The influence of Ḥadīth on the architecture of early congregational mosques

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of PhD

The University of Leeds
Institute for Medieval Studies

September, 2010
The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Dedication

To the soul of my mother
To my father, wife and son
Acknowledgements

I do believe that this work would not have been achieved without the appreciated help and support of certain people to whom I am cordially grateful.

Eternal gratitude goes to Prof. Richard Morris whose notable experience, exceptional erudition and outstanding personality have had great impact on this work and the way I have dealt with it. He expertly knew how to guide me when it was vague, raise my spirits when it was hard, and renew my determination when it began to wane. I have been really privileged to have such a great supervisor and stupendous mentor.

I am also deeply grateful to Prof. Hugh Kennedy who has kindly made me acquainted with many things which have been essential for this research. Prof. Kennedy has applied his magnificent intellect and enlightening knowledge to the work in a way that helps it shape up properly. I will always be proud to have been a disciple of such a respected and eminent scholar.

Now I come to a special person, Dr Mary Swan. I believe that my period of study would have been much harder if I had not been blessed with her devoted encouragement and knowledgeable backing. I will always remember many of her instructive and profound sayings. She has generously dedicated much of her time and experience to sensitively guide me all the way through.

I am also indebted to Dr Ann Christys, my advising tutor during the first year. Her constructive discussions have always given me valuable threads to follow. Special thanks also to Prof. Dionysius Agius who, having been my supervisor in the early period of the work, sensibly guided me when the thesis was not more than initial thoughts and raw material.

My special thanks go to Ms Alison Martin, the secretary of the IMS, for
her alert assistance and kind guidance with all the administrative issues. I am also thankful to Dr. Thallein Antun who kindly sent me her valuable thesis which I had been after for quite a while. I am also grateful for the practical discussions which she has kindly shared with me.

Also, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to all the members and students of the IMS for the help and thoughtfulness they have shown towards me in general and during the very efficacious work-in-progress seminars in particular.

I also extend my thanks to the Library staff, especially the Document Supply Dept. for helping me get hold of a lot of key sources of special importance for the study.

I believe that I am indebted in every single positive thing in my life to my parents who provided me with indescribable affection, care and guidance when I was simply helpless. Most importantly, they provided me with a model which I have been trying to emulate. My thanks then goes to my wife, Marwa, the real partner of this long and arduous journey. She has supported me tirelessly and scrupulously to realize the goals and overcome the difficulties. I do believe that I have been blessed with a fantastic wife who always gives more than expectable. She shows limitless understanding and makes countless sacrifices at all times.

Finally, I do believe that whatever the words I use, I can never do justice with the above people and their value for this work.
Abstract
This study weighs up the influence of Hadith, 'Traditions of Prophet Muhammad', on the architecture of the major congregational mosques which were built from the rise of Islam in 1/622 to the end of the Umayyad period in 132/750.

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. The first is an introduction which deals with: the reasons behind underestimating the role of Hadith in shaping mosque architecture, the main questions of the study, and the approaches and methodologies applied to deal with these questions. The second chapter discusses the historiographical problems of Hadith and early Arabo-Islamic sources. The third examines the nature and functions of the sizable hypaethral building which was erected by the Prophet and which we believe was a mosque and not simply an abode for the Prophet and his family. The fourth chapter deals with the history and form of this structure, which represents, by definition, an embodiment of Hadith regarding mosques. The fifth chapter, however, asks whether there was an ‘orthodox’ form of mosque according to Hadith. It also tries to explore the features of such a form. The sixth and seventh chapters investigate whether and how Hadith influenced the architectural evolution of the mosques which were built under the Rightly-guided Caliphs and those built by the Umayyads, respectively. Chapter eight is an epilogue that summarizes the findings of the study.
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<td>ق: [q]</td>
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ة in pause: [ah]

otherwise: [at]
Glossary of early Islamic architecture terms

Ājurr: kiln-baked brick

Al-ṣuffah al-muqaddamah (also al-ẓullah, al-mughṭṭā, al-muqaddam and bayt al-ṣalāt): the front [shaded] part of the mosque, i.e. sanctuary

ʻArīsh: simple booth or arbour

Aʼwād: wooden pulpit

Bāʾikah: arcade

Balāṭāṭ: [vertical] aisles, bays

Firākh: small arches

Ḥāʾīṭ: [walled] orchard

Ḥanāyā: the arches of bayt al-ṣalāt

Isṭiwān or Isṭiwānah: column

Jiṣṣ: gypsum mortar

Junbatayn (also mujannabatyn): two side riwāqs

Khawkhaḥ: wicket

Khushub: [wooden] piers

Labin: mud brick

Manārah (also ṣawmaʾah and miʾdhanah): minaret

Mawākhīr: back riwāqs

Mirbad: threshing-floor

Murabbaʾah: quadrangular courtyard

Nijāf: wooden architraves

Qisīy: arches

Raḥbah: a free wide area

Riwāq: aisle

Safāfīd: dowels [of iron]

Saffūd (spike): dome’s finial

Sahwah: the interior of a chamber, or a niche in the wall
Glossary of early Islamic architecture terms

*Sawārī:* rows of columns

*Shurrafāt* (also *shuraf* and *qudhaf*): crenellations or cornices.

*Tunuf:* friezes

*Tur‘ah* (pl. *tura*): door

'*Uqūd:* ties, also arches

*Uskūb:* [horizontal] aisle

*Wajah al-ṭayqān,* soffits or spandrels
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Chapter 1: Introduction – aim, scope, questions and methodology
Chapter 1: Introduction – aim, scope, questions and methodology

1.1. Aim and scope
This study weighs up the influence of Hadīth, ‘Traditions of Prophet Muhammad’,¹ on the architecture of the major congregational mosques which were built during the early decades of Islam, particularly from the rise of Islam in 1/622 to the end of the Umayyad period in 132/750.²

The original aspects of this study will be indicated through identification of the main reasons behind the undervaluation of the influence of Hadīth on mosque architecture, and the problems this has caused. The questions of the study and the methodologies used to approach them will then be reviewed. Finally, the key points of the discussion will be summarized.

1.2. Why Hadīth influence on mosque architecture has been underestimated?
Islamic archaeology evolved out of two independent strands of enquiry. One was an interest in the historical significance of art; the other emerged in the context of

¹ For Hadīth definition and categories, see chapter 2 and table 1. For clarity, ‘Hadīth’ with a capital ‘H’ will be used when the genre is being referred to. When a single tradition of the Prophet is meant, then ‘ḥadīth’ with small ‘h’ will be used. The letter ‘s’ will be added when it is in the plural.
² Hadīth is the second most important source of Islamic law after the Qur’ān. The reason why the latter is not systematically addressed in this thesis is that it only has limited bearing on the issue of shaping the architecture of early mosques. See Oleg Grabar, ‘Art and Architecture and the Qur’ān’ in Early Islamic Art, 650-1100, I, Constructing the Study of Islamic Art (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005). First published in Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān, ed. by Jane D. McAuliffe, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2001), I, pp. 161-75. However, there are few aspects of influence of the Qur’ān on the building of mosques. A clear example is the verses which deal with the event of changing the qiblah direction towards the Ka’bah in Mecca after having been towards Jerusalem. Such cases will be dealt with in due course.
Orientalist studies. The coalescence of these two strands in the late nineteenth century marked the real beginning of academic exploration of the artistic and archaeological patrimony of the Islamic lands. This disjunctive evolution helps to explain why not much effort has since been made to relate Islamic architecture to the religious context in which it originally developed. Such ‘secular’ perspective has tended to dominate most modern western as well as Arab scholarship.

Some of the early western studies of Muslim artistic and cultural heritage did take the religious background into consideration. This might have been due to the fact that such studies were conducted in the context of a broader treatment of oriental culture. The works of Edward Lane, Max van Berchem, Caetani, and Henri Lammens are good examples of studies that considered the influence of Islam, mainly as a set of traditions and practices, on the architecture of mosques. However, only a few of them paid any attention to the effect of the two main sources of Islamic law, Qur‘an and Hadith, in giving the mosque its architectural shape. The fact that this already-

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limited approach declined in later studies is attributable to the historiographical problems which arose in western scholarship vis-à-vis the authenticity of early Arabic writings, with Ḥadīth included.⁹ A prevalent argument that the mosque, both institutionally and architecturally, had not yet materialized during the time of the Prophet may well have reinforced this trend.¹⁰ These factors together resulted in an undervaluing of the influence of Ḥadīth on mosque design. The majority of writers contented themselves with quoting the story of building the first mosque of the Prophet from the books of Ḥadīth. Sometimes, one or two exhaustively repeated, yet not properly examined, ḥadīths are mentioned to give evidence that Islam did not favour the act of perfecting buildings.¹¹ Only few scholars, such as Caetani and later on Pedersen,¹² have paid attention – while discussing the nature of the Prophet’s communal building – to those ḥadīths which are dedicated to mosques and their regulations.¹³

In his well-known Annali dell’Islam (1905-1926), Caetani adopted a clear skepticism towards the sources. Unlike the traditionally established image of the mosque of the Prophet, Caetani’s reading of the relevant ḥadīths led him to argue that this hypaethral building which was built by the Prophet was a house and not a mosque (see 3.2 ). Without taking investigation further in this direction, later scholars have followed this approach, implying that there is nothing relevant in Ḥadīth to consider. Although Islam has left numerous

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¹⁰ This argument is examined in chapter 3.

¹¹ For example, see Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, I. I, 8-9.


¹³ See al-Bukhārī, ḥadīths no. 377-492; Muslim, ḥadīths no. 1161-569.
monuments in many places in the world and countless antiquities in the world’s museums, they have argued that its concern with the transitory nature of this life is traditionally argued not to support any kind of massive or decorated structures. Martin Briggs, for instance, began his book by saying: ‘It cannot be claimed that the date of Muhammad’s birth in Mecca, in AD 570, forms in itself a definite landmark in the history of art.’

Opinions and analyses expressed by members of this ‘sceptical tendency’ are often characterized by inconsistency. Paradoxical or contradictory statements not only flow from scholars who generally share the sceptical standpoint, but also from the same scholar. Few pages after his just-quoted statement, Briggs says that the ‘shelter’ built by the Prophet was the ‘origin’ of the later ḥizbān, and that the tamarisk pulpit he used may have been the embryo of the later minbar. Briggs added that the fact that Bilāl, the Prophet’s muezzin, used to call to prayers from a high point in the mosque vicinity made it necessary to provide the later minaret.

It is a fact, however, that a religion, cult, or a philosophical or political scheme is the heart of any civilization. Architecture is the mistress art, and the architecture of a given nation at a particular time is accordingly believed to personify its culture. Departing from such concepts, a group of scholars such as Grabar, Hillenbrand, and Johns began to pay heed to the influence of

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Islam on the style of art and architecture that developed in the Islamic lands. However, it is Islamic traditions and customs, as distinct from Islamic original teachings, that are widely regarded to have had the eventual influence on the distinguishing characteristics of mosque architecture.\(^{19}\) Hillenbrand, for example, paid attention to the influence of the way the Muslim arrange themselves in collective prayers on the mosque design (see 5.7.2). Even with this approach, scholars have been generally reluctant to investigate the role of Ḥadīth on the main components of mosque architecture, regarding features such as minarets, miḥrābs, domes and minbars as innovations of later times.

The fact that many architectural features are standard to the oldest surviving mosques suggests that a canonical type of the mosque did exist early in the Islamic history. Such a template would have been copied by the builders of all later mosques, combined with further modifications inspired from the varying architectural heritage of each Muslim territory.\(^{20}\) The architectural evolution of this universally-endorsed ‘Ur mosque’, and the many influences that shaped it, have been debated since the beginning of the study of Islamic architecture.\(^{21}\) Some attention has been paid to the sizable building which was

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\(^{19}\) See Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, p. 36.


erected by the Prophet and which we are told attained a communal function in his time. The majority of studies adhered to the old yet still accepted idea that in an elementary form the ‘mosque’ of the Prophet at Madīnah was the prototype for the congregational mosques of the first centuries of Islam.\textsuperscript{22} Despite doing so, many of them hesitated to call it a mosque.\textsuperscript{23} This may be attributed to the powerful influence of the thesis of ‘the house of the Prophet’, first put forward by Caetani.

\subsection*{1.3. Problems with these views}

The tendency to underrate the influence of \textit{Hadīth} on mosque architecture is in contradiction with the fact that the idea of the mosque itself is intrinsically a result of \textit{Hadīth} teachings.\textsuperscript{24} The large number of \textit{hadith}s about the obligatory nature of \textit{ṣalāt}, ‘prayers’, and the virtue of performing \textit{ṣalāt} in the mosque, should have been the foremost grounds for erecting mosques and attending them.\textsuperscript{25} The positioning of mosques, which is in turn dictated by the direction of \textit{qiblah},\textsuperscript{26} and the restrictions on building mosques over the graves of the pious, may be two

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item See Rivoira, p. 1. See also Edward Lane’s explanation of the word, ‘gâmi, the congregational mosque’: \textit{Arabic English Lexicon: Derived from the Best and the Most Copious Eastern Sources}, 8 vols (London: Williams and Norgate, 1863-93).
\item See, for example, A. C. Dickie, \textit{The Great Mosque at Damascus} (London, 1911); Creswell, \textit{Early Muslim Architecture}, I, I, 6-16.
\item See, for example, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, \textit{Al-Jāmiʿ li Shuʿab al-Imān}, ed. by Mukhtār al-Nadawi, 14 vols (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 2003), \textit{hadith}s no. 2567-703.
\item Ibn Ḥajar, \textit{Fath}, II, 42-50. The \textit{qiblah} is the direction which the Muslims are commanded to face during prayer. It is the direction of the \textit{Ka’bah} in Mecca.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
telling examples of the substantial influence of *Hadīth* on mosque layout and location.\(^\text{27}\)

Further, the traditional views about *Hadīth* tendency towards simplicity and frugality seem to conflict with the fact that some of the architectural works made at early mosques, by command of people known for their piety and close adherence to Islamic teachings, applied ‘sumptuous’ materials. For example, the works of the Caliph ’Uthmān b. ’Affān (23-35/643-55), who was the third caliph in Islam and one of the closest Companions to the Prophet, witnessed the first recorded use of dressed stones in mosques.\(^\text{28}\) Another example is the works of the pious Umayyad Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (99-101/717-20), who before ascending to the Umayyad throne made radical changes in the architecture of the Prophet’s mosque. The works of 'Umar resulted in the introduction of some elements such as the minarets and the concave prayer niche for the first time in the mosque of the Prophet and possibly in the history of mosque architecture. According to traditional Muslim as well as western views, the Umayyad mosques reflected the Umayyad liberal attitude.

Islamic law requires each worker to do his work properly and efficiently (see 5.10 and 5.11). Craftsmanship thus invoked spiritual as well as practical dimensions. Could we, accordingly, understand the massive mosques built under the Umayyads in the light of the fact that Islam always demands its followers to perfect their work? Or is mosque architecture regarded as a concern which is more religious than secular (which means that it has its own established conventions which are not allowed to be modified)?

\(^{27}\) Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath*, II, 75.

\(^{28}\) On ’Uthmān’s work at the mosque of the Prophet, see chapter 6.
1.4. Modern scholarship and the origins of the mosque

While pre-Islamic architectural models and the context they could have provided for the development of the mosque are important to discuss, in what follows these will be reviewed – only briefly – as this thesis takes the influence of Hadith on the architecture of early mosques as its starting point.

It seems that a number of reasons have coalesced to make quite a number of scholars believe that mosque architecture was derived from non-Islamic origins. These reasons may include: the rarity of building materials in Arabia, the lack of archaeological and historical evidence for architectural heritage in Arabia in pre and early Islamic times, and most importantly the traditionally fixed disinclination of the Prophet towards building. Another reason may be the opinion of Ibn Khaldūn, the widely respected Islamic historian and philosopher, about the Arab’s reluctance to arts and their ignorance of crafts. These, and other factors, combined together to get a number of scholars from the western vanguard such as Gertrude Bell, Lammens, Richmond, and Creswell to think that early Muslims were unaware of architecture. These, and other scholars who followed their steps, depreciated the influence of the prophetic model on shaping Islamic architecture in general and mosque architecture in particular. They thought that the origin of mosque architecture

29 The response of Muslim scholars to such theory varied. It ranged from seeing nothing outrageous in borrowing some elements and features from the architectural types of other civilizations to fiercely defending the originality of Islamic architecture for it is seen as a reflection of Islam itself.

30 In his Muqaddimah, Ibn Khaldūn states: ‘the Arabs were the farthest people from crafts’.

is to be sought elsewhere. The argument that mosque design was derived from the ancient Egyptian temples, which was first put forward by Saladin,\(^{32}\) was accepted by Hautecœur more than 40 years later.\(^{33}\) Such theory, however, was contested by a number of later scholars, such as Briggs who concluded that no disagreement can be clearer than the one found between the architecture of mosques and that of Pharaonic temples.\(^{34}\) Other less popular theories have been compared the architecture of the mosque to other architectural types such as the Persian palaces and *apadānas*.\(^{35}\)

More recently, Jeremy Johns seeks the architectural, as well as the institutional, origins of the mosque in what he calls ‘the family of the mosque: synagogue, church, and bayt al-’Arab’.\(^{36}\) The institutional parallelism between the mosque and the synagogue, in particular, has already received much attention, especially given the assumed analogy between prayer in Islam and its Judaic predecessor particularly in the rabbinic period.\(^{37}\)

Many scholars argue that there is a similarity between the forms and places of communal prayer in Islam and Judaism (particularly after the


\(^{34}\) Briggs, *Muhammadan Architecture*, p. 15.


\(^{36}\) See footnote 18.

Chapter 1: Introduction – aim, scope, questions and methodology

destruction of the temple in 70 CE).\textsuperscript{38} After that date – from tannaitic (70-220 CE) to amoraic times (220-500 CE) – the synagogue underwent a stage of ‘templization’, and the Jewish prayer underwent a stage of ‘sacrificization’.\textsuperscript{39} In his ‘The Foundation of Muslim Prayer’, Khaleel for example, argues:

\begin{quote}
While some narrations suggest that Muhammad taught the Muslims all the rituals of prayer, others show that some of these Muslims had performed this form of ḍibāda before Islam.\textsuperscript{40}
\end{quote}

There are a number of main motives for such suggestion. First, among the various derivations of the word \textit{ṣalāt}, one was used in both Judaism and Christianity in pre-Islamic times to designate institutional prayer,\textsuperscript{41} Second, some of the movements of prayer mentioned by the \textit{Qurān}, such as \textit{qiyyām} ‘standing position’, \textit{rukū́}, ‘genuflection’, and \textit{sujūd}, ‘prostration’ were known to pre-Islamic nations and mentioned in the Tanakh.\textsuperscript{42} Third, Arabian Jews used to practice five prayers a day before the number was reduced to three by combining two in the morning and two in the evening.\textsuperscript{43} Forth, according to some reports, the Muslim \textit{ṣalāt} was developed gradually in the early days of Islam. Al-Balādhurī related that there were only two daily prayers each


\textsuperscript{39} See Kimelman, p. 573.


\textsuperscript{42} Khaleel, p. 20.

composed of two *rakʿas* in the earliest years of Islam.\footnote{Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. I, ed. by M. Hamidullah (Cairo, 1959). See also Uri Robin, ‘Morning and Evening Prayers in Early Islam’, in *The Development of Islamic Ritual*, ed. by Gerald Hawting, The Formation of the Classical Islamic Period, 26 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 105-9 (pp. 105-6).} Fifth, the reports about the Prophet leading a host of prophets in prayer during the Night Journey suggest that it was already realized by the traditionists that the Prophet Muḥammad and the preceding prophets were familiar with the same prayer.\footnote{Khaleel, p. 24} Further, the traditions which put Moses in relation to the story about the number of daily prayers enjoined on the Muslims suggest also Judaic origins of the Muslim prayer. Moreover, the group of *ḥadīths* which forbid the Muslims to act, in their prayer, differently to the Jews imply a considerably conceivable correspondence between the Muslim and Jewish prayers.\footnote{Khaleel, pp. 25-6.} For instance, Kister uses the *ḥadīth* commanding the Muslims to pray in shoes so as to distinguish themselves from the Jews to say that this would have been the only difference.\footnote{Menahem Kister, ’Do no Assimilate Yourselves...’, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 12 (1989), 321-71.} Khaleel suggests that this plethora of *ḥadīths* were written after the departure of the Prophet to deny the Judaic influence on the Muslim prayer.\footnote{Khaleel, p. 27.}

In a number of particulars, this view is not much practical. First, there is no evidence that such movements as *qiyām, rukūʿ* and *sujūd* were all standard to Jewish prayer. Further, Khaleel anticipated that had the Muslim prayer been different in anything than that of the Jews, the Prophet would have indicated to his disciples – in the *Qurʾān* – the reason behind such difference. The fact that Prophet Muḥammad declared Islam as the seal and
heir of all preceding Abrahamic religions does not necessarily mean, as presumed by Khaleel, that the way of worship he practiced should be identical to that of the previous prophets. In addition, the Qur’an does not include many details of Muslim rites which are usually dealt with by Ḥadīth. Also, there is no enough evidence that the ritual of ṣalāt underwent a phase of gradual development. The above report of al-Balādhurī is particularly rare.

The account of the Prophet Muḥammad leading a group of prophets in the Night Journey does not necessarily reflect the historians and biographers’ realization that all prophets, with Prophet Muḥammad included, were familiar with one type of prayer. The account deals with an event whose context is wholly exceptional and beyond the rules of this life.

With all said, Islam shares many ritual details with other Abrahamic religions. This is attributed to the fact that a Muslim is commanded to believe in the message of all prophets and show the highest respect to them.⁴⁹ A primary task of Prophet Muḥammad was not to establish a new religion, but rather to revitalize the pristine religion of Abraham.⁵⁰ This may give explanation to why the places of prayer of the adherents of the previous religions are called ‘mosques’ by the Qurʾān, and may also explain the many pre-Islamic observances that were retained by Islam:

The Messenger believeth in what hath been revealed to him from his Lord, as do the men of faith, each one (of them) believeth in Allāh, His angles, His books, and his Messengers. "We make no distinction (they say) between one and another of His Messengers.” And they say: "We hear, and we obey: (we seek) thy forgiveness, our Lord, and to Thee is the end

⁴⁹ Qurʾān, II. 136.
⁵⁰ Qurʾān, XVI. 123.
of all journeys.\textsuperscript{51}

Without doubt, among men, the nearest of kin to Abraham, are those who follow him, as are also this Prophet and those who believe: and Allāh is the Protector of those who have faith. \textsuperscript{52}

After reviewing the stories of an array of prophets in a \textit{sūrat al-anbiyāʿ}, ‘the chapter of prophets’, the \textit{Qurān} states:

Verily, this Ummah (brotherhood or nation) of yours is a single Ummah and I am your Lord and Cherisher: therefore serve Me (and no other). \textsuperscript{53}

Nonetheless, the Prophet Muḥammad was noticeably keen to persuade his disciples not to emulate the followers of other prophets in religious matters as these religions were, according to the Muslim view, corrupted afterwards. This may well explain why the Prophet was particularly heedful to put himself in relation to Prophet Moses, for example, calling him ’brother Moses’,\textsuperscript{54} while refusing to adopt any of the Jewish or Christian device to prayers.\textsuperscript{55}

It seems that this parallelism was Johns’ departure point to seek the origins of ‘the concept of the mosque’ in what he calls ‘the family of the mosque: synagogue, church, and bayt al ‘Arab’. Johns’ rationale for such selectivity was, in addition to geographical propinquity, the fact they all of these types was mainly composed of a peristyle forecourt leading to a covered space (sanctuary).

The weakness of Johns’ theory lies initially in that he compares this

\textsuperscript{51} \textit{Qurān}, II, 285.
\textsuperscript{52} \textit{Qurān}, III. 68.
\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Qurān}, XXI. 92.
\textsuperscript{55} Al-Bukhārī, \textit{ḥadīths} no. 603, 604.
architectural type to a template which the mosque attained after decades from the rise of Islam, while Johns’ article, like this study, embarks to investigate the impulses which might have shaped the architecture of the earliest mosques which were mainly of hypaethral character. In other words, if the ‘concept of the mosque’ was inspired from such a forecourt type, why was not it applied to the earliest mosques of Madīnah, Başrah and Kūfah?

Moreover, the particular synagogue which is most architecturally similar to the mature stage of the mosque was that at Dura-Europos. The architectural similarity between both types is attributable – in addition to the whole arrangement– to their orientation towards a certain direction of prayer (qiblah), the existence of the Torah-niche (mīhrāb), the seat of honour (minbar), and the ablution device in the forecourt (mīḍaʾāḥ). According to Johns, this arrangement, where axial peristyle forecourt was the central motif, was however an exception in synagogue architecture. The difficulty of drawing on this approach lies, as Johns indicates, in a number of facts: (i) only some of the above features existed in other Diaspora synagogues, such as Priene and Sardis;\(^{56}\) (ii) while courtyards were generally applied in the model of Capernaum, no archaeological evidence exist to imply that such characteristic element in mosque architecture was found in most synagogues; (iii) as far as archaeological evidence can tell, courtyards –such as in the case of Capernaum – were usually attached to one of the sides of the assembly hall. This means that they were neither axial nor forecourts.\(^{57}\)

Johns himself admitted a number of difficulties in such research. For example, there is no archaeological evidence so far to tell us about the form of

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the pre-Islamic synagogues in Arabia.\textsuperscript{58} Even in the ‘rare’ cases where the design of the synagogue is very analogous to that of the mosques, as in Dura-Europos, this is not enough evidence for a straightforward connection. The fact of the matter is that the chronological and geographical distance disqualifies such connection in the case of Dura-Europos. Other synagogues with axial peristyle forecourt are too rare, and generally built much earlier to the rise of Islam and located far away in the Diaspora, which makes it quite implausible to influence the earliest mosques. Similar conditions preclude the influence of the pre-Islamic temples found at Nabataea and the Yemen.\textsuperscript{59}

In spite of the fact that the basilical church with atrium is both chronologically and geographically eligible to have influenced the early architectural evolution of the mosque, the possibility that it could be the prototype of the mosque is difficult. Johns states:

\begin{quote}
It is simply the wrong shape. In church, the central axis is typically three or four times longer than the width of the structure. In mosque, the length and width of the structure are typically equal, or nearly so; unlike the church, the mosque may be wider than it is long.\textsuperscript{60}
\end{quote}

While admitting that none of the three architectural types seems to have been the direct predecessor of the mosque,\textsuperscript{61} Johns argues that the features that amalgamate these religious building types which were prevalent in the Near East in pre-Islam were previously referred to by Lambert.\textsuperscript{62} Further, the assumption that the type of the mosque does belong to such a family is

\textsuperscript{58} Johns, ‘House of the Prophet’, p. 99. There is textual evidence, however, that synagogues did exist in pre-Islamic Madinah. See Lecker 1995, pp. 41-2.


\textsuperscript{60} Johns, ‘House of the Prophet’, p. 102.

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{62} Lambert 1950 & 1956.
identified by the Qur’an itself:

For had not God driven back one group of people by means of another, there would surely have been torn down sawāmi’ [retreats of Christian hermits?], biya’ [Christian churches or Jewish Synagogues?], salawāt [places of prayer], and masājid, in which the name of God is abundantly commemorated.  

The most – if not only – perceptible aspect of this Quranic passage, however, is not to confirm any institutional or architectural unity of the above places of prayer, but rather to underscore the concept that all these are places where the God of all prophets, with Prophet Muḥammad included, is worshipped. Johns concludes:

The attribution to the concept of the mosque to a Late Antique family of religious building types has not, however, brought us any closer to indentifying the immediate origins of that concept. This line of inquiry peters out in the absence of archaeological evidence for the mosque in the Ḥijāz during the jāhilī and Prophetic periods. That all my attempts to trace the evolution of the mosque have ended in failure, persuades me to retrace my steps and pick up a thread left hanging towards the beginning of this article, when it was suggested that the crucial question is whether the mosque gradually evolved from pre-existing architectural forms, or whether it was created by the new Islamic elite.

This result reached by Johns is identical with that of Hillenbrand who after indicating why the synagogues, churches, fire temples, Arabic and Indian temples were not suitable to (regularly) accommodate Muslim prayers, argued that early Muslim architects ‘looked elsewhere for inspiration’. While not

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[^63]: Qur’an, XXII. 40 (as translated by Johns, p. 102).
[^65]: Hillenbrand, Islamic Architecture, p. 36.
excluding the probable impact of pre-Islamic types on mosque architecture, this study sets out to investigate whether this source of inspiration was Islamic teachings represented in the sayings and actions of the Prophet.

1.5. Questions of the study

In order to measure the influence of Hadīth on the architecture of early congregational mosques, two questions must be posed: what are the features of mosque architecture according to Hadīth; and whether and how the architecture of early congregational mosques was influenced by Hadīth? The first question invites a number of subsidiary questions: is there what can be called an orthodox form of mosque? To what extent can Hadīth be regarded as reliable for architectural purposes? Did Hadīth deal with all the architectural elements of the mosque? How can those features which are not referred to in Hadīth be weighted?

The second basic question entails a cluster of subsequent questions: what was the form of early mosques? What kinds of evidence do we have to reconstruct them? Were the builders of these mosques aware of the relevant ḥadīths? Did they consider them when building the mosques? How could we know? How can we use Hadīth to look at the question of how Muslims perceived their mosques? How were they to be used? How were they to be decorated? What facilities did they have to make them usable? Did mosques and their architectural forms influence Hadīth in any way?

1.6. Methodology

1.6.1. Approaching Hadīth

Hadīth forms a controversial topic for Muslim as well as non-Muslim scholars. Both groups believe that a great number of ḥadīths were forged in later times to serve political or sectarian agendas. The main difference between the two is that the criteria used by Muslim scholars to judge the authenticity of a certain ḥadīth are in
some cases different to those employed by western scholars. Additionally, while Muslim scholars highly appreciate what are traditionally known as the six canonical books of *Hadith*, a number of western academics argue that even such books are unsafe as historical sources. Generally, Muslim scholars take these collections on the trust, mainly because both their *matn*, ‘text’, and *sanad* or *isnād*, ‘chain of transmitters’, were repeatedly examined by careful scholars who subjected them to what is traditionally agreed to be a high degree of scrutiny. More particularly, however, modern Muslim scholars have sometimes adopted different opinions to those developed by early *Hadith* scholars. The vanguards of western scholars, on the other hand, were deeply suspicious of *Hadith* regarding much of it as later forgeries. At this point, we will not pre-empt the following discussion about *Hadith* and its historiographical issues (see 2.1), but it is important to note that there is a clear positive change in western scholarship towards accepting a considerable part of *Hadith*. The dominant tendencies are now neither dismissive nor

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wholly uncritical, but seek to harness Hadith, or aspects of it, to good historical effect.  

Most of the ḥadīths that will be dealt with in this study were put in written form in the third/ninth century. There is no doubt, then, that they can be used as a genuine basis for understanding what Muslims believed, in illo tempore, to be the traditions of the Prophet. In the next chapter, views about whether these traditions are genuinely attributed to the Prophet will be discussed. The study will also pay heed to the early collections of Hadith, particularly those which were collected around 132/750. Examples are the Jāmi’ of Mu’ammad b. Rāshid (d. 153/770), which was later included in the Muṣannaf of Ἱabd al-Razzāq (d. 211/826), and the Muwaṭṭa’ of Mālik (d. 179/795). This is because of the present focus on mosques which were built from the rise of Islam to the end of the Umayyad period (1-132/662-750). It should be noted, however, that the fact that most of the ṣaḥīḥ books of Hadith do not appear in canonical collections only. Many of them can be found in less renowned collections like Muwaṭṭa’ of Mālik, Musnad of Ἱḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Sunan of al-Dārīmi and others. See Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, Ulūm al-Ḥadīth (Muqaddimat Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ), ed. by Nūr al-Dīn al-İtr (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1986), p. 19; G. H. A. Juynboll, Encyclopaedia of Canonical Hadith (Leiden: Brill, 2007); J. Brown, The Canonization of al-Bukhari and Muslim: The Formation and Function of the Sunni Ḥadīth Canon (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

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which we have today were compiled in the third/ninth century does not necessarily mean that the hadīths they include were not already known and circulating in the previous two centuries of Islam.\(^{71}\)

In addition to testing the circulation of Hadīth, whether oral or written, in early Islam, there is another point of reference that would help us measure its influence on the architecture of early mosques, that is the form of the ‘mosque’ of the Prophet. By definition, this should represent an embodiment of his Hadīth. For this reason, the study will investigate in detail the form and functions of this sizable building which Muslim traditions clearly refer to as a mosque.\(^{72}\) Yet, here too dispute occurs. As already hinted, although western scholarship generally attributes the origin of mosque architecture to this building which is believed to have been built during the Prophet’s lifetime and under his own supervision,\(^{73}\) it often calls it a ‘house’. However, despite this reservation a growing number of western Islamic specialists are now coming to believe that this hypaethral building was a mosque (see chapter 3).

Because of its central importance for the study, an entire chapter will be dedicated to discussion of the nature, function and institution of this simple, yet potentially momentous, building. Another chapter will be devoted to deal with the history, form and material of this building. It should further be pointed out that even for those who refuse to admit it as a mosque, a building of the Prophet will be very relevant to this discussion as it will reflect his sunnah in

\(^{71}\) On ways of publicizing Hadīth in early Islam, see next chapter.

\(^{72}\) The term ‘tradition’ is usually used in this study to refer to early Arabic accounts, esp. Hadīth. It is understandable that the same term is also used in literature to refer to the sunnah and practice of the Prophet, but this usage is rarely applied here. Whenever applied, I make sure the context indicates that clearly.

\(^{73}\) On the holders of this opinion, see 4.1.
terms of building.  

1.6.2. Studying early mosques

The mosques on which the influence of Ḥadīth is to be measured are those built under the Rāshidūn, ‘rightly-guided’, Caliphs and the Umayyads. The reason for this selection is that during such period a standardized type of the mosque had emerged. Nonetheless, investigating these early mosques is difficult, chiefly because the original forms of many of them were either considerably changed or entirely overwritten, and archaeological evidence for those built before 40s/660s is not yet available. The earliest mosque to be fully excavated and whose date is archaeologically accepted is that of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf at Wāsiṭ (84/703). Earlier mosques where archaeological evidence is extant are the Aqṣā mosque (early 40s/660s) and the second construction of the mosque of Kūfah which was presumably carried out by Zīyād b. Abīh in 50/670.

In the absence of archaeological testimony, the study, analysis, and reconstruction of early missing structures will mainly rely on early historical accounts. Can these be verified? As in the case of Ḥadīth, there has been a change in modern western scholarship towards accepting many of these sources as reliable tools for research. Hillenbrand, for example, refers to the early mosques as having ‘been convincingly analysed on the basis of the

74 Whenever used in this thesis, the term ‘sunnah’ designates the Prophet’s approach of life based on the sayings, actions and approvals which are attributed to him.

75 In some cases the influence of Ḥadīth on later mosques will also be considered.

76 See Johns, ‘House of the Prophet’, pp. 64-9; 71. See also Grabar, Formation, pp. 106-12.

77 See Johns, ‘House of the Prophet’, pp. 59, 62-5; Antun, pp. 9-57,169

78 Ibid.

79 ‘Early’ is here taken to embrace the first surviving written Arabic records.

80 A whole chapter will be dedicated to discuss the historiography of these early sources as well as Ḥadīth. The current scholastic atmosphere, in this respect, will also be reviewed.
copious literary sources’.\textsuperscript{81} While this gives ground for optimism, this present study takes nothing for granted and will try to apply a critical treatment to the sources (see 2.2).

1.6.3. **How can the influence of Hadīth on the architecture of early mosques be measured?**

As already hinted, we need to examine whether the architects and builders of early mosques were aware of relevant *ḥadīths*, and whether they really considered them when building these mosques. But, how one would know if they did? The records of *Tarājim*, ‘biographies [of notable people]’, and *ʿIlm al-Rijāl*, ‘knowledge [of the reliability] of *Hadīth* transmitters’ would be important here, for they would help us know if a certain builder or designer was aware of *Hadīth*.*\textsuperscript{82*} Even so, how could we decide if such a builder was aware of relevant *ḥadīths*? The stories of building these mosques would be telling in this sense. Depending on their veracity, in many cases, such stories will represent an invaluable source for this study. While such histories could help us know whether *Hadīth* was taken into account during building, it should be noted that the reverse cannot necessarily be assumed: that is, if we are not told that *Hadīth* was taken into consideration, this does not mean it was not.

In cases of ambiguity, the architectural composition of mosques will be significant in helping us measure the influence of *Ḥadīth* on how they were built. There are other ways to explore this. For instance, what form did *Ḥadīth* take before the 3rd/9th century? Would it be likely for a mosque founder to be acquainted with *ḥadīths* that assign particular building methods for mosques? Would such knowledge inevitably influence the architecture of the mosque he built?

\textsuperscript{81} Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, p. 38.

\textsuperscript{82} These are records dealing with the biographies and reliability of *Ḥadīth* transmitters. See Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, pp. 134-7.
built? Also, what other purposes could have been served by frequent references to mosque fabric, location and layout, if these things were not being influenced directly? There is additional scope of using later, better-documented evidence to show the emergence of a tradition of linkage between Ḥadīth and mosque design. While this cannot prove that such a link existed from the start, traditions seldom spring up ex nihilo overnight, and by tracing this one backwards, the gap might be narrowed.

Finally, it is worth noting that the aim of this study is not to prove that the influence of Ḥadīth on the architecture of early congregational mosques was strong. Rather, it sets out to examine the existence, nature and weight of such influence. The effect of Ḥadīth might have been strong on one mosque and weak on another. The study’s main objective is to define and contextualize the different phases of this influence and to integrate the verdict with the religious, political, social, economic and environmental context in which a mosque was built.

This study tries to avoid simplistic assumptions. To illustrate, if we consider the question of the qiblah, for example, the influence of Ḥadīth on the architecture of a particular mosque is not to be basically judged by whether such a mosque is ‘accurately’ adjusted towards the Ka’bah. The Companions or tābi‘īs, who were in charge of specifying the qiblah of a certain mosque, did not have the sophisticated tools that could have enabled them to do that precisely. Hence, not being ‘accurately’ orientated towards the qiblah does not mean that it was not at all orientated towards it. Here, the influence of Ḥadīth

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83 A tābi‘ī, which literally means a follower or a successor, is a Muslim who met or accompanied the Companions of the Prophet.

is represented in the builders’ keenness to follow the Prophet’s works and sayings. This could have resulted in works of architectural significance. Equally, a mosque might have been built using ephemeral materials and in a simple arrangement for reason other than following the Prophet’s archetype e.g. what was available and common when such a mosque was built.

A number of mosques, whose qiblas were fixed by the Companions and which later proved to be wrongly laid out, received architectural amendments to be accurately orientated towards the Ka’bah.\(^{85}\) Such amendments arguably reflect the influence of *Hadīth* which asserts that being orientated towards the qiblah is a fundamental requirement for the soundness of prayers. The works of the Companions who were in charge of setting the early qiblas were corrected by later devout people who had more sophisticated instruments by which to align mosque layouts.\(^{86}\) Nonetheless, the fact that the works of the former builders were less precise does not mean they did not try to follow *Hadīth* in this respect.

### 1.7. Main points in the discussion

In what follows, some points will recur in discussion because of their special significance and because they interlace with other relevant topics. These are:

\(^{85}\) See al-Maqrizi’s discussion on that: II, 256-64.

\(^{86}\) For instance, the qiblah of the mosque of Fustāṭ which is said to have been orientated by eighty Companions in 21/641 was corrected by the Umayyad governor Qurrah b. Sharīk in early 92/711. Dr Ann Christys, however, has kindly drawn my attention to, and translated relevant passages from, a recent Spanish paper which argues that the inaccurately-orientated qiblāhs of the earliest mosques in Andalusia, and which were attributed to prestigious tābi’īs, were retained by later patrons. This has been explained by the fact that for the latter, the works of those tābi’īs were of considerable religious weight insomuch as they were considered to legitimate later conduct. See Susana Calvo Capilla, ’Las primeras mezquitas de al-Andalus a través de las fuentes árabes (The First Mosques in al-Andalus According to the Arabic Sources: 92/711-170/785)’, *Al-Qantara*, 28/1 (2007), 143-79.
• Liturgy and architecture: did either of the two have stronger impact on the mosque? In other words, was mosque architecture shaped by factors like the accessible materials, climatic conditions and natural architectural evolution? Or was it Islamic teachings and the way the Muslims pray that influenced the architecture of early mosques?

• Site: does Hadith specify places where mosques are not allowed to be erected? What are these? What reasons were there behind such restriction?

• Payment: who subsidized building and decoration of mosques? Was it a binding responsibility or only a benevolent deed?

• Did the building of mosques give the patron a good reputation? Or did the desire to elevate and decorate them work against him?

• Who were the builders of mosques? Were non-Muslim masons allowed to participate in building and decorating mosques?

• Materials: what was the availability of materials like stone and wood in the towns where early mosques were built? Did Hadith militate in favour of or against certain materials?

• Decoration: how did Hadith interact with decoration? What was permissible and what was not? And why?

• What is Hadith attitude towards spolia and the conversion of houses of prayers of other faiths into mosques?

• Demolition of mosques for expansion: was it allowed? Did the Prophet do it?

• The Ka’bah: how was it to be architecturally treated according to Hadith? Was it allowed to be demolished and rebuilt? Was the Prophet reported to do so? Did he express desire to do so?

Finally, this study will also consider the influence of mosque architecture on Hadith, asking whether and how the architectural and artistic traditions of the early mosques influenced Hadith literature.
Chapter 2: Ḥadīth and early Arabic sources – an historiographical discussion
Chapter 2: Hadīth and early Arabic sources – an historiographical discussion

How does modern scholarship regard Hadīth? This is a critical question for our treatment of Hadīth literature in the chapters that follow. This chapter consists of two main sections. The first deals with the early stages of Hadīth collection, how this evolved from oral to written traditions, followed by a review of western Hadīth scholarship. Section two discusses the historiography of early Arabic writings, and reviews some of those that will be the main sources for the study of early mosques. The aim is to ascertain whether and how early Arabic writings, with Hadīth included, can be an appropriate source for the study of early mosques.

2.1. The study of Hadīth

2.1.1. Definition

The word ‘ḥadīth’ means all that is new. It also means khabar, ‘news [that is reported]’.\(^1\) Traditionally, Hadīth is defined as the traditions relating to the words and deeds of Prophet Muḥammad of Islam. According to jurists, there are three sorts of Hadīth: what the Prophet said (or what was said about him), what he did and what he approved.\(^2\)

A related term is sunnah which primarily means the (straight) route or method.\(^3\) Sunnah is traditionally defined as the Muslim orthodox way of life.

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\(^2\) In spite of not being considered by Muslim jurists, the physical features of the Prophet are also regarded by many scholars as a part of his Hadīth. On the categories of Ḥadīth based on authenticity, see table 1.

