: Dār Ṣādir, 1960), 1:126.

FIGURE 4.3 Astrological ceiling showing signs of the zodiac, Temple of Bel, Palmyra, Syria, *c.*32 CE. (Heba Mostafa)

descriptor qubba and kaʿba in the case of Qubbat Najran suggests that the term qubba carries further significance than previously assumed and may be more productively viewed as multivalent in the same way that mihrab and iwan are viewed in the literature today.[31]

Beyond these royal affinities, qubbas reportedly housed deities, particularly during warfare, in a practice that recalls the Old Testament use of the Tabernacle (Samuel 7:1–13).[32] This was the case during the Battle of Uhud in which a red leather canopy borne on camelback transported the idols of al-ʿUzza and Allat into battle against the Muslim armies.[33] None other than the Tabernacle of Moses is known in Islamic sources as Qubbat al-Zaman (tent of the "appointed time or meeting," from the Hebrew *ʾohel moʿed*).[34] The navel of the earth, or omphalos, was believed to be marked by Qubbat al-Ard (Dome of the Earth), which was also known as Qubbat al-ʿAlam (Dome of the World). Associations between the divine presence and the qubba persisted into the Umayyad period. Among other effects, they colored accounts of the

31 Khoury, "The Mihrab: From Text to Form," 1–27; Nasser Rabbat, "Mamluk Throne Halls: 'Qubba' or 'Iwān?,'" in "Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces," ed. Gülru Necipoğlu, special issue, *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 201–18.

32 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 221.

33 Mohammad Ali Tabatabaʾi and Saida Mirsadri, "The Qurʾānic Cosmology, as an Identity in Itself," *Arabica* 63, no. 3–4 (2016): 222; Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 221.

34 Ralph Hendrix, "Miskan and ʾOhel Moʿed: Etymology, Lexical Definitions, and Extra-Biblical Usage," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* (AUSS) 29, no. 3 (1991): 213–23. *Miskan* and *ʾohel moʿed* refer to the names of the cultic dwelling place of the Lord Yahweh as described in Exodus 25–40 and referred to as the "tent of meeting."

FIGURE 4.4 Astrological ceiling showing locations of constellations, located above the caldarium at Qusayr ʿAmra. (Heba Mostafa)

Prophet's heavenly ascent. A *miʿrāj* hadith describing Muhammad's reception by a "youthful God" within a "red domed tent" at the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem before his heavenly ascent lends credence to interpretations of the Dome of the Rock—the consummate qubba—as the earthly parallel to the heavenly court. Although it may be true in many instances that "in pre-Islamic Arabia, *qubba* and *rabb* (Lord) seem to go together," historians have tended to ascribe an unwarranted purity of sacral identity to the qubba in early Islam.[35] This is certainly the view of Grabar, who sees in the enthusiastic Islamic adoption of domes at the palace the classical tradition of the pleasure dome more so than that of the heavenly.[36] This chapter shows, instead, that for early Muslims the qubba also represented more nuanced and complex notions of inviolability and divine protection writ large.

FIGURE 4.5 Paradisiacal dome, stucco, Khirbat al-Mafjar, Jericho. (Rockefeller Archaeological Museum)

35 Josef Van Ess, "ʿAbd al-Malik and the Dome of the Rock: An Analysis of Some Texts," in *Bayt al-Maqdis: ʿAbd al-Malik's Jerusalem*, ed. Julian Raby and Jeremy Johns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 102.

36 Grabar, "From Dome of Heaven to Pleasure Dome," 15–18.

The Prophet famously traveled with his own qubba (*qubbatin ḥamrāʾ*), possibly of red tanned leather, which he used as an audience hall and during campaigns, for himself and his wives.[37] In addition to his qubba, the Prophet traveled with other relics, including his staff (*ʿanaza*) and cloak. When in Medina, the Prophet Muhammad made use of a qubba for other purposes, including private prayers (*iʿtikāf*) within his mosque.[38] During military campaigns the Prophet's red qubba provided space for an activity crucial to Muhammad's approach to conquest: neutralizing adversaries through negotiation rather than domination.[39] The performance of ritual sacrifice, a practice with pre-Islamic Arabian roots, during such negotiations also took place within a qubba. This was the case in the Treaty of Hudaybiyya (*c.*628) during which the Prophet performed a ritual sacrifice of hair and seventy camels in a qubba.[40] When Fatima bt. ʿUtba, Muʿawiya's maternal aunt, converted to Islam on the day of the Conquest of Mecca she reportedly proclaimed that while she had long hoped for no other qubba to collapse than the Prophet's own, she stood before him on that day wishing for no other qubba than his own to survive.[41] This account aligns with the prominence of qubbas in military conquest but also verifies the status of the Prophet's qubba as a symbol of his dominion and status.

The Prophet Muhammad's use of the qubba in negotiations harks back to the earlier practice of receiving delegations (*wufūd*) to certify allegiances and uphold subordination, which continued under the Umayyad caliphs.[42] During the Year of Delegations (*ʿām al-wufūd*) (*c.*629–30), the exalted Banu Thaqif received a qubba for their delegation in which they received assurances of territorial autonomy in exchange for the pledge of allegiance.[43] At the Battle of Siffin, Muʿawiya received the Banu Hashim while seated in a qubba with cloth hangings.[44] At the close of the First Islamic Civil War, Muʿawiya received the pledge of allegiance in this same qubba.[45] During conquests ʿAbd al-Malik held audience enthroned on a bedstead in a qubba surrounded by a ceremonial guard. Presumably to complete the setting of a pre-Islamic audience, ʿAbd al-Malik's governor of Iraq, al-Hajjaj, ordered the poets Jarir and al-Farazdaq to dress in "Jahiliyya costume" inside a qubba.[46]

A close look at how qubbas are rendered in textual sources also reveals prevalent references to a multitude of colors. Included among the qubbas discussed so far are those made from tanned red leather. Others mentioned in the sources are described as yellow (*qubbatin ṣafrāʾ*), saffron yellow (*qubbatin muʿaṣfaratin ṣafrāʾ*), blue (*qubbatin zarqāʾ*), and white (*qubbatin bayḍāʾ*).[47] It is difficult to infer specific uses for the variously colored qubbas from the context alone; but, textual evidence suggests that such designations may have formed a taxonomy in which red qubbas were associated with the sacral and royal while the yellow ones functioned as mobile sanctuaries. In the reclining enthronement scene at Qusayr ʿAmra in Jordan, the figure, who may be identified as the caliph al-Walid II based on his association with the palace, is depicted upon a bedstead or couch, possibly

37 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 386. See also Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, 1:340.

38 Van Ess, "ʿAbd Al-Malik and the Dome of the Rock," 102, based on Ibn Manzur in Lisan al-Arab, *hadith al-iʿtikāf*: "He saw a *qubba* set up in the masjid" for the private ritual of *al-iʿtikāf* or, possibly, to house a sacred object (*qubbatan madrūbatin fil masjid*).

39 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 388.

40 The treaty of Hudaybiyya was between the Muslim community and the Quraysh. The sacrifice might have also included seventy camels. Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 278n406.

41 ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba fi miʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba*, (Beirut: Dar Ibn Hazm, 2012), 1567.

42 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 388.

43 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 389.

44 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 17:36.

45 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 163n195.

46 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 163n197.

47 Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām wa-wafiyāt al-mashāhīr wa-al-aʿlām*, al-Ṭabʿah 2 (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1970), 3:499–501.

a *sarīr*, beneath a rust-colored canopy.[48] Umayyad preference for crimson and red textiles for both their clothes and palace accoutrements has been noted. Some scholars associate this choice of color with late antique and Solomonic royal connotations as well as the Prophet's own audience tent, which was also red.[49] The chromatic variation of qubbas in textual sources strengthens the possibility of a hitherto unknown taxonomy based on color, which could have carried symbolic meaning akin to previously discussed taxonomies related to cost and quality, such as the *ṭirāf*. More general Islamic hierarchies of color unrelated to qubbas—in which green (with its paradisiacal and Prophetic associations)[50] and red are the most exalted, followed by yellow and blue, which are associated with minorities, marginalized, or stigmatized communities—may intersect with a qubba hierarchy, but this remains an open question.[51]

References to qubbas suggest that they operated symbolically in a manner similar to the haram as a place of refuge.[52] Protection was offered to fugitives and people who sought protection from rival tribes.[53] For example, when the fugitive al-Harith b. Zalim fled to al-Hira, he was offered protection in the form of a "qubba built over him" until he could be housed in a fortress.[54] The term used in this context was *taḥarrama bil qubba*, or to "seek the protection of a haram or sacred enclosure." In other words, the qubba functioned spatially as a haram. It was an inviolable sacred enclosure conceptually like the *ushhur al-ḥurum* (the four months when warfare was prohibited) and the maqsura discussed in Chapter 3. Protection through draping is one of the ways in which the qubba's sanctity was constructed, similar to the Kaʿba and its cloth covering, the kiswa. The veiling and occlusion from view that such qubbas offered may further explain their protective qualities.[55]

Further evidence of the qubba's inviolability appears in an account of Fustat's foundation legend. According to this account, commander ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs abstained from dissembling his tent (*fusṭāṭ*) because a bird had nested within it. The notion of inviolability (*taḥarrum*) was also invoked in this context, which consequentially led the commander to retain the tent and name the city after it.[56] A curious account of al-Hajjaj's Qubbat al-Khadra' in Wasit suggests that inviolability and divine protection may have already clung to the notion of *al-khaḍrā'* at this point in the tenth century. In a desperate act deemed sacrilegious by many, al-Hajjaj reportedly soaked pages of the Quran in a mixture and then used them to whitewash the interior walls of his palace.[57] While the historical context of this act is unclear, it would not be surprising if it coincided with one of the many political downturns in his career.

There may be evidence linking the identity, foundation, and demise of Islamic cities with the erection and destruction of qubbas, principally those in palaces. The construction of a yellow qubba (*qubbatin ṣafrā'*) is listed alongside the mosque and other infrastructure ordered by the caliph Sulayman for the founding of Umayyad al-Ramla,[58] whereas the collapse of the Qubbat

48 The identification of the palace with al-Walid II is based on the discovery of inscriptions that mention his name, see Imbert, "Le prince al-Walīd et son bain," 332. For earlier interpretations of this fresco as a dynastic scene depicting al-Walid II's mother, see Fowden, *Quṣayr ʿAmra*, 175–95.

49 Shalem, "The Nation Has Put on Garments of Blood," 403, 406.

50 Hirsch, "Clothing and Colours in Early Islam," 103–4.

51 Hirsch, "Clothing and Colours in Early Islam," 109–10.

52 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 222.

53 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 163n195.

54 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 163n186.

55 Avinoam Shalem, "The Body of Architecture: The Early History of the Clothing of the Sacred House of the Kaʿba in Mecca," in *Clothing the Sacred: Medieval Textiles as Fabric, Form, and Metaphor*, ed. Mateusz Kapustka and Warren T. Woodfin (Emsdetten: Edition Imorde, 2015), 179.

56 Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī al-Ḥanafī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, 16 vols., Dar al-Kutub, Cairo, 1963, 1:64.

57 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 268.

58 Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 6:378. It is worth mentioning the comparison with the Khadra' in Damascus: "he built a "yellow" dome as the Qubbat al-Khadra' in Dar

al-Khadra' in Baghdad under the caliph al-Muttaqi lillah in the tenth century heralded the decline of the capital of the Abbasid Caliphate.[59] The prestige and image of Wasit in Iraq is also intimately linked with al-Hajjaj's own Qubbat al-Khadra', which served as his audience hall inside the Dar al-Imara.[60] In his discussion of al-Hajjaj's patronage, Ibn al-Faqih enumerates the mosque and palace (*qasr*) but lists the Qubbat al-Khadra' separately.[61] When the history of the qubba in pre-Islam and early Islam is viewed in parallel with the afterlife of the Qubbat al-Khadra', it appears likely that Muʿawiya not only leveraged endemic notions of the inviolability and divine protection of qubbas but also, by signaling divine grace through elevation and celestial associations, accentuated and propagated this architectural symbol on a monumental and urban scale.

Later Umayyad conceptions of caliphal authority derived from the heavenly sphere. In some instances, the celestial sphere is described as domical thereby supporting the notion of an early Islamic understanding of the heavens as a rounded, domical tent-like structure. Vexingly, the Quran avoids any such reference. The Quran conceives of the cosmos as a three-tiered universe comprised of the seven heavens, the seven earths, and all that lies between them.[62] In this model God's Throne presides over seven heavens, the lowest of which (the firmament or first heaven) is adorned by the sun, moon, and stars orbiting in a circular motion (*falak*).[63] The syncretism of this cosmology, which shares attributes with ancient Mesopotamian, Jewish, Christian, and Greek models, supports both flat and domed conceptions of the firmament in early Islamic thought.[64] The Quran urges believers to wonder at the heavens soaring above them, miraculously borne upon invisible pillars. In this way, the Quran conjures an image of the heavens as a flat-roofed edifice rather than a tent.[65] But such descriptions of the heavens borne by pillars do not preclude a belief in the cosmos as a domical, tent-like structure. Later medieval illustrations that depict the cosmos as a tent support this possibility.[66] There is also evidence to support the conception of the cosmos as a tent held aloft by celestial poles traversed by heavenly cords, known as *asbāb*, which only the faithful can ascend to reach the highest heavens as described in Quran 38:10 and 55:33–34.[67] It has been suggested that the avoidance of explicit references to a domed heavens in the Quran derives from stigmatic associations between idolatry and the qubba in pre-Islam.[68] This connection is implied in Quran 106:1–4. In these verses the Quraysh are characterized as wrongly believing in the protection of their idols, likely borne in qubbas, during their customary and secured seasonal travels. This is juxtaposed with the true protection of the "Lord of this House" (the Kaʿba) who also

al-Khilafa (the caliphal palace). (*jaʿala laha qubbatan safrā' kal-qubbat al-khaḍrā' alatī bi dār al-khilāfa*).

59 Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Hamadani, *Takmilat Tarīkh al-Ṭabarī*, ed. Albert Yūsuf Kanʿaan, 2nd ed. (Beirut: al-Matba'ah al-Kathulikiyah, 1961), 119–21.

60 ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī al-Masʿūdī, *Al-Tanbīh wa-al-Ishrāf*, ed. ʿAbdallah Ismaīl Al-Ṣawī (Cairo: Dar al-Sawi), 1:311.

61 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 263.

62 Tabataba'i and Mirsadri, "The Qur'ānic Cosmology," 207. See also Quran 67:2 and 71:15.

63 Damien Janos, "Qur'ānic Cosmography in its Historical Perspective: Some Notes on the Formation of a Religious Worldview," *Religion* 42, no. 2 (April 2012): 216.

64 Janos, "Qur'ānic Cosmography," 219, 222. For a discussion of the Throne of the Almighty in the Book of Ezekiel, see L'Orange, *Cosmic Kingship*, 4. "And above the firmament that was over their heads was the likeness of the throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone: and upon the likeness of the throne was the likeness as the appearance of a man above upon it. And I saw as the color of amber, as the appearance of fire round within it. This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord." Ezekiel 1:26.

65 Tabataba'i and Mirsadri, "The Qur'ānic Cosmology," 220–21; Quran 31:10 and 78:12.

66 Janos, "Qur'ānic Cosmography," 228.

67 Van Bladel, "Heavenly Cords," 236; Quran 38:10 and 55:33–34.

68 Tabataba'i and Mirsadri, "The Qur'ānic Cosmology," 230.

nourishes and comforts.[69] Not unlike the throne, the qubba's multifaceted deployment in pre-Islamic Arabia complicated its adoption under the Umayyads, which could explain the disappearance of Muhammad's qubba from the Prophetic traces while also contextualizing its adoption in more secular contexts under Muʿawiya.

3 What is this Khadraʾ?

While on the surface the meaning of the Qubbat al-Khadraʾ appears to align with Muʿawiya's adoption of a universal language of late antique kingship, as discussed in Chapter 3, this explanation does not account for its afterlife. Throughout the central Arab lands, from the Umayyad period until the middle of the fifteenth century, the Qubbat al-Khadraʾ was reproduced in various forms, often with the same appellation. Centuries after the Umayyad period, the Mamluk sultans of Cairo used the moniker Qubbat al-Khadraʾ to identify their domed Court of Justice, which also served as an audience hall (Dar al-ʿAdl, also known as the Iwan al-Kabir).[70] If Muʿawiya's Qubbat al-Khadraʾ initiated a pattern of monumental domed audience halls named al-Khadraʾ, then we should question why, in one of his only acts of monumental architectural patronage, Muʿawiya decided to build not a mosque or a shrine but an audience hall identified as a dome of heaven. What is it about the Qubbat al-Khadraʾ that allowed it to persist as an emblem of caliphal and Islamic political authority for centuries? These questions underline the point that a reexamination of the Qubbat al-Khadraʾ is vital to understanding the formation of Islamic architecture.

The fact that the earliest, and arguably most enigmatic, monument in Islam bears a mysterious name that continued to influence the Islamic palace centuries later has serious implications for the study of early Islamic architecture. This lacuna is further problematized by the opacity of fundamental information concerning the monument itself. Textual sources agree that the palace was magnificent. It is described as lofty, lavish, and ornate, with marble paving and a setting of lush vegetation and fountains.[71] The Khadraʾ palace was bought by ʿAbd al-Malik from Muʿawiya's son at some point during his reign and became an integral part of the mosque-palace complex under al-Walid I, *c.*705, when the rebuilding of the mosque began. Muʿawiya's Khadraʾ palace was henceforth identified with Umayyad caliphal rule.[72] Nearly two-hundred years after its construction, Baghdadi historian al-Yaʿqubi described the Khadraʾ palace as a "famous and splendid building."[73] He pronounces the palatial district of the Umayyads as a dominant attribute of the city, but he clarifies that Muʿawiya's palace, which he listed by name, is the most noteworthy feature.[74]

As an architectural icon, the Qubbat al-Khadraʾ merged late antique and ancient Near Eastern notions of celestial and heavenly domes with pre-Islamic Arabian associations between elevated audience halls and dynastic and divinely endowed rule. The legendary hall of Khusrau is described by the fictional Prester John as a "chapel with

69 Tabataba'i and Mirsadri, "The Qurʾānic Cosmology," 232. See Quran 106:1–4, "For the covenants (of security and safeguard enjoyed) by the Quraish, Their covenants (covering) journeys by winter and summer, Let them adore the Lord of this House, Who provides them with food against hunger, and with security against fear (of danger)."

70 Rabbat, "'Qubba" or "Iwan?'," 201–18. There is compelling evidence that these Mamluk domes were clad in actual green tiles. See Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo*, 259–60.

71 Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 148.

72 Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 147, 149, 154.

73 Bloom, "*Qubbat al-Khaḍrāʾ*," 135.

74 Bloom, "*Qubbat al-Khaḍrāʾ*," 135. Al-Yaʿqubi describes the residences of the Umayyads and their palaces as dominant features of the city alongside Muʿawiya's palace: "*wa biha khadrāʾ Muʿāwiya, wa hiyya dār al-imāra*." Al-Yaʿqūbī and Wilhelmus Theodorus Juynboll, *Kitāb al-Buldān* (Laydan: Maṭbaʿ Bariīl, 1860), 113. Al-Yaʿqubi also reports that Damascus is a city with a diverse ethnic and architectural heritage, primarily as the locus of the Ghassanid kings (*manāzil mulūk Ghassān*), and that the people of Yemen predominate in the city.

an immensely high dome and it is round like the star-spangled sky and revolves like the firmament."[75] Theophanes describes this dome as depicting "Khusrau's own image in the domed roof of the palace, as though enthroned in Heaven and around it the sun and moon and stars."[76] Al-Tabari includes a reference to a "building revolving exactly with the sun" during the reign of the Sasanian King Yazdegerd.[77] These references indicate that these halls aligned with the role of the ruler as cosmic agent. This context was almost certainly operative in the Khadra' palace. The prestige of elevation, height, and dynastic seats of rule is alluded to in Sibt b. al-Jawzi's comparison between Muʿawiya's Khadra' palace, the Iwan of Kisra at Ctesiphon, and Ghumdan's towering pre-Islamic palaces with their *maḥārīb* (most likely pavilion-like structures) that scholars describe as "elevated reception rooms."[78] Associated with Arabian legitimate dynastic rulership and representative of a "prototypical monument of kingship and power" embedded within a pre-Islamic Arabian narrative of legitimacy, the multistoried *maḥārīb* of Ghumdan were attributed to the antediluvian progeny of Noah and strongly identified with a mythic Arabian/Himyarite past.[79] These references go a long way towards contextualizing the Khadra' palace within circulating traditions of cosmic kingship in the late antique and ancient Near Eastern world.

One could also argue that the term *qubbat al-khaḍrāʾ* was mobilized to signify a pre-Islamic trope of kingship. Possible precedents for this explanation include the domed audience hall of the Ghassanid King al-Mundhir, located in al-Rusafa. However, this conclusion is partially undermined by the fact that none of these pre-Islamic palaces are referred to as al-Khadra'. It is also worth remembering that al-Rusafa held strong appeal for the Umayyads. Caliph Hisham b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 724–43) relocated his capital and famously constructed his own Qubbat al-Khadra' there (Fig. 4.6). The Khadra' domes of caliphs Muʿawiya in Damascus and Hisham in al-Rusafa would have expressed a potent urban identity that most Islamic cities lacked at the time. Establishing an iconic landmark in their respective capital cities undoubtedly elevated their status as caliphs. However, in Muʿawiya's case, the seat of his rivals was the Prophet's own city of Medina, and these rivals ruled seated upon the Prophet's minbar from the Prophet's mosque.

The afterlife of the Qubbat al-Khadra' is truly remarkable. During the Umayyad period the Qubbat al-Khadra' of Muʿawiya was joined by several illustrious audience halls that were similarly named and built by governors and caliphs. These include those constructed by governor of Iraq al-Hajjaj at Wasit (703–4) and Caliph Hisham at the Umayyad palace of al-Rusafa (724–43).[80] In the sources they are described as elevated and monumental. They are often cited together with Muʿawiya's Qubbat al-Khadra' at Damascus and

75 L'Orange, *Cosmic Kingship*, 19. Historical veracity aside, this account is evocative of contemporary views of this legendary building. It is also reported in Emperor Heraclius' capture of the Persian residence of Genzaca in 624.

76 L'Orange, *Cosmic Kingship*, 20–25. It is worth noting that this also relates to the model of Christ in Majesty in Byzantium. On the influence of the Sasanian palace on Islamic architecture in general, see Lionel Bier, "The Sasanian Palaces and Their Influence in Early Islam." *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 57–66.

77 L'Orange, *Cosmic Kingship*, 19.

78 Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship*, 55–58. The palaces of Ghumdan, elevated and adorned with colored marble, are considered to have played a vital role in the palace aesthetic in early Islam. See Nuha N.N. Khoury, "The Dome of the Rock, the Kaʿba, and Ghumdan: Arab Myths and Umayyad Monuments," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 61; Bloom, "*Qubbat al-Khaḍrāʾ*," 137.

79 Khoury, 'The Dome of the Rock, the Kaʿba, and Ghumdan,"57–65.

80 Bloom, "*Qubbat al-Khaḍrāʾ*," 135. The same is also true of the audience hall at the Dar al-Imara at Wasit built by al-Hajjaj in 703–4 under the orders of ʿAbd al-Malik, which was reportedly also a domed structure and described by the tenth-century historian Ibn Rusta as a lofty structure. See also Creswell, *A Short Account*, 40–41. For the Wasit excavation, see Safar, Wāsit, 25–32.

FIGURE 4.6 Church (Basilica A), view toward the apse, al-Rusafa, Syria, *c.*500. Mosque built by Caliph Hisham lay to the north. (Heba Mostafa)

identified as emblematic of caliphal authority.[81] Domed audience halls were also constructed within governor's residences, including the Dar al-Imara at Kufa, Basra, and Amman (Fig. 4.7).[82] In the case of Jerusalem, the absence of the dome could be related to the presence of the iconic Dome of the Rock nearby (Fig. 4.8). Even the Abbasid Caliph al-Mansur, a patron presumably averse to Umayyad caliphal trappings, adopted the term for his domed audience hall in Baghdad (*c.*762) (Fig. 4.9). This famous Qubbat al-Khadraʾ (*c.*762) rose above the city, overshadowing even the mosque, to form the symbolic center of the new capital.[83] As previously mentioned, the Mamluk sultans of Cairo also invoked the Qubbat al-Khadraʾ at their audience hall, known as the Iwan al-Kabir, in the Citadel of Cairo (Fig. 4.10).

In some cases, the term *qubbat al-khaḍrāʾ* refers generally to a monumental domed structure with no relation to an Islamic palace or Dar al-Imara. This is the case for the large domed structure in Alexandria that tenth-century historian Ibn Rusta states contained "statues and carvings" built by either Pharaoh or Alexander—a clear indication

81 Bloom, "*Qubbat al-Khaḍrāʾ*," 137.

82 The discovery of window lintels in the entry hall in Amman supports the possibility of a dome drum, hence a dome. This space possibly served a ceremonial function and may have doubled as an audience hall that supplemented the function of the smaller throne hall on the site. See Almagro, *El Palacio Omeya de Amman*. See also Alastair Northedge, "Survey of the Terrace Area at Amman Citadel," *Levant* 12, no. 1 (1980): 135–54; and Alastair Northedge, "The Qasr of Amman," 22–38. For the domes in these palaces, see Rabbat, "Qubba or Iwan?," 202; and Bloom, "*Qubbat al-Khaḍrāʾ*," 135. The exception to the domed hall in the Dar al-Imara is Jerusalem, which lacked one.

83 The gateways to the city were similarly monumental and may also have been known as *khaḍrāʾ*. See al-Yaʿqūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 10; and Wendell, "Baghdad: Imago Mundi," 116–17.

FIGURE 4.7 Domed gateway to Umayyad palace complex (which also served as audience hall), Amman, Jordan. (Heba Mostafa)

of a pre-Islamic provenance.[84] It is possible that the Alexandrian Tychaion, a temple dedicated to the goddess of fortune (Tyche-Fortuna) and associated with the protection of the city, was what Ibn Rusta identified as the Alexandrian Qubbat al-Khadraʾ.[85] In the thirteenth century, al-Maqrizi listed the Tychaion, which would have marked the skyline of the city at the time, as one of the wonders or curiosities (*ʿajāʾib*) of Alexandria.[86] The identification of a domed pre-Islamic temple as a *qubbat al-khaḍrāʾ* further suggests the possibility that at the time of Ibn Rusta's writing, the notion of what a *qubbat al-khaḍrāʾ* could be was more expansive and broadly conceived. If this is the case, then a taxonomy, or perhaps a hierarchy, of domes based on height and monumentality is also possible. Lest we decisively conclude the meaning of the Qubbat al-Khadra', it is worth noting the rarity of such references in textual sources. It is known that the Alexandrian Tychaion played a role in civic governance and prosperity, like a Dar al-Imara. This point raises the possibility that Ibn Rusta's deployment of the term transcended a hierarchy based on scale or type and may have been based on a similarity in symbolic function. Needless to say, the meaning

84 Judith S. McKenzie and Andres T. Reyes, "The Alexandrian Tychaion: A Pantheon?," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 26 (2013): 49–50.

85 McKenzie and Reyes, "The Alexandrian Tychaion," 49–50.

86 Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-mawāʿiẓ wa-al-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-al-āthār: yakhtaṣṣu dhālika bi-akhbār iqlīm Miṣr wa-al-Nīl wa-dhikr al-Qāhirah wa-mā yataʿallaqu bi-hā wa-bi-iqlīmihā* (Beirut: Dar al-Kotob al-ʿIlmiyah, 1997), 1:59. For interest in inspiring awe and wonder in the context of interior architecture, see Nasser Rabbat, "Ajīb and Gharīb: Artistic Perception in Medieval Arabic Sources," *The Medieval History Journal* 9, no. 1 (April 2006): 99–113.

FIGURE 4.8 Remains of the Umayyad Dar al-Imara in Jerusalem with connecting bridge to the mosque of al-Aqsa visible to the left. (Heba Mostafa)

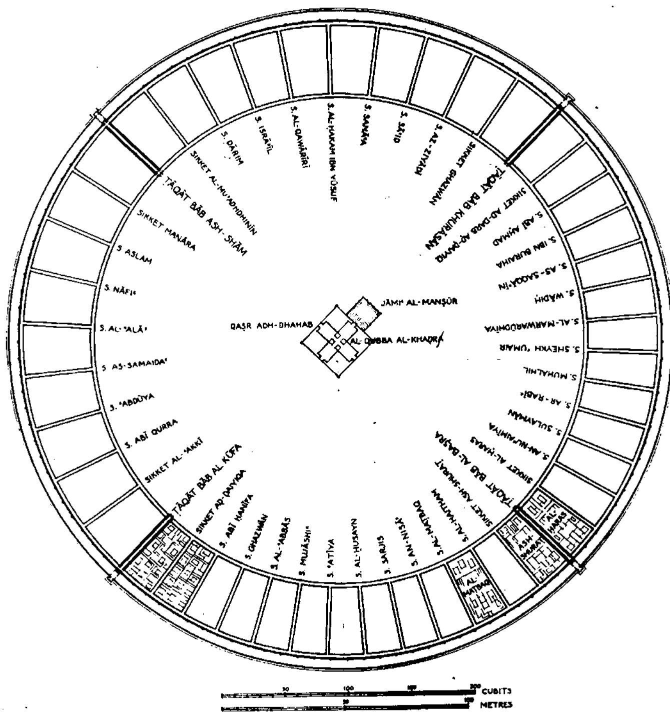

FIGURE 4.9
The Round City of Baghdad, showing the location of the Qubbat al-Khadra' at the center. (K.A.C. Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford)

FIGURE 4.10 Al-Iwan al-Kabir (Dar al-Adl), Mamluk audience hall, Cairo, fourteenth century, exterior. Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo*, J.M. Dent, 1906, 213

of the Qubbat al-Khadra' of Alexandria remains an open question.

The sources seem to agree on Muʿawiya's motivation for constructing the Khadra' palace. The most widely cited account is preserved by Ibn ʿAsakir, who informs us that Muʿawiya refurbished the palace's audience hall and re-named it Qubbat al-Khadra' in response to a scathing remark made by a Byzantine envoy, who derided that "the upper part will do for birds and the lower for rats." This account is interpreted in secondary literature as an indication of the palace's poverty, criticism of which formed part of the competitive discourse waged by Byzantine emissaries against early Muslim rulers, which later motivated Umayyad investment in architecture.[87]

These accounts have been rightfully identified as tropes; they share similarities with accounts used to justify the lavish expenditures of ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Walid I, specifically their respective patronage of the Dome of the Rock and the Great Mosque of Damascus. Such accounts likely served the narrative purpose of justifying investment in monumental architecture as part of Islam's defense against Byzantine derision. Later accounts surrounding the Khadra' palace of al-Hajjaj in Wasit and the Green Palace of al-Mansur in Baghdad resemble accounts of Muʿawiya's Khadra' palace, in so far as their patrons were

87 Nasser Rabbat, "The Meaning of the Umayyad Dome of the Rock," *Muqarnas* 6 (1989): 12. See Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tarīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 1:345. Bloom, "*Qubbat al-Khaḍrā'*," 135. Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 147–49. See also Ibn ʿAsākir, *La description de Damas d'Ibn-ʿAsākir*, trans. and ed. Nikita Elisséeff (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1959), 228.

also derided for the folly of their patronage.[88] Al-Hajjaj's Khadra' palace was also apparently monumental. It is described by the tenth-century historian Ibn Rusta as a lofty structure that "could be seen from thirty miles away."[89] Al-Hajjaj invested substantially in this palace and associated mosque, for example by recycling doors from such sites as the Convent of Mar Sirgis, to the dismay of the residents of the towns. The expenditure, which totaled forty-three thousand dinars, was not justified as an act of resistance, as was the case with Muʿawiya's Khadra' palace and the Dome of the Rock, but concealed from the caliph by al-Hajjaj's secretary, who listed the total cost as only nine thousand dinars and allocated the rest to expenditure on warfare.[90] The casting of architectural patronage as the lesser of two evils or necessitating concealment of expenditure only highlights the persistence of anxiety around investment in lavish and monumental buildings in early Islam.

While rivalry with Byzantium was one of the factors that motivated Muʿawiya's patronage, its persistence as the dominant narrative has obfuscated other aspects of the history of Muʿawiya's Khadra' palace and its role in early Islamic architecture. A dissenting narrative is that of al-Baladhuri, who in the ninth-century relayed the envoy's comment differently. He explained that Muʿawiya built the palace "for himself and the birds" (*li nafsika wal aṣāfīr*) in response to the birds that pecked and dug into the friable unbaked brick (*labin wa ṭīn*), eventually eroding it.[91] In feigned lamentation, the envoy proclaimed that nothing of the palace would remain for a successor. According to al-Baladhuri, it was at this point that Muʿawiya rebuilt the palace in stone and renamed it al-Khadra'.

Al-Hajjaj was similarly derided for soliciting feedback about his palace from a prisoner, Ghadban, who asserted that the dome (*qubba*) was superior but inherently flawed because it was built "in a land that is not your land for one who is not your son" (*bunayit fī ghayr baladak li ghayr waladak*).[92] This comment seems to indicate that al-Hajjaj endowed his palace with architectural qualities that did not accord with the transient nature of his own authority; he was neither a true master of this land nor the progenitor of sons who could legitimize the lasting qualities of the building. Such insinuations take on a particularly threatening tone when the notion of *aṭlāl* (ruins) and the loss of kingship in pre-Islamic poetry are considered. The anxiety over ruination, a concern particularly relevant to the context of early Islam and the vulnerability of Muʿawiya as a ruler broadly defined, offers a subtle reminder of how materiality, impermanence, and political vulnerability were likely intertwined in this context.[93] The problems inherent to these accounts notwithstanding, there are reasons to trust elements of al-Baladhuri's account, including his chain of transmission. Moreover, Muʿawiya's precarity as a ruler is expressed in the similar baiting and double entendre preserved in other sources, such as Theophanes.[94] While Muʿawiya's choice to rebuild his palace in stone may have helped him dispose

88 Bloom, "*Qubbat al-Khaḍrā'*," 135.

89 Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-Aʿlāk al-Nafīsa*, 187. Described as "*qubbatin musharaffatin khaḍrā'*." See Bloom, "*Qubbat al-Khaḍrā'*," 135. The archeological evidence for the palace at Wasit is fragmentary and does not confirm physical evidence for a domed structure (qubba). The evidence does, however, show that the mosque and palace formed a complex that resembled the complex in Damascus that lay to the south and connected to the mosque by a colonnade. Thallein Mireille Antun, *The Architectural Form of the Mosque in the Central Arab Lands, from the Hijra to the End of the Umayyad Period, 1/622–133/750* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports Ltd, 2016), 10–11.

90 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 263.

91 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, 4:125–7.

92 Al-Masʿūdi, *Kitāb Murūj al-Dhahab wa Maʿādin al-Jawhar*, ed. and trans. C. Barbier de Meynard (Paris: 1861), 2:105.

93 Hassanaly Ladha, "Allegories of Ruin: Architecture and Knowledge in Early Arabic Poetry." *Journal of Arabic Literature* 2019, 50, no. 2 (2019): 89–122:90.

94 Harry Turtledove, *The Chronicle of Theophanes: An English translation of* anni mundi 6095–6305 (*A.D. 602–813*), *with introduction and notes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 34–36, 48–50, 52, 55.

of an emblem of transient rule, consideration of other driving forces together with the iconography of the qubba as a concept and the Qubbat al-Khadra' as a symbol suggest a more extensive set of motivations.

Despite multiple attestations in literary traditions, the palace lacks a secure date. Some of the earliest sources, including al-Ya'qubi and al-Baladhuri, insist on the earlier date, between 644 and 656, when Mu'awiya was governor; yet, Ibn 'Asakir, the consummate historian of Damascus renowned for his reliability and chains of transmission, disagrees.[95] The confusion over the dating may itself be a vital clue, for there was a point in time when Mu'awiya's identity was in flux. He was recognized by some as governor and by others as presumptive caliph.[96] This disagreement occurred during the First Islamic Civil War between the time of 'Uthman's death in 656 and Mu'awiya's assumption of the caliphate in 661.

It seems likely that Mu'awiya, as a ruler vying for his position in a competitive field of candidates during a civil war, invoked the heavenly dome as an emblem to convey divine election. This choice fits a pattern within architectural traditions of late antique, ancient Near Eastern, and pre-Islamic Arabian kingship. It also appears to accord with what we know of Mu'awiya's other efforts to consolidate his rule, as outlined in the previous chapters. More importantly, his choice of a heavenly dome as an audience hall aligns with later instances of power consolidating in architectural patronage, as demonstrated by 'Abd al-Malik's construction of the Dome of the Rock in 692 during a similarly politically tumultuous time, the Second Islamic Civil War. Critically, it corresponds with general tendencies in the sources to engage Mu'awiya in prescribed timeframes, chiefly the period encompassing the First Islamic Civil War.[97]

The weight of evidence points to a time when Mu'awiya had concrete plans to make a bid for power. The dating of the Khadra' palace to the years leading up to Mu'awiya's assumption of the caliphate would suggest that Mu'awiya's designation of his audience hall as *al-khaḍrā'* formed part of his maneuvers to either obtain or retain power. What remains unclear is how the term *khaḍrā'* furthered this goal and whether its origins rest with Mu'awiya. It is also possible that he co-opted existing terminology for a type of dome distinguished by scale, although this would imply the existence of similarly named pre-Islamic audience halls that have since disappeared from the historical and archaeological record.

We have one final piece of evidence to consider in our investigation of Mu'awiya's Qubbat al-Khadra'. A description of the Qubbat al-Khadra' appears in a genre, known as *tashbīb*, in which the poet extolls the exploits of youth and praises his beloved.[98] In this instance, the poet, likely the caliph's contemporary Abdulrahman b. Hassan b. Thabit, describes himself languishing lovestruck in Greater Syria. Although he recounts walking with his beloved towards *al-qubbat al-khaḍrā'*, (rather than *qubbat al-khaḍrā'*) he mentions walking upon polished marble and references the Damascene gate of Jayrun. The context indicates that the setting can only be Mu'awiya's palace in Damascus.[99] He proceeds to describe this *al-qubbat al-khaḍrā'* as a "tent of precious cloth" (*qubbatin min marājil*).[100] He explains that the qubba

95 For al-Ya'qubi, see-Bloom, "*Qubbat al-Khaḍrā'*," 135. For Ibn 'Asakir, see Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 147.

96 Marsham, "The Architecture of Allegiance," 96–97.

97 R. Stephen Humphreys, *Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyan: From Arabia to Empire* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2012), 15–19.

98 Al-Balādhurī, *Kitab Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, 4:15.

99 George, *Umayyad Mosque of Damascus*, 44–45; Michelina Di Cesare, "*Manāzil Sulaymān*: Solomonic Memory and the Islamic Empire in the Early Abbasid Period," *Before Archaeology: The Meaning of the Past in the Islamic Pre-Modern Thought* (*and After*), ed. Leonardo Capezzone (Rome: Editoriale Artemide s.r.l., 2020): 51.

100 *Marājil* may derive from Jabal Marajil in Yemen and could be a type of precious cloth, but this is speculative. The poet also refers to a gate through which he enters the palace precinct, which may in fact be the Bab al-Khadra' recently identified by Alain George, see George, *The Umayyad Mosque of Damascus*, 60–61.

FIGURE 4.11 Umayyad brazier (iron and bronze), *c.* eighth century. Excavated at the Umayyad palace of al-Fudayn, Jordan. (Jordan Archaeological Museum)

is "set up at the edge of winter in a bedchamber (*qayṭūn*)." Under the qubba, his beloved warms herself while a mélange of incense burns in a brazier (*al-nad, al-ulwa, al-ʿūd*).[101] The verses that follow extol the gathered folds of what appear to be surrounding qubbas (*qibāb qad ashragat*) and homes surrounded by evergreens and grapevines (*al-ās wal-zargūn*).[102] The ambience of precious cloth, brazier, and burning incense belies an otherwise chaste/unremarkable sojourn in the palace at Damascus. What the poet describes is a canopy tent largely consistent with descriptions of classical pre-Islamic Arabian tropes of lover's reunions or trysts, which typically occurred at the edge of oasis towns as supported by use of the verb *ḍarabūha* (erected/set up) when referring to the qubba, which is associated with the erection of tents. Evidence of this erotic context survives in a brazier intended for warmth and burning incense dating from the Umayyad period that depicts sexually explicit copulating couples (Fig. 4.11).

The context of the verses may provide an interpretive starting point. They were likely composed by Abdulrahman b. Hassan b. Thabit, son of the Prophet's poet laureate, Hassan b. Thabit,[103] but the key lies in the beloved in question. She is none other than Muʿawiya's daughter Ramla.

101 Al-Balādhurī, *Kitab Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, 15.

ثم خاصرتها إلى القبة الخضراء تمشي في مرمر مسنون
قبة من مراجل ضربوها عند حد الشتاء في قيطون
عن يساري إذ دخلت من الباب وإن كنت خارجًا عن يميني
تجعل الند والألوة والعود صلاء لها على الكانون
وقباب قد أشرجت وبيوت نطفوها بالآس والزرجون

102 ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn ʿUmar Al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab wa-lubb lūbab lisān al-ʿArab* (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī lil-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-Nashr, 1967), 7:314–18.

103 Some scholars attribute the verses to other poets. See al-Balādhurī, *Kitab Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, 15.

These verses, which were intended to humiliate Muʿawiya, spread among the caliph's rivals in Medina and Mecca.[104] The architecture of the insult relies chiefly on the listeners' understanding of the qubba's reflexivity. By invoking the qubba as shorthand for a lover's tryst, the poet not so obliquely referenced his dalliances with the caliph's daughter, consequently denigrating the exalted Qubbat al-Khadra' of the caliph. In other words, the poet appears to have crafted an affront to the caliph that emphasized his impotence by alluding to the sordid associations of qubbas.

These verses may capture a turning point in the history of Islamic architecture. At this point, the multivalency of the qubba persisted to the extent that it could be co-opted to demean and humiliate but perhaps not beyond. The fact that Muʿawiya's co-opting of a qubba could be weaponized in such a manner only reaffirms the qubba's valence. The poem seems to convey a fluid and interchangeable understanding of the Qubbat al-Khadra' as at once ephemeral, evoking a tent, and concrete, clearly referencing *the* Qubbat al-Khadra' of Muʿawiya. Of course, an awareness of textiles as architecture appears throughout the history of Islamic architecture, including under the Umayyads.[105] It conforms to the "textile mentality" of Muslims, which has long been recognized as a key factor that shaped Islamic aesthetics in profound ways, particularly in the evolution of surface decoration.[106] These poetic verses demonstrate how this fluidity supported the poet's polemics by merging the less palatable facets of the qubba's symbolism with a building representing the caliph's authority and exalted status.

4 Fit for a Caliph: The Khadra' of Muʿawiya

Considering the fate of his predecessors, Muʿawiya's comparatively peaceful death was certainly an anomaly. Like his caliphal predecessors and governor of Egypt ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs, Muʿawiya was at risk of assassination during the First Islamic Civil War. Khawarij dissidents challenged his rule as well as that of his opponent, ʿAli. Neither was his rise to power an inevitability. ʿUmar only reluctantly appointed Muʿawiya to the governorship of Damascus. Moreover, during the First Islamic Civil War, he ruled with a provisional oath of allegiance that granted him the title of Commander of the Faithful without the allegiance of the majority. His caliphate was never universally recognized nor was the dynastic succession of his son Yazid I a straightforward matter.[107] Muʿawiya's long reign was hard won and likely came about only as a product of his remarkable career as a wily politician, diplomat, administrator, and military tactician.

Centuries after the poet Hassan b. Thabit described the Jafnid ruler as the "abode of him whose tent was raised on lofty poles,"[108] the caliph al-Walid II invoked the same language to justify his rule in letters by outlining a "Umayyad theory of state."[109] He described himself as the owner of a "lofty cosmic qubba" and claimed that Yazid b. ʿAbd al-Malik's (r. 720–24) authority was granted "by order of him whose throne is above the seven heavens and who holds the secret of the waters of the seven earths." By contrast, al-Walid II cast

104 Enraged by the affront, Yazid I offered to bring the poet's head to his father. Muʿawiya prudently declined, fearing that the poet's execution would only serve to confirm the accusations. See al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, 4:17–18.

105 Christiane Gruber, "Islamic Architecture on the Move," *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 3, no. 2 (2014): 244.

106 Lisa Golombek, "The Draped Universe of Islam," in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World: Papers from a Colloquium in Memory of Richard Ettinghausen, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2–4 April 1980*, ed. Priscilla P. Soucek (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988), 25, 34. For later elaboration see Patricia Blessing, "Draping, Wrapping, Hanging: Transposing Textile Materiality in the Middle Ages," *The Textile Museum Journal*, no. 45 (2018): 10–12.

107 Mehdi Shaddel, "Yazid I b. Moʿāwiya," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (forthcoming).

108 Munt et al., "Sources for Pre-Islamic Arabia," 487–88.

109 Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 26.

Hisham as the "protector and executor of divine justice, light of guidance, and medium for the life-giving rains, who personally clasps the seven heavens and earths in his hand."[110] Al-Farazdaq (*c.*641–728/30) describes the station of al-Walid I as that in which people "let their saddles down" having ridden "to a dome the celestial canopy of which towers above al-Walid."[111] These poetic references frame the qubba and the firmament as signifiers of caliphal authority and echo how the Quran also frames God's authority in relation to the celestial sphere.

It appears likely that Muʿawiya coined Qubbat al-Khadraʾ as an Islamic re-branding of endemic notions of public audience and cosmic kingship and repurposed it to support his identity as caliph. Associations of qubbas with caliphal authority is further supported by an account of al-Hajjaj as depicted in al-Walid I's letters. Al-Hajjaj suggests to his new patron, al-Walid I, that the faithful should circumambulate his qubba, in the same way that they circumambulated the palace of his father, ʿAbd al-Malik.[112] Under Hisham, verses threatening the transfer of the caliphate from the heir, al-Walid II, to Hisham's son Maslamah state: "Verily the stakes (of the tent) of the caliphate will be transferred after al-Walid to the son of Um Hakim (Maslamah's mother)."[113] A qubba appears again as the main protagonist in an infamous account of al-Walid II: Hisham entrusts al-Walid II with the leadership of the Hajj, ostensibly to rectify his misconduct and retain his position as heir to the Umayyad throne. In this instance, al-Walid II brought a domed canopy to Mecca with the intention to erect it above the Kaʿba. It is unclear whether the canopy was intended to enclose the entire structure or merely surmount it, but al-Walid II apparently wished to consume wine with his companions within it and relented only when his companions advised strongly against such a sacrilegious act.[114] Consuming wine above the Kaʿba was not merely a desecration but also an interruption of the locus of God's House as navel of the earth and the sacred axis between earth and heaven.[115] That such accounts circulated about al-Walid is in line with prevalent bias towards him in the literary tradition more broadly, but what may be revealing here is the deployment of a qubba in such a context.

How might we interpret Muʿawiya's Khadraʾ palace within the context of embattled early Islamic history and considering the multivalency of the qubba as sacral, royal, and, like the pre-Islamic haram, inviolable? That it was built at all is remarkable. Up until 656, the Rightly Guided Caliphs resided in their own homes in Medina near the Prophet's Mosque while provincial governors resided in the Dar al-Imara. Neither residence type featured monumental audience halls because the Prophet had dictated strict austerity at his mosque and residence. His successors, the Four Rightly Guided Caliphs, diligently adhered to this policy. Muʿawiya's Khadraʾ palace, with its marble floors and fountains, thus signified a shift away from a simple residence (*dār*) to a palace (*qaṣr*) with a monumental domed audience hall bearing possible celestial connotations. Perhaps Muʿawiya had in mind the fate of his predecessor ʿUthman who died sequestered in his house in Medina. A more secure complex for the caliph would strategically guarantee that Muʿawiya's successors would not be so easily sequestered and isolated.

Muʿawiya's Khadraʾ palace remedied his image in both the Byzantine and Islamic communities.

110 Jamil, "Caliph and Quṭb," 40.

111 Jamil, "Caliph and Quṭb," 40. See also al-Ṣāwī, *al-Farazdaq*, 1:7, lines 11–12.

112 Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 28–9.

113 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 26:90.

114 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 26:90. See also Shalem, "The Body of Architecture," 179. Shalem argues that this qubba probably refers to a huge tent designed to be built over the Kaʿba to transform it into a domed building. This would have allowed al-Walid I to enclose the whole Kaʿba within this portable domed structure of textile and wood.

115 Shalem, "The Body of Architecture," 176. This is also a location that lay below *al-bayt al-maʿmūr* (Frequented House), the heavenly analogue of the Kaʿba ritually.

Early in his political career, Muʿawiya was generally perceived as cursed. He was disparagingly referred to as the leader of the "usurping faction" (*al-fiʾa al-ṭāghiya*) and the Son of the "Eater of Livers" (*ibn ākilat al-akbād*), a reference to his mother, Hind bt. ʿUtba, who famously devoured the liver of the Prophet's uncle Hamza after he fell in battle.[116] More importantly, the Qubbat al-Khadraʾ appears to have mediated the existential anxiety that permeated early Islam. It summoned divine protection and the divine covenant, invoked the inviolability of the qubba as a space for negotiation and consensus building, and served as a place of honor and refuge. We may also recall here Fatima bt. ʿUtba's recognition of the Prophet's qubba as a symbol of his authority, with her hopes for its persistence and survival a reversal of previous resentment towards that same symbol. One may wonder, for example, if she may have expressed similar sentiments regarding the qubba to her nephew Muʿawiya, exhorting him to raise his own qubba. To return to the question that began this chapter: why, in one of his only acts of monumental architectural patronage, did Muʿawiya build not a mosque or a shrine but an audience hall identified as a dome of heaven? At the urban scale, Muʿawiya's Qubbat al-Khadraʾ was an icon for the Islamic city. As a monument redolent with layered meaning, the Qubbat al-Khadraʾ formed part of the caliph's collection of relics, symbols, and spaces that tethered Muʿawiya to pre-Islamic kingship, pre-Islamic Arabian dominion, and the authority of the Prophet Muhammad. In other words, a space that truly made him God's caliph.

116 Clifford Edmund Bosworth, trans. and ed., *Al-Maqrīzī's "Book of Contention and Strife Concerning the Relations between the Banū Umayya and the Banū Hāšim"* (Manchester: University of Manchester, 1980), 45.

CHAPTER 5

Sedition Is Worse Than Murder

The Mosque and Dar al-Imara in Iraq

1 Ziyad in Iraq

The path forward could not have been clear for Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan as he ascended the minbar of Basra's Friday Mosque in 665 to deliver his infamous sermon, known as al-Batra', and declare his governorship.[1] Ziyad had been entrusted by Caliph Muʿawiya to restore order to the troubled city and the provinces under his authority (Iraq, Khurasan, and Sijistan).[2] He was certainly the man for the job. In addition to his gifts as an orator, he had impressed ʿUmar with his precociousness earlier in his career and was heralded as a brilliant administrator, secretary, and scribe. Spurred by his success at Basra, he was appointed governor of Kufa in 670. This act brought Iraq and Khurasan under his sole command. Ziyad stands among the four *duhāt* (shrewd politicians) of Islam, who are together identified as instrumental to the formation of the nascent Islamic state: governor of Egypt ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs, governor of Iraq al-Mughira b. Shuʿba, Caliph Muʿawiya, and Ziyad, whose most prominent political position was that of governor of Iraq.[3]

The fact that three of the four *duhāt* were governors, two of whom governed in Iraq, reveals the power balance and importance of Iraq during the rapidly unfolding events of the First Islamic Civil War. Muʿawiya's appointment of Ziyad as governor of both Basra and Kufa acknowledges the gravity of the situation in Iraq on the eve of his appointment. Basra and Kufa were hotbeds of Kharijite rebellion, centers of ʿAlid opposition, and conduits to the vital province of Khurasan. For this reason, Iraq was critical to the Umayyads throughout their reign but particularly in the years leading up to Ziyad's governorship. Basra and Kufa lay, to the south, on the frontier between Mecca and Medina, which were in the hands of the opposition during the First Islamic Civil War, and, to the north, between Damascus and Jerusalem, which were controlled by the Sufyanids. Kufa previously served as the capital under ʿAli and maintained a reputation for popular dissent, a history with wide-ranging destabilizing repercussions that continue to resonate till the present day.[4]

Ziyad's architectural patronage in Basra (*c.*665) and Kufa (*c.*670), which included rebuilding both mosque and Dar al-Imara at both cities, occurred at a watershed moment in the history of early Islam between the First Islamic Civil War and the events leading up to the Second Islamic Civil War. Upon assuming the governorship, Ziyad imposed swift and comprehensive remediation of the chief challenges of governance in Iraq through military and fiscal reform related to land reclamation and taxation alongside other forms of institution building. Increased tax revenue allowed for expansion of the military corps, which strengthened Ziyad's position as governor, and facilitated timely salary disbursement for the troops. This latter policy was a point of serious contention that, when resolved, improved troop morale and garnered

1 The sermon was named *al-Batrāʾ*, "the truncated," because Ziyad neither praised God nor blessed the Prophet.

2 Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 78; Hasson, "Ziyād b. Abīhi."

3 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:4. They were each extolled for a particular virtue: Muʿawiya for his forbearance, ʿAmr for his intuition, al-Mughira for resolving quandaries, and Ziyad for his attention to detail in all matters "big and small."

4 Hannah Hagemann and Peter Verkinderen, "Kharijism in the Umayyad Period," in *The Umayyad World*, ed. Andrew Marsham (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), 495.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2024 | DOI:10.1163/9789004690189_006

Ziyad support.[5] When the context of Ziyad's policies in Iraq during the First Islamic Civil War are taken into consideration, it is evident that his rebuilding of the Dar al-Imara and mosque at Basra and Kufa aligned with his approach to governance; it functioned as the architectural component of a larger strategy to consolidate power.

The centrality of the mosque and Dar al-Imara to early Islamic governance as loci for the negotiation of popular consent and dissent compels a re-assessment of Ziyad's architectural patronage in Iraq. Although historians of early Islam have largely reconciled Ziyad's patronage through the lens of his governance and the formation of the Islamic state, the architectural historical narrative of Ziyad's patronage in Iraq remains contested.[6] The mosque-palace complexes in Basra (mostly non-extant) and Kufa present the earliest recorded use of spolia, attested textually and archaeologically. The earliest surviving examples of wall-painting in Islamic art history are also preserved at the mosque-palace complex in Kufa.[7] However, because few remnants survive from Ziyad's mosque and palace at Basra, its history has been written largely based on textual accounts. At the time of writing, preparations for future excavations are currently underway and may yield promising results.[8] By contrast, the Dar al-Imara at Kufa has survived to a great extent, notwithstanding that Ziyad's patronage of the earliest surviving archaeological layers is debated. Excavation plans for Kufa have also resumed.[9] Art historical engagement and re-assessment of the palace's historiography can only serve ongoing efforts on the ground by shining further light on a vital, albeit obscured, chapter in the history of early Islamic archaeology. Critical engagement with this ongoing debate, spanning over seventy years,[10] may reveal patterns and tendencies within the discipline that could prove critical as the horizons of archaeological excavation, documentation, and communication of findings shift in the coming decades.

Ziyad's prosopography reveals a unique mélange of qualities that foreground this analysis. Born on the fringes of Islamic society, he is remembered as a learned insider who infiltrated the inner echelons at a time of dramatic and swift change to achieve insider status and unparalleled power before his untimely death in 673.[11] Reading Ziyad's multifaceted and multivalent identity as governor, the particulars of his career trajectory, and his

5 See Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 52. For fiscal reform and bureaucratic institutionalization at Basra under Ziyad, see K.A. Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor: Ziyad Ibn Abih," *Islamic Culture* 26, no. 4 (1952): 1–31; and Hasson, "Ziyād b. Abīhi."

6 The most comprehensive examination of Ziyad's governance can be found in Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*; and Foss, "Muʿāwiya's State." The debate around Ziyad's architectural patronage spans multiple disciplines and includes concerted interest from both the Western academy and Middle Eastern scholars. See S.A. ʿAlī, "Khiṭaṭ Al-Baṣra," *Sumer* 8, no. 1 (1952): 72–83; Kāẓim Janābī, *Masjid al-Kūfah* (Baghdad: Dār al-jumhūrīyah, 1966); Kāẓim Janābī, *Takhṭīṭ madīnat al-Kūfah* (Baghdad: Dār al-jumhūrīyah, 1967).

7 Michelina Di Cesare, "Nota su un dipinto parietale rinvenuto nel Qasr al-Imara di Kufa, il suo contesto archeologico e storico-artistico," *Mantua Humanistic Studies*, ed. Raffaella Santi, vol. 9 (Mantova: Universitas Studiorum, 2020), 105–7.

8 Although past excavations at Basra uncovered remnants of what might be columns dating from Ziyad's construction of the Friday mosque, the archeological evidence is insufficient to afford a coherent history of the complex. Andrew Petersen and Alastair Northedge, "The Archaeology of Early Islamic Basra: Challenges and Potential," in *Basra: Its History, Culture and Heritage: Proceedings of the Conference Celebrating the Opening of the Basrah Museum, September 28–29, 2016*, ed. Paul Thomas Collins (London: British Institute for the Study of Iraq, 2019), 57–58.

9 For a proposed archaeological park dating from 2011, see http://www.carloleopardi.com/en/projects/kufa-archaeological-park/, accessed February 16, 2022.

10 For a critique of trends within Western archaeology that promulgate the primacy of Western epistemologies, see Petersen, "What Is 'Islamic' Archaeology?," 102–3.

11 On prosopography and the study of early Islamic elites and governors, see Ahmad Khan, "An Empire of Elites: Mobility in the Early Islamic Empire," in *Transregional and Regional Elites—Connecting the Early Islamic Empire*, ed. Hannah-Lena Hagemann and Stefan Heidemann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 147–70.

strategic brand of governance within the framework of anxiety developed in this book shifts the narrative of his architectural patronage. This chapter examines the mosque-palace complex in Iraq within the context of early Islamic governance and the framework of anxiety elucidated so far. This approach overcomes the obstacle of the surviving textual, material, and physical evidence by offering a close reading of the fragmentary evidence within an inclusive evidentiary landscape encompassing Ziyad's biography and the political, social and cultural contexts of his architectural patronage.

2 Portrait of a Caliphal Protégé

Iraq's history as a center of the opposition during the First Islamic Civil War meant that the cities of Iraq appeared at times to only nominally be under Muʿawiya's control. This control hinged somewhat precariously on pledges of allegiances that were not entirely driven by profound loyalty or steadfast ideological affinity.[12] Furthermore, Muʿawiya's rule in Iraq suffered from myriad challenges, both related and unrelated to internecine conflict. His antipathy towards the people of Iraq was widely known. Corruption among governors in Iraq was a particularly aggravating problem as it diverted surplus tax income from state coffers and impeded Muʿawiya's aspirations for imperial expansion.[13] This was the case for Iraqi governor al-Mughira b. Shuʿba, whose corruption and favoritism Muʿawiya tolerated out of necessity, but which caused decades of civil unrest. Such favoritism primarily took the form of privileging tribal elites while structuring society around such affiliations, which had serious fiscal implications.[14] For example, a particularly damaging form of financial malfeasance involved delaying soldiers' pay for personal financial gain, a practice that further disenfranchised the troops from their governor. Such disenfranchisement of the troops exacerbated risk to the stability of empire and required urgent remediation.[15] Intertribal violence was a further danger to the stability of rule in Iraq that, when coupled with the simmering endemic dissent resulting from the First Islamic Civil War, created the potential for an imminently explosive situation in the cities of Iraq.[16]

As tribal affiliations were the cornerstone of garrison towns, such challenges had a tangible impact on the built environment. The use of the *khaṭṭa* (allocation of allotments to tribal units) further entrenched this division. The deployment of tribal allotments and land parceling created neighborhoods with a sense of social cohesion, but it also created enclaves that compromised centralized control and, in some cases, impacted civic security.[17] For example, under *khaṭṭa* organization, smaller neighborhood mosques governed by tribal units became nodes for the promulgation

12 Simon Gundelfinger and Peter Verkinderen, "The Governors of al-Shām and Fārs in the Early Islamic Empire—A Comparative Regional Perspective," in *Transregional and Regional Elites—Connecting the Early Islamic Empire*, ed. Hannah-Lena Hagemann and Stefan Heidemann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 275–76. See also Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy*, 86–95. The provinces of Iraq under Sufyanid rule relied on the appointment of a "super governor" capable of holding the reins of control over such a critical region.

13 For expansion into North Africa and naval expansions within the Mediterranean, see Hinds, "Muʿāwiya."

14 For repercussions and its urban implications in the seventh century and beyond, see Georg Leube, "Insult the Caliph, Marry al-Ḥasan, and Redeem Your Kingdom: *Freiheitsgrade* of Kindī Elites During the 7th to 9th Century," in *Transregional and Regional Elites—Connecting the Early Islamic Empire*, ed. Hannah-Lena Hagemann and Stefan Heidemann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 54–60. See also Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 7–8.

15 Henri Lammens, "Ziād Ibn Abīhi vice-roi de l'Iraq, lieutenant de Moʿāwia I," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 4, no. 1 (1911): 8–9.

16 On the complex political divisions that permeated Iraq at the time that ʿAli and Muʿawiya navigated extremes of outright conflict and attempts at arbitration, see Humphreys, *Muʿawiya ibn Abi Sufyan*, 77–84.

17 Akbar, "Khaṭṭa and the Territorial Structure," 22–32. On the founding of the *khiṭṭat* of Kufa, see al-Yaʿqūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 94.

of political counternarratives that offset the impact of the *khuṭba* and posed a further threat to centralized governance.[18] All the while, the Friday mosque retained its position as a central platform for contentious public debate. In consequence, the Friday mosque was implicated in some of the most serious events of the seventh century, including the insurrection of Hujr b. ʿAdi in Kufa and his subsequent arrest and execution in 670.[19] In other words, Iraqi garrison towns and cities suffered from the problems of both centralized and decentralized governance.

Ziyad's knowledge of Basra and Iraq was intimate, longstanding, and profound. As an early settler and longtime resident, Ziyad was in a strong position to assume control of the embattled cities of Iraq. He was the protégé to multiple caliphs and Iraqi governors. Through his service in multiple capacities at several levels of public office, he began his governorship with the advantage of a true insider.[20] Aided by his precocious talents, Ziyad had ample opportunity to observe his predecessors' administrative faults, including the grave consequences of errors in judgment and character flaws. This was particularly true in the case of the unravelling of his mentor, al-Mughira b. Shuʿba, to which Ziyad had a front-row seat.[21] It is within this context as a witness to the successes and failures of his predecessors that Ziyad forged his own identity as a governor. It also afforded him insight into the limits of existing infrastructure of governance, which included the mosque and Dar al-Imara, and informed how the governor related to those spaces.

Ziyad's background clearly informed his interventions in Iraq and the reformulation of his identity as governor in service of empire. Born in Ta'if in the first year of the Hjira, Ziyad's background aligns with other protagonists of early Islam who were patrons of architecture and interpreters of the past.[22] For a man who attained such power so early in his career, he undoubtedly had a most unusual upbringing as indicated, firstly, by the many variations of his name. Coinage dated to 44 Hijri (664–65) indicates that he assumed the name of Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan by this date (Fig. 5.1). The coinage may even have been produced to commemorate or propagate the name change.[23] Previously, he was known by the less illustrious patronymic of Ziyad b. ʿUbayd—ʿUbayd being the slave upon whose bed he was born—which designated Ziyad, at least nominally, as ʿUbayd's offspring. He reportedly favored the designation of Ibn Sumayya after his mother.[24] The more common name of Ziyad b. Abihi, meaning son of his father, appears in later accounts. Ibn Abihi may have been a retaliatory slur adopted by ʿAisha (the Prophet's wife) to counter Ziyad's Sufyanid paternity and punish him by undermining his position after he sided with Muʿawiya. It is difficult to ascertain how Ziyad viewed himself due to distortions in the textual tradition. In a letter to Muʿawiya, he identified himself as a "Persian warrior" who became an "Arab from the Banū ʿAbd Manāf" when he was adopted by Muʿawiya. He may have also claimed Arab lineage through his mother, who was a descendant

18 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 434. See also Akbar, "Khaṭṭa and the Territorial Structure," 29; and Grabar, *Formation of Islamic Art*, 110.

19 For a problematization of the various accounts of Hujr's execution and Ziyad's role, particularly in relation to the Friday sermon and the cursing of ʿAli, see Khaled Keshk, "The Historiography of an Execution: The Killing of Ḥujr b. ʿAdī," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 19, no. 1 (2008): 9–11, 14–15. On Hujr b. ʿAdi rallying support at the mosque of Kufa for ʿAli before the Battle of the Camel in the years leading up to his demise, see Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 483.

20 Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 52.

21 Lammens, "Ziād Ibn Abīhi," 15.

22 Ziyad's birthdate was identified as either the first year of the Hijra or the year of the Battle of Badr. Both dates are illustrious and were possibly meant to exalt his status or, conversely, associate him with the birth year of another maligned Thaqafite, al-Mukhtar. His date of birth may also have been calculated by assuming his age at the time of his death. See Lammens, "Ziād Ibn Abīhī," 16–17.

23 Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 46; Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 1.

24 Lammens, "Ziād Ibn Abīhī," 17; and Hasson, "Ziyād b. Abīhi."

FIGURE 5.1 Silver Drachm of Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan, 673. (British Museum)

of Banu ʿAbd Shams b. Zayd Manat of Tamim. This series of name changes indicates that while Ziyad was marred by uncertain paternity, he bore the prestige of an early settler (*tābiʿī*) of Basra.[25]

Ziyad embraced Islam during the caliphate of Abu Bakr and, with his siblings, was one of the first settlers of Basra. At the time of his move, he had personal ties to Basran governor ʿUtba b. Ghazwan al-Mazini and later served him as secretary.[26] He exhibited devotion to public service early on, and in 635 he was entrusted with war booty distribution following several major Iraqi battles, including the war spoils of nearby Ubulla (Apologos) in southern Iraq.[27] He rapidly climbed the ranks of power, gaining the trust of the caliphs ʿUmar, ʿUthman, and ʿAli and serving under Iraqi governors Abu-Musa al-Ashʿari, al-Mughira b. Shuʿba, ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAmir, and ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAbbas. He twice served as acting governor of Basra in place of Abu Musa al-Ashʿari. By 656 he was responsible for both the treasury (*bayt al-māl*) and real estate taxes (*kharaj*).[28] By 657 he secured his first appointment as governor of Fars and Karman under ʿAli. In that role he suppressed multiple uprisings and successfully secured taxation for the embattled caliph at a critical time.[29] He ruled from the fortified citadel of Istakhr, which was later named after him (Qalʿat Ziyad) and remained loyal to ʿAli even after his assassination in 661.[30]

Recognizing the importance of securing Ziyad's allegiance, Muʿawiya reportedly held Ziyad's family hostage in Basra to pressure him into joining his cause. He used the same tactic with Egyptian governor ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs. This resulted in a multi-year negotiation between caliph and governor that culminated in an infamous maneuver in 665: Muʿawiya affirmed his father's paternity of Ziyad, ushering him into the Umayyad clan as the son of Abu Sufyan b. Harb b. Umayya.[31] This controversial act followed the pre-Islamic practice known as *istilḥāḳ*.[32] It elicited strong reactions from the Marwanid branch as well as the caliph's son and presumptive heir to the throne, Yazid I. Muʿawiya was so committed to this unorthodox arrangement that he offered bribes, and in some cases issued threats, to force the acquiescence of detractors.[33] From this point until his death in 673, Ziyad served as Muʿawiya's most loyal ally, right hand man, and governor. As a member of the Sufyanid clan and brother to the caliph, he served with a dramatically elevated status, albeit one challenged by the Muslim community (Fig. 5.2).

Muʿawiya chose to enter a lengthy negotiation with Ziyad, which included an extended sojourn in Damascus while the terms of his adoption were negotiated, instead of simply disposing of

25 Hasson, "Ziyād b. Abīhi."
26 Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 55; Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 1; and Hasson, "Ziyād b. Abīhi."
27 Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 1; and Hasson, "Ziyād b. Abīhi."
28 Hasson, "Ziyād b. Abīhi."
29 Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 2; and Hasson, "Ziyād b. Abīhi."
30 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:3; and al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, 4:165.
31 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:2.
32 Hasson, "Ziyād b. Abīhi."
33 Hasson, "Ziyād b. Abīhi."

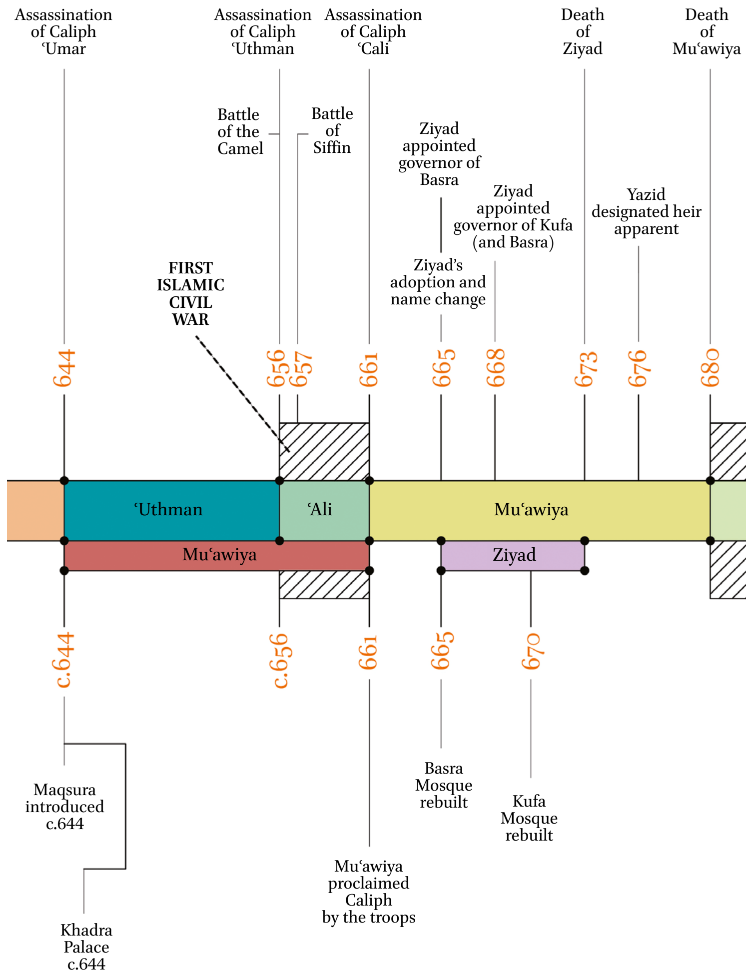

FIGURE 5.2
Timeline of the reign of Muʿawiya (as governor under ʿUthman and ʿAli and as caliph) and Ziyad as governor.
DRAWN BY REHAM SHADI

his opponent because he recognized that Ziyad's state crafting was critical to the survival of the state. So critical, that Ziyad's appointment as governor of Basra broke a long-standing pattern of appointing only Qurayshi governors to Basra. This trend resumed after Ziyad's death and was interrupted only by the appointment of his sons. Even though Ziyad's appointment as governor of Basra was likely a consequence of Basran protest, it seems clear he possessed qualities identified by the caliph as necessary and unparalleled, which certainly casts his adoption in a different light.[34] Muʿawiya and Ziyad clearly shared a unique relationship as two men who were enemies and rivals before they became stepbrothers. The sources convey an impression of them playing off each other politically in a way that left opponents disoriented and confused.[35] This dynamic is evident in the ways in which they projected a united front in face of criticism of Ziyad's adoption. As Ziyad proclaimed, "If anyone reviles you [Muʿawiya], upbraid him for his own shortcomings; if anyone defames you, catch him out for his own vices. Evil is the best defense against evil: only iron can break iron."[36]

34 Gundelfinger and Verkinderen, "The Governors of al-Shām and Fārs," 76.

35 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al- Farīd*, 3:5.

36 According to this account Ziyad produced a "book of defects and vices" in these instances. See ʿAbd Allāh b.

Ziyad may have borne striking similarities in terms of talents, wiliness, and intellect to his adopted brother and master, Muʿawiya,[37] but his outlook was primarily shaped by ʿUmar. He was exposed to ʿUmar during his tenure at the *diwān* (armed registry) of Basra through regular written correspondence with the caliph.[38] His reputation as an ascetic (*zāhid*) and his motto of "leniency without weakness and strictness without violence" bear striking similarities to ʿUmar's character and rule. His claims of integrity, austerity (he did not build a palace for himself during his tenure as governor, for example), and clemency (his amnesty of past grievances on his arrival in Basra) are framed in terms evocative of the Prophet Muhammad.[39] By the time that he assumed the governorship of Basra, Ziyad had articulated what has been described as a theory of government: "we rule you by the authority of God and protect you by the income of God. You owe us obedience and we owe you justice."[40] In this way, he positioned himself as second only to God and accountable only to Him. In other words, he laid claim to caliphal authority as appointed governor.

Ziyad's multifaceted identity as a former "excluded" insider and his brilliance as an administrator uniquely positioned him to lay the foundation of a new brand of Islamic governance capable of stabilizing the state at a critical moment in history and in a way that enabled the caliph to turn his attention to the northeastern frontier with Byzantium. His governance promised the people of Iraq stability in part by assuring them that retaliation, wrongdoing, and sedition would not be tolerated. To achieve this balance, Ziyad employed a comprehensive approach to governance that addressed the needs of the Basrans and Kufans at every level of daily life, from enrichment through land reclamation and taxation reform to equitable redistribution of the state's wealth. The survival of the state clearly depended on Ziyad's survival as an effective ruler. This feat would have been impossible without an overhaul of the architectural setting in which Ziyad governed.

3 Early Islamic Urbanism in Iraq

Known as Dar Hijra (Abode of Immigration), Iraqi garrison towns were typically located at a distance from existing cities to avoid conflict with the local population. They largely served as a base for conquering armies but quickly became nuclei for Islamic settlement.[41] Basra conformed to this model. It was founded in 638 by ʿUtba b. Ghazwan around the remnants of a ruined Sasanian town at a distance from the pre-Islamic settlement of Ubulla.[42] The town's location was chosen as a compromise between proximity to the desert and access to both grazing pastures and fresh water.[43] Similarly, Kufa was founded at a distance from the city of Ctesiphon. Aided by its scale and centrality within the empire and status as the one-time capital of ʿAli, it became known as the Dar Hijra of Muslims and the dome (qubba) of Islam.[44]

Above all, Ziyad was witness to the rapid expansion of the Islamic empire and the emergence of the early garrison towns of Iraq. On arriving in Basra, he spoke directly to the chief grievances of the populace. He promised that he would "not refuse an interview to a man who comes to me in

Muslim b. Qutaybah, *The Excellence of the Arabs* (New York: New York University Press, 2019), 40.

37 Lammens, "Ziād Ibn Abīhī," 16–17.

38 Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 12.

39 Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 5.

40 Foss, "Muʿāwiya's State," 77; and Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 4.

41 Robert G. Hoyland, "Were the Muslim Arab Conquerors of the Seventh-Century Middle East Colonialists?" *Comparativ* 30, no. 3–4 (2020): 265–66.

42 Petersen and Northedge, "The Archaeology of Early Islamic Basra," 53; Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 26.

43 Robert Hoyland, "The Founding of Basra and its Early Development," in *Basra: Its History, Culture and Heritage: Proceedings of the Conference Celebrating the Opening of the Basrah Museum, September 28–29, 2016*, ed. Paul Thomas Collins (London: British Institute for the Study of Iraq, 2019), 50.

44 Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 93.

need, no matter whether it be night or day […] not delay payment of your salaries and allowances [… and] not keep [the combatants] for long in the enemy's land."[45] He invested heavily in public works projects, including marsh-land reclamation, canal digging, and increasing arable land.[46] He also strictly applied early Islamic laws governing who could benefit from land reclamation, thereby avoiding the hoarding of un-reclaimed lands by elites. His recovery of the Sasanian land registries granted him control of land previously held by the Sasanian royal household and dramatically increased state revenue. As a result of these reforms one hundred million dirhams was reportedly sent to Muʿawiya, which could have only endeared him to the caliph.[47] Alongside other taxation reforms, the total tax income from Iraq during his tenure reached the staggering sum of 600 million dirhams, a fifth of which was sent directly to the caliph. Rather than enrich himself, as his predecessors had notoriously done, Ziyad dispensed the funds in a manner that reduced the taxation rate and thus endeared himself to the people. He also appointed Christian tax collectors to serve their own communities in a bid to limit friction among the local population.[48] The income generated freed his hands to build with few concerns over cost and little fear of rebuke from the local population, who, perhaps for the first time in their lives, saw a prosperous Iraq led by a noble governor. Sources say nothing of caliphal concerns regarding Ziyad's building. If anything, one could argue that Ziyad's patronage was viewed as an echo of that of his master and was unlikely to have raised alarm at the court in Damascus.

Ziyad used institution building and state accountability to address the endemic corruption of his predecessors, particularly of his mentor, al-Mughira b. Shuʿba, who notoriously enriched himself at the expense of civic stability and quietude.[49] Ziyad established a department of registration and an office for the sealing of official documents, known as *diwān al-zimām wal-khātam*.[50] These reforms closely adhered to the Persian models of bureaucracy that Ziyad had firsthand knowledge of as governor of Istakhr.[51] The dramatic increase in the number of combatants (*muqātila*) at both Basra and Kufa was critical to Ziyad's success. They numbered 80,000 out of a population of 200,000 in Basra, and in Kufa the number of combatants increased from 40,000 to 60,000.[52] These large forces helped create deep-seated allegiance to his command.[53]

Investment in equitable pay to the combatants was central to Ziyad's public battle against corruption and the reversal of his predecessor's damaging policy of delaying and manipulating soldiers' pay for personal financial gain.[54] He established an army-provision depot, known as Madinat al-Rizq (City of Bounty), at Basra.[55] He also constructed what became known as Qubbat al-Muqatila (Dome of the Combatants) in a field outside of Basra where the troops gathered to receive payment and perform military exercises.[56] He thereby used Madinat al-Rizq to allude to his role as a conduit for bounty and plenty (*rizq*) granted by divine grace and endowed upon God's rightful representatives. Together, the Qubbat al-Muqatila and the Madinat al-Rizq entrenched Ziyad's identity as an ethical commander worthy of the obedience and deference he demanded in his sermon in Basra.

45 Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 5.
46 Petersen and Northedge, "The Archaeology of Early Islamic Basra," 54.
47 Foss, "Muʿāwiya's State," 79; and Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 53.
48 Foss, "Muʿāwiya's State," 79.
49 Lammens, "Ziād Ibn Abīhī," 8–9.
50 Foss, "Muʿāwiya's State," 78; and Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 14.
51 Foss, "Muʿāwiya's State," 78. Ziyad furthered this practice at Basra by employing Persians who were able to manage taxation administration. See Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 53.
52 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:4; Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 16; and Foss, "Muʿāwiya's State," 79.
53 Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 15.
54 Lammens, "Ziād Ibn Abīhi," 8–9.
55 Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 16.
56 Morony, *Iraq After the Muslim Conquest*, 60.

This meant that, akin to how his master ruled from a Qubbat al-Khadra' in Damascus, Ziyad identified his own Qubbat al-Muqatila as an exaltation of his status as commander of the troops fighting for the cause of Islam. He shared this identity, first and foremost, with the Prophet Muhammad as well as with the caliphs of early Islam designated Commanders of the Faithful. The symbolism of the qubba should also not be lost here, specifically in light of previous analysis of its deployment in conquest and overarching symbolism in pre-Islam and under the Prophet Muhammad.

Ziyad understood well the "necessity to swim through a river of evil," and justify his actions later in terms of a favorable result that furthered the cause of Islam.[57] But he could not do so without a complete governmental and security apparatus. He needed highly trained security to remain safe as he performed the delicate balance of governing publicly at both mosque and palace.[58] Central to this agenda was his ability to govern safely, unhindered by threats of violence, at both mosque and palace while maintaining the model of open access promulgated by the Prophet Muhammad and Muʿawiya.[59] He delivered on promises of justice and prosperity by enforcing and upholding order through multiple means. These included ensuring prosperity through socio-economic restructuring to address the root causes of crime and the provision of security in the city through an organized police force that also kept Ziyad safe as he governed.[60]

Critically, Ziyad held firm to the reins of control at Basra and Kufa by streamlining tribal groupings for the purpose of stipend distribution. To lessen the burden on urban infrastructure while increasing the populations of the outlying provinces, he resettled populations from these cities to Khurasan and relocated troops from Iraq to Syria to serve on the front.[61] To address the serious economic disparities in Iraq that were exacerbated by his predecessor's penchant for favoring tribal elites, he redistributed wealth. This policy also assured allegiances that transcended tribal affiliations.[62] He created five groups (*akhmās*) in Basra and four in Kufa (*arbāʿ*), instead of the previous seven (known as *asbāʿ*). This blunted tribal self-autonomous rule, which posed a threat to his authority, and mollified the intertribal violence and animosity that threatened the stability of the cities under his command. To strengthen his control and allow for timely interventions in disputes, Ziyad created a tribal council of elders of 500 men from various tribes who served with a fixed salary and acted as advisers representing the interests of their clans.[63] Above this body he created a senate of companions to serve as councilors.[64]

His first act as governor of Basra was to impose a strict curfew, breaches of which were punishable by death.[65] He demonstrated his promise to retaliate with relentless force by displaying the heads of the 700 people who broke curfew, after which the city reportedly saw a time of such safety that "a woman living alone in her house did not need to close its doors in the night."[66] His police force was 4,000 strong, including cavalry and infantry.[67] At the mosque he was surrounded by guards, armed with spears (*ḥirāb*) and clubs (*ʿamūd*), who also accompanied him while he walked through the city.[68] This guard wore garb identified as Ziyadi that was likely selected by the governor.[69] Ziyad

57 Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 4.

58 For an overview of such measures, see Hussein Ali Mahafzah, "The Concepts of Security According to Ziyad Ibn Abeeh (45–53/H665–672D) through His Experience in the City of Basrah," *European Scientific Journal* 11 (2012): 87–107.

59 See Chapter 3.

60 Hasson, "Ziyād b. Abīhi."

61 Hasson, "Ziyād b. Abīhi"; and Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 16.

62 Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 7–8.

63 Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 14.

64 Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 13.

65 Foss, "Muʿāwiya's State," 77.

66 Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 10.

67 Foss, "Muʿāwiya's State," 77; and Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 10.

68 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:4. See also Foss, "Muʿāwiya's State," 77.

69 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:4.

himself famously moved through such processions in unadorned shoes or boots made of leather (*khifāf sāthiga*). This choice of footwear could have been deliberate. On one hand, it reaffirmed his austerity and distanced him from the pomp conventionally associated with such displays; on the other, it reaffirmed his identity as a man of the people, and a self-made one at that.[70]

Ziyad refurbished not one but two palaces and mosques in Basra and Kufa almost immediately upon assuming the governorship. These acts of patronage must be considered within this contentious context and in tandem with Ziyad's negotiation of the core elements of his identity as governor. The threat posed by Iraq to the viability of Muʿawiya's nascent state explains Ziyad's brand of governance and the role played by his architectural patronage. As discussed in previous chapters, the nature of Islamic governance necessitated the securing of allegiance and loyalty through favorable public perception of rulership that was dialogically intertwined with the state's architecture. Ziyad crafted and implemented his identity as governor by drawing upon an array of identities to strengthen his position and serve as a counterpoint to that of his predecessors in some instances and an analogue in others.

4 The Mosque and Dar al-Imara in Iraq

Typically built of simple materials, first reeds and later unfired mudbrick, governors' residences were usually centrally located within cities. In the garrison cities of Kufa and Basra in Iraq and Fustat in Egypt, they were constructed *ex novo*, while in the cities of Greater Syria, such as Damascus and Jerusalem, they were more often appropriated from earlier structures.[71] At Basra the early mosque founded by ʿUtba was made of reeds, like the Dar al-Imara. It was located in an open plaza known as *al-dahnāʾ* that lay across from the mosque. Basran governor Abu Musa al-Ashʿari later enlarged the mudbrick mosque and covered the roof with grass. He did the same for the Dar al-Imara, which also included a prison and the chancellery (*diwān*) where Ziyad began his career.[72] At Kufa the interconnected mosque and palace was established by governor Saʿd b. Abi Waqqas, who reportedly located the Dar al-Imara behind the qibla wall on the orders of ʿUmar following a theft of the treasury. Because the mosque was in use day and night, its proximity would have assured the safety of the treasury.[73] Saʿd b. Abi Waqqas reportedly commissioned the Persian architect Ruzbih to construct the mosque in an area at the center of the city designated for the mosque, palace, and markets.[74] This mosque was 200 cubits in length, featured red sandstone columns reportedly spoliated from al-Hira, and was constructed to accommodate the 40,000 resident combatants.[75] It may have also contained marble columns spoliated from churches for the prayer hall, upon which rested a roof in the style of "Byzantine churches." This description embedded criticism within the sources that compared Saʿd b. Abi Waqqas's choices unfavorably to the Prophet's resistance to Byzantine church emulation at this own mosque.[76] Although there has been debate about whether or not this early mosque was bounded by walls, references to what appear to be porticoes around the courtyard indicate that it likely had enclosing walls.[77] When al-Mughira b. Shuʿba was governor of Kufa, the mosque and Dar al-Imara were rebuilt again, in

70 Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, 4:191. Hadas Hirsch, "Footwear: Manners, Rituals, Culture and Fashion in Early Islam," *Antropologija* 17, no. 2 (2017): 39–42.

71 The earliest residences of Muslim rulers are in Medina. The earliest is Muhammad's residence, which was attached to the Mosque of the Prophet, built in 622. The residences of the Rightly Guided Caliphs were located close to the mosque but did not form a complex.

72 Hoyland, "The Founding of Basra," 50; and Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim," 27.

73 Creswell, *A Short Account*, 9; and AlSayyad, *Cities and Caliphs*, 57.

74 Antun, *The Architectural Form of the Mosque*, 73.

75 Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 25.

76 Antun, *The Architectural Form of the Mosque*, 75.

77 Antun, *The Architectural Form of the Mosque*, 72–74.

mudbrick, on caliphal orders. This was the architectural project to which Ziyad turned his attention in 670.[78]

When Ziyad embarked on the construction of his new mosque and Dar al-Imara in Basra, he conceived of a far more ambitious plan than his predecessors. The mosque was built in gypsum and baked brick (*al-giṣṣ wal-āgir*), materials admired by multiple chroniclers, including Ibn al-Faqih, Ibn Battuta, and Ibn Jubayr.[79] The teak roof (*ṣāj*) was borne on arches, four of which sprung from each column in the prayer hall of the mosque, which may have also included a stone dome.[80] The maqsura was constructed of teak wood and the floor was strewn with pebbles to prevent congregants from clapping the dust of their hands during prayer. The mosque was reportedly large enough to accommodate around 100,000 people. This grand size was likely a bid to accommodate Ziyad's burgeoning troops.[81] Excavations of the congregational mosque in the 1970s unearthed large sandstone column drums.[82] While it remains unclear whether these remnants date to the period of Ziyad, their presence supports accounts of monumentality preserved in textual accounts. Ziyad is also credited with moving the minbar from the center of the mosque to a location near the qibla and his maqsura.[83] This afforded him easier access from the private entrance that connected his mosque to the Dar al-Imara.[84] In a further nod to his austerity, Ziyad resided permanently in the Dar al-Imara at Basra, rather than his own residence, when he was based in the city.[85] As part of his challenge to tribal hegemony within the city, Ziyad relocated the Dar al-Imara out of the *raḥba* (open space) associated with the hegemony of the preeminent tribe of Bani Hashim and known as al-Dahnāʾ.[86] He also built a stone tower which may have functioned as a lookout (*manāra*).[87] It seems clear Ziyad's efforts are consistent with a desire to establish a secure stronghold that also exuded an air of authority and monumentality.

The Dar al-Imara in both cities served as the center for Ziyad's complex system of governance; they accordingly included provisions for the council and senate that he established. The sources paint a picture of a well-structured court geared towards upholding Ziyad's model of governance. It was evocative of Sasanian precedents and nodded to Ziyad's identity as a quasi-"man of the people." He employed no professional poets at his court because he disliked flattery, but he employed a panegyrist. He also reportedly invested substantial time in public service, particularly in consultations with his senate and council.[88] This tribal council of elders and senate of companions may have been the "possessors of the chairs" (*aṣḥāb al-karāsī*). As seen in Chapter 2, the *kursī* was at this point identified with the caliph. It is tempting to suggest that the designation of "possessors of the chairs" by Ziyad was a deliberate attempt to appease his councilmen by exalting their status within his court. These councils likely would have met with the governor in his audience hall at both cities. In a nod to Muʿawiya's attitude of open access, Ziyad reportedly asked his council of tribal

78 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 436, 400. See also Djaït, *Al-Kūfa*, 5–20.

79 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 230; and Hoyland, "The Founding of Basra," 51.

80 Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 27; Hoyland, "The Founding of Basra," 51; Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 27.

81 Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 27.

82 Petersen and Northedge, "The Archaeology of Early Islamic Basra," 56. Examinations reveal that the column drums were quarried from Jabal Sanam. Although there are no concrete links to Ziyad's patronage, this finding fits a pattern later seen at Kufa of quarrying stone for purpose-built columns, rather than recycling columns.

83 Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 75; and Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 27.

84 Hoyland, "The Founding of Basra," 51.

85 Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 27.

86 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 230; and Hoyland, "The Founding of Basra," 51.

87 Hoyland, "The Founding of Basra," 51. Creswell challenged this assertion based on a lack of multiple attestations. See Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 1:35.

88 Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 29–30.

elders to convey "the needs of those whom you have left behind for everyone cannot reach me nor can all who reach me talk to me."[89] This reflected his desire to remain in contact with the needs of his people, even as he ruled from with a fortified Dar al-Imara and prayed within a maqsura.

To manage and control access while seated within the audience hall, Ziyad employed a chamberlain (*ḥājib*), the most famous of which was Ajlan, to whom Ziyad gave a firm directive to admit at any time the herald of the prayers, night visitors, envoys of the frontier governor, and the cook when food was ready.[90] We know little of the appearance of his court, but according to Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, his audience hall included bands of inscriptions that directly quoted his al-Batra' speech, which was delivered upon his assumption of the governorship of Basra. He was known to turn to them while holding court and repeat them as a sort of mantra:

"Strictness without violence, leniency without weakness.
Allowances in their season, salaries at their appointed time.
Good men will be rewarded for their goodness, the criminals will be punished for their crime.
Free access at all times to the messenger of the frontier, governor and night visitor."[91]

Inscribing phrases from the iconic al-Batra' speech was clearly a deliberate choice on the part of the governor. It may also be the only example of its kind dating from the early Islamic period.[92] In an attempt to render vivid his promises to the people of Kufa, it seems that Ziyad rendered concrete what had been fleeting and ephemeral. While these verses include only Ziyad's end of the bargain, they complete the scene of his audience hall as a space heavily reliant on the public's perception of his authority and ability to deliver on dutiful promises and threats.