\(^3\) Ibn Manẓūr, III, 2124-5.
based on the deeds and teachings of the Prophet. According to Ḥadīth scholars, sunnah, 'beaten track', is the sayings, deeds, approval or physical appearance which are attributed to the Prophet. In this sense, sunnah is equivalent to Ḥadīth.⁴ Yet, a remarkable difference between the two of them in early Islam, particularly in Madīnah in the time of Mālik, is that sunnah designated the ἀmal, 'practices', and thus had authoritative character, while Ḥadīth designated texts and thus had an illustrative character.⁵

For some, the term sunnah designates all that is proved by a legitimate evidence whether from the Qurʾān, the reports of the Prophet, or what the šaḥābis had convened such as the collection of the Qurʾān and the adoption of the dawāwīn. Hence, sunnah is taken to be the opposite of bidʿah.⁶ A group of early scholars used the term sunnah to specify the approaches of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar as well as the stories of the ancients.⁷ As a result of ahl al-ḥadīth successful campaign, the concept of the sunnah was later narrowed to exclusively designate the deeds and saying of the Prophet alone whether or not these had any bearing on legislation.⁸


⁷ ʿAbd al-Khāliq, p. 57.

⁸ According to jurists (uṣūliyyūn), the sayings and actions of the Prophet are divided into two main types: what he said and did as a messenger and what he said and did as an ordinary human. See al-Dahlawi, Ḥujjat Allāh al-Bālighah, I, 223-4. See also ʿAbd al-Khāliq, pp. 56-60.
The ancient schools of law including the Medinese, the Syrians and the Iraqians were using the term ‘sunnah’ to refer to the community ideal way of living, which was already mirrored in the accredited doctrine of the school. While Schacht assumes that sunnah was used in such early time to designate the broad meaning of a past practice, evidence from literature suggests that the notion of continuity of practice – which must be attributable to the Prophet – was usually subsumed. Although the Iraqians were the first to assign to the term sunnah the authority of the Prophet, labeling it as ‘the sunnah of the Prophet’, it was not until the time of al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 204/819) that sunnah was used to exclusively refer to the contents of the Prophet’s traditions. The relatively slow development of ancient schools doctrine when compared to that of the traditions – particularly those related to the Prophet – paved the way for al-Shāfi‘ī’s successful movement to particularize it to the Prophet and thus secure for it a higher legislative authority.

Sirah is another branch of knowledge related to the life and sayings of the Prophet. It is differentiated from Hadith literature in that it consists of much broader corpus of material which was amassed by the early biographers of the Prophet. However, the most notable difference between Hadith and Sirah lies in the way in which each was collected. Although many of its early reports were accompanied by isnād, ‘chain of transmitters’, the Sirah literature is known not to have been subjected to the same degree of authentication as was Hadith. This could be attributed the fact that the content of the latter was much more

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10 This concept is evidently clear in Malik’s letters to al-Layth Ibn Sa’d and Abū Yūsuf about the ‘amal ahl al-Madinah. See Dutton, p. 164.

11 Schacht, pp. 73-80.

12 Schacht, p. 80. For more on al-Shāfi‘ī’s role in this regard, see chapter 2.
crucial for Islamic law.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Ḥadīth</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Musnad (subjective)</td>
<td>A ḥadīth whose unbroken strand of transmission goes back to the Prophet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣaḥīḥ (sound)</td>
<td>A musnad ḥadīth, neither shādīh, ‘unique’ or muʿallāl ‘faulty’, with unbroken chain of reliable narrators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥasan (fair)</td>
<td>A musnad ḥadīth narrated by a reliable chain, but of lesser grade than ṣaḥīḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḍaʿīf (weak)</td>
<td>A ḥadīth that does not qualify for the standards of being ṣaḥīḥ or ḥasan and, hence, it cannot be taken as a foundation of an Islamic judgment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gharib (strange)</td>
<td>A ḥadīth, whether ṣaḥīḥ or ḍaʿīf, which differs in context with another ḥadīth of a more reliable strand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majhūl (unknown)</td>
<td>A ḥadīth whose strand includes an unknown person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maqṭūʿ (disconnected)</td>
<td>It could be a ḥadīth terminating with a ṭābiʿi, a ḥadīth with incomplete strand, or a saying of ṣaḥābi that begins: ‘we used to do [...]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marfūʿ (traceable)</td>
<td>A ḥadīth attributed to the Prophet. It could be muttaṣil (connected), munqaṭiʿ (interrupted) or mursal (not referred to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauqūf (untraceable)</td>
<td>A ḥadīth (also known as athar) of, or about, a ṣaḥābi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudṭarib (confounding)</td>
<td>A ḥadīth whose different narrations, which are equally reliable, disagree on the strand or in the text. It is regarded as a kind of ḥadīth ḍaʿīf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munqatīʿ (disconnected)</td>
<td>A ḥadīth with an incomplete strand or a strand that include an anonymous transmitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mursal (not referred to)</td>
<td>A ḥadīth in which a ṭābiʿi; ‘Follower’ attributes a saying to the Prophet without referring of the Companion from whom he took the ḥadīth.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Main categories of Ḥadīth based on authenticity

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The categories of Ḥadīth are thoroughly discussed by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth, ed. by Nūr al-Dīn al-ʾItr (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1986). On a glossary of technical terms used in the Ḥadīth
2.1.2. Perspectives on the history of Ḥadīth transmission — incentives and challenges

Islamic teachings are primarily based upon two sources: Qurʾān and Ḥadīth. As early as the dawn of Islamic history, followers of the new religion were gauging the soundness of their deeds according to these two origins and maintained a number of strategies to keep aware of such knowledge (see 2.1.3.2). In the absence of a definitive text that integrated these two codes, dispute sometimes arose regarding the exact wording of a verse or a hadīth. Within the lifetime of the Prophet this problem was not especially taxing.¹⁴

2.1.3.1 During the Prophet’s life

According to traditions, it was during the Prophet’s life that a conscientious and scrupulous process of Ḥadīth collection materialized. The Prophet’s ardency to teach his disciples stimulated them to learn and disseminate his teachings.¹⁵ The Prophet used a number of successful strategies to proselytize. These included: assigning certain places for teaching,¹⁶ repeating speech,¹⁷ dedicating certain times

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¹⁴ For an example of how the Prophet arbitrated a dispute over the reading of a verse of the Qurʾān, see Muslim, ḥadīth no. 6776; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Al-Musnad, ed. by Aḥmad M. Shākir and Ḥamzah A. al-Zayn, 20 vols (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1995), ḥadīths no. 158, 277. See also Guillaume, pp. 13-4; al-Zahrānī, Tadwīn al-Sunnah al-Nabawīyya: Nasha’ tuhu wa Tatāwwuru hu min al-Qarn al-Awwal ilā Nihāyat al-Qarn al-Tāsi’ al-Hijrī (Riyadh: Dar al-Minhāj, 2005), pp. 25-6.

¹⁵ For more information about the high status of learning, see Qurʾān, XXXV. 28; III. 18; XXXIX. 9; Ibn Ḥanbal, ḥadīths no. 374-5; Abū Dāwūd, ḥadīth no. 3641.

¹⁶ These were Dār al-Arqam at Mecca and the mosque at Madinah. See M. M al-Aʿẓamī, Dirasāt fi al-Ḥadīth al-Nabawī wa Taʾrikh Tadwīnih (Beirut: al-Maktab al-İslāmī, 1980), pp. 50-4.

¹⁷ Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīths no. 94-6.
for teaching women,\(^\text{18}\) and educating \textit{ahl al-suffah}.\(^\text{19}\) According to many \textit{ḥadīths} in the orthodox collections,\(^\text{20}\) the Prophet advised his Companions to transmit \textit{Ḥadīth} to later generations, and permitted some of them to put it in writing.\(^\text{21}\) Sprenger argued what still seems to be good evidence that some \textit{ḥadīths} were committed to writing as early as the lifetime of the Prophet.\(^\text{22}\) Muslim scholars argued other factors for the propagation of \textit{Ḥadīth}, such as the roles of the Prophet’s wives, the Prophet’s delegates to other places, and that of the Arab convoys who came to Madīnah to acknowledge Islam and then returned to their people to disseminate it.\(^\text{23}\)

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\(^{18}\) Al-Bukhārī, \textit{ḥadīths} no. 101, 102.


2.1.3.2 Under the Rāshidūn Caliphs

If tradition is to be believed, the Companions’ interest in learning Ḥadīth began as early as the time of the Prophet. They believed that being adherent to his Sunnah was the only way to salvation. Among strategies they used to learn Ḥadīth were accompanying the Prophet at the mosque, attending teaching circles, travelling in search of knowledge, exchanging knowledge between one another, having turns in escorting the Prophet, asking about what they had missed of Ḥadīth and helping one another in studying and memorizing it. Yet, the most influential way of preserving Ḥadīth was writing. As we just said, the Prophet is reported to have allowed, sometimes ordered, some of his Companions, such as ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to write Ḥadīth.

24 See Abū Dāwūd, Ḥadīths no. 3646-50; Schoeler, Genesis, pp. 40-1. See also footnotes 11, 12 and 20.
26 Ibid, Ḥadīth no. 89.
28 For a more comprehensive list of those Companions who committed Ḥadīth to writing and the content of their kutub, ‘documents’, see al-Aʿzāmī, Dirasāt, pp. 92-142. See also, Nabia Abbott, Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri, 3 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957-72), II, 238. For more information about the Companions’ stances towards writing, see ʿAjjāj, pp. 309-21; al-Zahrānī, pp. 25-30; Abū Zahwu, pp. 65-79.
29 See al-Tirmidhī, Ḥadīths no. 2666-8; al-Baghdādī, Taqyīd, pp. 86-107; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, Zād al-Maʿād fī Ḥadī Khayr al-ʿIbād, 27th edn, 6 vols (Beirut: Muʿasat al-Risāla, 1991), III, 457-8; Abū Zahwu, p. 54. Some of the Prophet’s Ḥadīths are said to have been written in his lifetime by a number of his Companions like Saʿd b. ʿUbādah (d. 15/636) and Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 87/706). See M. A. al-Darwīsh, ʿal-Tadwīn al-Mubakkir lil Sunnah Bayna al-Shahīd al-Doctor ʿubbi al-Sāliḥ wal Mustashriqiʿin: Qirāʾah fi Kitāb “Ulūm al-Ḥadīth wa Muṣṭalaḥuḥ”, pp. 9-12. For examples of the
After the departure of the Prophet, the need for a documented form of, and relationship between, Qurʾān and Ḥadīth became more pressing. The rise of doctrinal and political disputes made it unavoidable. Such problems began as early as the death of the Prophet. The first caliph, Abū Bakr, was faced by a series of frantic revolts and riots by the enemies of the burgeoning Islamic empire.

The following ḥadīth, however, has raised controversy since early Islam regarding early documentation of Ḥadīth. On the authority of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī the Prophet said: ‘Do not write down [anything] of me. Whoever writes other than the Qurʾān should delete it [...]’. While reflecting a real debate about writing down, this, and other ḥadīths, is regarded by a majority of scholars, to have been particular to the time of the Prophet when the Qurʾān was being revealed. According to these scholars, such a command was issued by the Prophet, lest Ḥadīth, which is the Prophet’s own sayings and words, should have been confused with the Qurʾān which is Allāh’s word. Once the revelation was completed and it was assured that no more verses were going to be revealed, it was permissible and even essential to write down Ḥadīth to preserve the Prophet’s teachings. Other reasons for the aversion of writing down Ḥadīth include the persistence to avoid, according to Muslims, the devastating mistake committed by the Jews and the Christians who abided


Muslim, ḥadīth no. 7510; Aḥmad b. Ṭalib al-Baghdādī, Al-Mushn̄ad, ed. by H. Salīm Asʿad, 2nd edn (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿmūn lil-Turāth, 1989), ḥadīth no. 1288.

On these ḥadīths, see al-Ḥaythamī, ḥadīths no. 675-8; al-Baghdādī, Taqyīd, pp. 17-41; ‘Ajjāj, p. 303.

Examples are al-Baghdādī, Taqyīd, pp. 49-66; Akram al-ʿUmārī, I, pp. 291-2; ‘Ajjāj, pp. 303-20; Abū Zahwū, 122-7; al-Aʿzāmī, Dirāsāt, pp. 76-83.

Ibid.
themselves by books other than the divine revelation alone. The early Muslims were afraid that documents of Ḥadīth could distract people from the Qurʿān.\textsuperscript{34} This is in addition to the fear that the collectors of Ḥadīth would rely heavily on writing and thus neglect the need to memorize it by heart.\textsuperscript{35} Further, early traditionists were afraid that the written Ḥadīth would fall into the hand of dishonest people who would then misuse it.\textsuperscript{36} Some of them were even reported to have asked their heirs to destroy the documents they wrote after they would die.\textsuperscript{37} Another reason was the limited number of those who knew writing. It was thought then that they should assign priority to writing the Qurʿān. It is, however, said that when the number of writers multiplied the Prophet asked some them to write Ḥadīth.\textsuperscript{38} It was also argued that the Prophet prevented the ʿsaḥābīs from writing down Ḥadīth because many of them did not manage to write properly, and thus there was the possibility of making a lot of mistakes.\textsuperscript{39}

The contradictory reports about writing may reflect later debate and


\textsuperscript{35} Al-Baghdādī, Taqyid, pp. 62-5; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Jāmiʿ Bayān al-ʿIlm, Ḥadīths no. 359-62, 371, 373; ʿAbd al-Khāliq, pp. 428-9; Gregor Schoeler, The Oral and the Written in Early Islam, ed. by James E. Montgomery, trans. by Uwe Vagelpohl, Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Literatures (Abingdon, Routledge, 2006), p. 118. It is, however, reported that some of those who obliterated the Ḥadīths they had written regretted that later. See al-Baghdādī, Taqyid, pp. 64-5.

\textsuperscript{36} Al-Dārimī, Ḥadīths no. 481, 483; al-Baghdādī, Taqyid, pp. 66-9; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Jāmiʿ Bayān al-ʿIlm, Ḥadīth no. 364.

\textsuperscript{37} Al-Baghdādī, Taqyid, pp. 67-9; Schoeler, Oral and Written, pp. 117-8.


discourse. Our earliest hadīth in this regard date to the early 3rd/9th century. And we know that this period witnessed heated discussion about the historicity and authoritativeness of Ḥadīth as a source of Islamic law.

The preservation of Ḥadīth was a basic requirement for the Muslims who are commanded according to Qurʾān to follow the Prophet’s ideal.\textsuperscript{40} According to one hadīth, ‘he who is asked for knowledge (‘ilm) but did not pass it (fakatamahū) will be bridled by God with a curb of fire on the Last Day.’\textsuperscript{41} The fact that there were restrictions on writing Hadīth, especially in the time of the Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb did not arguably retard the process of Ḥadīth documentation. Indeed, ʿUmar himself is reported to have said: ‘Bind knowledge with writing.’\textsuperscript{42} Although such restrictive procedures could have affected the amount of Hadīth being transmitted negatively,\textsuperscript{43} they should have alerted those who narrated it to take extra care.\textsuperscript{44}

Putting restrictions on the transmission of Hadīth was apparently one of the ways used to preserve the true teachings of the Prophet which were, by then, mainly kept in the memories of the Companions. In the first generation after the Prophet, it was feared that if Hadīth was freely transmitted, its original text would become more vulnerable to deformation either intentionally (by

\textsuperscript{40} Qurʾān, III. 32, 132; IV. 59; V. 92, VIII. 1, 20, 46; XXIV. 54, 56; XLVII. 33, etc.
\textsuperscript{41} Abū Dāwūd, hadīth no. 3658; Ibn Mājah, hadīths no. 261-6. For more hadīths about the Prophet’s advice to his followers to promulgate the knowledge they had from him, see al-Haythamī, hadīths no. 586-602.
\textsuperscript{42} Al-Dārimī, hadīth no. 514.
\textsuperscript{43} Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām and Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ were among the Companions who narrated a restricted number of hadīth. They advised people not to narrate all what they hear for this would lead to making errors.
enemies) or accidentally (by the pious, through forgetfulness, accident and the like).\footnote{Yaḥyā b. Ṣharaf al-Dīn al-Nawawī, \textit{Ṣaḥīh Muslim bi Sharḥ al-Nawawī}, 18 vols (Cairo: al-Māṭba‘a al-Miṣriyyah, 1929), I, 80-8.} A number of strategies were used by the Companions to scrutinize the oral transmission of \textit{Ḥadīth}. In addition to asking the transmitter for other witnesses and an oath,\footnote{Abū Zahwū, pp. 69-70, 69.} they compared the transmitted \textit{ḥadīths} to the supreme authority – the \textit{Qurān}. Generally, two kinds of transmitted \textit{ḥadīths} were known in this early phase: \textit{ḥadīth mutawātir}\footnote{\textquote{\textit{Tawātur} is the technical \textit{ḥadīth} term for such a broad attestation of a particular \textit{ḥadīth} through multiple \textit{ṣnād} strands in the sources that large-scale mendacity in that tradition thus supported is considered to be absurd (\textit{muḥāl}), or: out of question.’ Juynboll, \textit{Canonical Ḥadīth}, pp. xxiv-xxv. See also Juynboll, \textit{Muslim Tradition}, pp. 206-17.} and \textit{khabar al-wāḥid}.\footnote{\textit{Khabr al-wāḥid} is a ‘tradition or report going back to one single authority’. Juynboll, \textquote{Khabar al-Wāḥid}, in \textit{The Encyclopaedia of Islam}, 2nd edn, IV, 896. On \textit{akhbār al-āḥād}, see al-Bukhārī, \textit{ḥadīths} no. 7246-67.} According to Azami, fifty of the Prophet’s Companions either wrote \textit{Ḥadīth} or assigned others to write on their behalf – mainly because of their ignorance of writing.\footnote{On the written \textit{ḥadīths} in the time of the Companions and the \textit{ṭābi‘īs}, see al-Azami, \textit{Dirāsāt}, pp. 84-327. See also Robson, \textquote{Ḥadīth}, p. 24. Some of the old copies of these early \textit{ṣaḥīfas} are said to have survived. See al-Zahrānī, pp. 71-3; Ṣūbhī al-Samarrā‘ī’s introduction to \textit{Al-Khulāṣah}. Al-Husayn b. Ἶbd Allāh al-Ṭeib, \textit{Al-Khulāṣah fi Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth}, ed. by Ṣūbhī al-Samarrā‘ī (Baghdad: Māṭba‘at al-Irshād, 1971), p. 10.} Seven of them, however, are said to have narrated the major part of it.\footnote{These are: Abū Hurayrah (5374 \textit{ḥadīths}), Ἶbd Allāh b. Ἶmar (2630), Anas b. Mālik (2286), Ἶ‘a’isha (2210), Ἶbd Allāh b. Ἶbbās (1660), Jābir b. Ἶbd Allāh (1540), and Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī (1100). Ibn al-Ṣalāh, p. 295.} Companions are said to have studied \textit{Ḥadīth} together and advised the \textit{ṭābi‘īs} to learn it.\footnote{Ibn Ḥajar, \textit{Fath}, I, 170, 175; al-Baghdādī, \textit{Sharaf}, pp. 93-8; Ἶjjāj, p. 147.} Centres of \textit{Ḥadīth} were reportedly established...
as early as the time of conquests in places including: Madīnah, Mecca, Kūfah, Başrah, Syria and Egypt.\(^{52}\)

### 2.1.3.3 Under the Umayyads (41-132/661-750)

After the time of the Rāshidūn, a number of reasons led to the favouring of written over oral transmission.\(^{53}\) Among them was the fact that the chains of narrators were getting longer, that many Companions had died, the emergence of antagonistic movements, and that the rise of writing in general had weakened people’s dependency on their memories. Against this background, the reasons for maintaining restrictions on writing Ḥadīth no longer existed.\(^{54}\) The tābiʿīs’ activities resulted in the writing of a large number of ṣuhuf.\(^{55}\) Some of these, or rather recensions of which, are said to have reached us.\(^{56}\)

Under the Umayyads, the activities of collecting, assessing and cataloguing of Ḥadīth were developed on a large scale. Two of the most zealous individuals in this respect were the Caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (ruled from 99/717 to 101/720) and Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (50-124/670-741).\(^{57}\)

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\(^{52}\) For more information about the earliest development of these centres, their teachers and students, see Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, pp.39-66; ʿAjjāj, pp. 164-75.

\(^{53}\) See Muʿammar (in *Muṣannaf* Abd al-Razzāq), Ḥadīths no. 20484-9.

\(^{54}\) Al-Zahrānī, p. 74.

\(^{55}\) For examples of these ṣuhuf, see al-Zahrānī, p. 75.


According to al-Bukhārī et alii, 'Umar commanded Ḥadīth to be written down by trustworthy scholars, lest it should have been mislaid.58 ‘Umar is also said to have sent these records of Ḥadīth to the territories under his caliphate so that they would be the supreme reference to be consulted.59 Al-Zuhri, on the other hand, was one of those to whom this task was assigned and he was by far the most active.60 Some of the Ḥadīth records of al-Zuhri, which are now missing, were still preserved in the Umayyad period.61

The efforts to collect Ḥadīth were confronted by the emergence of


\[\text{58 Al-Bukhārī, Ḥadīth no. 100. In addition to al-Zuhri, ‘Umar entrusted this task with scholars such as Abū Bakr b. Muhammad b. Hazm (d. 120/737). He said to him: ‘See what has been [extant] of the Ḥadīth of the Prophet or the sunnah of the past and write them down; I have been afraid that knowledge would vanish and its people would die.’ Al-Dārimī, Ḥadīths, no. 504-5; al-Baghdādī, Taqyīd, pp. 136-7; Sezgin, I, 120-2; Guillaume, pp. 18-9. On Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm, see Ibn Sa’d, VII, 414-5.}\]

\[\text{59 Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Jāmi’ Bayān al-‘ilm wa Fadīlah, 2 vols (Cairo, al-Maṭba‘ah al-Munayriyyah), I, 76; Abū Na’īm al-Aṣbahānī, Hilyat al-Awliyā’ (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Sa’ādah, 1938), III, 363.}\]

\[\text{60 Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Jāmi’ Bayān al-‘ilm (al-Maṭba‘ah al-Munayriyyah), I, 76, al-Baghdādī, Taqyīd, pp. 137-9. For more on the efforts of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri in writing Ḥadīth, see Guillaume, pp. 18-9; Schoeler, Genesis, pp. 2, 47-50.}\]

religious sects such as the Shīʿīs and the Khārijīs.\(^{62}\) Both denominations influenced, in a way, the development of Ḥadīth transmission.\(^{63}\) This is in addition to other factors such as: the disagreements that arose in the circles of theologians and jurists; the rise of the *zindīqs*, ‘heretics’ and the *qaṣṣāṣūn*, ‘story-tellers’; and tribal and sectarian fanaticism; the desire to urge the people to do good deeds; the emergence of legal and philosophical polemics; and the habit of flattering rulers.\(^{64}\) In response to these threats, the early *tābiʿīs* implemented what they believed to be workable measures to preserve Ḥadīth. Writing was presumably the foremost strategy they followed. Fuat Sezgin has listed a number of *ṣaḥīfas*, ‘scripts’ written by early *tābiʿīs*. He also opined that many leaves of 3rd/9th century recensions of these early manuscripts are preserved in the library of Shahid Ali in Turkey and the Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyah in

\(^{62}\) On the Khārijīs, their political revolts, sects and doctrine, see Ersilia Francesca, ‘Khārijīs’, *EQ*, III (2003), 84-89.


Damascus.\textsuperscript{65}

The aftermath of such early efforts was a flurry of hadīths compilation and their writing down in what became traditionally known as muṣannafāt.\textsuperscript{66} The manuscripts of many of these muṣannafāt have been found, edited and published. Accordingly, they are now available in many of the world’s libraries.\textsuperscript{67} Because some of such early compilations were committed to writing as early as the first half of the second/eighth century, there is a great possibility that the hadīths they contain were already then circulating and known to people of that time, and especially to scholars. There is a realistic possibility, then, that these Hadīth collections (and some others) might have been consulted by builders of the mosques in the late Umayyad period. The collections concerned are listed in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and date</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>Abd al-Malik b. </code>Abd al-῾ Azīz b. Jurayj (d. 150/767) \textsuperscript{68}</td>
<td>Mecca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq (d. 151/768)</td>
<td>Madīnah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu῾ammār b. Rāshid (d. 153/770)</td>
<td>Yemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa῾īd b. Abī ῾Arūbah (d. 156/773)</td>
<td>Baṣrah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abū ῾Amr ῾Abd al-Raḥmān al-Awzā῾ī (d. 156/773)</td>
<td>Shām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḥammad b. ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Dhi῾b (d. 158/775)</td>
<td>Madīnah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabī῾ b. ῾Sabi῾ (d. 160/777)</td>
<td>Baṣrah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shu῾bah b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 160/777)</td>
<td>Baṣrah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abū ῾Abd Allāh Suſyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778)</td>
<td>Kūfah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Layth b. Sa῾d (d. 175/791)</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{65} On scholars’ responses to Sezgin’s theory, see Schoeler, \textit{Oral and Written}, pp. 28-9.

\textsuperscript{66} Robson, ῾Hadīth’, p. 24. Muṣannafāt are compilations arranged in chapters according to the subjects of Islamic jurisprudence.

\textsuperscript{67} See Akram al-῾Umārī, pp. 143-325.

\textsuperscript{68} See Guillaume, \textit{Traditions of Islam}, pp. 19-20.
Table 2: Early Ḥadīth collections

In addition to these, we are told about a number of earlier ṣuḥuf and kutub written by ṣaḥābīs such as Abū Müsā al-Ashʿarī (d. 50/670), Samurah b. Jundub (d. 60/680), Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 78/697), and early tābiʿīs like Ibrāhīm al-Nakhī (d. 96/715), Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab (d. 94/713), al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), Rajāʾ b. Ḥaywah (d. 112/730), ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr, his son Hishām (d. 146/763) and al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742).


71 The *Sunan* of Saʿīd b. Mansūr is composed of two big volumes. Volume one, which is unfortunately still missing, includes two parts and it is supposed to contain the ḥadīths about ṣalāt and mosques. Luckily, volume two, which includes parts three and four, has been found. Part three has been edited by Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿzāmī in 1967, while half of the fourth part has been edited by ʿAlī Ḥumayyid in 1993.


73 See Akram al-ʿUmarī (pp. 294-9), and references are therein.
Generally, the writers of early collections were putting each group of relevant hadiths in one chapter. In these collections, hadiths were set side by side with addenda of sayings of saḥābis and fatāwā, ‘religious opinions’ of early tābiʿīs. These early collections bear such titles as Muṣannaf, Sunan, ‘traditions’, Muwaṭṭa ‘well-trodden or readable’, or Jāmi’, ‘compiler’, and their materials were mainly based on the earlier ṣuḥuf.

According to some scholars it was also in the Umayyad period that isnād, ‘a careful examination of the chain of transmitters’, was invented to protect Ḥadīth from the above threats. Caetani argues that it was al-Zuhrī who developed the institution of isnād for the first time in Islam. Caetani maintains that this technique was later elaborated by some of al-Zuhrī’s disciples such as Mūsā b. ʿUqbah (d. 141/757) and Ibn Ishāq (d. 151/678). According to Horovitz, however, isnād appeared and was certified as early as 75/694. In spite of the set of evidence adduced by Horovitz to enhance his theory, it was challenged by Schacht who – quoting Ibn Sirīn’s statement about the institution of isnād – argued that it was not until the beginning of the 2nd/8th century that it was required and applied. Ibn Sirīn said: ‘people used

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74 Ibid, p. 301. See also Khalidi, p. 18.
79 Schacht, pp. 36-7.
not to ask about ḥadīths, but when the civil war (fitnah) occurred, they began to say: "Name your narrators!" Based on the date of Ibn Sirīn’s death, which is 110/728, and the date of the civil war which was instigated by the murder of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd in 126/744, Schacht concluded that the above statement is misattributed to Ibn Sirīn. Robson, on the other hand, suggested another interpretation of the word fitnah which would best refer to the arbitrary which took place in the aftermath of the struggle between 'Alī and Mu‘āwiyyah in 36-7/657-8. Robson accordingly suggested that isnād would have appeared, albeit in a primitive form, as early as the mid-first century. This hypothesis of Robson was later adopted by Abbott who further enhanced it by a plethora of recently discovered material evidence.

Bushayr b. Sa‘d is reported to have come to Ibn ‘Abbās (d. 68/687) and narrated ḥadīths before him. Ibn ‘Abbās asked him to repeat the first ḥadīth. Bushyar, then, wondered: ‘I am not certain whether you recognized all my ḥadīths and denied this one, or recognized this one and denied all my ḥadīths.’ Ibn ‘Abbās replied: ‘we used to report the Prophet’s ḥadīths as no one was attributing lies to him. But when the people became careless about sayings and deeds (falamma rakiba al-nāsu al-ṣa’abata wal dhalūl), we abandoned the

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80 Translated by Siddiqi (p. 79), this statement of Ibn Sirīn was reported by Muslim in his introduction to bāb: bayān anna al-isnād min al din, ‘the chapter of: indicating that isnād is a religious matter’. See also al-Nawawī,Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, I, 84; al-Dārimī, ḥadīth no. 430; Schacht, pp. 36-7.

81 Schacht, pp. 36-7.


84 Abbott, Studies, II, 2; cf. II, 5-32; Siddiqi, p. 80.
practice of reporting his ḥadīths.\textsuperscript{85}

Such tone of skepticism on the part of Ibn Ἂbbās and others led to that, by passage of time, isnād developed into the only accredited currency in the circles of Ḥadīth scholars. Ibn Sirīn is reported to have said: ‘this information one is collecting is religion. So consider from whom you accept your religion.’\textsuperscript{86} Similar statements are also attributed to Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān (d. 106/724),\textsuperscript{87} and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797) who said: ‘Isnād is [a matter] of religion; unless there was isnād, whosoever would say whatsoever.’\textsuperscript{88} Sufyān al-Thawrī, (d. 161/778) is also reported to have said: ‘Isnād is the weapon [namely evidence] of a believer [namely a scholar]. If he has no weapon, with what will he fight?’\textsuperscript{89}

\textbf{2.1.3.4 Under the Ἂbbāsids (132-656/750-1258)}

Although the Marwānīd period witnessed an early phase of ‘emerging culture of documentation’, the legacy of the Prophet was more generally passed down orally for more than a century after his death in 11/632.\textsuperscript{90} The majority of the Ḥadīth compilations that we possess today were written down at the beginning of the Ἂbbāsīd period.

\textsuperscript{85} Al-Dārimī, ḥadīth no. 440; Ajjāj, p. 222.

\textsuperscript{86} Translated by Burton, this statement of Ibn Sirīn was reported by Muslim in his introduction to bāb: al-insād min al din, ‘the chapter of: indicating that isnād is a religious matter’. See John Burton, An Introduction to Ḥadīth (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1994), p. 106. See also al-Dārimī, ḥadīth no. 433.

\textsuperscript{87} Al-Dārimī, ḥadīths no. 428, 439. On Ṭāwūs, see al-Dhahabī, Siyar, pp. 2053-7.

\textsuperscript{88} Al-Baghdādī, Sharaf, p. 41; al-Nawawi, Sharḥ Śiḥḥ Muslim, I, 87.

\textsuperscript{89} Al-Baghdādī, Sharaf, p. 42; Ajjāj, p. 223.

The technique of *isnād* whose importance had already been conceived in the Umayyad period, and may be earlier, was heavily utilized by the ʿAbbāsid compilers. No ḥadīth was to be accepted unless it was equipped with reliable *isnād* which could be traced back to the Prophet or at least a Companion. A number of norms were, and still are, used by Ḥadīth scholars to decide whether a certain *isnād* is trustworthy. One of these was to assure that transmitters were of reliable knowledge, reputation and memory. Two consecutive transmitters in a strand must have lived in the same time and place or at least been known to have met each other. Like *isnād*, the *matn*, ‘text’ of an alleged ḥadīth was also to be scrutinized. For example, it must be logically convincing and linguistically flawless and, more importantly, not contradict any verse of the Qur’ān. Any report which failed to meet these tests was rejected.\(^{91}\)

After the fashion of the collections that were compiled towards the end of the Umayyad period, the entries of the ʿAbbāsid Ḥadīth books were arranged according to the *masānīd*, namely the groups of ḥadīths narrated by each ʿṣaḥābī, even if they covered different subjects.\(^{92}\) The published *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 240/854), *Muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī Shaybah (d. 235/850) and *Musnad* of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Dārimī (d. 255/869) were some of these *masānīd*. After naming 37 of these collections, al-ʿUmarī argued that one could not say that these are the only *masānīd* (or *musnads*) to exist today, for thousands of Arabic manuscripts are found in the libraries of Constantinople, Morocco and other libraries in different parts of the world.\(^{93}\)

The fact that such collections included both sound and weak ḥadīths might have made it difficult for laymen to use them; in a given case most

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\(^{91}\) Ibid. On the criticism of Ḥadīth by Muslims, see Guillaume, pp. 77-97.

\(^{92}\) See Guillaume, p. 2-6; Akram al-ʿUmarī, II, 302.

\(^{93}\) Akram al-ʿUmarī, II, 307.
readers did not have the knowledge to judge the degree of authenticity. In addition to the awkward way of dividing these early collections, this might have been the direct reason for Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) to write his ʿṢaḥīḥ, which he restricted to sound ʿḥadīths. Yet, this is not to say that his book included all sound ʿḥadīths. Al-Bukhārī organized the chapters of his book according to the subjects of ʿfiqh, ‘jurisprudence’. The same method was adopted by ʿimām Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Naysābūrī (d. 261/875) in his ʿṢaḥīḥ.94 These two collections were, and still are, considered by the majority of Muslim scholars to include the most authentic ʿḥadīths. The models of al-Bukhārī and Muslim were in turn followed by Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/888), Ibn Mājah (d. 273/886), al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892) and al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/916).95

While the 3rd/9th century saw the zenith of ʿḤadīth collecting activities, it took nearly a century for such collections to be widely accepted and circulated. As already hinted, it was also in the 3rd/9th century that ʿḤadīth collections were exclusively dedicated to the sayings and deeds of the Prophet. This movement towards restriction was highly influenced by the efforts of al-Shāfīʿī (as we shall see shortly) to secure for the ʿḤadīth a legislative authority beside the Qurʾān. In contrast to the more inclusive content of earlier collections such as ʿmuṣannafāt, collections later to the time of al-Shāfīʿī, and whose compilers were mainly Shāfīʿīs, were restricted to the reports about the Prophet only.

In later centuries ʿḤadīth scholars contented themselves with commenting on and explaining these compilations, or critiquing chains of

narrators.\textsuperscript{96} In the following years, \textit{Ḥadīth} materialized as a distinct discipline of Islamic studies with branches such as: ʻ\textit{usūl al-Ḥadīth}, ʻorigins and practice of ʻ
\textit{ḥadīth}, \textit{muṣṭalaḥ al-Ḥadīth}, ʻterminology (and usage) of ʻ
\textit{Ḥadīth}, and ʻ\textit{ilm al-jarḥ wal ta’dīl}, ʻthe knowledge of evaluating the reliability of \textit{ḥadīth}
transmitters’.\textsuperscript{97}

A relevant and critical point to discuss here is the early controversy over the \textit{ḥujjijyat}, ʻauthoritativenessʼ, of the \textit{sunnah} which was interchangeably used with the term \textit{ḥadīth} to refer to the traditions of the Prophet. There is a belief that the Prophet’s \textit{sunnah} was not seen peremptory, at the mildest, in the first two centuries AH. Such approach, and the big debate which it later kindled, seems to have been ascribed to the dispute on the genuine attribution of the \textit{sunnah} to the Prophet and that of its authoritativeness.\textsuperscript{98} Some sects rebuffed \textit{Ḥadīth} to the hilt,\textsuperscript{99} on the grounds that there is no way to make sure that a certain \textit{ḥadīth} (whether \textit{mutawātir} or \textit{āhād}) is credibly traceable to the Prophet.\textsuperscript{100} Others accepted the authoritativeness of the \textit{ḥadīth mutawātir} only.\textsuperscript{101} A larger third group, however, accepted both the \textit{mutawātir} and the

\textsuperscript{96} Akram al-ʻUmari, II, p. 308; ʻAjjāj, 220.


\textsuperscript{98} ʻAbd al-Khāliq, pp. 245-6.

\textsuperscript{99} On these sects who were traditionally known as \textit{ahl a-kalām} and \textit{ahl al-ra’y}, see Ibn Qutaybah, \textit{Ta’wil}, pp. 47-60; al-Sūyūṭī, \textit{Miftāḥ al-Jannah}, pp. 3-4; al-Sībā’ī, pp. 147-64. The most resilient among these were the Mu’tazilah. See Abū Zawu, pp. 316-32.


\textsuperscript{101} See al-Sībā’ī, pp. 165-75.
ahād, but they differed regarding the standards according to which the latter can be accepted.

There was also controversy over the authoritativeness of Hadīth even if its reliability was proved by the techniques that were then approved. Some said that it cannot stand for itself – namely without evidence from the Qur’ān – as a foundation for legal decisions. Others saw that Hadīth cannot abrogate whatsoever stated by the Qur’ān.

Another problem was that there should be distinction, according some authorities, between what the Prophet said or did as a legislator and what he said and did as an ordinary mortal. The Prophet is reported to have said: ‘I am a human being. When I command you to do anything concerning your religion, then accept it; while when I command you to do anything on account of my personal opinion, then you should know that I am also a human being.’

However, according to Sunnī jurists, each hadīth of ‘religious character’, and which was proved to meet the standards of genuineness at the time,

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104 See al-Sūyūṭī, Miṭtāḥ al-Jannah, pp. 5-6; Azami, Dirāsāt, pp. 21-2. This view was contested by al-Shāfiʿi. See Jīmā’ al-‘Ilm, pp.120-2; Risālah, pp. 53-105.
105 ‘Abd al-Khāliq, pp. 247-8, 488-94. See also Azami, Dirāsāt, pp.29-33. For the ḥadīths contesting this opinion, see al-Dārimī, ḥadīths no. 606-10.
106 Siddiqī, p.112.
107 Muslim, II, 264 (as translated by Siddiqi, p. 112); Dihlawī, Ḥujjat Allāh al-Bālighah (Lahore edition, 1351 AH), I, 249-50.
should have been taken into consideration beside the Qur’ān. This principle is said to have been consented by both early ḥadīth scholars and the ahl al-ra’y.109

According to ‘Abd al-Khāliq, this assumption of ‘general’ acceptance of Ḥadīth authoritativeness is enhanced by the fact that there is no implication of dispute over such issue in the books of notable ʿusūliyyūn such as al-Ghazālī, al-Āmidī and al-al-Bazdawī, in spite of what is known about those scholars’ keenness to refer to and discuss the opinions of their predecessors.110

However, we are told about some of the ahl al-ra’y and ahl al-kalām, such as the Khārijīs, the Niṣāmīs, the Rawāfiḍ, and the Dahriyyah who did not accept the authoritativeness of Ḥadīth.111 Many of these sects rejected all hadīths but those which were passed down by members of their own sect. For a majority of Sunnī scholars, this opinion is radical and also conflicting with the generally-accepted principle that the Prophet could not have intentionally told lies, especially when things are related to God’s commands to the people.112

The dilemma emitted from the fact that a group of early jurists in Iraq gave priority to such techniques as ʾijtihād, ‘independent judgment’, ʾistinbāṭ, ‘eduction’, and ʾqiyyās, ‘analogical induction’, over Ḥadīth. For such scholars, all aḥkām must be subjected to logic as they are issued, first and foremost, for the

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109 Ṣiddīqī, p. 112. Ahl al-ra’y is ‘the scholars who placed some reliance on independent judgment.’
110 ‘Abd al-Khāliq, p. 248
111 See al-Shāfiʿī, Jīmaʾ ʿal-ʿIlm, pp. 13-46; Ibn Qutaybah, Taʾwil, pp. 61-122. While al-Shāfiʿī did not tell us expressly who developed these views which he contested, he mentioned that it was held by some of the people of Baṣrah and it is known that Baṣrah was a mecca of ahl al-ra’y and ahl al-kalām who later produced the Muʿtazila. See al-Shāfiʿī, Jīmaʾ ʿal-ʿIlm, pp. 13-20.
112 Al-Shāfiʿī dedicated the major part of his Al-Risālah and Jīmaʾ ʿal-ʿIlm to contest these views. See also, Ibn Qutaybah, Taʾwil, pp. 61-138; al-Baghdādī, Sharaf, pp. 74-9; al-Sūyūṭī, Miftāḥ al-Jannah.
benefit of people. Therefore, they should be consistent and serve common principles. This group of scholars, accordingly, understood the texts (nuṣūṣ), compared them to one another, and assigned priority to some of them over the others. They applied istinbāṭ where there was no ḥadīth to clearly judge. Their heavy dependence on the ra’y, ‘own opinion’ resulted in neglecting the conspicuous sense of some ḥadīths and utterly disregarding others.

Ahl al-ḥadīth, on the other hand, paid attention to maintaining Ḥadīth as well as the fatāwā of the ṣaḥābīs, and were firmly stuck to the conspicuous content of both. However, the remarkable respect which ahl al-ḥadīth showed to such heritage made them indisposed to apply their own ijtihād, even where no relevant ḥadīth was known to them.\(^{113}\) This school was mostly in Hijāz where, unlike the case in Iraq and other territories, scholars were not faced with many first-time issues – mainly because their cultural life did not experience much change since the time of the Prophet.\(^{114}\) All the notable Sunnī jurists of the first three generations gave priority to Ḥadīth over qiyās. The exception was Mālik b. Anas, who regarded the ḍaḥal ahl al-Madīnah, ‘the practices of the dwellers of the Prophetic city’, as a considerable legal authority.\(^{115}\) According to Abū Ḥanīfah and Mālik, the legal significance of ḥadīths of limited weight of authenticity, such as khabar al-aḥād, was outweighed by qiyās. Nonetheless, while Mālik gave more credibility to qiyās over all the aḥād which were not seconded by the sunan of the ṣaḥābīs and the tābi’īs, Abū Ḥanīfah considered some of the aḥād after being sifted according to his own standards. In this, Abū Ḥanīfah is said to have followed the example

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\(^{113}\) Ibn Ḥabīl, Jāmiʿ Bayān al-ʿIlm, ḥadīths no. 1592-1629.

\(^{114}\) See al-Asfār’s introduction to Taʾwil Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth, p. 16.

\(^{115}\) Siddiqi, p. 112.
of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.\footnote{Ibid.}

Of all imams, al-Shāfi’ī is regarded as the most outstanding when the establishment of Ḥadīth authoritativeness is concerned. In his remarkable works such as al-Risālah and Jimāʾ al-ʿIlm, Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī (204/820) systematically defended his position which later became the main tendency of ahl-Ḥadīth.\footnote{On al-Shāfiʿī’s role in defending Ḥadīth, see al-Sūyūṭī, Miftāḥ al-Jannah, pp. 3, 9-11, 28-9; Schacht, pp. 6-20; al-Sibāʿī, pp. 478-9; ʿAbd al-Khāliq, pp. 250-77; Burton, 153-6.} He engaged in a big number of polemics against those who denied the role of Ḥadīth as a main source of Islamic jurisprudence beside the Qurʾān. The quintessence of al-Shāfiʿī’s thesis is that Ḥadīth, once proved to be traced back to the Prophet, must be considered. He did not stipulate its agreement with the ‘amal ahl al-Madīnah as specified by Mālik,\footnote{See al-Shāfiʿī, Jimāʾ al-ʿIlm, pp. 67-8.} or the many other conditions which were set out by Abū Ḥanīfah.\footnote{Al-Sūyūṭī, Miftāḥ al-Jannah, p. 31; al-Sibāʿī, p. 479.} Al-Shāfiʿī’s official sources of legislation were: the Qurʾān, Ḥadīth, qiyās, and ijmāʾ, ‘consensus’.\footnote{See al-Shāfiʿī, Jimāʾ al-ʿIlm, p. 40; Burton, p.153.} His reliance on Ḥadīth was significantly heavier than that of Mālik and Abū Ḥanīfah; he accepted the aḥād and gave it priority over methods like ijtihād,\footnote{Al-Shāfiʿī, Jimāʾ al-ʿIlm, pp. 75-78.} but he was cautious to deal with the mursal unless it was passed down through notable tābiʿīs such as the like of Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab.\footnote{See al-Sibāʿī, pp. 479-80; Burton, pp.153-68.} Al-Shāfiʿī was thus called by ahl al-Ḥadīth as the campaigner or advocate of Ḥadīth, (nāṣir al-Ḥadīth).\footnote{Al-Sibāʿī, pp. 479-80.} In addition to al-Shāfiʿī, the views of ahl al-Kalām and ahl al-raʿy were challenged by many of ahl al-Ḥadīth such as ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim b. Qutaybah al-Dinawrī (d. 276/889), a disciple of al-Shāfiʿī’s comrade
Isḥāq b. Rāhwayh (d. 238/852).\textsuperscript{124}

In spite of the above stances which reflect a real dispute on the standing of the Prophet’s model during the first two centuries of Islam, there are significant indications that the *sunnah* of the Prophet was seen much valued by his followers – both immediate and later. It is reported on the authority of Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-Aʿmash (d. 148/765), for instance, that while the Companion Ibn Masʿūd had a meeting one day with some of his comrades, a Bedouin passed by and asked: ‘for what reason do these gather?’ He was answered by Ibn Masʿūd: `[they gather] for the legacy of Muḥammad, peace be upon him, to allocate it.’\textsuperscript{125}

In spite of the few reports that some of the Companions were exclusively interested in the *Qurʾān*, it was not until the second century AH that the question of Ḥadīth authoritativeness began to be really strenuous. For example, while ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn (d. 52/672) was telling Ḥadīth to a group of people, a man asked: ‘O Abū Nujayd [en epithet of ʿImrān], tell us about the *Qurʾān*.’ ʿImrān replied: ‘you and your companions read the *Qurʾān*; could you tell me about the *ṣalāt* and its details and regulations? Could you tell me about the *zakāt* of gold, camels, cows, and the different types of wealth? […]’ The man then commented: ‘you have granted me life; may Allāh grant life to you!’\textsuperscript{126} Also, an attempt to investigate all legal and theological issues exclusively from the *Qurʾān* was made by Umayyah b. Khālid. Yet, when he was confronted with difficulties, he asked ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar. ʿAbd Allāh who replied: ‘Allāh dispatched to us Muḥammad, peace be upon him, while we were


\textsuperscript{125} Al-Baghdādī, *Sharaf*, p. 45.

acquainted with nothing. Therefore, we do as Muḥammad, peace be upon him, does.”  

A similar situation is said to have faced Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī (d. 131/749).

Yet, such episodes seem to have been the exception which was particularly held by some of the Iraqians; both ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn and Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī were from Baṣrah. The general tendency in the first century AH, however, seems to have valued the authority of Ḥadīth. There is evidence from the Qurʾān that Muslims are advised, or indeed commanded, to follow the model of the Prophet:

O ye who believe! Obey Allāh, and obey the Messenger, and those charged with authority among you. If ye differ in anything among yourselves, refer it to Allāh and his Messenger, if ye do believe in Allāh and the Last Day: that is best and most suitable for final determination.

‘Ye have indeed in the Messenger of Allāh an excellent exemplar for him who hopes in Allāh and the Final Day, and who remember Allāh much.

So take what the Messenger gives you, and refrain from what he prohibits you.

He who obeys the Messenger, obeys Allāh: but if any turn away, we have not sent you to watch over them.

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127 Al-Ḥākim, Mustadrak, I, 258.
128 Azami, Dirāsāt, pp.21-2.
129 On Quranic evidence for the authoritativeness of the Prophet’s sayings and actions, see al-Shāfi‘i, Risālah, pp. 73- 87; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Jāmi‘ Bayān al-ʿIlm, pp. 1181-98.
130 Qurʾān, IV, 59.
131 Qurʾān, XXXIII. 21.
132 Qurʾān, LIX. 7.
133 Qurʾān, IV. 80.
And we have sent down unto thee (also) the Message; that thou mayest explain clearly to men what is sent for them, and that they may give thought.\textsuperscript{134}

Say: ‘If ye do love Allāh, follow me: Allāh will love you and forgive you your sins: For Allāh is Oft-forgiving.’\textsuperscript{135}

But no by thy Lord, they can have no (real) faith. Until they make thee judge in all disputes between them. And find in their souls no resistance against thy decisions, but accept them with the fullest convictions.\textsuperscript{136}

In al-Dārimī, there is a chapter called: ‘accelerating the punishment of whomsoever told of a Ḥadīth of the Prophet and did not dignify and respect it’ (\textit{bāb: ta’jīliu ‘uqubat man balaghahū ‘an al-Nabīy ṣalla Allāhu ‘alayhī wa sallam Ḥadīthun falam yu’azzimhu wa lam yuwaqqirhu}). Under this, al-Dārimī reported a number of \textit{ḥadīths} which asserts the importance of considering and complying to \textit{Ḥadīth}. According to one of these, Saʿīd b. Jubayr (d. 95/714) ostracized a man because he told him a \textit{ḥadīth} of the Prophet, but the man neglected it and acted differently.\textsuperscript{137} Similar attitudes of resentment to people who flouted \textit{Ḥadīth} or preferred to it opinions of \textit{faqīhs} are attributed to 'Abd Allāh b. Mughaffal (d. 60/680), Ibn Sirīn, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar (d. 74/693), 'Ubādah b. al-Ṣāmit (d. \textit{ca.} 34/655) and Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab (d. 94/715).\textsuperscript{138} The limited number of such incidents could be attributable to the possibility that respecting of \textit{Ḥadīth} was the ruling attitude which, when offended, required the response of the contemporary authorities.

\textsuperscript{134} Qurʾān, XVI. 44.
\textsuperscript{135} Qurʾān, III. 31.
\textsuperscript{136} Qurʾān, IV. 65.
\textsuperscript{137} Al-Dārimī, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 453.
\textsuperscript{138} Al-Dārimī, \textit{ḥadīths} no. 451-60.
It does not seem practical to say that the life of the Prophet, who is defined by some as ‘the most influential single figure of world history’,¹³⁹ was not closely observed by both his enemies, let alone followers. For the former, it was imperative to watch him carefully and discuss his personality and way of thinking in order to resist his plans and contest his thoughts. For his followers, maintaining his exemplary model was the only way to salvation. They tried to imitate him even in the finest details, such as the way he was drinking, eating or wearing.¹⁴⁰

The Prophet himself is reported to have stressed the commanding position of the model he established. He is reported to have said: ‘adhere to my sunnah and the sunnah of the righteous and rightly-guided Caliphs. Bite on it with [your] teeth, and leave the views of men […].’¹⁴¹ The extent of knowledge of Ḥadīth was the standard considered by the Prophet for ambassadors to be dispatched and for rulers to be appointed.¹⁴²

How was the Prophet’s paradigm regarded by the earliest caliphs? On the authority of Maymūn b. Mahrān (d. 117/735), on every occasion a legal case faced Abū Bakr, he sought solution for it in the Qur’ān. If he did not find any, he considered Ḥadīth (which was mainly known at that time as the sunnah, ‘usage’ of the Prophet). If his knowledge of it did not help, he asked the Companions, and if they failed to cite any instance of the Prophet that could help, he asked the notable scholars to formulate an opinion which was

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¹³⁹ Şiddiqi, p. 3.
¹⁴¹ Al-Dārimī, Ḥadīth no. 96. On other evidence for the authoritativeness of Ḥadīth, see al-Dārimī, Ḥadīths no. 228-32; al-Shāfi’ī, Risālah, p. 87; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Jāmi’ Bayān al-‘Ilm, Ḥadīths no. 2299-2335.
¹⁴² See al-Dārimī, Ḥadīths no. 560, 579.
then agreed by him.\(^{143}\)

A similar attitude to that of Abū Bakr was also attributed to ῦUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and Ibn Masʿūd.\(^{144}\) ῦUmar is also reported to have said: ‘there will come people who will argue with you regarding the ambiguities in the Book of God. Take on them [namely contest their argument] by the \emph{sunan}; the people of \emph{sunan} are more acquainted with the Book of God.’\(^{145}\) Al-Sūyūṭī, reported, on the authority of al-Bayhaqī, that ῦUmar said: ‘Be aware of \emph{aṣḥāb al-raʾy}; those are the enemies of \emph{sunan} who, having been overwhelmed by the \emph{ḥadīths} of the Prophet (which are too many to memorize), applied the \emph{raʾy}. So, they went astray and caused [other] people to go astray.’\(^{146}\)

Nevertheless, there are reports that in some cases, the obvious judgment in \emph{Ḥadīth} regarding certain issues were abandoned by ῦUmar and other \emph{ṣaḥābīs} for the sake of their own \emph{raʾy}.\(^{147}\) A well-known instance is ‘the right to the fifth-part of booty for the relatives of the Prophet’.\(^{148}\) According to Siddīqī:

A close scrutiny, however, of all these cases shows that the \emph{ḥadīth} of the Prophet was not rejected tout court; it was either differently interpreted in the light of circumstances and other \emph{ḥadīths}, or the memory and understanding of those who reported it where the subject of doubt among those present.\(^{149}\)

There are cases where the Companions reconsidered their own

\(^{143}\) Al-Dārimī, \emph{ḥadīth} no. 163.

\(^{144}\) Al-Sūyūṭī, \emph{Miftāḥ al-Jannah}, pp.32-3.

\(^{145}\) Al-Dārimī, \emph{ḥadīth} no. 121.

\(^{146}\) Al-Sūyūṭī, \emph{Miftāḥ al-Jannah}, p. 33.

\(^{147}\) Siddīqī, p.111.

\(^{148}\) See Ibn Ḥajar’s commentary on al-Bukhārī (\emph{kitāb fard al-khums, bāb qismat al-imām}).

\(^{149}\) Siddīqī, p. 111.
opinions in light of Ḥadīths which they were told about, and of which they were previously ignorant. Companions such as Abū al-Dardāʾ and Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī are reported to have left some places because some of the people there favoured their views to the relevant Ḥadīths.¹⁵⁰

The above discussion shows that in the first-half century AH, the significance of Hadīth, which was then more frequently known as sunnah, was highly considered. In later times, and as a result of the Muslim successive conquests, new cultural perspectives were introduced to the circles of Muslim jurists. This situation produced groups such as ahl-raʾy and ahl-kalām whose consideration for Hadīth was a topic of much debate. The most important figure in this context was al-Shāfīʿī, who remarkably succeeded in securing for Ḥadīth a notable authoritative character.

### 2.1.3. Ḥadīth and modern scholarship

Although western scholars have dedicated much time and effort to literary and historical studies of Islam, they came to Ḥadīth relatively late.¹⁵¹ Ignaz Goldziher’s Muhammedanische Studien, completed in 1890, has been regarded as the basis for Ḥadīth studies in the west.¹⁵² Goldziher developed a generally sceptical attitude towards Hadīth. According to him, the fabrication of Ḥadīths and attributing them to the Prophet was the most effective way of legitimatizing the views of conflicting parties.¹⁵³ Goldziher’s theory exempted neither rulers nor pious jurists. According to

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¹⁵⁰ ʿAbd al-Khāliq, p. 285; Siddiqi, p. 111. For more on how Hadīth was regarded by the ṣaḥābīs and early tābiʿīs, see al-Sūyūṭī, Miftāḥ al-Jannah, pp. 20-4; ʿAbd al-Khāliq, pp. 283-
¹⁵¹ Azami, Dirāsāt, p. x.
¹⁵³ Goldziher, Muslim Studies, I, 44.
him, they all fabricated *ḥadīths* to reinforce their legal views or to validate already-existing practices. ¹⁵⁴

Similar views were held by David Samuel Margoliouth,¹⁵⁵ Henri Lammens,¹⁵⁶ and Leone Caetani.¹⁵⁷ The sweeping views of Goldziher were further developed some fifty years later by Joseph Schacht.¹⁵⁸ Schacht’s *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* assimilated Goldziher’s overall thesis and applied it to legal issues with more criticism of *Ḥadīth*. Schacht’s epilogue was that *isnād*, which had knowingly been regarded and utilized as a weapon of debate, was spurious.¹⁵⁹

For decades, it proved very difficult to find a middle ground between these views and the traditional Islamic perspective. With the exception of John Wansbrough¹⁶⁰ and his two disciples, Patricia Crone¹⁶¹ and Michael Cook,¹⁶² the tone of sheer skepticism waned in the subsequent research. One of those who did respond to Goldziher and Schacht was John Burton, who admitted that in addition to Muslim conservatives, ‘some Western scholars, too, have expressed reservations about these non-exempting hypotheses of Goldziher and

¹⁵⁴ Burton, p. xvi.
¹⁵⁹ Burton, p. 148.
Schacht. In spite of praising Goldziher’s insight and critical method, Burton points to a deficit in the former’s thesis:

Unease remains about acquiescing wholeheartedly in the suggestion that devout and pious men, conscious of the sacred nature of the source materials with which they worked, would engage in a policy of widespread deception and fraud on behalf of their own opinions while themselves sadly pointing out the approach adopted by the less scrupulous among them. For many of these scholars were men of deep piety and undoubted probity who saw themselves as engaged in mapping out in exquisite detail a statement of the revealed will of God, and charting what they viewed as the uniquely valid path to their (and their community’s) eternal salvation.

Burton accordingly concluded that the wholesale rejection of Ḥadīth misses the point, namely that Ḥadīth, or part of it, would preserve some material on the thinking of Muslims, if not precisely in the age of the Prophet, then very soon after, in what he called the age of the Qurʾān.

A growing number of modern scholars believe that it is imprudent and prejudicial to assume that Arabic akhbār, ‘reports or annals’ and traditions lack any genuine core. Scholars, such as Wilfred Madelung, Fred M. Donner, Harald Motzki, and Gregor Schoeler disagree with the absolutism of Goldziher and

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163 Burton, p. 181.
164 Burton, p. xvii.
165 Burton, p. 181.
166 On that see Schoeler, Genesis, pp. 1-12.
170 See his Oral and the Written. The same views are held by Khalidi, p. 25.
Schacht. Others who reacted against early western skepticism are Nabia Abbott, who maintains a theory of early continuous written tradition, and Fuat Sezgin who has made a remarkable contribution in the cataloguing of early texts.\footnote{171} Some scholars, having examined certain texts, have concluded that \textit{Ḥadīth} was indeed subjected to a high degree of scrutiny and criticism very early in Islamic history.\footnote{172} 

The methods and source-critical standards of Goldziher, Schacht and their exponents have also been reassessed by a number of modern Muslim revisionists.\footnote{173} Today’s scholarship is influenced by the two extremes represented in Goldziher-Schacht’s theory on one side and the modern Muslim scholars’ on another.\footnote{174} Meanwhile, new discoveries have been considerable. Khalidi, for example states: ‘within the last half century or so, a lot of early \textit{Hadith} texts have come to light, often necessitating modification or rejection of existing theories or views.’\footnote{175} M. Azami has declared that he has identified original copies for twelve \textit{Hadith} manuscripts dated to the second century AH. He has edited and published the smallest of them, namely, the \textit{Ṣaḥīḥah} of

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{171}{Herbert Berg, \textit{The Development of the Exegesis in Early Islam: the Authenticity of Muslim Literature from the Formative Period}, pp. 18-21.}
\item \footnote{172}{As an example, see Eerik Dickinson, \textit{The Development of Early Sunnite Ḥadīth Criticism: The Taqdim of Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī} (240/854-327/938), Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts, ed. by Wadad Kadi (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001).}
\item \footnote{174}{Juynboll, \textit{Muslim Tradition}, p. 1.}
\item \footnote{175}{Khalidi, p. 17.}
\end{itemize}
Suhayl b. Abī Ṣāliḥ.\(^{176}\)

Another example of early writing of Ḥadīth is the Ṣaḥīfah of Hammām b. Munabbih (d. 110/719) who was a disciple of the Companion, Abū Hurayrah (d. 58/677).\(^{177}\) The original manuscripts are extant in the libraries of Berlin, Beirut and Damascus.\(^{178}\) This ṣaḥīfah, ‘script’ which is believed to have been written around the mid-first /seventh century,\(^{179}\) evidences the early writing of Ḥadīth.\(^{180}\)

While 98 of the Ṣaḥīfah’s 138 ḥadīths are found in the two Ṣaḥīḥs of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, 136 of these ḥadīths are included in the Musnad of Aḥmad. This means that canonical books of Ḥadīth only digested what was regarded as authentic according to the standards of each of the compilers. Meanwhile, the fact that not all ḥadīths of the Ṣaḥīfah, in spite of their authenticity, were selected by al-Bukhārī and Muslim would imply that both subjected the ḥadīths they collected to a high degree of scrutiny. After comparing the ḥadīths of the Ṣaḥīfah with the 1500 variant readings of the same ḥadīths in the 3rd/9rd century compilations,\(^{181}\) Speight concludes:

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\(^{176}\) The book of Azami includes a sixth-century copy (written in AH 598) of Suhayl’s manuscript. Azami, Dirāsat, pp. 471-585.

\(^{177}\) Muhammad Hamidullah, An Introduction to the Conservation of Hadith: In the Light of the Sahīfah of Hammam ibn Munabbih, (Islamic Book trust, 2003). We are told about other students of Abū Hurayrah, such as Bashir b. Nahīk, who also set the latter’s ḥadīths down to writing. Al-Dārimī, ḥadīth no. 511; al-Baghdādī, Taqyīd, p. 129.


\(^{179}\) According to Ibn Sa’d, Hammām died in 101/720.


\(^{181}\) Speight, ‘Variant Readings’, p. 79.
Chapter 2: Ḥadīth and early Arabic sources – an historiographical discussion

[...] the texts in HAMMĀM and those recorded in IBN ḤANBAL, AL-BUKHĀRĪ and MUSLĪM with the same isnād show almost complete identity, except for a few omissions and interpolations which do not affect the sense of the reports. On the other hand, the same ḥadīths as told by other transmitters in the three collections studied show a rich variety of wording, again without changing the meaning of the reports.182 [...] Based on this evidence I have found practically no sign of careless or deceptive practices in the variant texts common to the Ṣaḥīfa of HAMMĀM B. MUNABBĪ.183

Another example of early Ḥadīth writing is the Muṣannaf of ῾Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī which has been carefully studied by Harald Motzki. In his resulting article in the Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Motzki concludes:

While studying the Muṣannaf of ῾Abd al-Razzaq, I came to the conclusion that the theory championed by Goldziher, Schacht, and in their footsteps, many others - myself included - which in general, reject hadith literature as a historically reliable sources for the first century AH, deprives the historical study of early Islam of an important and a useful type of source.184

A great deal of the earlier skepticism has thus been moderated or reversed.185 Gregor Schoeler states:

In her Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri, Nabia Abbott advocated an early and incremental written tradition, based on a plethora of evidence such as Umayyad papyri fragments. Fuat Sezgin proposed in his Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums a method for the reconstruction of the (as he maintains, exclusively written) sources of these compilations. He further maintained that he had discovered a number of early source texts on which the late compilations were based. With the works of these two scholars,

182 Ibid, pp. 79-80.
183 Ibid, p. 85.
185 Azami, Dirāsāt, I, p. x, xi.
earlier claims about the largely oral transmission of Arabo-Islamic sciences up to the time of the major compilations seemed to have been laid to rest.\footnote{Schoeler, \textit{Oral and Written}, p. 28.}

To conclude on the early transmission of \textit{Hadīth}, we find that neither of the radical perspectives, whether dismissive or susceptible, properly fits the case. \textit{Hadīth} was not systematically documented from the very beginning, but there is evidence that the compilations we possess today are the upshot of an early organic phase where oral traditions juxtaposed, and then exclusively evolved into, written ones.\footnote{The same standpoint is held by Khalidi, pp. 25-30}

\section*{2.2. Sources for the study of early mosques}

Before Islam, the Arabs did not show much interest in recording their history.\footnote{For recent investigation of the literary environment and history of pre-Islamic Arabia, see M. C. A. McDonald, \textit{Literacy and Identity in Pre-Islamic Arabia}, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Surrey: Ashgate, 2008). See also Duri, pp. 14-20. Schoeler, \textit{Genesis}, pp. 16-24.} Apart from some ancient poems, prose and genealogies, our information about the history of pre-Islamic Arabia is mainly based on the works of early Muslim historians like Wahb b. Munabbih (d. \textit{ca.} 114/732) and Hishām b. al-Kalbī (d. 204/819). With the rise of Islam, the reports about the Prophet, in addition to other sources such as tribal memory, recollections of the conquests and the influence of the Syriac historical tradition, provided the foundation of Islamic history. This is one reason why the above discussion about \textit{Hadīth} historiography is relevant to the following discussion about the historical sources of the study. Another reason is that the earliest books of \textit{Sīrah} from the time of Ibn Isḥāq (d. \textit{ca.} 151/768) down to Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845) and al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) depended in many respects on older informants of \textit{Hadīth} such as ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr (d.}
94/712) and al-Zuhrī (d. 124/741-2).\textsuperscript{189} Even the works of later historians such as Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734/1334) and Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) not only reproduced the materials of early historians, but in many cases they relied on some of the earlier accounts of Ḥadīth scholars which were not included in the works of early historians.\textsuperscript{190}

The same authenticating technique of isnād, which was used by the muḥaddithūn, ‘scholars of Ḥadīth’, was also used by historians at Mecca and Madīnah until the time of al-Ṭabarī.\textsuperscript{191} However, according to Ibn Khaldūn (732-808/1332-1406), this had led some historians to transmit many unrealistic reports on account of the fact that they mentioned their isnāds.\textsuperscript{192} The sheer reliance on isnād was also criticized by Ibn al-Ṣalāh (577-643/1181-1245).\textsuperscript{193} Later historians such as al-Yaʾqūbī (d. c. 292/905) and al-Masʿūdī (d. 346/957) freed themselves from attributing their reports to previous authorities.\textsuperscript{194}

Before discussing the historiographical issues of Arabic writings and reviewing scholars’ different stances therein, it is important to note that dispute here is less heated than in relation to Ḥadīth. This might be explained by the fact that the existence of flawed or misleading historical accounts is not regarded by Muslim scholars to be as detrimental to Islam as it is in relation to

\textsuperscript{189} On the role of ʿUrwah and al-Zuhrī in preserving Ḥadīth and Sirah, see Schoeler, Genesis, pp. 41-50; Duri, pp. 25-30, 76-121; Khalidi, 30-4.

\textsuperscript{190} Duri, pp. 7-8.


\textsuperscript{192} On Ibn Khaldūn’s critique on early Arabic writing, see Muqaddimah, (Cairo: al-Maktabah al-Tijāriyyah, [1900 (?)]), pp. 3-34.

\textsuperscript{193} Ibn al-Ṣalāh, pp. 14-7. See also Schoeler, Genesis, p. 124.

\textsuperscript{194} M. ʿAbd al-Ghani Ḥasan, Ḥilm al-Taʾrikh ʿInda al-ʿArab (Cairo: 1961), p. 162.
Nevertheless, the fact remains that the study of Islamic history has been afflicted since its beginning by uncertainty about the reliability of its written sources. This criticism goes back to the time of Ibn Khaldūn and al-Sakhāwī. The straightforward reason why the first western historians of early Islam did not mount an earnest defence of their sources was their generally poor grasp of the historiographical tradition and how it evolved.

In response to such criticism, some scholars tried to take steps towards a better understanding of how the tradition evolved. Some of them studied thoroughly some specific examples of early Arab historians. Examples are C. H. Becker, Josef Horovitz, and Johann Fück.

In spite of their significance, the early exclusively historiographical studies such as David Margoliouth’s Lectures on Arabic Historians, had only very nebulous and broad-spectrum views about the development of the

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195 This is not to say that for these scholars history is unimportant for the image of Islam. In fact, some of them regard the early history of Islam as part of Ḥadīth. Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fi Dhayl al-Sulūk (Cairo: Bulāq, 1896), p. 2.
196 An example for early sceptic is M. J. de Goeje, Mémoire sur la conqête de la Syrie, 1st edn (Leiden: [no pub.], 1864).
198 Fred M. Donner’s Introduction to Duri’s The Rise of Historical Writing Among the Arabs, pp. vii, x-xi.
201 Johann Fück, Muhammed ibn Ishaq: literarchistorische Untersuchungen (Frankfurt am Main, 1925).
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tradition. It was not until 1938 when H. Gibb provided his ‘Ta’rīkh’ in the Supplement to *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* that a new and more progressive departure was made. It might have been Gibb’s article which stimulated Franz Rosenthal to write his *A History of Muslim Historiography*. Rosenthal provided more thorough handling of the origins of Arabic historiography than did Gibb’s concise feature.

The previously mentioned works of Nabia Abbott and Fuat Sezgin in addition to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Duri’s *Bahṭ fi Nash‘at ‘Ilm at-Tā’rīkh ‘Inḍa l-‘Arab* (*The Rise of Historical Writing Among the Arabs*) have removed and clarified the greater part of earlier concerns about the evolution of the sources. This has strongly challenged the previous sceptical arguments. The debate now turns rather on how we can differentiate between what is tendentious and what is genuine. Stephen Humphreys, for example, states that:

Islamists like to complain about the state of their sources, but in fact what they have is extraordinarily rich and varied, far surpassing the miserable

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fragments which challenge the student of the late Roman Empire or early medieval Europe. The real problem is to use this patrimony effectively. To a large degree that is a matter of asking good questions, but good questions in turn depend on understanding the character of one’s sources.\footnote{Stephen Humphreys, \textit{Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry}, rev. edn (London & New York: I. B. Tauris & Co LTD, 1991), p. 25.}

This tendency which is equally held by other scholars like Wilfred Madelung,\footnote{Madelung, p. xi.} Gregor Schoeler\footnote{Schoeler, \textit{Genesis}, p. 12.} and Hugh Kennedy,\footnote{The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State, Warfare and History (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. xi-xvi. See also his \textit{The Great Arab Conquests: How the Spread of Islam Changed the World We Live in} (Cambridge MA: Da Capo Press, 2008) pp. 12-33.} represents the approach towards early sources that is adopted here in the course of sources criticism. Things like the author’s personal tendencies, extent of knowledge, sources, method of writing, relation with contemporary authorities, religious views, sectarian and political trends as well as the religious, political and social conditions of his time must all be taken into consideration.

With this said, some are still reluctant to accept such sources as reliable for the study of early mosques on the grounds that they were written a century or two after the buildings they described (see charts 1 and 2). According to Fred M. Donner,

\begin{quote}
The relatively late date of the sources does not necessarily make them fraudulent, of course, and it became generally accepted by modern historians that some of the information in these sources – perhaps most of it – is considerably older material that was preserved and transmitted until it found its way into the library compilations now available to us.\footnote{Fred M. Doner’s Introduction, p. viii.}
\end{quote}
While the sources must not be treated uncritically, they should be neither rejected outright nor taken as *topoi*, on the only grounds that the information they provide coincides with what we conceive as a formulaic history of the mosque or a ‘linear evolution’ of its architectural type. Rather, epistemic questions should be posed and strategies should be developed to make judicious use of them for the study of early mosques where archaeological evidence is scanty, problematic or entirely missing.

For example, the credibility of the sources will be discussed in an archaeological sense: that is, it will be asked whether their content is consistent with the logical evolution of early mosques in terms of structures and materials. Likewise, Arabia’s geology, geomorphology and the prevalent vernacular customs of building in pre- and early Islam will be taken into consideration.\textsuperscript{211} In some cases, where it is workable, the veracity of early accounts will be judged through considering other better-documented scripture, namely, the *Qur‘ān* (see 3.6).

The authority of an early account about a missing structure could also be assessed by considering the extent to which the account given by the same historian or geographer concurs with archaeological evidence that is now available. At Wāsiṭ for example (figure 23), the excavation (1936-42) is believed to have ‘brought to light confirmation of literary evidence for the design of the early Islamic courtyard mosque’.\textsuperscript{212} While such finds do not allow us to relax standards of critical judgment when dealing with early accounts, they provide a tantalizing guide.

\textsuperscript{211} See chapters 4 and 6.

In addition to archaeology, the reliability of Hadith and other historical writings can be tested through the examination of the surviving early documents (including evidence from contemporaneous non-Muslim writings and waqf deeds), and the comparative study of material evidence found in decoration, epigraphy, numismatics and papyrology.

A good example for the latter are the Aphrodito papyri, discovered in 1901 at a place known as Kom Ishgauh, 30 miles north of Sohag, Egypt. As Creswell tells us, it ‘consists of the official correspondence of Qurrah b. Sharīk, Governor of Egypt from 90 to 96 H. (709-14), with Basilius, the prefect […], of the District of Aphrodito in Upper Egypt.’ The significance of this document for our study is that it provides valuable information about the builders of the Ka’bah in the time of Ibn al-Zubayr (64-5/684), the builders of the Umayyad mosque of Damascus (87/706), and the builders of the mosque of ‘Amr when it was rebuilt by Qurrah b. Sharīk in 92/710. About this manuscript, van Berchem says:

The discovery of the Fayyum papyri has allowed us to check the accuracy of some information provided by the Arab writers which has been called

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214 See Andrew Marsham, Rituals of Islamic Monarchy: Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp. 12, 84.
217 Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, I. I, 151.
into question by European critiques. These kinds of counter-proofs are an excellent touch-stone to test the truthfulness of the written document, giving a precise definition of the extent to which one can have confidence in them; they constitute an important task for archaeology.\(^{218}\)

### 2.2.1. Examples of primary sources

Muhammad b. Isḥāq (d. 151/761) is regarded as the most resourceful amongst all those who wrote about the \textit{Sīraḥ}, ‘life’ of the Prophet.\(^{219}\) It seems that Ibn Isḥāq assimilated the experiences of his predecessors such as 'Urwah b. al-Zubāy r (d. 94/712), Wahb b. Munnabih (d. 114/732) and Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shīhāb (d. 124/741), and rephrased their works in light of his appreciation of the political significance of the image of Islamic history.\(^{220}\) However, some of Ibn Isḥāq’s narratives were approached with a measure of critical caution by later historians like Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833) and al-Ṭabarī (d. 311/923). Both might have been right in their conservatism, but in fact Ibn Isḥāq himself stated that his ardency to collect all the available reports about the Prophet overweighed his efforts in examining their genuineness.\(^{221}\) Ibn Isḥāq’s work reached us through the recensions of Ziyād b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Bakkāʿī (d. 183/799) and Salāmah b. Faḍl al-Anṣārī (d. 190/806).\(^{222}\) Both works perished and while the former’s accounts are kept in the \textit{Sīraḥ Nabawiyyah} of 'Abd al-Mālik b. Hishām,\(^{223}\) the latter’s reached us

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\(^{220}\) See Khalidi, p. 34.

\(^{221}\) See Duri, pp. 32-7; Schoeler, \textit{Genesis}, pp. 71-2


\(^{223}\) Ibn Hishām, \textit{Sirat Rasūl Allah (Das Leben Muhammed’s)}, ed. by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, 2 vols (Göttingen, 1858-60).
in the form of quotations by al-Ṭabarî whose *Tārīkh al-Rusul wal Mulūk* is generally regarded as the most significant universal history in Islam. Nonetheless, a problem of al-Ṭabarî is that some of his informants like Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774) and Sayf b. ʿUmar (d. ca 180/796) combined historical reports with folkloric storytelling.

It was not until the 2nd/8th century that a new kind of historical writing emerged, namely the histories of Islamic cities. Of course, priority was given to the two holy cities, Mecca and Madīnah. More writings were dedicated to the latter since it was the first capital of the Islamic empire, the home of the Prophet and the place where his houses and mosque stood in their earliest forms. The manuscripts of some of these early books have been found, edited and published. The book of *Tārīkh al-Madīnah* of Ibn Shabbah (d. 262/876) is a good example. Few modern works have set out to collect and verify the sporadic accounts of some of the missing early books. A good example is *Akhbār al-Madīnah* of Ibn Zabālah (d. 199/814) which is regarded as the first comprehensive study of Madīnah.

On this book Sauvaget states:

This work is for us of capital importance. Its interest lies (1) in the personality of the author, a disciple of the great Medinian doctor Mālik b.

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227 Examples are the early missing works of Ibn al-Muthannā (d. 210/825) and al-Madāʾinī (d. ca. 228/842).


Anas [...] Ibn Zabāla was in a position to assemble on the spot, in the best conditions for both transmission and criticism, the local tradition relating to the ancient history of the Mosque [of Madīnah]; (2) in his date. This gives us the assurance that the evidence of contemporaries could have been noted down without an excessive number of intermediaries [...].

It seems that the methodology and content of Ibn Zabālah’s book inspired many of the later chroniclers of Madīnah. Examples are al-Manāsik by Abī Isḥāq al-Ḥarbī (d. 285/898), Taḥqīq al-Nuṣrah by Zayn al-Dīn al-Marāghī (d. 816/1413) Albeit, the Wafā’al-Wafā of al-Samhūdī (d. 911/1505) is the most important among these, for it contains a lot of valuable contextual information about Madīnah, its history, topography, urban plans, landmarks and the systems of agriculture and irrigation in its heydays. It is described by H. Gibb as ‘a work of extraordinary erudition’. Al-Samhūdī quoted more than 360 texts from Ibn Zabālah. Even the methodology and structure of the latter’s book could to a large extent be deduced from that of al-Samhūdī.

It is worth noting that scholars contemporary to and later than Ibn Zabālah accepted his historical accounts and amply quoted them. They, however, were cautious in their dependence on the ḥadīths he transmitted. As we have seen (2.1), the criteria for scrutinizing ḥadīths were much stricter than those used in the case of historical accounts.

Much information about early mosques can be found in books of


history, geography and travel.\textsuperscript{233} While the earliest available to us were written several decades after the buildings they described (see charts 1 and 2), many of these were recensions of earlier missing written works or based on orally-transmitted knowledge. Some scholars have recently tried to investigate the sources of those earlier collections of Islamic annals.\textsuperscript{234} According to Nigosian, their ‘accuracy’, despite being unascertainable, is generally accepted by a majority of scholars.\textsuperscript{235} Humphreys believes that they ‘were certainly heavily redacted in the early 3rd /9th century’.\textsuperscript{236}

The \textit{Futūḥ al-Buldān} (Conquests of the Provinces) of Yaḥya b. Jābir al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892) is one of the most outstanding works of the 3rd/9th century.\textsuperscript{237} It, along with al-Ṭabarī’s \textit{History}, will be a basic source for study of the earliest mosques of Baṣrah I (? 14/635), Kūfah I (17/638), Fustāṭ I (21/641-2), Baṣrah II (45/665), and Qayrawān I (50/670). About al-Balādhurī’s approach of writing, Duri says:

Al-Balādhurī took his material from books specifically pertaining to the conquests in each province, from materials he was able to collect during

\textsuperscript{233} On these books, see Duri, p. 61. The majority of these have been edited and put in a modern form with glosses and indices. Some have been translated into English and other languages.


\textsuperscript{236} R. S. Humphreys, ‘Tāʾrīkh’, p. 273.

his travels to these regions, and from other sources available to him. His method of writing consisted of selecting material after he had sifted and criticized it, and presenting a balanced image of events while refraining from citing multiple accounts of the same event. He relied heavily on the accounts of Medina, which were known, more than others, for their impartiality and accuracy, and likewise used primary regional accounts. In this book, al-Balādhurī offers much valuable information on cultural, economic, and administrative affairs.238

Despite his apparent tendency to deal critically with his sources, sometimes al-Balādhurī cites conflicting accounts. According to Duri, al-Balādhurī, despite his affiliation to the ʿAbbāsids, is impartial and balanced in the akhbār he gives.239

Also important is al-Muqaddasi’s Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fi Maʾrīfat al-Aqālīm (the Best Divisions for the Knowledge of the Regions) (375/985-380/990),240 regarded by many western scholars as reliable for archaeological purposes. This might be attributed to al-Muqaddasi’s ability in giving adequate architectural description of the structures about which he wrote.241 Al-Muqaddasi implemented what seems to be a workable scientific method depending mainly on personal observation and consultation of trustworthy sources. In this sense, he says: ‘Among its supports and pillars, moreover, in the establishing of which I sought assistance, was my putting questions to men

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238 Duri, pp. 61-2.
241 For more information, see Basil Antony Collins, Al-Muqaddasi, the Man and his Work : with Selected Passages Translated from the Arabic (Michigan, University of Michigan, 1974)
of intelligence whom I knew to be neither careless nor confused, about the
districts and the areas in the border territories distant from me, which it was
not possible for me to reach. For that on which they agreed, I accepted as
authentic: that on which they differed, I rejected.242 He accordingly divided his
accounts into three categories: what he saw, what he took from reliable
authorities, and what he found in the authentic sources.

Examples of other sources that will be considered in this study of early
mosques are: *Maghāzī (Military expeditions of the Prophet)* by al-Wāqidī (130-
207/748-823),243 *Taʾrīkh (History)* of al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 284/897),244 *Murūj al-
Dhahab (Meadows of Gold)* by al-Masʿūdī (283-346/896-956),245 *al-Ṭabaqāt al-
Kabīr (Great Book of Classes)* by Ibn Saʿd (168-230/784-844),246 *Futūḥ Miṣr
(Conquests of Egypt)* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/870),247 *Taʾrīkh Wāṣīt,
(History of Wāṣīt)* by Bahshāl (d. 288/900),248 and *Taʾrīkh Dimashq (History of
Damascus)* by Ibn ʿAsākir (499-571/1106-1175).249

242 Al-Muqaddasi (Collin’s trasl.), p. 3.
244 Al-Yaʿqūbī’s *Ṭārīkh* and *Kitāb al-Buldān* represent an invaluable source for the chronicles and
historical works, see Duri, pp. 64-7.
245 Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa Maʿādin al-Jawhar* (Les Prairies d’or), ed. and trans. by Barbier
de Meynard and pavet de Courteille. 9 vols (Paris: 1891-77).
3.
247 Ibn Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa Akhbāruhā (The History of the Conquests of Egypt, North
Africa and Spain)*, ed. by Charles C, Torrey (New Haven, 1922).
249 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ṭārīkh Madinat Dimashq: wa Dhirr Faḍlillihā wa Tasmiyat man Ḥallahā min al-Amāthil
aw Ijtāza bi Nawāḥīhā min Wāridihā wa Ahlihā*, ed. by Muḥib al-Dīn ʿUmar Gharāmah al-ʿAmrawī,
Some of these books, which usually contain some geographical and topographical content, were authored in the context of regional studies of Ḥadīth. These were spun around the biographies of muḥaddithūn, ‘Ḥadīth scholars’, who either grew up or lived for a term in cities. These works were largely presented in the form of ṭabaqāt (classes, or generations of Ḥadīth scholars and biographers), while some were written out of a sense of devotion and pride for the city or province.  

This may help us investigate whether, and how, the Ḥadīth scholars who lived in these cities were involved in building their congregational mosques. Such sources could also provide the study with some discussions about the legitimacy of the architectural inventions done to early mosques.

Travellers and pilgrims provide a further seam of written evidence. Many writings were intended to describe and talk about the early mosques because of their sanctity and high status. Whether in his time or in the time of his caliphs, the mosque of the Prophet, for instance, was copiously described in the books of, Maghāzi, Sīrah, Ḥadīth, geography, travel and history. Among other things, these sometimes enable us to observe the architectural evolution of early mosques.

Writings by later historians, geographers and travellers will also be taken into account. This is not only because they are better-documented sources, but also because their writers had the chance to see the remnants of what are now vanished buildings and because they might have taken knowledge from those who had seen the buildings in a better condition.

To recapitulate, Ḥadīth and other early Arabic writings can, if appropriately handled, provide an historically valuable source for the study of

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250 Duri, pp. 71-2.
early Islam. This is not to say that doing so is easy or safe, but the other option – that is of wholesale dismissal – would deprive us of an important and near-unique source for the study of the period. In many cases, it seems more feasible, still, that the positivist question regarding the historical genuineness of Ḥadīth – ‘authentic’ vs. ‘inauthentic’ – be replaced with more historicist approach to the relevant material, with Ḥadīth included. On dealing with the reports à propos the preference of simplicity or elaborateness of early mosques, for instance, the vista should be extended to take into consideration how the memory of predecessors was formulated and disseminated. The way in which their legacy is memorised, and the nature of the later related polemics and debates, could tell us a lot about the social and political trends of the later generations, and their approaches of constructing, organizing and deploying such memory in the different periods.

Also, the source itself, being historical evidence, could provide a reliable medium to conceive how the memory was shaped by the array of changing circumstances. How was it to be approached, selected, emendated, and invented? How could the variations and contradiction in the sources be approached? Should such inquiries be dealt with successfully, they would be of great help for us in dealing with the thorny question of evaluating and sifting Ḥadīth and early Arabic accounts.²⁵¹

Chart 1: Dates of main mosques and sources

The dates given for the sources denote the years of the authors’ deaths.
Chapter 3: The ‘house of the Prophet’ or the ‘mosque of the Prophet’?
Chapter 3: The ‘house of the Prophet’ or the ‘mosque of the Prophet’?

3.1. Introduction

Islamic culture is represented by different types of architecture: religious, domestic, military and funerary. Of all these, the mosque is regarded as the supreme type. It has gained this prestige not only because of its distinctive appearance, but also because of the influence it has had on the architectural features of other religious and domestic buildings in Islam. This is in addition to its superlative spiritual and social influence on the Islamic community as a whole. Thus, the history of the mosque, and its architectural evolution, has been the subject of much research since the study of Islamic art and architecture began more than a century ago. Although the Islamic style of architecture borrowed much from the architectural heritage of newly Islamized territories, the structure built by the Prophet at Madīnah is widely accepted to have had a decisive role in the subsequent shaping of mosque architecture and, in turn, Islamic architecture in its formative years (see 4.1). According to Hillenbrand:

The matter of origins is surprisingly straightforward. Islamic tradition champions the decisive impact of a single building on the evolution of the mosque: the house of the Prophet. Nor is this emphasis misplaced.¹

However, while this hypaethral building has received much scholarly attention – particularly in terms of its significance to mosque architectural evolution, there is disagreement about what function it was mainly set to serve.

¹ For more details, see Hillenbrand, p. 33-9.
3.2. Two main views

Dissent about the original purpose of the Prophet’s building mainly clusters around two opposing views. The first tendency considers the building to have been deliberately designed by the Prophet as a mosque from the first day he migrated to Madīnah. The second argues that it was originally intended to serve as an abode for the Prophet, that it gained a communal character later in his lifetime, and that it was not until the period of the caliphate that this structure assumed the sacred form of a mosque.