Ziyad assumed the governorship of Kufa in 670 and embarked on an ambitious program of economic and urban revival that included a substantial increase and reformulation of the resident population of inhabitants and combatants. This restructuring required the re-imagining of the mosque and Dar al-Imara. By 670 the garrison town at Kufa, like that at Basra, was home to 60,00–80,000 combatants who required a larger congregational mosque.[93] Following Saʿd b. Abi Waqqas's efforts, Ziyad reportedly sought input from a master builder from the Jahiliyya, possibly a Persian, to fulfill his vision of a lofty and impressive mosque in Kufa (Fig. 5.3). He wished for the height of the ceiling to reach thirty cubits, a feat that was accomplished by constructing columns quarried from Jabal al-Ahwaz and reinforced with lead and iron cores at the cost of 1,800 dirhams each.[94] The impressive effect of the mosque's lofty ceiling continued to impress later visitors to the mosque centuries later. Ibn Jubayr, for example, suggested that it would have had an unparalleled impact at its time of construction.[95] The specific reference to thirty-cubit high ceilings has been compared to the dimensions of the Solomonic Temple's ceiling and resonates with accounts in poetry that describe Ziyad's mosques as so wondrous as to be the "work of demons."[96] Like that in Basra, the floor of the mosque at Kufa was strewn with pebbles.[97] Ziyad's mosque in Kufa reportedly incorporated material from nearby al-Hira, perhaps in a bid to symbolically appropriate the primacy of the ancient city.[98] Scholars question

89 Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 14.
90 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:4; and Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 30.
91 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 3:4. See also Fariq, "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor," 30.
92 I am not aware of any accounts of similar textual inscriptions in early Umayyad palaces or audience halls.
93 Hoyland, "Seventh-Century Middle East Colonialists?" 265.
94 Creswell, *A Short Account*, 9; Djaït, *Al-Kūfah*, 138–39.
95 Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, 239–40; Creswell, *A Short Account*, 9.
96 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 74–78. For the reference to Solomon's Temple, see Antun, *The Architectural Form of the Mosque*, 78.
97 Creswell, *A Short Account*, 9.
98 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 444; Antun, *The Architectural Form of the Mosque*, 78–79. At the time of Janabi's report, there were marble Corinthian

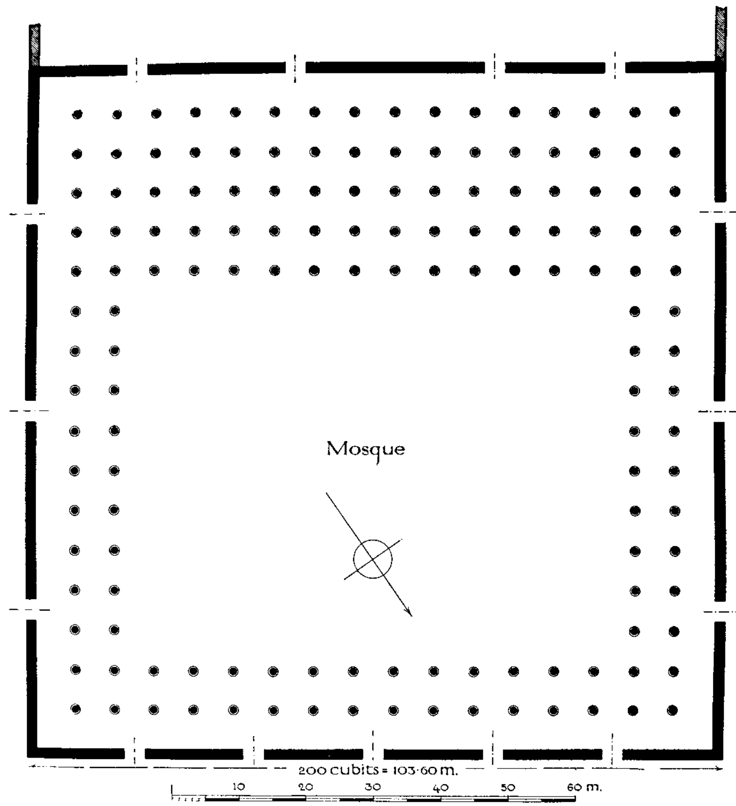

FIGURE 5.3
The Great Mosque of Kufa (reconstructed) as built by Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan. (K.A.C. Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford)

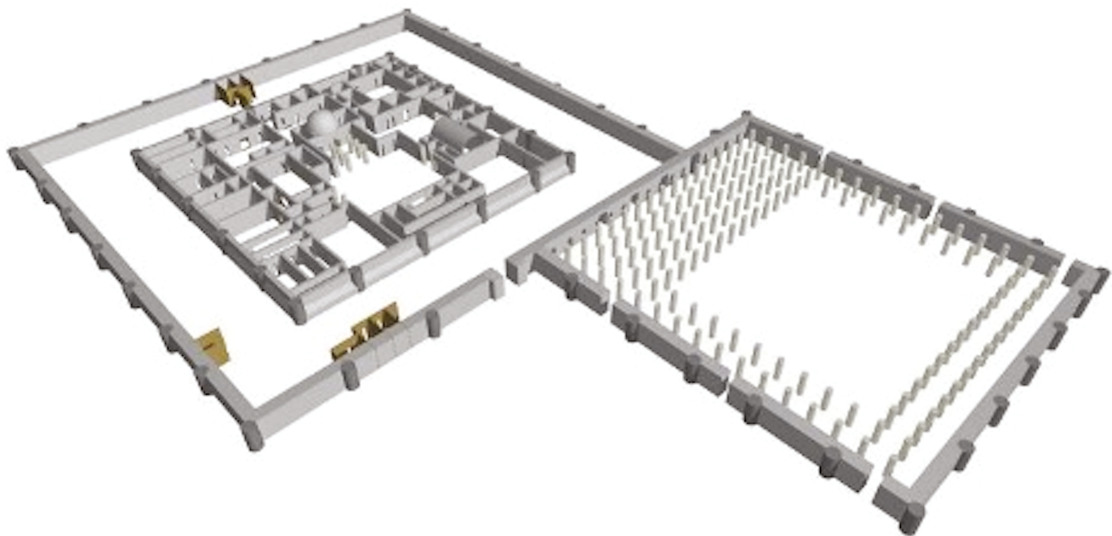

FIGURE 5.4 Reconstruction of the Dar al-Imara and Mosque at Kufa.
DRAWN BY PROGRESSIVE ARCHITECTS

whether this layering of symbolic evocations of monumentality was fabricated to exalt the status of Ziyad and his mosque; however, there are reasons to challenge such skepticism.[99]

The Dar al-Imara in Kufa, contiguous with the mosque, was first excavated in 1938 with subsequent seasons in 1953, 1956, and 1967 (Fig. 5.4).[100] The earliest excavations uncovered five distinct layers that are contested today: Layer 1 (pre-Umayyad), Layer 2 (Umayyad), Layer 3 (Abbasid, late eighth–early ninth century), Layer Four (late ninth–tenth century), and Layer Five (Ilkhanid). The earliest, Layers 1 and 2, pose the most serious interpretive challenges (Fig. 5.5).[101] The Third Season report, the most widely cited in its English translation, tentatively dates Layer 1 to either the governorship of Saʿd b. Abi Waqqas or that of Ziyad and dates Layer 2 to either the time of Ziyad or the rebuilding of the Dar al-Imara under ʿAbd al-Malik.[102] This dating is reaffirmed in multiple reports, including those authored by an archaeologist intimately involved with the excavation, Janabi.[103] However, debates around the dating of Layers 1 and 2 have been ongoing since the publication of these reports. The problem concerns the reliability of the evidence upon which the dating was established and the lack of verifiable attestations in the textual accounts. For instance, in the absence of conclusive ceramic evidence, most of which dates from the late Sasanian period, dating for Layers 1 and 2 has largely relied on the discovery of a single gold coin in the name of Byzantine emperor Heraclius (r. 610–41) found above the pavement of Layer 1 and below that of Layer 2. Scholars believe that this coin likely disappeared from circulation by the time of ʿAbd al Malik's coinage reform in 695.[104] Creswell was reluctant to accept such an early date for Layer 1 because it problematized his narrative of "primitive Islam." He instead identified Layer 1 with the patronage of Ziyad. James W. Allan later suggested that Layer 1 dated from the period of Saʿd b. Abi Waqqas's commissioning of Ruzbih for the second rebuilding of the Dar al-Imara.[105]

Later challenges to this earlier dating largely rely on a combination of critical text analysis, stylistic analysis, and, more recently, doubt regarding reliability of the excavations themselves.[106] Grabar was skeptical of the earlier dating for Layers 1 and 2, based on stylistic similarities between the palace at Kufa and later Umayyad palaces, such as Mshatta (*c.*743–44) and the complex at Amman (*c.*724).[107] Along similar lines, Hichem Djait supported the dating of Layer 1 to the period of Ziyad and argued for a post-695 date for Layer 2.[108] The lack of conclusive evidence for the earlier dating of Layers 1 and 2 has revived skepticism in recent scholarship that ranges from reiterations of the stylistic argument to a full-out questioning of the integrity of the archaeological documentation process.[109] What is certain is that Ziyad was the

capitals dating from the Umayyad period in situ at the mosque. See Janābī, *Masjid al-Kūfah*, 54–56.

99 Antun, *The Architectural Form of the Mosque*, 78–80.

100 M.A. Muṣṭafa, "Dār Al-Imāra Fī-l Kūfa," *Sumer* 13 (1957): 191–92; M.A. Muṣṭafa, "Taqrīr Awwalī ʿan Tanqīb Fī-l Kūfa Lil-Mawsim al-Thālith," *Sumer* 12 (1956): 3–32; M.A. Muṣṭafa, "Taqrīr Awwalī ʿan Tanqīb Fī-l Kūfa Lil-Mawsim al-Thānī," *Sumer* 10 (1954): 73–85. See also Creswell, *A Short Account*, 10.

101 Antun, *The Architectural Form of the Mosque*, 15.

102 Antun, *The Architectural Form of the Mosque*, 18–20; Muṣṭafa, "Taqrīr Awwalī ʿan Tanqīb Fī-l Kūfa," 30–31.

103 Janābī, *Masjid al-Kūfah*, 68–80. The Third Season report is the most substantial and is thus widely cited in its original Arabic and abridged translation by Crystal Kessler published in 1963. Kessler, "A Translation," 36–65.

104 Antun, *The Architectural Form of the Mosque*, 18.

105 Creswell, *A Short Account*, 15. Creswell sought to determine the contiguity of the Dar al-Imara at Kufa and the mosque wall, a fact confirmed in person in 1965 by then serving Director of Antiquities, Fu'ad Safar. See Creswell, *A Short Account*, 10. In subsequent editions, Creswell included an entry on the Dar al-Imara in Kufa with redrawn plans based on the excavations by Muṣṭafa.

106 Antun, *The Architectural Form of the Mosque*, 17–20.

107 Grabar, *Formation of Islamic Art*, 165.

108 Djaït, *Al-Kūfah*, 140–41.

109 For a revised chronology based on a reevaluation of the Arabic textual accounts, specifically related to the doorway connecting the mosque and Dar al-Imara dating only to Layer 2 and not the first foundation of the mosque, see Aila Santi, "Early Islamic Kūfa in Context: A Chronological Reinterpretation of the Palace, with

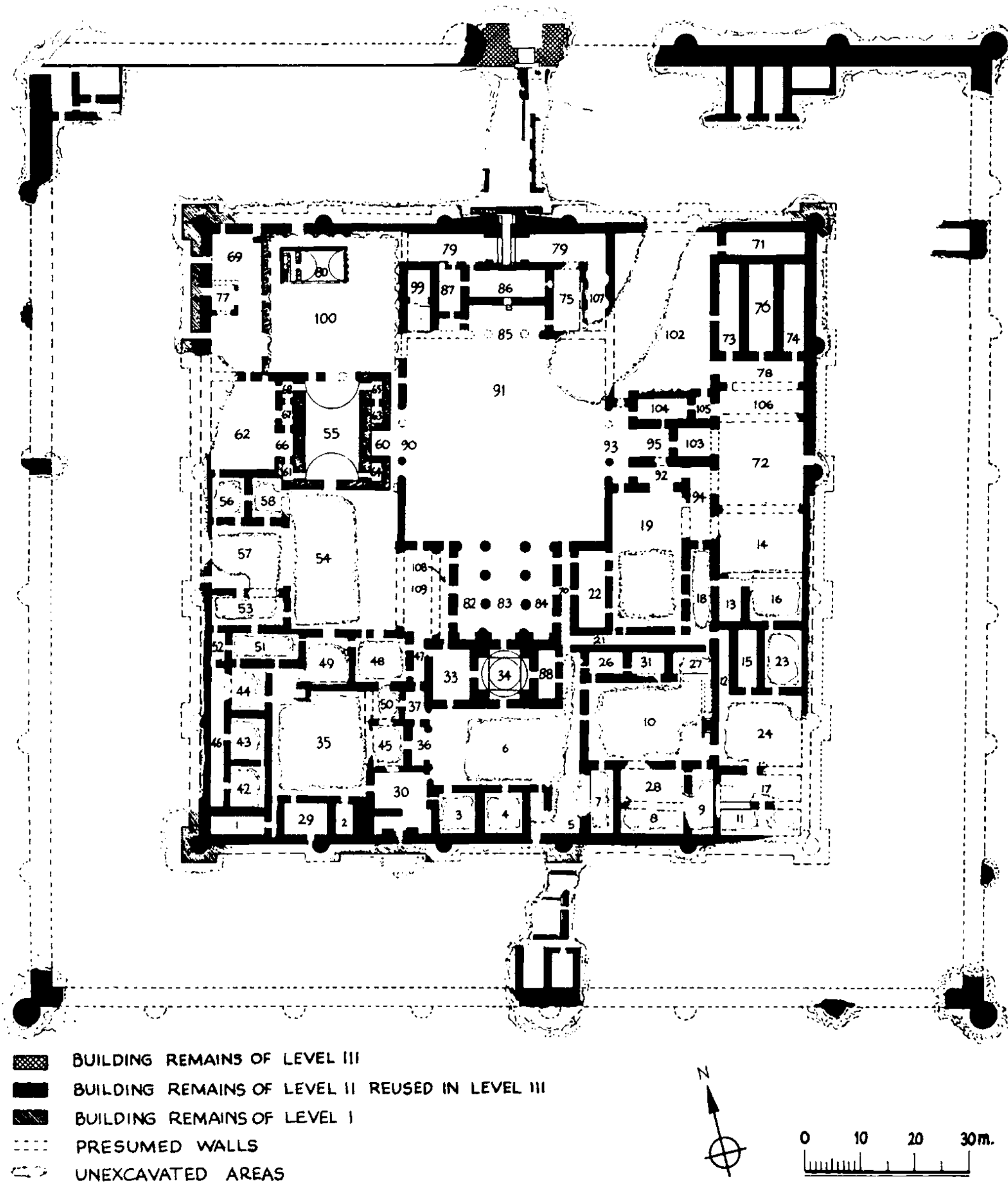

FIGURE 5.5 The Dar al-Imara at Kufa showing Layer 1, Layer 2, and Layer 3. (K.A.C. Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford)

patron of either Layer 1 or Layer 2, and Layer 3 relied heavily on the rebuilding of Layer 2. It is clear that the ground-floor plan as it stands today aligns with the complexity of the institution forged by Ziyad. It includes space for a domed audience hall, *majlis*, *dīwān*, and other dependencies.

While Creswell, Grabar, Djait, and other scholars of an earlier generation may have been reluctant to accept an earlier dating for what they perceived as an "advanced" phase of architectural development, scrutiny of precedents belies this notion. Recent radiocarbon analysis identifies Sarvistan

a Note on the Development of the Monumental Language of the Early Muslim Élite," *Annali Sezione Orientale* 78, no. 1–2 (2018): 71–72. For a challenge to this assertion, see Di Cesare, "Nota su un dipinto parietale," 113–14.

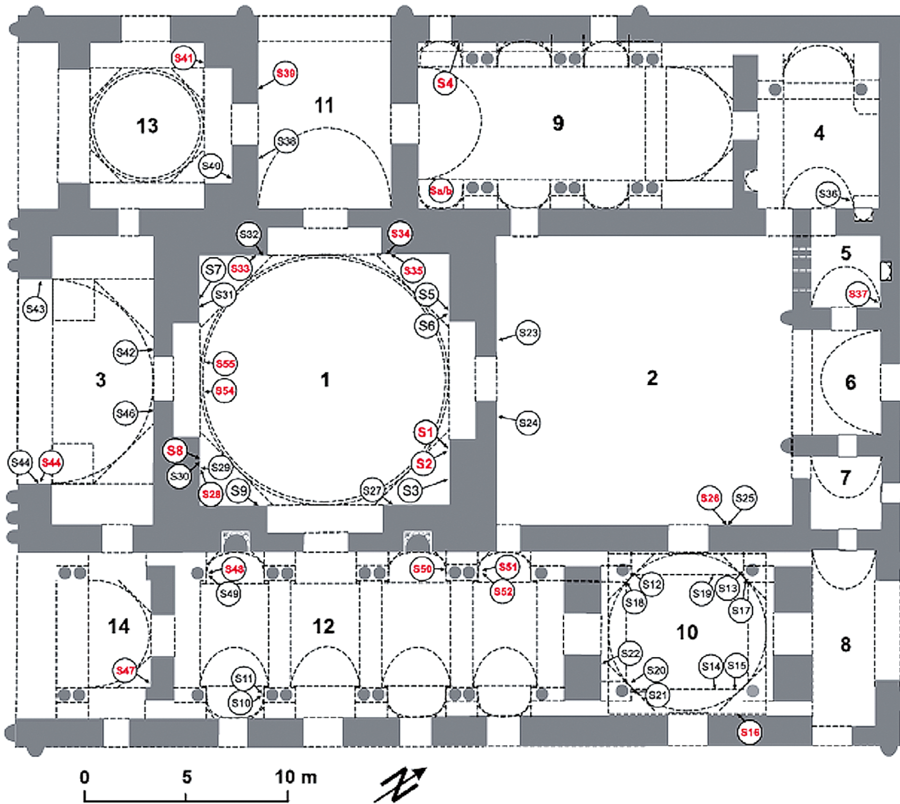

FIGURE 5.6 Plan of Sarvistan indicating locations of sampled timber. 1. Main domed hall, 2. Internal courtyard, 3. Main Iwan, 9. Western columned hall, 10. Northeastern domed hall, 12. Eastern columned hall, 11. Western entrance Iwan. Morteza Djamali et al., "An Absolute Radiocarbon Chronology for the World Heritage Site of Sarvestan," 549.

palace in Iran as a monument with a ceremonial function that began construction possibly as early as the Sasanian period and was completed *c.*650 (Fig. 5.6).[110] This happens to be the same period during which Ziyad served as governor in Istakhr. It is possible that Ziyad knew of Sarvistan, which is in close geographical proximity to Istakhr. It is also tempting to imagine that Ziyad's Qubbat al-Muqatila, a pavilion-like structure, was influenced by this precedent at Sarvistan. Ziyad's Dar al-Imara at Kufa also resembles Qasr Bani Muqatil, an aristocratic residence dating from the middle

FIGURE 5.7 The Dar al-Imara at Kufa, columned hall preceding domed audience chamber. Kessler, "Excavations in Kufa during the Third Season," Fig. 17, 66. (Crystal Kessler)

110 Morteza Djamali et al., "An Absolute Radiocarbon Chronology for the World Heritage Site of Sarvestan (SW Iran): A Late Sasanian Heritage in Early Islamic Era," *Archaeometry* 64, no. 2 (2022): 556–58.

FIGURE 5.8 Dar al-Khatib (Dar al-Imam) at the Umayyad Mosque at the Citadel of Amman, ground floor plan (Umayyad layer in red). Note the location of the qibla wall as indicated by the niche mihrab and the axiality of the entrance of the Dar to the mosque entryway. Arce, "Citadel of Amman," 209.

of the sixth century, located near Kerbala, Iraq that has been credited with influencing later Umayyad castles in Syria by way of Kufa (Fig. 5.7).[111] Their similarities are in the form of aisles that precede the domed chamber at Kufa. The aisled halls at Qasr Bani Muqatil led to a backroom, the walls of which bore ornamental stuccowork as well as black, white, and red painting. Curiously, this decorative program is identical to that uncovered in Layer 1 at Kufa, which included stucco as well as what has been identified as the earliest wall painting in Islam. This archaeological evidence suggests an even closer relationship between the two palaces, to the point of possibly sharing local craft traditions or teams of craftsmen.[112]

Scholars have previously linked the architectural configuration at Kufa to Mshatta and other later Umayyad extra-urban palaces unfettered from the need to accommodate day-to-day governance and other exigencies of urban life. A far more convincing interpretation is that the palace at Kufa was a prelude to other urban palaces, such as those in Jerusalem and Amman. Viewed in this manner, subsequent developments are revealed to be products of the architectural experimentation to mitigate security concerns first seen under Ziyad at Kufa (Fig. 5.8).[113] One example is the placement of Dar al-Khatib, or Dar al-Imam, at the citadel of ʿAmman behind the qibla wall of the mosque, which afforded the preacher a space to retreat beyond the maqsura. Recent studies on the relationship between the mosque and Dar al-Imara at the Marwanid complex at ʿAnjar also suggest the possibility of the mosque arrangement prioritizing direct access from the palace to the mosque through two doorways. These doorways have been speculatively proposed as serving the ruler or governor, with a second doorway for the ceremonial guard, a pattern seen also at the Mosque of Ibn Tulun in Cairo albeit with different functions.[114] Contestation around the dating of Layers 1 and 2 has thus resulted in an unsettled historiography into which Ziyad's palace has twice disappeared—once with its physical destruction and a second time as it languished at the edge of the canon in a state of scholarly contestation. It remains to be seen whether future archaeological scrutiny of the site and critical readings of its documentation practices will boost one side of this debate over the other.

111 B. Finster and J. Schmidt, "The Origin of 'Desert Castles': Qasr Bani Muqatil, near Karbala, Iraq," *Antiquity* 79, no. 304 (2005): 339–49.

112 Finster and Schmidt, "The Origin of 'Desert Castles,'" 341; Munir Yousif Taha, "A Mural Painting from Kufa," *Sumer* 27 (1971): 77–79; and Di Cesare, "Nota su un dipinto parietale," 116–18. Similar arguments have been made in the context of Qusayr ʿAmra. For example, see Mattia Guidetti, "The Long Tradition of the Cycle of Paintings of Qusayr ʿAmra," *Eurasiatica* 4 (2016): 189–90.

113 Ignacio Arce, "The Palatine City at ʿAmman Citadel: The Construction of a Palatine Architecture under the Umayyads (II)," in *Residences, Castles, Settlements. Transformation Processes from Late Antiquity to Early Islam in Bilad al-Sham. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Damascus, 5–9 November, 2006*, ed. Karin Bartl and Moaz Abd al-Razzaq (Rahden: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2008), 191–2.

114 Santi, "The Mosque—Dār Al-Imāra Complex at ʿAnjar," 248–50.

After 680 the Dar al-Imara of Ziyad in Kufa became the center for the rebel force led by al-Mukhtar, who used the Dar al-Imara as a stronghold until his death in 687. In 694 it fell to a Kharijite attack, and in 701 it succumbed to an attack by Ibn al-Ashʿath.[115] The destruction of Ziyad's Dar al-Imara by ʿAbd al-Malik may have been part of an attempt to erase its traumatic history as the backdrop for one of the most tragic and destructive acts of violence in early Islamic history: the slaying of al-Husayn and the displaying of his head in its audience hall.[116] An account by al-Masʿudi delivers this final chapter of Ziyad's Dar al-Imara. In a grisly variation on an architectural *mise en abyme*, ʿAbd al Malik notes how the severed head of his opponent Musʿab b. al-Zubayr, which was in that moment in his hand, had also held the head of his opponent al-Mukhtar, just as al-Mukhtar had held the head of his opponent Ibn Ziyad, who in turn had held the head of the slain Husayn. All had stood in the same ill-fated hall of Ziyad. This unsettling epiphany so startled the caliph that he ordered the destruction of the *tāq*, which likely referred to the vaulted hall that preceded the dome chamber.[117] In an echo of this destruction a descendant of a Kharijite family Ziyad had slain would later demolish his castle in Istakhr. This was a particularly significant effacement as the castle came to be known as Qalʿat Ziyad (Ziyad's castle).[118] Such erasures undoubtedly contributed to the omission of Ziyad's architectural patronage from histories of the formation of Islamic architecture. However, the questioning of the archaeology of the Dar al-Imara is also the product of a historiographical bias of architectural primitivism in early Islam and likely played a supporting role.

5 The Mosque and Dar al-Imara in Iraq Reconsidered

Ziyad's al-Batra' speech at Basra was the first shot across the bow in what would prove to be an all-encompassing and strategic bottom-up restructuring of governance. It was largely geared towards securing centralized power through the simultaneous weakening of tribal influence, taxation regulation, and expansion of the troops. Ultimately, these policies strengthened the nascent state's authority. Ziyad's decision to tether his own fate to the survival of the Umayyad polity played a central role in the formulation of his identity. The shape of his interventions in Iraq, specifically those with implications for the mosque, Dar al-Imara, and the built environment more widely, were undoubtedly in close dialogue with this process and formed a coherent whole with it. Different dimensions of Ziyad's patronage emerge when we consider aspects of monuments for which only written accounts remain. This is the case for his infamous speeches, particularly the speech delivered at the Friday Mosque of Basra in 665 following his appointment as governor. Delivered from the minbar, these speeches combined a bewildering fusion of menace and benevolence and served a crucial political as well as religious purpose. Their impact upon the Muslim community cannot be separated from his architectural patronage, which seems to echo their tenor.

Ziyad's al-Batra' speech is recognized as one of the earliest articulations of a theory of governance. Specifically, it was intended to clearly demarcate a new era of Islamic governance.[119] The sermon was named "the truncated" because it lacked the customary praise of God and blessing of the Prophet. It signaled to his audience a non-normative

115 Di Cesare, "Nota su un dipinto parietale," 107–8.

116 Antoine Borrut, "Remembering Karbalāʾ: The Construction of an Early Islamic Site of Memory," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 42 (2015): 251–2, 259.

117 Al-Masʿūdi, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, 2:87. The destruction of Ziyad's Dar al-Imara may have been part of the erasure of this traumatic history. See Borrut, "Remembering Karbalāʾ," 259.

118 Jürgen Paul, "Who Were the Mulūk Fārs?," in *Trans-regional and Regional Elites—Connecting the Early Islamic Empire*, ed. Hannah-Lena Hagemann and Stefan Heidemann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 128.

119 Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 33.

performance of the *khuṭba*. It also disclosed his willingness to step outside the realm of Islamic decorum and permissibility. These articulations expressed authority in terms of divine legitimation, hence references to the army of God (*jund Allāh*) and the treasury as the wealth of God (*māl Allāh*).[120] In this speech, Ziyad threatened to harvest the "ripened heads of his enemies." He therefore used the mosque as a platform to broadcast his intention to suppress dissent at any cost:[121]

> Whoever breaks into a house, I will break into his heart; and whoever breaks into a grave, I will bury him alive in it [...] I demand obedience from you, and you can demand uprightness from me [...] Do not be carried away by your hatred and anger against me, it would go ill with you. I see many heads rolling; let each man see that his own head stays upon his shoulders![122]

The response of the congregation is highly revealing. They pelted him with pebbles, thus forcing him to "make use of the maqsura."[123] Ziyad followed up on his promise and swiftly punished these dissidents, adjudicating from upon a *kursī* at the gate of the mosque. The dissidents were arrested and later subjected to hand amputation. This episode reveals that public performance of threats necessitated an architectural "inoculation." The efficacy of the fortified Dar al-Imara and maqsura lay in their ability to offer protection at multiple degrees of separation from the governor's body for different contexts. Forged in the crucible of a historically contingent existential anxiety, Ziyad's speeches operated as part of the propaganda war machine and as a necessary bulwark against his political rivals' speeches in Mecca and Medina.[124] His architecture appears to have functioned similarly. Architecture acted here as a panacea for an embattled dynasty whose authority was contingent upon a paradoxical need for public exposure amid constant threats of physical violence that manifested in both directions. It upheld Ziyad's divinely legitimated theory of governance as it was propagated through his speeches. This is perhaps why the inscriptions in his audience hall framed the reciprocal responsibilities of governor and governed in terms of obedience to God.[125]

Mindful of his predecessors' vulnerability as they preached at the mosque, Ziyad reinforced the close relationship between the mosque and Dar al-Imara in Iraq.[126] He ensured that he had direct access to the palace from his masqura in Basra and later in Kufa. The expanded exclusive caliphal zone, which afforded him the safety of the palace while preserving the public aspect of preaching and adjudicating within the congregational mosque, was enhanced by a series of security measures, including a personal bodyguard (*ḥaras*), a dedicated police force (*shurṭa*), and a fortified palace. These and other measures were applied strategically in the mosque and palace. Police were positioned at the gates and bodyguards were positioned around his maqsura.[127] While a similar interconnected arrangement for the mosque and palace pre-dated the Islamic conquest in some cities, including Damascus, it was not the norm throughout the empire. At Medina the residences of the Rightly Guided Caliphs were located close to the mosque, but they were not physically contiguous to it despite the precedent of the Prophet's residence attached to his mosque.[128] This was

120 Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 33.
121 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:73–76.
122 Morony, *Iraq After the Muslim Conquest*, 78–81; and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al- Farīd*, 3:4.
123 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18:99.
124 Mehdy Shaddel, "ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Al-Zubayr and the Mahdī: Between Propaganda and Historical Memory in the Second Civil War," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 80, no. 1 (2017): 16–19.
125 Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 33.
126 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 230.
127 Foss, "Muʿāwiya's State," 77.
128 Aila Santi, "The Role of Madīna in the Emergence of the Mosque-Dār al-Imāra Combination: A Preliminary Note," *Vicino Oriente* 21 (2017): 215–16.

also the case in Fustat where the Dar al-Imara was located near the mosque but did not form a complex. The appearance of this arrangement in Iraq was largely driven by the unique challenges of governance in the cities of Iraq discussed in this chapter.[129] It seems that traces of Ziyad's renowned maxim that "the wise man is not someone who uses his ingenuity to escape trouble, but rather someone who uses it to evade trouble" was operative here as well.[130]

Ziyad's patronage of the mosque and Dar al-Imara in Basra is productively re-examined in the context of his experience securing the mosque and Dar al-Imara in Basra while acting on behalf of ʿAli following the Battle of Siffin. In this power vacuum Ziyad was forced to seek protection for the most valuable possessions of a governor, the minbar and the treasury, in the home of an Azdi tribal leader, Sabra b. Shayman al-Huddani. These experiences undoubtedly strengthened his resolve to conceive of a secure headquarters that could withstand the vicissitudes of his time.[131] The monumentality and enhanced security of the mosque-Dar al-Imara complexes of Ziyad in Iraq should be contrasted with the less secure complexes of his predecessors, such as the Dar al-Imara in Kufa whose wooden doors were burnt down upon ʿUmar's order to afford unfettered access to the governor. More importantly, however, these mosque-palaces should be viewed in relation to Ziyad's master in Damascus. Despite ruling from the Qubbat al-Khadra', Muʿawiya continued to pray at a mosque located in an enclosure shared with the Christian community. Moreover, Muʿawiya failed to secure the elevated status required to preach from upon Muhammad's minbar when his attempts to relocate it were thwarted. Ziyad, on the other hand, not only sat upon a minbar but also prayed within a maqsura surrounded by guards, ruled from a fortified Dar al-Imara, and held audience in one of the earliest recorded domed audience halls, a right previously reserved for the caliph.

Ziyad's monumental rebuilding of the mosques in Basra (665) and Kufa (670) clearly responded to multiple factors localized and unique to these cities.[132] Although the land around the mosque in Kufa had been cordoned off as a zone for public use under Saʿd b. Abi Waqqas, other spaces near the mosque known as *raḥbas* became associated with illustrious figures.[133] These include the *raḥba* of ʿAli near the mosque in Kufa, where Ziyad's residence was also located when Kufa served as his capital,[134] and al-Dahnāʾ of the Bani Hashim discussed earlier in this chapter. This means that the space around the mosques in these cities had longstanding associations with important figures from early Islam. Ziyad's co-opting of these spaces for his own mosque-palace complex is certainly revealing of his own agenda. The problems posed by the *khaṭṭa* and the allocation of allotments to tribal units also created a situation in which the urban fabric did not lend itself easily to centralized control.[135] Furthermore, while the congregational Friday mosque nominally served as the center of governance in earlier periods, the smaller neighborhood mosques governed by tribal units became in practice centers of dissent and

129 It was maintained at Wasit under the Iraqi governor al-Hajjaj, for example.

130 Ibn Qutayba, *The Excellence of the Arabs*, 154.

131 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 17:166–67. Ziyad's loyalty to Azdis may have influenced his decision to offer them multiple positions later in his rule, an act that was criticized by Muʿawiya. See Gundelfinger and Verkinderen, "The Governors of al-Shām and Fārs in the Early Islamic Empire," 277.

132 For the rebuilding of the mosque at Basra, see Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 436. For the rebuilding of the mosque at Kufa, see Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 1:230. See also Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 74–78.

133 Antun, *The Architectural Form of the Mosque*, 73–74. Antun interprets the ditches surrounding the mosque as a cordon rather than the boundary wall of the mosque.

134 Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 95. See also Santi, "Early Islamic Kūfa in Context," 75–76.

135 See al-Yaʿqūbi, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 94 on the founding of Kufa.

promulgators of counternarratives.[136] In this way, they offset the impact of the *khuṭba* and posed a tangible challenge to centralized governance.[137] Countering this diffusion of authority was likely a prime motivation of Ziyad's centralizing efforts. Despite Ziyad's governmental restructuring, the mosques in Kufa and Basra remained central platforms for contentious public debate. It is therefore not surprising that they are implicated in some of the most serious events of the seventh century, including the insurrection of Hujr b. ʿAdi in Kufa and his subsequent arrest and execution. By consolidating such dissent within the Friday mosque, Ziyad may have succeeded at bringing conflict out of the shadows of tribal neighborhood mosques and under his watchful eye. However, he also created a volatile environment at the central mosques in Iraq. This is supported by multiple accounts of the use of the Dar al-Imara as a fort, such as when Yazid b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra al-Fazari sought refuge in the Khadra' palace of Wasit while under siege.[138]

Even a cursory glance at Ziyad's history suggests that his architectural patronage was likely shaped by his own trajectory in the Umayyad government and the circumstances of his ascent to power. While Ziyad's patronage undoubtedly solidified Islam's position by establishing secure and permanent headquarters in two cities embroiled in conflict, the specificity of cultural references invoked by spoliation in the mosque-palace complexes should be read within the context of Ziyad's career before he assumed the governorship. Earlier in his career, in 657, Ziyad participated in the distribution of war spoils in southern Iraq. His positions as secretary of the *diwān* and guardian of the treasury were both closely linked with war spoils, which invariably involved knowledge of their provenance. This experience would prove relevant to his later patronage. While security may have been foremost on Ziyad's mind, it alone does not explain his choices as a patron of architecture in Kufa and Basra. Rather, his architectural patronage contributed to the cultivation of a particular "Ziyadi" identity for the governor that included the invocation of exalted associations, claims to paternity, use of bodyguards, processional, and the use of Ziyadi costume.

This analysis does more than lay bare the contours of Ziyad's strategic governance. It reveals that at a critical juncture following the death of ʿAli, caliph and governor worked in tandem to secure the Umayyad empire. To secure his allegiance and entice him to switch sides, Muʿawiya offered his governor a deal he could not resist. The caliph claimed Ziyad as his brother and son of the patriarch of the Umayyad clan, Abi Sufyan b. Harb b. Umayya, and purged him of the moniker of illegitimacy, Ibn Abihi.[139] Muʿawiya's strategy had the added benefit of lining up a powerful ally to a future heir to the Umayyad throne.[140] By pursuing the *bayʿa* for Yazid based on the principle of inheritance, Muʿawiya aimed to avoid the succession crisis of his predecessors and solidify a dynasty centered on the Bani Umayya.[141] Securing Ziyad's allegiance would have only furthered that goal.

In early Islamic history, dynastic succession responded to competing ideas about legitimate rule, including election through consultation of the most meritorious to lead the community, tribal precedents of selection that prioritized age and wisdom, and principles of inheritance from father to son. This explains the struggles at the end of Muʿawiya II's brief reign. The contravention of the Islamic principle of succession confounded the caliph, who refused to pass the mantle to his

136 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 434. See also Akbar, "Khaṭṭa and the Territorial Structure," 22–32.

137 Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 434. See also Grabar, *Formation of Islamic Art*, 110.

138 Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 108–9. The term used in this context is *taḥaṣṣan biha* (sought refuge within).

139 Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam*, 40–45. See also Hasson, "Ziyād b. Abīhi."

140 Ziyad was deeply troubled by his lineage. The first thing that he reportedly did with a substantial financial reward from the caliph ʿUmar was manumit either both or one of his parents.

141 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Dūrī, *Early Islamic Institutions: Administration and Taxation from the Caliphate to the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 22.

brother Khalid. This position led to a conflict over succession, which involved Ibn al-Zubayr, Marwan b. al Hakam, and Khalid b. Yazid. It culminated in the selection of Marwan I and the transfer of power from the Sufyanid to the Marwanid line.[142] While it is tempting to speculate further about Muʿawiya's motivations for adopting Ziyad into the Umayyad clan, it appears likely, given the historical context, that he was groomed as a viable surrogate for succession or at the very least a staunch ally of Yazid. Regardless of Muʿawiya's rationale, Ziyad was evidently far more than a caliphal protégé. Currying his favor may have been a bulwark against potential uprisings that could have destabilized the empire and prohibited succession.

Ziyad was a governor who disassembled old power structures and reassembled them more robustly. He was also a social outcast who became an insider with possible hopes of allyship or even succession. Viewing Ziyad in this way nuances a theory of his ambitious architectural pursuits. Specifically, it elucidates the impact of the powers vested in him by Muʿawiya and explains his inclusion in the Umayyad clan as the caliph's kinsman, adopted brother, and champion of a future heir. It additionally clarifies how this history shaped Ziyad's decisions as a patron of architecture. To bring stability to an embattled Islamic state, caliph and governor were not in competition but worked in tandem to consolidate Umayyad authority through the establishment of secure centers for stable governance beyond the caliph's lifetime. Ziyad looked to Muʿawiya, but it is also likely that concepts flowed from the governor in Iraq to his master, the caliph in Damascus. Had he not died in 673, Ziyad likely would have played an instrumental role in the election of the next Umayyad caliph, and the history of his architectural patronage may have taken an entirely different course.[143]

142 Dūrī, *Early Islamic Institutions*, 23–24.

143 Before his death, Ziyad was consulted on the possibility of appointing Yazid I as heir apparent. See Keshk, *The Historians' Muʿawiya*, 142–43.

CHAPTER 6

Existential Anxiety, Temporality, and the End of Days in Islamic Jerusalem

1 Jerusalem under the Umayyads

The year 692 was an eventful one for Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik. It saw the end of the Second Islamic Civil War, which had pitted north against south for almost a decade and threatened to bring an end to the nascent empire.[1] Before the year was out, the caliph's armies laid siege to the stronghold of the opposition in Mecca and set fire to the Kaʿba itself, thereby ending one of the most turbulent periods in Islamic history and elevating ʿAbd al-Malik to the position of uncontested caliph of a unified Umayyad empire.[2] In the years leading up to this moment, the caliph engaged in a decidedly unwarlike activity: the construction of the Haram al-Sharif and the Dome of the Rock, a haram and shrine on the site of the former Jewish Temple (Fig. 6.1). ʿAbd al-Malik's choice to focus on Jerusalem was symbolic and strategic. The city was viewed by early Muslims as the first qibla and the location of the Masjid al-Aqsa (Farthest Mosque), which is described in the Quran, alongside the Kaʿba, as inherently blessed by God. For these reasons, early Muslims believed that the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem was the site to which the Prophet Muhammad was transported during his nightly journey and heavenly ascent. The site was later commemorated by ʿAbd al-Malik with the construction of the Dome of the Ascension (Qubbat al-Miʿraj) near the Rock (Fig. 6.2).[3] Over and above its inherent sacrality, Jerusalem was believed to be the setting for both Creation and the End of Days; its spatial fixedness was thought to suspend time in a parabolic arc between these two moments. Jerusalem's significance was further enhanced by prevalent apocalyptic anxiety that centered upon it and conceived of it as the setting for the events of the Day of Judgment.[4] These beliefs echoed and responded to the circulation of late antique eschatological anxiety, the tenor of the Quran, and the very real existential threats of internecine conflict.[5]

Before we can read the Dome of the Rock and Haram al-Sharif as a response to existential and apocalyptic anxiety, we must briefly reflect on the embattled history of the Umayyads. The Umayyads had long struggled to secure the caliphate since the death of the Prophet in 632 first sparked the succession crisis. This conflict led to ongoing and ever deepening rifts within the nascent Islamic community. The multipronged religious and political challenge to Umayyad authority was exacerbated

1 In a reversal of fortune, the caliph was also forced to commence paying tribute to the Byzantine Emperor. See Nani Gelovani, "Arab-Byzantine Relations under the Umayyad Caliphate and South Caucasus," *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity* (2013): 26.

2 Oleg Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 61–62. On the Zubayrid and Umayyad conflict centering on claims to divine sanction, see Shaddel, "ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr and the Mahdī," 18–19.

3 Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock*, 140–42.

4 For an extensive analysis, see Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest," 17–105. For a discussion of eschatological and apocalyptic tendencies in early Islam in relation to Jerusalem, see Stephen J. Shoemaker, "'The Reign of God Has Come': Eschatology and Empire in Late Antiquity and Early Islam," *Arabica* 61, no. 5 (2014): 530. For a counterargument that challenges the prominence of such apocalyptic narratives, see Mouhanad Khorchide and Klaus von Stosch, *The Other Prophet: Jesus in the Qur'an*, trans. Simon Pare (London: Gingko, 2019), 126.

5 Syriac apocalypticism, itself a product of contemporary politics of the sixth and seventh century, spread during the Umayyad period. See Averil Cameron, "Late Antique Apocalyptic: A Context for the Qur'an?," in *Apocalypticism and Eschatology in Late Antiquity: Encounters in the Abrahamic Religions, 6th–8th Centuries*, ed. Amirav Hagit, Emmanouela Grypeou, and Guy Stroumsa (Leuven: Peeters, 2017): 23–26.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2024 | DOI:10.1163/9789004690189_007

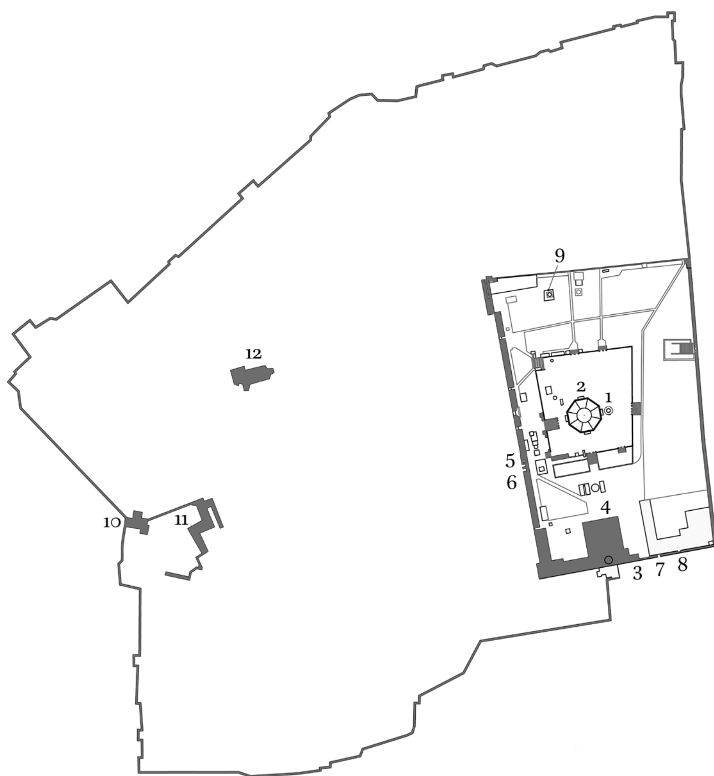

FIGURE 6.1
Umayyad Jerusalem, showing location of the Haram al-Sharif. 1. Dome of the Chain; 2. Dome of the Rock; 3. Mihrab of ʿUmar; 4. Al-Aqsa Mosque; 5. Gate of the Chain (*Bāb al-Silsila*) and the Gate of the Divine Presence (*Bāb al-Sakīna*); 6. Gate of the Chain; 7. Gate of Repentance and Mihrab Miryam; 8. Mihrab of David; 9. Throne/Seat of Solomon or *kursī* (seat) of Sulayman; 10. Jaffa Gate; 11. Citadel; 12. Church of the Holy Sepulchre.
DRAWN BY BUSHRA OBEIDAT

by their inability to lay claim to the caliphate through consanguinity, unlike their adversaries who could boast the inclusion of members of the Prophet Muhammad's family. These fractures led to the outbreak of the First Islamic Civil War, which ended with the Umayyad rise to power in 661 under the caliphate of Muʿawiya. Two decades after the end of the First Islamic Civil War, the Second Islamic Civil War erupted, splitting the Islamic empire between two caliphs: a southern caliph who ruled from Mecca and Medina, Ibn al-Zubayr (r. 683–92), and a northern caliph who ruled from Damascus and Jerusalem, the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Malik (Fig. 6.3). The Dome of the Rock emerged as a sacred site out of this contested history and so, too, did the contingency of Muslim authority upon the control of the sacred sites of Islam: Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem.[6]

This chapter explores Umayyad investment in Jerusalem as a culmination of early Islamic existential anxiety from the Islamic conquest (*c.*638) until the end of ʿAbd al-Malik's reign in 705. It frames Islamic conceptions of a future divine encounter as the apogee of audience in Islam, spurred by fears around the End of Days. It also explores the many ways in which the Umayyads expressed an understanding of divine authority mediation at the Haram al-Sharif through commemoration of sacred events and invocations of future ones. It problematizes the parameters of caliphal investment in Jerusalem, whereby caliphal identity transcended the shadow of the Prophet Muhammad's authority by presenting the architectural record that enshrined

6 M.J. Kister, "Sanctity Joint and Divided: On Holy Places in the Islamic Tradition," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996): 18–65. Such beliefs remained consistent throughout the Islamic period but saw a resurgence during the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods with the arrival of the Crusades.

FIGURE 6.2 The Dome of the Ascension (left), the Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem. The current dome post-dates the Umayyad period, with the original constructed under Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwan, *c.*692. (Heba Mostafa)

evolving medieval Islamic eschatological beliefs and focused ritual practice upon Jerusalem, specifically the Rock. Two interconnected questions shape this argument: The first queries the contingency of guardianship of the sacred precinct upon the Islamic notion of "the appointed time" (lit. The Hour or *al-sāʿa*), specifically beliefs that sanctified the Rock as God's Footstool and the future locale of the Divine Throne on the Day of Judgment. The second considers how and why ritual practice centered upon the Rock, which included anointment, performance of ritual supplications, and prayers, resolved tensions surrounding access to the divine presence in early Islam. The chapter culminates in a re-examination of the architecture of the Haram al-Sharif and Dome of the Rock as the grand finale of the assuagement of Muslim existential anxieties (Fig. 6.4). At this site in Jerusalem, Muslims adhered directly to the aura of God's celestial court and a future audience in His presence. In this way, eschatological anxieties and political survival converged.

2 The Appointed Time and the Divine Encounter

The consistent and vehement assertion of a singular, transcendent God presiding over an infinite universe in infinite time is one of the most prevalent themes in the Quran.[7] This claim encapsulates Islam's central tenets of absolute monotheism and

7 Richard Bell and W. Montgomery Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qurʾān* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970), 158; Stephen J. Shoemaker, "Muḥammad and the Qurʾān," in *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, ed. Scott F. Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1090.