The first opinion represents the traditional point of view of Muslim scholars and a growing number of western academics, the second reflects traditional opinion in western scholarship and has only recently come under critical scrutiny. Significantly, the bone of contention is neither the plan nor the constituent parts of the building, but its main function or functions.

The first view held sway until Islamic cultural heritage began to be studied by western scholars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. According to this theory, which is built on primary sources (see chapter 4) no sooner had the Prophet migrated to Madīnah, than he and his Companions began to establish a new Islamized community. In this climate, building of the mosque was inevitable to accommodate rituals as well as other religious and secular affairs (see 4.3).

The second view was first advanced by Caetani whose reading of Arabic traditions led him to argue that this building could not have been a mosque in the time of the Prophet because the activities performed in it

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2 Departing from the demolition of Caetani-Creswell theory, Jeremy Johns suggests that the type or types that became the mosque could have been adopted, and not created, by the Muslim aristocracy after the departure of the Prophet and that the history of the mosque was retrospectively written by the 2nd or the 3rd century traditionists who were inspired by the type of mosques they haunted. See Johns, 'House of the Prophet', pp. 71, 109.
could not have taken place in a sacred edifice. Caetani’s opinion developed into a canon for later relevant research. It was accepted and developed by exponents such as Creswell. Its strong and lasting influence can be realized when even those later scholars who deal with the building as a mosque produce such paradoxical phrases as: ‘the first mosque was the house of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina’, ‘the Prophet’s house in Medina – the primordial mosque of Islam’. More recently, some have even preferred to refer to it as ‘the house-mosque’. This sidesteps the issue. As we shall see, the building, and particularly its courtyard, could not have served the two functions; it was either a mosque or a house.

The thrust of Caetani’s argument is based on: extreme scepticism towards the sources; exclusion of the possibility that anyone could have foreseen the future requirements of a layout before the rituals it would accommodate had taken shape; an assumption that some of the activities that did take place in the building were profane, and thus could not have been performed in a mosque; and an assumption that the system of house building observable in Arabia in his own day had also existed, in the same way, in the early middle ages.

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3.3. On the sources

The same sources upon which Caetani drew to argue the building as a house deal with it as a mosque (see chapter 4). The building is also referred to as a mosque in earliest extant Hadith collections such as the Jāmiʿ of Muʿammar b. Rāshid,9 the Muwaṭṭaʿ of Mālik b. Anas,10 and the Sunan of Saʿīd b. Mašūr.11 It is also called a ‘mosque’ by Ibn Isḥāq.12 There is no need to dilate on how it would have been if these sources lack any genuine core, because then the whole debate would be rootless. Caetani’s reliance on these sources shows that he accepted them as a ground for further discussions. Caetani’s perspective implies that the early Arab historians and Prophet’s biographers, while assuming a history for the first mosque, had retained a number of historical accounts that, from Caetani’s point of view, could reveal that it was a house and not a mosque. A key question is: should this be true, why did they include those ḥadīths which talk about activities that are presumed to have contradicted the sacred character of the mosque? It is difficult to believe that such ḥadīths were passed down, by mistake. If we presume that such a mistake was made by early scholars who were in charge of deliberately inventing an exemplary, and supposedly consistent, history for the first mosque, the notion is yet more implausible. It becomes more dubious still when we know that such early historians and Ḥadīth writers lived in a time when allegedly ‘profane’ activities were no longer taking place at mosques.

A worked example is instructive. According to one tradition, when

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9 As an example, see ḥadīths no. 19801, 19886.
10 As an example, see ḥadīth no. 458, 463, 517.
one of the Prophet’s wives, Umm Salamah, felt uncomfortable about the lack of privacy, she built a mud-brick screen wall in front of her house to obstruct the gaze of others.  

This implies that the sizable court built by the Prophet was not a place for the Prophet’s wives. Rather, it should have been, at least occasionally, frequented by people from the Muslim community. The fact that this hadith serves principally as a vehicle for the Prophet’s condemnation of building may give an inkling that the historical evidence of the existence of the first mosque, found scattered in divergent texts from traditions and early Arabic sources, is difficult to conceive as having been written retrospectively.

3.4. On ‘profane’ behaviours

Among those behaviours considered by Caetani as inappropriate for a mosque, we should differentiate between the acts condemned by the Prophet and those of which he approved. For example, in one hadith the Prophet warns against spitting towards the qiblah. This is included in a group which regulate what may or may not be done in the mosque. Perceptibly, this hadith, and its cluster, is not against the reverence of the mosque of the Prophet in his time. Indeed, they enhance it. More conjecturally, it might have been that the unassuming form of the first mosque, whose floor scarcely differed from any spot in the outside desert, encouraged some of those who frequented it to deem that such activities might be allowed. The first mosque was used to accommodate many of the nomads who had recently embraced Islam and who had been.

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accustomed to life in the desert where such acts were not at all constrained. An important further twist in this discussion is that there is no historical evidence that such unbecoming behaviour was frequent at the mosque. Hence, the fact that such acts were addressed by the Prophet could be attributed not to their frequency but simply to his keenness to put an end to them. In sum, the addressing of inappropriate behaviour is not evidence that it was not a place of prayer, and it is equally hard to believe that they would have been tolerated in a ‘house’, especially if that was of the master.

The other group of acts which were approved by the Prophet, and which are seen as profane by Caetani, likewise provide no evidence that the structure was a house. Rather, they denote the many functions which the mosque was intended to perform. For instance, the tradition about the Prophet receiving gifts and distributing them among the Companions\(^\text{17}\) is not an indication of a secular edifice. The mosque at that time held many functions whose nature can be called ‘secular’ according to non-Muslim lexicons.\(^\text{18}\) One of these functions, for example, was to welcome the delegates of both converts, who came to the Prophet to declare their faith and loyalty, and non-converts who came out of political concern or for theological discussions.\(^\text{19}\)

It is true that some traditions can give one the impression of a headquarters of an army.\(^\text{20}\) In one sense this is right, for being a headquarters was one of the functions of the earliest mosques. Here, we should bear in mind that warfare was of religious as well as military

\(^{17}\) Al-Bukhārī, hadith no. 421. See also Pedersen, ‘Masdjid’, p. 646.


\(^{20}\) Pedersen, ‘Masdjid’, p. 646.
significance. Such activities used to take place side by side with the main function of providing a place for prayers and proselytizing.\textsuperscript{21} This multi-functional nature of the mosque was not denied by early Muslim historians and Hadith compilers. The misunderstanding arises from viewing these activities, when secular functions were combined with devotion, in contrast with later times when mosque functions have undergone a substantial degree of specialization.

Further, many of these activities took place in the rahbah which does not seem, particularly initially, to have been regularly used for prayer. On the authority of ʿĀʾishah, when women who stayed at the mosque to observe the rite of iʿtikāf\textsuperscript{22} underwent menstruation, ‘the Prophet ordered them to be taken out of the mosque and stay at tents in the rahbah of the mosque until they purified [again]’.\textsuperscript{23} We shall see that later in the lifetime of the Prophet the rahbah was used for prayers on a frequent basis as the number of congregation was rapidly increasing. We are told that even with this overflow, the Prophet enlarged the mosque on a number of occasions to accommodate the growing congregation.

3.5. \textbf{Architectural points to consider}

The sizable area of the structure is not comparable to any of the Arab houses of the time,\textsuperscript{24} as described by Caetani. This in itself implies that it was not a private dwelling.\textsuperscript{25} Also, the assumption that it was the Prophet’s house clashes

\textsuperscript{21} See Pedersen, ‘Masjid’, pp. 645-77 (p. 646). On the multiple functions of the mosque in early Islam, see Guillaume, p. 39. See also 6.5.1.

\textsuperscript{22} Iʿtikāf is the ritual of dedicating sometime to staying in the mosque and worship Allah by offering ṣalāt, reciting and studying

\textsuperscript{23} Al-Zarkashi, p. 383.

\textsuperscript{24} On the dimensions of this structure, see chapter 4.

with the reports about the Prophet's simple life and the many hadīths which praise simplicity and lay emphasis on the transitory nature of this life.26

Unlike Caetani's perception of the Prophet's dār, 'house', which usually had one entrance, the Prophet's structure was provided with three gates, most probably to assist the ingress and egress of the big number of attendants.27

The above-mentioned hadīth about the Prophet's wife complaining of lack of privacy suggests that 'the dwellings of the Prophet's wives were opened directly onto the courtyard, which was the public space of the structure'.28 According to Ibn Kathīr, these apartments were low structures with near courts, (masākin kašīrat al-bināʾ karibat al-fināʾ). That is, they were provided with their own courts for the private use of the Prophet's wives.29 This implies another function for the walled court to which the houses were attached. In other words, the large-sized court was not for the Prophet and his wives. Rather, it was for the Prophet and the Muslim community. It is important to note that in such a community this communal part of the building could not have served both functions simultaneously as according to the Qurʾān, the wives of the Prophet enjoyed a high degree of privacy:

O Consorts of the prophet! Ye are not like any of the (other) women: If ye do fear (Allah), be not too complaisant of speech, lest one in whose heart is a disease should be moved with desire: but speak ye a speech (that is) just. And stay quietly in your houses, and make not a dazzling display, like that of the former times of ignorance; and establish regular

26 Hillenbrand, Islamic Architecture, pp. 39, 42. On these hadīths, see 5.8 and 5.10.
28 Ibid.
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prayer [...].

According to Ettinghausen and Grabar: ‘more recent historiography has argued that its [namely the Prophet’s building’s] growth, as told in the hadith, is one of a public space acquiring private functions rather than the other way around.’ Hillenbrand also states:

In other words, the evidence suggests that Muhammad’s ‘house’ was intended from the first to serve as the focal point of the new Islamic community. That definition also includes its role as a mosque. It did not become the first mosque as it were by accident. Consequently the traditional interpretation which emphasises the origin of the mosque in domestic architecture is erroneous. The mosque was custom-built from the very beginning, though it is important to remember that the precise meaning of ‘mosque’ in the 620s is not readily definable today. There is no need to try to discredit these statements, but they fail to invalidate the assertion that the building was primarily intended as the focus of the new community and only secondarily intended as Muhammad’s house. The latter assertion, moreover, coincides with the Islamic tradition itself.

Another point that betrays the weakness of Caetani’s theory is the placement of the apartments of the Prophet’s wives against the exterior of the enclosure wall. For Johns, ‘this is architectural nonsense: the structures surrounding the courtyard should be built against the inside, not the outside, of the enclosure wall’. In fact, the location of these apartments on the outer side of the wall implies that it was a house only fortuitously.

Further, as we shall see (4.5.2), no sooner had the qiblah changed from Bayt al-Maqdis at Jerusalem to the Ka’bah at Mecca, than a new

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30 Qur’an, XXXIII. 32,33.
31 Ettinghausen, Grabar and Jenkins-Madina, p. 5.
34 Hillenbrand, Islamic Architecture, p. 39.
shelter (*zullaḥ*) was added to the southern part of the mosque. The most persuasive explanation for this is the frequent use of the building for worship.\(^{35}\)

There are a number of considerable indications that the mosque, on both institutional and architectural levels, was known in the time of the Prophet.\(^{36}\) The Prophet and his followers are reported to have occasionally performed congregational prayers at the *muṣallā al-‘id*. Some *ḥadīths* in al-Bukhārī state that the Prophet performed some congregational prayers at the open desert *muṣallā* or at Qubā’.\(^{37}\) Some have interpreted this as meaning that the Prophet used usually to perform the congregational prayers at one or other of these places. Yet, were this valid, we would then have to believe that the Prophet and the Muslim congregation had to walk this long distance from his house at Madīnah to Qubā’ or to the desert at least once a week, if not five times every day, and ignore, for no apparent justification, a far nearer and more accessible substitute – the spacious court of the structure built by him and the faithful.

In envisaging how the typical mosque evolved from the Prophet’s structure, commentators such as Creswell and Briggs have noted signs which would imply this building being used for prayer in the time of the Prophet.\(^{38}\) For example, the *zullaḥ*, ‘shelter’ which represented the prototype of the later *bayt al-ṣalāḥ*, ‘prayer hall’ was added to the mosque when the faithful complained of the burning sun heat during prayers, and the *ṣuffah*,

\(^{35}\) Ibid, p. 42.

\(^{36}\) The same opinion is held by Pedersen (‘Masjid’, p. 647) and Ettinghausen, Grabar and Jenkens-Madina (pp. 5-6). In his *The Formation of Islamic Art*, Grabar adds: ‘But recent work based on a small number of poetic fragments has raised doubts about the traditional explanation that the house of the Prophet was transformed into a masjid and, as suggested, that a separate building was in fact built.’ p. 103.

\(^{37}\) A mosque founded by the Prophet while he was approaching Madīnah.

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‘portico’ which was dedicated to the poor saḥābis developed into the later riwāq (see also p. 4). It is apparent that if such developments occurred in the lifetime of the Prophet, it must have been used as a mosque. While Creswell attributed the architectural evolution of mosques to such events, he preferred to call them ‘trivial facts’ (see 6.4). The prerequisite of having the mosques orientated towards the qiblah is not trivial, but emerged from the ḥadīths about the necessity of facing the qiblah during prayer. Similarly, the need for a high place for the Prophet’s muezzin is a result of prophetic command of adhān, ‘call to prayers’. We begin to see that the architectural elements of the mosque would have been prompted by a number of devotional requirements.

3.6. Qur’ān and the ‘mosque of the Prophet’

Many reasons coalesce to necessitate a discussion of the mosque in the Qur’ān. First, the inaccessibility of archaeological evidence makes literary sources, of which Qur’ān is one, our primary (if not the only) way to investigate the topic of this chapter. Second, Qur’ān is regarded as the ‘only fully acceptable source for the period [namely the early years of Islam]’. Finally,

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40 For ḥadīth about adhān, see al-Bukhārī, Book of Adhān, ḥadīths no.603-873. This theory of Creswell has also been contested by Johns: ‘House of the Prophet’, pp. 85-8.
the main ground for those who suspect the existence of a mosque in the time of the Prophet is the Qurʾān’s ‘non-specific’ use of the word ‘masjid’.43

The word ‘masjid’, is used twenty eight times in the Qurʾān to refer to the Masjid al Ḥarām or the sanctuary of Mecca,44 and once to specify the Masjid al-Aqṣā in Jerusalem.45 The same word is used to refer to houses of prayers of older nations.46 Such usage does not necessarily mean that the mosque, as either an institution or a building, was not yet established in the time of the Prophet. Rather, it could imply that the term had been used to refer to any house of worship where God was to be praised.47 This could be attributed to fact that Islam considers itself as the legitimate and last heir of the previous monotheistic religions.48 Indeed, the word ‘masjid’ remained in use to refer to houses of worship of other faiths from the 8th to the 14th century: a period when mosques, as traditionally defined, had appeared as a specific type.49 Further, ‘masjid’ is used in the Qurʾān to refer to every act of worship.50 In the following Meccan passage,51 the word ‘masjid’ could be used in this sense: Say: “My Lord hath commanded justice; and that ye set your whole selves (to Him) at every time and place of prayer (masjid) [...].52

This ‘general’ meaning of ‘masjid’ as an act of worship, which does

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44 Qurʾān II. 144; II. 149, II.150; II. 191; II. 196; II. 217; VIII. 34; IX. 7; IX. 28, XXII.25, XLVIII.25, XLVIII.27. For a detailed discussion on the mosque in the Qurʾān, see Johns, ‘House of the Prophet’, pp. 88-93.
45 Qurʾān XVII.1.
46 Qurʾān XXII. 40. See also, M. Bloom, ‘Mosques’, EQ, III, 427.
48 For more details about Islam’s appreciation to other celestial religions, see 5.10.
49 Johns, ‘House of the Prophet’, p. 89.
50 Qurʾān VII. 29; LXXII. 18.
51 ‘Meccan’ means that it is a part of the revelation which was in the period before the emigration to Madīnah and, in turn, before the mosque of the Prophet was erected.
52 Qurʾān VII. 29.
not collide with its meaning as a mosque, is confirmed by the following verse: 'And [know] that places of worship (masjids) due to God [alone]: hence, do not invoke anyone side by side with God!' 53 Although this verse was revealed in Mecca, it could still refer to the mosque in its technical meaning. The mosque was known to the Muslim community before the Hijrah represented in the Masjid al-Ḥarām of Mecca along with other pre-Hijrah mosques (see below). 54

Caetani and those who had followed him argue that a mosque could not have been formed in the time of the Prophet while many Islamic rituals, particularly ṣalāt, had not yet to develop. However, many passages in the Qur’ān deal with the ṣalāt and underscore its obligatory nature. 55 There are verses that give details about ṣalāt and its form and times. 56 Much detail is applied to the pertinent ritual of wuḍū’, ‘ablution’, an indispensable procedure for a Muslim before performing ṣalāt. 57 The Qur’ān also refers to another requirement for ṣalāt, namely adhān, ‘call to prayer’. 58 It is not surprising, then, that the Prophet and followers of the new religion would make a place for prayers when this became possible: and of course, it was not until the Prophet’s emigration to Madīnah that such a place was secured. 59 According to Pedersen, ‘When in Medina he [namely the Prophet] was able to do as he pleased, it must have been natural for him to create a place where he could be undisturbed with his followers and where they

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53 Qur’ān LXXII. 18.
55 Qur’ān II. 238; XXIII. 9; LXX. 34.
56 Qur’ān IV. 103; II. 43; XXV. 60. Two of the five daily obligatory prayers are mentioned in the Qur’ān. These are Fajr and ‘Ishā’ Qur’ān XXIV. 58.
58 Qur’ān V. 58.
59 Qur’ān II. 125.
could perform the ritual *ṣalāt* together.\(^{60}\)

The *Qurʿān* refers to the event of changing the *qiblah*, towards which Muslims were ordered to be orientated during their prayers:

Thus have We made of you an *Ummat* justly balanced. That ye might be witnesses over the nations, and the Messenger a witness over yourselves; and we appointed the Qibla to which thou wast used, only to test those who followed the Messenger from those who would turn on their heels (from the Faith). Indeed it was (a change) momentous, except to those guided by Allāh. And never would Allāh make your faith of no effect. For Allāh is to all people most surely full of kindness, most Mercifull. We see the turning of thy face (for guidance) to the heavens: now shall we turn thee to a Qibla that shall please thee. Turn then thy face in the direction of the Sacred Mosque: wherever ye are, turn your faces in that direction. The people of the Book know well that that is the truth from their Lord, nor is Allāh unmindful of what they do.\(^{61}\)

Clear references to the role of the Prophet as *imām*, ‘prayer leader’ imply that congregational prayers were familiar in his time.\(^{62}\) According to Ettinghausen and Grabar:

On certain occasions however, such as Fridays at noon, it should take place in the *masajid* Allāh (*Qurʿān* 9:17-18, ‘the mosques of God’), because, from the time of Muḥammad on, a sermon (*khutba*) […] formed an integral part of the ceremony.\(^{63}\)

Mosques are described as: ‘houses [of worship] which God has allowed to be raised so that His name be remembered in them, there [are

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\(^{60}\) Pedersen, ‘Masdjid’, p. 645.

\(^{61}\) *Qurʿān* II. 143-4.


\(^{63}\) Ettinghausen, Grabar and Jenkins-Madina, p. 5. See also M. Bloom, ‘Mosque’, *EQ*, III, 428. Friday sermon is dealt with in verses 9, 11 of the sixty second *sūrah* of the *Qurʿān* which bears the title of al-Jumuʿah, ‘the Friday [sermon]’. 
such as] extol His limitless glory at morn and evening.\textsuperscript{64} The Qurʾān also mentions that mosques served, in addition to \textit{salāt}, functions such as \textit{dhikr}\textsuperscript{65} and \textit{iʿtikāf}\textsuperscript{66} in the time of the Prophet.

The domestic apartments of the Prophet, on the other hand, are dealt with in the Qurʾān as private premises. The verse reads:

O ye who believe! Enter not the Prophet’s houses – until leave is given you [...] but when ye are invited, enter [...]. And when ye ask (his ladies) for anything you want, ask them from before a screen [...].\textsuperscript{67}

It is notable that the verse talks about ‘the houses’, and not ‘the house’, of the Prophet. This arguably applies to the small dwellings attached to the mosque.\textsuperscript{68}

Perhaps the most telling verse is that of masjid al-ḍirār.\textsuperscript{69} Here, there is a clear reference to a mosque built by some hypocrites to be a base for their malevolent plans. They came to the Prophet and asked him to perform prayers at it so that it should be legitimized and blessed. As the Prophet was about to do so, he received a revelation telling him about the reality of this mosque and its refractory founders.

And there are those [namely hypocrites] who put up a mosque by way of mischief and infidelity [...]. Never stand thou forth therein. There is a mosque whose foundation was laid from the first day on piety; it is more worthy of thy standing forth (for prayer) therein. In it are men

\textsuperscript{64} Qurʾān XXIV. 36.
\textsuperscript{65} Dhikr is the mentioning and remembrance of the name and attributes of Allāh in a state of reverence and meditation. The same word is used to refer to the act of studying the religious sciences.
\textsuperscript{66} Qurʾān, etc. Qurʾān II. 114; II. 187.
\textsuperscript{67} Qurʾān XXXIII. 53.
\textsuperscript{68} See also Ettinghausen, Grabar and Jenkins-Madina, p. 5.
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who love to be purified; and Allāh loveth those who make themselves pure.\(^{70}\)

This passage clearly states that there was a mosque frequently attended by the Prophet in his time. It also connotes that other mosques were erected in the time of the Prophet, and that the mosque was a religious and political nucleus of the community.

3.7. **Other mosques in the time of the Prophet**

The reported existence of other mosques in the time of the Prophet – some of them even antecedent his emigration – makes it more plausible that the structure he built served as the central mosque for the Muslim community. On the authority of Anas b. Mālik,\(^{71}\) Muṣʿab b. ῾Umayr,\(^{72}\) the Prophet’s envoy to Madīnah, was praying at the place where the mosque of the Prophet was later built. He was leading a group of Muhājirūn and Anṣār in prayers a year before the Prophet came to Madīnah. Muṣʿab is said to have been the first to conduct, at the Prophet’s command, the Friday prayer in congregation.\(^{73}\) On the authority of Yaḥya,\(^{74}\) when Muṣʿab left Madīnah, the people were led by Asʿad

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\(^{70}\) Qur’an IX. 107-8. This verse is also taken by Fr. Buhl as evidence that a mosque should have been built in the time of the Prophet. Fr. Buhl, ‘Art. al-Madīna’, in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st edn III (1936), p. 90.

\(^{71}\) On him see chapter 5.

\(^{72}\) On Muṣʿab, see Ibn Sa’d, III, 107-13.


\(^{74}\) Yaḥya b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥasanī al-‘Alawī (d. 277/890) was an early *Hadith* narrator. Al-Samhūdī mentioned that he was one of the first to write a history of Madīnah. Although his work did not survive, Yaḥya was amply quoted by later chroniclers of Madīnah. See al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ*, I, 352; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2nd edn (Leiden: Brill, 1968), p. 475, n. 8.
b. Zurārah.⁷⁵ Al-Samhūdī relates that, on the authority of Ibn Abī Shabbah, Jābir said: ‘We have spent two years at Madīnah, before the Prophet’s advent, building mosques and performing [congregational] prayers.’⁷⁶ According to Ibn Hishām, however, the first to have built a mosque was ‘Ammār b. Yāsir.⁷⁷ Abū Bakr is also reported to have adopted a mosque ‘for himself’ at the courtyard of his house at Mecca before the Hijrah.⁷⁸ Al-Balādhurī tells us about another pre-Hijrah mosque where the Prophet led the first congregational Friday. According to him it belonged to Banū Sālim b. ‘Awf.⁷⁹ The Prophet is also said to have built, or according to other traditions founded,⁸⁰ the mosque of Qubā’ while he was approaching Madīnah.⁸¹ Even this one of Qubā’ is said to have been preceded by an older one of Kulthūm b. al-Hadm who is said to have been leading the people of Qubā’ at his mirbad which the Prophet later purchased and enlarged before leaving Qubā’.⁸² Al-Samhūdī explains that the mosque of

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⁷⁵ Al-Marāghī, p. 42. As’ad b. Zurārah (d. nine months after the Hijrah) was the chief of Banū al-Najjār and one of the first Anšār to embrace Islam. See Ibn Sa’d, III, 562-5; Ibn Ḥajar, Al-Isābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah, 9 vols, (repr. Calcutta: [n. pub.], 1853), I, 32-3.

⁷⁶ Al-Samhūdī, Wafā’, I, 250.

⁷⁷ Ibn Hishām, II, 139. The same thing is mentioned by Ibn Rustah: p.195. On ‘Ammār, see Ibn Sa’d, III, 227-45.


⁸⁰ Ibn an-Najjār, p. 112.

⁸¹ Al-Samhūdī, Wafā’, I, 252.

Qubā’ was the first to be built for the Prophet and the whole Muslim community.\(^{83}\)

Such narratives about earlier mosques seem to have confused some medieval historians. Al-Suhaylî (1114 – 1185), for example, in his commentary on the \textit{Sirah} of Ibn Hishām, wondered how the building of the mosque of Madīnah could be attributed to 'Ammār who only participated in it, just as many other Companions. He explained that Ibn Hishām refers here to the mosque of Qubā’.\(^{84}\) According to al-Suhaylî, Ibn Hishām attributed it to 'Ammār because he was the one who suggested building it,\(^{85}\) collecting stones for it and completing its building after the Prophet laid it out.\(^{86}\) It is also of interest that during the time of the Prophet, a number of mosques were attributed to tribes and others were attributed to individuals.\(^{87}\)

To conclude, many factors combine to support the view that the hypaethral structure built by the Prophet was indeed a mosque. Apart from the traditions that so refer to it, the nature of the actions it accommodated and the Quranic use of the word accord with its function as a mosque. There is thus no reason to search for an era to locate the existence of the

\(^{83}\) Al-Samhūdī, \textit{Wafā’}, I, 250.


\(^{85}\) When the Prophet arrived at Qubā’, ‘Ammār said: ‘The Prophet must take a place to shade him when he wakes up, and to pray at.’ Then, he collected stones and built the mosque of Qubā’. Al-Samhūdī, \textit{Wafā’}, I, 250.

\(^{86}\) Al-Suhaylî, II, 339.

\(^{87}\) An example for the former is the mosque of Banū Zurayq (Sa‘īd b. Manṣūr [al-A‘zami’s ed.], \textit{ḥadīth} no. 2956; al-Bukhārī, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 420), and for the latter is the mosque of al-Barā’ b. ‘Āzib which was located at his house (al-Bukhārī, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 425) and that of Ibn ʿAbbās. The Prophet is also reported to have founded a tribal mosque for Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf. See Ibn Sayyid al-Nāṣ, I, 313. According to al-Balādhurī, they built it first and then the Prophet led them in prayers at it. Al-Balādhurī, p. 9.
first congregational mosque in Islam or the emergence of the concept of the mosque.\textsuperscript{88} The assumption that the history we know about the mosque of the Prophet was invented \textit{ex nihilo} is challenged by the fact that the sources did not claim that it was architecturally a grandiose achievement and thus wanted to attribute it to the Prophet. Nor did they state that the first mosque ever was created by the Prophet. As we have just seen, mosques used to be erected before the \textit{Hijra} and the history of the mosque may be traceable to the time of Abraham.

Chapter 4: The mosque of the Prophet in his time – an embodiment of Ḥadīth regarding mosques
Chapter 4: The mosque of the Prophet in his time – an embodiment of Ḥadīth regarding mosques

4.1. Introduction

However simple the first mosque of the Prophet was, most scholars believe that it provided the prototype not only for later mosques but also for all types of Islamic houses of prayers. Nonetheless, this primeval mosque has been mainly studied in a brief way and in an introductory context. There has always been an emphasis on its ephemeral material and simple form. Only few works have tried to indicate the different stages of building the mosque in the time of the Prophet on a chronological basis, and yet fewer amongst these have paid attention to the material, plan and constituents of the mosque in each of these stages.

This might be due to the fact that for many, and particularly for western scholars, this hypaethral building was set originally to serve as the Prophet’s abode and not his mosque. Such slight treatment of the Prophet’s mosque could equally be attributed to the traditional views about its evanescent character. In spite of its acknowledged influence on the

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3 This is the main discussion of the previous chapter.

4 These views were first put forward by Caetani and then adopted and expatiated by Creswell. Caetani, *Annali*, I, 374- 80; Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I. I, 6-16.
architecture of early congregational mosques,\textsuperscript{5} in relation to the genesis of mosque architecture, it is considered by many scholars to be secondary in importance to the mosques built under the Umayyads and the ’Abbāsids.\textsuperscript{6}

It is of interest to note that, unlike what became the traditional concept of the mosque, that of the Prophet was void of any minaret, dome, decorated façade, concave prayer niche, or elevated pulpit. Yet, as we shall see, the mosque of the Prophet was not such a primitive structure when related to its geomorphological and topographical context.

Another, and possibly a more important, reason for the mosque of the Prophet to have been dealt with in a relatively superficial way is that Islamic architecture has been usually studied from a cultural, rather than a religious, perspective. For the present study, a close consideration of the Prophet’s mosque is essential. As already argued, a mosque of the Prophet would, by definition, represent an embodiment of his Ḥadīth about mosques.

Study of the mosque of the Prophet, and attempts to reconstruct it, have been \textit{in toto} based on literary evidence, for the original building was overwritten by many later rebuildings. In addition, the whole area is now occupied by the huge and sacred modern building of the mosque of the Prophet and thus denied to archaeology ‘even were it to be permitted’.\textsuperscript{7}

Study of the Prophet’s mosque is challenged by the nature of the literary sources which include much anecdotal, hagiographic, and sometimes topological, detail.\textsuperscript{8} While, at a stroke, this is a problem for source criticism, the copiousness of the writings by traditionists, historians, geographers, travellers and pilgrims provides scope for cross-checking and incidental

\textsuperscript{5} Rivoira, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{6} As an example, see Briggs, \textit{Muhammadan Architecture}, p. 28.
\textsuperscript{7} See Johns, ‘Archaeology’, p. 433.
\textsuperscript{8} See Ettinghausen, Grabar and Jenkens-Madina, pp. 5-6; Antun, pp. 87-8.
detail which could, if critically dealt with, represent a good source of
information.

The aim in this chapter is to show how the sources could be
approached to produce a more convincing reconstruction of the mosque of
the Prophet. The early phase of the mosque, in particular, has always been
superficially dealt with. Here, we will apply critical treatment to the sources
with the aim of exploring what the mosque looked like in this period.

In fact, some of those who wrote about Madinah and its mosque
seem to have applied an accepted methodology. A good example is al-
Samhūdī (844/1440-911/1506) who was born in Cairo and, later, moved to
Madinah, settled there and wrote his well-known Wafāʾ al-Wafa bi Akhbār
Dār al-Muṣṭafā (Doing Justice with the Chronicles of the Home City of the
Prophet).9 This book is an abridged version of a larger one called Iqtīfāʾ al-
Wafa bi Akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā which was burned as a result of the fire of
886/1481 which destroyed many parts of the mosque of the Prophet.10 Al-
Samhūdī also wrote a yet-more abridged version of his book and called it:
Khulāṣat al-Wafa bi Akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā.11 He was one of the few scholars
who paid attention to the different building phases of the mosque. The
significance of al-Samhūdī’s work is due not only to the fact that he
collected a large number of older writings whose originals did not survive,
but also to the somewhat critical treatment that he applied to them.
According to Lecker, ‘al-Samhūdī is an outstanding scholar; he not only
quotes his predecessors, but often also adds his own illuminating
observations and critical remarks.’12 He gauged what he believed to be the

9 More on al-Samhūdī and his book is discussed in chapter 2. See also See C.E. Bosworth, ‘al-
10 Fikrī, Madkhal, p. 168; Antun, p. 88.
12 Lecker, Muslims, Jews and Pagans, p. xii.
borders of the original building of the Prophet,\(^\text{13}\) and compared the results of his ‘archaeological’ investigations to those of earlier scholars like Ibn Zabālah, Ibn al-Najjār (d. 643/1245), al-Maṭarī (d. 741/1340) and al-Marāghī (d. 816/1413).

It may also add to our optimism that the later designers and builders were reputedly always keen to place any new structure in the same position as its predecessor. This tradition can, according to al-Samhūdī, be traced back to the time of ʻUthmān b. ʻAffān, the first to use stones in building the mosque. On the authority of Khārijah b. Zayd,\(^\text{14}\) the task of positioning the new stone columns, in the time of ʻUthmān in the same place where the old trunks of palm-trees were standing, was assigned to the former’s father Zayd b. Thābit (who had been fostered at the adjacent house of the Prophet and under his custody).\(^\text{15}\)

This could help us determine the positions of the main elements of the Prophet’s building. According to Sauvaget, whenever the mosque was to be renewed or expanded, there was always a desire to retain the old form.\(^\text{16}\)

4.2. Madinah in pre- and early Islamic times

Madinah is located in the eastern part of Hijāz, between central Arabia where building with *labīn*, ‘mud brick or unbaked brick’ is traditional, and the highlands of western Hijāz where the traditional building material is stone. (In case of Madinah, stone was brought from the vast lava-fields outside the town.) This would make it plausible to have had a vernacular building tradition that

\(^\text{13}\) Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā*, II, 689.

\(^\text{14}\) Khārijah (d. 99-100/717-718) was the son of Zayd b. Thābit. He was one of the seven, or ten, chief *faqīhs* of Madinah. See Ibn Sa’d, VII, 158-9; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Ā’yān wa Anbā’ Abnā’ al-Zamān*, ed. by Iḥsān ʻAbbās, 8 vols (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, [1969-94 (?)]), II, 223; Veccia Vaglieri, ‘Ḥafṣa’, p. 65; Welch, pp. 404-5.

\(^\text{15}\) Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā*, II, 505.

employed both mud brick and stone. It is noted that such a way of building is still in practice to the present day.\(^\text{17}\) Arabia in general,\(^\text{18}\) and Madīnah in particular, had many ṣūṭum and fortresses in pre- and early Islam.\(^\text{19}\) These ṣūṭum or atām were usually built near springs and other water resources which were mainly located on the trade roads. Mostly, they were multi-tiered quadrangular structures including open yards (riḥāb), enclosed by walls and had fortified entrances. The ṣūṭum were frequently built with stone blocks, dressed stones and bricks. Their walls were mainly coated with stucco and adorned with various images and inscriptions. Sometimes, these ṣūṭum were populated by tribes and Arab families that were responsible for guarding the caravan roads, in other cases they were used as trade centres, depositories of military provisions and hoards, watchtowers or meeting places.\(^\text{20}\) According to al-Pāshā, there were 198 of these ṣūṭum and fortresses at Madīnah in the time of the Prophet. The ruins of some of them have survived to the present.\(^\text{21}\) The last to be built was an ṣūṭum called Muʿarrad which the Prophet allowed Bānū Sāʿīdah


to complete after he migrated to Madīnah.\(^{22}\) Al-Fayrūzabādī also told us about Uṭūm al-Ḍāḥyān which survived to his time (729-823/1329-1415).\(^{23}\)

4.3. History

Repeated in many collections of Ḥadīth, there is a somewhat long tradition about the story of building the Prophet’s mosque:

Narrated Anas b. Mālik: When the Prophet arrived at Madīnah he alighted at ‘Awālī al-Madīnah amongst a tribe called Banū `Amr b. `Awf. He stayed there for fourteen nights. Then he sent for Banī al-Najjār and they came armed with their swords. As if I am looking [just now] while the Prophet was on his mount with Abū Bakr riding behind him and all Banū al-Najjār around him until he dismounted at the courtyard of Abū Ayyūb’s house. [Formerly], the Prophet loved to pray wherever the time for a prayer was due, even at sheep-folds. Later on, he ordered that a mosque should be built and sent for some people of Banū al-Najjār and said, ‘O Banū al-Najjār, ask me a price of this [walled] piece of land of yours. They replied: ‘No, by Allāh. We do not ask for its price except from Allāh’ [...].\(^{24}\)

After preparing the site,\(^{25}\) the Companions brought stones while reciting some poetic verses. The Prophet loved to partake and kept on saying: ‘There is no goodness except that of the Hereafter! O Allāh! I beg you to forgive the Anṣār, ‘Muslim community of Madīnah’ and the Muhājirūn, ‘Muslim emigrants from Mecca’.[\(^{26}\)] According to Abū Sa`īd al-Khudrī, the Companions were carrying one mud brick at a time while ‘Ammār, one of

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\(^{23}\) *Maghānim*, p. 457.


\(^{26}\) Al-Bukhārī, *ḥadīth* no. 428; Muslim, *ḥadīth* no. 1173; Ibn Hishām, II, 138; al-Suhaylī, II, 337.
the closest comrades to the Prophet, was carrying two. The Prophet saw him and removed the dust that was on ῾Ammār’s body and said: ‘May Allāh be Merciful to ῾Ammār’. The Prophet stayed at the house of Abū Ayyūb, an Anṣārī Companion, until he built his houses and mosque. On the authority of Umm Salamah, one of the Prophet’s wives, when the Prophet was building his mosque at Mirbad al-Tamr, he brought the *labīn*, ‘unbaked brick’, and all that would be needed near to him, and took off his *ridā* ‘the upper part of his clothes’ [as a sign of getting ready for work]. When the first *Muhājirūn* and Anṣār saw that, they likewise took off theirs and began working and saying *rajz*, ‘poem’. Ibn Kathīr added that the Prophet was working with his Companions until his chest was covered in dust.

**4.4. Site**

On the authority of Anas b. Mālik, the land whereon the Prophet ordered his mosque to be built was occupied with *gharqad*, ‘boxthorn’, *khirab*, ‘dilapidated structures’, palm trees, other trees, and pre-Islamic graves. The Prophet ordered the graves to be dug up, the unlevelled land to be levelled and the date-palm trees to be cut down. Formerly used as a drying-floor for dates, this piece of land had been known as Mirbad al-Tamr. It was said to have been owned by two orphans, Sahl and Suhayl, who were from Banū al-Najjār and under the guardianship of a Companion from Anṣār called Muʿādh b. ῾Afrāʾ.

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28 Al-Ṭabarī, II, 296; Ibn Rustah, 64.

29 Ibn Rustah, pp.64-5, Ibn Zabālah, p. 75; al-Diyārbakrī, I, 344.

30 Ibn Kathīr, IV, p. 532.


32 The History of at-Ṭabarī, trans. by M. V. McDonald, annotated by W. Montgomery Watt (New York: State University of New York Press, 1987), VII, 5-6. See also Ibn Hishām, II, 137-8; al-
As already noted (see 4.3), the Prophet said to Banū al-Najjār, while offering a price for their piece of land to build his mosque: ‘O Banī al-Najjār! Ask me a price for ḥāʾitikum ħadāḥā, ‘this walled piece of land of yours’. The word ʾḥāʾitikum’ which the Prophet uses in this ḥadīth means a wall or a walled garden.\textsuperscript{33} Does this mean that the whole area of the mirbad was enclosed by a wall? According to historians, this place had already been partially occupied by the mosque of Asʿad b. Zurārah.\textsuperscript{34} On the authority of al-Nawwār bt. Mālik: ‘the Prophet first prayed at this mosque [namely the mosque of Asʿad for a while], and [later on] he built it, so it became his mosque today.’\textsuperscript{35} Al-Balādhurī explained that the Prophet used to pray at the mosque of Asʿad b. Zurārah, and then he asked Asʿad to sell him the adjacent mirbad, presumably to build a larger mosque for the new bigger Muslim community which had been composed of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār.\textsuperscript{36} We do not have an adequate description of Asʿad’s mosque, but a number of scholars argue that its form and material should not have been much different from those mosques which were built at Madīnah before the Prophet’s arrival (see 3.7). According to Rifʿat and Fikrī,\textsuperscript{37} these were simply open areas demarcated by stones to denote their sanctity. Traditions tell more. According to Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845), it was ‘jidāran mujaddaran’. The word ‘mujaddaran’ is either derived from the verb jadara, meaning ḥawwata, ‘to enclose’, or from the verb ijtadara which means ‘to build’.\textsuperscript{38} Ibn

\textsuperscript{33} Ibn Rajab, III, 206-7.

\textsuperscript{34} The accounts of these historians are mentioned by al-Samhūdi, Wafā’, I, 325-26.

\textsuperscript{35} Al-Samhūdi, Wafā’, I, p. 325.

\textsuperscript{36} Al-Balādhurī, p. 12. See also Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, I, 316.


\textsuperscript{38} Ibn Manẓūr, I, 566.
Sa’d’s use of the word ‘jidāran’ implies that it was a structural wall and not simply a shelter of wood and twigs or even aligned stone pieces as suggested by al-Shihri. Ibn Sa’d added that this mosque, which was orientated towards Bayt al-Maqdis, had no roof and that it was ‘built’ by As’ad to conduct the congregational prayers and the Friday sermons before the Prophet came to Madīnah.

Did the Prophet’s selection of the mirbad to be the site of his mosque imply any preferences? Considering this selection, Johns argued a relation between the mosque and the celebration of the fruit of this land, a convention which he attributes to pre-Islamic religions. To consider this, we need to know what mirbad means. The meanings given by Arabic lexicons include: a pen for livestock, a threshing-floor, and a place where dates are dried by the sun. In fact all these can be pared back to one origin, that is a piece of wood or a rod preventing camels or the like to go outside. The word ‘mirbad’ accordingly, can be defined as an enclosed piece of land; whether this mirbad is a pen, a threshing-floor or a space behind the house is judged by a particularizing genitive, such like mirbad al-tamr, ‘the mirbad of the dates’ or the mirbad al-ghanam, ‘the mirbad of the sheep’. The word ‘mirbad’ is derived from the verb ‘rabad’ which means ‘to confine’. It is a mirbad for camels as they are confined in it as it is a mirbad for dates, as they are kept in it to be dried. Quoting Lane, who cited Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim, Johns says that ‘both mirbad and jarīn are the Ḥijāzī equivalents for the andar of Syria and the baydar of Iraq. The primary meaning of andar, baydar and jarīn is a threshing-floor for wheat and other

40 Ibn Sa’d, I, 205.
42 Ibn Manṣūr, III, 1555-56.
grains.’ Johns, then, comes to the conclusion that there should be a tentative link between the *mirbad* and the threshing-floor. Indeed this link, as explained by Arabic dictionaries, is not for the same use of *mirbad* and *baydar*, for example. It might be ascribed to the form and openness of each. The passage in *Lisān al-῾Arab* in which these terms are mentioned together can be translated as follows:

Abū ʿUbayd said; *mirbad* is also the place of dates, like *jarīn*. [While] *mirbad* and *jarīn* is familiar for the Ḥijāzis, the *andar* is familiar for the Syrians. Al-Jawhari said that: ‘the place where dates are dried is called *mirbad* by the people of Madīnah, and it is the *mistāḥ* and *jarīn* for the people of Najd. The *mirbad* for dates is like the *baydar* for wheat.’