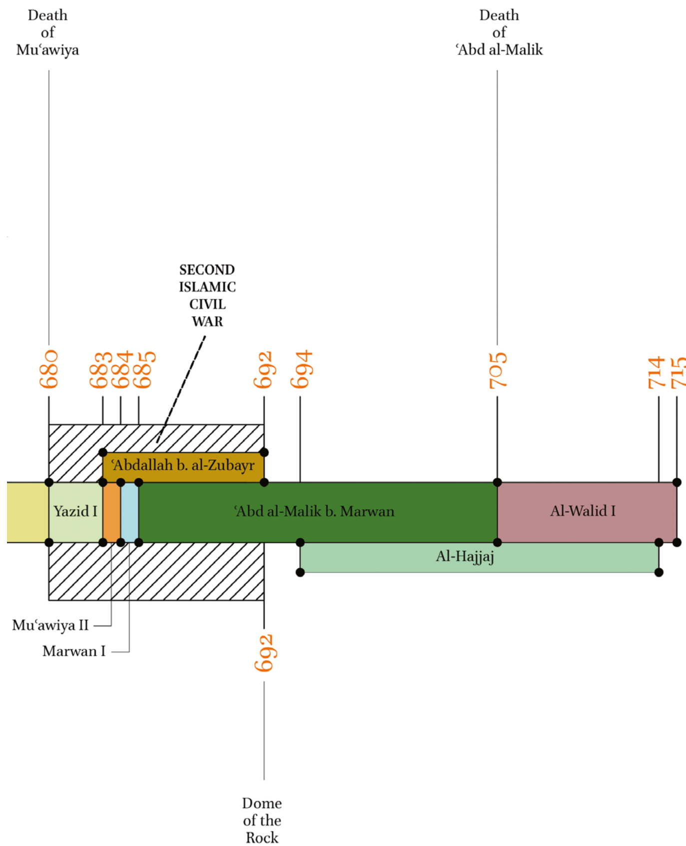

FIGURE 6.3
Timeline of Second Islamic Civil War.
DRAWN BY REHAM SHADI

belief in the End of Days (*al-imān billāh wal-yawm al-ākhir*). The latter is effectively a belief that terrestrial time will abruptly terminate and thus commence eternal life in sacred time and space.[8] Through an assertion of total submission to the one supreme God, Islam also claims to restore the primordial divine covenant with humankind.[9] This notion entails the assertion of God's mastery over Creation, the physical realm of humankind, and time; in other words, Islam presents a framework for embodied human experience. While these concepts were common in late antiquity, including within Christianity and Judaism, Islam's presentation of a pervasive, all-encompassing reimagining of pre-Islamic Arabian temporality in support of a divine hegemonic narrative is unique and has serious implications for the development of Islamic eschatological belief and ritual practice. This manifests architecturally in the Haram al-Sharif and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. As a holy site with longstanding sacral significance to early Muslims, it became the focus of sanctifying efforts that commemorated the beginning of time and its end.[10]

Muslims ascribe their belief in God's omnipotence to His creation of time. This belief requires contemplation, recognition, and gratitude for the

8 Quran 9:19 articulates the primacy of these beliefs vis a vis competing acts of righteousness, such as providing for pilgrims.

9 This covenant is defined by an abhorrence of *shirk*, or a belief in multiple deities. Polytheism as described in the Quran is not without its problems. See G.R. Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam: From Polemic to History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

10 For a recent overview, see Suleiman A. Mourad, "Jerusalem in Early Islam: The Making of the Muslims' Holy City 1," in *Routledge Handbook on Jerusalem*, ed. Suleiman A. Mourad, Naomi Koltun-Fromm, and Bedross Der Matossian (London: Routledge, 2018), 77–89.

FIGURE 6.4 The Dome of the Rock and the Dome of the Chain, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwan, 692. Jerusalem. (Heba Mostafa)

whole of God's creation, including God's hegemony over time, a novel concept in pre-Islamic Arabia. Accordingly, Islamic narratives of the creation of heaven and earth are temporally defined. Creation is to have occurred in six days when heaven and earth ascended to God "in a Day, a thousand years of those which you count," a common Quranic challenge to humankind's temporal "illiteracy" and inability to predict or measure sacred time.[11] God's acts of creation in Islam include the temporal infrastructure to measure time—the stars, the planets, and the mansions of the moon—the dissolution of which at the End of Days coincides with the end of terrestrial time.[12] A belief in God's mastery over the end of time, however, also evokes abject fear of the Day of Judgment regardless of one's piety. This dreaded moment is known as the Hour (*al-sāʿa*), a reference to the End of Days (*al-yawm al-ākhar*).[13] Second only to belief in the absolute unity of God, belief in the Hour is one of the tenets of Islam and its centrality to Islamic

11 Quran 32:4–5: "It is Allah who created the heavens and the earth and whatever is between them in six days; then He established Himself above the Throne. You have not besides Him any protector or any intercessor; so will you not be reminded? He arranges [each] matter from the heaven to the earth; then it will ascend (*yaʿrujū ilayhī*) to Him in a Day, the extent of which is a thousand years of those which you count. That is the Knower of the unseen and the witnessed, the Exalted in Might, the Merciful, Who perfected everything which He created and began the creation of man from clay." Humankind's inability to predict sacred time is a common refrain throughout the Quran. See Quran 40:49, 43:85, 47:18; and 6:13.

12 G. Böwering, "Time," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2001–6), 5:283–84.

13 Quran 40:49: "Indeed, the Hour is coming—no doubt about it—but most of the people do not believe."

thought is demonstrated by the sheer ubiquity of references to it in the Quran.[14]

Spurring Muslims to adhere to God's righteous path before time runs out, apocalyptic anxieties play a central role in Islam.[15] Vivid imagery of creation's total destruction—the sundering of the fabric of reality and the utter futility of escape or refuge on the Day of Judgment—is a refrain throughout the Quran.[16] Early Muslims addressed these anxieties through exegesis of the Quran and hadith. Such anxieties were themselves exacerbated by several decades of devastating civil wars during the second half of the seventh century that were seen by many as a sign of the End of Days. By wresting control of time and rapidly shifting the fatalistic view of pre-Islamic temporality (*dahr* and *qadar*) to a firmly prescribed, divinely appointed, and preordained temporality, Islam established a near absolute hegemony over time.[17]

Eschatological and apocalyptic thought in Islam shares motifs with Zoroastrian, Jewish, and Christian beliefs.[18] Jerusalem could become the focus of Islamic apocalyptic and eschatological thought because it was already deeply embedded in preexisting eschatological narratives of late antiquity. Islamic apocalyptic traditions positioned possession of Jerusalem as the ultimate goal of a future battle that will be fought between a messianic (*al-mahdī*) and anti-messianic figure (*al-dajjāl*). It is destined to conclude with the Messiah heralding the Day of Judgment and leading an army of the faithful to Jerusalem.[19] Specifically, this battle was imagined to culminate at the Haram al-Sharif, where divine judgment will commence with the appearance of God's celestial court. Accounts describe the magnificent transformation of the Haram al-Sharif into a celestial court on this day. A dome of light will descend upon the Rock, upon which God will sit enthroned and act as judge in a future audience that includes all humankind since Creation.[20] To become God's Throne, the Rock will grow and transform into "white coral."[21] Following judgment, humankind will traverse a narrow path (*al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*) leading from the Haram al-Sharif to either a life of eternal bliss in heaven or damnation in hell.[22] Standing on either side of God's Throne, the Prophets Muhammad and Jesus play central roles within the choreography of this celestial court. Christ's return is linked to his knowledge of the divine mystery of the Hour, while Muhammad's is associated with his role as intercessor on behalf

14 The Quran outlines this notion by referring to the "Knowledge of the Hour," which includes an understanding of the "Signs of the Hour" (*ʿilm al-sāʿa* and *ʿalamāt al-sāʿa*). See Quran 47:18, 7:187, 33:63. God's dominion of heaven and earth is coupled with his exclusive knowledge of the Hour. See Quran 43:85.

15 The sudden arrival of the Hour that takes disbelievers by surprise is also a common theme. See Quran 47:18, 6:13.

16 Jean-Pierre Filiu and M.B. DeBevoise, *Apocalypse in Islam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 3–7.

17 Gerhard Böwering, "The Concept of Time in Islam," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 141, no. 1 (1997): 58–61.

18 Cameron, "Late Antique Apocalyptic," 6; Bill. T. Arnold, "Old Testament Eschatology and the Rise of Apocalyptism," in *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology*, ed. Jerry L. Walls (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 23–39; John. J. Collins, "Apocalyptic Eschatology in the Ancient World," in *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology*, ed. Jerry L. Walls (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 41–47. It is important to note the shared attributes with ancient Israelite eschatology, particularly in the context of Jerusalem.

19 Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, ed. Isaac Hasson, Silsilat Maks Shlūsinjir al-tadhkārīyah. Texts 3 (al-Quds: Dār Māghnis lil-Nashr, al-Jāmiʿah al-ʿIbrīyah fī Ūrushalīm, 1979), 62–3; Ofer Livne-Kafri, "Jerusalem in Early Islam: The Eschatological Aspect." *Arabica* 53, no. 3 (July 2006): 383; Heribert Busse, "Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam," *Judaism* 17, no. 4 (Fall 1968): 468.

20 Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest," 34–36.

21 Busse, "Sanctity of Jerusalem," 456; Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500* (London: Alexander P. Watt, 1890), 121–25.

22 Muqātil b. Sulaymān al-Balkhī, *Tafsīr*, ed. ʿAbdallāh Mahmud Shihata, 5 vols. (Beirut: Dar Ihya' al-Turāth, 2010), 2:514.

of believers on the Day of Judgment.[23] Some of these accounts address the Rock's erstwhile loss of sanctity after the qibla is transferred to the Kaʿba in Mecca by suggesting that it will serve as God's Footstool as a consolation.[24] In a true union and reconciliation of the sacred, the Kaʿba will be transported to Jerusalem at the End of Days with paradise as its bride, while the black stone will be wedded to the Rock.[25] Through a supernatural union of the principal *loca sancta* of Islam at the end of time, the problem of sacral primacy is thus resolved.

Entangled with the rampant apocalyptic anxieties of the time are the history of sectarian violence and the need to seek refuge in spaces of non-violence. Traumatized by decades of devastating civil wars that were seen by many as a sign of the End of Days, early Muslims adopted an apocalyptic mindset and likely sought refuge in pilgrimage to the sacred cities of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. Islamic apocalyptic and eschatological thought thus shaped the sacral identity of the Holy Land and Jerusalem through the circulation of accounts that presented an intricate choreography for the events of the End of Days.[26] Mirroring late antique trends, early Muslims further responded to apocalyptic anxiety through ritual practice, primarily in Jerusalem.[27] In this way, they reconciled existential fears by probing the spatial, symbolic, and temporal ambiguities of sacred space. As one of three principle sacred enclosures in Islam, the Haram al-Sharif presented a rare opportunity for an embodied experience of sacred space and time through ritual practice in an era of widespread existential anxiety.[28] Rituals and practices commemorating the Rock at the center of the Haram al-Sharif were an effective resolution to this paradox of experiencing the sacred in time. They skirted the fine line between embodied experience of divine presence without contravening Islam's iconoclastic teachings.[29]

3 The Dome of the Rock in the Shadow of God's Celestial Court

Jerusalem came under Muslim control only four years after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. Immediately upon gaining control of the city, Muslims reportedly rehabilitated the Temple Mount and began to pray on the site.[30] It was further sacralized through ritual practices that may date from as early as the post-conquest period (636/7–60) and almost certainly included the Rock itself.[31] It is likely that either the stoa of the original temple was re-used or a simple structure was erected on the southern side of the enclosure during the governorship of Muʿawiya.[32] The

23 Filiu and DeBevoise, *Apocalypse in Islam*, 4.
24 Busse, "Sanctity of Jerusalem," 456.
25 Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*, 2:514; al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 92. For a close reading of anthropomorphizing the sacred in relation to the Kaʿba, see Shalem, "The Body of Architecture," 173–88, esp. 179–82.
26 Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers*, 143–44.
27 Livne-Kafri, "Jerusalem in Early Islam," 382–83.
28 The sites designated as *ḥaram* include the shrine in Mecca and Medina along with others in the Holy Land.
29 This is despite later controversies over the anthropomorphic nature of these accounts in orthodox Islam. See Wesley Williams, "A Body Unlike Bodies: Transcendent Anthropomorphism in Ancient Semitic Tradition and Early Islam," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 129, no. 1 (2009): 19–44. For a discussion of ritual practice at the Dome of the Rock and associations with the parallel rituals at the Solomonic Temple, see Heribert Busse, "The Temple of Jerusalem and Its Restitution by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān," in *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Bianca Kühnel (Jerusalem: Center for Jewish Art, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1998), 23–33.
30 In other accounts, Caliph ʿUmar requires the council of Kaʿb al-Ahbar. See Busse, "The Temple of Jerusalem," 23–33; Oleg Grabar, "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem," *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959): 38–52. For a discussion of ʿUmar's prayer at the site, see Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock*, 43–44.
31 Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 28.
32 For a critical assessment of the Latin sources that challenges the reading of this early structure as unassuming, see Lawrence Nees, "Insular Latin Sources,

Haram al-Sharif can therefore be situated along a continuum of resacralization efforts that initially leveraged Quranic narratives and traditions of the Prophet under the first caliph, ʿUmar, were consolidated by the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, Muʿawiya, and culminated under ʿAbd al-Malik and his two sons, al-Walid I (who completed his father's work on the Mosque of al-Aqsa) and Sulayman (who constructed parts of the palace to the south of the enclosure). Thus, by the end of the Umayyad period, two fundamental ideas about the Haram al-Sharif had nearly coalesced: the centering of the events of the End of Days upon Jerusalem and the contingency of Muslim authority upon the control of all sacred sites of Islam, including Mecca and Medina.

There is little doubt that the compounded effects of the loss of the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina during both Islamic civil wars were critical to spurring Muʿawiya's investment in the rehabilitation of the Haram al-Sharif and further investment by his successor, ʿAbd al-Malik. Competition over Mecca and Medina also explains the caliphs' investment in promulgating narratives that center the Day of Judgment upon both Mecca and Jerusalem through hadith explications and Quranic exegesis.[33] This connection is revealed by the commemorative practices at the sacred cities of Jerusalem and Mecca during the early Islamic and Umayyad period, which resonate in ways that reveal an understanding of their inherent and conjoined sanctity. Both the Dome of the Rock and the Kaʿba were incensed in elaborate rituals that amplified their otherworldly nature. To broadcast their sanctity, their exteriors received similar treatments. In pre-Islam the Kaʿba was venerated by covering it with cloth and red leather. This practice was imitated at the Dome of the Rock under ʿAbd al-Malik, who authorized the use of leather and wool coverings to shield the shrine during winter.[34] After the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet elected to cover the Kaʿba with Yemenite cloth, while the caliphs ʿUmar and ʿUthman chose to use Coptic textiles.[35] In typical fashion, the Umayyad caliphs and governors opted for luxurious silk covers for the Kaʿba's draping, which echoed the gold mosaic exterior of the Dome of the Rock. The use of external mosaic sheathing at the Dome of the

'Arculf,' and Early Islamic Jerusalem," in *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Essays on Medieval Europe in Honor of Daniel F. Callahan*, ed. Michael Frassetto, John Hosler, and Matthew Gabriele (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 79–100.

33 The context of the Second Islamic Civil War is deeply implicated in the history of the Haram al-Sharif and early Muslim pilgrimage. Al-Yaʿqubi and Eutychius both claimed that ʿAbd al-Malik attempted to create a rival pilgrimage site to Mecca, which had been seized during the Second Islamic Civil War. They supported this claim by asserting that ʿAbd al-Malik, fearing the influence of Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca upon his Syrian followers, banned the hajj and instead diverted pilgrimage towards Jerusalem. Creswell and Goldziher endorsed these views. They suggested that the monument evoked the commemorative and sacred qualities of the Kaʿba and therefore relayed an image of "Islam Triumphant" that addressed the historical and political context of the period. Goitein refuted this contention on several fronts. He pointed out al-Yaʿqubi's bias against the Umayyads and his Shiʿi leanings, while factual errors in al-Yaʿqubi's and Eutychius's accounts further cast their accuracy into doubt. I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1889), 2:35–37; Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 42–94; Creswell, *A Short Account*, 17–18; Shelomo Dov Goitein, "The Historical Background of the Erection of the Dome of the Rock," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 70, no. 2 (1950): 104–8. Al-Yaʿqubi's text is reproduced in Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 1:43. See also al-Muqaddasi, *Aḥsan al-taqasīm*, 159–171. This reading of the Dome of the Rock is challenged by Grabar, "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock," 35–40 and Amikam Elad, who argues that sources reliant on earlier Umayyad sources endorse similar views and therefore cannot be disregarded so easily in the same manner as al-Yaʿqubi. Despite its assertion that ʿAbd al-Malik "banned" the hajj, the text that Elad relies upon, the work of Sibt b. al-Jawzi, offers a certain degree of ambiguity. For example, he states: "so he built for them the *qubba* and the mosque of al-Aqsa to *distract* them from the pilgrimage." Amikam Elad, "Why Did ʿAbd Al-Malik Build the Dome of the Rock? A Re-Examination of the Muslim Sources," in *Bayt al-Maqdis: ʿAbd al-Malik's Jerusalem*, ed. Julian Raby and Jeremy Johns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 53.

34 Al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 82.

35 Bursi, "Scents of Space," 203.

Rock was an unprecedented choice in late antiquity and potentially a translation into mosaic of the richly decorated cloth kiswa of the Kaʿba.[36] In this way, the Umayyads visually and ritually integrated the shrines at Mecca and Jerusalem into a coherent sacred geography under their guardianship.[37] The context of competition over guardianship of Islam's sacred cities is also vital to understanding the caliphs' choice of Jerusalem and the Haram al-Sharif as the site of their accession ceremonies. At the close of the First Islamic Civil War in 661, Muʿawiya received one of several oaths of allegiance in Jerusalem. ʿAbd al-Malik's accession ceremony in Jerusalem decades later, at the end of the Second Islamic Civil War, institutionalized associations between caliphal authority and Jerusalem's sanctity.[38] Unlike Muʿawiya, however, ʿAbd al-Malik ruled a divided empire with a counter caliph, Ibn al-Zubayr, who ruled from Mecca and Medina.

The historiography of the Haram al-Sharif and the Dome of the Rock has long been informed by this context of vying sanctities and caliphal legitimatization through ritual practice and architectural commemoration. What has emerged over decades of art historical discourse is a repertoire of interpretive attempts to understand the multi-faceted nature of this complex monument and its sacred precinct (Fig 6.5). The context of political competition during the Second Islamic Civil War has naturally shaped scholarly interpretations of ʿAbd al-Malik's investment in the Haram al-Sharif, specifically interpretations of the Dome of the Rock.[39] These interpretations view investment in Jerusalem as part of competitive discourse around sanctity and rightly identify the Dome of the Rock and its sacred precinct as serving a vital political function.[40] Other arguments consider various contexts that position the Dome of the Rock as part of a complex narrative of Umayyad legitimacy.[41] Current scholarship has come to recognize the limitations of cleaving to polarized readings. Scholars are instead nuancing the political and the religious to consider interpretations that engage a spectrum and expand the interpretive horizon.[42]

Along this spectrum are interpretations that more closely engage Jerusalem's eschatological dimensions and take both the political and religious into account. These include interpretations of the Haram al-Sharif and the Dome of the Rock

36 On the coverings of the Kaʿba, see al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 76. For an exploration that follows this reasoning and considers the impact of textiles on the decorative arts of Islam in general, see Golombek, *The Draped Universe of Islam*, 25, 34. Precious cloth is invoked in the Quran in multiple instances, specifically as adornment for the couches of paradise. See Quran 55:54.

37 For a consideration that the Dome of the Rock evokes other qualities of the Kaʿba's sanctity, see Khoury, "The Dome of the Rock, the Kaʿba, and Ghumdan," 57–60.

38 Marsham, "The Architecture of Allegiance," 100–101. For the possible survival of remnants of a mosque constructed by Muʿawiya, see Beatrice St. Laurent and Isam Awwad, "The Marwani Musalla in Jerusalem: New Findings," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 54 (2013): 7–30.

39 Nasser Rabbat, "The Dome of the Rock Revisited: Some Remarks on al-Wasiti's Accounts," *Muqarnas* 10 (193): 71–73.

40 Grabar, "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock," 33–62; Rabbat, "The Dome of the Rock Revisited," 67–75.

41 The scholarship on this topic is fittingly vast. See Grabar, "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock," 33–62; Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, *The Early Islamic Monuments of Al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf: An Iconographic Study* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem Institute of Archaeology, 1989); Khoury, "The Dome of the Rock, the Kaʿba, and Ghumdan," 57–65; Rabbat, "The Meaning of the Umayyad Dome of the Rock," 2–21; Rabbat, "The Dome of the Rock Revisited," 67–75; Van Ess, "ʿAbd Al-Malik and the Dome of the Rock," 89–103; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship*; Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock*; Kaplony, *The Ḥaram of Jerusalem*; Amikam Elad, "ʿAbd Al-Malik and the Dome of the Rock," *Jerusalem Studies* 35 (2008): 167–226; Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest," 17–105; Rina Avner-Levy, "The Dome of the Rock in Light of the Development of Concentric Martyria in Jerusalem: Architecture and Architectural Iconography," *Muqarnas* 27 (2010): 31–49; George, "Paradise or Empire?," 39–67; George, "The Dome of the Rock," 185–97; Milwright, *The Dome of the Rock and Its Umayyad Mosaic Inscriptions*; Lassner, *Medieval Jerusalem*.

42 This point is articulated in George, "Paradise or Empire?," 59–60.

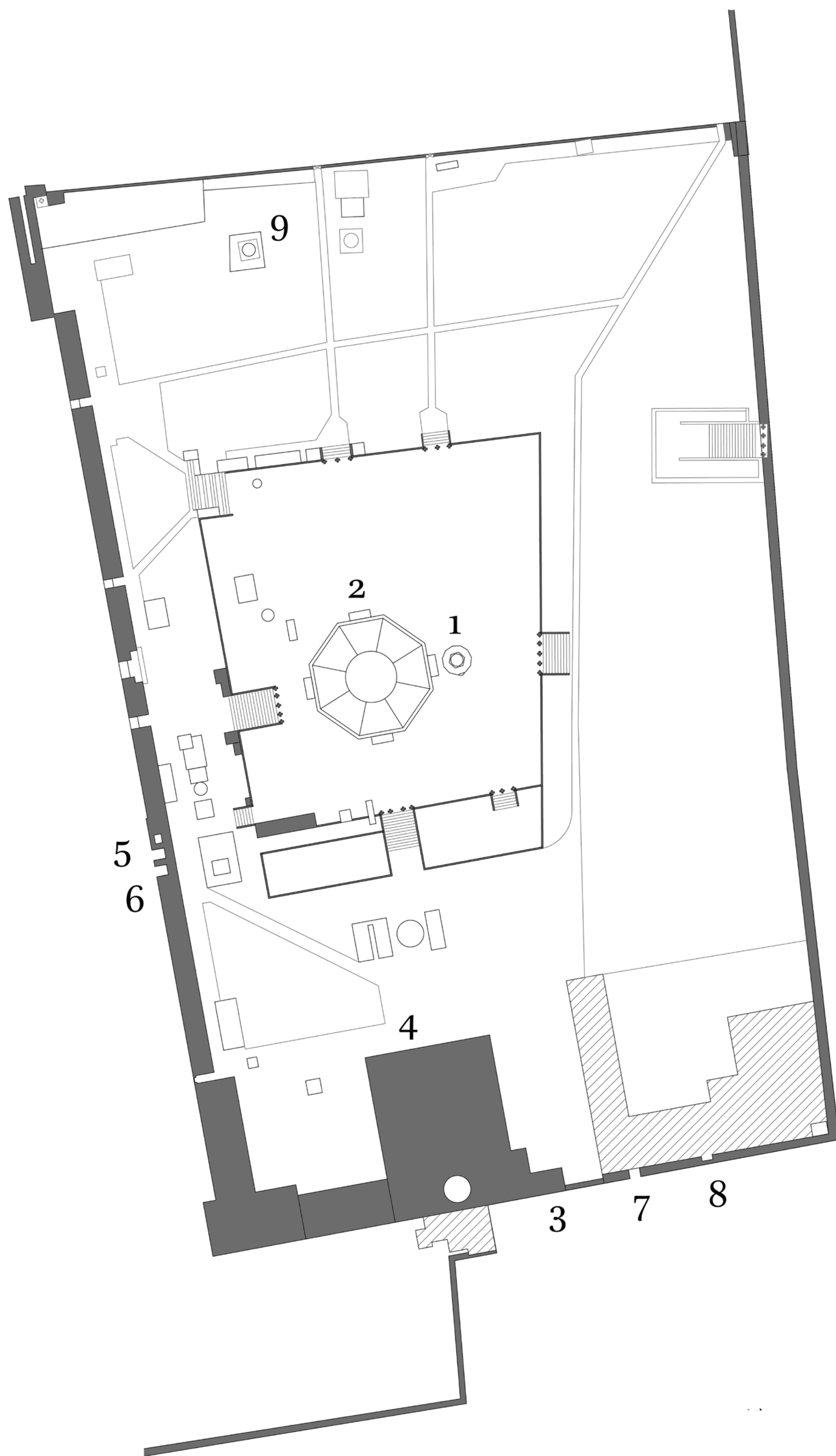

FIGURE 6.5 Layout of the Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem. 1. Dome of the Chain; 2. Dome of the Rock; 3. Mihrab of ʿUmar; 4. Al-Aqsa Mosque; 5. Gate of the Chain (*Bāb al-Silsila*) and the Gate of the Divine Presence (*Bāb al-Sakīna*); 6. Gate of the Chain; 7. Gate of Repentance and Mihrab Miryam; 8. Mihrab of David; 9. Throne/Seat of Solomon or *kursī* (seat) of Sulayman.
DRAWN BY BUSHRA OBEIDAT

that foreground the monument's role in the End of Days and Day of Judgment.[43] The iconography of the Dome of the Rock and the complex choreography of pilgrimage that emerged around it, moreover, encoded eschatological beliefs and practices. This iconography of a future divine audience was propagated and preserved in oral accounts, ritual practices, pilgrim guides, and Books of Merits intended to valorize Jerusalem's status as a holy city and guide the faithful toward an experience of its sanctity.

The entanglement of religious and political authority during this period warrants a brief exploration of the implications of invoking God's Throne and Footstool in Jerusalem in relation to early Islamic caliphal authority. God's Throne as a two-part entity—the *ʿarsh* (throne) and the *kursī* (footstool)—is also a metaphor for God's dominion and absolute sovereignty.[44] Historical accounts and exegetical treatises emphasize the overarching notion of the throne as a cosmological structuring element whereby God's Throne towers above the highest heaven.[45] Most treatises classify references to God's Throne along broad narrative themes that include the act of Creation, the upholding of the divine order, and the End of Days.[46] God's Throne and Footstool are thus rendered along cosmological lines defining God's relationship with all of creation, but they are also articulated as the pinnacle within a hierarchy of divine authority mediation.[47] Within this cosmology, divinely granted authority is mediated by sacred covenants that bind God to His agents; the prophets, messengers, angels, and mortals over whom He presides.[48] It stands to reason that in the Quran, God's Throne is frequently referenced (a total of twenty-two times) in relation to His omnipotence and hegemony over humankind and the cosmic order. The Quran paints a vivid image of this order in which "heavens erected without pillars" preside over an earthly realm of "spread earth" and "firmly set mountains with land of neighboring plots and gardens of grapevines and crops and palm trees," all watered with "one water."[49] God's Throne is specifically described as a "throne on water,"[50] a designation that draws upon universal associations between water, fertility, and sanctity. It also recalls the pre-Islamic Arabian belief that deities dwell near abundant water and vegetation.[51] In addition to defining God's dominion through possession of the Throne, the Quran and other early sources establish a paramount role for the Throne in Creation and the End of Days.[52] Descriptions of God's Throne permeate the sources in accounts of Creation. According to Wahb b. Munabbih, during the creation of Adam, the Throne's adornment included the proclamation of faith and Muhammad's name written in light in a sign of Muhammad's future prophethood.[53] In a further affirmation of the Throne's connection to prophets, God speaks of Joseph and Muhammad's grace

43 Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest," 17–105.

44 Cl. Huart and J. Sadan, "Kursī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. Brill, 2012, accessed June 30, 2023, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4551. Islamic conceptions of God possessing a throne persist despite the complexity of later exegetical discourse and the often-fraught anthropomorphic implications of a seat for the divine. Thomas J. O'Shaughnessy, "God's Throne and the Biblical Symbolism of the Qur'ān," *Numen* 20, no. 3 (1973): 202; Williams, "A Body Unlike Bodies," 19–44.

45 L'Orange, *Cosmic Kingship*, 4, after Ezekiel 1:26.

46 O'Shaughnessy, "God's Throne," 202–21.

47 Kaplony, *The Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 38–42.

48 Quran, 2:285. See also Mostafa, "Locating the Sacred," 13–15.

49 Quran, 13:1–4.

50 Quran, 7:11. "And it is He who created the heavens and the earth in six days—and His Throne had been upon water—that He might test you as to which of you is best in deed. But if you say, 'Indeed, you are resurrected after death,' those who disbelieve will surely say, 'This is not but obvious magic.'"

51 Zahran and Hoyland, *The Lakhmids of Hira*, 69. The goddess al-ʿUzza was believed to dwell in a palm tree, for example.

52 Permeating these narratives are allusions to angelic throne bearers. Following Creation, God "rests upon His throne." See Quran 13:1.

53 Raif Georges Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1972), 1:14.

in terms of the light of His Throne and Footstool: “I have covered Joseph with the light of my seat (*kursī*) and covered Muhammad with the light of my throne (*ʿarsh*).”[54]

It stands to reason that God’s Throne plays a prominent role in Islamic eschatological narratives, which unsurprisingly coalesce around both the Kaʿba in Mecca and the Rock in Jerusalem. This connection is best illustrated by accounts that conceive of the Kaʿba as both God’s House and the earthly locus of God’s Throne that was established following Adam’s fall.[55] Subsequent habitation of the earth (*khilāfa*) by Adam’s descendants is firmly associated with the Kaʿba in Mecca and God’s Throne.[56] To console Adam in his terrestrial exile, God entrusts Gabriel to lead him to the sacred site in Mecca. There God endows Adam with a tent (*khayma*) of paradise and a white sapphire (*yaqūta*) to act as his seat (*kursī*).[57] In an account by al-Azraqi, this tent is described as God’s House (*bayt Allāh*), a precursor to the Kaʿba as rebuilt by Abraham, to be “circumambulated as God’s Throne is circumambulated, and to be prayed before like God’s Throne is prayed before” by the angels.[58] Thus, through circumambulation, prayer, and pilgrimage, God’s covenant with Adam, his viceregency (*khilāfa*), and, by implication, the successorship of humankind pivot upon a divinely chosen earthly focus that anchors the locale of a celestial entity and mirrors ritual practices by angelic attendants at His celestial court.

The Rock itself plays a prominent role in eschatological narratives. Sources describe the descent of a celestial dome of light upon which God enthroned will act as judge. The earliest Islamic narrators, such as Abu Bakr al-Wasiti (eleventh century) and Muqatil b. Sulayman (d. 767), identify the Rock in Jerusalem as “God’s nearest throne.”[59] They establish the Rock as the place where God ascended to heaven after Creation and the site of His Throne on the Day of Judgment, thereby associating it with both the end and beginning of time.[60] Speaking directly to the Rock, God defines its sacrality in terms of His Throne and judgment:

> “This is My Station and the place of My Throne on the Day of Resurrection, and the place of the Gathering of My servants, and this to the right (west) is the place of My Paradise, and this to the left (east) is the place of My Fire, and in front of it shall I set up My Scales, for I am God, the Judge on the Day of Judgment!”[61]

Consequently, scholars interpret the Dome of the Rock along cosmological and eschatological lines. They define the Rock’s sanctity in terms of its connection with the future location of the Divine Footstool and belief that God’s Throne hovers above it.[62] Such readings closely align with the ancient Near Eastern conception of a world structured around a central axis—an *axis mundi*,[63] or *quṭb* as it was known in Arabic poetry—intertwined with kingship and prophethood alongside the receipt of divine grace and divine light.[64] Its centrally planned design that promotes ritual circumambulation and pilgrimage supports this connection to

54 Al-Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, 184.

55 Francis E. Peters, *Jerusalem and Mecca: Typology of the Holy City in the Near East* (New York: New York University Press, 1987).

56 Leigh N.B. Chipman, “Mythic Aspects of the Process of Adam’s Creation in Judaism and Islam,” *Studia Islamica*, no. 93 (2001): 5–25.

57 Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 61; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 75. For a similar account that includes Gabriel leading Adam to the site, see Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, 1:17.

58 Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 1:63. For the circumambulation of the Kaʿba mirroring the circumambulation of God’s Throne, see al-Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, 147.

59 Al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 69; Kaplony, *The Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 45.

60 Al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 70–71; Kister, “Sanctity Joint and Divided,” 62.

61 Al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 69; Necipoğlu, “Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest,” 35.

62 Van Ess, “ʿAbd al-Malik and the Dome of the Rock,” 100–104; Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 92.

63 Wendell, “Baghdad: Imago Mundi,” 99–104.

64 Jamil, “Caliph and Quṭb,” 15.

a central axis, while later inclusions of the Quranic Throne Verse within the inscriptions further resonate with Muslim understanding of the site's sanctity (Fig 6.6).[65] Viewed through this cosmological lens, the Kaʿba and the Dome of the Rock can thus be regarded as two pilgrimage sites, located beneath God's Throne, serving complementary symbolic purposes in Creation and the End of Days.[66]

Within this divine hierarchy resides the notion of *khilāfa* or successorship to God, which over time became synonymous with the Umayyad caliphate.[67] This concept aligns with the cosmologies of late antiquity and the ancient Near East. In his position of divinely appointed upholder of justice and order, the ruler was analogously considered to be the lynchpin in a divinely ordained hierarchy. Both the ruler and the throne were therefore imbued with this sacral charisma, whereby the "shared mystique of power and the sacred" intertwined.[68] Akin to late antique and ancient Near Eastern cosmologies, Muslim caliphs positioned themselves within this hierarchy. In the case of the Umayyads, this positionality took the form of commemorating the earthly locales upon which God's Throne was believed to center. Such choices closely align with how the Umayyad caliphs perceived of their own authority in terms of God's Throne. For instance, in the poetry of the period, Yazid b. ʿAbd al-Malik's authority is granted "by order of him whose throne is above the seven heavens and who holds the secret of the waters of the seven earths," while his brother Hisham is cast as the "protector and executor of divine justice, light of guidance, and medium for the life-giving rains, who personally clasps the seven heavens and earths in his hand."[69] The Umayyad court poet al-Farazdaq (*c.*641–728/30) describes the station of the caliph al-Walid I within this cosmology as the station where people "let their saddles down," having ridden "to a dome the celestial canopy of which towers above al-Walid," and firmly associates it with the bringing of rain and the source of primeval waters.[70] The Umayyad caliphs asserted their position within this order by defining their authority and their seat in relation to God's Throne. In fact, ideological challenges to Umayyad legitimacy operated along similar symbolic lines. ʿAlid counterclaims, for example, reified the sanctity of Kufa (the site of ʿAli's powerbase) and ʿAli's authority (*wilāya*) by identifying the city as a locale of God's Throne.[71]

Interpreting the throne through an Islamic cosmological lens explains why references to the Solomonic throne and Davidic justice were so prevalent in Umayyad culture. As divinely appointed rulers who received both God's message and divine right to rule, David and Solomon are extolled in the Quran along with their kingly prerogatives, from the lavish Temple construction to their military conquests.[72] Solomon's throne was much more than a legendary throne with remarkable characteristics. It was divinely endowed with supernatural capacities that belie its earthly origin.[73] Consequently, the Solomonic throne exerted a strong pull as a visual reference in the architecture of the Umayyads.[74] For example, scholars interpret the figures in the pendentives in the domed gateway of Khirbat al-Mafjar as the demons that Near Eastern accounts describe

65 Kaplony, *The Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 338.
66 For a compelling argument that convincingly demonstrates this connection between the Dome of the Rock and the Kaʿba, see Khoury, "The Dome of the Rock, the Kaʿba, and Ghumdan," 60–65.
67 Quran, 2:285. See also Mostafa, "Locating the Sacred," 13–15.
68 Al-Azmeh, *Muslim Kingship*, 18.
69 Jamil, "Caliph and Quṭb," 40.
70 Jamil, "Caliph and Quṭb," 40–42. See also Wensinck, *The Ideas of the Western Semites*, 24–25, 32–25, 43–53.
71 Kister, "Sanctity Joint and Divided," 34–35.
72 Quran 34:10–13.
73 Priscilla P. Soucek, "Solomon's Throne / Solomon's Bath: Model or Metaphor?," in "Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces," ed. Gülru Necipoğlu, special issue, *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 109–34.
74 For a discussion of the Umayyad perception of Solomon and his throne, see Soucek, "Solomon's Throne / Solomon's Bath," 111–16.

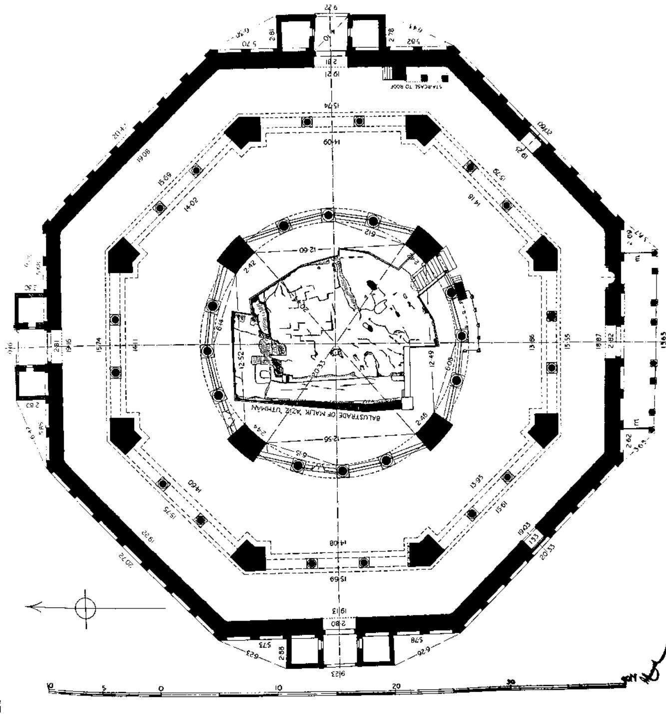

FIGURE 6.6
The Dome of the Rock, ground floor plan. (K.A.C. Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford)

as carrying Solomon's throne aloft (Fig. 6.7).[75] It appears that the famous lion throne of Solomon, common in biblical accounts, was also referenced in surviving sculpture from the same palace (Fig 6.8).[76] In other words, the prerogatives of Prophet Kings, from David's Chain, commemorated near the Dome of the Rock, to Solomon's Throne, gripped the Umayyads and informed many of their choices.

Chapter 2 problematized the notion of the throne in early Islam by showing how the Umayyads approached the throne as a gestalt. The authority of their own caliphal seat derived from a balancing act between the precedent of the Prophet's modes of audience and a flexible adoption of multiple seats at the mosque and palace. The paradigm of the monumental pre-Islamic throne fractured in favor of multiple portable seats expressive of a new identity. The minbar of the Prophet was the supreme precedent alongside the portable *sarīr* and *kursī* as flexible multi-use alternatives to the singular throne. Located in the audience halls of pre-Islam, the *sarīr* and *kursī* enabled the caliphs to locate themselves in space and time in a manner reflective of their own chimeric identity. In the case of Jerusalem, the Umayyad caliphs adopted commemorative and ritual practices, including those surrounding the Divine Throne and Footstool, to elevate their position in relation to God's celestial court. In this way, they adhered directly to its aura in a manner redolent of the memory of Muhammad's own divine encounter during his heavenly ascent. These practices took the form of veneration of the Rock as God's Footstool and the location of his Throne on the Day of Judgment.

Viewed through this cosmological lens, a more profound relationship between God's Throne, Jerusalem, Mecca and caliphal identity in early

75 This is based on the argument that the Solomonic Throne was heavily influenced by Near Eastern ideas of the heavenly winged throne. For an alternative interpretation of this gateway and the figures in the pendentives as a supporting Atlas, see Hana Taragan, "Atlas Transformed—Interpreting the 'Supporting' Figures in the Umayyad Palace at Khirbat al Mafjar," *East and West* 53, no. 1–4 (2003): 9–29.

76 Soucek, "Solomon's Throne / Solomon's Bath," 112.

FIGURE 6.7 Khirbat al-Mafjar, figures in the pendentives of the dome leading into the bathhouse, under Caliph Hisham b. ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Walid II, *c.*743. (Rockefeller Archaeological Museum)

Islam emerges. This relationship elucidates more than just Umayyad interest in the guardianship of these shrines. It also explains their relentless pursuit to regain control of them when seized or threatened, as occurred during the Second Islamic Civil War. In no uncertain terms, Umayyad claims to rightful rule could be furthered only by claims of guardianship of these sacred cities because of their association with God's Throne, the mediation of His authority and the promise of His future audience. Early Islamic investment in Jerusalem and the Haram al-Sharif under the caliphs ʿUmar and Muʿawiya also casts ʿAbd al-Malik's motivations for investment in the Haram al-Sharif and the Dome of the Rock, despite the tumult of the Second Islamic Civil War, in an entirely different light.[77] The intricate choreography of constructed sanctities and ritual practice in parallel with the architectural iconography served to alleviate compounded anxieties—eschatological, existential, temporal, and miliary—around their identity as God's caliphs.

4 Ritual Practice and Embodied Sanctity at the Dome of the Rock

ʿAbd al-Malik built the Dome of the Rock, according to the historian al-Wasiti, to "shelter the Muslims who visited."[78] In this way, the caliph encouraged pilgrimage to Jerusalem by claiming guardianship of the earthly locale of God's Footstool and for Muslim pilgrims to participate in its ritual

77 For an examination of the evidence related to early Islamic interest in the site, see Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock*, 42–58.

78 Al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 81. See also Rabbat, "The Dome of the Rock Revisited," 68.

FIGURE 6.8
Khirbat al-Mafjar, under Caliph Hisham b. ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Walid II, Standing Caliph on lion pedestal, *c.*743. (Rockefeller Archaeological Museum)

veneration. The rock was circumambulated by pilgrims after it had been cleaned, anointed and incensed while ritually veiled from view. Appointed servants (*khuddām*), whose sole function was the performance of these rituals, burned incense every Monday and Thursday.[79] Before it was anointed, the Rock was washed, and a precious blend of aromatic substances was brought from the treasury. Dressed in costly robes, the servants were instructed on the precise preparation of the aromatic blend, which included saffron, musk, ambergris, and rosewater (*zaʿfarān*, *misk*, *ʿambar*, *maward*).[80] The aromatics were crushed, ground, and applied to the Rock. The ritualistic cleaning and anointing of the Rock took place behind closed curtains installed between columns surrounding the Rock. The curtains, which signaled the cultic roots of the ritual and its parallels to pre-Islamic practice, were installed on the explicit orders of the overseers. This choice suggests that

79 Aḥmad ibn Abī Yaʿqūb, al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Martijn Theodor Houtsam (Lugduni: Batavorum, E.J. Brill, 1883), 311. Elad, "ʿAbd al-Malik and the Dome of the Rock," 188–90. See also Kaplony, *The Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 321–26.

80 Al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 82–3; Kaplony, *The Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 321–26; Busse, "Sanctity of Jerusalem," 459.

the guardians of the shrine dictated a coherent ritual prescription for the veneration of the Dome of the Rock.

After cleansing, anointing, and incensing the Rock, both the curtains and the doors to the shrine were opened for the faithful to enter. The scents then wafted through the city, thereby imbuing it with the sanctity of the Rock and transmitting its blessings (*baraka*) beyond the enclosure. The congregation then circumambulated the Rock while chanting prayers that are likely to have been eschatological, considering the inscription of a *duʿāʾ* (prayer) on the outer face of the ambulatory.[81] These inscriptions, which may have been composed by the overseers, identify the Prophet Muhammad as intercessor at the End of Days and solidified the intended evocation of this future event in the minds of pilgrims. After two final prostrations, the ritual was complete. The faithful left with scent-impregnated clothing that marked them as devotees to the shrine and continued to carry the scent of sanctity through the city.[82] At the close of the ceremony, the Rock was again washed and returned to its original state. The rituals appear to have been mandated by the seventh-century overseers of the Dome of the Rock, Rajaʾ b. Haywa and Yazib b. Sallam, Umayyad courtiers appointed by ʿAbd al-Malik to supervise the construction and selection of the epigraphic (and possibly decorative) program.

Anointing the Rock with precious substances may have been performed with the intention to illuminate its otherworldly essence. Believed to be paradisiacal in origin, saffron, musk, ambergris, and rosewater evoked the afterlife as a perfumed garden.[83] The Prophet Muhammad was famously fond of *ṭīb* (aromatics), specifically musk, and was the first to perfume his mosque in Madina.[84] Quranic exegetes describe the riverbanks of paradise as lined with saffron, musk, and eucalyptus. Musk is identified in Quran 83:25–27 as the "last taste" of paradisiacal wine (*khitāmuhū misk*), a reference to either the aftertaste or a tasting note of wine.[85] The pre-Islamic Arabian Alliance of the Perfumed Ones (*ḥilf al-muṭayyibīn*) sealed oaths by dipping the hands of contractors in perfume to bind them in covenant with the divine.[86] In antiquity stones representing deities were also often anointed and dressed.[87] In addition to infusing the relic with a powerful scent, the saffron and oil within the blend would have stained the Rock a shimmering yellow. Combined with the light streaming through the windows above, the anointing oils gave the Rock a shimmering, golden, otherworldly appearance. The drawing of the curtains during anointment suggests that this ritual could only be witnessed by the initiated. The exclusivity of the rite is further supported by the hereditary nature of the servants' positions. All these factors suggest that the rituals at the Dome of the Rock rendered the transformative power of the Rock materially manifest and situated it within an otherworldly environment in which the faithful could pray and receive blessings. In other words, Umayyad ritual practice at the Dome of the Rock

81 The inscriptions facing the Rock contain the "entire Christology of the Quran." See Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock," 44–48. For the significance of the inscriptions on the outer face of the octagonal arcade referencing the intercession of Muhammad, see Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers*, 235.

82 Kaplony, *The Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 41–42; Busse, "Sanctity of Jerusalem," 459.

83 Bursi, "Scents of Space," 202–3. In traditional Islamic medicine, saffron and rosewater are used therapeutically as ink with which Quranic verses are written on paper that is then soaked in water and consumed.

84 Bursi, "Scents of Paradise," 211.

85 Quran 83:25–27. This wine is believed to have been blended with the waters of the sacred spring *tasnīm* from which only those nearest to God could drink. Bursi suggests a different translation for *khitāmuhū misk*, chiefly that the bottles of wine were somehow sealed with the aromatic substance to enhance its flavor, which would have had the same effect as a tasting note. Bursi, "Scents of Space," 227.

86 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 141–42.

87 These rituals were performed for the stone representing Chronos at Delphi. See Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 278n309. Because Chronos is a deity associated with time, the anointment of its idol presents a tempting speculative opportunity, but this lies outside the current scope.

FIGURE 6.9 Betyl within niche, al-Siq, Petra, Jordan (Heba Mostafa)

treated the Rock like a relic of the highest order, aligned with ritual practice of perfuming and anointing sacred space in early Islam.[88]

Ritual practice at the Dome of the Rock reveals that it functioned as a hybrid sanctuary. When the Rock was veiled from view during its anointment, it evoked a closed temple, betyl, or ark, such as those seen within niches at the Siq in Petra, Jordan (Fig. 6.9). Otherwise, the Rock was accessible and visible.[89] This combination of forms of veneration may have ultimately reconciled and adapted pre-Islamic notions of the dwelling of divinity in betyls, particularly the betyl of the Meccan Kaʿba in pre-Islam that is referred to as Lord of the House (*rab al-bayt*).[90] The ritual veneration of the Rock was also transformative. It signaled the Rock's otherworldly nature as a paradisiacal object and anchored its broader associations with God's Throne in Creation and the End of Days. In its suggestion of the pre-Islamic practices of Arabia and the monotheism of late antiquity, the Rock occupied a continuum from the "cultic" to the "sublimated".[91] Rituals venerating the Rock may have restored the parameters of the sacred by re-tethering it to God's Throne and Footstool—a link that had been broken by the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE and its desecration and desolation by the Byzantines.[92] In other words, attention to ritual practice at the Rock forces a reckoning with how Muslims devised ways to evoke God's presence symbolically, spatially, and ritually. Through embodied practice, these ritual practices may have also played a part in alleviating early Muslim existential and apocalyptic anxiety.