44 The last sentence is of special significance for this discussion; it states that the similarity between *mirbad* and *jarīn* lies in the fact that both are levelled pieces of land used for keeping two different kinds of crops. While the former is for dates, the latter is for wheat. There is nothing in this passage to say that *mirbad* is for wheat. Rather, it says that *mistāḥ*, *andar* and *jarīn* could be used to refer to *mirbad*, or rather a place for drying dates, according to other Arab dialects. Moreover, the *mirbad* of Sahl and Suhayl where the Prophet built his mosque was expressly defined by al-Samhūdī as a place where dates were to be dried.

45 Johns further argues, based on al-Bukhārī and Wensinck, that the Prophet is said to have used to pray in *marābid* before his mosque was built. The word used in al-Bukhārī and other Ḥadīth collections is not *marābid* but *marābiḍ* which means sheep-folds (see 5.6).

Arguably, the site of the *mirbad* was chosen simply because it was a reasonably level piece of land that would need less labour to prepare, especially that it was partially occupied by an already-existing mosque. The

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44 Ibn Manẓūr, p. 1556.
45 Samhūdī, *Wafā*; 1, 324.
same assumption was noted by Johns himself: ‘marābid [plural of mirbad] were particularly well-suited as places of prayer because, they had clean, level floors.’\(^{46}\) Nonetheless, Johns, while advancing a further step in his argument, has forced a relation between mirbad and the high places where threshing-floors are always situated to catch the breeze. More to the point, he advanced with that: ‘high places were often sacred sites in ancient Semitic religion.’\(^{47}\) Yet, the mirbad of Sahl and Suhayl was not a high place as it contained what was called by Ibn Sa’d as ‘māʾ mustanjal’,\(^{48}\) which means the water that exudes from the earth and forms a swamp. This implies that it could not have been a high place.\(^{49}\) It is true that Madīnah is a relatively high place [elevation 608 m (1,995 ft)], but the spot on which the mosque was built was not higher than the vicinity.

### 4.5. Stages of building the mosque

There is historical evidence that the mosque of the Prophet underwent a number of expansions in his lifetime and under his supervision, and that new elements were added to it whenever there was a need to do so. Seemingly conflicting accounts about the mosque’s size, form and material could be reconciled (understood) in this context, as such accounts refer to constructional phases in different periods during the life of the Prophet.

Al-Samhūdī surmised that the dimensions of the mosque changed in the lifetime of the Prophet. In the first stage, he took some of the mirbad.

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\(^{46}\) Johns, ‘House of the Prophet’, p. 82.

\(^{47}\) Ibid.

\(^{48}\) Ibn Sa’d, I, p. 205.

\(^{49}\) I have been kindly told by Dr Andrew Marsham that springs often occur on high places. Examples are Lansdown (above Bath in England) and the wells of Dee (on the top of mountain in the Cairngorms).
The Prophet later took another area to expand it.\textsuperscript{50} Considering the reports about Abū Hurayrah participating in building the mosque, Ibn Rajab and al-Samhūdī argued that this must have been the second building of the mosque because it was late when Abū Hurayrah embraced Islam.\textsuperscript{51}

Based on his reading of earlier sources, al-Samhūdī concluded that the Prophet built his mosque twice. When he first came to Madīnah, he built it on an area of less than 100 ×100 cubits. The second time was when he conquered Khaybar (\textit{wa zāda ‘alayhī mithlahū fil dūr}).\textsuperscript{52} Many scholars regard the narratives which mention different measures and materials of the mosque as divergent. Modern scholars usually adopt the measures mentioned by one account and dismiss the others.\textsuperscript{53} A close look at \textit{Hadīth} and historical accounts may help us place the different phases of the mosque in chronological order.

While the successive modifications and rebuildings in the time of the Prophet would reflect a flexible attitude, for this study it will be particularly useful to determine the final form which the mosque had taken after the expansion of 7/628 (see figures 1-5).

\subsection*{4.5.1. Early stages of building the mosque}

First, the area was prepared; graves were exhumed, ruins were levelled to earth and trees were cut,\textsuperscript{54} ponds of stagnant water were emptied and land

\textsuperscript{50} Al-Samhūdī, \textit{Khulāṣat al-Wafā\textsc{b}i Akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā\textsc{f}}, ed. by M. M al-Jaknī, 2 vols (Medina: Ḥabīb M. Ahmad, 1997), p. 209. On other grounds for such theory about the multiple rebuildings of the mosque in the time of the Prophet, see Ibn Rajab, III, 302-3.

\textsuperscript{51} Al-Samhūdī, \textit{Wafā\textsc{f}}, I, 337-8; Ibn Rajab, III, 307-8.

\textsuperscript{52} Ibn Zabālah, p. 78; Ibn Rustah, p. 64; Ibn al-Najjār, p. 147; al-Marāghī, p. 44; Al-Samhūdī, \textit{Wafā\textsc{f}}, I, 338.

\textsuperscript{53} A good example is Sū’ād Māhir, \textit{Masājid Miṣr wa Awliyā’uha al-Ṣāliḥūn}, 5 vols (Cairo: al-Majlis al-A’lā il Shu’ūn al-Islāmiyyah, 1971), I, 36; see also Creswell, \textit{Early Muslim Architecture}, I. I, 7-8.

\textsuperscript{54} Al-Bukhārī, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 428; Ibn al-Najjār, p. 146.
was made even.\textsuperscript{55} Then, the work began by bringing stones from the adjacent hills of Madīnah and moulding \emph{labin} ‘unbaked brick’ in a place called Baqī’ al-Khabkhabah.\textsuperscript{56} The smaller pre-exiting mosque of As’ad b. Zurārah was seemingly merged in the new mosque. The first mosque of the Prophet was mainly an enclosure open to the sky. The \emph{qiblah} was first set towards Bayt al-Maqdis.\textsuperscript{57}

According to \textit{Hadīth}, the Prophet ordered the cut palm-trees to be arranged in rows at, or towards, the \emph{qiblah} of the mosque. Al-Samhūḍī argued that the trunks of these palm-trees were arranged towards the \emph{qiblah} so that a shelter should rest upon them.\textsuperscript{58} But, if this is right, why did the Companions later ask for the mosque to be roofed? The phrase in the \textit{hadīth} reads: ‘\textit{faṣaffū al-nakhla qiblat al-masjid}’. It could be translated as: ‘they put the [cut] palm-trees in rows “towards” the \emph{qiblah} of the mosque’. If so, this would mean, as suggested by al-Samhūḍī and agreed by almost all modern scholars, that the palm trees were set in rows at the \emph{qiblah} area, namely in the mosque front, so as to support the roof of a simple shelter (see figure 5). Yet, this reading would leave the previous question unanswered unless we assume that the shelter was awkwardly made and insufficient to protect the people from the sun heat, and this is why they, later on, asked the Prophet to roof it (in a better way). Otherwise, it would mean that a greater area of the mosque was later on roofed, as according to many accounts when the Muslims increased in numbers they asked the Prophet to roof the mosque. And so he did.\textsuperscript{59} Nonetheless, according to

\textsuperscript{55} Ibn Sa’d, I, 205; al-Diyārbakrī, I, 343.


\textsuperscript{57} Ibn Sa’d, I, 206; Ibn al-Qayyim, III, 63.

\textsuperscript{58} Al-Samhūḍī, \textit{Wafā́}, I, 327.

\textsuperscript{59} See Ibn Zabālah, p. 77; Ibn al-Najjār, p. 147.
most accounts, the mosque as first built did not have a shelter of any kind.

The same phrase in the above *ḥadīth* could rather be translated: ‘they put the [cut] palm trees ‘as’ the *qiblah* of the mosque.’ This would then mean that they were used to make up what was later known as the *qiblah* wall. It is also noteworthy that being put ‘towards’ the *qiblah* does not conflict with the possibility that these trunks could have formed the *qiblah* wall.

The following phrase of the same *ḥadīth* reads: ‘*wa jaʿ alū iḍadatayhī al-ḥijārah*, ‘they made ‘its’ two *iḍādah* of stone’. According to Ibn Manẓūr, the word, *iḍādah* can mean the side (of a house), or the jamb of a door. ‘*Aḏud al-binā*’ is what is put around a building or anything by which it is tightened and buttressed.60 Accordingly, if the cut palm-trees were forming the piers of a shelter, *iḍadatayhī* could refer to the two side walls whose base were made of stone or the two jambs of its door. While the latter explanation was adopted by scholars such as al-Nawawī,61 the word ‘*iḍadatayhī*’ refers to a ‘singular’ possessive adjective and it is known that the mosque had three doors in the time of the Prophet. Could it be taken to refer to the ‘main’ entrance? Equally, if the palm trunks formed the *qiblah* wall, the word ‘*iḍadatayhī*’ would be taken to represent two buttresses of stone rubble which flanked and strengthened the ‘*qiblah* wall’ which was presumably composed of compact row of palm trunks. If such struts were made of monolithic stones, they should have survived until later times and must have been seen and described by the writers of the Prophet’s biography.

What makes both interpretations equally plausible is that, according to Arabic grammar, the possessive adjective, ‘*its*’ can, here, refer to either

60 Ibn Manẓūr, IV, 2983-4.
the cut palm-trees or the mosque proper. Yet, considering the sense of the Arabic language, the suffix *ḥī* is more likely to refer to the first (main) subject, here the cut-palm trees. According to Ibn al-Najjār, the Prophet commanded: ‘ṣaffū al-nakhala qiblātan lahū, waj’alaū ḍidādatayhī ḥijārah.’

This could be translated, on firmer ground, as ‘arrange the cut palm trees as its qiblah.’ Quṭb al-Dīn (d. 988/1580) says: ‘wa ja’alū sāriyatī al-masjid min al ḥijārah wa banaū bāqihi min al-labīr,’ ‘they made the two pillars of the mosque of stone and they made the rest of it of labīr.’

Al-Marāghī (d. 816/1413) relates, on the authority of Ibn Zabālah, that the mosque at first had no roof, and then the Muslim congregation complained to the Prophet of the hot weather. [When he agreed,] they built its columns with splits of palm trunks. The Prophet built a wall and made the columns, *shiqqan shiqqa*, ‘composed of palm splits’, and made a *raḥbah*, ‘wide yard’ in the middle of his mosque. According to al-Marāghī, it is very likely that this was the first form of the mosque in the time of the Prophet. However, a careful look at the account of Ibn Zabālah, who lived six

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63 Ibn al-Najjār, p. 146

64 The word *qiblah*, here, could also refer to the *qiblah* wall or the *qiblah* area which could have been formed of a roofed area.


66 Al-Marāghī, p. 44

67 Al-Marāghī, p. 44. Ibn al-Najjār mentioned a ḥadīth of the same meaning. Ibn al-Najjār, p. 147.

68 Al-Marāghī, p. 45.
centuries before al-Marāghī and on whose statement the latter built his
collection, implies that this was not a description the first phase of the
mosque. Ibn Zabālah said: ‘[...] and made a raḥbah, ‘wide yard’ in the
middle of his mosque.’

Being ‘in the middle’ would thus mean that it was
flanked, from at least two sides, by ẓullahs, ‘shaded places.’ It is traditionally
known that it was not until AH 2 that the mosque had two ẓullahs, one in
the south and the other in the north, after changing the qiblah.

According to tradition, the [walls of the] mosque of the Prophet
was first built using a technique called al-ṣāmit. It was a labinah, ‘one brick’
above the other. As the Muslims increased in number, the Prophet rebuilt it
using another technique, called al-saʿidah. This made the thickness of the
wall composed of one brick and a half. As the size of the congregation
increased further, they asked the Prophet to enlarge it and he agreed. This
time he built it in a way called (al-dhakar wal unthā), that is making the
thickness of the wall courses of two (pairs of) transverse bricks (see figure
10). They made the base courses (asāsahū) of stone to the height of three
cubits. After this latter expansion, the mosque was a square 100 cubits per
side. Then the weather became exceedingly hot. So, they asked the
Prophet to roof it and the Prophet agreed. The columns, which were made
of palm stems, were stretched across with ʿawārid, ‘beams’ [covered] with
thatches [composed of] khaṣaf, ‘fronds’ and idhkar, ‘an aromatic herb
which grows in the desert of Madīnah’. They lived in it and when it was
raining, they got wet, so they asked the Prophet to treat it with mud, but he

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69 Ibn Zabālah, p.79; See also Ibn al-Najjār, p. 147.
70 Ibn Zabālah, p. 77; Ibn al-Najjār, p. 147; al-Samhūdi, Wafāʾ, I, 335-36; Shams al-Dīn al-
Sakhāwī, Al-Tuhfah al-Latifah fi Tārikh al-Madinah al-Sharīfah, 3 vols (Cairo: Asʿad Țarabzūnī al-
Husaynī, 1979), I, 45; Quṭb al-Dīn, p. 93; al-Diyārbakrī, I, 346.
71 According to Jaʿfar’s account, it was not roofed. Ibn Zabālah, p. 77.
72 Ibn Manẓūr, II, 1175.
73 Ibn Manẓūr, III, 1490-1.
disagreed and said: ‘No, I want it [in the form of] ‘arīsh, ‘shelter or arbour’, as that of Moses.’ The mosque retained this form until the Prophet died. Before it was roofed, the wall of the mosque was as high as an upright [medium-built] man.  

It may well have been that all the above-mentioned stages of building occurred in a relatively short period. Such a statement as: ‘when it became hotter’ and ‘when it rained’ may even imply that these were the first weather extremes to have been experienced after the mosque was built.

According to other accounts, the mosque was first made in the form of ‘arīsh. On the authority of Ibn ‘Ā’idh, the Prophet prayed in the mosque while it was in the form of ‘arīsh for twelve days, and then he built and roofed it. On the authority of Anas b. Mālik, that the mosque, when it was first built by the Prophet, was built of jarīd, ‘stalks of palm-leaves’ and it was not until the year 4/625 that it was built with labin. Al-Samhūdī, however, commented that this is either not authentic or misinterpreted as it collides with what is commonly agreed. According to sound ḥadīths, stone and labin were used in the first building of the mosque.

There were other practical reasons to compel the use of stone for the first building of the mosque. On the authority of Ibn Saʿd, the base

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74 See M. J. Kister, “‘A Booth Like the Booth of Moses...’: A Study of an Early Ḥadīth’, in Bulletin of the Society of Oriental and African Studies, 25 (1962), 150-155. See also Johns, ‘House of the Prophet’, p. 82. According to the narration of Ja’far, the Companions were permitted to cover the roof with mud. Al-Samhūdī, Wafāʾ, I, 335.


76 Al-Samhūdī, Wafāʾ, I, 327. This could designate the mosque of Asʿad where the Prophet was praying for the first days after he came to Madīnah.

77 Ibn Zabālah, p. 79

78 Al-Samhūdī, Wafāʾ, I, 327.
courses were made of stone to the height of three cubits and the rest of the walls were made of *labīn*. This seems logical; the use of stone in the lower part of the wall was indispensible in a site where water was standing. Al-Samhūdī mentioned that the eastern wall of the mosque was made thicker so as to stand firm against floods. This account of al-Samhūdī may be pertinent to the architectural works which were made at the mosque of the Prophet in the time of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Mahdī (158-68/775-85), but in either case this would mean that the area of the mosque was vulnerable to inundation or episodes of ponding in wet weather. The use of stone implies that the Prophet adopted a responsive attitude towards the existing geological and climatic conditions of the mosque site.

Al-Shihrī, one of the few scholars to have paid close attention to the architecture of the mosque over its long history, has observed three stages of construction in this early stage. This would imply a building that was repeatedly modified, strengthened and improved. Al-Shihrī argues that the mosque underwent these three stages during a period of seven months especially because the number of prayers was burgeoning. His hypothesis is seconded by the historical accounts which state that the Prophet stayed in the house of Abū Ayyūb for seven months until his mosque and houses were built. These stages are:

1. In the first stage, the mosque was a rectangle 63 X 54.33 cubits.

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79 Ibn Saʿd, I, 206.
80 Al-Shihrī, *ʿImārat al-Masjid al-Nabawī*, p. 35.
walls whose base courses were built of stone were higher than a *qāmah*,\(^{85}\) ‘the height of an upright man’, or *bastah*,\(^ {86}\) ‘an upright man stretching his arms up’. The mosque area was entirely uncovered. The technique used in building was *al-ṣamītah*. This modest structure seems to have been suitable for the size of congregation in the early months of the first year of Hijrah. Al-Samhūdī mentioned that the number of those who welcomed the Prophet to Madīnah was about 500.\(^ {87}\)

2. In the second stage, the mosque was approximately 70 X 60 cubits.\(^ {88}\) The height of the walls was slightly more than that of an upright man. The whole area of the mosque was still open to the sky and the technique of building used was *al-saʿīdah*.

3. In the third stage, the mosque was a square of side less than 100 cubits.\(^ {89}\) Its roof was made of thatch supported on piers of palm trunks. Later, it was treated with mud. The introduction of a roof, seemingly for the first time, dictated that the wall should have been elevated.\(^ {90}\) According to some narratives, the mosque was 7 cubits high.\(^ {91}\) This time the wall courses were formed of two (pairs of) transverse bricks.\(^ {92}\) This technique, which would have made the walls thicker and more robust, seems to have

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\(^{85}\) Al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ*, I, 335.

\(^{86}\) Ibn al-Najjār, p. 147; Ibn Zabālah; Qutb al-Din, p. 93.

\(^{87}\) Al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ*, I, 255.

\(^{88}\) These dimensions were mentioned by Zayd b. Thābit (d. 45/665) who was a personal scribe of the Prophet. See al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ*, I, 334; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah*, I, 45; al-Marāghi, p. 44. On Zayd, see L. Veccia Vaglieri ‘Ḥafṣa’, in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn, III (1971), p. 65; A. T. Welch, ‘al-Kurʿān’, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 2nd edn, V, 1986, pp.404-5. The above dimensions are close to those mentioned by Ibn al-Najjār (p. 146) according to whom the mosque was a square of side 70 cubits.


\(^{90}\) Ibid, I, 335.

\(^{91}\) Al-Samhūdī, *Khulāṣat*, II, p. 15.

been suitable for supporting the roof. Al-Shihri suggests that this building might have been retained until the qiblah was changed and the mosque area was enlarged in 7/628.

This chronology for the stages of building assumes that in its first two stages, the mosque did not have a roof. Such a theory could only be valid if we accept that the cut palm-trees, referred to by sahih hadiths, were, as already argued, aligned to form the qiblah wall. If not, then palm trees could have been cut and kept aside to be used in the third stage when there was a need to roof the mosque. Nevertheless, the latter assumption seems to conflict with hadith which connotes that the cut palm-trees were promptly arranged as (or towards) the qiblah. The relevant phrase reads: ‘fa saffū al-nakhala qiblat al-masjid. According to Arabic grammar, the preposition ‘fā’ is used to refer to an action that happens quickly after another. The account would then be translated: ‘No sooner had they cut the palm trees than they aligned them.’

We thus posit that the palm trees which were cut in preparation of the site were used in the first two early phases to form the qiblah wall.

4.5.2. The mosque after changing the qiblah

After a period of sixteen or seventeen months of praying at the mosque of the Prophet towards Bayt al-Maqdis, the qiblah was changed to the Ka’bah, the Holy sanctuary in Mecca. This event must have had significant architectural consequences for the mosque (see 5.7.5.1). The ḡullah, ‘shaded place’, which had been made in the northern front of the mosque to protect worshippers from hot weather, was retained to provide a shelter for the ahl al-ṣuffah, ‘the

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94 Ibid.
people of the portico’ (figures 1, 3 and 5).\textsuperscript{96} It may be telling, here, to say that the word ‘ṣuffah’ is derived from the verb ‘ṣaffa’ which means ‘to put in rows’. This could also imply that they were given this name after their shelter which was in the form of a roof supported upon parallel columns.\textsuperscript{97} A new ẓullah, however, was added to the southern part of the mosque where the new qiblah was moved. The area between the two shelters was left open to the sky taking the form of a wide rahbah.\textsuperscript{98}

4.5.3. The expansion of 7 AH

The previous form of the mosque was probably retained until 7/628 after the Prophet returned triumphant from the battle of Khaybar; there was no need to change it before that time, and we have already argued that the mosque was not to be changed unless there was a need to do so. The only account which seems to conflict with this is that which claims that the Prophet built his mosque with mud in 4/625 for the first time.\textsuperscript{99}

According to Ḥadīth, when the mosque no longer gave enough room for the worshippers, the Prophet enlarged it by adding an adjacent piece of land whose price was paid by ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān.\textsuperscript{100}

Scholars at different times have attempted to work out the dimensions of the mosque after this expansion (see figures 1-5).\textsuperscript{101} Drawing mainly on the accounts of al-Samhūdī,\textsuperscript{102} Fikrī, for example, argued that the mosque was enlarged after the conquest of Khaybar from the east by 10

\textsuperscript{96} More on them is in chapter 2.
\textsuperscript{97} Al-Samhūdī, \textit{Wafā’}, II, 453.
\textsuperscript{98} Al-Barzanjī, p. 10; Fikrī, \textit{Madkhal}, p. 171.
\textsuperscript{99} Ibn Zabālah, P. 74; Ibn al-Najjār, p. 152; al-Marāghī, p. 20; al-Ḥarbī, p. 403. Attention to the weakness of this account has already been drawn.
\textsuperscript{100} Al-Tirmidhī, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 2703. See also al-Samhūdī, \textit{Wafā’}, I, 338. This \textit{ḥadīth} is regarded as ḥasan by Ibn Rajab, III, 300-2
\textsuperscript{102} Al-Samhūdī, \textit{Wafā’}, I, 340-59.
cubits or an *istiwānah*, 'the space between two columns', from the east by 20 cubits or two *istiwānas*; and from the north by 40 cubits. According to al-Sakhāwī, the mosque after these works attained 7 cubits in height, equal to 3.5 meters according to Fikrī.

The technique of using two (pairs of) transverse bricks, of different sizes, was seemingly retained. Al-Samhūdī told us that he saw a number of antique bricks of two different sizes taken out from the walls of the Prophet during the restoration works of the Mamlūk sultan Qaytbāy in AH 879. According to him, these might have been some of the mud bricks which were used in the time of the Prophet, as they were fitted in a later wall made wholly of kiln-baked bricks, and they were kept there to invoke benedictions.

No changes were reportedly made at the mosque in the lifetime of the Prophet after these works. Our most authentic source for the description of the final form which the mosque took in the time of the Prophet is a sound ḥadīth narrated by ῾Abd Allāh b. ῾Umar (d. 73/692). The same ḥadīth also describes the forms of the mosque in the time of the Prophet's first successors. On the authority of ῾Abd Allāh, 'in the life-time of the Prophet the mosque was built with *labīn*; its roof was of the leaves of date-palms and its pillars were of palm-trees.'

However simple this form might seem, we shall see below (5.11)

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106 ῾Abd Allāh, a close Companions who narrated a large number of ḥadīths, is said to have been the last Companion to die at Mecca. Veccia Vaglieri, ‘‘Abd Allah b. ῾Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb’, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn, I (1960), pp. 53-4.
that it best fitted the functions of the mosque at that time and the setting in which it was placed.

4.6. Components of the mosque

After the works of 7/628, we are on firmer ground in ascertaining the main components of the mosque and their positions. This is thanks to the many historical accounts that dealt with them for the events they witnessed in the time of the Prophet and afterwards. In addition to the raḥbah, the front ẓullah and the rear suffāh, these components were: the famous istiwānāt, ‘columns’; the pulpit; the miḥrāb (or rather the qiblah sign); and the doors of the mosque.

4.6.1. Istiwānāt

The istiwānāt were some of the piers that supported the roof of the mosque’s front ẓullah in the time of the Prophet (see figure 4). They were given names, traditionally inspired by the events they witnessed in the time of the Prophet. The most famous of them are: istiwānāt al-wufūd,108 ‘the column of delegates’ (also known as istiwānāt al-qilādah), istiwānāt al-tawbah,109 ‘the column of repentance, and istiwānāt ‘Ā’ishah, ‘the column of ‘Ā’ishah’.110 The latter was the one towards which the Prophet is said to have prayed some of slightly more than ten furūd (enjoined prayers) before shifting to the muṣallā. One of the most famous is the istiwānāt muṣalla rasūl Allāh, ‘the column towards which the Prophet used to face during prayers’.111 According to al-Shihrī, its position implies that it was not one of the piers on which the roof rested in the time of the Prophet. This is because the arcade in which it is included and the arcade next to it were made after the first qiblah wall was demolished in the caliphate


110 See Ibn Zabālah, pp. 100-1.

Chapter 4: The mosque of the Prophet in his time – an embodiment of Ḥadīth regarding mosques

of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.\textsuperscript{112} It seems, as Ibn al-Najjār implies, that this ʿistiwānah was later constructed in the same place of the palm stem upon which the Prophet used to lean. ʿIstiwānat al-tahajjud, ʿthe column of the supererogatory late-night prayersʿ was located, according to Ibn al-Najjār, behind the house of Fāṭimah, the Prophet’s daughter, and it contained a ʿmiḥrāb.\textsuperscript{113} According to tradition, the Prophet is also reported to have prayed towards this ʿistiwānah. Although this would suggest that it was included in the mosque in the time of the Prophet, al-Samhūdī argued that it was neither a part of the Prophet’s mosque nor of his house. It might have been set in the place where the Prophet used to pray in Ramadan. According to one tradition, while there were people in the mosque, the Prophet ʿiʿtakafa, ʿremained in one place for prayerʿ in a dome made of fronds and its door was made of mats.\textsuperscript{114}

4.6.2. ʿMiḥrāb

As far as literary investigation can establish, the mosque of the Prophet had no ʿmiḥrāb (concave prayer niche) in his time.\textsuperscript{115} Rather, the ʿmuṣallā of the Prophet was, and is known to us, by a number of other marks, like the ʿminbar and the above mentioned ʿistiwānāt.\textsuperscript{116}

4.6.3. ʿMinbar

In tradition, the first ʿminbar in Islam was adopted by the Prophet himself. According to Ibn al-Najjār, the ʿminbar was made for the Prophet in 8/629 to replace the trunk of a palm-tree upon which he used to lean. It was no more

\textsuperscript{112} Al-Shihri, ʿImārat al-Masjid al-Nabawī, p. 65.
\textsuperscript{113} Ibn al-Najjār, p. 155. It might have been that this ʿmiḥrāb was engraved in the ʿistiwānah when it was included in the mosque after the architectural works of the Caliph al-Walid b. ʿAbd al-Malik in 91/710.
\textsuperscript{114} Al-Samhūdī, ʿWaṭaʿ, II, 452.
\textsuperscript{115} F. Shafiʿi, however, argues that the ʿqiblah direction was marked in the time of the Prophet by means of a simple niche (see 5.7.5.1).
\textsuperscript{116} More on that will be discussed in the next chapter.
than a seat of three steps.\textsuperscript{117} It seems that there was no need for the Prophet to have a \textit{minbar} before the time when the number of the congregation increased, the area of the mosque was enlarged and the Prophet became old and gained weight.\textsuperscript{118} It is telling, here, that according to Ibn Sa’\d’s account when the Prophet was offered a \textit{minbar}, he consulted his Companions before he agreed.\textsuperscript{119} The measurements which are passed down on the authority of Ibn Zabālah, reveal that it was of a small size and that it had a back and two armrests.\textsuperscript{120}

4.6.4. \textbf{Doors}

Before the change in \textit{qiblah} direction, the mosque had three entrances, one in the rear wall and two in the side ones.\textsuperscript{121} These entrances were in the form of simple openings in the wall (\textit{furajūn la aghlāqun ʿalayhā}).\textsuperscript{122} After changing the \textit{qiblah}, the entrance in the southern wall was moved to the northern one which had, by then, become the back wall of the mosque. The other two entrances remained as they were.\textsuperscript{123} According to Ibn Zabālah, the mosque had three entrances; one in the rear wall, and another one called \textit{Bāb al-Raḥmah}, ‘the gate of mercy’ or Bāb ʿĀtikah, and Bāb Āl ῾Uthmān or Bāb Jibrīl, ‘the gate of Gabriel’.\textsuperscript{124} The latter is said to have been the entrance which the Prophet used to enter the mosque.\textsuperscript{125}

\textsuperscript{117} Ibn al-Najjār, pp. 79-80.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibn Sa’d, I, 215.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibn al-Najjār, p. 160; Quṭb al-Dīn, p. 102. More on the \textit{minbar} is in next chapter.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibn al-Najjār, p. 146.
\textsuperscript{122} Ibn al-Maḥījūb, \textit{Qurrat al ʿayn ħi Awṣāf al-Ḥaramayn}, leaf 65 A.
\textsuperscript{123} Al-Maṭārī, P. 31; al-Samhūdī, \textit{Wafā́}, I, 336.
\textsuperscript{124} Ibn al Najjār, p. 146; al-Barzanjī, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibn Rajab, III, 209.
4.6.5. Apartments of the Prophet

After the first phase of the mosque was finished, two apartments for the Prophet’s wives were built outside of the enclosure wall, that is those of ʿĀʾishah and Sawdah bt. Zamʿah.126 Some of these apartments, which later increased to nine,127 were made of labin and had ḥujar of fronds. Others were made of fronds coated with mud (akin to wattle and daub). They had on their doors musūḥ128 of black hair. Some of them were made of rubble (ḥijāratun marḍūmah). Others were made of hair fastened to ’arar, ‘prickly cedar’. The door of the Prophet was to be knocked with fingernails, which means that it had no ring knockers.129 The roof was covered by jarīd, ‘palm stalks and fronds’. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said that he used to enter the houses of the Prophet, in the caliphate of ʿUthmān, when he was a boy and that he could touch the roof with his hand.130 According to Ibn Rustah, the Prophet built ḥijāb, ‘a screen wall’ between these houses and the qiblah. They were set outside the mosque, but their doors opened to the mosque interior.131

To recapitulate, the mosque of the Prophet, especially when conceived in its temporal and geomorphologic context, was not so ‘primitive’ structure as many scholars have depicted.132 It is true, based on the sources, that the Prophet built his mosque in a simple way, but he was keen to build it properly. Whenever there was a need, the mosque was modified,

127 Ibn al-Najjār, p. 152.
128 Musūḥ is the plural of mish which means a rough fabric made of hair. Ibn Manẓūr, VI, 4198.
131 Ibn Rustah, p. 64.
132 Briggs, Muhammadan Architecture, pp. 18-22, 28; Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, I, I, 6-16.
enlarged or rebuilt, and each time a better technique and materials were applied.
Chapter 4: The mosque of the Prophet in his time – an embodiment of Ḥadīth regarding mosques

Years AH

Chart 2: The dates of the architectural works at the mosque of the Prophet and the main sources about them

¹ The dates given for the sources denote the years of the authors’ deaths.
Chapter 5: Specifications of mosque architecture according to Ḥadīth
Chapter 5: Specifications of mosque architecture according to Ḥadīth

5.1. Introduction

Although the exterior of the mosque and its internal arrangement vary from one place to another, it can be argued that the mosque has what can be called universally recognized schema (see pp. 4-5). No matter to which style it belongs, a number of architectural elements give the mosque its unique contour. These are the minaret, the dome, and the decorated facade. It may seem surprising, however, that the mosque of the Prophet and those built in the time of the Rāshidūn caliphs (11-40/632-61) were void of these most characteristic architectural elements of today’s mosques (see 4.1).¹

The persistent questions of when and how these and other elements were added to mosque architecture have been dealt with by a large number of scholars,² and do not form the topic of this chapter.³ Nor will this chapter discuss the paradox of the existence of massive and decorated mosques while that of the Prophet set an example of simplicity and functionality.⁴ Rather, what will be discussed here is whether there is an accredited form of the mosque according to Ḥadīth. If the answer is ‘yes’, there will be ensuing

³ This will be discussed later, since it is important to know whether these elements were formed in a way consistent with Ḥadīth.
⁴ This will be discussed later in this study (see chapter 7).
discussion about what features make up this form and whether the form is compulsory or only recommended. A further important question is what Islam says about the elements which were not adopted by the Prophet in his mosque and were introduced in later times.

Mainly, three types of Hadīth will be considered to deal with this discussion: the form of the mosque of the Prophet in his lifetime, ḥadīths about mosques and their ordinances, and ḥadīths which address other topics but have incidental bearing on the architectural specification of mosques.

As for those elements which were neither included in the first mosque of the Prophet nor referred to by any of his ḥadīths, such as the concave prayer niche and the maqṣūrah, two things will be taken into consideration. The first is the opinions of the Companions and early Muslim faqīhs, as they either lived in the time of the Prophet and saw his mosque, or had knowledge from those who had seen it. Most importantly, they might have established their views regarding mosque architecture according to ḥadīths with which they were acquainted but whose texts have not reached us. The second is the general principles of shari‘ah, ‘Islamic law’. The same sources will be consulted when dealing with elements such as the portico and the minaret which were accredited by the Prophet only in their primitive forms and which were later considerably developed. This is in addition to a number of late medieval books dealing with mosques and their regulations, such as: I‘lām al-Sājid bi Aḥkām al-Masājid (Informing the Worshipper with the Regulations of Mosques) by al-Zarkashi (d. 794/1392), and Tuḥfat al-Rāki‘ wal Sājid bi Aḥkām al-Masājid (The Trophy of the Kneeler and the

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5 On the maqṣūrah, see below.
6 A faqīh is an Islamic scholar of jurisprudence.
Worshipper on the Regulations of Mosques) by al-Jurā’ī (d. 883/1478).  

This discussion requires, at least, a rudimentary understanding of some of the ḥākām of Islamic jurisprudence, as not all of these ḥākām are of the same weight of strictness. Ḥākām, ‘ordinances or regulations’ is the plural of ḥukm which is literally defined as a religious judgement or decision. According to Islamic law, there are five kinds of ḥākām: wājib, ‘compulsory’; mustahab, ‘order without obligation’; muḥarram or ḥarām, ‘forbidden’; makrūh, ‘disliked but not forbidden’ and ḥalāl, ‘legal and allowed’.

It is important to note that different views were, and still are, held by Islamic schools of jurisprudence. These are attributed to many reasons (see 6.3) such as the grade of ḥadīths considered to enact a religious opinion. The mursal, for example, while rejected by many early Ḥadīth scholars such as Sa’id b. al-Musayyab, al-Zuhri and al-Shāfi’ī who regarded it as a kind of da’īf, was taken into account by legalists such as Abū Ḥanīfah, and Ibn Ḥanbal.

Before dealing with each of the mosque’s architectural elements, discussing its ḥukm according to Ḥadīth, a number of basic points must be dealt with: the definition of the mosque, its status in the Muslim community,

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9 These categories of ḥākām appeared with the emergence of the schools of jurisprudence in the second century AH and developed on into the third and fourth centuries.

10 See Bulūgh al-Marām, p. 549.

11 On mursal, see Häkim (Robson transl.), p. 21.

the virtue of building it, and the *aḥkām* of its builders and sites. Then, there will be discussion about what *Hadith* has to say about mosque decoration. This will be followed with how *Hadith* perceives spolia and the practice of converting other faiths’ places of worship into mosques. Next will be an investigation into the attitude of *Hadith* towards visual and plastic arts. A conclusion will discuss whether there is an ‘orthodox’ form of the mosque according to *Hadith* and if so, what were its features.

The chapter thus aims to explore the paradigm of mosque architectural features according to *Hadith*. This is to be used as a benchmark to help figure out how far the early mosques followed the model which had been set out by *Hadith*. This may explain why some aspects of the structure of the present chapter – that is the discussion on each of the mosque architectural features – will recur in the following ones.

### 5.2. What is the mosque?

Discussion about the orthodox form of the mosque invokes the question of what a mosque is. According to Hillenbrand:

> The mosque in its simplest form is a wall correctly orientated towards the *qiblah*, namely the black Stone within the *Ka’bah* in Mecca. No roof, no minimum size, no enclosing walls, no liturgical accessories are required. Indeed, it might very properly be argued that even the single wall is unnecessary.\(^{13}\)

This intrinsic simplicity seems compatible with linguistic and religious definitions. The word ‘mosque’ is the English equivalent for the Arabic *masjid*\(^4\) which designates the place where a worshipper prostrates, ‘*yasdjud*’.\(^{15}\) It is the attitude in which he casts himself down with his limbs,

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\(^{13}\) Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, p. 31.

\(^{14}\) Other archaic pronunciations are *Masjad* and *Masyid*. Al-Jurā’i, p. 47.

\(^{15}\) Ibn Manẓūr, III, 1941. See also al-Zarkashi, pp. 26-8.
knees, nose and forehead resting flat on the ground.\textsuperscript{16} From the religious point of view, the Prophet is reported to have said: ‘the whole land is made a mosque [...]’.\textsuperscript{17} Traditionally, \textit{masjid} is the place or building where five daily prayers are regularly performed. According to some scholars, this last definition excludes the \textit{muṣallā al-ʿīd}, ‘the place where the people pray on feasts’ as well as the \textit{rubuṭ} and \textit{madrasas},\textsuperscript{18} as they were mainly arranged to serve different functions.\textsuperscript{20}

Although it could be argued that the term \textit{masjid} does not necessarily connote a building of any kind,\textsuperscript{21} some of the Mālikīs\textsuperscript{22} stipulated a roofed mosque for the Friday sermon.\textsuperscript{23} Their justification for this \textit{ḥukm} is

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{16} See al-Dārimī, \textit{ḥadīths} no. 1357-8. The Arabic ‘\textit{masjid}’ could have been derived from the Aramaic ‘\textit{msgd}’, which designated a place of worship, stele or a sacred pillar. It is found in Aramaic as early as the Jewish Elephantine Papyri, of the fifth century BC. However, the Syriac form \textit{msgd} and Amharic \textit{masged} are ‘late loans from Arabic’. The form \textit{ms’gd}, ‘oratory or place of prayer’ is also found in Epigraphic South Arabian. Before the Prophet migrated to Madīnah and erected his mosque, the word \textit{masgid} was used to refer to sanctuaries, especially the Meccan Sacred Mosque, \textit{al-Bayt al-Ḥarām}, while the term, \textit{al-Masdgid al-Aqsā}, or ‘the further mosque’ was, and still, used to refer to the Jerusalem sanctuary. See A.F.L. Beeston, M. A. Ghul, W. W. Muller and J. Ryckmans, \textit{Sabaic Dictionary} (Beirut: Louvain, 1982), p. 125; A. Jeffery, \textit{The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur’an} (Paroda, 1938), pp. 263-4; Pedersen, ‘Masджid’, p. 644; Johns, ‘House of the Prophet’, p. 89; M. Bloom, ‘Mosque’, \textit{EQ}, II, 426-7.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Al-Bukhārī, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 438; Muslim, \textit{ḥadīths} no. 1161-7; al-Dārimī, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 1429; Ahmad b. Hanbal, \textit{ḥadīths} no. 11858, 11727. See also al-Nawawī, \textit{Sharḥ Ṣahih Muslim}, V, 2-5.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Al-Jurāʾī, p. 49; al-Zarkashi, p. 386.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Hillenbrand, \textit{Islamic Architecture}, p. 31.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Representing one of the four main orthodox schools of Islamic law, the Mālikīs are the disciples and followers of imam Mālik b. Anas.
\end{itemize}
a verse that reads: ‘in the houses [of worship] which Allāh has allowed to be raised so that His name is remembered in them’. Most expositors agree that what is meant by ‘house’ here is the mosque. The Mālikīs argue that being a house requires that it should have walls and a roof. However, the opinion of the jumhūr who do not make such a stipulation seems more compatible with the above ḥadīth.

### 5.3. Mosque status

The canonical collections preserve numerous ḥadīths emphasizing the high status of mosques in the Muslim community. In such ḥadīths, the Prophet, in order to urge people to attend mosques, designates the great reward that could be gained if one attends them regularly.

Narrated Abū Hurayrah: The Prophet said, ‘The prayer offered in congregation is twenty five times more superior (in reward) to the prayer offered alone in one’s house or in his place of work, because if one performs ablution and does it perfectly, and then proceeds to the mosque with the sole intention of praying, then for each step which he takes towards the mosque, Allāh upgrades him a grade in reward and forgives one sin until he enters the mosque. When he enters the mosque he is considered in prayer as long as he is waiting for prayers and the angels keep on asking for Allāh’s forgiveness for him and they keep on saying: ‘O Allāh! Be Merciful to him, O Allāh! Forgive him’.

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24 Qurʿān, XXIV, 36.
25 Jumhūr is a majority of the scholars in the field of shariʿah and fiqh, ‘Islamic law and jurisprudence’.
26 For example, see Muʿammar (in Muṣannafʿ Abd al-Razzāq), ḥadīths no. 20584-5.
The high reverence that a Muslim should show towards mosques is not confined to attending them. It also includes building and cleaning them. Some hadiths even talk about the merit of living near to them.\(^{28}\) In early Islam, the mosque played vital religious, political and social roles in Muslim communities. The mosque of the Prophet, for example, was the focal point in the Madinah community. It was not only a place for prayers, but also the headquarters and the meeting-place for the Prophet and his disciples.\(^{29}\)

Given their high status, mosques were to be preserved from animals, boys who do not act properly, insane people, fights, loud voices, unsheathed swords, executing penalties and poetry.\(^{30}\) We have already referred (see 3.4) to the fact that there is a long list of restrictions, according to Hadith, on conduct which was freely tolerated elsewhere.

Some have argued that early mosques were not revered places because all of them, the first mosque of the Prophet included, were later pulled down.\(^{31}\) In fact, this was not a sign of humiliation; they were demolished to be rebuilt in a better form, on a grander size and using more durable materials. Rebuilding was in any case mostly unavoidable as the originals (many of which were built of ephemeral materials) were damaged by passage of time (more on that is in 6.4).

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28 Ibn Hanbal, hadiths no. 23180, 23278.


30 Al-Bukhārī, hadith no. 451, 457; al-Tirmidhī, hadith no. 322; Ibn Mājah, hadith no. 748-50; al-Zarkashī, p. 312; Wensinck, p. 154.

31 As an example, see Johns, ‘House of the Prophet’, p. 108
5.4. The virtue of building mosques

Many hadiths state that building, or taking part in building, mosques is a virtuous deed whose thawāb, ‘reward’, is not less than a house in Jannah, ‘paradise’.32

Narrated Anas b. Mālik: The Prophet said: ‘whoever builds a mosque, no matter small or big, asking by that Allāh’s pleasure, Allāh will build him a house in Paradise.’33

The Prophet is reported to have said: ‘Allāh’s most blessed (favoured) places in the regions (al-bilād) are their mosques and his most abhorred are their markets.’34

Such hadiths encouraged believers to build as many mosques as they could, an aspect which itself should have accelerated the evolution of mosque architecture. Mainly considering the hadith’s use of the word ‘build’, al-Shawkānī (1173/1759-1250/1834) argued that the reward mentioned in the hadith above can only be obtained by actually building the mosque, and not by simply dedicating a piece of land as a mosque site. Al-Shawkānī added that it is not even enough just to demarcate it.35

In addition to the many hadiths which urge Muslims to build or participate in building mosques, there is another practical reason that could have helped the number of mosques to multiply. This is the permission, or rather command, of the Prophet for people to build mosques in small communities. It seems that the Prophet wanted to make it easy for all

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33 Al-Tirmidhī, hadiths no. 318-9. See also al-Bukhārī, hadith no. 450; Muslim, hadiths no. 1189-90; al-Dārimī, hadith no. 1432; Ibn Khuza‘aymah, hadiths no. 1291-2; Wensinck, p. 155.
34 See Ibn Khuza‘aymah, hadith no. 1293.
people, no matter where they lived, to attend mosques. According to a number of hadīths, the people were not obliged to attend the mosque of Madīnah every day if this was difficult for them. Instead, they could build their own mosques and perform the five daily prayers at them. On the authority of 'Ā’ishah: ‘the Prophet ordered mosques to be built in dūr, ‘communities of kinships’, and he commanded them to be cleaned and scented.’

'Itbān b. Mālik, an Anṣārī Companion, came to the Prophet [one day] and asked him to come to his house and conduct prayers at it so that he, namely 'Itbān, could take it as a muṣali, ‘place for congregational prayers’. 'Itbān, a man of weak eyesight, asked so because he used to lead his people in prayers and when it rained heavily the water flowed into the valley between him and his people and prevented him from going to their mosque.' Thus, the Prophet came accompanied by Abū Bakr and prayed two rakʿas in congregation at 'Itbān’s house.

With this allowed, it was not preferable to build more than one Friday mosque in one town as to do so would fragment the Muslim community, a tendency which would directly conflict with mosque’s primary role as a meeting-place for Muslim individuals. On the authority of Anas b. Mālik, the Prophet said: ‘a prayer of a man at his house is [counted with] one prayer; his prayer at the tribal mosque is counted with twenty five

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37 Al-Bukhārī, hadīth no. 425.

38 Mālik, Muwatṭa', hadīth no. 572; Muslim, hadīth no. 1496.

39 Al-Zarkashi, pp. 18-20.
prayers; and his prayer at the congregational mosque (اللَّهُ يُعَمَّرُ ﺍِنَّكَ ﻓِيهِ) is counted with five hundred prayers [...].\(^{40}\) The greatest four Sunnī imams\(^{41}\) argued that it is not a religiously acceptable practice to have more than one mosque in a town on the grounds that there was only one Friday mosque in the time of the Prophet\(^{42}\) who commanded: ‘pray [just] as you have seen me praying.’\(^{43}\) It is also reported of Ibn ʿUmar to have said: ‘Friday [prayer] is not to be performed except in the mosque where the imām [usually] prays.’\(^{44}\) On the significance of the masjid al-jāmiʿ, Grabar states: ‘only the latter [namely the Friday mosque] was directly supervised and paid for by the central Muslim authority [...].’\(^{45}\)

Few conditions would permit another ‘Friday mosque’ to be built beside an existing one, for instance when the main mosque no longer gave enough room for worshippers,\(^{46}\) or if the town had expanded to such an extent that it was becoming difficult for some inhabitants to attend it.\(^{47}\) According to some scholars, it was advisable to enlarge the already-existing


\(^{41}\) These are Abū Ḥanīfah, Mālik, al-Shafiʿī and Aḥmad. See al-Sarkhasī, II, 120-3.

\(^{42}\) Al-Sarkhasī, II, 121; al-Khūḍayrī, p. 19; M. al-Jadīd, p. 105.

\(^{43}\) Al-Albānī, Ṣaḥīḥ al-Jāmiʿ, hadīth no. 893.


\(^{45}\) Grabar, Formation, p. 107. See also P. L. Baker, p. 82.

\(^{46}\) This opinion is attributed to Ibn Ḥanbal. See al-Jurāʾī, p. 366; M. ʿAbd al-Sattār ʿUthmān and ʿAwaḍ M. al-Imām, ʿImarat al-Masajid fī Ḍawʿ al-Aḥkām al-Fiqhīyyah: Dirāsah Taṭbīqiyyah Athariyyah, in Sijil Buḥūth Nadwat ʿİmārāt al-Masājid, ed. by M. A. Sāilīḥ and A. al-Qūqānī (Riyadh: Kulliyat al-Imārah wal Takhṣīṣ, 1999), VIII, pp. 133-60 (p. 135).

\(^{47}\) Ibn Qudāmah, III, 212; al-Khūḍayrī, pp. 18-20.
mosque instead of building a new one.\footnote{48} In fact this opinion is supported by a hadith according to which the Prophet passed by a group of Anṣār while they were building a mosque. So, he said to them: ‘make it large [so that] you should have it full [with worshippers].’\footnote{49}

According to Anas b. Malik, the people of Banū Salimah, who lived in the outskirts of Madīnah, wanted to leave their houses and move to a place near to the Prophet (and his mosque), but he disliked the idea of leaving their houses uninhabited.\footnote{50}

Narrated Anas: The Prophet said: ‘O Banū Salimah! Do not you calculate [consider] your footprints (or traces)?’ [This means: ‘Do not you think that for every step that you take towards the mosque there is a reward?]. Regarding the verse: ‘We record that which they have sent before [them], and their traces’, \footnote{51} Mujāhid said: ‘their traces’ means their steps.\footnote{52}

Narrated Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh: Our houses were far from the mosque, therefore we wanted to buy houses near the mosque, but the Prophet forbade us from so doing and said: ‘You are rewarded a [higher] grade (darajah) for each of your steps [to the mosque].’\footnote{53}

Narrated Abū Mūsā: the Prophet said: ‘The people who get tremendous reward from prayers are the farthest [from the mosque], and then


\footnote{49} Al-Bayhaqī, Ḥadīthās no. 4305-6; Ibn Khuzaymah, Ḥadīth no. 1320.

\footnote{50} Al-Bukhārī, Ḥadīth no. 656; Muslim, Ḥadīth no. 1518-20; Ibn Hajar, Fath, II, 280; al-ʾAynī, ʿUmdat al-Qārī: Sharḥ ʿṢaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, ed. by ʿAbd Allāh Mahmūd ʿUmar, 25 vols (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 2001), VI, 252.

\footnote{51} Qurʾān, XXXVI, 12.

\footnote{52} Al-Bukhārī, Ḥadīth no. 655; Khan’s transl.

\footnote{53} Muslim, Ḥadīth no. 1518. See also Ibn Hajar, Fath, II, 280.
Chapter 5: Specifications of mosque architecture according to Ḥadīth

those who are next farthest and so on [...].

We shall see in what follows how such a status of mosques and the virtue of building them influenced their architectural evolution. They encouraged both polity and subjects to build, or take part in building, as many mosques as they could (see 7.5).

5.5. **Craftsmen and workers**

There are reports that the Prophet was keen to entrust the work at his mosque to those who had adequate experience. Under the heading of ‘being helped by carpenters and craftsmen in making the minbar and (building) the mosque’, al-Bukhārī narrates the Ḥadīth about making the minbar of the Prophet (see 5.7.7 and 6.4). Ibn Ḥajar commented that the help of carpenters could be sought to make the pulpit and that masons could be hired to build the mosque. Ibn Ḥajar believed that al-Bukhārī, having chosen such rubric for the Ḥadīth about the minbar maker, might have hinted at the Ḥadīth of Ṭalq b. ‘Ali who narrated:

I built the mosque with the Prophet, and he was saying: ‘Let the Yamāmī, ‘an epithet of Ṭalq, the narrator’ be close to the clay; he is the best amongst you at handling and moulding it (aḥsanukum lahū massan wa ashaddukum lahū sabkan).’ The same Ḥadīth is reported by Ibn Ḥanbal but in other words: Narrated Ṭalq: I took the shovel and mixed the mud in a way that satisfied the Prophet, so he said: ‘leave the mud to the Ḥanafī, ‘another surname of the narrator’; he is the most skilful of you in dealing with it’.

On the authority of al-Samḥūdī, a man from Ḫaḍramawt came

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54 Al-Bukhārī, Ḥadīth no. 651; Muslim, Ḥadīth no. 1513,
55 Ibn Ḥajar, Fath, II, 89.
56 Āḥmad b. Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aṭrāf Musnad al-Imām Āḥmad b. Ḥanbal al Musamma Iṭrāf al-Musnid al-M’taПодробное чтение документа и его перевод на естественный текст не представлены на изображении. Представленный текст содержит информацию о том, как статус мечетей и их строительство накладывали на архитектуру определенные особенности. Также, упоминается, что пророк был готов доверить строительство мечетей тем, кто имел достаточный опыт. Среди джамий, где пророк строил мечети, было указано, что некоторым можно было доверить устройство пьедестала (minbar), а мосту - мечети строить можно было, привлекая мастеров. Ibn Ḥajar заметил, что пророк мог намекнуть на то, что хадис о мастерстве в создании минара указывает на хадис о том, что мечеть строил Ṭalq b. ‘Ali.

Докладчик также упомянул, что пророк сказал: “Пусть архитекторы, которые зовутся Yamāmī, будут ближе к глине; они лучшие из вас в обращении с глиной”. Такой же хадис приводит Ibn Ḥanbal, но в другом виде: Ṭalq: Я взял лопату и перемешал глину таким образом, чтобы ей было приятно работать, и пророк сказал: “оставьте глину архитектору Хануфий, он самый опытный в работе с глиной”. На авторском пожелании Аḥmad al-Samḥūdī, человека из Ḫaḍramawt, приводится, что:

Мы увидим в дальнейшем, как такой статус мечетей и их значение для строительства влияли на архитектуру. Они стимулировали как политет, так и подданных строить, или участвовать в строительстве, как можно больше мечетей (см. 7.5).

5.5. **Кузнецы и плотники**

Существуют отчеты о том, что Пророк был готов поручить работу на его мечети тем, кто имел достаточный опыт. Под рубрикой “быть помогаемым кузнецами и плотниками в изготовлении трибуны и (строительстве) мечети”, аль-Бухари рассказывает хадис о том, как Пророк изготовил трибуну (см. 5.7.7 и 6.4). Ибн Хаjar заметил, что помощь плотников можно было бы искать для изготовления трибуны, а мосту - мечети строить можно было, привлекая мастеров. Ибн Хаjar полагал, что аль-Бухари, выбрав такой рубрик для хадиса о трибуне, может было намекнуть на хадис о том, что мечеть строил Ṭalq b. ‘Али.

Я построил мечеть с Пророком, и он говорил: “Пусть мосту, который зовутся Yamāmī, он лучший из вас в обращении с глиной (аḥsanukum lahū massan wa ashaddukum lahū sabkan).” Аким же был передан, что Ṭalq: Я взял лопату и перемешал глину таким образом, чтобы она была на удовлетворение Пророка, и он сказал: “оставьте глину архитектору Хануфий, он самый опытный из вас в работе с глиной”. На авторском пожелании Аḥmad al-Samḥūdī, человека из Ḫaḍramawt, приводится, что:
[While the mosque was being built], and he was skilled in dealing with mud. The Prophet was content with him and said: ‘May Allāh be merciful to whomsoever does his work in a proper way.’ Then, the Prophet said to him: ‘Keep on doing this work as I see you do it well.’

As we shall see in the following two chapters, this prophetic attitude legitimized the hiring of practised masons and craftsmen and validated the wish for building mosques in good forms.

5.6. Site

We have noted that the whole land could be regarded as a mosque. But what does that mean? And could such a concept have influenced the architectural evolution of the mosque?

According to Islamic law, prayers are allowed to be conducted on any given spot of land after ensuring that it is free from impurity. According to a number of Muslim legalists, this tolerance in choosing a mosque location is because land is originally clean by the act of the natural cleansers: the sun, the air and the rains. As a corollary, unless a place is known for sure to be impure, it should be apposite for prayers to be conducted upon it. According to one hadith, one of the five privileges which had not been endowed to any prophet before Prophet Muḥammad is that land has been made a mosque for him and his nation, and that sand has been made a pure material to do tayammum. Therefore, a Muslim can pray whenever the time of prayer is due. This principle is believed to have

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58 Al-Samhūdī, Wafāʾ, I, 333-34; al-Diyarbakir, I, 344.
60 Ibn Ḥajar, Fath, II, 79.
61 It is the rite of using clean sand, only in case of water unavailability, to do ablution before prayers.
given builders of mosques a large degree of freedom to choose whatever the site they deemed convenient in accordance with other temporal and spatial conditions. It could have been for the sake of this freedom that the Prophet allowed prayers to be conducted at sheepfolds.⁶² He himself is reported to have prayed at sheepfolds,⁶³ but Abū al-Tayyāḥ (d. 128/647 or 130/648), on whose authority the above ḥadīth is reported, states that this was only applied before the Prophet built his mosque.⁶⁴ Anas, who also reported the ḥadīth above, relates: ‘He [namely, the Prophet] loved to pray whenever a prayer is due, and he would pray at sheepfolds.’⁶⁵ Ibn Ḥajar⁶⁶ commented that this was a temporary measure, and that the Prophet was not reported to have prayed at sheepfolds after the mosque was built.⁶⁷ Thus, the main implication of this ḥadīth is that a prayer should be performed once it is due. This assumption seems to be supported by the wording of another ḥadīth in which the Prophet says: ‘If you do not find [a place to pray] except sheepfolds (marābid al-ghanam) and kneeling places of camels (aʿṭān al-ibil), then pray at sheepfolds and do not pray at kneeling places of camels.’⁶⁸ Some scholars restrict this permission to old sheepfolds which should have been dried and purified.⁶⁹ According to a number of early

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⁶２ Ibn Mājah, ḥadīths no. 769-70.
⁶³ Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth no. 429; al-Ṭabarī, II, 397.
⁶⁴ Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth no. 429; al-ʿAynī, IV, 265-6.
⁶⁶ Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth no. 428.
⁶⁷ Shihāb al-Dīn Ṭhammad b. Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī was born at Fusṭāṭ in 773/1372. His father was a well-off Palestinian scholar. He travelled in search of knowledge to a number of Islamic learning centres such as: Mecca (AH 785), Syria, Hijāz, Yemen, and Palestine. He became a well-reputed Shāfī legalist and ḥadīth scholar. He died in 852/1448.
⁶⁸ Ibn Ḥajar, Fath, II, 72-3.
⁷⁰ On these views, see Ibn Ḥajar, Fath, II, 72-3.
legalists, the reason of this differentiation was that the latter are usually contaminated due to the camels’ behaviour. According to others, there is no difference between both animals. It is true that the Prophet is also reported to have taken his camel as a *sūrah* while praying, but a number of early legalists argued that this does not apply to places where a group of camels usually kneel as they habitually scuffle and this would distract the person at prayer. According to traditions, the site where the Prophet’s mosque and houses were built was chosen by letting his she-camel kneel freely. Yet, there is nothing in tradition to imply that it was its usual kneeling place. While the above discussion has dealt with the places where prayers are permitted to be performed, the only type of place where the Prophet is reported to have preferred to pray at is *ḥīṭān*, ‘orchards’. Yet, he is not reported to have advised that mosques should be built in them.

We next deal with places where prayers were, and still are, not allowed to be performed. *Ḥadīth* puts restrictions on certain places. Narrated Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī, the Prophet said: ‘the whole land is a mosque except the tomb and the bathroom (*al-ḥammām*), in a narration, the lavatory (*al-
Other places which Ḥadīth specifies as not permitted for mosques to be built on include the kneeling places of camels, and the places that witnessed Allāh’s punishment to unbelievers. In addition to these, the Prophet is also reported to have banned the performance of prayers on graves (or rather cemeteries), slaughter-houses (abattoirs), rubbish dumps, roads, and the roof of the Ka’bah. According to Ibn Qudāmah and others, the rationale behind this listing (with the exception of the last), is avoidance of prayers on unclean spots and to avoid the emulation of non-Muslims who prayed at the tombs of their dead.

Briefly, there is nothing in Ḥadīth to say that mosques must or should be built on certain places, but there are places where prayers are not to be performed. Some places are mainly judged by the opinion of the Companions or early scholars. For instance, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal discouraged building a mosque on a qanṭarah, (bridge) on the grounds that Ibn Mas’ūd.

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76 Al-Dārimī, ḥadīth no. 1430; al-Tirmidhī, ḥadīth no. 317; Abū Dāwūd, ḥadīth no 492; Ibn Mājah, ḥadīth no. 745; Ibn Ḥanbal, ḥadīth no. 11858; Ibn Khuzaymah, ḥadīth no. 791; al-Baghawī, II, 409.
77 Abū Dāwūd, ḥadīth no. 490. According to al-Albānī, this ḥadīth is da’īf.
78 According to al-Baghawī, it is allowed if a mosque was built on the street in a place that does not harm the people. Al-Baghawī, II, 412.
79 Al-Tirmidhī, ḥadīths no. 346, 347; Ibn Mājah, ḥadīths no. 746,7; al-Baghawī, II, 410; Ibn Mufliḥ, II, 107; ’Alā’ al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mirdāwī, Al-Inṣāf Fī Ma’rifat al-Rājiḥ min al-Khilāf ’alā Madhhab al-Imām al-Mubajjal Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ed. by M. Ḥāmid al-Faqī, 12 vols ([n.p.]: King Su’ūd, 1956), I, 489-91; Wensinck, p. 191. This ḥadīth was regarded by al-Tirmidhī himself as da’īf. For a discussion on the places where ṣalāt is not allowed to be performed, see also Ibn Mufliḥ, II, 105-13.
80 Ibn Qudāmah, II, 470-5; Ibn Taymiyyah, Fatāwa, XXII, 99. See also Ibn Mufliḥ, II, 106.
81 Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (780-855) was one of the prominent early legalists and Ḥadīth scholars. He was the founder of the Ḥanbali School of jurisprudence and the collector of the Musnad.
82 ’Abd Allah b. Mas’ūd b. Ghāfil (d.ca. 652) was one of the earliest to embrace Islam and one of the most knowledgeable Companions who also narrated a large number of ḥadīths. On him, see Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, IV, 129-30.
did not like doing so.\textsuperscript{83}

### 5.6.1. Building mosques on or at tombs

Islamic teaching embodies a clearly deprecatory attitude towards funerary architecture, enhanced by a large number of \textit{hadiths} which state that a grave must not be treated in a way that would confer any significance upon it. Practices such as \textit{tajṣīṣ}, ‘treating the tomb with lime mortar’, \textit{tatyīn}, ‘covering the tomb with clay’ and \textit{kitābah}, ‘inscribing tombs’ are all prohibited according to \textit{Hadith}.\textsuperscript{84} First and foremost, mosques must not be built on a tomb or at a gravesite.\textsuperscript{85}

Islam’s disapproval of building structures, especially religious ones, over tombs is traditionally understood to reflect a resistance to idolatry which originally evolved from eulogizing the graves of departed ancestors, particularly the pious amongst them.\textsuperscript{86} Al-Qurṭubī (d. 672/1274) relates, on the authority of Muhammad b. Ka’b (d. 108/726),\textsuperscript{87} that the people of previous nations made images for the pious departed and put them near their graves in the belief that such images would be an instrument of remembrance and an incentive for religious zeal. These people were succeeded by later generations who forgot the original wisdom behind these images; it was believed that the Satan whispered to them that their

\textsuperscript{83} Al-Jurāʾī, P. 366.

\textsuperscript{84} Al-Tirmidhī, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 1052. See also Abū Ya’lā, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 1020; al-Khaṭṭābī, I, 319. Such \textit{ḥadīths} are always found included in Bāb al-Janāʾiz, ‘chapter of obsequies’, in \textit{Hadith} collections. See also Ibn al-Qayyim, I, 542. However, al-Tirmidhī reported that some early scholars like al-Hasan al-Baṣrī (21/642-110/728) said that it is \textit{jāʾ iz} to treat the graves with mud. Al-Tirmidhī, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 1052.


\textsuperscript{86} See Ibn Qudāmah, \textit{Mughnī}, II, 474.

\textsuperscript{87} Muḥammad b. Ka’b al-Quraṣḥī was born in 40/660. His father was a captive from Banū Qurayṣah. He was a renowned scholar in \textit{Hadith} and Qur’ān exegesis. See al-Dhahābī, \textit{Siyar}, p. 3647.
predecessors had worshipped such images, and so they in turn did so. It seems that the Islamic conception of this sequence represented a real threat and challenge for early Muslim religious authorities who were afraid that the same would happen to followers of the new religion. Leisten assumes that the abundance of disapproving religious texts (including Ḥadīth), commentaries and pious tracts, was in reaction to an already existing and widely practised cult of the dead in Arabia before Islam. Indeed, most of the Arab idolaters before Islam worshipped and offered sacrifices to idols without knowing the stories of these idols or the people whom they represented. According to the Qur‘ān, they were seen as a means to get nearer to Allāh. The Prophet was thus keen from the outset to abolish this infidel practice and warned against it even during the last moments of his life. According to Pedersen, this opposition is clearly mirrored in many Ḥadīths which were ‘certainly in the spirit of the Prophet’. Later, when the Companions absorbed the Prophet’s grave into the mosque in order to enlarge it, they surrounded it with high walls so that the people should not reach it. On the authority of Jurayj, the Companions were uncertain where to inter the corpse of Prophet, until Abū Bakr said: ‘I heard the Prophet saying: “A prophet is to be buried nowhere other than where he dies.”

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90 Qur‘ān, XXXIX, 3.

91 On such Ḥadīths, see Mālik, Muwaṭṭa, Ḥadīth no. 571; al-Dārimī, Ḥadīth no. 1443; Ibn Ḥajar, Fath, II, P.78; Ibn Taymiyyah, Iqtiḍāʾ, I, 298-303.


93 Al-Nawawī, Sharh Sahih Muslim, V, 13-4; al-ʿAynī, IV, 257; Ibn Taymiyyah, Iqtiḍāʾ, II, 677. For more information about this incident, see chapter 7.
Then, they took his firāsh, ‘bed’ out and dug [a grave] under it”. 94

### 5.6.1.1. The meaning and ḥukm of ‘taking graves as mosques’

According to scholars of Islamic shari‘ah, there are three ways of taking graves as mosques: praying and prostrating on them, prostrating and supplicating towards them, and building mosques over them. Al-Albānī argues that the prohibition of each of the three cases is enhanced by Hadīth and the opinions of early legalists. 95 Nonetheless, according to Hadīth it is allowed to exhume the graves of unbelievers to build mosques in their place (see 4.4). Ibn Ḥajar explains that it is jā‘iz, ‘allowed’ to do so with the graves of the pagans because they were not revered and it was thus unlikely that this would lead to any cult. On the other hand, it was not allowed to do likewise with the graves of the Prophets or their followers as it would be insulting to disinter their graves. 96 Al-‘Aynī assumes that it is not only the graves of the prophets and their followers which were not allowed to be unearthed; but also the graves of Muslim individuals. 97

The following ḥadīths mainly represent the vehicle for a majority of Muslim authorities, both in the past and the present, to say that a mosque must not be built on a tomb or a grave: 98

Narrated ‘Ā’ishah: Umm Ḥabībah and Umm Salamah [two of the Prophet’s wives] mentioned a church they had seen in Abyssinia, in which there were pictures. They told the Prophet about it and he said: ‘If any pious man dies amongst those people they would build a place of worship at his grave and make such pictures in it. Those will be the

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94 Al-Albānī, p. Taḥdīr, 7. See also al-Hindi, Kanz, ḥadīths no. 32235-8.
95 Al-Albānī, Taḥdīr, pp. 10-14.
97 Al-‘Aynī, IV, 253-4. According to al-Albānī, this ḥukm applies to building a mosque on a grave and including the latter in a mosque: Taḥdīr, p. 12.
98 According to Ibn Taymiyyah, all imams agreed that a mosque must not be built on a tomb or a grave. Ibn Taymiyyah, Fatāwā, XXII, p. 119.
worst creatures in the sight of Allāh on the Day of Judgment.\textsuperscript{99}

\’Ā’ishah commented that this was the only reason why the grave of the Prophet had not been made visible for the mobs; the Companions had feared it would have been taken as a mosque.\textsuperscript{100} According to Ibn Baṭṭāl (d. 449/1957), this \textit{ḥadīth} proscribes two acts: building mosques at tombs and making, or having, images of animals and people, especially pious people.\textsuperscript{101}

According to Ibn Ḥajar, such \textit{ḥadīth} is a testimony that building mosques on the graves of the pious dead and making anthropomorphic images for them are both proscribed transgressions. According to him, the act of making images of the departed prophets and the pious dead to incur blessings or in search of intercession is \textit{ḥarām}, since it represents an aspect of paganism. It is, equally, \textit{ḥarām} to make these images to remind later generations of their devout ancestors and their good deeds. It is also \textit{ḥarām} to make such images for entertainment. In all of these cases, the craftsmen are to suffer the direst woe on the Day of Judgment because they have compared themselves to the Creator.\textsuperscript{102} There are a number of \textit{ḥadīths} which reflect the Prophet’s keenness to preclude such practice:

Narraed Ibn `Abbās: the Prophet cursed those females who visit the graves and those [both males and females] who adopt (namely build) mosques and (put) \textit{suruj}, ‘oil lamps or lanterns’, on them.\textsuperscript{103}

Narraed Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī: the Prophet said: ‘Do not sit on the

\textsuperscript{99} Al-Bukhārī, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 427; Muslim, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 1183-4; Ibn Abī Shaybah, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 7629; al-Hindi, \textit{Kanz}, \textit{ḥadīths} no. 19186-197. See also Muslim, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 1188; Wensinck, p. 154. Ibn Ḥajar argued that the images, mentioned by Umm Salamah and Umm Ḥabībah, were only mural drawings and not a relief, (\textit{lam yakun lahā zill}, literally means ‘had no shadow’).

\textsuperscript{100} Al-Albānī, \textit{Tahdhīr}, p. 7.

\textsuperscript{101} Al-ʾAynī, IV, 257.

\textsuperscript{102} Al-Albānī, p. 8. See also Ibn Taymiyyah, \textit{Iqtīdāʾ}, II, 659-740.

\textsuperscript{103} Al-Tirmidhī, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 320; al-Baghawi, II, 417.
graves and do not pray while facing them.”

Narrated ‘Atā’ b. Yāsir: the Prophet said: ‘O Allāh! Do not let my grave be worshipped as an idol. Allāh is very angry with those who took the graves of their prophets as mosques.’ [In another narration: ‘as idols’].

On the authority of Ibn ‘Umar, the Prophet said: ‘Perform some of your prayers at your homes and do not take them [namely your homes] as graves.

On the authority of Jābir, it was disapproved [namely by the Prophet] that a grave be coated with lime-mortar (taqṣīṣ or tajṣīṣ), inscribed, topped by a structure or trodden.

Narrated ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd: the Prophet said: ‘Among the evil people are those who would be alive when the Day of Judgment comes and those who take the graves as mosques.’

According to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, prayers must not be conducted at graves whether they are exhumed, covered by something to avoid impurity, included in a cemetery or standing alone. This opinion of Ibn Ḥanbal was

104 This ḥadīth is reported by all the compilers of Sahīḥs except al-Bukhārī and Ibn Mājah. See, for example, Muslim, ḥadīths no. 2250-1; al-Tirmidhī, ḥadīth no. 1050.
106 Al-Albānī, Tahdhir, p. 9.
107 Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth no. 432. On this ḥadīth and the different opinions of early scholars of Islamic jurisprudence regarding performing prayers on or at mosques, see Ibn Rajab, III, 193-204, 232-4.
108 Al-Tirmidhī, ḥadīth no. 1052; Abū Dāwūd, ḥadīth no. 3225; Ibn Mājah, ḥadīth no. 1562-5.
109 Al-Albānī, Tahdhir, p. 9.
agreed by the Ţāhirīs.\textsuperscript{111} Al-Rāfiʿī, for example, believed that the wisdom behind forbidding the conduct of prayers on a tomb was to avoid the impurity beneath it, and this impurity cannot be avoided simply by putting a mat or something similar on a tomb. According to him, prayers would be acceptable, but it is still \textit{makrūh} as the thing for which it is banned, namely impurity, is still there.\textsuperscript{112}

On the other hand, there are a number of \textit{ḥadīths} which state that the Prophet and some of his Companions prayed on a grave. According to one of these \textit{ḥadīths}, the Prophet prayed on the grave when he missed a funeral of a Muslim female. Likewise, when 'Umar saw Anas praying on a grave he said (presumably shouted): '[beware of] the grave! The grave!', but he did not ask him to repeat his \textit{ṣalāt} (which means that it was right). Such \textit{ḥadīths} come under the heading of \textit{bāb ma jā a fi al-ṣalāt 'lā al-qabr, 'the chapter about what has been narrated regarding praying on the grave'.}\textsuperscript{113}

The Shāfiʿīs, accordingly, argued that if someone finds a clean place on a grave, he would be allowed to pray on it.\textsuperscript{114} A much more permissive opinion was adopted by Mālik who argued that prayers are generally

\textsuperscript{112} Al-ʿAynī, IV, 256.
\textsuperscript{113} See al-Tirmidhi, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 1037; Abū Dāwūd, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 3203; Ibn Mājah, \textit{ḥadīths} no. 1527-33; al-Mirdāwī, II, 531.
\textsuperscript{114} Al-Nawawī, \textit{Majmūʿ}, III, 164-5; al-Khaṭṭābī, I, 147; al-ʿAynī, IV, 255; al-Shawkānī, III, 499.
allowed to be conducted on a tomb or at cemeteries. In this, Mālik was followed by some of the Mālikīs such as Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (368-463/979-1071) and Ibn Qudāmah (541-620/1147-1223). However, some of the exponents of Mālik said that, later on, he reconsidered this opinion; Abū Muṣʿab reported that Mālik believed that it is makrūh to offer prayers on a tomb. In all cases, Mālik’s lenient attitude was resisted by notable scholars like al-Rāfiʿī, al-Thawrī, al-Awzāʾī and Abū Ḥanīfah. According to them it is makrūh to conduct prayers on or at tombs, regardless of conditions.

According to Ibn Taymiyyah, a corpse must not be buried in a mosque, and if a corpse was found buried beneath a mosque, some procedures ought to be taken: if the mosque precedes the grave, the latter must be destroyed and levelled or exhumed if it was new, whereas if it was the grave which precedes the mosque then either the mosque or the grave structure (ṣūrat al-qabr) is to be removed.

Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) reported that five of the prominent Companions are said to have forbidden praying on a tomb (these are ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Abū Hurayrah, Anas b. Mālik and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās). Ibn Ḥazm added that he knew none of the Companions that held a divergent opinion. Al-ʿAynī disagreed with this generalization of Ibn


\[116\] Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, V, 220, 234; Ibn Qudāmah, Mughni, II, 468.

\[117\] Al-ʿAynī, IV, 255.

\[118\] Al-Shawkānī, III, 500.

\[119\] Ibn Taymiyyah, Fatāwa, XXII, 119.

\[120\] Al-ʿAynī, IV, 255. See Ibn Ḥazm, Muḥalla, IV, 30-1.
Hāzm. He relates, on the authority of al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 388/998),\textsuperscript{121} that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar allowed praying at tombs, and that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was also reported to have prayed at them.\textsuperscript{122} Nonetheless, the generalization seems to persist to the present. Al-Albānī, for example, has argued that all schools of Islamic law agree that it is ḥarām to build mosques over tombs.\textsuperscript{123}

To finish, the above discussion on the attitude of Ḥadīth and the resultant opinions of early faqīhs regarding praying, and building mosques, on tombs suggests that it was interdiction – and not allowance – which was meant. This is not only because it has been affirmed by the large number of early as well as modern legalists but also because it is more attuned with ḥadīths – whether relevant ones or those which generally convey the principles of Islamic law. As far as literature can tell, prayers on tombs could be valid only if there was no other option.

5.7. Components of the mosque

Before the general influence of Ḥadīth on mosque architecture is discussed, we will examine how it influenced the main components that make up the architectural form of a typical congregational mosque in the Umayyad period (40/661-132/750).

5.7.1. qiblah wall

Although there is no predetermined outer shape of the mosque, according to a number of ḥadīths it is a prerequisite for worshippers to be orientated towards the qiblah and to be arranged in straight lines (see 6.5.4). This would entail the correct layout of qiblah wall to keep the rows of the worshippers evenly

\textsuperscript{121} Al-Khaṭṭābī, I, 147-8. See also pp. 141, 315.
\textsuperscript{122} Al-῾Aynī, IV, 255. It was reported of the Prophet to have prayed on the grave on some occasions. See al-Tirmidhī, ḥadīths no. 1037-8.
\textsuperscript{123} Al-Albānī, Taḥdīr, p. 15.
aligned, and this dictated that the quadrangular plan best fitted the mosque. Others, such as the circular and the triangular, were not preferred (see figure 9). Some even said that it is *makrūh* to build or perform prayers at such mosques for their outlines would negatively affect the straightness of the worshippers’ lines. According to *Ḥadīth*, it could safely be argued that having the *qiblah* wall correctly orientated towards the *Ka’bah* is the most decisive, if not the only, requirement for mosque structural design. The *qiblah* wall was the first part to be laid out by the Prophet when he built his mosque. It is, *par excellence*, the ruling element of mosque architecture, by which its usually-quadrangular schema is governed. This may explain why it was always the Prophet, and later on his *ṣaḥābīs*, who were in charge of laying out the *qiblah* wall of the mosques which were built in their times. This may also well explain why the reconstruction of plan put forward by Pauty for the mosque of the Prophet (figure 1a) cannot be accepted.

5.7.2. **Enclosure wall**

After marking out the *qiblah*, the Prophet ordered a wall to be built, presumably to demarcate the mosque area and keep it clean and protected from profane actions. It has already been noted that according to some, particularly a group of the Mālikīs, the sense of ‘mosque’ involves a building which, in turn,

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126 Whether the palm trees were arranged in rows at the *qiblah* or they were used to make it up, the Prophet was reportedly keen to make the *qiblah* wall evenly straight and correctly aligned.

127 On laying out the *qiblah* at Madīnah and Qubā’, see Ibn Sa’d, I, 210; al-Suhaylī, II, 332, 336; al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’*, I, 332.
necessitates a wall.\textsuperscript{128} However, this does not seem to have applied to the first mosque of Kūfah which was reportedly only delimited by means of a ditch.\textsuperscript{129} This, should it be true, would imply that the builders of the mosque who were amongst the Prophet’s close Companions understood that it is not necessary for the mosque to have a wall. The influence of the liturgical needs of the mosque on its structural requirements has been best explained by Hillenbrand who argues that:

The fact of the matter is that the Muslim liturgy does not demand any man-made structure for its celebration. [...]. The various prescribed movements of prayer, involving as they did outstretched arms. Kneeling and prostration meant that each worshipper ideally required a minimum space of 1 X 2 meters. Moreover, prayer was communal. It was thus clearly desirable that its constituent movements should be synchronized. The alternative would be visually chaotic and might even suggest spiritual discord. The functions of the imam included the leading of communal prayer, and to this end it was important that he should be as widely visible as could be. Thus there developed the custom of disposing the worshippers in long lines parallel to the qiblah. In this way it was possible for hundreds, not scores, of people to follow the movements of the imam. By contrast, the disposition of worshippers within most Christian churches in lines perpendicular to the altar. [...] These remarks are not intended to suggest that the imam was visible in a large mosque to a congregation of, say, several thousands. But the grouping of worshippers in comparatively few long and well-spaced lines, rather than in many short lines close together, did ensure the easy intervisibilty of worshippers and thus facilitated precise timing in the movements prescribed for prayers. [...] This lateral grouping of worshippers, which might fairly be termed a liturgical convenience, but was in no sense a doctrinal imperative, proved to be the single vital factor in the layout of future mosques.\textsuperscript{130}

\textsuperscript{128} Al-Khuḍayrī, p. 18.
\textsuperscript{129} Al-Balādhūrī, p. 348.
\textsuperscript{130} Hillenbrand, \textit{Islamic Architecture}, pp. 36-8.
This argument of Hillenbrand properly explains why the quadrangular layout with – or even without – a simple enclosure and a porticoed open space was adopted as fitting by early mosque builders.

### 5.7.3. Ẓullah

According to tradition, the mosque of the Prophet did not have a ẓullah, ‘shaded place’ when it was first built, but when the Companions complained of the sun heat, the Prophet ordered it to be added. It was simply supported on palm trunks, and the roof covering was made of dried tree branches, rushes and fronds.\(^{131}\) This simple arbour is generally believed to develop in later times into riwāqs and liwāns.\(^{132}\)

### 5.7.4. Raḥbah

The word raḥbah in Arabic designates the yard of the mosque, or rather any ‘wide’ area attached to it. It is derived from the verb ‘raḥuba‘ which means ‘to widen’.\(^{133}\) Many definitions are put forward for the word ‘raḥbah’, for which a ḥukm will be issued accordingly. Ibn Ḥajar argued that it is a structure attached to the mosque, particularly in front of its entrance,\(^{134}\) while according to al-Zarkashī it refers to whatever built next to the mosque.\(^{135}\) Some scholars say that it is the ṣahn, ‘court’ of a congregational mosque.\(^{136}\) Having applied a more general perspective, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥakam and Abū Ya‘lā argued that it is any area attached to the mosque.\(^{137}\)

Apparently, there was no restriction on the adoption of the raḥbah,

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\(^{131}\) Ibn Zabālah, p. 77; al-Samhūdī, *Warā‘*; I, 335-36.

\(^{132}\) See Briggs, *Muhammadan Architecture*, (p. 21) as an example.

\(^{133}\) Al-Azhari, V, 18; Ibn Manẓūr, III, 1606.

\(^{134}\) Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath*, XIII, 155.

\(^{135}\) Al-Zarkashī, p. 346.

\(^{136}\) Al-Khudayrī, p. 51.

in its general meaning; as we have seen the major area of the mosque of the Prophet himself was reported to have been an open space. What scholars have disputed is whether it should be legally treated as a part of the mosque.\(^{138}\) The significance of such discussions is to specify the nature of the acts which a ṭahrāḥ would accommodate.

5.7.5. The miḥrāb, 'concave prayer niche'

5.7.5.1. Definition and Origin

In Arabic, the word miḥrāb means the front part of a house and the most respected place in it.\(^{139}\) It was used in early Arabic poetry to refer to the building of a king or a prince.\(^{140}\) In pre-Islamic times, the Arabs used the word 'miḥrāb' to refer to palaces. It was also used to designate the lion’s lair,\(^{141}\) and the communal meeting-place. The maḥārīb of Banū Isrā’īl were their places of worship where they used to gather (yajlisūn fīhā).\(^{142}\) According to al-Azhari (282-370/895-980), they were the places where they prayed.\(^{143}\) According to al-Zajjāj (241-311/923), miḥrāb is the most important place in the mosque for it represents the mark of the qiblah.\(^{144}\) However, al-Azhari tells us that what is traditionally meant by miḥrāb in Islam is the place where the imām stands to lead the congregation in prayers.\(^{145}\) Miḥrābs are usually set in the mosque front


\(^{139}\) Al-Azhari, V, 17; Ibn Manzūr, II, 817.

\(^{140}\) Theodor Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, (Strasbourg: Neudr. d. Ausg, 1904-10), p. 52, n. 3.

\(^{141}\) Al-Azhari, V, 17; Ibn Manzūr, II, 818.

\(^{142}\) Ibn Manzūr, II, 817.

\(^{143}\) Al-Azhari, V, 17.

\(^{144}\) Al-Azhari, V, 17; Ibn Manzūr, II, 817.

to indicate the qiblah, towards which a worshipper must be orientated whilst offering his ṣalāt.  

Although there are many references to miḥrāb in the Qurʾān, Ḥadīth and early accounts, there are good reasons to think that the word was originally used to refer to something other than the concave prayer niche, which is rather referred to in early sources as ‘ṭāq’. In a Ḥadīth, the Prophet sent 'Urawah b. Masʿūd to his kin in Yemen. So, he went to them and entered his miḥrāb. At dawn, he got out of it (ashraf ʿalayhim) and called for Fajr prayer. Al-Zajjāj commented that this implies that a miḥrāb is an elevated chamber (ghurfah). Al-Azharī states, on the authority of Ibn al-Anbārī, that a miḥrāb was given this name because it designates the place where the imām stands isolated – that is distinguished – from other people. This last explanation seems to relate to most of the above definitions of miḥrāb.

Having discussed the derivation and early use of the word miḥrāb from the Qurʾān, early sources and poems, Serjeant came to this conclusion: 'I prefer to regard all meanings here as secondary to the basic sense of miḥrāb as a row of columns with their intervening spaces. From this basic sense one might render miḥrāb as 'niche', but more likely as the side of the monk’s cell, or the side of the chancel, i.e. a wall linking columns [...].'

Scholars of Semitic languages such as Littman, Theodor

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147 It is the Dawn prayer.
149 Ibid; al-Zarkashi, p. 364.
Nöeldeke,\(^\text{151}\) and Jackob Horowitz\(^\text{152}\) see that the word ‘\textit{miḥrāb}’ is Himyarite. It was introduced along with Christianity from Abyssinia to Yemen in the form of ‘\textit{mikrab}’. Its Abyssinian form was ‘\textit{mekurab}’ and it meant a church, temple or the apse where the statue of a saint was placed.\(^\text{153}\) The word was used by the Christians of Najrān to particularly refer to the apse (\textit{ḥanyah}) in the wall of the church. There is also evidence that the use of \textit{miḥrāb} was common in the churches of Egypt.

Many are accordingly inclined to connect the \textit{miḥrāb} at mosque to the apse at church.\(^\text{154}\) Others, such as Creswell, went so far as to specify that it was derived from the \textit{haykal} of Coptic churches.\(^\text{155}\) Nonetheless, some scholars have contested such views on the grounds that they do not pay adequate attention to the etymological origin of the term ‘\textit{miḥrāb}’.\(^\text{156}\) Sauvaget, for example, states: ‘the mihrab cannot have been a simple, literal copy of the niche used in Coptic liturgy.’\(^\text{157}\) Briggs went further to consider the early Muslims’ keenness to resist emulation as the grounds to contest the theory about the foreign origin of the \textit{miḥrāb} in Islam. Briggs says:

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(...) as the niche is a very elementary feature in architectural development, and as the early Muslims were careful not to imitate
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\(^{152}\) \textit{Islam}, VL, 1937.

\(^{153}\) This idea was adopted and even expatiated by Lammens in his \textit{Ziyād ibn Abīh}.

\(^{154}\) See, for example, G. Fehervári, ‘\textit{Miḥrāb}’, in \textit{The Encyclopaedia of Islam}, 2nd edn, VII (1993), pp. 7-15 (p. 9).


Christian or other infidel ritual for their worship, it seems more likely that they adopted the niche-form for its simplicity rather than because it was an established characteristic of a Christian church or of a Buddhist temple.158

Unlike the altar, the apse is not a main component of church architecture as many churches are lacking it. The main difference between the miḥrāb and the altar or the apse lies in the function of each of them.159

Is there any possibility that the miḥrāb was inspired from any of the Prophet’s acts or sayings? For what reason was it introduced? Was this reason compliant with Hadith? Talking about the mosque of the Prophet, al-ʿUmarī (ca. 740/1340) related: ‘[...] and its qiblah was made of labin. Some say: “from stones built on accretion (ḥijārah manḍūdah baʿḍuḥā ʿalā baʿd) [...]”160 Also, speaking of the mosque of Qubā’, al-ʿUmarī reported, on the authority of Abū Khaythamah: ‘when the Prophet laid its foundations (assasahū), he was the first to put a stone in its qiblah. Then, Abū Bakr brought a stone and put it [...]’.161 Shāfiʿī commented that there is a possibility that the word qiblah, here, is used to refer to the miḥrāb and not only the qiblah wall.162 Al-Samhūdī also said: ‘They put the palm trunks in

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159 See Muʿnis, p. 68.