As a fixed point from which Creation began and time will ultimately end, the Rock brackets human habitation on earth, marking the beginning and end of time and serving as a place of refuge on the Day of Judgment. Deeply intertwined with the very nature of human habitation on earth, ritual practice at the Rock was a communal action intended to restore human agency through participation in Islam's novel sacred temporality. The communal nature of these practices enriched pilgrims' experience by echoing the salvation of humankind through an adherence to Islam and its communal spirit (*umma*), a prelude to the gathering of all humankind at the End of Days.[93] In the

88 Bursi, "Scents of Paradise," 212–14.

89 G.R. Hawting, "'We were not ordered with entering it but only with circumambulating it.' *Ḥadīth* and *fiqh* on Entering the Ka'ba," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47, no. 2 (1984): 240–42.

90 Consequently the Dome of the Rock engages with the core of the "problem" of the Jewish Temple; that is, the "empty" Holy of Holies. See al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 284.

91 Al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 347.

92 Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest," 39.

93 Depending on context, apocalyptic eschatology can refer either to a worldview or a particular literary genre. This study is concerned with apocalyptic eschatology primarily as a worldview that informed commemorative practice and intersected with the literary genre. For the arbitrary use of the term "apocalyptic"

Umayyad period, ritual practice at the Dome of the Rock likely addressed the needs of a community grappling with novel conceptions of sacred time and space through embodied experiences of the sacred in a form that skirted the line of orthodoxy at the time. In other words, these rituals were part of a holistic early Muslim re-imagining of divine presence. They entangled patterns of rupture and continuity with forms of divine dwelling from late antiquity, including refuting and re-imagining polytheistic, Christian, and Jewish beliefs and practices.

5 Architecture for an Otherworld

Coupled with the problem of invoking divine presence, apocalypticism at its most aggressive form of temporal anxiety contributed to the emergence of Islamic beliefs and ritual practices centered upon the Rock in Jerusalem. This argument is supported by the double existential bind posed by Islam's teachings and its implications in early Islam for recently converted Arabs accustomed to an irrevocable end to life with death. They had to grasp that not only will time run out at any moment but also, from that point onward, existence will be eternal, determined solely by devotional acts carried out during life. These devotional acts, moreover, must take abstract form since Islam upholds God as both transcendent and immanent. He eludes all forms of earthly dwelling and even a specific place in the imagination itself.[94] This vexing entanglement of divine presence in both sacred and earthly time created a paradox for early Muslims. As this chapter demonstrates, ritual devotional practices at a site with longstanding associations with the end of time, especially the Haram al-Sharif, enabled believers to supplicate the fully transcendent and immanent deity within the recognized constraints of mortal time to ensure their eternal destiny. In other words, the Dome of the Rock in its totality, as a symbol and site of ritual practice, alleviated compounded anxiety that was apocalyptic and existential in the most holistic terms imaginable, mortal and immortal.

As established earlier in this chapter, the Rock was chosen due to its position as a carrier of the temporal ambiguities of sacred space, and its veneration took the form of ritual practice as well as architectural commemoration.[95] Rituals that foregrounded the Rock's otherworldly status offered opportunities for an embodied experience of a transcendent and immanent deity while avoiding idolatrous tendencies. Attracting pilgrims for political as well as religious reasons was also among the many motivations for constructing the Dome of the Rock during, or possibly immediately after, the Second Islamic Civil War.[96] However, what these practices and beliefs also show is that early Muslims subscribed to and commemorated one aspect of the site above all others: the inherent and timeless sacrality of Mt. Moriah and the Rock as the stage setting for both the Day of Judgment and Creation. The Rock, in addition to serving as the future locale of God's Throne, was also associated with God's act of creation. In this sense, the Rock presents as the relic *par excellence*, unrivaled in terms of sanctity, save for the Kaʿba in Mecca.

As a complex enshrining myriad sites of memory with past and future significance to early

---

across different disciplines and in different contexts, see Collins, "Apocalyptic Eschatology," 46–47.

94 For example, the Quranic refrain "There is nothing like unto him" is coupled with reminders of the miracle of creation in Quran 42:11. Divine transcendence in Islam is a vast field of study that cannot be summarized here. However, this is the main reason that all forms of idolatry are anathema in Islam. See Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry*.

95 Livne-Kafri, "Jerusalem in Early Islam," 382–83.

96 Despite accusations leveled against them in later centuries, the Umayyads did not actually divert the hajj, a mandatory religious pilgrimage to Mecca, toward Jerusalem. See Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock," 35–40. For the suggestion that 692 was the year of foundation rather than completion, see Sheila S. Blair, "What Is the Date of the Dome of the Rock?," in *Bayt al-Maqdis: ʿAbd al-Malik's Jerusalem*, ed. Julian Raby and Jeremy Johns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 62–69. For a recent confirmation based on a critical study of the mosaic inscriptions, see Milwright, *The Dome of the Rock*, 160–71, 238–41.

Muslims, the Haram al-Sharif and Dome of the Rock offered a multi-staged and multi-sensory experience for pilgrims (Fig. 6.5). Pilgrims arriving in Jerusalem would make their way to the sacred precinct, entering through one of its many gates. Passing through these gates, they may have stopped to listen to one of the *quṣṣāṣ* (storytellers) regaling pilgrims with accounts that combined historical, spiritual, and mystical traditions of the site.[97] Dazzled by the majesty of the shimmering golden dome and the multi-colored mosaics of the exterior, they may have seen in the shrine's octagonal form a reference to the Quranic Throne of God (*ʿarsh*) as borne by eight angels (Quran 69: 17–18). They may have also noted similarities to the octagonal Kathisma Church, which Muslim's revered because of its associations with the Virgin Mary.[98]

The placement of the inscription on the outer octagonal arcade implies that pilgrims likely entered the Dome of the Rock from the southern entrance. As they began their ritual circumambulation of the Rock, pilgrims were bathed in the light filtering in from the windows surrounding the drum while glistening mosaics slowly revealed themselves through clouds of incense. The inscriptions on the outer arcade, beginning with the basmala (invocation) and shahada (proclamation of the faith), assert the absolute oneness and omnipotence of God and Muhammad's position as messenger of God.[99] The pilgrims were surrounded by the sound of prayers and the heady scents of saffron, musk, ambergris, and rosewater. The sensory experience surely heightened the visual. Turning their gaze upward, the faithful would have noted the jeweled oval-shaped winged forms encircling the Rock at the base of the dome's drum as they appeared and disappeared through the arches. This effect was amplified by the skewing of the columns and piers around the Rock that optimized views of the interior space (Fig. 6.6).[100] In a world where such forms evoked winged heavenly creatures, it is possible that the pilgrims viewed them as angelic hosts animating the space or even circumambulating God's Throne, as some scholars suggest (Fig. 6.10).[101] Centuries later al-Wasiti reported accounts of the sound of fluttering angel wings filling the Bayt al-Maqdis (a reference to the holy precinct of the Haram al-Sharif) and the voice of Gabriel praising God as "Lord of the Angels and the Holy Spirit" (*subhān rab al-malāʾika wal-rūḥ*).[102] Early Muslim pilgrims to the Dome of the Rock may have heard similar accounts and listened intently for those otherworldly sounds.

They may have seen in the jeweled and winged forms similarities with later stucco motifs at Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi by Caliph Hisham (Fig. 6.11) or the winged crown of the Sasanian King Khusrau, a familiar symbol depicted for decades on Islamic coinage. Some may have made the association between this winged crown and the *khvarnah* of the Sasanian ruler, which identified him as a recipient of "good fortune of divine origin" and the spiritual aspect of divine kingship.[103] This

97 Heba Mostafa, "The Appointed Time: Early Islamic Temporality and the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem." In *Time and Presence in Art*, ed. Armin Bergmeier and Andrew Griebeler (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022), 58.

98 Quran 69:17–18: "And the angels will be on its sides, and eight will, that Day, bear the Throne of thy Lord above them. That Day shall ye be brought to Judgment: not an act of yours that ye hide will be hidden." The connection with the octagonal form was first proposed by Rosen-Ayalon, *The Early Islamic Monuments*, 46–60; and elaborated by Necipoğlu, "Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest," 54–58. On the Church of the Kathisma and the Dome of the Rock, see Avner, "The Kathisma," 541–57.

99 The most accurate transcription of the inscription appears in Christel Kessler. "'Abd Al-Malik's Inscription in the Dome of the Rock: A Reconsideration," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 102, no. 1 (January 1970): 2–14: 4–8. For compiled translations by Sheila Blair and Andrew Rippin with an analysis, see Milwright, *The Dome of the Rock*, 69–75.

100 Milwright, *The Dome of the Rock*, 51.

101 Rosen-Ayalon, *The Early Islamic Monuments*, 46–60.

102 Al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 41.

103 George, *The Dome of the Rock*, 41. See also Richard Frye, "The Charisma of the King of Kings," in *Persia* (RLE *Iran A*) (London: Routledge, 2011), 23–35.

FIGURE 6.10 The Dome of the Rock, mosaics showing winged motif. (Bernard O'Kane)

may have called to mind the poetry of Umayyad court poet al-Farazdaq, who described Hisham as the "protector and executor of divine justice, light of guidance, and medium for the life-giving rains, who personally clasps the seven heavens and earths in his hand."[104] They may have also recalled that the crown of a Sasanian king, possibly Khusrau II (591–628), had hung above the Rock following its seizure at the end of the Second Islamic Civil War and how this symbolized Islam's triumph over its enemies.[105] With the caliph in mind, they may have recalled the accession ceremony of the previous caliphs ʿAbd al-Malik and Muʿawiya at the Haram al-Sharif and prayed for the current caliph's safety.[106]

Without a doubt, their circumambulation evoked the rituals at the Kaʿba, further conjoining the sanctity of both shrines and elevating their guardian, the caliph. Circumambulation within the outer arcade likely followed the direction of the inscription, which runs clockwise. The circuit within the inner arcade likely reversed this direction; the inner inscriptions, which refine the statement on God's unity by engaging with the debate around Christ's human nature, run counterclockwise.[107] This movement may have enhanced the experiential qualities, thus inviting pilgrims to

104 Jamil, "Caliph and Quṭb," 40.

105 Al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 76; Shalem, "The Fall of Al-Madā'in," 78. For the symbolic implications of the hanging crown at the Dome of the Rock, see Rabbat, "The Dome of the Rock Revisited," 70–75.

106 Marsham, "The Architecture of Allegiance," 100–101.

107 Milwright, *The Dome of the Rock*, 60.

FIGURE 6.11
Stucco fragment showing partial winged motif, Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, Caliph Hisham b. ʿAbd al-Malik, Damascus National Museum. (Heba Mostafa)

experience circumambulation closer to the Rock where the inscriptions are visible on the other side of the arcade.

When the pilgrims neared the end of their first circuit of the outer arcade of the Rock, toward the northeast side, they may have glanced upward toward the inscriptions that recount the intercession of the Prophet Muhammad on the Day of Judgment as he stood on one side of God's Throne. Pilgrims may have mouthed the supplications inscribed along the ambulatories and hoped for such intercession for themselves.[108]

108 Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers*, 235.

As they completed this circuit, pilgrims saw the name of Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik appear as the patron of the "qubba" in a prayer for God's favor to the caliph. No longer visible today, the caliph's title was replaced in the ninth century with the name of the Abbasid caliph al-Maʾmun even if the date associating the Dome of the Rock with ʿAbd al-Malik remained unchanged.[109] Ever present in the pilgrims' minds would have been Christ, Son of Mary, who they imagined will stand on the other side of God's Throne on the Day of Judgment.[110]

109 Milwright, *The Dome of the Rock*, 66.
110 Filiu and DeBevoise, *Apocalypse in Islam*, 4.

Christ would have been present for other reasons as well. The inner octagonal-arcade inscriptions within the Dome of the Rock proclaim Christ's status as a Prophet of God and son of Mary, while also vehemently denying his divinity and asserting the unity of God. These verses remind the faithful of Christ's relationship to God as the anointed Issa son of Mary (*al-masīh ʿĪssa ibn Maryam*) and recipient of the Holy Spirit, or the Spirit (*al-rūḥ*).[111] They further articulate his humility before God and his lack of pride in the face of his humanity. References to Christ in the Dome of the Rock have been considered in many ways to be a meditation on the nature of divinity because they demarcate the bounds of Christ's nature.[112] The inclusion of these inscriptions engaged debates with the various forms of Christianity and the nature of God in an absolute sense. In other words, the inscriptions were meant to be more than an anti-Trinitarian polemic. They formed part of an inclusive message of Islam's corrective to preceding sacral hierarchies and the nature of God's authority.

Reference to the Spirit (*al-rūḥ*) in the inscription is also revealing. The Spirit is described in the Quran as descending towards Christ and returning once again to God: "[It is] from Allah, owner of the ways of ascent. The angels and the Spirit will ascend to Him during a Day the extent of which is fifty thousand years."[113] In many ways the Spirit is presented as a conduit through which divine grace traverses the terrestrial and celestial on God's command along set "ways of ascent."[114] Al-Wasiti's account of Gabriel's invocation of God as "Lord of the Angels and the Holy Spirit" (*rab al-malāʾika wal-rūḥ*) explains other aspects of the Holy Spirit within the Anti-Trinitarian portion of the inscription.[115] Except for the creation of Adam and Jesus, the descent of the *rūḥ* is not typically associated with a particular place or time in the Quran.[116] One exception is the descent of angels and the Spirit on the Night of Power (*laylat al-qadr*), which is temporally demarcated for a range of days towards the end of Ramadan but not spatially defined.[117] However, al-Wasiti asserts a connection between such "ways of ascent" and the Rock. He cites the Old Testament in which God speaks to the Rock, promising that it will be surmounted with a "qubba by my own hand, upon which will descend my spirit (*rūḥ*) and my angels to praise you," (*ajʿal ʿalayk qubba jabaltuha bi-yadī wa unazil fīk rūḥī wa malāʾikī yusabiḥūn fīk*).[118] In this way, al-Wasiti asserts the Rock's sacral primacy as the spatial equivalent to the temporal Night of Power, during which the Spirit descends. References to the descent of the Spirit upon Christ only strengthen the identification of the Rock with God's command over the angels and the Holy Spirit, and their descent as recorded by al-Wasiti. Through its inscriptions, the Dome of the Rock can thus be read as a Muslim meditation on the nature of the divine and God's position at the pinnacle of a hierarchy of mediators between His grace and authority, which include Prophets, specifically Muhammad and Christ, along with angels, and the Holy Spirit. The inscriptions bring the symbolism of the Dome of the Rock vividly to life by reminding pilgrims of the nature of the divine hierarchy,

---

111 Quran 4:171–72.

112 Milwright, *The Dome of the Rock*, 239–40.

113 Quran 70:3–4. See al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam*, 351–53.

114 The descent of the Holy Spirit (*rūḥ*) is chiefly identified with Christ and his miraculous birth, akin to the creation of Adam. Mary's receipt of miraculous bounty in her oratory (*miḥrāb*)—the Quranic *miḥrāb Maryam* commemorated at the Haram al-Sharif—implies the descent of a similar form of divine blessing, which in some cases is also associated with an angelic presence. On associations of the Holy Spirit with Christ and Mary, see Sidney H. Griffith, "Holy Spirit," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2001–6), 2:442–44. For the bounty of Mary, see al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 85.

115 Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock," 44–48; Milwright, *The Dome of the Rock*, 239–40.

116 For a discussion of the Holy Spirit in relation to Jesus, see Khorchide and von Klaus, *The Other Prophet: Jesus in the Qurʾan*, 83.

117 Quran, 97:1–5.

118 See Al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 71: أ جعل عليك قبة جبلتها بيدي و أنزل فيك روحي و ملائكي يسبحون فيك.

FIGURE 6.12 The Dome of the Chain, the Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem, under ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwan, *c.*692. (Heba Mostafa)

the conduits of God's grace, and the identity of His agents at a locale identified with the Day of Judgment. They evoke a future audience while reminding the faithful of the possibility of an intimate relationship with God in the present through ritual, supplication, and prayer at a prescribed site.

Completing the final two prostrations brought the ritual to an end. Leaving the Dome of the Rock, the faithful may have glanced at the diminutive Dome of the Chain—constructed by ʿAbd al-Malik to commemorate David's Chain (Fig. 6.12). They may have paused to listen to one of the storytellers share accounts of this miraculous chain over which David will preside on the Day of Judgment as humankind passes beneath it on their way to the narrow path (*al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*) from the Haram al-Sharif to an eternity in the afterlife.[119]

It is possible that for some pilgrims, but certainly not all, the Dome of the Rock evoked the celestial court through its iconography and veneration of the Rock's future status as God's Footstool.[120] While viewing the Rock may have prompted pilgrims to recall accounts of its miraculous transformation on the Day of Judgment and the future divine audience, it also would have evoked powerful emotions of awe, wonder, safety, and tranquility. In other words, an antidote to anxiety.[121] What remains true of Umayyad architecture is its ability to broadcast meaning along a broad horizon and

119 On the Dome of the Chain, see Mostafa, "Dome of the Chain," 1–4. On the narrow path, see al-Balkhī, *Tafsīr*, 2:514.

120 Evidence over the past four decades in support of alternative interpretations has centered specifically on the Rock as a space for the mediation of authority. The caliph's role as patron of the monument that lies "beneath the Throne of God," asserts the place of the caliph as savior and guardian of humankind. See Necipoğlu, "Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest," 55.

121 Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest," 34–36.

over a wide symbolic register.[122] The evidence overwhelmingly suggests that the Rock and sacred enclosure surrounding it served as an attractor for myriad events of great spiritual import in the past, present and future, chiefly the ascent and descent of individuals, entities, or objects of a divine or otherworldly nature. These events evoke associations between the divine, the Rock at the time of Creation, and the descent of the celestial court at the End of Days, which involves a celestial dome of light, the Divine Throne, and the return of the Chain of David, which plays an important role in the final judgment. Viewing the Rock in Jerusalem and the Kaʿba in Mecca as otherworldly "attractors" of celestial relics alters the lens through which we view the hanging of crowns and other relics as trophies at both sites. It is possible, for example, that the crown of the Sasanian king sent to ʿUmar following the fall of al-Madaʾin (Ctesiphon) was displayed in the Kaʿba as a symbolic act of domination.[123] It is almost certain that the Umayyads hung the crown of another Sasanian king, possibly Khusrau II (591–628), in the Dome of the Rock following its seizure at the end of the Second Islamic Civil War.[124] Other gifts placed upon the Rock include the horns of the ram of Abraham (as a celestial relic), the *al-yatīma* (orphan) pearl, and a ciborium transported from the church in Baalbek by al-Walid I. This practice is aligned with the pre-Islamic Arabian precedent of depositing similar items at the Kaʿba.[125] Scholars accept the acts of incensing and anointing the Rock as olfactory carriers of sanctity in a manner reminiscent of the Prophet Muhammad's own practice of attracting rainwater by turning his cloak inside out to disseminate his musk-like odor.[126] Placed above the Rock, these crowns and trophies may have functioned analogously as talismans with the power to attract future relics (celestial or otherwise) and conquests through sympathetic attraction. Suggestions that the current Ayyubid inscription of the Throne Verse around the base of the drum may have replaced an early Fatimid inscription, itself replacing an Umayyad original, remain compelling albeit speculative.[127] However, the primacy of God's Throne and His audience as presented in this analysis may yet support this hypothesis.

At a time of intense conflict and deep eschatological anxiety, early Muslims not only commemorated past and future dwellings of divine and angelic presence but also invoked them through ritual and symbolism. In other words, the Dome of the Rock through its rituals, mosaics, and inscriptional program created a multi-sensorial hierophany that enabled Muslims to attain advantage by offering them the opportunity to access the divine and experience the sacred presence. This is why Muslims came to the Rock. They came not only out of fear and a desire to prevail in warfare but also out of a yearning to experience God in times of deep existential anxiety. In fact, invoking the blessings of angelic presence specifically involves the recitation of Quran, burning of incense, and maintenance of ritually pure space—practices identical to those performed at the Dome of the Rock.

122 Rabbat, "Dialogic Dimensions of Umayyad Art," 79–81.

123 The Kaʿba also functioned as a treasury, but the symbolic importance of this act supersedes the mere act of keeping the crown safe.

124 Al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 76; Shalem, "The Fall of Al-Madāʾin," 78; Rabbat, "The Dome of the Rock Revisited," 70–75.

125 Busse, "Sanctity of Jerusalem," 460; Rabbat, "Dome of the Rock Revisited," 71; Necipoğlu, "Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest," 28. The list of gifts sent to the Kaʿba includes trophies of war and "trophies" from newly conquered territories, some potentially sent as tokens of friendship and deposited at the treasury within the Kaʿba. As documented by al-Azraqi (mid-ninth century) and al-Biruni (b. 973), they include Sasanian precious objects, weaponry, books, "idols, pagan ritual objects and biblical relics (horn and ram associated with Abraham and Isaac), the latter being prominently displayed." See Shalem, "The Body of Architecture," 180–81.

126 Ingrid Hehmeyer, *A History of Water Engineering and Management in Yemen: Material Remains and Textual Foundations* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 252.

127 Necipoğlu, "Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest," 46–47; Milwright, The Dome of the Rock, 78–79.

Exasperated by eschatological and existential anxieties of a nascent religion and state at a moment of great political upheaval, early Muslims were compelled toward forms of ritual practice centered on a site with a long-standing association with Islamic Creation and eschatological narratives; the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem. Persistent reminders imploring belief in the inevitability of the End of Days are, after all, second only to calls for the absolute unity of God in the Quran. The centrality of such narratives to Islamic thought is demonstrated by their sheer ubiquity in early Islamic culture. Ritual veneration of the Rock centered on its temporal dimensions to resanctify it as a locale of sacred presence and a foretaste of the pleasures that awaited believers in paradise after judgment. The ephemeral nature of ritual practice and embodied experience also offered an agility of praxis that allowed early Muslims to skirt around Islamic orthodoxy concerning representations of sacred presence without outright contravention.

Islamic reconciliation of apocalyptic anxiety occurred through an evolving sacral identity that probed the spatial, symbolic, and temporal ambiguities of sacred space in Jerusalem. Eternal life predicated on supplications to a transcendent deity in finite time created a further existential bind for early Muslims. At a time of apocalyptic anxiety, civil strife, and internecine warfare, the Dome of the Rock may thus be seen as a palladium—a safeguard and source of protection for the Umayyad state and a reliquary for a sacred object of the past and the future: the Footstool of God's Throne. This temporal anxiety coupled with the problem of divine presence in Islam led to the emergence of Islamic beliefs and rituals centered specifically upon the Rock in Jerusalem. As an otherworldly natural object with paradisiacal origins that bracketed human habitation on earth, the Rock attracted rituals that engaged early Muslims in Islam's temporal re-imagining. Grounded in sacred (cosmic-eternal) time and space and entangled with otherworldly presence that rectified the cosmic order, the Dome of the Rock offered tangible experiences of sacral temporality at the same time that it invoked memories and future projections of divine encounters.

CHAPTER 7

Epilogue

> It is true that storytelling reveals meaning without committing the error of defining it, that it brings about consent and reconciliation with things as they really are, and that we may even trust it to contain eventually by implication that last word which we expect from the Day of Judgment.[1]
>
> HANNAH ARENDT, *Men in Dark Times*

1 Architecture of Anxiety Redux

Within a decade of Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik's death, his son Caliph al-Walid I embarked on an ambitious program of mosque construction that extended from Samarkand in Central Asia to Sanaʿa in Yemen and Fustat in Egypt. During al-Walid I's reign and in continuation of his father's efforts, Arabic became the official court language, replacing Greek, and the factional fighting within the community diminished substantially.[2] Even the coinage bore a distinctly Islamic identity, with Arabic script replacing the visual experimentation of ʿAbd al-Malik's pre-reform coinage.[3] Al-Walid I's building projects during this period, marked by a clearly defined and unified visual language, formed part of an overarching campaign to consolidate Umayyad authority.[4] The jewel in the crown was four mosques commissioned in al-Walid I's capital city of Damascus and the holy cities of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. Out of these, only the Great Mosque of Damascus and the Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, which he completed, survive. The mosaics of these two mosques continue to captivate art and architectural historians and elude interpretation (Fig. 7.1). Although al-Walid I's mosques certainly mark a turning point in the history of Islamic architecture, they have received outsized attention by scholars who have come to see them, together with the Dome of the Rock, as the inception point for the Islamic architectural canon. While these monuments should loom large, they are also symptomatic of a certain mindset that privileges a material argument "from survival" and invalidates other architectural histories worth telling. This work joins many others to question and challenge this premise. The microhistories presented in this book offer architectural histories from within Islamic tradition that center moments of change to the mosque, palace, and shrine to reveal how the Muslim community coped with myriad political, spiritual, and existential challenges through their architecture.

This book has explored the formation of Islamic architecture as the scaffold of contested communal encounters related to governance and spiritual leadership of early Muslims as they navigated contested identities of the early caliphate. Islam's earliest rulers had to contend with two central problems: first, the loss of the Prophet Muhammad's charismatic authority and subsequent contest over succession; and second, the paradigmatic shift from an anthropomorphized

1 Hannah Arendt, *Men in Dark Times* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1968), 105.
2 Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 203.
3 For a detailed examination of this process, see Luke Treadwell, "'Mihrab and ʿAnaza' or 'Sacrum and Spear'? A Reconsideration of an Early Marwanid Silver Drachm," *Muqarnas* 22, no. 1 (2005): 1–28.
4 Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 190; Alain George, "A Builder of Mosques: The Projects of al-Walid I, from Sanaa to Homs." In *Fruit of Knowledge, Wheel of Learning: Essays in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand*, edited by Melanie Gibson and Robert Hillenbrand (London: Gingko Library, 2021) 16–49.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2024 DOI:10.1163/9789004690189_008

FIGURE 7.1 Mosaics at the Great Mosque of Damascus, al-Walid I, 705–15. (Heba Mostafa)

pantheon of deities to a singular, transcendent and immanent God. The five microhistories presented in this work reveal that Islamic architecture was a product of an anxiety "origin point," dating from the time of the Prophet, which was exacerbated by the destabilization of the chain of command caused by his death in 632, which, in turn, problematized caliphal identity, rendering it chimeric and unstable and spurring subsequent succession crises. A feature of these architectural microhistories is the specificity of their location along a timeline of the formation of the state. They emerged in tandem with moments of historical violence and anxiety over leadership as Islam navigated the building of empire and the unsettled nature of caliphal identity. Implicated as they are in moments of dramatic historical change, they unfold at varying degrees of intimacy from the body of authority. Attention to the intimate nature of violence within the early Islamic community, where caliphs were murdered in their own mosques and homes surrounded by supporters and enemies, forces us to probe the facets and modalities of violence and non-violence in architecture and their ritual and liturgical nuances.

Neither kings nor prophets, the caliphs of early Islam balanced a multitude of factors when adapting, and in some ways inventing, the caliphal seat. This included invoking the memory and charismatic authority of the Prophet Muhammad, his minbar, relics, and authoritative models of the past, all of which were in dialogue with an evolving relationship with factions within the nascent Islamic community. Although the potent precedent of the Prophet's use of a minbar at his mosque in Medina cast a long shadow, textual sources and art historical evidence paint a more complex picture of early Islamic attitudes towards the seat that transcends simplistic motivations. Within both the mosque and Dar al-Imara, the Umayyad caliphs used the

kursī, *sarīr*, and other pseudo-thrones in tandem with the minbar. The nature and context of their use reveal that Muslim attitudes to the minbar and throne were a product of a political and religious counternarrative, which challenges a straightforward reading of the stigma of the throne in early Islam. Furthermore, pre-Islamic thrones were not universally condemned but highly differentiated along lines of righteousness (specifically, the throne of the Prophet Solomon), on the one hand, and tyranny, despotism, and idolatry, on the other. Accounts of these thrones were incorporated into narratives of divinely endowed kingship in fascinating and unexpected ways that challenge a predetermined and fixed view of the throne in early Islam. Thus, the pre-Islamic throne, with both its positive and negative manifestations, also appears chimeric. The stigma of kingship remained associated with the elevated, ornate throne in which the Umayyad caliphs reportedly showed a keen interest, despite the positive and sacral associations with a similar throne that belonged to the prophet-king Solomon. The implications of these interpretations for the iconography of representations of enthroned rulers at later Umayyad desert palaces, such as Qusayr ʿAmra where the ruler is presented enthroned upon a *sarīr* and a *kursī* (within the throne alcove), are also profound. They may be neither generic nor incidental but indicative of the many forms of enthronement prevalent in late antiquity and early Islam (Fig 7.2).

Because of veneration of the Prophet's minbar as a symbol of Islamic authority, the minbar symbolically became the platform for the voice of authority. This is reflected by the increasingly important symbolism of preaching from the minbar, as expressed in Ziyad's statement, "lies from the pulpit remain well-known."[5] Attempts to relocate the minbar of the Prophet from Medina to Damascus seem to have been successful once the Umayyad caliphs secured their position as the legitimate leaders of the community. Recall, for example, how Sulayman b. ʿAbd al-Malik vented his frustration over the caliph's inability to secure what had become a universal symbol of Islam.

This study has shown that the untenable position of the early governors and caliphs was largely resolved through their use of architecture. While the more prescribed form of audience at the mosque in Damascus championed by Muʿawiya maintained vestiges of the Prophet's audiences in the mosque in Medina, where the mosque space functioned as a gathering place for tribesmen to rally freely, Muʿawiya added critical and strategic glosses to his identity. Even as he shunned the vestiges of *mulk* (sovereignty, kingship), he secured the *bayʿa* among his fellow tribesmen in Jerusalem, a city pregnant with meaning across confessions and factions.[6]

The immutable importance of preaching from the minbar rendered early Muslim rulers inherently vulnerable. The safety and continued use of the unprotected Friday mosque as the locale of governance was only possible with the adoption of various architectural measures. Although the maqsura may have originally been intended as a precaution against assassination attempts, the history of maqsura construction suggests that it quickly transcended its functional genesis and previous use in the pre-Islamic Dar al-Nadwa. It is not coincidental that every Umayyad caliph and governor invested in a maqsura in the mosques under his control. This explains the next logical step towards monumentalization reportedly taken by the governor al-Hajjaj, who added a dome to his maqsura in Wasit. Read in context, from the earliest brick version under ʿUthman to the raised teak wood iteration of ʿUmar II and from the massive domed maqsura of al-Hajjaj at Wasit to the monumental maqsura of al-Hakam II in Cordoba, the maqsura seems less of an accident of history than a symptom of the paradigm of anxiety proposed in this work.

Radical change was also afoot at the Dar al-Imara in Damascus, Iraq, and beyond. This included the birth of nomenclature for the Islamic

5 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18:79–80.

6 Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy*, 87.

FIGURE 7.2 Qusayr ʿAmra, main hall, with the enthronement scenes, within throne alcove upon a *kursī* (center) and upon the bedstead or *sarīr* (right). (Heba Mostafa)

audience hall, the Qubbat al-Khadra', which began under Muʿawiya and continued throughout the Islamic period, the most notable being al-Hajjaj's audience hall at Wasit. This is not to mention the patronage of Muʿawiya's governor, Ziyad, who undertook ambitious architectural projects at both the mosque and Dar al-Imara during the same period in the major urban centers of Iraq on the frontier of civil war. Evidence also shows that the contiguity of the mosque and Dar al-Imara was not universally mandated but emerged polygenically. In Damascus this architectural feature developed because of a pre-existing relationship between the *temenos* and the Byzantine governor's palace; in Iraq it emerged to remedy persistent security and safety concerns; in Fustat, Egypt it did not manifest at all.

As lynchpins in a divinely ordained hierarchy, the Umayyad caliphs guaranteed the salvation of their subjects by upholding the divine covenant. As a space mimetically related to the heavenly and celestial realm, the Qubbat al-Khadra' established such a space of divinely mandated protection by integrating emblems of pre-Islamic kingship, the panoply of associations of the pre-Islamic qubba, and the authority of the Prophet Muhammad. Such a sensibility would have been familiar to a late antique mindset accustomed to earthly and heavenly mimesis supported by Byzantine belief in antipodes, or "the idea that the inhabited/visible world reflected the realities of the heavenly sphere."[7] While the afterlife of the Qubbat al-Khadra' elucidates its role as a metonym for caliphal authority, it also reveals how the adoption of the Qubbat al-Khadra' may have united a

7 Warren T. Woodfin, "Celestial Hierarchies and Earthly Hierarchies in the Art of the Byzantine Church," in *The Byzantine World*, ed. Paul Stephenson (London: Routledge, 2010), 303, 315.

multitude of identities borne by early Muslim rulers, namely Commanders of the Faithful and God's Caliphs.

Muʿawiya's grappling with access to a paradigm of Prophetic charisma, from his adoption of pseudo-thrones to his adherence to patterns of the Prophet Muhammad's behavior, is operative here as well. Alongside their inability to secure the relics of the Prophet, the Umayyads suffered serious challenges to their legitimacy; their relationship with relics linked to the Prophet and the public assassination of their predecessor, ʿUthman, were both a symptom and a cause. Their struggle to secure almost every important relic during the First and Second Fitna was only exacerbated by the potency of the relics held by the opposition. This was a cause of frustration and embarrassment, particularly in the case of the most sacred relics; the minbar, cloak, and staff of the Prophet Muhammad.[8] When Muʿawiya attempted to move the Prophet's minbar to Damascus, he was thwarted by the Medinese community. He compromised by adding six additional steps to the original two. Both ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Walid I failed to secure the minbar, despite the former prevailing in the Second Islamic Civil War and the latter relentlessly pursuing its acquisition as the jewel of his new mosque in Damascus. Sulayman's frustration at their inability to secure the minbar of the Prophet perfectly captures Umayyad reactions to being thwarted by the Muslim community. Such incidents created a feedback loop whereby each caliphal failure entrenched their communal humiliation, thus exposing the contingency of their rule upon popular acceptance of their legitimacy as caliphs.

Along with the construction of the Qubbat al-Khadra', Muʿawiya engaged in a series of symbolic and interrelated acts. According to the historian al-Tabari, he attempted to relocate the minbar of the Prophet along with his staff to Damascus, arguing that the minbar and staff should not remain in Medina, the home of the "enemies and murderers" of his predecessor ʿUthman.[9] The people of Medina prohibited Muʿawiya from doing so. He also attempted to purchase the *temenos* of the mosque in Damascus, presumably to refurbish the mosque along with his palace, but he was thwarted by the terms of the existing post-conquest treaty with the local Christian population. Interestingly, however, he successfully secured the purchase of the Dar al-Nadwa in Mecca when he became caliph.[10] The Dar al-Nadwa represented a potent symbol of pre-Islamic tribal authority and was originally the residence of Qussay b. Kalb.[11] More importantly, it was the location where the *bayʿa* was traditionally pledged.[12] The sum of these acts suggests Muʿawiya's overarching desire, against near constant efforts to thwart him, to create an environment in Damascus consistent with his new role as caliph.

Such adherence to the Prophet's behavioral patterns aligns with the "living relation" that "both collapses temporospatial distance and more importantly affects the very personal identity."[13] While Muʿawiya's adoption included the invocation of the memory of a lost Prophetic relic (the qubba), it is also clear that this action is an example of what Flood describes as the ingestion of the "Prophet's persona" through embodied habitation.[14] These choices moved beyond

8 On Muʿawiya's purchase of one of the Prophet's mantles, one which had been gifted to Kaʿb b. Zubayr, see Ibn Qutayba, *The Excellence of the Arabs*, 143.

9 Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18:101.

10 Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 110. See also Kister, "Some Reports," 84. Muʿawiya reportedly purchased Dar al-Nadwa from one of the descendants of Qussay. From then onward, the Umayyad caliphs resided there during the Hajj.

11 Johns, "The House of the Prophet," 87; Dabashi, *Authority in Islam*, 25; al-Muqaddasi, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 4:126.

12 Marsham, "Oath of Allegiance," in *Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*, ed. Gerhard Böwering, Patricia Crone, and Mahan Mirza (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 401.

13 Saba Mahmood, "Religious Reason and Secular Affect: An Incommensurable Divide?," *Critical Inquiry* 35, no. 4 (2009): 847; Flood, "Bodies and Becoming," 460.

14 Flood, "Bodies and Becoming," 460–61.

engaging with Prophetic relics by incorporating modes of being and dwelling at the mosque.[15] For example, Muʿawiya extrapolated from the Prophet's itinerant modes of audience beyond the mosque by transposing and fixing the Prophet's qubba at the palace in the form of the Qubbat al-Khadra'. The reason why Muhammad's qubba was omitted from the renowned Prophetic relics also remains an open question. It may be related to the Prophet's reluctance to use a qubba unless necessary, such as when travelling or to create seclusion within the mosque, and his strict refusal to use one within cities, potentially to avoid its pre-Islamic pagan overtones.[16] The disappearance of this important Prophetic relic is complicated by the possibility that the Prophet's qubba may have remained among the *ahl al-bayt*, as evidenced by earlier accounts indicating that qubbas formed a substantial element of a son's inheritance from his father. The Prophet's lack of a male heir may have precluded the qubba's survival, yet the importance of such a relic to supporters of ʿAli suggests that there may have been complicating factors for its disappearance from Islamic history. Whether or not the co-opting of the qubba as a symbol of Umayyad—specifically Sufyanid—authority played a role remains elusive.

While evidence of other colored qubbas, including the red, yellow, white, and blue qubbas discussed in Chapter 4, indicates a complex iconography for the qubba, the context of their reference in palaces, mosques, and shrines means that it is unlikely they would have conformed to or been informed by later medieval Islamic hierarchies of color in which green and red are the most exalted, followed by yellow and blue, which are less highly esteemed.[17] A final aspect of the qubba to consider is the apparent slippage in meaning within the qubba typology, which could refer to both built and cloth structures, as evidenced by references in the *tashbīb* verses of Ramla, daughter of Muʿawiya.[18] The notion of bodies and buildings sharing the quality of being clothed reveals tension in how early Muslims may have perceived the Qubbat al-Khadra' as part of a typology that also included cloth structures.[19] Such broad typology is supported by other instances of reflexive relations between built surfaces, such as marble or stone, and textiles.[20] Finally, considering this slippage in light of traditions of the sanctification of objects and buildings through veiling underscores how early Islamic attitudes towards cloth structures are more complex and nuanced than has been recognized previously.[21]

Ziyad's architectural patronage at both Basra and Kufa formed a new stage of architectural anxiety spurred by the outbreak, interim, and aftermath of the First Islamic Civil War and represents a critical inflection point in the entangled history of Islamic governance, public audience, and the evolution of the mosque and Dar al-Imara. The secured maqsura that developed under ʿUthman and was assimilated under Muʿawiya into the palatial sphere of influence with direct access to the Dar al-Imara was further enhanced under Muʿawiya and Ziyad with the incorporation of the caliph and governor's bodyguards who encircled the ruler while he prayed at the mosque.[22] The optics of this security apparatus would have been damaging, but the alternative was far worse. The early caliphs and governors were at risk of physical assault and an equally damaging loss of face resulting from humiliating and hasty retreats into the safety of the palace. The negative implications

15 Flood, "Bodies and Becoming," 461.

16 Tabataba'i and Mirsadri, "The Qurʾānic Cosmology," 233.

17 Hirsch, "Clothing and Colours in Early Islam," 103–4, 109–10.

18 Shihāb al-Dīn Al-Hanafī, *Ḥāshiyat al-Shihāb al-Musammá bi-ʿInāyat al-Qāḍī wa-Kifāyat al-Rāḍī ʿalá Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* (Beirut: Dar Ṣādir, n.d.), 2:17.

19 Flood, "Bodies, Books and Buildings," 49–68.

20 On the comparison between variegated marble and textiles in the Islamic and Western contexts, see Finbarr Barry Flood, "'God's Wonder': Marble as Medium and the Natural Image in Mosques and Modernism," *West 86th* 23, no. 2 (2016): 174, 195.

21 Gruber, "Islamic Architecture on the Move," 244.

22 Perlman, "The Bodyguard of the Caliphs," 318–20.

of a visibly hidden caliph would become far less of an issue towards the end of the Umayyad period when palaces were designed around mediated, carefully apportioned access to the governor or caliph, such as in the example of the Citadel of Amman, which offered a "physical re-enactment of social hierarchies."[23]

Unlike his predecessors, Muʿawiya's governor, Ziyad, not only sat upon a minbar but also ruled from a fortified Dar al-Imara and prayed within a maqsura, a right previously believed to be reserved for caliphs. At Basra he replaced the previous post-conquest mosque and constructed a new mosque of gypsum and baked brick (*al-jiṣṣ wal-ājurr*).[24] The mosque and Dar al-Imara complex in Kufa received similar treatment. Ziyad's complexes at both cities reveal the deeper sinews of the evolving paradigm of governance in Islam, which was shaped by an identity that evolved in tandem with the caliphal. A top priority for Ziyad seems to have been his own security, which is not surprising considering the assassination of three of the four Rightly Guided Caliphs and his mandate to reconcile and bring to heel conflicting tribal allegiances through governance at both mosque and palace. Ziyad's decision to relocate the Dar al-Imara behind the qibla at Basra almost certainly sprung from this anxiety, although this arrangement predates his governorship. Although the sources attribute this choice to the impropriety of the imam passing through the congregation to lead prayer, it is likely that Ziyad was motivated by the need to ensure his own safety, which he accomplished through direct access from the palace into his maqsura.[25] Ziyad's replacement of the early mud-brick mosque and Dar al-Imara at both cities with more permanent structures echoed his master's efforts in Damascus, where Muʿawiya's own Khadra' palace was already likely constructed. By taking the history of early Islamic governance into account when interpreting surviving physical evidence, a new frontier of questions may yet emerge. Finally, this analysis offers a tempering of polarized discourse on the archaeological evidence at Kufa and other contested sites of early Islam. Enabling the evidence to self-generate questions may one day close the evidentiary gaps to allow a re-charting of knowledge boundaries and partially reverse the invisibility of this palace in the scholarly record.[26]

In Jerusalem the intricate symbolic repertoires of the Haram al-Sharif serve as a record of the myriad opportunities for embodied experience of the divine covenant. In particular, Islamic apocalyptic thought shaped the sacred landscapes of the holy cities of Islam as early as the middle of the seventh century, particularly in the case of Jerusalem. With the Dome of the Rock as the central shrine, the Haram al-Sharif attracted pilgrimage from its inception under the Umayyads. Early Muslims in Jerusalem thus operated within a ritually and symbolically competitive environment that included memories of the Jewish Temple and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. There they probed the spatial, symbolic, and temporal ambiguities of sacred presence centered upon the primordial, biblical and Islamic histories of the Rock. They were impelled to these beliefs and practices for reasons beyond "Islamiciz[ing] Jewish and Christian spaces." Through them they could "access the divine" and gain eschatological advantage for political purposes as well as calm existential fears and yearnings for peace and tranquility.[27]

Achieving this goal included rehabilitating ritual practices centered upon the Haram al-Sharif, primarily those involving public oaths, evocations

23 Damgaard, "Access Granted," 279, 296; and Ignacio Arce, "The Palatine City at ʿAmman Citadel," 192–97.

24 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 1:230.

25 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 1:230.

26 When archaeological excavations resume, such studies may further the interpretation of findings.

27 Stephen Russell Burge, "Angels in Islam: A Commentary with Selected Translations of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's Al-Ḥabā'ik Fī Akhbār Almalā'ik (The Arrangement of the Traditions about Angels)" (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2010), 300–301; and S.R. Burge, *Angels in Islam: Jalal al-Din al-Suyuṭī's al-Ḥabā'ik Fī Akhbār al-Malā'ik* (London: Routledge, 2012), 173.

of relics, and invocation of the sacred enclosures of pre-Islam. These rituals leveraged the divine covenant to guarantee oases of security within a climate of chaos. As discussed in Chapter 2, navigating modalities of violence and non-violence was an established practice in pre-Islamic Arabia, which was governed by pledges of allegiance and oaths of loyalty before the gods that kept violence in check. This took a spatial as well as temporal form, from the sacred enclosures of pre-Islam (*ḥaram*) to the inviolable months when violence is banned (the pre-Islamic and later Islamic *ushhur al-ḥurum*). Divine retribution acted here as the ultimate enforcer and guarantor of peaceful conduct. Beyond the haram this took the form of enclosures within mosques (the maqsura) to protect early rulers from political assassinations and, in the case of Jerusalem, the resurrection of a sacred enclosure that is itself mentioned in the Quran.

The Rock reinforced such beliefs by spatially anchoring a suspended temporality related to both Creation and the End of Days. This enshrinement of eschatological beliefs primarily took the form of ritual and architectural commemoration around the rocky outcrop enclosed within the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, known as *al-sakhra*, or the summit of Mt. Moriah (the location of the former Jewish Temple).[28] This enshrinement entailed the circulation of accounts specifically implicating the Haram al-Sharif in an intricate eschatological choreography as the setting for the climax of the Day of Judgment; that is, the descent of the divine Throne upon the Rock that will render it into God's Footstool. Although the Rock's identification as God's Footstool (*kursī*) was lost by the end of the twelfth century and replaced with an association with the heavenly ascent of the Prophet Muhammad, pilgrimage accounts mostly dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries preserve earlier accounts that vividly capture the primordial and biblical histories of the Rock. Taken together, this body of evidence demonstrates that the Haram al-Sharif and Dome of the Rock are commemorative and anticipatory. These holy sites simultaneously look back to the moment of Creation (the Rock associated with God's act of creation) and forward to the future (the Rock as the point of God's presence on the Day of Judgment and the location of His Throne and audience). By the end of the seventh century, the Muslim response to the endemic violence and contested authority of the first decades of empire led early Muslims to project communal solidarity under the aegis of what united them most, their covenant with God and the promise of an embodied experience of His future presence on the Day of Judgment.

When Raja' b. Haywa and Yazib b. Sallam wrote to ʿAbd al-Malik informing him of the completion of the Dome of the Rock, they concluded their letter by stating, "there is nothing in the building that leaves room for criticism" (*lan yabqa li-mutakkallim fīhī kalām*).[29] Only three decades earlier, ʿAbd al-Malik's predecessor, Muʿawiya, had to contend with criticism targeted against him, specifically that he ruled from a palace built "for himself and the birds," a slight that alluded to the transience of his rule. This was a far cry from Muhammad's stated position that he wished for a mosque akin to the "booth of [his] brother Moses" because the imminence of the End of Days precluded investment in durable and permanent building in brick or stone. The irony of this prophetic proclamation is that ʿAbd al-Malik's Dome of the Rock, with its expression of past divine associations, strongly invokes Moses' Tabernacle, if it were rendered into monumental architectural language. Muhammad's entreaties to his followers were overcome by the choices of his successors, but their memory lingered and shaped attitudes towards monumental building that resonate till the present day. While this change in mindset encapsulates shifts in identity embedded within

28 Not all scholars agree with this view. For a summary of the historiographic debates, see Cameron, "Late Antique Apocalyptic," 1–6.