162 Shāfiʿī, Ḥimārah ʿArabiyyah, p. 598.
rows at the qiblah and made its two sides of stone, (faṣṣaffū al-nakhla qiblatanlahūwa jaʿalaūʿidādatayhilimnḥijārah)."  

Shāfiʿī commented that as ‘idādat means a side of a niche-shaped [architectural element]," a mīḥrāb mujawwaf might have been employed. Shāfiʿī continued to argue that the alcove of such early mīḥrābs (which were built in the time of the Prophet) was made from the difference between the thicknesses of two labin walls, one protruding and the other receding. He argued that these primitive mīḥrābs could have taken the same form of that of the mosque at Qaṣr al-Ukhayḍar (figure 42).  

Shāfiʿī, subsequently, assumes that mīḥrābs were known as early as the second year AH at the mosque of the Prophet at Madīnah and that of Qubā’. According to him, the mīḥrābs in early mosques might have taken the form of a simple sign in the qiblah wall, and that they were developed in Iraq, Syria, Egypt and North Africa to suit the relatively advanced arrangement of the mosques in these places.

Whether the mīḥrāb, as known in later times, was derived from any of the Prophet’s acts and sayings or not, his keenness to lay out the qiblah wall for the mosques he attended should have inspired his Companions and the later generations with the inevitability of marking the qiblah out. In fact, all accounts and hadiths which talk about the Prophet marking out the qiblah give an impression that the term ‘qiblah’, designates the front wall of the mosques. This seems understandable, as this wall, or rather the straight line it represents, is the direction to which worshippers must be orientated. Even in later times, the mīḥrāb was not significant for itself; prayers are not requested to face the central point of the mīḥrāb but the straight line on which it is located. This might explain why the Prophet, and later on the

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163 See also al-Bukhārī, hadith no. 428; Abū Dāwūd, hadith no. 453.  
164 For a detailed discussion on how this statement could be interpreted, see chapter 4.  
166 Shāfiʿī, Imārah ‘Arabiyyah, p. 611.
Companions, was ardent to lay out the *qiblah* wall properly. In this sense, the *mihrāb* seems a superfluous element. However, the interest of defining the central point in the *qiblah* wall (or rather line), and which could have led to the adoption of the traditional *mihrāb*, might also have been inspired by some of the Prophet’s acts. Many *ḥadīths* in al-Bukhārī and other compilations state that the Prophet used to plant a spear (ʾ*anazah* or ḥ*ārbah*) in front of him when he went out to the *muṣalla* al-ʿid. According to Ḥadīth commentators, the function of this ʿ*anazah* was to mark the *qiblah* and to serve as a *sutrah* for the Prophet and the congregation. In another *ḥadīth*, the Prophet treated this central point of the *qiblah* wall with some measure of interest. On the authority of Jābir b. Usāmah al-Jahmī, the Prophet marked a mosque out for a group of Companions and pierced a piece of wood in the *qiblah*, [and] he put it upright.

The importance of having a sign indicating the *qiblah* direction can be realized by knowing the importance of being orientated towards it. According to one *ḥadīth*, the act of facing the *qiblah*, during prayers, is calculated as one of three actions by which a man could be defined as a Muslim. 

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167 Al-Bukhārī, Ḥadīths no. 494-5, 489-500; al-Dārimī, Ḥadīths no.1449-50; Ibn Khuzaymah, Ḥadīths no. 798-9; Ibn Sa’d, III, 216-7; Wensinck, p. 223. Muṣalā is a given spot in the desert, usually unenclosed, where prayers of annual feasts or those offered to invite rains were frequently performed.

168 It is a mark that defines the front limit of the spot of land on which a prayer performs *ṣalāt*. On *sutrah*, see also chapter 7.


170 Al-Bukhārī, Ḥadīths no. 391-3; Ibn Ḥajar, Fath, II, p.42; Ibn Rajab, III, 51-8. See also Ibn Khuzaymah, Ḥadīth no. 454.
According to both Qur‘ān and Ḥadīth, it was not until the second year AH that the qiblah of Muslim people was diverted from Bayt al-Maqdis at Jerusalem to the Ka‘bah at Mecca. The event of change of the qiblah is of a special importance for this discussion about the influence of Ḥadīth on mosque architecture. When the qiblah was first set towards Bayt al-Maqdis, an arbour was set at the front of the Prophet’s mosque, which had been located in the north. After changing the qiblah direction to Mecca, another arbour was added at the southern part of the mosque. It is believed by some that these two arbours represented the embryo of the later ṛiwāq, while the remaining open area they flanked, namely the ṛahbah, served as the origin of the later saḥn.

5.7.5.2. The Ḥukm of its adoption

Two divergent views about the Ḥukm of adopting miḥrābs at mosques developed for as early as the time of the saḥābīs and early tābi‘īs. A group of them argued that the adoption of miḥrābs is makrūh, ‘detested but not prohibited’. The other group believed that it is religiously-accepted.

The former opinion is said to have been adopted by Companions like 'Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd, Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. The latter, for instance, is reported to have disliked praying in the ṭāq ‘an early

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172 The Prophet is said to have prayed facing Bayt al-Maqdis for sixteen or seventeen months.

173 Al-Barzanjī, p. 10; Fikrī, Madkhal, p. 171.

174 Al-Pāshā, Mawsū‘at, I, 49.

175 For more details, see Ibn Ḥazm, Muhallā, IV, 239-40.

176 Abū Dharr (d. 31/652) was one of the closet Companions to the Prophet.

177 Ibn Abī Shaybah, ḥadīths no. 4727-38. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (23 before Hijrah/599-40/661) was the cousin of the Prophet, the first boy to embrace Islam and the fourth caliph in Islamic history. For 7er and 12er Shī‘īs, ‘Alī is the first imām.
term of concave prayer niche’. Likewise, Anas b. Mālik is said to have disliked the adoption of *maḥārīb* (plural of *miḥrāb*). However, early lexicographers, such as al-Azhari and Ibn Manẓūr, having interpreted the term ‘*miḥrāb*’ as the front of a gathering place, attributed the attitude of Anas to his unwillingness to draw attention to himself with a special place amongst other people. Some of the *ṣaḥābīs* and *tābiʿīs* in this group disliked the adoption of the *miḥrāb* at mosques on the grounds that it is an emulation of a practice which belonged to the followers of other faiths.

In fact, most of the prohibiting *ḥadīths*, which are mainly attributed to *ṣaḥābīs* and not to the Prophet, can be found in a treatise of al-Sūyūṭī called ‘*Iʿlām al-ʾArīb bi Ἠὗḏūṭ Bīdʿat al-Mahārīb*. They are also included in *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī Shaybah, and *Sunan* of al-Bayhaqī. The authenticity of many of these *ḥadīths* has also been advocated by some modern *Ḥadīth* scholars such as al-Albānī. Apart from the reported reproachful attitude of some *ṣaḥābīs* and *tābiʿīs* to praying in the *miḥrāb*, there is only one *ḥadīth* (of the Prophet) to say that it is not accepted to adopt it in mosques. This *ḥadīth* is reported by al-Bayhaqī who deemed it as ḥasan.

According to Ibn Kathīr, the *salaf*, ‘the ancients’, denounced the adoption of *miḥrābs* on the grounds that they were invented after the departure of the Prophet. Another reason behind the resentment of early

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179 Al-Azhari, V, 17; Ibn Manẓūr, II, 817.
181 ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *ḥadīths* no. 3899-3903.
183 Al-Bayhaqī, *ḥadīth* no. 4304.
185 Al-Bayhaqī, *ḥadīth* no. 4304.
186 Ibn Kathīr, XII, 565-6.
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scholars might have been the fact that in most cases miḥrābs were lavishly decorated. Al-Albānī, having contested the only ḥadīth relating a miḥrāb to the Prophet, believes that the adoption of miḥrābs is religiously rootless. He argues that the adoption of miḥrābs cannot be regarded as one of the maṣāliḥ mursalahl as its function can be achieved by other orthodox substitutes. According to him, the direction of the qiblah can either be indicated by the minbar or a small miḥrāb set in the qiblah wall. Al-Albānī added that should it be true that the adoption of miḥrābs is a Christian practice, then it should be replaced by another device such as a column set where the imām usually stands.

Many of the early scholars, however, refer to miḥrābs as an accepted sign for the qiblah, an indispensable feature at any mosque. Some of them even say that it is wājib, ‘compulsory’ to be guided by them in big cities. However, they stipulated that such miḥrābs should not be higher than the lines of the congregation behind the imām. This last statement implies that what is here meant by miḥrāb is a sort of platform at the mosque front. As already hinted, the miḥrāb as we know it today was rather called tāq, ‘niche’ or madhbah, ‘altar’ in early Islam. In his early Muṣannaf, Ibn Abī Shaybah (d. 235/849) mentioned eighteen ḥadīths about

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188 It is one of the main principles of Islamic jurisprudence. According to which new practices, whose ḥukm are not clearly found in Islamic teachings, can be allowed if they would bring a benefit for the Muslim community.
189 Al-Albānī, Daʿīfah, I, pp. 643-7. Based on the ḥadīth in which the Prophet fixed a piece of wood in the qiblah of a mosque, al-Albānī suggests the latter device to denote the qiblah direction.
191 Al-Mirdāwī, II, 298; Ibn Mufliḥ, II 126.
192 Mālik, Mudawwanaḥ, I, 175; Ibn Qudāmah, Mughni, III, 47-9.
193 See: Ibn Abī Shaybah, ḥadīths no. 4727-44.
the șahābis’ divergent attitude towards praying in what we know as mihrāb. In these the word ‘tāq’ was used twelve times, ‘madhab’ was used five times while ‘mihrāb’ was used only twice. The heading he chose for these hadīths is: ‘praying in the tāq.’ The use of the preposition ‘in’ here connotes that what was being referred to in these hadīths was truly a niche. For a majority of scholars, it is jā’iz, ‘allowed’ to perform prayers in it. Ibn Abī Shaybah told us of quite a number of șahābis and tābi’īs, such as al-Barā‘ b. ‘Āzib, Suwayd b. Abī Ghaflah and Sa‘īd b. Jubayr who are said to have prayed in the tāq. What makes the act of these personages significant to our discussion is that they are traditionally known as trustworthy narrators of Ḥadīth. On top of that, the Prophet himself was said to have prayed in what the narrator called ‘mihrāb’. Narrated Wā’il b. Ḥajar: ‘I attended the Prophet when he went to the mosque and entered the mihrāb and then raised his hands and said: “Allāhu Akbar, ‘God is the Greatest’.”

It seems that the previous divergent attitudes attributed to Companions regarding the willingness to pray in mihrāb, and which could also reflect later polemics, did not preclude agreement among early faqīhs.

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194 Only few scholars disagree. We are told, on the authority of ‘Abd al-Razzāq, that al-Hasan [al-Baṣrī], for example, avoided praying in the mihrāb. ‘Abd al-Razzāq, Ḥadīth no. 3901.

195 He was a prominent Companion and a trustworthy narrator of Ḥadīth.

196 Suwayd b. Ghaflah learned Ḥadīth from the rightly-guided caliphs and some others. His transmitted hadīths are regarded as trustworthy by al-Nakhī and al-Sha’bī. Suwayd died in 81/700. See: Ibn Sa’d, VI, 76.

197 Sa‘īd b. Jubayr (665-714) is a prominent tābi’ī and one of those who transmitted the largest number of hadīths in the second generation after the Companions.

198 Ibn Abī Shaybah, hadīths no. 4739-44; ‘Abd al-Razzāq, Ḥadīth no. 3898.

199 Al-Bayhaqī, hadīth no. 2335. The mihrāb referred to here is not a concave prayer niche, but presumably the front of the mosque. The authenticity of this Ḥadīth, however, is disputed. According to al-Kawtharī, it is authentic (I’lām al-Arib, p. 6), while al-Albānī sees it as weak (al-Albānī, Da’ifah, I, 643).
that prayer is valid if conducted in it, mainly because the whole land is originally a place where a Muslim could pray. Also, the \textit{mihrāb} was, and still is, generally accepted to be adopted at mosques. After reviewing the opinions of earlier scholars, al-Zarkashi (d. 794/1392), who wrote the most important book about the religious ordinances of mosques, stated: ‘it is well-known that it is allowed – with no detestation at all – to adopt the \textit{mihrāb}.’ Al-Zarkashi also told us that people until his time had adopted it without any objection.\footnote{Al-Zarkashi, p. 364.} In the same way, \textit{mihrābs} are still used to the present with common acceptance, even in the most sacred mosques such as those of Mecca and Madīnah.

\textbf{5.7.6. The minaret}

The word ‘minaret’ is the English equivalent of the Arabic ‘\textit{manārah}’. The latter is derived from ‘\textit{manār}’ which means banner, and possibly beacon, by which the people are guided during wars or parades.\footnote{Ibn Manẓūr, VI, 4572.} Since these are usually high symbols that could be seen from a far distance, the term ‘\textit{manārah}’ is derived to designate the minaret.\footnote{Al-Rāzī, \textit{Mukhtār}, pp. 602-3; al-Zamakhsharī, II, 307-8.} Traditionally, a minaret is an elevated structure used by muezzins to call to prayers. It is known to the Muslim people as: ‘\textit{miʿzanaḥ}, \textit{manārah} or \textit{ṣawma ἂf}. While the first two terms were common in Egypt and Syria, the third was dominant in North Africa.

While for many scholars the origin of the minaret is to be sought in pre-Islamic architectural types (see 7.9.2), there is a possibility that it was inspired by the fact that the Prophet’s muezzin used to call for prayers from the highest spot in the mosque vicinity.\footnote{Briggs, \textit{Muhammadan Architecture}, p. 22.} While we possess no historical or archaeological evidence to suggest that the mosque of the Prophet had a minaret, as it is definable today, before the works of al-Walīd, there are...
reports that in the Prophet’s time the muezzin used an *istiwānah*, ‘column’ (some said *manārah*) at the adjacent house of his wife Ḥafṣah.\(^{204}\) It is reported that a quadrangular *istiwān*, at the house of Ṭālha b. `Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhā which was located in front of the mosque, was used for *adhān*.\(^{205}\) Bilāl is said to have used *aqṭāb*\(^{206}\) to mount it. It was seen by al-Aqshahri\(^{207}\) who said that it was located at the house of Ṭabāk Allāh b. Ṭāhā b. ʿUmar.\(^{208}\) It was quadrangular and called al-Miṭmār. Sauvaget believed that this primitive upper platform was the forerunner of later minarets.\(^{209}\) Ibn Ishāq al-Ḥarbī (d. 285/898) said: ‘we have not been told that the mosque [of the Prophet] had a minaret (*manārah*) [to be] used for *adhān* other than that *istiwān* and the *aqbāb*. [Yet], when Ṭālha b. Ṭāhā b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [re-]built [it], he made for the mosque four *manarāt*, one in each corner.\(^{210}\)

It is also said that prayers were called for from the roof of a house owned by a woman from Banū al-Najjār.\(^{211}\)

Narrated Ṭūrāh b. al-Zubayr: A woman of Banū al-Najjār said: ‘My house was one of the tallest around the mosque, so Bilāl, [the Prophet’s muezzin] used to mount it to call for the prayers of al-Fajr [...].’\(^{212}\)

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\(^{204}\) Ibn al-Najjār, p. 164; al-Samhūdi, *Wafāʾ*, II, 530. This primitive minaret is said to have had *aqṭāb* mounted by Bilāl, the Prophet’s muezzin.

\(^{205}\) Al-Samhūdi, *Wafāʾ*, II, 530.

\(^{206}\) *Aqtāb* is the plural of *qitb or qatab*. It is a small gear (saddle) in the size of a camel hump usually put on its back. Ibn Manzūr, V, 3523-4.

\(^{207}\) Aqshahri (731/1330, 737/1336, or 739/1338) was the author of *Al-Rawḍah al-Firdawsīyyah*. See Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 476, n.7.


\(^{209}\) Sauvaget, p. 156.


\(^{211}\) Al-Samhūdi, *Wafāʾ*, II, 529. See also Wensinck, p. 12.

\(^{212}\) Abū Dāwūd, ḥadīth no. 519; al-Bayhaqī, ḥadīth no. 1995.
Further, Ibn Sa’d said: ‘Bilāl was calling to the prayers on it [namely the woman’s house] as early as he began to call for the prayers and until the Prophet built [a roof for] his mosque. After the Prophet built [a roof for] his mosque Bilāl used its roof to call for the prayers. An elevated place had been set for him.’ Al-Shihrī suggested that the roofs of the adjacent houses and the roof of the mosque itself might have been used for the purpose of calling to prayers. Yet, there should have been thinking that minarets must be added to the mosque of the Prophet, particularly after the adjacent houses were demolished. The expansion of the towns and the increase of their populations might have prompted the erection of minarets.

While such reports imply that the minaret derived from a prophetic prototype, the later foreign architectural influences it received are almost incontrovertible. More importantly, the group of ḥadīths about adhān, ‘call to prayers’, must have inspired the early believers to adopt a high structure, of no specific form, for the muezzin so that his voice could reach as many people as possible.

As for the ḥukm of building minarets and attaching them to mosques, a majority of Muslim scholars have agreed that it is jāʿīz, ‘allowed’ to do so on the account that similar procedures were approved by the Prophet. Ibn Abī Shaybah narrates on the authority of Hishām b. ‘Urwhah: ‘the Prophet ordered Bilāl to call for the prayers on the Ka’bah on the day of Mecca conquest.’ ‘Abd Allāh b. Shaqīq al-‘Aqīl17 said that it is of the

213 Ibn Sa’d mentions that the woman was al-Nawwār bt. Mālik, the mother of Zayd b. Thābit to whom the task of collecting the Qur’ān was consigned. Ibn Sa’d, V, 306. See also al-Samhūdī, Wafā’, II, 529.
216 See al-Khudayrī, pp. 49-51; al-Sadiān, pp. 12-3.
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Prophet’s *sunnah* to call for the prayers in the *manārah* and to do *iqāmah*, ‘the second call for prayer’ in the mosque.219 This Ḥadīth implies that the *salaf* regarded a practice to be of the *sunnah* if it had evolved from any of the Prophet’s acts or sayings. While according to traditions, the mosque had no minaret (as later defined) in the time of the Prophet, the narrator deemed it a part of the *sunnah* perhaps on the grounds of the above Ḥadīths. These Ḥadīths are reported by Abū Dāwūd under the heading of ‘calling for prayers on the *manārah*, by al-Bayhaqi under ‘calling for prayers in the *manārah*,220 and by Ibn Abī Shaybah under ‘the muezzins calling for prayers on an elevated place, a *manārah* and the like’. Ibn Sirīn (33-110/653–728) criticized the muezzin moving his body around while calling for prayers in the *manārah*,221 but he, like other early scholars,222 is not reported to have condemned its adoption.

However, some Muslim authorities in the present denounce minarets, especially when they are lofty and decorated, on the basis that they are pretentious, superfluous and similar to church towers.223 They have argued that there might have been a need to adopt them in the past before

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218 He is a trustworthy narrator of Ḥadīth according to a majority of early Muslim scholars.
219 Ibn Abī Shaybah, Ḥadīth no. 2345.
220 Al-Bayhaqi, I, 625-6.
221 Ibn Abī Shaybah, Ḥadīth no. 2190.
222 Some early religious authorities such as Ibn Jurayj and Abū Ḥanīfah said that it is allowed to pray in the *mi’dhanah*, ‘minaret’. Ibn Abī Shaybah, Ḥadīths no. 6221-2.
the speakers are employed for *adhān*, but now this need no longer exists. Others, on the other hand, have argued that even today, minarets are still doing their function because they help the speakers do their job more efficiently, and because they have become an unmistaken mark for mosque existence. It is argued by Ettinghausen and Grabar that the early minarets, which were built in the newly conquered towns where Muslim dwellers were only a minority, had two functions: conveying *adhān* to the scattered Muslim individuals, and announcing the presence of an Islamic centre. It should be noted, however, that the minaret was not a standard component of mosque architecture; some mosques had no minarets while others had four or more.

5.7.7. *Minbar*, ‘pulpit’

The word *minbar* in Arabic is derived from the verb ‘*nabara*’ which means ‘to raise (something)’, especially one’s voice. Technically, the *minbar* is the place from which the *khatīb*, ‘preacher’ delivers the *khutbah*, ‘a religious talk at the Friday sermon’, usually with a loud voice. According to Ibn Manẓūr, it was called a *minbar* because of its elevation. According to traditions, the first *minbar* in Islam was adopted by the Prophet himself. The Prophet is reported to have preached while standing on it, and also used to sit on it between the two *khutbahs*. The story of making the *minbar* of the Prophet is mentioned in al-Bukhārī as well as other *Ṣahīḥ* books of Ḥadīth:

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224 For these views, see al-Wānili, pp. 18-20.
225 Al-Khuḍayrī, p. 62.
226 Ettinghausen and Grabar, p. 36-7.
227 Fikrī, Madkhal, p. 276.
228 Ibn Manẓūr, VI, 4323; al-Zamakhshārī, II, 242, al-Rāzī, Mukhtār, p. 565.
229 *Khutbah* is a religious talk at the Friday sermon. In many cases, it deals political and social concerns.
227 Ibn Manẓūr, VI, 4323.
231 Al-Bukhārī, Ḥadīths no. 917-20, 928; Muslim, Ḥadīths no. 1994-6.
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It is narrated on the authority of Sahl [b. Sa`d al-Sā`idī] that the Prophet sent someone to a woman telling her: ‘Order your slave carpenter to make a wooden pulpit (a`wādan) for me to sit on.’

Narrated Jābir: a woman said: ‘O Allāh’s Apostle! Shall I get something constructed for you to sit on as I have a slave who is a carpenter?’ He replied, ‘Yes, if you like.’ So, she had that pulpit constructed.

Ibn Ḥajjar commented that it might have been that the women first offered a pulpit to be made for the Prophet and that he agreed. Therefore, when the work delayed the Prophet asked her to accelerate it. This assumption is backed by another ḥadīth in al-Bukhārī:

Narrated Abū Hāzim b. Dinār: some men came to Sahl b. Sa`d al-Sā`idī while they were disputing on what thing the minbar [of the Prophet] was made of. When they asked him about that, he replied: ‘By Allāh! I do know what thing it was made of [in another narration, ‘there is no one left who knows more about this than I do’], and I saw it the first day it was set, and the first day the Prophet sat on it. The Prophet sent to so and so, a woman from Anṣār who was named by Sa`d [the sub-narrator was not certain of her name]: “Order your slave carpenter to make a wooden pulpit (a`wādan) for me to sit on when I speak to people [namely preach].” So, she ordered him [namely her slave carpenter]. So, he made it of tamarisk wood (ṭarfā) from the forest and brought it. Then, she sent it to the Prophet and it was placed here. Then, I saw the Prophet while praying on it and saying: “Allāhū Akbar” and then bowing (raka`a) while he was on it. Then, he stepped down off it and prostrated in the asl al-minbar and then returned. When he was finished, he addressed the people and said: “O people! I did that

232 Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth no. 448; Wensink, p. 198.
233 Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth no. 449; Khan’s transl.; Wensinck, p. 198.
234 Ibn Ḥajjar, Fatḥ, II, p. 90.
235 Ibn Mājah, ḥadīth no. 1416; al-Bayhaqī, ḥadīths no. 5229-30; Juynboll, Canonical Ḥadīth, p. 584.
so that you should take me as a model and learn my prayer.”

According to other reports, the minbar was made for the Prophet by Tamīm al-Dārī after he gained weight (see also 4.6.3). According to another the Prophet complained of some weakness in his feet. Therefore, Tamīm, having been from Palestine, said: ‘O Allāh’s Apostle! I shall make a minbar for you just as I saw [the people do] in Sham.’ The idea put forward by Tamīm was discussed by the chief șaḥābīs who then agreed. Then, it was made by a servant of al-‘Abbās, a Muslim uncle of the Prophet, called Kulāb. According to other reports he was called Mīnā or Șabāh. According to another, it was a Roman convert called Bāqūm or Bāqūl. Yet, another account argued that the adoption of the minbar was suggested by an unnamed Companion so that the Prophet would be easily seen and his khuṭbah would be clearly heard at the Friday sermon.

Ibn al-Najjār, on the authority of al-Wāqīdī, relates that the minbar was made for the Prophet in 8/629 to replace the stem of palm-tree upon which he had been accustomed to lean. The Prophet’s minbar was no more than a seat of three steps. The Prophet used to sit on its upper step with his feet resting on the second, upon which Abū Bakr later sat on when he succeeded the Prophet as the first caliph in Islam. Later, ’Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the second caliph, used to sit on the lower step and put his feet

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236 Al-Bukhārī, hadītha no. 917, 2094, 2569; Muslim, hadīth no. 1216; Abū Dāwūd, hadīth no. 1080; al-Bayhaqī, hadītha no.5697; Wensinck, p. 198.
237 Abū Dāwūd, hadīth no. 1081, al-Samhūdī, Wafāʾ, II, 391.
238 Ibn Rajab, III, 315. According to Ibn Saʿd, it was the Prophet who asked them about their opinions: Tabaqāt, I, 216.
239 Ibn Saʿd, I, 215; Ibn al-Najjār, 157-8; Qutb al-Dīn, p. 101; Ibn Rajab, III, 315. Other reports, according to al-Samhūdī, indicate that he was the slave of Nuṣaybah al-Makhzūmī. Al-Samhūdī, Wafāʾ, II, 391.
240 ’Abd al-Razzāq, hadīth no. 5244; Ibn Rajab, III, 316.
241 Ibn Saʿd, I, 217.
right on the ground.\textsuperscript{243} The above \textit{hadith}, according to which the Prophet prayed on the \textit{minbar}, would imply that it was a flat wide structure. Yet, the fact that the Prophet stepped down off it to prostrate himself can also support the idea that it was a simple three-stepped seat.

Having been derived from prophetic conduct, the adoption of \textit{minbars} is hence seen by most Muslim scholars,\textsuperscript{244} past and present, to belong to the \textit{sunnah} of the Prophet. Nonetheless, many early medieval Muslim authorities condemned the high and lavishly decorated ones because they distracted the worshippers, disrupted their front lines and occupied an unacceptably big area of the mosque front.\textsuperscript{245}

\textbf{5.7.8. Doors}

The installation of doors in mosques is advisable, if not binding, since they would keep their interior clean and protected. We have already seen (4.6.4) that the mosque of the Prophet had three doors in his lifetime.\textsuperscript{246} According to traditions, mosques were usually provided with doors in the time of the Prophet and the Companions. On the authority of al-Bukhārī, Ibn Abī Mulaykah said to Ibn Jurayj: ‘I wish you had seen the mosques of IbnʿAbbās and their doors.’\textsuperscript{247}

\textsuperscript{243} Ibn al-Najjār, p. 159.


\textsuperscript{245} See al-Zarkashi, p. 374-5; Ibn al-Ḥājj, \textit{Al-Madkhal}, 4 vols (Cairo: Maktabat Dār al-Turāth, [n.d]) II, 212-3. Becker argues that in early Islam, the \textit{minbar} was simply a throne and that it lacked religious significance. According to him, the Prophet did not adopt a \textit{minbar} until he became a great man receiving envoys and that this tradition was followed by his caliphs. See Becker, \textit{Die Kanzel im Kultus des Islam}, quoted by Creswell, \textit{Early Muslim Architecture}, I, I. This theory however, has been challenged by a number of later scholars such as Sauvaget, Fikrī, Shāfiʿi and al-Shihrī. The latter for example, argues that such assumption contradicts what is known about the Prophet’s modesty.

\textsuperscript{246} Ibn Saʿd, I, 206.

\textsuperscript{247} Al-Bukhārī, \textit{ḥadith} no. 81.
5.7.9.  *Khawkhah, ‘wicket’*

This is a small door set in the wall; the original function of *khawkhah* was illumination. Technically, it is an aperture set in a wall between two adjacent houses.\(^{248}\) The mosque of the Prophet was abutted by many houses owned by his Companions. Some of these houses, namely those of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī and ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān were still standing and seen by al-Batanūnī (d. 1357/1938).\(^{249}\) These houses had *khawkhas* onto the mosque. Later in his lifetime, the Prophet ordered the *khawkhas* to be closed except that of Abū Bakr. According to ḥadīth, opening such ‘doors’ into the mosque is banned; Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī narrated that the Prophet, after praising his comrade Abū Bakr, said: ‘Close all these *khawkhas* in the mosque except that of Abū Bakr’.\(^{250}\)

5.7.10.  *Maqṣūrah*

The *maqṣūrah* is a chapel-like structure dedicated for the *imam* to pray inside. The mosque of the Prophet in his time had no *maqṣūrah*. The question to whom the introduction of *maqṣūrah* is attributed is a moot point.\(^{251}\) As in the case of the *miḥrāb*, a number of late *ṣaḥābīs* and *tābiʿīs* are reported to have prayed at the *maqṣūrah* and others are reported to have refrained from doing so or criticised such act. The first group includes names such as: Anas, al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī], Sālim and al-Qāsim,\(^ {252}\) while the other includes al-ʿAḥnaf b. Qays and al-Shaʿbī.\(^ {253}\) Some of the latter group disliked praying in the *maqṣūrah* because it was introduced after the departure of the Prophet.\(^ {254}\) While there are reports

\(^{248}\) Ibn Manẓūr, II, 1284.


\(^{251}\) See 7.9.6.


\(^{253}\) Ibn Abī Shaybah, *ḥadiths* no. 4650-3.

that the *maqṣūrah* served other functions at the mosque rather than providing a shelter to the ruler, for many of the strict it is against the spirit of Islam to adopt a device that would segregate the ruler from other people though.\(^{255}\) Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is reported to have disliked praying in the *maqṣūrah.*\(^ {256}\) Ibn ᾿Aqīl explained that Ahmad disliked it because it was usually related to the tyrants and the lovers of this world. It is also reported that Aḥmad disliked it because it was exclusively set for the sultans and their entourage, while the commons were not permitted to pray in it.\(^ {257}\) Such case of preferential segregation was the main reason for a majority of scholars to dislike the adoption of the *maqṣūrah.*\(^ {258}\) Yet, others, such as Ibn Muflīḥ (d. 763/1362), disliked it, whether attended by guards preventing the mob from praying in it or not, on the grounds that it usually cut the lines of worshippers.\(^ {259}\)

As a result, the dispute on the lawfulness of the adoption of the *maqṣūrah* seems to have ingrained the idea that it should not be adopted by pious rulers unless there was a substantial risk of not so doing. For example, al-Mahdī, the ‘Abbāsid caliph, considered removing the *maqāṣīr* from all congregational mosques in 161/778.\(^ {260}\) A majority of recent scholars, however, see that it is *jāʾiz* to build the *maqṣūrah* and pray in it on the grounds that there is no religiously-fixed form of the mosque.\(^ {261}\) Some have even compared it to the partition of Ḥaṣīr; *mat*, which the Prophet reportedly took in the mosque to seclude himself for night prayers during the month of Ramadan (see 4.6.1).\(^ {262}\)

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\(^{255}\) Ibn al-Hājj, II, 204-5. See also Pedersen, 'Masdjid', p. 662.

\(^{256}\) Ibn Muflīḥ, II, 117.

\(^{257}\) Ibid.

\(^{258}\) See al-Zarkashī, 375.

\(^{259}\) I Ibn Muflīḥ, II, 117.

\(^{260}\) Al-Ṭabarī quoted by Pedersen, 'Masdjid', p. 662.

\(^{261}\) Al-Khuḍayrī, 'ᾦḵām', P. 52; al-Sadīlān, p. 15.

\(^{262}\) See Sauvaget, 'Mosque and Palace', pp. 139, and references are therein. On this partition, see 4.6.1.
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5.7.11. Floor coverings

The floor of the mosque in the time of the Prophet and his Companions was not covered by fabrics like mosques today. Ḥadīth indicates that in the lifetime of the Prophet, the floor of the mosque was covered by sand. This seems later to have been replaced with pebbles.

Narrated Mu‘ayqīb: The Prophet talked about [presumably blamed] the one who evens the sand where he prostrates. He said: ‘If you necessarily do it, then do it only once.’\(^{263}\)

On the authority of Abū Dharr, the Prophet said: ‘If one of you intends to pray, he should not scrub the pebbles, since he is in front of Mercy.’\(^{264}\)

Ibn `Umar reported: ‘One night, we became wet by rains, insomuch that each one [of us] began to collect pebbles in his clothes and strew them beneath himself. The Prophet then applauded: ‘How good this is!’\(^{265}\)

However, the Prophet is reported to have prayed on more comfortable floor coverings, such as a mat, rug and tanned pelt.\(^{266}\) In spite of not having been used to cover the floor of his mosque, such coverings were occasionally used by the Prophet to prostrate himself.\(^{267}\) For example, it is narrated by Maymūnah that he prayed on a *khumrah*, ‘a small mat only sufficient for one’s face and hands.’\(^{268}\)

Narrated Anas b. Mālik: His grand-mother, Mulaykah, treated the

\(^{263}\) Muslim, ḥadīth no. 1219.


\(^{265}\) Abu Dāwūd, ḥadīth no. 458-60.


\(^{268}\) Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth no. 381. See also al-Dārimī, *ḥadīths* no. 1413-4.
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Prophet to a meal which she herself had prepared. He ate from it and said, ‘Get up! I shall lead you in prayer.’ Anas added: ‘I took my ḥasīr, ‘mat’, washed it with water, as it had become dark because of long use, and the Prophet stood on it.’

Narrated Anas b. Mālik: While we were praying with the Prophet, some of us used to place the ends of their clothes at the place of prostration because of the scorching heat.

Generally, such hadīths were used in later times to enhance the idea that the floor of the mosque can be covered with different types of covering as long as they do not include ornaments that would distract the worshippers.

5.8. Decoration

Traditions imply a clear contrast between the simple form that was adopted for the mosque of the Prophet in his time and the pompous mosques that were erected in the Umayyad era. However, the quite big number of paradoxical hadīths about the acceptability of decorating mosques could be indicative of another context for the shaping of Ḥadīth, mirrored in the later relevant discussions between the holders of different views.

Mainly depending on relevant hadīths and resultant discussions of early legalists, we will try in this part of the study to examine Islam’s original attitude towards the decoration and elaboration of mosques.

Decoration is the English equivalent for the Arabic ‘zakhrafah’. According to Ibn Manzūr, it is derived from the word, ‘zukhruf’ which originally means ‘gold’, but later came to be applied to all sorts of

269 Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth no. 380.
270 Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth no. 382. See also Ibn Rajab, III, 12-29
ornamentation.\textsuperscript{272} However, for al-Khaṭṭābī and others, zakhrafah is also applied to heightening and perfecting a building and furnishing it with luxurious objects.\textsuperscript{273}

There are two main bodies of opinion on the question of decorating mosques. The first is adopted by the jumhūr who see that decorating mosques is at least makrūh, if not ḥarām.\textsuperscript{274} Their argument mainly depends on a ḥadīth narrated by Anas b. Mālik in which the Prophet warns: ‘The Day of Judgment will not come until the people boast at mosques.’\textsuperscript{275} The same ḥadīth was reported by Ibn Abī Shaybah, but in different words: ‘A time will come to the people when they build mosques so as to boast about them and hardly attend them.’\textsuperscript{276}

Narrated Abū Qilābah: having accompanied by Anas b. Mālik, we moved early in the morning (ghadawnā) towards the (zāwiyah). Then, the Ṣubḥ prayer became due. Anas suggested that we would pray it at this mosque [referring to a mosque they passed by], but the other people said: ‘not until we reach the other mosque’. Anas wondered: ‘what mosque?’ They replied: ‘a mosque that has been erected recently.’ Then, Anas reprimanded: “the Prophet said a day would come to my ummah when they boast at mosques and scarcely attend them.”\textsuperscript{277}

\textsuperscript{274} Al-Zarkashi, pp. 335-37.
\textsuperscript{275} According to Ibn Ḥazm, the act of adorning mosques, except that of Mecca, with gold and silver is ḥarām. Ibn Ḥazm, Muḥallā, IV, 247.
\textsuperscript{276} Abū Dāwūd, ḥadīth no. 449; Ibn Mājah; ḥadīth no. 739; al-Nasā’ī, ḥadīth no. 690; al-Bayhaqī, ḥadīth no. 4299; Abū Ya’lā, ḥadīth no. 2798; al-Dārimī, ḥadīth no. 1448; Wensinck, p. 154. In another ḥadīth, the Prophet says: ‘I see that you will heighten (ṣatushhrīfūnā) your mosques after my departure just as how the Jews heightened (sharrafat) their synagogues (kanā’ isihā) and the Christians heightened their convents (biy’ahā). Ibn Mājah, ḥadīth no. 740.
\textsuperscript{277} Ibn Abī Shaybah, ḥadīth no. 3163.
\textsuperscript{277} Al-Baghawī, II, 351; al-’Aynī, IV, 302.
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Abū Nuʿaym explained: “They (will) boast about the multitude of mosques.”278 According to al-Ṣanʿānī, boasting about mosques can be by saying: ‘my mosque is better than yours’ or by exaggerating in elevating and decorating them.279 The meaning of this hadith is seconded by Ibn ʿAbbās who emphasized: ‘[Surely], you will decorate them exactly as what the Jews and the Christians did’.280 Accordingly, the jumhūr assumed that decorating and elevating mosques are objectionable because they are linked with intolerable matters. First, it would happen towards the Day of Judgment; it is known according to other hadiths that the Day of Judgment will come while the earth is populated by depraved people.281 Second, adornment and decoration of mosques imitate what had been done by other nations from whom Muslims must differentiate themselves in religious matters.282 According to Ibn Taymiyyah and al-Dhahabī, imitating other nations in fields like industry and construction is jāʿiz, but imitating them in worship and its correlates (like mosques) is harām.283 For example, we are told that the Prophet did not like to use the Jewish shofar or the church bell to gather the congregation for prayer.284

These views seem to be backed by a hadith marfūʾ,285 according to which the Prophet says: ‘I have not been commanded to do tashyīd to

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279 Al-Ṣanʿānī, p. 154.
280 Al-Khaṭṭābī, I, 140-2; Ibn Ḥajar, Fath, II, 85-6.
281 Muslim, hadith no. 7373; Abū Yaʿlā, hadith no. 5248. See also footnote 109.
282 Ibn Taymiyyah dedicated his Iḥtiṣāḍ al-Sīrāt al-Mustaqīm to discuss this subject. See also al-Khuḍayrī, p. 42.
283 Ibid.
284 Ibn Hishām, II, 150.
285 This hadith is also reported by al-Baghawī (Sharḥ al-Sunnah, II, 348) and referred to by al-Albānī as Ṣaḥīḥ.
mosques.\footnote{Abu Dāwūd, ḥadīth no. 448; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, ḥadīth no. 5127; Ibn Abī Shaybah, ḥadīth no. 3164; al-Bayhaqī, ḥadīth no. 4298; al-Ṭartūšī, p. 104; Wensinck, p. 155.} However limpid the meaning of the word ‘\textit{tashyid}’ is, early jurists and ḥadīth scholars paid much attention to its semantic significance, for a \textit{ḥukm}, ‘ordinance’ would be enacted accordingly. They agreed that what is meant by \textit{tashyid} is not the act of building itself. Rather, it is heightening and perfecting in one sense,\footnote{Ibn Manṣūr, IV, 2374; al-Fayrūzabādī, I, 303.} and coating the building with \textit{ṣīd} in another. According to Arabic lexicons, ‘\textit{ṣīd}’ is ‘all [materials] that a wall would be coated with, like stucco and lime-mortar’.\footnote{Ibn Hājār, II, 86.} However, most legalists agreed that what is meant by ‘\textit{tashyid}’ in this ḥadīth is heightening the mosque structure.\footnote{Al-Ṣanʿānī, 155.} Commenting on this ḥadīth, Ibn Ḥajar argued that the Prophet was not commanded to do \textit{tashyid}, lest it should be taken as a pretext for decoration in later times.\footnote{Ibn Hājār, II, 86.} Al-Ṣanʿānī argues that should the Prophet not be commanded to do something, this would mean that this thing is not good; had it been good, Allāh would have commanded his Messenger to do it.\footnote{Al-Ṣanʿānī, 155.} The structure of a mosque, consequently, must not be high to such extent as it would obstruct breeze or sun from reaching the neighbours or make it difficult for them to have access to their houses.\footnote{See al-Sadlān, pp. 8-9.} The Prophet is reported to have said: ‘there should be neither unintentional nor intentional damage [to others] (\textit{lā ḍara ra walā ḍirār}).’\footnote{Ibn Mājah, ḥadīths no. 2340-2.} This ḥadīth is regarded by Ibn al-Rāmī (late 7th/early 8th centuries AH) as a principle of governing the rights and dues of neighbours in terms of building their
houses.⁹²⁴

Another backing for the views of prevention is reported on the authority of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal who states that the people asked the Prophet to adorn the mosque (yukāḥ hil), but he said: ‘[make it] ‘arīsh, ‘shelter or arbour’ as that of Moses’.⁹²⁵ Abū ‘Abd Allāh said that they only wanted to paint the mosque with something like kohl, but the Prophet did not agree.⁹²⁶ According to another ḥadīth, which is also reported by Ibn Ḥanbal and regarded as mawqūf by Ibn Abī Shaybah, destruction is the corollary of decorating mosques; ‘If you decorate your mosques and adorn your maṣāḥif, ‘Qur’ān books’, then you will be destroyed.’⁹²⁷ A third ḥadīth which the jumhūr deemed to second the ḥukm of prevention was narrated by Anas. In this, the Prophet said: ‘Build mosques and make them jumman.’⁹²⁸

The meaning of ‘make them jummar’ is ‘make no shuraf at them’, and ‘shuraf’ is what is put on top of a building to decorate it.⁹²⁹ ‘Abd Allāh b. Shaqīq who died in 108/726 reported that in his time mosques were built jumman and towns (madā’in) were heightened and [adorned with shurufāt] (tusharraf).⁹³⁰ On the authority of Ibn Abī Shaybah, Ibn Shaqīq added: ‘what

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⁹²⁶ Al-Diyārbakrī, I, 346. More on ‘arīsh is found in 5.11.
⁹²⁷ Saʿīd b. Manṣūr, Sunan, ed. by Saʿd b. ’Abd Allah Āl Ḥumayyid, 5 vols (Riyadh: Dār al-Šumayyī, 1993), ḥadīth no.165; al-Hindi, Kanz, ḥadīth no. 23125. This saying is attributed by al-Ṭarṭūshī (p. 105), al-Baghawī (II, 350), and al-Zarkashi (p. 337) to Abū al-Dardāʾ.
⁹²⁸ Al-Bayhaqī, ḥadīths no. 4300-1.
⁹²⁹ Al-Nawawī, Majmūʿ, II, 183. Shuraf is derived from the verb ‘sharufa’ which has a primary meaning of ‘to rise and become salient’. Ibn Manẓūr, IV, 2241.
⁹³⁰ ’Abd al-Razzāq, ḥadīth no. 5126. The same meaning is reported on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās who said: ‘we have been commanded to build the mosques jumman and the towns shurrafan.’ Ibn Abī Shaybah, ḥadīth no. 3169; al-Bayhaqī, ḥadīth no. 4303; al-Hindi, Kanz, ḥadīth no. 23076.
the people have heightened (sharrafa) [of mosques] are recent.\textsuperscript{301}

This disapprobatory attitude towards decorating mosques seems to have been retained by the Companions. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar who, along with Anas, narrated most of the significant hadīths about mosques said that they, namely Companions, were commanded (by the Prophet) not to pray in a musharraf, 'heightened', mosque.\textsuperscript{302} Al-Nawawī explains that they thought that such shuraf, 'presumably crenellations', would distract the people during prayers.\textsuperscript{303} On the authority of Muslim al-Baṭīn, when 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib passed by a musharraf mosque belonging to [the tribe of] Taym, he said: 'this is the church (bī`ah) of Taym.'\textsuperscript{304} Also, when 'Abd Allāh b. Mas`ūd passed by a decorated mosque, he said: 'May Allāh curse the one who decorated it; the poor are in more need for the money he spent on that.'\textsuperscript{305} The last statement, however, implies that the acceptability of spending money on the elaboration of mosques was subject to the change in the people’s cultural life. It is also telling, here, that some of the Companions are reported to have left new mosques to pray in older ones, lest the way of building the former should have had any sort of bid`ah. Thābit al-Bunānī recounts: ‘Usually, I was walking with Anas b. Mālik, and when we were approaching a mosque and a prayer was due, he asked: “is this new?” If they said: “yes”, he was leaving it for another [apparently older] one.’\textsuperscript{306} The same attitude is also attributed to such an authority as Mujāhid,\textsuperscript{307}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{301} Ibn Abī Shaybah, \textit{hadīth} no. 3168.
\item \textsuperscript{302} Ibn Abī Shaybah, \textit{hadīth} no. 3172. Here, the meaning of musharraf is 'heightened'. Ibn Manẓūr, IV, P.2242.
\item \textsuperscript{303} Al-Nawawī, \textit{Majmū}, II, 183.
\item \textsuperscript{304} 'Abd al-Razzāq, \textit{hadīth} no. 5128; Ibn Abī Shaybah, \textit{hadīth} no. 3167; Ibn Ḥazm, \textit{Muhallā}, IV, 248. The same attitude is reported to have been adopted by Ibn ῬUmar. See Ibn Taymiyyah, \textit{Iqtiḍā‘}, I, 348-9.
\item \textsuperscript{305} Al-Zarkashī, p. 336.
\item \textsuperscript{306} Ibn Abī Shaybah, \textit{hadīth} no 6300.
\item \textsuperscript{307} Ibid, \textit{hadīth} no. 6301.
\end{itemize}
According to al-Layth, Abū Wā’il missed prayers at the mosque of so and so, and left many new mosques so as to pray at the mosque of so and so [an old one].