29 Al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, 81; and Rabbat, "The Dome of the Rock Revisited," 68.

architectural attitudes and aspirations, it also intertwines beliefs around the precarity of earthly dwelling and architecture's role in defining its parameters.

2 Body Politics and the Formation of Islamic Architecture

Establishing solidarity and consensus building in times of upheaval contributed to the stability of the early Islamic empire, while the use of architecture to control violence and bloodshed through strategic manipulation of violent acts of sedition played a profound role in shaping early Islamic architecture. Objects, typologies, and boundaries meant to limit violence undergird the innerworkings of societies. They also write their own histories and have much to teach us about the development of early Islamic architecture. Sedition, acknowledged by early Muslims "as more destructive than killing" (*in al-fitnatu ashadu min al-qatl*), is by definition a breakdown of consensus. Violence, too, is inherently a breakdown in human connection and the loss of a sense of safety.[30] When dwelling is regarded as an embodied experience, it becomes clear that navigating physical spaces in the early Islamic world enabled prescribed modes of being that rehabilitated and restrained human activity. Poignantly, and perhaps fittingly, a recent survey of Safaitic inscriptions in southern Jordan has revealed just that: the most common supplications in pre-Islamic Arabia implored security and safety.[31]

Beliefs concerning the invocation of divine presence in early Islam may explain the use of relics in battle and Qurans as talismans in warfare. During the Battle of Siffin, Muʿawiya famously ordered his troops to raise Qurans on spears to indicate his willingness to strike a treaty. This demonstration of piety disarmed ʿAli's troops, enabling Muʿawiya to gain the upper hand in negotiations. A decade later the Umayyad governor al-Hajjaj plastered the walls of his mosque and palace in Wasit with leaves from the Quran. This act is similarly interpreted as an attempt to inoculate the space from harm after quelling rebellion in Iraq.[32] The blood-spattered Quran of ʿUthman was later co-opted as a visceral reminder of the injustice that befell the Umayyad clan in 750. It reportedly made its way to al-Andalus with the last Umayyad prince, ʿAbd al-Rahman I (*al-Dakhīl*).[33] Over time the caliphs of Cordoba incorporated ʿUthman's Quran into public ceremonial at their mosque, and by the tenth century ʿUthman's Quran came to be housed in a purpose-built treasury near the mihrab of the sumptuous maqsura of al-Hakam II in the Great Mosque of Cordoba (Fig. 7.3 and 7.4).[34] Brought out each day in a candle-lit procession and read by the imam, the ʿUthmani Codex was revered as a tangible link with the Umayyad caliphate, the Prophet Muhammad, and Medina. This history is a reminder of the role of relics in performances of restorative justice in medieval Islam. Al-Tabari's comparisons between the veneration of ʿAli's chair and the veneration of the Ark of the Covenant through ritual circumambulation, carriage into holy war, covering with a cloth, and association with *sakīna* reveal the anxiety around the general use of relics and their mobilization in civil strife. The fascinating Andalusi history of these relics notwithstanding, our understanding of the politicization of relics in early Islamic architecture

30 *Fitna* in Islam centers "the idea that violent events or trials can distinguish true from hypocritical believers by forcing each person to take a stand or to have their character shaped." Cook, "Fitna in Early Islamic History."

31 Ahmad Al-Jallad, *The Religion and Rituals of the Nomads of Pre-Islamic Arabia: A Reconstruction Based on the Safaitic Inscriptions* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 56.

32 Ibn al-Faqih, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 268.

33 ʿAbd al-Rahman III may have even carried ʿUthman's Quran into battle. It has also been suggested that the ʿUthmani Codex is the precious Quran that he ransomed for a small fortune when it was taken by Christian forces in the Battle of Al-Khandaq in 939. Zadeh, "From Drops of Blood," 340.

34 Khoury, "The Meaning of the Great Mosque of Cordoba," 86–90.

FIGURE 7.3
The Great Mosque of Cordoba, maqsura and mihrab, extension of al-Hakam II, 965. (Heba Mostafa)

remains limited.[35] Repositioning relics in early Islam into their historical context—specifically, their public display in speeches, ceremonies, and warfare—unlocks their agency as reenactors of historical trauma and, more importantly, reveals the dialogic nature of relic use in early Islam more generally. By looking closely at narratives and counternarratives of the Umayyad use of relics, a more complete picture of the history of relics in Islam emerges. Further inquiry into this history may inform our understanding of later patterns of relic use under al-Walid I, such as the invention of the relics of St. John the Baptist at the Great Mosque of Damascus and invocations of the Prophet Muhammad at his mosque in Medina.[36]

35 Outstanding questions include why the relics of ʿUmar, who was assassinated in Medina in 644, were not similarly revered and why ʿUthman's bloodied clothes were removed for public display in contravention of proper martyr burial in Islam, despite the importance of such a narrative for Umayyad claims. For a forthcoming examination of relics in early Islam in relation to the Prophet Muhammad, see Adam Bursi, *Traces of the Prophet: Relics and Sacred Spaces in Early Islam*, (forthcoming).

36 George, *The Umayyad Mosque of Damascus*, 102–7.

FIGURE 7.4 General view of the Maqsura of al-Hakam II, Great Mosque of Cordoba. (Heba Mostafa)

When the identity of caliphs and governors is recognized as embattled, oscillating, and unstable, caliphal agency assumes parity with other operative factors, such as communal perception, threats of physical violence, and loss of status. Recognizing early Islamic architecture as part of this negotiation between political reality and embattled identity reveals its parametric logic. This analysis challenges entrenched paradigms of the formation of early Islamic architecture as principally in dialogue with architectural precedent and reveals that early Islamic architecture likely engaged with other types of operative precedents, including modalities of governance and rulership within pre-Islamic Arabia and late antiquity broadly defined. Approaching the formation of Islamic architecture through embodiment, the experience of anxiety, the tracking of the caliphal body, and the audience event also reveals how present and tangible bodies as well as intangible bodies and transcendent entities worked parametrically to shape the architecture of early Islam. This counterhistory serves at its core to humanize the early Muslim community as well as the common protagonists of early Islam; caliphs, governors, prophets, and their memories. While early Muslims, bound in covenant with God, may have through necessity navigated empire building through acts of violence, they primarily did so through creating spaces of non-violence, consensus building, negotiation, and arbitration. All these efforts left their traces at the mosque, palace, and shrine. The Umayyad's existential fears that are visible in their architecture were ultimately realized with the decimation of their bloodline by the Abbasids in 750. However, Umayyad political demise did not lead to cultural death; quite the opposite, their memory lives on in nearly every facet of Islamic architecture.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Al-Azraqī, Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh. *Akhbār Makkah wa-mā jāʾ fīhā min al-āthār*. Al-Ṭabʿah 3. Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1969.

Al-Baghdādī, ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn ʿUmar. *Khizānat al-adab wa-lubb lubāb lisān al-ʿArab*. Turāthunā. Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī lil-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-Nashr, 1967.

Al-Balādhurī, Ahmad. *The Origins of the Islamic State: Being a Translation from the Arabic Accompanied with Annotations Geographic and Historic Notes of the Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān, of al Imām Abu-l Abbās Ahmad Ibn Jābir al-Balādhurī*. Translated by Philip Khuri Hitti. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2002.

Al-Balkhī, Muqātil ibn Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*. Edited by ʿAbdallāh Mahmud Shihata, 5 vols. Beirut: Dar Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth, 2010.

Al-Hamadānī, Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik. *Takmilat Tarīkh al-Ṭabarī*. Edited by Albert Yūsuf Kanʿaan. 2nd ed. Beirut: al-Matbaʿah al-Kathulikiyah, 1961.

Al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. *Tārīkh al-Islām wa-Wafiyāt al-Mashāhīr wa-al-Aʿlām*. Al-Ṭabʿah 2. 15 vols. Dar al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1970.

Al-Ḥanafī, Shihāb al-Dīn. *Ḥāshiyat al-Shihāb al-Musammāh bi-ʿInāyat al-Qāḍī wa-Kifāyat al-Rāḍī ʿalāh Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*. 8 vols. Beirut: Dar Ṣādir, n.d.

Al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī. *Al-Maqrīzi's "Book of Contention and Strife Concerning the Relations between the Banū Umayya and the Banū Hāshim."* Translated and edited by Clifford Edmund Bosworth. Manchester: University of Manchester, 1981.

Al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī. *Kitāb al-mawāʿiẓ wa-al-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-al-āthār: yakhtaṣṣu dhālika bi-akhbār iqlīm Miṣr wa-al-Nīl wa-dhikr al-Qāhirah wa-mā yataʿallaqu bi-hā wa-bi-iqlīmihā*. 1st ed. 4 vols. Beirut: Dar al-Kotob al-ʿIlmiyah, 1997.

Al-Muqaddasī, Shams al-Dīn Abī ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Bannāʾ al-Shamī. *Aḥsan Al-Taqāsīm fī Maʿrifat al-Aqālīm*. 2nd ed. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1877.

Al-Masʿūdī. *Kitāb Murūj Al-Dhahab Wa Maʿādin al-Jawhar*. Edited and translated by C. Barbier de Meynard. 9 vols. Paris, 1861.

Al-Masʿūdī, ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī. *al-Tanbīh wa-al-Ishrāf*. Edited by ʿAbdallah Ismaʿīl Al-Ṣawī. Cairo: Dār al-Sāwī, n.d.

Al-Qazwīnī, Zakāriyya ibn Muḥammad. *Āthār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-ʿIbād*. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1960.

Al-Samhūdī, ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh. *Khulāṣat al-wafā bi-akhbār dār al-Muṣṭafa*. Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Būlāq, 1869.

Al-Ṣāwī, ʿAbd Allāh Ismāʿīl, ed., *Sharḥ dīwān al-Farazdaq*. Cairo: 1936.

Al-Ṭabarī, Muhammad b. Jarīr. *Taʾrīkh al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk*. Edited by M.J. de Goeje et al., 15 vols. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1879–1901.

Al-Ṭabarī, Muhammad b. Jarīr. *The History of al-Ṭabarī = Taʾrīkh al-Rusul wa'l Mulūk*. Albany: State University of New York, 1985–2007.

Al-Ṭabarī, Muhammad b. Jarīr. Aḥmed b. Jarīr. *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī: jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl al-Qurʾān*. Edited by Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir and Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir. Turāth al-Islām. Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1955.

Al-Ṭabarī, Muhammad b. Jarīr. *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī: jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl al-Qurʾān*. Edited by ʿAbdallah b. Muḥsin Al-Turkī. 26 vols. Dar Hajr, 2001.

Al-Thaʿlabī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. *ʿArāʾis Al-Majālis Fī Qiṣaṣ Al-Anbiyāʾ or "Lives of the Prophets"*. Translated by William M. Brinner. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

Al-Wāsiṭī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. *Faḍāʾil al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*. Edited by Isaac Hasson. Silsilat Maks Shlūsinjir al-tadhkārīyah. Texts 3. Jerusalem: Dār Māghnis lil-Nashr, al-Jāmiʿah al-ʿIbrīyah fī Ūrushalīm, 1979.

Al-Yaʿqūbī, Aḥmad ibn Abī Yaʿqūb. *Tārīkh*. Edited by Martijn Theodor Houtsam. Lugduni: Batavorum, E.J. Brill, 1883.

Al-Yaʿqūbī, Aḥmad ibn Abī Yaʿqūb, and Wilhelmus Theodorus Juynboll. *Kitāb Al-Buldān*. Liber Regionum. Laydan: Maṭbaʿ Bariīl, 1860.

Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. *Kitāb al-Buldān*. Al-Ṭabʿah 1. Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1996.

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, and Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī Ḥuṣrī. *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*. Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿah al-ʿĀmirah, 1293.

Ibn ʿAsākir, ʿAli ibn al-Hasan. *La description de Damas d'Ibn ʿAsākir*. Translated and edited by Nikita Elisséeff. Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1959.

Ibn ʿAsākir. *Tarīkh Madīnat Dimishq*. Edited by Umar b. Gharāma al-ʿUmrawi. Vol. 42. Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1996.

Ibn al-Athīr, ʿIzz al-Dīn, *Usd al-ghāba fi miʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba*. Beirut: Dar Ibn Hazm, 2012.

Ibn Habib, ʿAbd al-Malik. *Kitāb al-Tārīkh*. Edited by ʿAbd al-Ghanī Mistū. 1st ed. Sidon: al-Maktabah al-ʿAṣriyah, 2008.

Ibn Hishām, ʿAbd al-Malik. *Kitāb al-Tījān fī Mulūk Ḥimyar*. Al-Ṭabʿah 2. Sanaa: al-Jumhūrīyah al-ʿArabīyah al-Yamanīyah, 1979.

Ibn Jubayr. *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr: A Medieval Journey from Cordoba to Jerusalem*. Translated by Ronald Broadhurst. 1st edition. London: I.B. Tauris, 2019.

Ibn Manẓūr, Muḥammad ibn Mukarram. *Lisān Al-ʿArab*. Cairo: al-ṭabʿah al-Kubra al-Miṣriyyah, 1882.

Ibn Qutaybah, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim. *The Excellence of the Arabs*. New York: New York University Press, 2019.

Ibn Rustah, Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad Ibn ʿUmar, *Kitāb al-Aʿlāk al-Nafīsa*, Mujallad VII. Edited by M.J. de Goeje, 2nd ed. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1891.

Ibn Taghrībirdī al-Ḥanafī, Yūsuf. *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, 16 vols., Dar al-Kutub, Cairo, 1963.

Khoury, Raif Georges. *Wahb b. Munabbih*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1972.

Secondary Sources

ʿAlī, S.A. "Khiṭaṭ Al-Baṣra." *Sumer* 8, no. 1 (1952): 72–83.

Akbar, Jamel. "Khaṭṭa and the Territorial Structure of Early Muslim Towns." *Muqarnas* 6 (1989): 22–32.

Alajmi, Abdulhadi. *Political Legitimacy in Early Islam: Al-Awza'i Interactions with the Umayyad and ʿAbbasid States*. Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2009.

Al-Azmeh, Aziz. *Muslim Kingship: Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian, and Pagan Polities*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2001.

Al-Azmeh, Aziz. *The Arabs and Islam in Late Antiquity: A Critique of Approaches to Arabic Sources*. Berlin: Gerlach Press, 2014.

Al-Azmeh, Aziz. *The Emergence of Islam in Late Antiquity: Allah and His People*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Ali, Abdullah Yusuf. *The Holy Qur'an; Text, Translation and Commentary by Abdullah Yusuf Ali*. 3rd ed. Washington, DC: American International Print. Co., 1946.

Ali, Nadia, and Mattia Guidetti. "Umayyad Palace Iconography." In *Power, Patronage, and Memory in Early Islam: Perspectives on Umayyad Elites*. Edited by Andrew Marsham and Alain George, 175–252. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Al-Jallad, Ahmad. *The Religion and Rituals of the Nomads of Pre-Islamic Arabia: A Reconstruction Based on the Safaitic Inscriptions*. Leiden: Brill, 2022.

Almagro Gorbea, Antonio. *El Palacio Omeya de Amman*. Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1983.

Al-Qadi, Wadad. "The Term 'Khalīfa' in Early Exegetical Literature." *Die Welt Des Islams* 28, no. 1–4 (1988): 392–411.

Al-Qadi, Wadad Kadi. "The Primordial Covenant and Human History in the Qur'ān." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 147, no. 4 (2003): 332–38.

AlSayyad, Nezar. *Cities and Caliphs: On the Genesis of Arab Muslim Urbanism*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1991.

Altıkulaç, Tayyar. *Al-Mushaf al-sharif: attributed to ʿUthman bin ʿAffan:* (*the copy at the Topkapi Palace Museum*). Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture, 2007.

Anderson, Benjamin. *Cosmos and Community in Early Medieval Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017.

Anthony, Sean. "Prophetic Dominion, Umayyad Kingship: Varieties of *mulk* in the Early Islamic Period." In *The Umayyad World*. Edited by Andrew Marsham, 39–64. London: Routledge, 2020.

Anthony, Sean W. *Muhammad and the Empires of Faith: The Making of the Prophet of Islam*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2020.

Anthony, Sean W. *The Emergence of Islam in Late Antiquity: Allah and His People*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Anthony, Sean W. "The Syriac Account of Dionysius of Tell Maḥrē Concerning the Assassination of ʿUmar b.

Al-Khaṭṭāb*." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 69, no. 2 (2010): 209–24.

Antun, Thallein Mireille. *The Architectural Form of the Mosque in the Central Arab Lands, from the Hijra to the End of the Umayyad Period, 1/622–133/750*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports Ltd, 2016.

Arce, Ignacio. "The Palatine City at ʿAmman Citadel: The Construction of a Palatine Architecture under the Umayyads (II)." In *Residences, Castles, Settlements. Transformation Processes from Late Antiquity to Early Islam in Bilad al-Sham. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Damascus, 5–9 November 2006*. Edited by Karin Bartl and Moaz Abd al-Razzaq, 183–216. Rahden: VML, Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2008.

Arculfus, Bishop. *The Pilgrimage of Arculfus in the Holy Land about the Year A.D. 670*. Edited and translated by J.R. MacPherson. London: Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, 1895.

Arendt, Hannah. *Men in Dark Times*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1968.

Arnold, Bill T. "Old Testament Eschatology and the Rise of Apocalypticism." In *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology*. Edited by Jerry L. Walls., 23–39. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Assman, Jan. "The Institutionalization of Divine Presence." In *The Invention of Religion: Faith and Covenant in the Book of Exodus*, 287–326. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018.

Avner, Rina. "The Kathisma: A Christian and Muslim Pilgrimage Site." *ARAM* 19 (2007): 541–57.

Avner-Levy, Rina. "The Dome of the Rock in Light of the Development of Concentric Martyria in Jerusalem: Architecture and Architectural Iconography." *Muqarnas* 27 (2010): 31–49.

Aydin, Hilmi. *The Sacred Trusts: Pavilion of the Sacred Relics, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul*. Edited by Ahmet Doğru and Talha Uğurluel. Clifton, NJ: Tughra Books, 2014.

Ayoub, Mahmoud Mustafa. *The Crisis of Muslim History: Religion and Politics in Early Islam*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2003.

Ayyad, Essam. *The Making of the Mosque: A Survey of Religious Imperatives*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2019.

Ayyad, Essam S. "The 'House of the Prophet' or the 'Mosque of the Prophet'?" *Journal of Islamic Studies* 24, no. 3 (2013): 273–334.

Bacharach, Jere. "Administrative Complexes, Palaces, and Citadels: Changes in the Loci of Medieval Muslim Rule." In *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*. Edited by Irene Bierman, Rifaʿat A. Abou-El-Haj, and Donald Preziosi, 105–22. New Rochelle: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1991.

Barbier, Josiane, François Chausson, and Sylvain Destephen. *Le gouvernement en déplacement. Pouvoir et mobilité de l'Antiquité à nos jours*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires des Rennes, 2019.

Behrens-Abouseif, Doris. "The Lion-Gazelle Mosaic at Khirbat al-Mafjar." *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 11–18.

Beihammer, Alexander Daniel, Stavroula Constantinou, and Maria G. Parani. *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean: Comparative Perspectives*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Bell, Richard, and W. Montgomery Watt. *Bell's Introduction to the Qurʾān*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970.

Ben-Dov, M. "The Omayyad Structures Near the Temple Mount (Preliminary Report)," *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies* 10 (1971): 35–40.

Bennison, Amira K. "The Almohads and the Qurʾān of ʿUthmān: The Legacy of the Umayyads of Cordoba in the Twelfth Century Maghrib." *Al-Masāq* 19, no. 2 (2007): 131–54.

Berkey, Jonathan Porter. *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East, 600–1800*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Bernards, Monique, and John Nawas. *Patronate and Patronage in Early and Classical Islam*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Bier, Lionel. *Sarvistan: A Study in Early Iranian Architecture*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986.

Bier, Lionel. "The Sasanian Palaces and Their Influence in Early Islam." In "Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces." Edited by Gülru Necipoğlu. Special issue, *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 57–66.

Bijovsky, Gabriela. "A Byzantine Gold Hoard from Bet She'an." *American Numismatic Society Magazine* 1, no. 3 (2002): 16–20.

Blair, Sheila S., and Jonathan M. Bloom. "The Mirage of Islamic Art: Reflections on the Study of an Unwieldy Field." *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 1 (March 2003): 152–84.

Blair, Sheila S. "What Is the Date of the Dome of the Rock?" In *Bayt Al-Maqdis: 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem*. Edited by Julian Raby and Jeremy Johns, 59–87. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Blair Moore, Kathryn. "The Dome of the Rock Through the Centuries." In *Religious Architecture of Islam*. Edited by Kathryn Blair Moore and Hasan-Uddin Khan, 109–23. Turnhout: Brepols, 2021.

Blessing, Patricia. "Draping, Wrapping, Hanging: Transposing Textile Materiality in the Middle Ages." *The Textile Museum Journal*, no. 45 (2018): 2–21.

Bloom, Jonathan M. "The *Qubbat al-Khaḍrā'* and the Iconography of Height in Early Islamic Architecture." In "Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces." Edited by Gülru Necipoğlu. Special issue, *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 135–41.

Borrut, Antoine. *Entre mémoire et pouvoir: L'espace syrien sous les derniers Omeyyades et les premiers Abbassides (v. 72–193/692–809)*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Borrut, Antoine. "Pouvoir mobile et construction de l'espace dans les premiere siècles de l'islam." In *Le gouvernement en déplacement: Pouvoir et mobilité de l'Antiquité à nos jours*. Edited by Sylvain Destephen, François Chausson, and Josiane Barbier, 255–64. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2019.

Borrut, Antoine. "Remembering Karbalā': The Construction of an Early Islamic Site of Memory." *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 42 (2015), 249–82.

Borrut, Antoine. "The Future of the Past: Historical Writing in Early Islamic Syria and Umayyad Memory." In *Power, Patronage, and Memory in Early Islam: Perspectives on Umayyad Elites*. Edited by Andrew Marsham and Alain George, 275–300. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Borrut, Antoine. "Vanishing Syria: Periodization and Power in Early Islam." *Der Islam (Berlin)* 91, no. 1 (2014): 37–68.

Bowersock, G.W. *The Crucible of Islam*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017.

Böwering, G. "Time." In *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*. Edited by Jane Dammen McAuliffe, 5:278–90. Leiden: Brill, 2001–6.

Böwering, Gerhard. "Chronology and the Qur'ān." In *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*. Edited by Jane Dammen McAuliffe, 1:316–35. Leiden: Brill, 2001–6.

Böwering, Gerhard. "The Concept of Time in Islam." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 141, no. 1 (1997): 55–66.

Bruning, Jelle. *The Rise of a Capital: Al-Fustat and Its Hinterland, 18/639–132/750*. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Burge, S.R. *Angels in Islam: Jalal al-Din al-Suyuṭī's al-Ḥabā'ik Fī Akhbār al-Malā'ik*. London: Routledge, 2012.

Burge, Stephen Russell. "Angels in Islam: A Commentary with Selected Translations of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's Al-Ḥabā'ik Fī Akhbār Almalā'ik (The Arrangement of the Traditions about Angels)." PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2010.

Bursi, Adam. "A Holy Heretical Body: Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh's Corpse and Early Islamic Sectarianism." *Studies in Late Antiquity* 2, no. 2 (2018): 147–79.

Bursi, Adam. "Scents of Space: Early Islamic Pilgrimage, Perfume, and Paradise." *Arabica* 67, no. 2–3 (2020): 200–234.

Bursi, Adam. *Traces of the Prophet: Relics and Sacred Spaces in Early Islam*. Forthcoming.

Bursi, Adam C. "Fluid Boundaries: Christian Sacred Space and Islamic Relics in an Early *Ḥadīth*." In *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 27, no. 6 (2022): 478–510.

Busse, Heribert. "The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam." *Judaism* 17, no. 4 (Fall 1968): 441–68.

Busse, Heribert. "The Temple of Jerusalem and Its Restitution by 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān." In *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*. Edited by Bianca Kühnel, 23–33. Jerusalem: Center for Jewish Art, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1998.

Cameron, Averil. "Late Antique Apocalyptic: A Context for the Qur'an?" In *Apocalypticism and Eschatology in Late Antiquity: Encounters in the Abrahamic Religions, 6th–8th Centuries*. Edited by Amirav Hagit, Emmanouela Grypeou, and Guy Stroumsa, 1–19. Leuven: Peeters, 2018.

Campo, Juan Eduardo. "House, Domestic and Divine." In *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*. Edited by Jane Dammen McAuliffe, 2:458–62. Leiden: Brill, 2001–6.

Chehab, Hafez K. "On the Identification of ʿAnjar (ʿAyn al-Jarr) as an Umayyad Foundation." *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 42–48.

Chehab, Maurice. "The Umayyad Palace at ʿAnjar." *Ars Orientalis* 5 (1963): 17–25.

Chipman, Leigh N.B. "Mythic Aspects of the Process of Adam's Creation in Judaism and Islam." *Studia Islamica*, no. 93 (2001): 5–25.

Cohen, Thomas V. "The Macrohistory of Microhistory." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 47, no. 1 (2017): 53–73.

Collins, John J. "Apocalyptic Eschatology in the Ancient World." In *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology*. Edited by Jerry L. Walls, 41–47. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Collins, Paul Thomas, ed. *Basra: Its History, Culture and Heritage: Proceedings of the Conference Celebrating the Opening of the Basrah Museum, September 28–29, 2016*. Dorset: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 2019.

Cook, Michael. "Did the Prophet Muhammad Hold Court?" In *Court Cultures in the Muslim World: Seventh to Nineteenth Centuries*. Edited by Albrecht Fuess and Jan-Peter Hartung, 23–29. London: Routledge, 2010.

Cook, David B. "Fitna in Early Islamic History." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*. Edited by Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, Devin J. Stewart. Accessed April 8, 2023, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_27151.

Creswell, K.A.C. *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958.

Creswell, K.A.C. *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*. Revised and edited by James W. Allan. Aldershot: Scolar, 1989.

Creswell, K.A.C., and Marguerite Gautier-van Berchem. *Early Muslim Architecture*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.

Crone, Patricia. *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Crone, Patricia, and Martin Hinds. *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Cytryn-Silverman, Katia. "City Centre of Early Islamic Tiberias (Tabariyya)." *Fondation Max Van Berchem Bulletin*, no. 23 (2009): 5–7.

Cytryn-Silverman, Katia. "The Umayyad Mosque of Tiberias." *Muqarnas* 26, no. 1 (2009): 37–61.

Dabashi, Hamid. *Authority in Islam: From the Rise of Muhammad to the Establishment of the Umayyads*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1989.

Damgaard, Kristoffer. "Access Granted: The Phenomenology of Approach in Early Islamic Palatial Architecture." *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 2 (2013): 273–305.

Di Cesare, Michelina. "Nota su un dipinto parietale rinvenuto nel Qasr al-Imara di Kufa, il suo contesto archeologico e storico-artistico." *Mantua Humanistic Studies* 9. Edited by Raffaella Santi, 105–40. Mantova: Universitas Studiorum, 2020.

Di Cesare, Michelina. "*Manāzil Sulaymān*: Solomonic Memory and the Islamic Empire in the Early Abbasid Period." *Before Archaeology: The Meaning of the Past in the Islamic Pre-Modern Thought* (*and After*). Edited by Leonardo Capezzone, 31–60. Rome: Editoriale Artemide s.r.l., 2020.

Djaït, Hichem. *Al-Fitnah: jadalīyat al-dīn wa-al-siyāsah fī al-Islām al-mubakkir*. Ṭabʿah 2. Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿah, 1993.

Djaït, Hichem. *Al-Kūfa, naissance de la ville islamique*. Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1986.

Djaït, Hichem. *Al-Kūfah: Nash'at al-Madīnah al-ʿArabīyah al-Islāmīyah*. Al-Ṭabʿah 1. Barnāmaj Kātib wa-Kitāb. 86. al-Kuwayt: Mu'assasat al-Kuwayt lil-Taqaddum al-ʿIlmī, Idārat al-Ta'līf wa-al-Tarjamah, 1986.

Djamali, Morteza, Manuela Capano, Alireza Askari-Chaverdi, Nicolas Faucherre, Frédéric Guibal, Alastair Northedge, Elnaz Rashidian, Thibaut Tuna, and Edouard Bard. "An Absolute Radiocarbon Chronology for the World Heritage Site of Sarvestan (SW Iran): A Late Sasanian Heritage in Early Islamic Era." *Archaeometry* 64, no. 2 (2022): 545–59.

Dodds, Jerrilynn Denise. *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990.

Donner, Fred M. "Umayyad Efforts at Legitimation: The Umayyads' Silent Heritage." In *Umayyad Legacies: Medieval Memories from Syria to Spain*. Edited by Antoine Borrut and Paul M. Cobb, 185–211. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Donner, Fred McGraw. *Muhammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010.

Dūrī, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. *Early Islamic Institutions: Administration and Taxation from the Caliphate to the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2011.

Elad, Amikam. "ʿAbd Al-Malik and the Dome of the Rock." *Jerusalem Studies* 35 (2008): 167–226.

Elad, Amikam. *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage*. 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Elad, Amikam. "Why Did ʿAbd Al-Malik Build the Dome of the Rock? A Re-Examination of the Muslim Sources." In *Bayt Al-Maqdis: ʿAbd al-Malik's Jerusalem*. Edited by Julian Raby and Jeremy Johns, 33–58. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Fahd, T. "Firāsa." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill, 2012. Accessed April 8, 2023, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_2374.

Fairchild Ruggles, D. "Visible and Invisible Bodies: The Architectural Patronage of Shajar Al-Durr." *Muqarnas* 32, no. 1 (2015): 63–78.

Fariq, K.A. "A Remarkable Early Muslim Governor: Ziyad Ibn Abih." *Islamic Culture* 26, no. 4 (1952): 1–31.

Fehérvári, G. "Miḥrāb." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill, 2012. Accessed April, 8, 2023, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0733.

Filiu, Jean-Pierre, and M.B. DeBevoise. *Apocalypse in Islam*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

Finster, B., and J. Schmidt. "The Origin of 'Desert Castles': Qasr Bani Muqatil, near Karbala, Iraq." *Antiquity* 79, no. 304 (2005): 339–49.

Firestone, Reuven. "Shekhinah." In *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*. Edited by Jane Dammen McAuliffe, 4:589–91. Leiden: Brill, 2001–6.

Fisher, Greg, ed. *Arabs and Empires before Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Flood, Finbarr B. "Bodies and Becoming: Mimesis, Mediation, and the Ingestion of the Sacred in Christianity and Islam." In *Sensational Religion: Sensory Cultures in Material Practice*. Edited by Sally M. Promey, 459–93. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.

Flood, Finbarr Barry. "Between Cult and Culture: Bamiyan, Islamic Iconoclasm, and the Museum." *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 4 (2002): 641–59.

Flood, Finbarr Barry. "Bodies, Books and Buildings: Economies of Ornament in Juridical Islam." In *Clothing Sacred Scriptures: Book Art and Book Religion in Christian, Islamic, and Jewish Cultures*. Edited by David Ganz and Barbara Schellewald, 49–68. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018.

Flood, Finbarr Barry. "From the Prophet to Postmodernism? New World Orders and the End of Islamic Art." In *Making Art History: A Changing Discipline and Its Institutions*. Edited by Elizabeth Mansfield, 43–65. London: Routledge, 2007.

Flood, Finbarr Barry. "'God's Wonder': Marble as Medium and the Natural Image in Mosques and Modernism." *West 86th* 23, no. 2 (2016): 168–219.

Flood, Finbarr B. "Light in Stone: The Commemoration of the Prophet in Umayyad Architecture." In *Bayt Al-Maqdis: Jerusalem and Early Islam*. Edited by Jeremy Johns, 311–59. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Flood, Finbarr Barry. *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Foss, Clive. "Muʿāwiya's State." In *Money, Power and Politics in Early Islamic Syria: A Review of Current Debates*. Edited by John Haddon, 75–96. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.

Fowden, Garth. *Quṣayr ʿAmra: Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Frye, Richard. "The Charisma of the King of Kings." In *Persia* (*RLE Iran A*), 23–35. London: Routledge, 2011.

Gamsa, Mark. "Biography and (Global) Microhistory." *New Global Studies* 11, no. 3 (October 2017): 231–41.

Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.

Gelovani, Nani. "Arab-Byzantine Relations under the Umayyad Caliphate and South Caucasus." *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity* 3, no. 1 (January 2013): 26–29.

Genequand, Denis. "The Archaeological Evidence for the Jafnids and the Naṣrids." In *Arabs and Empires before Islam*. Edited by Greg Fisher. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

George, Alain. "A Builder of Mosques: The Projects of al-Walid I, from Sanaa to Homs." In *Fruit of Knowledge, Wheel of Learning: Essays in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand*. Edited by Melanie Gibson and Robert Hillenbrand, 16–49. London: Gingko Library, 2021.

George, Alain. "Paradise or Empire?" In *Power, Patronage, and Memory in Early Islam: Perspectives on Umayyad Elites*. Edited by Andrew Marsham and Alain George, 39–68. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

George, Alain. *The Umayyad Mosque of Damascus: Art, Faith and Empire in Early Islam*. Edited by Melanie Gibson. London: Gingko, 2020.

George, Alain Fouad. "The Dome of the Rock." In *Routledge Handbook on Jerusalem*. Edited by Suleiman A. Mourad, Naomi Koltun-Fromm, and Bedross Der Matossian, 185–97. London: Routledge, 2018.

Gibb, H.A.R. "ʿAbd Al-Malik b. Marwān." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill, 2012. Accessed April 8, 2023, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0733.

Gibb, H.A.R. "The Evolution of Government in Early Islam." *Studia Islamica*, no. 4 (1955): 5–17.

Gibb, H.A.R. "Studies on the Civilization of Islam." *Studia Islamica*, no. 4 (1955): 5–17.

Gibson, Melanie, and Robert Hillenbrand. *Fruit of Knowledge, Wheel of Learning: Essays in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand*. London: Gingko Library, 2022.

Goitein, Shelomo Dov. "The Historical Background of the Erection of the Dome of the Rock." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 70, no. 2 (1950): 104–8.

Goldziher, I. *Muhammedanische Studien*. 2 vols. Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1889.

Golombek, Lisa. "The Draped Universe of Islam." In *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*. Edited by Priscilla P. Soucek, 25–49. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988.

Grabar, Oleg. "Al-Mshatta, Baghdad and Wasit." In *The World of Islam* (*Studies in Honor of Paul K. Hitti*). Edited by J. Kritzeck and R.B. Winder, 99–108. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd, 1960.

Grabar, Oleg. "Ceremonial and Art at the Umayyad Court." PhD diss., Princeton University, 1955.

Grabar, Oleg. "From Dome of Heaven to Pleasure Dome." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 49, no. 1 (1990): 15–21.

Grabar, Oleg. "Notes Sur Les Cérémonies Umayyades." In *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*. Edited by Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, 51–60. Jerusalem: Institute of Asian and African Studies, 1977.

Grabar, Oleg. *The Dome of the Rock*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006.

Grabar, Oleg. *The Formation of Islamic Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.

Grabar, Oleg. "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem." *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959): 33–62.

Grabar, Oleg, and Said Nuseibeh. *The Dome of the Rock*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1996.

Griffith, Sidney H. "Holy Spirit." In *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*. Edited by Jane Dammen McAuliffe, 2:442–44. Leiden: Brill, 2001–6.

Griffith, Sidney Harrison. *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Gruber, Christiane. "Islamic Architecture on the Move." *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 3, no. 2 (2014): 241–64.

Guidetti, Mattia. *In the Shadow of the Church: The Building of Mosques in Early Medieval Syria*. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Guidetti, Mattia. "Sacred Spaces in Early Islam." In *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture*. Edited by Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülru Necipoğlu, 130–150. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2017.

Guidetti, Mattia. "The Byzantine Heritage in the Dār Al-Islām: Churches and Mosques in al-Ruha between the Sixth and Twelfth Centuries." *Muqarnas* 26, no. 1 (2009): 1–36.

Guidetti, Mattia. "The Long Tradition of the Cycle of Paintings of Qusayr ʿAmra." *Eurasiatica* 4 (2016): 185–200.

Gundelfinger, Simon and Peter Verkinderen. "The Governors of al-Shām and Fārs in the Early Islamic Empire—A Comparative Regional Perspective." In *Transregional and Regional Elites: Connecting the Early Islamic Empire*. Edited by Hannah-Lena Hagemann and Stefan Heidemann, 255–330. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020.

Gwynne, Rosalind Ward. "Beauty." In *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*. Edited by Jane Dammen McAuliffe, 1:212–14. Leiden: Brill, 2001–6.

Hagemann, Hannah, and Peter Verkinderen. "Kharijism in the Umayyad Period." In *The Umayyad World*. Edited by Andrew Marsham, 489–517. Abingdon: Routledge, 2020.

Haider, Najam Iftikhar. *The Origins of the Shīʿa: Identity, Ritual, and Sacred Space in Eighth-Century Kūfa*. Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization. Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Haldon, John. "Historicizing Resilience: The Paradox of the Medieval East Roman State—Collapse, Adaptation, and Survival." In *Empires and Communities in the Post-Roman and Islamic World, C. 400–1000 CE*. Edited by Walter Pohl and Rutger Kramer, 89–120. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021.

Hamilton, Robert. *Walid and His Friends: An Umayyad Tragedy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Hasson, I. "Ziyād b. Abīhi." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill, 2012. Accessed April 8, 2023, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_8176.

Hawting, G.R. "Al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill, 2012. Accessed April 8, 2023, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_5473.

Hawting, G.R. *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam: From Polemic to History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Hawting, G.R. "'We were not ordered with entering it but only with circumambulating it.' *Ḥadīth* and *fiqh* on Entering the Kaʿba." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47, no. 2 (1984): 228–42.

Hawting, Gerald R. "Idolatry and Idolaters." In *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*. Edited by Jane Dammen McAuliffe, 2:475–80. Leiden: Brill, 2001–6.

Hawting, Gerald, ed. *The Development of Islamic Ritual*. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2006.

Hawting, Gerald R. *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate, AD 661–750*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2000.

Hawting, Gerald R. "The 'Sacred Offices' of Mecca from Jàhiliyya to Islam." In *The Arabs and Arabia on the Eve of Islam*. Edited by F.E. Peters, 244–66. London: Routledge, 1999.

Hehmeyer, Ingrid. *A History of Water Engineering and Management in Yemen: Material Remains and Textual Foundations*. Leiden: Brill, 2019.

Hendrix, Ralph. "Miskan and ʾOhel Moʿed: Etymology, Lexical Definitions, and Extra-Biblical Usage." *Andrews University Seminary Studies (AUSS)* 29, no. 3 (1991): 213–23.

Herzfeld, Ernst. "The Genesis of Islamic Art and the Problem of Mshattā." In *Early Islamic Art and Architecture*. Edited by Jonathan Bloom, 1st ed., 7–86. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.

Hillenbrand, Robert. "La Dolce Vita in Early Islamic Syria: The Evidence of Later Umayyad Palaces." *Art History* 5, no. 1 (1982): 1–35.

Hinds, M. "Muʿawiya I." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Accessed April 8, 2023, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_5279.

Hinds, Martin. "The Murder of the Caliph ʿUthmān." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 3, no. 4 (October 1972): 450–69.

Hirsch, Hadas. "Clothing and Colours in Early Islam: Adornment, Symbolism and Differentiation." *Anthropology of the Middle East* 15, no. 1 (2020): 99–114.

Hirsch, Hadas. "Footwear: Manners, Rituals, Culture and Fashion in Early Islam." *Antropologija* 17, no. 2 (2017): 37–50.

Hoyland, Robert. "New Documentary Texts and the Early Islamic State." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 69, no. 3 (2006): 395–416.

Hoyland, Robert. “The Founding of Basra and Its Early Development.” In *Basra: Its History, Culture and Heritage: Proceedings of the Conference Celebrating the Opening of the Basrah Museum, September 28–29, 2016*. Edited by Paul Thomas Collins, 49–52. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 2019.

Hoyland, Robert G. *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam*. London; New York: Routledge, 2001.

Hoyland, Robert G. *In God’s Path: The Arab Conquests and the Creation of an Islamic Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Hoyland, Robert G. “Reflections on the Identity of the Arabian Conquerors of the Seventh-Century Middle East.” *Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā* 25, no. 1 (2017): 113–40.

Hoyland, Robert G. “Were the Muslim Arab Conquerors of the Seventh-Century Middle East Colonialists?” *Comparativ* 30, no. 3–4 (2020): 262–73.

Huart, Cl, and J. Sadan. “Kursī,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill, 2012. Accessed June 30, 2023, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4551.

Humphreys, R. Stephen. *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry*. Revised Edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Humphreys, R. Stephen. *Muʿawiya Ibn Abi Sufyan: From Arabia to Empire*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2012.

Iafrate, Allegra. *The Wandering Throne of Solomon: Objects and Tales of Kingship in the Medieval Mediterranean*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Imbert, Frédéric. “Le prince al-Walīd et son bain: Itinéraires épigraphiques à Quṣayr ʿAmra.” *Bulletin d’études orientales*, no. 64 (April 2016): 321–63.

Jamil, Nadia. “Caliph as Quṭb: Poetry as a Source for Interpreting the Transformation of the Byzantine Cross on Steps on Umayyad Coinage.” In *Bayt al-Maqdis: Jerusalem and Early Islam*. Edited by Jeremy Johns, 11–57. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Janabi, Kāẓim. *Masjid al-Kufah*. Dār al-jumhūriyah, 1966.

Janābī, Kāẓim. *Takhṭīṭ madīnat al-Kūfah*. Baghdad: Dār al-jumhūriyah, 1967.

Janos, Damien. “Qurʾānic Cosmography in Its Historical Perspective: Some Notes on the Formation of a Religious Worldview.” *Religion* 42, no. 2 (April 2012): 215–31.

Johns, Jeremy. “Archaeology and the History of Early Islam: The First Seventy Years.” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 46, no. 4 (2003): 411–36.

Johns, Jeremy. “The ‘House of the Prophet’ and the Concept of the Mosque.” In *Bayt al-Maqdis: Jerusalem and Early Islam*. Edited by Jeremy Johns, 59–112. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Jones, Linda G. “Bodily Performances and Body Talk in Medieval Islamic Preaching.” In *The Ends of the Body: Identity and Community in Medieval Culture*. Edited by Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Jill Ross, 211–36. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.

Jones, Linda G. *The Power of Oratory in the Medieval Muslim World*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Kaplony, Andreas. *The Ḥaram of Jerusalem, 324–1099: Temple, Friday Mosque, Area of Spiritual Power*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002.

Kapustka, Mateusz, and Warren T. Woodfin, eds. *Clothing the Sacred: Medieval Textiles as Fabric, Form, and Metaphor*. Emsdetten: Edition Imorde, 2015.

Kennedy, Hugh. *Caliphate: The History of an Idea*. New York: Basic Books, 2016.

Kennedy, Hugh. “From Polis to Madina: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria.” *Past & Present*, no. 106 (1985): 3–27.

Kennedy, Hugh. *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century*. 2nd ed. Harlow, UK: Pearson/Longman, 2004.

Keshk, Khaled. *The Historians’ Muʿāwiya: The Depiction of Muʿāwiya in the Early Islamic Sources*. Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2008.

Keshk, Khaled. “The Historiography of an Execution: The Killing of Ḥujr b. ʿAdī.” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 19, no. 1 (January 2008): 1–35.

Keshk, Khaled. “When Did Muʿāwiya Become Caliph?” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 69, no. 1 (2010): 31–42.

Kessler, Christel. “ʿAbd Al-Malik’s Inscription in the Dome of the Rock: A Reconsideration.” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 102, no. 1 (January 1970): 2–14.

Kessler, Crystal. “A Translation of M. A. Muṣṭafa’s ‘Ṭaqrīr Awwalī ʿan Ṭanqīb Fī’l- Kūfa Lil-Mawsim al-Thālith.” *Sumer* 19 (1963): 36–65.

Khadduri, Majid. *The Islamic Conception of Justice*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.

Khalek, Nancy A. *Damascus After the Muslim Conquest: Text and Image in Early Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Khan, Ahmad. “An Empire of Elites: Mobility in the Early Islamic Empire.” In *Transregional and Regional Elites: Connecting the Early Islamic Empire.* Edited by Hannah-Lena Hagemann and Stefan Heidemann, 147–70. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020.

Khorchide, Mouhanad and Klaus von Stosch. *The Other Prophet: Jesus in the Qur’an*. Translated by Simon Pare. London: Gingko, 2019.

Khoury, Nuha. “The Meaning of the Great Mosque of Cordoba in the Tenth Century.” *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 80–98.

Khoury, Nuha N.N. “The Dome of the Rock, the Kaʿba, and Ghumdan: Arab Myths and Umayyad Monuments.” *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 57–65.

Khoury, Nuha N.N. “The Mihrab: From Text to Form.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 1 (1998): 1–27.

Kister, M.J. “Sanctity Joint and Divided: On Holy Places in the Islamic Tradition.” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996): 18–65.

Kister, M.J. “Some Reports Concerning Mecca from Jāhiliyya to Islam.” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 15, no. 1–2 (1975): 61–93.

Kister, M.J. “‘The Crowns of This Community: Some Notes on the Turban in the Muslim Tradition.” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 24 (2000): 217–45.

Knight, Michael Muhammad. *Muhammad’s Body: Baraka Networks and the Prophetic Assemblage*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020.

Ladha, Hassanaly. “Allegories of Ruin: Architecture and Knowledge in Early Arabic Poetry.” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 2019, 50, no. 2 (2019): 89–122.

Lambert, Élie. “Les origines de la mosquée et l’architecture religieuse des Omeiyades.” *Studia Islamica* 6 (1956): 5–18.

Lammens, Henri. *Études sur le règne du Calife Omaiyade Mo’awia*. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1908.

Lammens, Henri. “Ziād Ibn Abīhi vice-roi de l’Iraq, lieutenant de Moʿāwia I.” *Rivista degli studi orientali* 4, no. 1 (1911): 1–45.

Lane-Poole, Stanley. *The Story of Cairo*. J.M. Dent, 1905.

Lange, Christian. “Introduction: The Sensory History of the Islamic World.” *The Senses and Society* 17, no. 1 (2022): 1–7.

Lange, Christian, and Maribel Fierro. *Public Violence in Islamic Societies: Power, Discipline, and the Construction of the Public Sphere, 7th–19th Centuries CE*. *Public Violence in Islamic Societies*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012.

Lassner, Jacob. *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba: Boundaries of Gender and Culture in Postbiblical Judaism and Medieval Islam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Lassner, Jacob. *Medieval Jerusalem: Forging an Islamic City in Spaces Sacred to Christians and Jews*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017.

Le Strange, Guy. *Palestine Under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500*. London: Alexander P. Watt, 1890.

Lecomte, G. “Al-Saḳīfa.” In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill, 2012. Accessed April 8, 2023, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0980.

Lehmann, Karl. “The Dome of Heaven.” *The Art Bulletin* 27, no. 1 (1945): 1–27.

Leube, Georg. “Insult the Caliph, Marry al-Ḥasan, and Redeem Your Kingdom: Freiheitsgrade of Kindī Elites During the 7th to 9th Century.” In *Transregional and Regional Elites: Connecting the Early Islamic Empire*. Edited by Hannah-Lena Hagemann and Stefan Heidemann, 47–68. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020.

Levi Della Vida, G., and R.G. Khoury. “ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.” In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs, Accessed April 8, 2023, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1315.

Livne-Kafri, Ofer. “Jerusalem in Early Islam: The Eschatological Aspect.” *Arabica* 53, no. 3 (July 2006): 382–403.

Livne-Kafri, Ofer. "Women and Feminine Images in Muslim Traditions of the End." *Arabica* 60, no. 3–4 (2013): 306–31.

L'Orange, Hans Peter. *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World*. New Rochelle: Caratzas Brothers, 1982.

Madelung, Wilferd. *The Succession to Muḥammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Mahafzah, Hussein Ali. "The Concepts of Security According to Ziyad Ibn Abeeh (45–53/H 665–672D) through His Experience in the City of Basrah." *European Scientific Journal* 8, no. 11 (2012): 87–107.

Mahmood, Saba. "Religious Reason and Secular Affect: An Incommensurable Divide?" *Critical Inquiry* 35, no. 4 (2009): 836–62.

Marsham, Andrew. "'God's Caliph' Revisited: Umayyad Political Thought in its Late Antique Context." In *Power, Patronage, and Memory in Early Islam: Perspectives on Umayyad Elites*. Edited by Andrew Marsham and Alain George, 3–38. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Marsham, Andrew. "Oath of Allegiance." In *Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*. Edited by Gerhard Böwering, Patricia Crone, and Mahan Mirza, 401. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

Marsham, Andrew. *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy: Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009.

Marsham, Andrew. "The Architecture of Allegiance in Early Islamic Late Antiquity: The Accession of Muʿāwiya in Jerusalem, ca. 661 CE." In *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean: Comparative Perspectives*. Edited by Alexander Beihammer, Stavroula Constantinou, and Maria G. Parani, 87–112. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Marsham, Andrew, ed. *The Umayyad World*. London: Routledge, 2020.

McGregor, Richard. "Repetition and Relics: Tracing the Lives of Muhammad's Sandal." In *Islam through Objects*. Edited by Anna Bigelow, 49–64. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021.

McKenzie, Judith S., and Andres T. Reyes. "The Alexandrian Tychaion: A Pantheon?" *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 26 (2013): 36–52.

McVey, Kathleen E. "The Domed Church as Microcosm: Literary Roots of An Architectural Symbol." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983): 91–121.

Milwright, Marcus. *An Introduction to Islamic Archaeology*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010.

Milwright, Marcus. *The Dome of the Rock and Its Umayyad Mosaic Inscriptions*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016.

Moreman, Christopher M. "Rehabilitating the Spirituality of Pre-Islamic Arabia: On the Importance of the Kahin, the Jinn, and the Tribal Ancestral Cult." *Journal of Religious History* 41, no. 2 (2017): 137–57.

Morony, Michael G. *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Mostafa, Heba. "From the Dome of the Chain to Miḥrāb Dā'ūd: The Transformation of an Umayyad Commemorative Site at the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem." *Muqarnas* 34, no. 1 (2017): 1–22.

Mostafa, Heba. "Locating the Sacred in Early Islamic Architecture." In *Religious Architecture of Islam*. Edited by Kathryn Blair Moore and Hasan-Uddin Khan, 12–23. Turnhout: Brepols, 2021.

Mostafa, Heba. "The Appointed Time: Early Islamic Temporality and the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem." In *Time and Presence in Art*. Edited by Armin Bergmeier and Andrew Griebeler, 53–70. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022.

Mostafa, Heba. "The Early Mosque Revisited: Introduction of the Minbar and Maqṣūra." *Muqarnas* 33 (2016): 1–16.

Mourad, Suleiman. "Did the Crusades Change Jerusalem's Religious Symbolism in Islam?" *Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭa: The Bulletin of the Middle East Medievalists* 22, no. 1–2 (2010 [2014]): 3–8.

Mourad, Suleiman. "Jerusalem in Early Islam: The Making of the Muslims' Holy City 1." *Routledge Handbook on Jerusalem*. Edited by Suleiman A. Mourad, Naomi Koltun-Fromm, and Bedross Der Matossian, 77–89. London: Routledge, 2018.

Munt, Harry. "The Umayyad and Early Abbasid Inscriptions in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina." *Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā* 30 (2022): 79–147.

Munt, Harry, Touraj Daryaee, Omar Edaibat, Robert Hoyland, and Isabel Toral-Niehoff. "Arabic and Persian Sources for Pre-Islamic Arabia." In *Arabs*

and Empires Before Islam. Edited by Greg Fisher, 434–500. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Muṣṭafa, M.A. "Dār Al-Imāra Fī-l Kūfa." *Sumer* 13 (1957): 191–92.

Muṣṭafa, M.A. "Taqrīr Awwalī ʿan Tanqīb Fī-l Kūfa Lil-Mawsim al-Thālith." *Sumer* 12 (1956): 3–32.

Muṣṭafa, M.A. "Taqrīr Awwalī ʿan Tanqīb Fī-l Kūfa Lil-Mawsim al-Thānī." *Sumer* 10 (1954): 73–85.

Nagel, Tilman. *Muhammad's Mission: Religion, Politics, and Power at the Birth of Islam.* Translated by Joseph Spoerl. Munch: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020.

Naṣṣār, Maḥmūd Muḥammad Maḥmūd Ḥasan. *Muḥāwalāt ightiyāl al-Nabī wa-fashaluhā*. Al-Ṭabʿah 1. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1996.

Natif, Mika. "'Painters Will Be Punished': The Politics of Figural Representation Amongst the Umayyads." In *The Image Debate: Figural Representation in Islam and Across the World*. Edited by Christiane J. Gruber, 32–45. London: Gingko, 2019.

Necipoğlu, Gülru. "An Outline of Shifting Paradigms in the Palatial Architecture of the Pre-Modern Islamic World." In "Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces." Edited by Gülru Necipoğlu. Special issue, *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 3–27.

Necipoğlu, Gülru. "The Concept of Islamic Art: Inherited Discourses and New Approaches." *Journal of Art Historiography* 6 (2012): 1–26. Originally published in *Islamic Art and the Museum: Approaches to Art and Archaeology of the Muslim World in the 21st Century*. Edited by Benoît Junod, Georges Khalil, Stefan Weber and Gerhard Wolf, 57–75. London: Saqi, 2012.

Necipoğlu, Gülru. "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: ʿAbd al-Malik's Grand Narrative and Sultan Süleyman's Glosses." *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 17–105.

Nees, Lawrence. "Insular Latin Sources, 'Arculf,' and Early Islamic Jerusalem." In *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Essays on Medieval Europe in Honor of Daniel F. Callahan*. Edited by Michael Frassetto, John Hosler, and Matthew Gabriele, 79–100. Leiden: Brill. 2014.

Nees, Lawrence. *Perspectives on Early Islamic Art in Jerusalem*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Northedge, Alastair. "Survey of the Terrace Area at Amman Citadel." *Levant* 12, no. 1 (1980): 135–54.

Northedge, Alastair "The Qasr of Amman." *Art and Archaeology Research Papers* 15 (1979): 22–38.

O'Shaughnessy, Thomas J. "God's Throne and the Biblical Symbolism of the Qurʾān." *Numen* 20, no. 3 (1973): 202–21.

Paul, Jürgen. "Who Were the Mulūk Fārs?" In *Transregional and Regional Elites—Connecting the Early Islamic Empire*. Edited by Hannah Hagemann and Stefan Heidemann, 117–46. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020.

Pauty, Edmond. "L'evolution du dispositif en T dans les mosquées à portiques." *Bulletin d'études orientales* 2, no. 1 (1932): 91–124.

Pedersen, J., R. Hillenbrand, J. Burton-Page, P.A. Andrews, G.F. Pijper, A.H. Christie, A.D.W. Forbes, G.S.P. Freeman-Greenville, and A. Samb. "Masdjid." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill, 2012. Accessed April 8, 2023, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0694.

Pedersen, J., J. Golmohammadi, J. Burton-Page, G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville. "Minbar." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill, 2012. Accessed April 8, 2023, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0744.

Perlman, Yaara. "The Bodyguard of the Caliphs During the Umayyad and the Early Abbasid Periods." *Al-Qantara* 36, no. 2 (2015): 315–40.

Peters, F.E., ed. *The Arabs and Arabia on the Eve of Islam*. London: Routledge, 1999.

Peters, Francis E. *Jerusalem and Mecca: Typology of the Holy City in the Near East*. New York: New York University Press, 1987.

Petersen, Andrew. "What Is 'Islamic' Archaeology?" *Antiquity* 79, no. 303 (2005): 100–106.

Petersen, Andrew, and Alastair Northedge. "The Archaeology of Early Islamic Basra: Challenges and Potential." In *Basra: Its History, Culture and Heritage: Proceedings of the Conference Celebrating the Opening of the Basrah Museum, September 28–29, 2016*. Edited by Paul Thomas Collins, 53–58. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 2019.

Porter, Josias Leslie. *Five Years in Damascus: Including an Account of the History, Topography, and Antiquities of*

That City; With Travels and Researches in Palmyra, Lebanon, and the Hauran. London: J. Murray, 1855.

Pruitt, Jennifer. *Building the Caliphate: Construction, Destruction, and Sectarian Identity in Early Fatimid Architecture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020.

Rabbat, Nasser. "ʿAjīb and Gharīb: Artistic Perception in Medieval Arabic Sources." *The Medieval History Journal* 9, no. 1 (April 2006): 99–113.

Rabbat, Nasser. "Mamluk Throne Halls: 'Qubba' or 'Iwān?'" In "Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces," edited by Gülru Necipoğlu. Special issue, *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 201–18.

Rabbat, Nasser. "The Dialogic Dimension of Umayyad Art." *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 43 (Spring 2003): 78–94.

Rabbat, Nasser. "The Dome of the Rock Revisited: Some Remarks on al-Wasiti's Accounts." *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 67–75.

Rabbat, Nasser. "The Meaning of the Umayyad Dome of the Rock." *Muqarnas* 6 (1989): 12–21.

Rabbat, Nasser. "Umayyad Architecture: A Spectacular Intra-Cultural Synthesis in Bilad al-Sham." In *Residences, Castles, Settlements: Transformation Processes from Late Antiquity to Early Islam in Bilad al-Sham: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Damascus, 5–9 November, 2006*. Edited by Karin Bartl and Abd al-Razzaq Moaz, 13–18. Rahden: VML, Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2008.

Rabbat, Nasser O. *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture*. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

Robinson, Chase F. *Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquest: The Transformation of Northern Mesopotamia*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Roohi, Ehsan. "Between History and Ancestral Lore: A Literary Approach to the Sīra's Narratives of Political Assassinations." *Der Islam* 98, no. 2 (2021): 425–72.

Rosen-Ayalon, Myriam. *The Early Islamic Monuments of Al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf: An Iconographic Study*. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem Institute of Archaeology, 1989.

Rubin, Uri. "Remnant." In *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*. Edited by Jane Dammen McAuliffe, 4:425. Leiden: Brill, 2001–6.

Rubin, Uri. "Traditions in Transformation. The Ark of the Covenant and the Golden Calf in Biblical and Islamic Historiography." *Oriens* 36 (2001): 196–214.

Safar, Fuʾād. *Wāsiṭ: The Sixth Season's Excavations*. Cairo: l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1945.

Sahner, Christian C. "The First Iconoclasm in Islam: A New History of the Edict of Yazīd II (AH 104/AD 723)." *Der Islam* 94, no. 1 (2017): 5–56.

Saleh, Walid A. "Meccan Gods, Jesus' Divinity: An Analysis of Q 43 *Sūrat al-Zukhruf*." In *The Qur'an's Reformation of Judaism and Christianity: Return to the Origins*. Edited by Holger M. Zellentin, 93–111. Abingdon: Routledge, 2019.

Santi, Aila. "Early Islamic Kūfa in Context: A Chronological Reinterpretation of the Palace, with a Note on the Development of the Monumental Language of the Early Muslim Élite." *Annali Sezione Orientale* 78, no. 1–2 (2018): 69–103.

Santi, Aila. "*Masjidu-hu wa masākinu-hu*: 'His Mosque and His Dwellings'. New Perspectives on the Study of 'the House of the Prophet' in Madīna." In *Mantua Humanistic Studies* 2. Edited by Riccardo Roni, 97–116. Mantova: Universitas Studiorum, 2018.

Santi, Aila. "The Mosque—Dār Al-Imāra Complex at ʿAnjar: Preliminary Notes from a Multi-Layered Exploration of Ceremonial Spaces in the Marwānid Period." *Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā* 30 (2022): 235–66.

Santi, Aila. "The Role of Madīna in the Emergence of the Mosque-Dār al-Imāra Combination: A Preliminary Note." *Vicino Oriente* 21 (2017): 211–23.

Sauvaget, Jean. *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine: Étude sur les origines architecturales de la mosquée et de la basilique*. Paris: Vanoest, 1947.

Sauvaget, Jean. "Le plan antique de Damas." *Syria* 26, no. 3–4 (1949): 314–58.

Sauvaget, Jean. "The Mosque and the Palace." In *Early Islamic Art and Architecture*. Edited by Jonathan Bloom. Translated by Matthew Gordon, 109–47. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.

Schacht, Joseph. "An Unknown Type of Minbar and Its Historical Significance." *Ars Orientalis* 2 (1957): 149–73.

Shaddel, Mehdy. "ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Al-Zubayr and the Mahdī: Between Propaganda and Historical Memory

in the Second Civil War *." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 80, no. 1 (2017): 1–19.

Shaddel, Mehdi. "Yazid I b. Moʿāwiya." *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Forthcoming.

Shahîd, Irfan. "Byzantium in South Arabia." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979): 23–94.

Shahîd, Irfan A. "Najrān." In *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*. Edited by Jane Dammen McAuliffe, 3:500–501. Leiden: Brill, 2001–6.

Shalem, Avinoam. "The Body of Architecture: The Early History of the Clothing of the Sacred House of the Kaʾba in Mecca." In *Clothing the Sacred: Medieval Textiles as Fabric, Form, and Metaphor*. Edited by Mateusz Kapustka and Warren T. Woodfin, 173–87. Emsdetten: Edition Imorde, 2015.

Shalem, Avinoam. "The Fall of Al-Madāʾin: Some Literary References Concerning Sasanian Spoils of War in Mediaeval Islamic Treasuries." *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, 32 (1994): 77–81.

Shalem, Avinoam. "The Nation Has Put on Garments of Blood: An Early Islamic Red Silken Tapestry in Split." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 73 (2019): 389–408.

Shaw, Wendy M.K. "Between the Secular and the Sacred: A New Face for the Department of the Holy Relics at the Topkapı Palace Museum." *Material Religion* 6, no. 1 (2010): 129–31.

Shaw, Wendy M.K. *What Is "Islamic" Art? Between Religion and Perception*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Shoemaker, Stephen J. "Muḥammad and the Qurʾān." In *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*. Edited by Scott F. Johnson, 1078–1108. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Shoemaker, Stephen J. "'The Reign of God Has Come': Eschatology and Empire in Late Antiquity and Early Islam." *Arabica* 61, no. 5 (2014): 514–58.

Sijpesteijn, Petra. "Establishing Local Elite Authority in Egypt Through Arbitration and Mediation." In *Transregional and Regional Elites—Connecting the Early Islamic Empire*. Edited by Hannah-Lena Hagemann and Stefan Heidemann, 387–406. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020.

Sijpesteijn, Petra M. *Shaping a Muslim State: The World of a Mid-Eighth-Century Egyptian Official*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Sizgorich, Thomas. "Narrative and Community in Islamic Late Antiquity." *Past & Present* 185 (November 2004): 9–42.

Sizgorich, Thomas. *Violence and Belief in Late Antiquity: Militant Devotion in Christianity and Islam*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

Soucek, Priscilla P. "Solomon's Throne / Solomon's Bath: Model or Metaphor?" In "Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces," edited by Gülru Necipoğlu. Special issue, *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 109–34.

Soucek, Priscilla, ed. *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988.

Spiers, Richard Phené. *Architecture East and West: A Collection of Essays Written at Various Times during the Last Sixteen Years*. London, For the committee of the Spiers testimonial by B.T. Batsford, 1905.

St. Laurent, Beatrice, and Isam Awwad. "The Marwani Musalla in Jerusalem: New Findings." *Jerusalem Quarterly* 54 (2013): 7–30.

Stern, Henri. "Les origines de l'architecture de la mosquée omeyyade à l'occasion d'un livre de J. Sauvaget." *Syria. Archéologie, Art et histoire* 28, no. 3–4 (1951): 269–79.

Stern, Henri. "Les origines de l'architecture de la mosquée Omeyyade, a l'occasion d'un livre de J. Sauvaget." *Institut Francais Du Proche-Orient* 28, no. 3 (1951): 269–79.

Stern, Scott W. "Big Questions in Microhistory." *Journal of Women's History* 32, no. 2 (2020): 128–36.

Tabataba'i, Mohammad Ali, and Saida Mirsadri. "The Qurʾānic Cosmology, as an Identity in Itself." *Arabica* 63, no. 3–4 (2016): 201–34.

Taha, Munir Yousif. "A Mural Painting from Kufa." *Sumer* 27 (1971): 77–79.

Takim, Liyakat. "Saul." In *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*. Edited by Jane Dammen McAuliffe, 4:536–37. Leiden: Brill, 2001–6.

Taragan, Hana. "Atlas Transformed—Interpreting the 'Supporting' Figures in the Umayyad Palace at Khirbat al Mafjar." *East and West* 53, no. 1–4 (2003): 9–29.

Treadwell, Luke. "'Mihrab and 'Anaza' or 'Sacrum and Spear'? A Reconsideration of an Early Marwanid Silver Drachm." *Muqarnas* 22, no. 1 (2005): 1–28.

Treadwell, Luke. "The Formation of Religious and Caliphal Identity in the Umayyad Period." In *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture*. Edited by Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülru Necipoğlu, 89–108. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2017.

Treadwell, Luke. "The 'Orans' Drachms of Bishr ibn Marwān and the Figural Coinage of the Early Marwanid Period." in *Bayt Al-Maqdis: Jerusalem and Early Islam*. Edited by Jeremy Johns, 223–69. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Trivellato, Francesca. "Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?" *California Italian Studies* 2, no. 1 (2011).

Turtledove, Harry. *The Chronicle of Theophanes: An English translation of* anni mundi 6095–6305 (*A.D. 602–813*)*, with introduction and notes*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982.

Van Bladel, Kevin. "Heavenly Cords and Prophetic Authority in the Quran and its Late Antique Context." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 70, no. 2 (2007): 223–46.

Van Ess, Joseph. "'Abd al-Malik and the Dome of the Rock: An Analysis of Some Texts." In *Bayt Al-Maqdis: 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem*. Edited by Julian Raby and Jeremy Johns, 89–103. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Van Loan, Theodore. "Signifying Visions in Early Islam: From Jāhiliyya Idols to the Dome of the Rock and the Great Mosque of Damascus." *Beiträge Zur Islamischen Kunst Und Archäologie Jahrbuch Der Ernst Herzfeld-Gesellschaft, Encompassing the Sacred in Islamic Art* 16 (2020): 25–42.

Veccia Vaglieri, L. "'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill, 2012. Accessed April 8, 2023, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0046.

Vernoit, Stephen. "The Rise of Islamic Archaeology." *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 1–10.

Vesely, Dalibor. *Architecture in the Age of Divided Representation: The Question of Creativity in the Shadow of Production*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004.

Vesely, Dalibor. "The Architectonics of Embodiment." In *Body and Building: Essays on the Changing Relation of Body and Architecture*. Edited by George Dodds, Robert Tavernor, and Joseph Rykwert. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002.

Webb, Peter. "Identity and Social Formation in the Early Caliphate." In *Routledge Handbook on Early Islam*. Edited by Herbert Berg, 129–58. London: Routledge, 2017.

Webb, Peter. *Imagining the Arabs: Arab Identity and the Rise of Islam*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016.

Wendell, Charles. "Baghdad: Imago Mundi, and Other Foundation-Lore." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2, no. 2 (1971): 99–128.

Wensinck, A.J. *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition: Alphabetically Arranged*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960.

Wensinck, Arent Jan. *The Ideas of the Western Semites Concerning the Navel of the Earth*. Amsterdam: J. Müller, 1916.

Wheatley, Paul. *The Places Where Men Pray Together: Cities in Islamic Lands, Seventh through the Tenth Centuries*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Wheeler, Brannon. *Mecca and Eden: Ritual, Relics, and Territory in Islam*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006.

Whelan, Estelle. "The Origins of the Mihrab Mujawwaf: A Reinterpretation." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 18, no. 2 (1986): 205–23.

Whitcomb, Donald. "From Pastoral Peasantry to Tribal Urbanites: Arab Tribes and the Foundation of the Islamic State in Syria." In *Nomads, Tribes, and the State in the Ancient Near East: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*. Edited by Jeffrey Szuchman, 241–60. Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2009.

Williams, Wesley. "A Body Unlike Bodies: Transcendent Anthropomorphism in Ancient Semitic Tradition and Early Islam." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 129, no. 1 (2009): 19–44.

Woodfin, Warren T. "Celestial Hierarchies and Earthly Hierarchies in the Art of the Byzantine Church." In *The Byzantine World*. Edited by Paul Stephenson, 303–19. London: Routledge, 2010.

Yağmurlu, Haydar. "Relics of the Prophet Muhammad." *Apollo* 92, no. 101 (1970): 50–53.

Yasin, Ann Marie. *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean: Architecture, Cult, and*

Community. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Zadeh, Travis. "From Drops of Blood: Charisma and Political Legitimacy in the Translation of the ʿUthmānic Codex of al-Andalus." *Journal of Arabic Literature* 39, no. 3 (2008): 321–46.

Zahrān, Yāsamīn. *Ghassan Resurrected*. London: Stacey International, 2006.

Zahrān, Yāsamīn, and Robert Hoyland. *The Lakhmids of Hira: Sons of the Water of Heaven*. London: Stacey International, 2009.

Zaman, Muhammad Qasim. "Death, Funeral Processions, and the Articulation of Religious Authority in Early Islam." *Studia Islamica*, no. 93 (2001): 27–58.

Index

Prepared by Jacqueline Pitchford

Page references in **bold type** indicate a more detailed treatment of the subject.

Aaron 23
al-ʿAbbas b. Abd al-Muttalib (uncle of the Prophet, d. 653 CE) 55
Abbasid Caliphate/Abbasid period/Abbasids 35, 60, 63, 86, 116, 131
ʿAbdallah b. Ahtam 26
ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAmir (Governor of Basra, d. 678 CE) 77
ʿAbd Allah b. al-Zubayr (counter caliph, r. 683–692 CE) 27, 31, 37, 94, 96, 102*n*33, 103
ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwan (5th Umayyad Caliph, r. 685–705 CE) 39, 96
  architectural patronage 44, 95, 96–97, 109, 116, 118
  See also Dome of the Chain; Dome of the Rock; Haram al-Sharif
  cloth qubbas 51–52
  coinage/coinage reform 7–8, 8*ill.*, 86, 121
  death 121
  destruction of Dar al-Imara (Kufa) by 89–90
  diversion of pilgrimage to Jerusalem 102*n*33
  enthronement/oath of allegiance 28, 95, 103, 115
  lavishness of 31, 66
  use of minbar 24, 27, 125
  attempt to move Prophet's minbar 28
  Qubbat al-Khadrả (Damascus) 31, 44, 61
  use of *sarīr* (bedstead/couch) 31, 58
  Second Islamic Civil War and 95, 109
ʿAbd Manaf b. ʿAbd al-Dar (2nd tribal leader of Quraysh, b. c. 430 CE) 37
ʿAbd al-Muttalib (4th Chief of Quraysh, d. 578 CE) 55
ʿAbd al-Rahman I (al-Dakhīl, Umayyad prince, d. 788 CE) 129
ʿAbd al-Rahman III (1st Caliph of Cordoba, r. 929–961 CE) 129*n*33
ʿAbdulrahman b. Hassan b. Thabit 68–69, 70*n*104
Abraha, Church of 55
Abraha al-Habashi (Christian ruler of Yemen/commander, fl. 6th c. CE) 55
Abraham (prophet) 106, 119, 119*n*125
Abu Bakr (1st Rashidun Caliph, r. 632–634 CE) 17, 35, 77
Abu Musa al-Ashʿari (Companion of the Prophet and Governor of Basra and Kufa, d. c. 662 or 672 CE) 77, 82
Abu Sufyan b. Harb b. Umayya (patriarch of Umayyad clan, d. 653 CE) 77, 93
accession ceremonies. *See* enthronements; oaths of allegiance
access to rulers, open 27, **29–30**, 35, 40, 46, 49, 81, **83–84**, 126–127
  See also maqsuras
Adam (prophet)
  creation of 105, 117
  designation of 7*n*33, 17
  tent of paradise and seat of 106
adornment 22
ʿAisha bt. Abu Bakr (d. c. 679 CE) 75
Ajlan (chamberlain of Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan) 84
Akkouche, M. 42*ill.*
Alexander the Great (d. 336–323 BCE) 63
Alexandria, Qubbat al-Khadrả/Tychaion 64, 66
ʿAli b. Abi Talib (4th Rashidun Caliph, r. 656–661 CE) 73
  assassination 2, 2*n*10, 3, 35, 70, 77, 93
  authority of 107
  Battle of Siffin (657 CE) and 51, 51*n*9, 92
  chair of (al-Mukhtar) 22–23, 129
  Muʿawiya I vs. 1–2, 27, 129
  protection of the Prophet 10
  raḥba of 92
  Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan and 77
ʿAlids 22, 27, 47, 73, 107
Allan, James W. 86
Allat (pre-Islamic Arabian goddess) 56
Almohads 1*n*3
Amman (Jordan), mosque-palace complex 11*n*53, 48*n*89, 63, 63*n*82, 64*ill.*, 86, 89, 89*ill.*
ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs (Companion of the Prophet and Governor of Egypt, d. 664 CE) 31
  assassination attempt against 3, 24, 70
  foundation of Fustat 59
  use of minbar 24, 42, 49
  reputation 73*n*3
  role in formation of Islamic state 73
ʿAmr b. Saʿid b. al-ʿAs (Umayyad governor, d. 688–689 CE) 26, 31, 39
al-Andalus 129
angels, descent of 117
ʿAnjar (Lebanon) 48*n*89, 89
anointment 97, 110–112, 119
al-Ansari, Abu Ayyub (Companion of the Prophet, d. 674 CE) 31
Antun, Thallein Mireille 92*n*133
anxiety
  apocalyptic 95, **100–101**, 120, 127
  eschatological 16, 23, 97, 119–120
  existential 16, 97, 112, 119–120, 131
  response of early Islamic architecture to 3, 5, 8, 15, 16, 46, 122, 131
  temporal 113, 120
Aphrodite 37
apocalyptic anxiety 95, **100–101**, 120, 127
  in hadith 100, 102
apocalyptic eschatology (term/definition) 112*n*93
al-Aqsa Mosque (Jerusalem) 27–28, 65*ill.*, 95, 102*n*33, 104*ill.*, 121
Arabian Alliance of the Perfumed Ones 111

Arabic (language) 121
architectural patronage
of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwan 44, 95, 96–97, 109, 116, 118
of al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf 48, 60, 67, 123
of Muʿawiya I 50, 61, 66, 67, 72, 109, 128
of ʿUmar b. al-Khattab 109
of al-Walid I 16, 31, 66, 121
of Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan 16, 49, 73–74, 75, 80, 82, 86–87, 90, **93–94**, 124, 126
Arendt, Hannah 121
Ark of the Covenant 23, 129
See also Tabernacle of Moses
Ascalon, Shrine of al-Husayn 26*ill.*
assassinations/assassination attempts
against caliphs 2, 2*n*10, 9, 15, 35, 38, 122, 123, 126, 127
See also under individual rulers
against the Prophet 9–10
astrological domes 54, 54*n*22, 56–57*ill.*
audience halls 11*n*51, 29, 36, 48
domed 4, 16, 30, 51, 61, 63, 71, 72, 92
See also Qubbat al-Khadrå
inscriptions in (Basra) 84, 91
pre-Islamic 34, 108
qibla areas as 41
austerity
of the Prophet 21, 22, 24, 31, 41, 43, 71, 128
shift from austerity to monumentality/ materiality 48–49, 66, 71, 72
of ʿUmar b. al-Khattab 40, 41, 42–43
of Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan 82, 83
authority
divine 15, 51, 96, 105
pre-Islamic 34, 36–38
of the Prophet 16, 17, 29, 41, 50, 52, 72
secular/political vs. religious 7*n*29, 105
See also caliphal identity/authority
Ayyubid Sultanate/Ayyubids 96*n*6, 119
al-Azraqi (historian, fl. 9th c. CE) 38, 106, 119*n*125

Baalbek 119
Bacharach, Jere 14
Baghdad, Qubbat al-Khadrå 59, 60, 63, 65*ill.*
al-Baladhuri (historian, d. 892 CE) 20–21, 38–39, 42*n*54, 67, 68
Banu ʿAbd Manaf 76
Banu ʿAbd Shams b. Zayd Manat (Tamim) 77
Banu Hashim (Quraysh) 47, 58, 83, 92
Banu Thaqif 58
Banu Umayya (Quraysh) 38, 93–94
Basra
accommodation of troops 83, 84
demographic developments/ population 80, 81
foundation and first settlers 76, 79
governance 73
See also [al-]Batrå; Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan
Qubbat al-Muqatila (Dome of the Combatants) 80–81, 88
tribal elites in 81
See also Dar al-Imara (Basra); Mosque of Basra
al-Batrå speech (sermon by Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan upon appointment as governor of Basra, 664 CE) 48, 73, 80, 81, 84, 90, 123
Battle of Al-Khandaq (939 CE) 129*n*33
Battle of Khazir (686 CE) 23
Battle of Qadisiyya (636 CE) 20
Battle of Siffin (657 CE) 51, 51*n*9, 58, 92
Battle of Uhud (625 CE) 56
*bayʿa*s. *See* oaths of allegiance
Bayt al-Maqdis (holy precinct of Haram al-Sharif) 114
bedsteads/couches. *See sarīr*s
Behrens-Abouseif, Doris 13–14*n*70
betyls (sacred stones) 112, 112*ill.*
Bible verses
Ezekiel, 1:26 60*n*64
Samuel, 7:1–13 56
bird imagery 32
al-Biruni (b. 973 CE) 119*n*125
Bishr b. Marwan (Governor of Kufa and Basra, d. 694 CE) 25
black stone discs (al-Walid I) 9, 9*n*48, 10*ill.*
Black Stone (Kaʿba) 37, 101
Bloom, Jonathan 51*n*6
blue (color) 53*n*17
body politics. *See* embodiment
Book of Conquests (al-Baladhuri) 20–21
braziers 69, 69*ill.*
Bursi, Adam 111*n*85
Byzantine Empire/Byzantines
Arab-Byzantine relations 95*n*1
"architectural competition" 31, 67
Byzantine criticism of Umayyad palaces 66
church design as inspiration for mosque construction 82
fall of 20
heavenly domes 44, 54, 55*ill.*, 124

Cairo
Mosque of Ibn Tulun 89
Qubbat al-Khadrå/Iwan al-Kabir 61, 63, 66*ill.*
caliphal identity/authority 13
ambiguity around and multivalency of 5, 7–8, 11, 17, 50, 122
architecture for expressing 31, 34, 128, 131
caliphs as imams and preachers (*khaṭib*s) 25–26, 40
invocation of God's Throne and Footstool and **105–109**
multivalency of, God's caliph vs. successor to the Prophet 17
Prophet's authority vs. 16, 17, 96
titles of caliphs 7–8, 17, 18, 125
See also maqsuras; Qubbat al-Khadrå; seats/seats of rule; *under individual rulers*
caliphate, kingship vs. 19, 20, 21
caliphs
assassination attempts against/ murder of 2, 2*n*10, 9, 15, 38, 122, 123, 126, 127
palaces/residences of. *See* Dar al-Imara
protection of. *See* protection of rulers
seats of rule of. *See kursī*s; minbars; *sarīr*s; thrones
succession of 8, 93–94
working relation with governors 30, 70, 93
See also rulers
celestial/heavenly court 57, 97, 100–101, 106, 108, 118, 119
See also God's Throne and Footstool
ceremony. *See* rituals/ritual practice
chain of command 7, 17, 122
chairs. *See kursī*s
Chamber of the Holy Relics (Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul) 1
Children of Israel 23
Christian cosmology 60

Christianity 113
co-existence of Christians with Muslims 44*n*64
conception of heavenly domes in 53–54, 53–54*n*19, 60, 60*n*64
eschatological and apocalyptic thought in 98, 100
references to Jesus Christ in Dome of the Rock 116–117
See also churches
Chronos (Titan) 111*n*87
Church of Abraha (Yemen) 55
Church of Edessa (Mesopotamia) 54
churches
"architectural competition" with 31, 67
attempted purchase of churches and *temenos* (temple enclosures) 44, 125
church design as inspiration for mosque construction 82
space sharing with mosques 44, 44*n*64
Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Jerusalem) 55*ill.*, 127
Church of St. John the Baptist (Damascus) 44
circumambulation 106
of chair of ʿAli/al-Mukhtar 23, 129
of Dome of the Rock 106, 110, 111, 112*n*89, 114, 115–116
around idols and thrones in pre-Islam 22
of Kaʿba 51, 106, 115
of qubbas and palaces 71
civil wars 2, 3, 4, 5, 18, 35, 46, 102, 124
formation of Islamic architecture and 3, 4, 15, 46, 48, 68, 73, 103
as sign of End of Days 100, 101
See also First Islamic Civil War; Second Islamic Civil War
cleaning, ritualistic 110–111
coinage
ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwan 7–8, 8*ill.*, 121
Bishr b. Marwan 25
coinage reform 86, 121
Heraclius 86
Khusrau Parvez 114
Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan 76, 77*ill.*
combatants. *See* soldiers
Commander of the Faithful (*amir al-muʾminīn*, title) 7, 17, 81
Conquest of Mecca (629–630 CE) 102
consultation (*nadāwa*) 37
Cordoba/Cordoban Caliphate. *See* Great Mosque of Cordoba
corruption 20, 75, 77, 80
cosmology
cosmic kingship 62, 71
cosmic order 105
cosmological/cosmic imagery 32, 53–54, 56–57*ill.*
Greek, Mesopotamian, Christian and Jewish 60
See also Islamic cosmology
cosmos
as domical, tent-like structure 60
as edifice 53–54
Quran on 60
couches. *See sarīr*s
council of elders (*shūra* council) 37, 38, 81, 83–84
covenant. *See* divine covenant
covering/veiling
of Dome of the Rock 102, 110, 112
of Kaʿba 22, 38, 71, 71*n*114, 102–103
protection of rulers through 59
of relic displays 22, 38
Creation/creation
of Adam 105, 117
God's mastery over 98–99
imagery on destruction of 100
Islamic narratives on 99
role of God's Throne and Footstool in 105, 106
role of holy sites of Jerusalem in 95, 106, 107, 113, 120, 128
role of Kaʿba in 107
of time 98–99
Creswell, K.A.C. 3*n*15, 10, 11*n*55, 86, 86*n*105, 87, 102*n*33
crowns 18, 19, 20, 21, 114–115, 119, 121
Crusades 96*n*6
Ctesiphon (ancient Iranian city) 62, 79, 119

al-Dahnāʾ (open/public space near mosque associated with Bani Hashim) 47, 83, 92
Damascus 61*n*74, 73
mosque construction in 121
rebellion (688–689 CE) 24
See also Dar al-Imara (Damascus); Great Mosque of Damascus
Dar al-ʿAdl (Iwan al-Kabir, audience hall, Mamluks) 61
Dar al-Imara (House of Governance, urban palace) 3
archaeological records 11, 11*n*53, *n*55
architectural design/choices 31, 38
audience halls/public audiences at 4, 11*n*51, 29, 30, 36, 63
circumambulation of 71
development as single complex with mosques 11, 15
earliest residences 43*n*57–58
as fort 91, 92
governance/relation between mosque and 41, 43
origins, history, and development 43, 49
own homes vs. 71
seats of rulers in 33
See also audience halls; mosque-palace complexes; Qubbat al-Khadrå
Dar al-Imara (Basra) 43, 47, 91
excavations/archaeological records 16, 74, 74*n*8
inscriptions in audience hall 84, 91
rebuilding/relocation 73, 82, 83, 124, 126, 127
See also Mosque of Basra
Dar al-Imara (Damascus) 30, 43, 43*n*58, 44, 44*n*67, 45*ill.*, 46, 53, 124
See also Great Mosque of Damascus; Qubbat al-Khadrå (Damascus)
Dar al-Imara (Fustat) 43, 82, 92, 124
See also Mosque of Fustat
Dar al-Imara (Iraq) 11
Dar al-Imara (Jerusalem) 11*n*53, 43, 44, 65*ill.*, 82, 89
Dar al-Imara (Kufa)
attacks on and destruction of 89–90
audience hall 63, 90
excavations/archaeological records and dating 11*n*55, 16, 74, **86–89**, 87–88*ill.*, 90, 127
open access to 42
origins and location 82
rebuilding/relocation of 44*n*67, 49, 73, 74, 82, 83, 85*ill.*, **86–89**, 124, 126, 127
security of 91
See also Mosque of Kufa
Dar al-Imara (Syria) 11
Dar al-Imara (Wasit) 47*ill.*, 48, 93
audience hall 48, 59, 60

Dar Hijra. *See* garrison towns
Dar al-Nadwa (House of Deputies, Quraysh, Mecca) 37–38, 123, 125
David (prophet) 7*n*33, 26, 107, 108
David's Chain 118, 119
Day of Judgment
fear of 99–100
See also apocalyptic anxiety; eschatological anxiety
God's Throne and Footstool on 97, 100, 116, 117
holy sites of Jerusalem at End of Days and 95, 97, 100, 102, 103–104, 107, 112, 113, 118, 119, 120, 128
intercession of the Prophet at End of Days and 111, 116
Mecca on 102
deities 122
invocation in pre-Islam 36–37
stones representing 111
Delegations, Year of (c. 629–630 CE) 58
desert/extra urban palaces 11, 14, 19*n*8, 123
Dionysus (Olympic god) 37
divine authority 15, 51, 96, 105
divine covenant 72, 98, 98*n*9, 105, 106, 111, 124, 127, 128, 131
Ark of the Covenant 23, 129
divine presence (*sakīnah*) 23
divine throne. *See* God's Throne and Footstool
Djait, Hichem 87
Dome of the Ascension (Qubbat al-Miʿraj, Jerusalem) 95, 97, 97*ill.*
Dome of the Chain (Jerusalem) 99*ill.*, 104*ill.*, 118, 118*ill.*
"Dome of the Green". *See* Qubbat al-Khadrả (Khadrả Palace, "Dome of the Green", Damascus)
Dome of the Rock (Jerusalem) 99*ill.*, 104*ill.*, 121
architectural patronage 66, 109, 118*n*120
association with God's Throne and Footstool/heavenly court 57, 100, 106, 109, 112, 113, 118, 119, 120, 128
association with heavenly ascent of the Prophet 128
circumambulation of 106, 110, 111, 112*n*89, 114, 115–116, 128
covering/veiling of Dome and Rock 102, 110, 112
expense and lavishness of 31, 67
ground floor plan 108*ill.*
inscriptions 111, 111*n*81, 114, **115–117**, 119
Jewish Temple and 95, 112, 112*n*90, 113, 127, 128
mosaics 102–103, 114, 115*ill.*
in Old Testament 117
origins/history/dating 68, 95, 96, 102*n*33, 109, 116–117, 127, 128
pilgrimage to/veneration of 105, 107, 108, 109–110, **113–118**, 120, 127, 128
political function of 103
relics/gifts at,
black stone disc in mihrab 9, 9*n*48, 10*ill.*
celestial 119
Sasanian objects 21
as response to existential and apocalyptic anxiety 16, 95, 97, 98, 106, 113
ritual practices at 97, 101, 102, **109–113**, 119, 128
role in Creation, End of Days and Day of Judgment 97, 103–104, 106, 107, 112, 113, 118, 119, 128
sanctity of 103, 106–107, 111, 113
Second Islamic Civil War and 113
transfer of qibla to Kaʿba 101
See also Haram al-Sharif
domes/domed structures
astrological domes 54, 54*n*22, 56–57*ill.*
cloth and leather.. *See* qubbas
cosmological imagery/celestial domes. *See* heavenly domes
domed maqsuras 39, 40, 49
paradisiacal domes 54, 57*ill.*
pre-Islamic Arabian/early Islamic heavenly/celestial 11*n*51, 16, 43*n*58, 44, 51, 53–54, 55, 60
relation between caliphs and 51
See also Dome of the Rock; qubbas; Qubbat al-Khadrả
draping. *See* covering

Edessa (Mesopotamia), Church of 54
Elad, Amikam 102*n*33
embodiment 14
body politics in architecture 5, 6, 9, 9*n*47, 131
End of Days 23, 98
civil wars as sign of 100, 101
holy sites in Jerusalem on Day of Judgment and 95, 97, 100, 101, 103–104, 112, 113, 118, 119, 120, 128
Kaʿba and black stone at 101
measurement of time and 99
the Prophet as intercessor at 111, 116
role of God's Throne in 105
enthronements 31, 33*ill.*, 115, 123
See also oaths of allegiance; *under individual rulers*
eschatological anxiety 16, 23, 97, 119–120
See also apocalyptic anxiety
eschatology
apocalyptic 112*n*93
origins and development of Islamic eschatological belief 98
Eutychius (Melkite priest, d. 940 CE) 102*n*33
existential anxiety 16, 97, 112, 119–120, 131

al-Farazdaq (poet, d. c. 728–730 CE) 58, 71, 107, 115
Fars 77
Fatima bt. ʿUtba (maternal aunt of Muʿawiya I) 58, 72
Fatimid Caliphate/Fatimids 96*n*6, 119
al-Fazari, Yazid b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra (Governor of Iraq, d. 750 CE) 93
al-Fihri, al-Dahhak b. Qays (Umayyad commander, d. 684 CE) 25
firāsa (definition) 9
First Islamic Civil War (First Fitna, 656–661 CE)
Battle of Siffin (657 CE) 51*n*9, 58, 92
formation of Islamic architecture and 3, 4, 15, 46, 48, 73
outbreak and end of 2, 96, 103
power balance and importance of Iraq 73, 75
reputation and recognition of Muʿawiya I during and after 50, 68, 103
securing of relics during 125
use of qubba in 58
fitna 129*n*30
See also First Islamic Civil War; Second Islamic Civil War
fl. means
Flood, Finbarr Barry 13, 13*n*65, 125–126
The Formation of Islamic Art (Oleg Grabar) 13
Fowden, Garth 13–14

Friday mosques. *See* mosques
Friday sermon (*khuṭba*) 8, 18, 29, 36, 41, 76, 93
See also al-Batrā
al-Fudayn (Umayyad palace, Jordan) 69*ill.*
Fustat 59
See also Dar al-Imara (Fustat); Mosque of Fustat

Gabriel (archangel) 106, 114, 117
garrison towns (Dar Hijra, Abode of Immigration) 79
centralized vs. decentralized governance in 75–76, 81, 92–93
(function of) mosques in 41, 43, 82, 84
See also Basra; Kufa
George, Alain 13
Ghadban (prisoner) 67
Ghassanids 19, 19*n*10, 54, 61*n*74
Ghumdan palaces (Yemen) 62, 62*n*78
God
mastery of Creation 98–99
omnipotence of 98–99, 105
Oneness of 97–98, 122
praising God in sermons 73*n*1, 90
prophetic successorship to God (*khilāfa*) 7, 106, 107
transcendence and immanence of 113, 122
unity of God 99
God's Caliph (*khalīfat Allāh*, title) 7
God's House (precursor to Kaʿba) 106
God's Throne and Footstool 20, 33–34*n*98, 105*n*44
association of Dome of the Rock with 109, 112
caliphal identity and invocation of **105–109**
God on 106
heavens and 60, 105
Kaʿba as Footstool 101
prophethood and 105–106
Quran on 105, 105*n*48–50, 107
role in Creation, End of Days and Day of Judgment 97, 100, 105, 106, 116, 117
seat of caliphs vs. 33
See also Dome of the Rock
Goitein, Shelomo Dov 102*n*33
Goldziher, Ignaz 102*n*33
governance (*imāra*) 38
centralized vs. decentralized 75–76, 81, 92–93
formation of Islamic architecture and 4, 5, 8, 15, 38, 40, 41, 49
history of Islamic 12, 37–38
mosque vs. Dar al-Imara 41
in pre-Islam 37–38
governors
corruption among 20, 75, 80
identity of 5, 20
protection/security of 26–27
residences of. *See* Dar al-Imara
working relation with caliphs 30, 70, 93
See also rulers
Grabar, Oleg 6*n*28, 11, 13, 53*n*19, 57, 87, 102*n*33
Greater Syria 68
governor's residences in 43
mosques in 43–44
Great Mosque of Cordoba 1, 1*n*3, 129
maqsura 40, 123, 130–131*ill.*
mihrab 11*n*51, 129, 130*ill.*
Great Mosque of Damascus 3, 51, 52*ill.*
audience hall/audiences 11*n*51, 30, 123
courtyard 45*ill.*
enthronements in 8
expense and lavishness of 31, 66
maqsura 8, 38, 44, 46, 49
mihrab 20, 40*n*44, 44
minbar 27, 28–29, 123, 125
mosaics 5*n*20, 121, 122*ill.*
origins 11, 44
qibla area 44, 44*n*67, 49
reconstruction under Walid I 44–46, 45*ill.*, 61
relics in 2, 130
scholarship on 13
See also Dar al-Imara (Damascus); Qubbat al-Khadrā (Damascus)
Great Mosque of Mecca (Masjid al-Haram), minbar 24
Greek cosmology 60
Greek (language) 121
green (color) 53, 53*n*17
Guidetti, Mattia 13

hadith 3*n*12, 57
apocalyptic anxiety in 100, 102
al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf (Governor of Iraq, d. 714 CE)
architectural patronage 48, 60, 67, 123
See also Dar al-Imara (Wasit); Mosque of Wasit; Qubbat al-Khadrā (Wasit)
Dar al-Imara/Qubbat al-Khadrā/audience hall 48, 62, 67, 124
lavishness of 67
use of maqsura 39, 40, 46, 123
use of qubba 58
whitewashing palace walls with Quran pages 59, 129
al-Hakam II (2nd Caliph of Cordoba, r. 961–976 CE), use of maqsura 40, 123, 129, 130–131*ill.*
Hamdan (tribe) 23*n*37
Hammat Gader (Greater Syria) 7, 50*n*2
Hamza b. ʿAbd al-Muttalib (Companion and uncle of the Prophet, d. 625 CE) 72
haram (sacred and inviolable enclosure) 36, 38, 59, 71, 101*n*28, 128
Haram al-Sharif (Temple Mount, Jerusalem) 16, 96–97*ill.*, 118*ill.*
accession/enthronement ceremonies at 103, 115
architectural patronage 109
association with Creation 120, 128
association with heavenly ascent of the Prophet 57, 95
divine authority mediation at 96
layout 104*ill.*
pilgrimage to 114, 127
as response to existential and apocalyptic anxiety 95, 97, 98
ritual practice at 101, 127–128
role in End of Days and Day of Judgment 100, 103–104, 120, 128
sacralization and resacralization of 101–102, 109
Second Islamic Civil War and 102*n*33
See also Dome of the Chain; Dome of the Rock
al-Harith b. Zalim (fugitive) 59
Harun al-Rashid (5th Abbasid Caliph, r. 786–809 CE) 24
Hasan b. ʿAli b. Abi Talib (2nd Shia Imam and grandson of the Prophet, d. 670 CE) 27
Hassan b. Thabit (Companion of the Prophet and poet, d. 674 CE) 7, 54, 69, 70
heavenly court. *See* celestial/heavenly court
heavenly domes 51, 56–57*ill.*, 60
Byzantine 44, 54, 55*ill.*, 124

heavenly domes (*cont.*)
  Christian vs. Islamic conception 53–54, 53–54*n*19, 60, 60*n*64
heavens 51, 54, 54*n*21, 60, 70–71, 99, 99*n*11, 105, 105*n*50, 107, 115
Hebron, Mosque of Abraham 26*ill.*
Heraclius (Byzantine Emperor, r. 610–641 CE) 86
Herodotus (fl. c. 484–425 BCE) 36–37
Hillenbrand, Robert 13
Hind bt. ʿUtba (mother of Muʿawiya I, d. 634 CE) 72
al-Hira (Lakhmid capital) 46, 84
Hisham b. ʿAbd al-Malik (10th Umayyad Caliph, r. 724–743 CE)
  as heir to Umayyad throne 71, 107
  Khirbat al-Mafjar palace (Jericho) 109–110*ill.*
  poetry on 115
  Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi (desert castle) 114, 116*ill.*
  Qubbat al-Khadrȧ 62, 63*ill.*
Holy Land 101
Holy Spirit (*rūḥ*), references in Dome of Rock to 117
holy wars
  carrying idols/relics into 23, 129
  See also civil wars; warfare
Hour, the 99–100, 100*n*14–15
Hudaybiyya, Treaty of (c. 628 CE) 58, 58*n*40
al-Huddani, Sabra b. Shayman (Azdi tribal leader) 92
Hujr b. ʿAdi (Companion of the Prophet, d. 660 CE) 76, 93
al-Husayn b. ʿAli (3rd Shia Imam and grandson of the Prophet, 670–680 CE)
  assassination 90
  shrine 26*ill.*

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (writer and poet, d. 940 CE) 84
Ibn Abihi. *See* Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan; Ziyad b. Sufyan
Ibn ʿAsakir (historian, d. 1176 CE) 20, 68
Ibn al-Ashʿath (military commander, d. 704 CE) 90
Ibn Battuta (chronicler, d. 1369 CE) 83
Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadhani (historian and geographer, fl. 902 CE) 24, 38, 46, 60, 83
Ibn Jubayr (geographer and poet, d. 1217 CE) 9, 83, 84
Ibn Khaldun (historian and philosopher, d. 1406 CE) 3*n*15
Ibn Manzur (lexicographer, d. c. 1311/1312 CE) 58*n*38
Ibn Rusta (historian, fl. 10th c. CE) 62*n*80, 63, 67
Ibn Sumayya. *See* Ziyad b. Sufyan
Ibn Tulun, Mosque of (Cairo) 89
Ibn ʿUbayd. *See* Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan
Ibn Ziyad, Ubayd Allah (Governor of Basra, Kufa and Khurasan, d. 686 CE) 90
Ibn al-Zubayr. *See* ʿAbd Allah b. al-Zubayr
identity. *See* caliphal identity/authority
idolatry 60, 113
  association of thrones and chairs with 22
  carrying idols/relics into holy wars 23, 129
  qubbas and 60
iḥtibāʾ ("self-reliant" seating position) 21–22, 24
Ilia. *See* Jerusalem
imagery
  birds 32
  cosmological/cosmic 32, 53–54, 56–57*ill.*
  in hadith 3*n*12
  water 32
imams, caliphs as 40
imāra. *See* governance
imperial anxiety 16
incensing 110, 111, 119
innovation, mosque design 41, 42
interreligious conflicts 35
  See also civil wars
investment
  in architecture 31, 40, 42, 66, 67, 96, 102, 103, 109, 128
  in equitable pay of soldiers 80
inviolability/inviolable months 36, 57, 59, 60, 71, 128
  See also haram
Iram (lost city/early tribe) 20*n*21
Iraq
  as center of opposition 47, 75, 129
  Dar al-Imara in 11
  economy 81
  governance in 73–75, 75*n*12
  mosques in 43
  See also Basra; Kufa; Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan
Islamic architecture
  archaeological records/written historical accounts 11–12
  Christian vs. 31, 82, 124
  embodiment/body politics in 5, 6, 9*n*47, 131
  evolution of 36
  for expressing caliphal identity 31, 40, 131
  formation of early 4, 5, 10–15
    civil wars and 3, 4, 15, 46, 48, 68, 73, 103
    governance and 4, 5, 8, 38, 40, 41, 49
    public audience/exposure and 4, 5, 8, 9
    timeline xvii*ill.*, 4
    violence and 5–6, 38, 122, 129, 131
  iconic pre-Islamic elements in 46, 48
  response to anxiety 3, 5, 8, 15, 16, 46, 122, 131
  scholarship on 13–14
Islamic cosmology. *See* God's Throne and Footstool; heavenly domes
Islamic state
  formation 6, 12, 12*n*58, 73
    timeline xvii*ill.*, 4
  growth/expansion 3
  strive for unity 5
Istakhr 77, 80, 88, 90
istilḥāḳ (acknowledgement of paternity) 77
Iwan al-Kabir (Cairo) 63
Iwan of Kisra (Sasanian "Arch of Chosroes", Ctesiphon) 25, 62

Jabal al-Ahwaz 84
Jaʿdah b. Hubayrah (nephew of ʿAli b. Abi Talib) 22
Jafnids. *See* Ghassanids
al-Jamali, Badr (Fatimid vizier, d. 1094), minbar of 26*ill.*
Janābi, Kāẓim 84*n*98, 85
Jarir b. ʿAtiyah (poet, d. c. 728 CE) 58
Jericho, Khirbat al-Mafjar 13–14*n*70, 40, 54, 57*ill.*, 107, 109*ill.*, 110*ill.*
Jerusalem
  accession/enthronement ceremonies in 103
  architectural patronage 96–97, 109

Jerusalem (*cont.*)
holy sites on End of Days and Day of Judgment 95, 97, 100, 102, 103–104, 112, 113, 118, 119, 120, 128
invocation of God's Throne and Footstool and caliphal authority **105–109**
Islamic conquest (c. 638 CE) 16, 96, 101
mosque construction in 121
mosques in 44, 48
pilgrimage to 102*n*33, 109–110, 113*n*96, 127
qibla and 95, 101
sanctity/sacred identity of 34*n*98, 55, 101, 102–103, 105
as setting for Creation 95, 106, 107, 120, 128
under Umayyad rule 95–97, 96*ill.*
See also [al-]Aqsa Mosque; Church of the Holy Sepulchre; Dar al-Imara (Jerusalem); Dome of the Rock; Haram al-Sharif; Jewish Temple
Jesus Christ
God's Throne and 116–117
as Pantocrator in dome of Church of Holy Sepulchre 54, 55*ill.*
references in Dome of the Rock to 117
role in celestial court 100
Jewish cosmology 60
Jewish Temple (Jerusalem) 95, 112, 112*n*90, 113, 127, 128
John the Baptist, St., relics of 130
Jordan 48*n*89, 129
Joseph (prophet)
God's Throne and 105–106
throne of 19, 19–20*n*14
Judaism 113
eschatological and apocalyptic thought 98, 100
Justinian I (Byzantine Emperor, r. 527–565 CE) 54

Kaʿba
Adam and 106
betyl ("Lord of the House") 112
Black stone 37, 101
burning down of (692 CE) 95
circumambulation of 51, 106, 115
covering of 22, 38, 71, 71*n*114, 102–103
deposit of (celestial) relics/gifts at 119, 119*n*125
destruction attempt by Abraha al-Habashi 55
existential and apocalyptic anxiety and 106
as God's Footstool 101
origins/precursor of 106, 112
as pilgrimage site under God's Throne 107
protection of 60
ritual practices at 102
role in Creation and End of Days 101, 107
sanctity of 113, 115
Sasanian objects in 21
as treasury 119*n*123, *n*125
wine consumption above 71
Kaʿba of Najran (Qubbat Najran, martyrium, Yemen) 55–56
Karman 77
Kathisma Church (Church of the Seat of Mary, Jerusalem) 114
Kerbala (Iraq) 89
Kessler, Crystal 11*n*55
Khadrȧ palace (Damascus). *See* Qubbat al-Khadrȧ
al-khadrā' (term) 46, 48, 52–53, 59–60, 62–63, 68
Khalid al-Qasri (Governor of Mecca and Iraq, d. 743 CE) 39
Khalid b. Yazid (Umayyad prince, d. 668 CE) 94
Al-Khandaq, Battle of (939 CE) 129*n*33
Kharijites
assassination attempts by 3, 38*n*25, 70
attack on Dar al-Imara (Kufa) 90
in Iraq 73
*khaṭīb*s (preachers), caliphs as 25–26, 40
khaṭṭa. *See* tribal allotments
Khazir, Battle of (686 CE) 23
khilāfa (prophetic successorship to God) 7, 106, 107
Khirbat al-Mafjar (Hisham's Palace, Jericho) 40, 109*ill.*
caliph on lion pedestal 110*ill.*
domed gateway 107
lion-gazelle mosaic 13–14*n*70
paradisiacal dome 54, 57*ill.*
Khosrow II. *See* Khusrau Parvez
Khoury, Nuha N.N. 14
Khusrau Parvez (Khosrow II/Kisra b. Hurmuz, Sasanian Shah of Iran, r. 592–628 CE)
audience hall in Qubbat al-Khadrȧ 61–62
crown of 114, 119
throne of 20, 21
khuṭba. *See* Friday sermon
kingship 123
avoidance of symbols of 19, 21
caliphate vs. 19, 20, 21
cosmic 62, 71
loss of 67
prophethood vs. 17, 19*n*14
Kisra b. Hurmuz. *See* Khusrau Parvez
Kufa
accommodation of troops 82, 84
demographic developments/resettlement of population 80, 81, 84
foundation and location 79
governance 73
See also Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan
mosque-palace complex 4, 43
sanctity of 107
tribal groups in 81
See also Dar al-Imara (Kufa); Mosque of Kufa
*kursī*s (chairs, pseudo-thrones) 124*ill.*
association with idolatry 22
caliphal identity and 83, 123
chair of ʿAli/al-Mukhtar 22–23, 129
functions and use of 18*n*7, 29
replacing pre-Islamic thrones 19, 34, 108

Lakhmids 19, 19*n*10, 37, 54
land reclamation 73, 79, 80
Lebanon 48*n*89
Lehmann, Karl 54*n*19

McVey, Kathleen E. 54*n*21
al-Madȧin (Ctesiphon) 119
Madinat al-Rizq (army provision depot, Basra) 80
Mahdi/*al-mahdī* 23, 100
Mamluk Sultanate, Qubbat al-Khadrȧ/Iwan al-Kabir 61, 63, 66*ill.*
al-Mȧmun (7th Abbasid Caliph, r. 813–833 CE) 116
al-Mansur (2nd Abbasid Caliph, r. 754–775 CE), Qubbat al-Khadrȧ 63
maqsuras (enclosure screens within qibla area of mosque) 6, **38–41**
construction/structure 39–40
domed 39, 40, 49

maqsuras (*cont.*)
function and use of,
exclusive space for caliph and inner circle 40–41, 49
inclusion in fortifications 38–39
protection of rulers 11*n*51, 16, 26–27, 36, 38, 39, 91, 123, 128
segregation 38
as symbol of caliphal identity 41
origins/history 36, 37, 38, 38*n*25
in pre-Islam 37, 38
See also under individual mosques; *under individual rulers*
Mar Sirgis (convent) 67
martyrs 55
martyr burial 130*n*35
See also ʿUthman b. ʿAffan
Marwan I (Marwan b. al-Hakam, 4th Umayyad Caliph, d. 685 CE) 39, 94
Marwanids 77, 89
Masjid al-Haram. *See* Great Mosque of Mecca
Maslamah b. Hisham (Umayyad prince and commander, d. c. 750 CE) 71
al-Masʿudi (historian-geographer, d. 956 CE) 29–30
Mecca 73
after/in civil wars 102
Conquest of (629–630 CE) 102
on Day of Judgment 102
God's Throne and 34*n*98
mosque construction in 121
pilgrimage to 55, 106, 107, 113*n*96
diversion of pilgrimage to Jerusalem 102*n*33, 113*n*96
sanctity/sacred identity of 102–103
Siege of (692 CE) 95
See also Dar al-Nadwa; Great Mosque of Mecca; Kaʿba
Meccan tribes 37
See also Quraysh
Medina 73
after civil wars 102
killing of ʿUthman b. ʿAffan in 1
mosque construction in 121
pledge of alliance to Abu Bakr ('event of the *saqīfa*') 17
Prophet's exile in 9, 18
residences of rulers 1, 41, 43*n*57, 91
sanctity/sacred identity of 55
See also Mosque of the Prophet
Mesopotamian cosmology 60
messiah. *See* Mahdi
microhistories 4, 14, 121, 122
mihrabs (niches in wall of mosques) 104*ill.*
minbars within 24
origins/history 11*n*51, 14, 38, 40, 49
See also Great Mosque of Cordoba; Great Mosque of the Prophet: Dome of the Rock; Mosque of the Prophet
military campaigns
use of qubbas in 54–55, 56, 58
See also warfare
military forces. *See* soldiers
minbars (elevated seats within mosques) 11*n*51
behavior in relation to minbar/sitting vs. standing upon minbar 3, 24, 27, 35, 42, 49
covering of 22, 28, 38
location within mosque 24
origins/history 18, 40
of the Prophet 1, 3, 4, 9, **18–19**, **21–22**, 24, 28–29, 31, 33, 35, 38, 122, 123, 125
removal/relocation of 28, 123, 125
role and function 24–25
cursing of opponents 26, 27
platform for *khuṭba*, preaching, and proclamations 9, 24–25, 26, 49, 123
political and spiritual 26, 29, 123
swearing of oaths of allegiance 27–28
symbol of caliphal authority/identity 18, 24, 25, 29, 34, 41, 123
sanctity of 3, 28, 29
structure 24, 25–26*ill.*, 28
See also under individual mosques; *under individual rulers*
monotheism 97, 112
monumentality/monumentalization
in mosques 46, 84–85, 92, 123
of Qubbat al-Khadrả 61, 66
shift from austerity to 48–49, 66, 71, 72
Moriah, Mount (location of former Jewish Temple, Jerusalem) 113, 128
mosaics
al-Aqsa Mosque (Jerusalem) 121
Dome of the Rock (Jerusalem) 102–103, 114, 115*ill.*
Great Mosque of Damascus 5*n*20, 121, 122*ill.*
lion-gazelle mosaic (Khirbat al-Mafjar, Jericho) 13–14*n*70
Moses 23
Tabernacle of 56, 128
See also Ark of the Covenant
Mosque of Abraham (Hebron) 26*ill.*
Mosque of Amman 48*n*89, 86, 89, 89*ill.*
Mosque of Basra 91
accommodation of troops 83, 84
construction/structure and size 46, 82, 83, 83*n*82, 84
excavations 74, 74*n*8, 83
flooring 83, 84
location 41
maqsura 39, 43, 83, 91
minbar 24, 26, 83
monumentality 46, 83, 92, 123
qibla area 43, 49, 83
rebuilding of 46, 47–48, 73, 92
See also Dal al-Imara (Basra)
Mosque of Fustat 24, 41
location 41
See also Dar al-Imara (Fustat)
Mosque of Ibn Tulun (Cairo) 89
Mosque of Kufa
accommodation of troops 82, 84
assassination of ʿAli b. Abi Talib in 35
ceiling 84
construction/structure and size 46, 82, 84
excavations 74
flooring 84
land around/spaces near (*raḥba*s) 92
location 41
maqsura 39, 91
minbar 26
monumentality 84, 92
qibla area 43, 46, 49
rebuilding of 46, 48, 73, 82, 84–85, 85*ill.*, 92
See also Dal al-Imara (Kufa)
mosque-palace complexes 8, 11, 15, 36, 43, 48, 48*n*89, 82, 89, 92
See also Dar al-Imara; Qubbat al-Khadrả
Mosque of the Prophet (Medina) 11, 42*ill.*
assassinations/assassination attempts in 35, 50
austerity and simplicity of 48
Byzantine church emulation and 82

Mosque of the Prophet (*cont.*)
  maqsura (enclosure screen) 3, 3*n*15, 4, 10, 38, 39, 49
  memories of the Prophet's physical presence in 9, 130
  mihrab 9, 40*n*44
  minbar 1, 3, 4, 9, **18–19**, **21–22**, 24, 27, 28–29, 33, 35, 122, 123, 125
  origins 18
  perfuming of 111
  Prophet's residence and 91
  public audiences at 123
  qibla area 3, 4, 41, 49
  scholarship on 12
mosques
  "architectural competition" with churches 31, 67
  architectural design/choices 31, 38
    church design as inspiration 82
    innovation 41, 42, 43
  assassinations/assassination attempts and conflicts in 35, 39, 50
  congregational vs. smaller neighborhood 92–93
  domed caliphal 48
  in garrison and provincial towns 41–42, 43, 82, 84
  governance in 3, 8, 9, 41
    See also Dar al-Imara; mosque-palace complexes
  introduction of rituals and ceremony in 38
  location of mosques in Umayyad Empire xvi*ill.*
  monumentality and lavishness 31, 46, 66, 84–85, 92, 123
  relationship between Dar al-Imara and 3, 41, 43
  security in. *See* maqsuras
  space sharing with churches 44, 44*n*64
  See also maqsuras; mihrabs; minbars; qibla/qibla areas
Mosque of Wasit 46, 47*ill.*, 48
  maqsura 39, 46, 123
  qibla area 49
Mount ʿArafa (Mecca) 24
Mount Moriah (location of former Jewish Temple, Jerusalem) 113, 128
Mshatta (Umayyad palace, Jordan) 86
Muʿawiya I (Muʿawiya b. Abi Sufyan, 1st Umayyad Caliph, r. 661–680 CE)
  ʿAli vs. 1–2, 27, 129
  architectural patronage 44, 50, 61, 66, 67, 72, 109, 128
    See also Dar al-Imara (Damascus); Great Mosque of Damascus; Haram al-Sharif (Jerusalem); Qubbat al-Khadrȧ (Khadrȧ palace, "Dome of the Green", Damascus)
  assassination attempts against 3, 3*n*15, 38*n*25, 70
  Dar al-Nadwa and 37
  daughter of 68–69
  death 25, 50, 70
  enthronement/oath of allegiance 2, 19, 27–28, 68, 70, 96, 103, 115, 123
  First Islamic Civil War and 50, 70, 75, 102
  governance of 7, 73
    criticism of governance 30, 70, 128
    timeline of reign 78*ill.*
  identification and recognition as ruler 7, 20, 30, 50–51, 52, 68, 70, 71, 123, 125
  maqsura of 38, 38*n*25, 44
  open access policy of 29–30, 81, 83
  personality/reputation 20, 50, 71, 73*n*3, 126
  public audiences 30, 123
  use of qubba 58, 60, 61, 125–126
  scholarship on 40
  seats of rule 19, 19*n*12, 30, 31, 50
    kursī (chair/pseudo-throne) 30
    minbar 22, 24, 25, 27, 51, 92
    use of *sarīr* (bedstead/couch) 30, 58
  Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan and 15, 72, 77–79, 93
Muʿawiya II (Muʿawiya b. Yazid, 3rd Umayyad Caliph, r. 683–684 CE) 8, 93
al-Mughira b. Shuʿbah (Rashidun governor of Kufa, d. 671 CE)
  construction of Mosque of Kufa 46
  corruption and favoritism of 20, 20*n*23, 75, 80
  reputation 73*n*3
  role in formation of Islamic state 73
  Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan and 76, 77
Muhammad (the Prophet)
  assassination attempts against/protection of 9–10
  austerity of 21, 22, 24, 31, 41, 43, 49, 71, 128
  authority and status 16, 17, 29, 37, 41, 50, 52, 58, 72, 96, 121, 122, 124
  blessing of Qubbat Najran 55
  blessing in sermons 73*n*1, 90
  covering of Kaʿba by 102
  death and succession 2, 7, 17, 33, 35, 41, 95–96, 101, 121, 122, 126
    chain of command 7, 17, 122
    politicization/political landscape 29, 35, 43, 95
  exile in Medina (c. 622 CE) 9, 18
  God's Throne and 105–106
  house/residence of 41, 43*n*57, 91
  as intercessor at End of Days/role in celestial court 100–101, 108, 111, 116
  lineage 37
  military campaigns 58
  nightly journey and heavenly ascent 57, 95, 108, 128
  on open access to rulers 29, 35, 81
  peace treaties 36*n*5
  relics/memories of the Prophet's physical presence 1, 9–10, 122, 125, 130
    black stone discs commemorating prayers by the Prophet 9, 9*n*48, 10*ill.*
    cloak 10, 53, 58, 125
    minbar 1, 3, 4, 9, **18–19**, **21–22**, 24, 28–29, 31, 33, 35, 38, 122, 123, 125
    nail clippings 50
    qubba 52, 58, 59, 61, 72, 81
    shirt 50
    staff 28, 58, 125
  ritual sacrifices 58, 58*n*40
  seating positions of 21–22, 24
  See also Mosque of the Prophet (Medina)
al-Mukhtar b. Abi ʿUbayd al-Thaqafi (d. 687 CE) 90
chair of ʿAli/ 22–23, 129
al-Mundhir clan 46
al-Mundhir (Ghassanid King) 62
al-Muqaddasi (geographer, d. 991 CE) 31
Muqatil b. Sulayman (narrator, d. 767 CE) 106
Musʿab b. al-Zubayr (Governor of Basra, d. 691 CE) 90

Muslims, co-existence with
  Christians 44*n*64
al-Mustansir Billah (8th Fatimid Imam-Caliph, r. 1036–1094 CE) 26*ill.*
al-Muttaqi lillah (21st Abbasid Caliph, r. 940–944 CE) 60
Muttarrif b. al-Mughira (Governor of al-Madȧin/Ctesiphon, fl. 697 CE) 24–25

nadāwa (consultation) 37
Night of Power (Laylat al-Qadr) 117
al-Nuʿman III b. al-Mundhir (Lakhmid king, fl. c. 582–602 CE) 37

oaths of allegiance (*bayʿas*) 27–28, 93
  in pre-Islamic Arabia 36–37, 125, 128
  See also under individual rulers
obedience 7, 37
  See also [al-]Batrȧ speech; caliphal identity/authority
Oneness of God 97–98, 122

palaces
  extra-urban/desert 11, 14, 19*n*8
  scholarship on Umayyad 13–14
  seats in (*sarīr*s) 29
  urban. *See* Dar al-Imara
  See also mosque-palace complexes; Qubbat al-Khadrȧ
Palmyra, Temple of Bel 54, 56*ill.*
paradisiacal domes 54, 57*ill.*
paternity, acknowledgement of (*istilḥaḳ*) 76
patronage. *See* architectural patronage
peace treaties 36*n*5
perfuming 111, 114
Pharaoh 20, 20*n*21, 63
pilgrimage
  to Dome of the Rock 105, 107, **113–118**, 120, 127, 128
  to Jerusalem 109–110, 127
    diversion from Mecca to Jerusalem 102*n*33, 113*n*96
  to Mecca 55, 106, 107, 113*n*96
  refuge and 101
  Second Islamic Civil War and 102*n*33
poetry 11, 52, 84
  employment of poets at courts 83
  on Hisham b. ʿAbd al-Malik 115
  as interpretative tool 13, 13–14*n*70
  pre-Islamic 22, 37, 67
  on qubbas/domes 54, **68**–70, 68*n*100
  tashbīb 68, 126
  of/on al-Walid II 13–14*n*70, 70–71, 107
  See also [al-]Farazdaq; Hassan b. Thabit; Jarir b. ʿAtiyah
politics
  definition in Islam 7
  intertwining of religion and 6, 105
  political competition during First and Second Islamic Civil Wars 103
  politicization after death of the Prophet 29, 35, 43
  politicization of relics 129–130
  See also existential anxiety
polytheism 98*n*9, 113
preachers. *See khaṭīb*s
pre-Islamic Arabia 36
  authority in 34, 36–38
  See also tribes
priests, pre-Islamic 36
primordial divine covenant. *See* divine covenant
prophethood
  attributes of 17*n*3
  God's Throne and 105–106
  kingship vs. 17, 19*n*14
  prophetic successorship to God (*khilāfa*) 7, 106, 107
Prophet's Mosque (Medina). *See* Mosque of the Prophet (Medina)
protection of rulers 3, 26–27, 35–36, 43, 46, 59, 92, 126, 128
  See also maqsuras
provincial towns, mosques in 41–42
pseudo-thrones 6, 18, 24, 31, 123
  *See also kursī*s; *sarīr*s
public audiences/exposure 30, 35, 41, 123
  formation of Islamic architecture and 4, 5, 6, 9
  See also access to rulers; audience halls; protection of rulers

Qadisiyya, Battle of (636 CE) 20
Qalʿat Ziyad (fortification in Istakhr) 77, 80, 88, 90
Qasr Bani Muqatil (aristocratic residence, Kerbala) 88–89
Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi (desert castle, Syria) 114, 116*ill.*
  enthronements at 31, 33*ill.*
al-Qasri, Khalid (Governor of Mecca, d. 743 CE) 24
qibla/qibla areas
  development and transformation of 4, 11*n*51, 24, 37, 40*n*44, 43, 49
  function and uses of 26, 29, 41
  Jerusalem and qibla 95, 101
  See also Kaʿba; *under individual mosques*
qubbas (domes/dome structures)
  circumambulation of 71
  cloth and leather 51–52, 54–55, 54*n*25, 58, 69–70
  of the Prophet 52, 58, 59, 61, 72, 81, 125–126
  colors 58–59, 126
  functions/use of,
    for lover's reunions 54, 69–70
    in military campaigns 54–55, 58, 81
    as place of refuge 59, 72
    in pre-Islam 54, 60
    for ritual sacrifice 58, 58*n*40
    as space for negotiation and consensus building 58, 72
    as symbol of authority 70, 71, 81
  inviolability of 59, 60, 72
  origins/history **52–60**
  poetry on 54, **68–70**
  term (*qubba*) 52, 54
  textual sources on 58–59
  See also domes/domed structures
Qubbat al-ʿAlam (Dome of the World) 56
Qubbat al-Ard (Dome of the Earth) 56
qubbat al-khadrāʾ (domed audience hall)
  archaeological evidence 48
  as heavenly dome 16
  term 43, 51*n*6, 52, 53, 62, 63
  as turning point in Islamic architecture 48
  See also under individual Qubbat al-Khadrȧ
Qubbat al-Khadrȧ (Baghdad) 59, 63, 65*ill.*
Qubbat al-Khadrȧ (Iwan al-Kabir, Cairo) 61, 63, 66*ill.*

Qubbat al-Khadrȧ (Khadrȧ palace/"Dome of the Green", Damascus) 44–46, 45*ill.*, 81, 92, 126, 127
allusion to immoral associations of qubbas 70
archaeological evidence 51
dating of 43*n*58, 68
hall of Khusrau 61–62
as Islamized late antique heavenly dome 16, 43*n*58, 51, 53, 61–62, 124
location 52*ill.*
monumentality and lavishness of 44, 61, 66, 71
motivations of Muʿawiya I for construction 30, 66, 67–68, 71, 125–126
origins/history 53, 123–124
poetry on **68**–70, 68*n*100
reproductions during and after Umayyad period 61, 62–63, 124, 127
as symbol of caliphal/political authority 30, 61, 62, 71, 124
term/name 51*n*6, 52, 53
Qubbat al-Khadrȧ (al-Rusafa) 62
Qubbat al-Khadrȧ (al-Rusafa, Syria) 62, 63*ill.*
Qubbat al-Khadrȧ (Tychaion, Alexandria) 64, 66
Qubbat al-Khadrȧ (Wasit) 48, 59, 62, 67, 67*n*89, 93, 123
Qubbat al-Miʿraj (Dome of the Ascension, Jerusalem) 95
Qubbat al-Muqatila (Dome of the Combatants, Basra) 80–81, 88
Qubbat Najran (Kaʿba of Najran, martyrium, Yemen) 55–56
Qubbat al-Zaman (Tabernacle of Moses) 56, 128
Queen of Sheba, throne of 19–20
Quran
on adornment 22
blood-spattered Quran of ʿUthman 1, 1–2*n*2–3, 2, 129, 129*n*33
on cosmos 60
on God's Throne 105, 105*n*48–50, 107, 119
on the Hour 99–100, 100*n*14–15
Qurans as relic/talisman 1, 2, 129
on the Quraysh 60
See also ʿUthmani Codex
Quranic exegesis, to address apocalyptic anxiety 100, 102
Quranic verses
2 "The Cow" (*al-Baqara*), 2:255 (Throne Verse) 107, 119
4 "The Women" (*al-Nisāʾ*, Obedience Verse), 4:59 7
7 "The Heights" (*al-ʾAʿrāf*), 7:11 105*n*50
7:31 105*n*50
12 "Yusuf" (*Yūsuf*), 12:100–101 19–20*n*14
32 "The Prostration" (*al-Sajda*), 32:4–5 99*n*11
36 "Ya-Sin" (*Yāʾ Sīn*), 36:1–9 10
38 "Saad" (*Ṣād*),
38:10 60
38:20 26
40 "The Foregiver" (*Ghāfir*), 40:49 99*n*13
42 "The Consultation" (*al-Shūrā*), 42:11 113*n*94
43 "The Gold Adornments" (*al-Zukhruf*) 22
52 "The Mount" (*al-Ṭūr*), 52:1–8 51, 51*n*9
55 "The Most Merciful" (*al-Raḥmān*), 55:33–34 60
69 "The Sure Reality" (*al-Hāqqah*), 69:17–18 114, 114*n*98
83 "The Dealers in Fraud" (*al-Muṭaffifīn*), 83:25–27 111, 111*n*85
89 "The Break of Day" (*al-Fajr*), 89:6–14 20*n*21
106 "The Quraysh", 106:1–4 60
Quraysh (tribe) 9, 26, 37, 38
Dar al-Imara 47
on the Prophet's austerity 24
Quran on 60
on wealth 22
Qusayr ʿAmra (Umayyad desert castle, Jordan) 14
astrological dome 54, 54*n*22, 57*ill.*
enthronements at 31, 32, 33*ill.*, 58, 123, 124*ill.*
sarīr at 32, 32–33*ill.*, 58–59, 124*ill.*
Qussay b. Kalb (1st tribal leader of Quraysh, d. 480 CE) 37, 125

Rabbat, Nasser 13
*raḥba*s (spaces near a mosque) 92
Rajȧ b. Haywah (courtier, d. 730 CE) 27, 111, 128
Ramla (daughter of Muʿawiya I) 69–70, 126
al-Ramla (Palestine) 59
rebellions/revolts
Damascus (688–689 CE) 24
Kharijite 73, 90
See also ʿAmr b. Saʿid b. al-ʿAs
red (color) 58–59
refuge
pilgrimage and 101
qubbas as place of 59, 72
relics
of ʿAli b. Abi Talib 22
chair of ʿAli/al-Mukhtar 22–23, 129
horn and ram of Abraham and Isaac 119, 119*n*125
politicization of 129–130
of the Prophet 1, 9–10, 28, 38, 50, 52, 53, 58, 59, 61, 72, 81, 122, 125, 130
See also minbars
public display of 129–130, 130*n*35
use in battle and warfare 23, 129
of ʿUthman b. ʿAffan 1–2, 1–2*n*2–3, 129, 129*n*33, 130*n*35
religion, intertwining of politics and 6, 105
religious authority, political and 7*n*29, 105
Rightly Guided Caliphs
assassinations 35, 38, 127
See also assassinations/assassination attempts
residences of 43*n*57, 91
rituals/ritual practice 98
anointment 97, 110–112, 119
incensing/perfuming 110–111, 114, 119
introduction of rituals and ceremony in mosques 38
ritualistic cleaning 110–111
ritual sacrifice 58*n*40
to respond to apocalyptic anxiety 101
See also circumambulation; covering/veiling; pilgrimage
rūḥ. *See* Holy Spirit
rulers/rulership
Arabo-Islamic rulership 43
open access to rulers 27, **29–30**, 35, 40, 46, 49, 81, **83–84**, 126–127
protection/security of rulers. *See* maqsuras; protection of rulers
residences of rulers. *See* Dar al-Imara
rulers as cosmic agents 62, 71

rulers/rulership (*cont.*)
succession of rulers 93–94
See also caliphs; governors; kingship
al-Rusafa (Syria), Qubbat al-Khadrȧ 62, 63*ill.*
Rustam (Sasanian general, d. 636 CE), throne of 20
Ruzbih (Persian architect) 82, 86

Saʿd b. Abi Waqqas (Rashidun military commander and Governor of Kufa, d. 674 CE) 20*n*21, 27, 42, 43, 82, 84, 86, 92
sacred sites
guardianship and control of 96, 102, 109, 110–111
in pre-Islam 36–37
sacral primacy 101
See also haram; Jerusalem; Mecca; Medina
sacred stones. *See* betyls; Black Stone
Safaitic inscriptions 129
safety. *See* protection of rulers; security
Saʿid b. al-ʿAs (Governor of Kufa, d. 678/679 CE) 27, 42*n*54
sakīnah (divine presence) 23
Salma (slave girl of Walid II) 14*n*70
saqīfa, event of the (Medina, 632 CE) 17
*sarīr*s (bedsteads/couches) 24, 32–33*ill.*, 124*ill.*
dimensions 31
function and use of 18, 18*n*7, 29, **31–34**, 123
replacing pre-Islamic thrones 19, 34, 108
See also under individual rulers
Sarvistan (Sasanian palace, Iran) 88–89, 88*ill.*
Sasanian Empire/Sasanian period/Sasanians 46, 86, 88
coinage 114
fall of 20–21, 119
governance 83
land reclamation from 80
thrones of rulers 28
Sauvaget, Jean 10–11, 11*n*51, 12–13
seating/seating positions
iḥtibāʾ (“self-reliant” seating position) 21–22, 24
sitting down between sermons 27
seats/seats of rule 17–18, 29, 122
Christian/Jewish vs. Islamic 19
function, context, and symbolism of 34, 108
God’s Throne vs. 33
*See also kursī*s; minbars; pseudo-thrones; *sarīr*s; thrones
Second Islamic Civil War (Second Fitna, 680–692 CE) 22, 23, 39, 40
control of sacred shrines 109
Dome of the Rock and 113
formation of Islamic architecture and 3, 4, 46, 48, 68, 73, 103
Haram al-Sharif and 102*n*33
outbreak and end of 2, 95, 96, 103, 115
pilgrimage and 102*n*33
securing of relics during 125
timeline 98*ill.*
sectarianism 5–6
sectarian violence 101
See also civil wars
security 128
See also maqsuras; protection of rulers
Shalem, Avinoam 71*n*114
Sheba, Queen of 19–20
shirk. *See* idolatry; polytheism
Shrine of al-Husayn (Ascalon) 26*ill.*
shūra council (council of elders) 37, 38, 81, 83–84
Sibt b. al-Jawzi (writer, d. 654 CE) 62, 102*n*33
Siege of Mecca (692 CE) 95
Siffin, Battle of (657 CE) 51, 51*n*9, 58, 92
Al-Siq (Petra) 112, 112*ill.*
soldiers
accommodation of 82, 83, 84
payment of 73, 75, 80
Solomon, throne of 19–20, 21, 33, 104*ill.*, 107, 108, 123
storytelling 121
Sufyanids 73, 75*n*12
Sulayman b. ʿAbd al-Malik (7th Umayyad, r. 715–717) 28–29, 59, 102, 123, 125
Syriac apocalypticism 95*n*5

al-Tabari, Muhammad b. Jarir (historian, d. 923 CE) 8*n*40, 22–23, 27, 30, 35, 62, 129
Tabernacle of Moses 56, 128
See also Ark of the Covenant
Tȧif (Hijaz) 76
Tamim 77
tashbīb (poetry genre) 68, 126
taxation/tax reform 73, 75, 77, 79, 80
temenos (temple enclosure) 124
attempted purchase of 44, 125
Temple of Bel (Palmyra) 54, 56*ill.*
Temple, Jewish 95, 112, 112*n*90, 113, 127, 128
Temple of Jupiter (Damascus) 44
Temple Mount (Jerusalem). *See* Haram al-Sharif
temples, identification as *qubbat al-khaḍrāʾ* 64
temporal anxiety 113, 120
temporality **98–100**, 120, 128
Thamud (early Arab tribe) 20*n*21
Theophanes 62, 67
Third Season report 86, 86*n*103
thrones
association with idolatry 22
avoidance of throne-like seats 18–19, 19*n*11, 21, 22, 30, 34
circumambulation around idols and 22
cosmic imagery 32
pre-Islamic 19–20, 23, 34, 123
pseudo-thrones 6, 18, 24, 31, 123
reinterpretation of throne 33–34, 33–34*n*98, 108
of righteousness vs. tyranny 20, 21, 23–24
See also God’s Throne and Footstool; seats/seats of rule
time, creation and measuring of 98–99
ṭirāf/*ṭaraf* (pleasant or amusing) 54, 59
titles of caliphs. *See* caliphal identity
Topkapı Manuscript 1
Topkapı Palace Museum (Istanbul) 1
Treaty of Hudaybiyya (c. 628 CE) 58, 58*n*40
Tree Treaty (*sulḥ al-shajara*) 36*n*5
tribal allotments (*khaṭṭa*) 75–76, 92
tribal elites, privileges for 75, 81
tribes
council of elders (*shūra* council) 37, 38, 81, 83–84
election of tribal leaders 37
intertribal violence/conflicts 75, 81, 127
oath-taking 36–37
self-autonomous rule of 81
tribal hegemony and influence 83, 90
tribal kinship/cohesion 2, 36, 75, 81
Trinity 117

Tychaion (Alexandrian temple)/
Qubbat al-Khadrā 64, 66

Ubulla (Apologos, Iraq) 77, 79
Uhud, Battle of (625 CE) 56
ʿUmar II (Umar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz, 8th Umayyad Caliph, r. 717–720 CE) 39, 123
ʿUmar b. al-Khattab (2nd Rashidun Caliph, r. 634–644 CE)
architectural patronage 109
assassination 2*n*10, 3, 35, 36, 38, 50
austerity of 40, 41, 42–43
covering of Kaʿba by 102
on governor Muʿawiya I's behavior 30, 70
on guards and processional 20
on Khusrau Parvez's throne 21
on kingship vs. caliphate 19, 21
on use of minbars 24, 42
Mosque of Kufa and 46, 82
resacralization of Haram al-Sharif 101*n*30, 102, 109
Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan and 73, 77, 93*n*140
See also Great Mosque of Damascus
Umayyad Caliphate xvi*ill.*
counter claims to 47
fall of 131
foundation/history of 50, 95–96
growth of 3
Umayyad Mosque. *See* Great Mosque of Damascus
Um Hakim (wife of Hisham b. ʿAbd al-Malik and mother of Maslamah b. Hisham) 71
unity of God 99
urbanism, Islamic 12, 79
urban palaces. *See* Dar al-Imara
ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (traditionist, d. 712/713 CE) 31
ʿUtba b. Ghazwan al-Mazini (Companion of the Prophet and Governor of Basra, d. 638 CE) 77, 79, 82
ʿUthman b. ʿAffan (3rd Rashidun Caliph, r. 644–656 CE)
assassination 1–2, 2*n*10, 3, 27, 28, 35, 38, 50, 68, 71, 125, 130*n*35
covering of Kaʿba/relic displays by 22, 38, 102
forced removal from minbar 27, 35
introduction and use of maqsura by 3, 36, 38, 39, 40, 123, 126
relics 1–2, 1–2*n*2–3, 10, 129, 129*n*33, 130*n*35
Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan and 77
ʿUthmani Codex 1, 1*n*2–3, 2, 129, 129*n*33
al-ʿUzza (pre-Islamic Arabian goddess) 56

veiling. *See* covering/veiling
veneration 112
See also rituals/ritual practices
violence 36, 131
formation of Islamic architecture and 5–6, 38, 122, 129, 131
intertribal 75, 81
inviolability/inviolable months 36, 57, 59, 60, 71, 72, 128
See also assassination/assassination attempts

Wahb b. Munabbih (traditionist, d. c. 725–737 CE) 105
al-Walid I (6th Umayyad Caliph, r. 705–715 CE) 71, 119
architectural patronage 16, 26, 31, 40, 44, 66, 121, 122*ill.*
See also Dar al-Imara (Damascus); Great Mosque of Damascus
authority of 107
introduction of maqsura dome 49
introduction of niche mihrab 40*n*44
lavishness of 31
use of minbar 27, 28, 125
use of relics under 9, 130
resacralization of Haram al-Sharif 102
al-Walid II (11th Umayyad Caliph, r. 743–744 CE)
assassination 8
on domes/dome structures (qubba) 51
identification as ruler 70
Khirbat al-Mafjar palace 109*ill.*
as leader of Hajj 71
use of maqsura 40
palace of 58–59, 59*n*48
poetry of/on 13–14*n*70, 70–71, 107
use of *sarīr* (bedstead/couch) 32–33*ill.*, 58–59
al-Walid b. ʿUqbah (Governor of Kufa, d. 680 CE) 27
warfare
carrying idols/relics during 23, 129
use of qubbas in 54–55, 56, 58
See also civil wars
war spoils 93
Wasit 60
mosque-palace complex 46, 48
See also Dar al-Imara (Wasit); Mosque of Wasit; Qubbat al-Khadrā (Wasit)
al-Wasiti, Abu Bakr (fl. 11th c. CE) 106, 109, 114, 117
water imagery 32
wealth, redistribution of 79, 81
Wendell, Charles 51*n*6, 53*n*17
Whelan, Estelle 15
wine consumption 27, 55, 71, 111*n*85
winged motifs 114, 115–116*ill.*
women, segregated areas for 38

Yahya b. Saʿid b. al-ʿAs (d. 689 CE). *See* ʿAmr b. Saʿid b. al-ʿAs
al-Yaʿqubi (historian, d. 897–898 CE) 61, 61*n*74, 68, 102*n*33
Yazdegerd (Sasanian king) 62
Yazib b. Sallam (courtier) 111, 128
Yazid I (2nd Umayyad Caliph, r. 680–683) 70*n*104
use of *sarīr* (bedstead/couch) of 31
succession of Muʿawiya I 28, 50, 70, 77, 93, 94*n*143
Yazid II (Yazid b. ʿAbd al-Malik, 9th Umayyad Caliph, r. 720–724 CE) 107
Yazid III (12th Umayyad Caliph, r. 744 CE) 8
Year of Delegations (c. 629–630 CE) 58

Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan (Governor of Kufa and Basra, d. 673 CE)
architectural patronage 16, 49, 73–74, 75, 80, 82, 86–87, 90, **93–94**, 124, 126
See also Dar al-Imara (Basra); Dar al-Imara (Kufa); Mosque of Basra; Mosque of Kufa
austerity of 82, 83
career 76–77, 93, 93*n*140, 94
governor of Basra/al-Batrā speech 26, 48, 73, 80, 84, 90, 123
governor of Iraq and Khurasan 72
governor of Istakhr 77, 80, 88
governor of Kufa 84

Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan (*cont.*)
coinage 76, 77*ill.*
court of 84
death and succession 74, 78, 94, 94*n*143
governance 73–74, 79–82, 83
addressing corruption 75, 80
bottom-up restructuring 90
centralization efforts 92–93, 127
creation of council of elders 81, 83–84
justice and security measures 81
land reclamation 73, 79, 80
punishment of dissidents 26–27, 81, 91
resettlement of population 81
taxation/tax reform 73, 77, 79, 80, 90
timeline as governor 78*ill.*
identity as ruler and commander 74–75, 76, 78, 79–80, 82, 83, 84, 90, 93
on innovation within mosques 42
use of *kursī* 91
use of minbar 24, 26–27, 48, 49, 73, 92, 127
Muʿawiya I and 15, 73, 77–79, 93
origins/background,
adoption as stepbrother of Muʿawiya 77–79, 93–94
date of birth 76*n*22
name variations/name changes 75–76, 93
on/and poetry/poets 83, 84
qualities and reputation 73*n*3, 76, 79, 92
Qubbat al-Muqatila 80–81, 88
residency. *See* Dal al-Imara (Basra); Dal al-Imara (Kufa)
security/protection of 81, 92, 93, 126, 127
use of maqsura 26–27, 39, 49, 84, 91, 92, 126, 127
Zoroastrians 100

Arts and Archaeology
of the Islamic World
Volume 20

Structured as five microhistories c. 632-705, this book offers a counternarrative for the formation of Islamic architecture and the Islamic state. It adopts a novel periodization informed by moments of historical violence and anxiety around caliphal identities in flux, animating histories of the minbar, throne, and maqsura as a principal nexus for navigating this anxiety. It expands outward to re-assess the mosque and palace with a focus on the Qubbat al-Khadra' in Damascus and the Dar al-Imara in Kufa. It culminates in a reading of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem as a site where eschatological anxieties and political survival converge.

Heba Mostafa, Ph.D. (University of Cambridge, 2012), is Assistant Professor of Islamic Art and Architecture at the Department of Art History, St. George, University of Toronto. She has published on the history of mosques and sacred space in early Islam.

BRILL.COM/AAIW
ISSN 2213-3844