However, for other scholars this ḥukm is mitigated to makrūḥ karāḥat ṭāḥrīm, ‘an abominable action more inclined to ḥarām than to ḥalāl’, while for others it is even makrūḥ karāḥat tanzīḥ, ‘an act which is disliked but not forbidden’. They argued that many of the above hadīths are ḍa῾īf, and they, by their text, do not say that decorating mosques are ḥarām. Some of the Ḥanafis, however, said that it is jā῾iz and some of them said that it is even mustahab, ‘recommended, but not obligatory’. They assumed that as mosques are prestigious buildings in Islam, they should not be of less majesty and charm than the houses of some Muslim individuals. This group of scholars believed that decoration and adornment would make the mosque a more favoured place, and that would match its grandeur and high status. They added that since God permitted mosques to be turfa, ‘raised’, mosques should be raised in every way that would render them dignified, and decoration is one of these ways. In addition, this group of scholars argued that when al-Walid decorated the mosque of Damascus, the Muslim scholars by that time did not criticize him.

However well-argued this permissive opinion of the Ḥanafis seems, it is challenged by a number of hadīths of higher degree of authenticity.

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308 Ibid, hadīth no. 6299.
310 Al-Zarkashi, pp. 336-7; al-Shawkānī, II, 255-60.
311 The followers of imām Abū Ḥanīfah (80/699-148/765) who was the founder of one of the four main orthodox schools of Islamic jurisprudence.
313 Qurʿān, XXIV, 36.
314 On these views, see al-Khuḍayrī, ‘Aḥkām’, p. 38.
which, in spite of mainly tackling other issues, seem to enhance the deprecatory *ḥukm* regarding the practice of decorating mosques. In addition to the above *ḥadīth* of the Abyssinian church (see 5.6.1.1) these are:

Narrated ʿĀʾishah: The Prophet prayed [while clad] in a *khamīṣah*, ‘a square garment having marks’. During the prayer, he looked at its marks. So, when he finished the prayer he said, ‘Take this *khamīṣah* of mine to Abū Jahm [a Companion] and bring me his *inbijāniyyah*, ‘a woollen garment without marks’, because it [namely the *khamīṣah*] has diverted my attention during prayers.\(^{315}\)

ʿĀʾishah bought a *numruqah*, ‘cushion’ including some images (*tašāwīr*). When the Prophet reached the door, (*faqāma al-nabiyu bil bāb*) he did not enter. So, she said: ‘I repent to Allāh from what I have done of sins.’ The Prophet said: ‘What is this *numruqah*?’ She said: ‘It is for you to sit on and rest your head on.’ He said: ‘Verily, the people of these images (*inna aṣḥāba hādhihī al-ṣuwar*) will be agonized (*yʿadhīdhabūna*) on the Day of Judgement; it will be said to them: “Give life to what you had created.”’ [The Prophet added]: ‘angels do not enter a house including images.\(^{316}\)

Narrated ʿĀʾishah: the Prophet came back from travelling while I covered *sahwatan*, ‘the interior of a chamber’\(^{317}\) of mine with *qirām*, ‘a garment, usually of wool, or a piece of cloth with marks’\(^{318}\) including figures of statues (*tamāthīl*). When the Prophet saw it, his face reddened (*talawwana wajhuh*) and said: ‘O ʿĀʾishah, the people who have the direst agony from Allāh on the Day of Judgment are those

\(^{315}\)Al-Bukhārī, *ḥadīth* no. 373; Khan’s transl. See also al-Bukhārī, *ḥadīths* no. 752, 5817; Wensinck, p. 108.


\(^{317}\)Ibn Manẓūr, III, 2137-8.

\(^{318}\)Ibn Manẓūr, V, 3605.
who imitate God’s creation (creatures) (yudāhi ʿūna bi khalqillāh).’ She said: ‘We have torn it and made of it a cushion or two.’

Narrated ‘Ā’ishah: the Prophet came back from travelling while I was putting on my door durnūkan including [images of] winged horses. He then ordered me to take it off. So I did.

Narrated Jābir: the Prophet forbade having an image at one’s house and he forbade [us] to do so.

Based on such ḥadīths, most scholars assumed that having the mosques decorated is at least makrūh, as it would lead to distraction. The opinion of the jumhūr was later advocated by some of the twelfth and thirteenth century AH (eighteenth and nineteenth century AD) legalists. Two of the most renowned of these were al-Ṣan`ānī (1099-1182/1777-1850) and al-Shawkānī (1173-1250/1759-1834). According to the latter, it is erroneous to validate this ‘bid’ah’ on the grounds that it would make the mosque a more desirable place. Al-Shawkānī argued that this assumption collides with the ḥadīths which specify that decorating mosques was not a part of the sunnah of the Prophet, rather it is one of the observances of the non-Muslim nations, a kind of boasting and a precursor of the Day of Judgment.

According to the jumhūr, the holders of the permissive attitude are also mistaken when saying that decorating mosques should be allowed since it was not condemned by the Companions and early scholars. The jumhūr

319 Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīths no. 5954, 2479, (see also no. 374); Muslim, ḥadīths no. 5520, 5524, 5528-33; Mu’ammar (in Muṣannaf` Abd al-Razzāq), ḥadīth no. 19484; Ibn Mājah, ḥadīth no. 3653; Juynboll, Canonical Hadith, p. 617. See also Richard Yeomans, The Art and Architecture of Islamic Cairo (Reading: Garnet, 2006), pp. 17-8. On the ḥadīths of prohibition, see Ibn Mājah, ḥadīths no. 3649-52; Wensinck, p. 108.

320 Muslim, ḥadīth no. 5523; Ibn Ḥanbal, ḥadīth no. 26287.

321 Al-Tirmidhī, ḥadīth no, 1749.

322 See al-Shawkānī (III, 560) and references are therein. See also Wensinck, p. 189.

323 Al-Shawkānī, III, 559.
argued that the precedent of decorating the two holy mosques of Mecca and Madīnah was a heresy that was not endorsed by the contemporaneous scholars who kept silent so as not to make fitnah, ‘tribulation’, albeit they were not satisfied. According to Mālik, the people resented the decoration which was applied to the qiblah of the mosque of Madīnah when al-Walīd made it because it distracted them during prayers (see 7.9.10). Al-Shawkānī explained that some of the early scholars denounced that and expressed their objection to the rulers who commanded mosques to be decorated.

According to al-Shawkānī, it could not be an agreeable innovation, ‘bid’ah mustahsanah’, as claimed by the other scholars, because the Prophet said: ‘whosoever innovates something which does not belong to [namely, is not attuned to] our affair [namely Islam]; this thing is rejected.’ The jumhūr also argued that it is not practical to say that decoration would make the mosque a more desirable place, because it would make it so for those who come to look at such decorations, while those who attend mosques for worship would be distracted. Al-Ṣaḥānī assumed that Allāh does not want mosques [as structures] to be perfected and exalted. Rather, he wants them, as [institutions] to be dignified by attending and showing obedience to Him at them.

Al-Shawkānī added that mosques should be turfa’, ‘raised’, as Qurʾān states, by protecting them from heinous talks and all sorts of impurities.

The reproachful attitude seems also to be backed by the reports which indicate that the mosques built by the Prophet and his rightly guided

324 Ibn Ḥajar, Fath, II, 86-7; al-Ṣaḥānī, p. 155; al-Shawkānī, III, 559-60.
325 Al-Shawkānī, III, 560.
326 Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth no. 2697.
327 Al-Shawkānī, III, 560.
328 Ibid.
329 Al-Shawkānī, III, 558.
successors were void of decoration. The simplicity adopted by the Prophet was held on to by 'Umar, during whose reign many conquests were achieved and money was, accordingly, abundant. Yet, he renewed the mosque and changed nothing in its form or material. Likewise, 'Uthmān who bequeathed a wealthier kingdom improved the form of the mosque using better materials, but he did not apply what could be called decoration or embellishment. According to Ibn Batṭāl, two reasons prevented 'Umar and 'Uthmān from re-building the mosque of the Prophet in the utmost elegant form available by their time. The first was that the Prophet would not have been pleased; the second was that they wanted to give a good example to later people to apply an economical attitude in this life.

Many scholars condemned the decoration of mosques on the grounds that it would be better if the huge amounts of money involved had been used to pave roads, build houses for the homeless or provide medicine for the patient. On the authority of al-Qāsimī (14th century AH), some of the Ṿudalā’ ‘people of wisdom’ said: ‘[There were days when] competition reached the culmination in erecting walls and domes, decorating them and spending huge amounts of money on furnishing mosques. Who amongst the people of Baṣrah would have dared [in such days] to say to those mubtadiʾ in, ‘heretics’: “you have erected [such] structures to engage the common people in the bida’, ‘heresies’ and spent your money to convert the religion [namely monotheism] into paganism?”’ Al-Qāsimī added: ‘this is what happened to the previous nations when they replaced the beauty of religion with the beauty of temples, and the light of faith with the lights of chapels. As a result, they made the rites of Islam similar to the parties of

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330 See chapters 4 and 6.
331 This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.
333 Al-ʿAynī, IV, 304.
334 See al-Muqaddasī (Collin’s transl.), p. 146.
banquets and social meetings. In such extravaganzas, minds would usually become preoccupied by the inscriptions and decorations on walls, the soffits of the windows and the beauty of the minarets. This is in spite of the fact that such [religious] gatherings were originally arranged to free minds from the distractions of this materialistic world and disengage them from the beauties of the mud-made objects.\textsuperscript{335}

Mosques, according to the \textit{jumhūr}, should be built in a simple form sufficient only to shelter the worshippers from weather extremes.\textsuperscript{336} It seems that the polemics regarding decorating mosques is old. Al-Jurāʾī reported a relevant conversation between two notable scholars: al-Marūdhī and Abū ʿAbd Allāh. The former told the latter that some people argued that it was allowed to treat the walls of the mosque with stucco on the grounds that the group of \textit{ḥadīth}s which forbid graves to be coated with stucco do not say that this prevention should also be applied to the walls of other buildings.\textsuperscript{337} Abū ʿAbd Allāh answered that this lacked evidence. Then, al-Marūdhī told the former that imām Abū Aslam al-Ṭūsī (born ca. 180/796) did not coat the walls of his mosque with stucco and that he used to remove any stucco on the walls of all the mosques of Tarsus. Abū ʿAbd Allāh agreed and commented that coating the walls with stucco is a manifestation of worldly vanity ‘\textit{min zīnat al-dunya}’.\textsuperscript{338} Al-Baghawī argued that if decoration was voluntarily subsidized by an individual in appreciation of the rites of Islam, then it is not to be seriously condemned. It is tolerated by some scholars and allowed by others.\textsuperscript{339} Al-ʿAynī, on the other hand, said that it is

\textsuperscript{335} Al-Qāsimī, \textit{Islāh al-Masājid}, pp. 95-6.

\textsuperscript{336} Al-Ṣanʿānī, p. 155.

\textsuperscript{337} Muslim, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 2245. For the text of this \textit{ḥadīth}, see 5.6.1.

\textsuperscript{338} Ibn Rajab, III, 282, 284; al-Jurāʾī, p. 358.

\textsuperscript{339} Al-Zarkashī, p. 336. In another position, al-Baghawī argues that if decoration was funded by the money of the \textit{waqf}, it would be \textit{ḥarām}, and if it was funded by an individual’s money then it would be \textit{makrūh} for it usually distracts the worshippers. Al-Baghawī, p. 336.
makrūh in all cases, because it either distracts the worshipper or wastes the money of the Muslim community.  

A relevant moot point is the ḥukm of using silver and gold to adorn mosques. According to a group of the Ḥanafīs, it is acceptable to do so, while some of them recommend it. The Mālikīs, on the other hand, argue that it is makrūh since the mosque should be kept away from extravagance. Al-Jurāʾī added that it is makrūh, and if this was done using the money of the waqf, then it is even ḥarām.

The topic of decorating the miḥrāb had a special treatment in the disputation over decorating mosques. On the authority of ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥah, the Prophet called him after he entered the Kaʾbah and said: ‘I have seen the two sheep horns when entering into the House [namely, the Kaʾbah] and I forgot to command you to cover them (tukhammiruḥā), so go and do that [now], as there should not be, in the qiblah of the house, something that would distract the prayer.’ According to al-Shawkānī, such hadīth testifies that it is makrūh to decorate the miḥrāb. Mālik is said to have condemned writing verses of the Qurʾān on the qiblah wall. His objection was based on the possibility that it would distract the

340 Al-ʿAynī, IV, 302.
341 A good example of the Mālikīs who detested the use of gold and silver to adorn the mosque are Aḥmad al-Dardīr (d. AH 1201) and al-Dusūqī (finished his Ḥāshiyat in AH 1219). See Ḥāshiyat al-Dusūqī ʿala al-Sharḥ al-Kabīr, I, 255.
342 Al-Jurāʾī, p. 360. It is worth noting that the first to use gold to adorn the Kaʾbah was the Caliph al-Walīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qasrī, to apply gilding to it.
343 Al-Jurāʾī, pp. 359-60.
344 Ibn Abī Shaybah, ḥadīth no. 4621; al-Azraqī, Akhbār Makkah wannā Jāʾa fīhā min al-Āthār, ed. by ʿAbd al-Malik Duhaysh, (Mecca: Maktabat al-Asadi, 2003), p. 322. According to al-Shawkānī, the phrase: ‘the horns of the ḥabs’ refers to those of the sheep of Abraham which he had slaughtered to save the life of Ishmael. Al-Shawkānī, III, 599.
345 Al-Shawkānī, III, 599.
worshippers.\footnote{346} Al-Sūyūṭī said: ‘our friends [namely a group of contemporary Shāfi’ī scholars] said that it is makrūh to write any of the verses of the Qur’ān on the walls and it is much more makrūh to write any of them on the ceiling as the roof is usually trampled on.’\footnote{347} According to Abū ῸUbayd, 'Umar b. al-῾Azīz said: 'Do not write the Qur’ān where it might be trampled.'\footnote{348} 'Umar himself is seen punishing one of his sons for writing on the wall 'Bism Allāh al-Rahmān al-Rahīm', 'In the Name of Allāh, the Most Gracious and Most Merciful'.\footnote{349} Al-Atharī explains that these mural decorations would be damaged and fall down one day and the result would be that the holy writings will be demeaned.\footnote{350}

Finally, while the Prophet disliked pride and extravagance, he supported building mosques in a proper way. Narrated Samura b. Jundub: ‘the Prophet commanded us to build, (naṣna’) the mosques in our communities, and to build them properly, (nuṣliḥ ṣan ’taha).’\footnote{351}

Accordingly, a worker is urged to search for appropriate materials and techniques to build a mosque in a proper way as long as he observes a list of interdictions. This list includes: boasting, distracting worshippers, imitating non-Muslims and wastefulness.

\footnote{346} See Ibn al-῾Hājj, II, 214.  
\footnote{349} Ibn Abī Shaybah, ḥadīth no.4623. Other authorities allowed it. Ibn Abī Shaybah, ḥadīth no. 4621.  
\footnote{350} Al-Atharī, p. 27.  
\footnote{351} Abu Dāwūd, ḥadīth no. 456; Ibn ῸHanbal, ḥadīth no. 20060; al-Bayhaqī, ḥadīth no. 4309; Ibn Khuzaymah, ḥadīth no. 1294; Wensinck, p. 154. According to al-Khuḍayrī, the isnād of this ḥadīth is ḍaʾīf, but its meaning is backed by other ḥadīths of more authenticity.
5.9. Spolia and the conversion of the places of worship of other faiths into mosques

According to Islamic teachings, this practice seems to be governed by two aspects: the validity of conducting prayers at houses of worship of non-Muslims, and that of converting such places into mosques. The discussion between the Muslim schools of law regarding the first aspect seems to be well presented by Ibn Taymiyyah. According to him, there are three opinions a propos conducting prayers at churches and monasteries. The first of these was developed by Ibn Ḥanbal and Mālik who said that it is entirely forbidden. The second was adopted by some of the Ḥanbalīs who argued it was entirely allowed. A seemingly moderate opinion had been adopted by ῾Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb who is reported to have said: ‘We, namely Muslims, do not enter their churches as long as they include images.’ ῾Umar’s attitude seems to have been based on a ḥadīth stating that angels do not enter a house that contains images, and on that in which the Prophet refrained from entering the Ka’bah until the images inside it were eliminated. Some of the Companions are said to have prayed at churches which did not include pictures. Ibn ῾Abbās is said to have prayed at such biya except those which had statues or images.

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352 This opinion was later held by al-Nawawī, Majmū’, III, 165.

353 When he came to Shām, a Christian of their nobles made food for him and invited him to it, and ῾Umar answered him with the above statement.

354 Mu’ammar (in Muṣannaf ῾Abd al-Razzāq), ḥadīth no. 19483; Mālik, Muwaṭṭa’, ḥadīth no. 2033; al-Bukhārī, ḥadīths no. 3224-27, 3322, 4002, 5939, 5958; Muslim, ḥadīth no; Ibn Ḥanbal, ḥadīth no. 11797.

355 Mu’ammar (in Muṣannaf ῾Abd al-Razzāq), ḥadīth no, 19485; al-Azraqī, pp. 248, 252.

356 Ibn Taymiyyah, Majmū’; XXII, 101. See also Ibn Rajab, III, 240-4. Al-Nawawī and Ibn Qudāmah mentioned that a number of tābi’īs, such as ῾Umar b. ῾Abd al-‘Azīz, saw that it is allowed to pray at churches. Majmū’, III, 165; Mughnī, II, 478;

357 Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth no. 434; Mu’ammar (in Muṣannaf ῾Abd al-Razzāq), ḥadīth no. 19486. See also Wensinck, p. 191.
Accordingly, later scholars such as al-Baghawī argued that it is tolerable to pray in *biya‘*, ‘cells or churches’. 358

Does Ḥadīth say any thing about the lawfulness of the conversion of houses of worship of other faiths into mosques? Ḥadīth gives no indication that the Prophet encouraged, or even authorized, such practice, but some scholars depended on the two following ḥadīths to validate it.

The Prophet commanded ‘Uthmān b. Abī al-‘Āṣ to make the mosque of Ṭā’if in the place where their *tawāghīt*, ‘idols’ stood. 359

Narrated Ṭalq b. ‘Alī: We went to the Prophet as a group and acknowledged him as a prophet [namely embraced Islam], performed prayers with him and told him that we had a *bī‘ah* in our home [place], and asked him to give us the water which remained from his ablution. Then, he asked for some water, conducted ablution, rinsed his mouth with water and poured it into an *idwāh* [presumably a vase or flask] and commanded us: ‘Go and when you reach your home, demolish your *bī‘ah* and splash this water in the site and then take it as a mosque.’ 360

It could be argued, however, that such ḥadīths do not present enough justification to convert non-Muslim places of worship into mosques. The first one is *da‘if*. It is reported that the Prophet ordered the idols around the Ka‘bah and all pagan sanctuaries to be demolished. In some cases, mosques were built instead, 361 but this does not seem to have been a general procedure; the mosques referred to by Ibn al-Kalbī to stand in place

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358 Al-Baghawī, II, 413.

359 Abū Dāwūd, ḥadīth no. 450; al-Bayhaqī, ḥadīth no. 4307; Ibn Mājah, ḥadīth no. 743. According to al-Shawkānī, *tawāghīt* is the plural of *tāghūt* which is the shrine of an idol, and the place where pagans used to conduct their rites: III, 542.

360 Al-Nasā‘ī, ḥadīth no. 702. This ḥadīth is regarded by M. S. Hallāq, the editor of Nayl al-Awtār, as *ṣaḥīḥ*.

of these idols seem to be of later date than the time of the Prophet.

In the second hadith, the church seems to have been owned by the speakers; ‘we had a bī’ah in our home’; it was the people, not the Prophet, who proposed to take the church as a mosque. They only asked the Prophet about the legal way to do so. According to Islamic teachings, the sanctuaries of the ahl al-kitāb, ‘the people of the scripture, namely the Jews and the Christians’ should be treated with more respect than houses of prayers of other faiths.

Further, a number of hadiths could imply that conversion could not be done forcefully. This would explain why early Muslims, especially in places which were subdued according to a treaty, always needed permission from the Christian authorities before they could convert their church into a mosque.\(^{362}\) According to the Ḥanbalis, prayers would not be valid if they were performed in a usurped place.\(^{363}\)

There are also reports which suggest that Islamic teachings do not recommend the extraction of parts of churches and re-using them in mosques. The Prophet’s pledge to the Christians of Najrān stated: ‘For Najrān and its outskirts (ḥāshiyyatiḥā) are the safe neighbourhood of Allāh and the guarantee (dhimmah) of Prophet Muhammad for their money, religion and churches.’\(^{364}\) The pledge also included: ‘Nothing of their churches should be demolished, and nothing of their buildings should be [re-]used in building any of the mosques or the houses of Muslims. He who does [any of] this would then [be regarded to] break the covenant of Allāh and disobey his Messenger […]. And if they [the Christians of Najrān] needed help and support (rifd) from the Muslims to restore (marammah)

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\(^{362}\) Al-`Umarī, I, 180.


\(^{364}\) Ibn Sa`d, I, 308; Ibn al-Qayyim, III, 634-5, 637.
their churches and hermitages or in any of their secular (maṣālīḥi ʿumūrīhim) or religious concerns, they should be helped and supported. This is not to be considered as a debt which they have to pay, but it is a backing for them in their religious affairs, fulfilment to the pledge of Allāh’s Messenger (mawhibatan lahum), and an endowment for them from Allāh and his Messenger.  

The Prophet also showed respect to the rites of Christianity. He is reported to have allowed the Christian delegation of Najrān to perform their prayers at his mosque, and when the Companions wanted to stop them, the Prophet said: ‘Let them.’ So they faced the east and prayed.

It is also the sunnah of the Prophet and his Companions to consider the people’s houses, the cells of monks and churches as protected places even in warfare. When the Prophet sent the army to Muʿtah, his advice, or rather command, to them included: ‘You will find people [namely, monks and recluses] in cells secluding themselves from other people. Do not interrupt [or frighten] them (falā taʿrāḍū lahun). [...] do not cut a tree down and do not pull down a house.’ Likewise, when Abū Bakr sent Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān to fight in Shām, he said to him: ‘You will find some people claiming that they have dedicated themselves to Allāh [namely those in cells]. Leave them for what they claimed they have dedicated themselves to.’

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367 Al-Wāqīqī, II, 758.

368 See Saʿīd b. Manṣūr (al-Aʿzāmī’s ed.), ḥadīths no. 2383. The same attitude is also reported about the Prophet. See ḥadīths. 2384-6.
This approach of observing the sanctity of the houses of prayers of other monotheistic faiths is also found in the Qurʾān which asserts: “[...] Did not Allāh check one set of people by means of another, there would surely have been pulled down monasteries, churches, synagogues and mosques, in which the name of Allāh is commemorated in abundant measure.”

If converting houses of prayers into mosques was indeed a practice, did it endure, or was it only a temporary procedure? Hillenbrand argues:

At a stroke it [namely, the lateral grouping of worshippers] forbade the simple transformation into Friday mosques of pre-Islamic places of worship. It forced Muslim architects desirous of making such transformation to rearrange the constituent elements of the sequestrated building – lateral thinking, indeed. Such conversions of existing structures, though obviously convenient in the short term, were no adequate solution to the needs of a new, powerful and rapidly growing religious community with its own distinctive forms of worship. Thus the earliest custom-built mosques were erected at the very same time that existing non-Muslim buildings were being converted into mosques and in them the lateral emphasis is already well-marked. From the very beginning Islamic architects rejected the basilica, and with it the standard Christian church of Western type, as a suitable source of inspiration for the mosque. Nevertheless, the idea of a central nave focused on an altar was eventually incorporated, suitably modified, into numerous mosques, and occasionally—as in the Great Mosque of Damascus—an entire basilical form, one shorn of its telltale Christian axiality, could be integrated into a mosque.

Moreover, the usurpation of church columns to reuse of them to support the roofs of mosques was not regarded as an acceptable action by some of the later pious Muslim rulers. Al-Balawī relates that when Ahmad b. Ṭūlūn, the founder of the Ṭūlūnīd dynasty in Egypt (AD 835 – 884), wanted

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369 Qurʾān XXII. 40.
370 Hillenbrand, Islamic Architecture, pp. 36, 38.
to build his mosque in 263/876-7, he was told that it would need 300 columns and which could be only obtained from dilapidated churches in the rural districts. But Ibn Ṭūlūn regarded that as a disgraceful behaviour and preferred to build it with ājurr, ‘fired brick’. However, there are reasons to think that this story might be apocryphal. There is a possibility that Ibn Ṭūlūn used ājurr not because of that, but because he wanted his mosque, according to another account, to survive if Egypt was burned, and it is well-known that marble columns do not withstand fire. Further, Ibn Ṭūlūn wanted his mosque to be built after the fashion of the mosque of Samarra where he was brought up and which was made of ājurr.

5.10. Ḥadīth attitude toward visual and plastic arts

How does Ḥadīth appreciate visual and plastic arts? Many hadiths seem prima facie to urge Muslims not to pay much attention to such ‘worldly’ activities. To understand that, we must take into account the fact that, with the exception of few Jewish and Christian communities, Islam arose while idolatry was dominant in Arabia. As we have seen, the most prominent manifestation of such infidel societies was idols which took many shapes and were made of different materials. Thus, the primary task of Islam was to demolish paganism and all of its governing practices and restore the monotheistic religion of Prophet Abraham. Islam’s precautionary measures included the prohibition of lauding images, graves, religious structure and indeed any material object, lest such praise should, by passage of time, develop into a sheer cult (see 5.6.1).

373 Shafi‘ī, p. 476.
According to one tradition, the Prophet ordered all the images that had been accumulated on the walls of Ka’bah, by idolaters of many times, to be eliminated.\textsuperscript{376}

Unlike paganism where deities are given materialistic forms, Islam – like previous monotheistic religions, especially Judaism – is highly appreciative of those who believe in the Unseen.\textsuperscript{377} This conception may be the cornerstone of Islam’s preference for what is non-representational over what is representational. As Kuban puts it, ‘a dependence on any implied value in forms is inherently anti-Islamic. Forms are transient. Only Allāh, who is formless, is eternal. Thus the perception of any continuity of form is not a religious but a cultural attitude.’\textsuperscript{378} This is not to say that Islamic art and architecture did not develop symbolic dimensions in later times. The minaret, for example, has become more symbolic than functional; its main role now, as already hinted, is visually to announce the presence of a mosque or a Muslim community rather than to be used by muezzins for the call to the prayers (see 5.7.6).\textsuperscript{379}

Popular obsession with structures can be understood as an intuitive inclination towards catching hold of a materialistic image of what is believed in or cherished. Therefore, images have been made for deities from the dawn of man’s recorded history, and may be earlier. This would give a clue as to why Hadīth was so strict on this issue, simply because it resisted, especially in early Islam, the long-standing tradition of idolatry. Islam

\textsuperscript{376}See Abū Dāwūd, \textit{hadīth} no. 4156.

\textsuperscript{377}\textit{Qur ān}, II, 3; XXIX, 12.


\textsuperscript{379}This function of the minaret has been approved by some modern Muslim scholars. See al-Sadlān, ‘Ḍawābit’, p. 3.
wanted to cut all the ways that might lead to idolatry and all of its traditional observances. It is not surprising, then, to see that Islam not only proscribes making or having images, but also asks its followers not to pay much attention to building structures.

Traditions are full of reports about the Prophet’s abhorrence, or at least indifference, towards building. Some of these are regarded to possess a good degree of authenticity. Some of them states: ‘A Muslim is rewarded for any thing he spends except what he exerts in this sand,’\(^{380}\) according to other narrations: [...] in building.’\(^{381}\) This \(ḥadīth\), however, is not the saying of the Prophet but of Khabbāb, a Companion who according to the same \(ḥadīth\) was, by then, in a poor health insomuch as he said: ‘Unless the Prophet had forbidden us from inviting death, I would have invited it.’\(^{382}\) It is thus possible that it was the pessimism of Khabbāb which led him to speak in this way. According to Ibn Ḥajar, this saying of Khabbāb is related to what is not needed of building.\(^{383}\) According to another narration, each building except a mosque is a loss (\(wabāl\)) for the one to whom it belongs.\(^{384}\) The Prophet is also reported to have said: ‘I am [in another narration,\(^{385}\) a prophet is] not allowed to enter a decorated house.’\(^{386}\) According to a third \(ḥadīth\), ‘God has not commanded us to use what he granted us [of bounties] (\(fīmā razaqanā\)) in coating stones, \(labīn\) and

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\(^{380}\) Al-Bukhārī, \(ḥadīth\) no. 5672; Ibn Mājah, \(ḥadīth\) no. 4163; al-Tirmidhī, \(ḥadīth\) no. 2483. This \(ḥadīth\) is regarded by al-Albānī as \(ṣaḥīḥ\). \(Ṣaḥīḥ al-Adab al-Mufrad, Ḥadīth\) no. 353. See also Abū Dāwūd, \(ḥadīth\) no. 5237; Ibn Mājah, \(ḥadīth\) no. 4161; al-Tirmidhī, \(ḥadīth\) no. 2482.

\(^{381}\) Ibn Mājah, \(ḥadīth\) no. 4163.

\(^{382}\) See also al-Bukhārī, \(ḥadīths\) no. 6349-50.


\(^{384}\) See Ibn Mājah, \(ḥadīth\) no. 4161; al-Albānī, \(Silsilat al-Ḥadīth al-Ṣaḥīḥah\), 7 vols (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Ma’ārif, 1992-2002), VI, 794, \(ḥadīth\) no. 2830.

\(^{385}\) Al-Hindi, \(Kanz, Ḥadīths\) no. 6355-7.

\(^{386}\) See Ibn Ḥanbal, \(ḥadīths\) no. 1269, 9040; Abū Ya’lā, \(ḥadīth\) no. 224; Ibn al-Qayyīm, III, 458.
If taken out of their context, such *ḥadīths* would depict building as a crime. Rather, they are only related to the context in which each was said. During the early days of Islam, there was no time to pay much attention to building and the like, as the whole community was in a permanent state of other more important activities such as *jihād* and *daʾwah*. In fact, the generalization of the restrictiveness purveyed by the above *ḥadīths* seems to contradict the *Qurʾān* itself, in which God promises to grant a good life for those who do good deeds. Also according to *Qurʾān*, luxurious dwellings are regarded as great bounty. Speaking of the people of Thamūd, *Qurʾān* states:

> And remember how he made you inheritors after the ʿĀd people and gave you habitations in the land: ye build for yourselves palaces and castles in (open) plains, and carve out homes in the mountains [...].

In fact, the Prophet himself is reported to have had a house of two storeys (ʿuliyyah). The notion of the Prophet’s reluctance towards building was advocated by Creswell who quotes, at length, Ibn Saʿd to support it. In the passage quoted by Creswell, Ibn Saʿd describes the simplicity of the Prophet’s houses and mentions that the Prophet blamed one of his wives, Umm Salamah, for building a wall of *labin*, ‘adobe’. Indeed, *labin* is

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387 Muslim, *ḥadith* no. 5520.
388 Al-Ghazālī, p. 108.
389 Al-Ghazālī, p. 110.
390 *Qurʾān*, XVI, 97.
391 *Qurʾān*, VII, 74. See also *Qurʾān*, XIV, 45 and XXXII, 26.
392 Abū Dāwūd narrated this *ḥadith* under the heading of ‘the adoption of ghuraf, ‘chambers’.
393 Ibn Saʿd, I, 430. For the text of Ibn Saʿd, see 7.4.
394 On this incident, see chapter 3. See also Ibn Saʿd, I, 429.
reported to have been used for the mosque of the Prophet itself. Further, the same passage of Ibn Sa’d states that some of the houses of the Prophet’s wives had already been built of *labin*. Stone and *jiṣṣ* were also applied for the mosque of Ṣan`ā’ which was built in the time of the Prophet by his command and under supervision of one of his Companions.\(^{395}\) The Prophet did not prohibit building but rather warned against lavishness. Such discretion seems practical, particularly in the early years of Islam where the main attention, potentials and effort would have been focused on disseminating the new religion. Other ‘secondary’ matters were deferred until such time as Islam would establish its strong empire.

In tension with this literalist view are a number of reports which imply that the Prophet was not only aware of building, but also receptive to architectural beauty. In one *ḥadīth*, he compares the consolidation of the Muslim community to a building or a wall (* bunyān*) whose constituent parts support one another (*yashuddū ba’duhū ba’dan*). In the *Qur’ān* as well, there is a reference to a wall which is composed of dressed blocks (* bunyānun marṣūṣ*). There are a number of *ḥadīths* which imply that the Muslim inhabitants of Madīnah and other towns of Arabia (*ḥaḍar*) in the time of the Prophet lived in houses of *labin*. The fact that many of these *ḥadīths* address different topics than building ordinances enhances their reliability. According to one of them, the one who dies because a wall (*jidār*) collapses on him is regarded as a martyr. If people in the time of the Prophet mainly lived in tents or shacks, the *ḥadīth* would have rather addressed the one who died because the tent mast, for example, collapses on him. According to Arabic lexicons, the word *’jidār’* means a wall. It cannot be used to refer to the sides of a shack or a hut.\(^{396}\) In another *ḥadīth*, the Prophet states that a Muslim individual should not build a higher building than that of his

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\(^{395}\) Ibn Rustah, p. 110.

\(^{396}\) Ibn Manẓūr, I. 566; II, 918.
neighbour lest he should prevent breeze reaching the latter’s house. In a fourth hadīth, the Prophet gives example for his position amongst the prophets with ‘a man who built a house, and completed and perfected it (akmalahū wa atmamahū [in a narration faḥassanahū, ‘beautified it’]), except for the position of a brick (labinah). Thus, the people kept entering it and showing their admiration (wa yataʿaj jabūna minhā), saying: “how beautiful this house is except for the [the vacant] position of the brick.” I am the position of the brick as I completed the Prophets.’

This hadīth shows not only the Prophet’s awareness of building with labin, but also his appreciation of fine buildings. Likewise, the many hadīths about the exquisiteness of the houses, mansions, rivers and gardens in Paradise reflect the Prophet’s awareness and admiration of the beauty of art and architecture.

There are whole chapters in Ṣaḥīḥ compilations of Ḥadīth about Paradise. In Muslim, for example, it is titled ‘Paradise, the description of its blissful life and its inhabitants’.

Narrated Abū Hurayrah: [...] we asked [the Prophet] about Paradise; of what it is built? He replied: ‘a brick of silver and a brick of gold. It is plastered (malāṭuḥā) with musk of the most exquisite quality. It [namely its floor] is strewn with (ḥaṣbāʾuḥā) pearls and ruby and its soil is made of saffron. He who enters it will have a blissful life and will never slum [...].

Narrated Sahl b. Saʿd: the Prophet said: ‘An apartment in Paradise is seen by the people of Paradise just as a lustrous planet in the sky

397 Al-Bukhārī, Ḥadīths no 3534, 3535; Muslim, Ḥadīths no. 5959-63; Hammām b. Munabbih, Ḥadīth no. 2.


399 Abū Dāwūd, Ḥadīth no. 2526.
seems to you."\(^{400}\)

The Prophet is also reported to have said: ‘it is [a manifestation] of one’s happiness to have a wide house, a beneficent neighbour and a pleasant mount.’\(^{401}\) According to a less authentic account, the Prophet said: ‘he who builds a structure (\textit{buniyānan}) should build it properly (\textit{falyutqinah}).’\(^{402}\)

On the other hand, the Prophet reportedly confirmed that spiritual qualities are more important than physical features or material belongings. In a \textit{ḥadīth}, he says: ‘Verily God does not look at [namely, consider] your looks or your wealth, but he does with your hearts and your deeds.’\(^{403}\) Thus, the tendency in \textit{Hadīth} to apply simplicity in building could equally be attributed to the fact that Islam does not want to effect any liaison between its followers and any ephemeral matter, here represented in structures. \textit{Hadīths} which urge Muslims to conduct prayers at certain mosques\(^{404}\) denote places and not structures. Islam also does not want his followers to search for pride in such worldly things. The Prophet is reported to have said: ‘the Last Day will not come until the people compete in elevating [their] buildings.’\(^{405}\) When the Prophet wore a silk garment, that he had been gifted, he angrily took it off, after performing prayers in it, and said: ‘this is

\(^{400}\) \textit{Muslim}, \textit{ḥadīths} no. 7141-44. On Paradise, see also Ibn Mājah, \textit{ḥadīths} no.4328-41.

\(^{401}\) Al-Bukhārī, \textit{Al-Adab al-Mufrad}, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 355. According to al-Albānī, the editor of \textit{al-Adab al-Mufrad}, this \textit{ḥadīth} is \textit{sahīh}: p. 175.


\(^{403}\) \textit{Muslim}, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 6543.

\(^{404}\) These are: the Masjid al-Ḥarām at Mecca, the Aqṣā mosque in Palestine and the mosque of the Prophet at Madīnah. See al-Bukhārī, \textit{ḥadīths} no. 1189, 1197, 1846, 1995. See also chapter 7.

\(^{405}\) Al-Bukhārī, \textit{Al-Adab al-Mufrad}, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 350.
not suitable for the pious.\(^{406}\)

### 5.11. Conclusion

Although there is nothing in Islam called a standard mosque, for there is no verse in the Qur’ān or a ḥadīth to say that mosques must be built after a certain form, some of the universally recognized elements of the mosque, or at least their forerunners, were either adopted by the Prophet at his mosque or judged by his ḥadīth. By the end of the Umayyad period, the main components of the mosque were: the ṣaḥn, ‘open courtyard’, the riwāqs, ‘arcades’, the minaret, the pulpit, the maqṣūrah, and the concave prayer niche. These, and other elements,\(^{407}\) can be categorized into two groups. The first includes those which were judged by the Prophet, either because they, or more commonly their precursor features, were parts of his mosque, or because he wished to warn against their adoption after his departure.\(^{408}\) The second group, on the other hand, contains the elements which were neither included in the Prophet’s mosque nor referred to by any of his ḥadīths, such as the central nave and the concave prayer niche.

After discussing each of the mosque components individually, it has become apparent that although the mosque of the Prophet is widely believed to have represented the origin of mosque architecture, the mosque gained the greater part of its architectural character after the departure of the Prophet. This recalls the recurrent question of what methodologies could help us weigh up the acceptability of introducing a new architectural element, or ameliorating one already-authorized. Could these be regarded as natural development of mosque architecture to meet ‘changeable

\(^{406}\) Ibn Hanbal, ḥadīth no. 17276.

\(^{407}\) These include the doors, the qiblah wall, the gabled transept and the dome, or domes, over the mihrāb.

\(^{408}\) A good example is the ḥadīth about decorating mosques and building them on graves.
These ‘changeable conditions’, which accompanied the expansion of the Islamic empire, may properly include the different climate and the innate desire to build impressive mosques of no less glory than the worship houses of the conquered territories.

Linguistically, the word bid’ah, ‘innovation’ is used to refer to either a good or a bad act, but traditionally bid’ah, ‘heresy’, is mainly used to designate the bad acts that usually lead to the deformation of the orthodox religion. Yet, according to imām al-Shāfi‘ī, et alii, some religious innovations could be accepted, only if these are compliant with the essence and principles of shari‘ah. Some went further to argue that each ‘act’, presumably religious, which the Prophet did not do (in spite of the fact that there was a need to do it and there was no barrier to prevent him from doing it) must not be done after his death, and that if it were done, this would be a bid’ah.

Before applying this concept to mosque architecture, we need to know what type of ‘acts’ are here meant. According to scholars of Islamic law, a bid’ah is an innovated ‘way of worship’ which is based on neither the Qur‘ān nor the Sunnah. Thus, this does not include other worldly activities like agriculture and construction for instance. According to one ḥadīth, the Prophet states that people are more aware of the affairs of their worldly life. What about mosque architecture? Ibn Taymiyyah, for example, dealt

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409 Such investigation is always challenged by the definition of ‘heresy’ and ‘orthodoxy’. It should always be asked whose orthodoxy? For more on that, see A. Knysh, “Orthodoxy” and “Heresy” in Medieval Islam: An Essay in Reassessment, The Muslim World, 83, 1 (1993), 48-67.


411 Abū Shāmah, Ba‘ith, pp. 20-2.

412 However, these should be compatible with the general principles of Islam.

413 It is true that Islam has regulated many of these activities such as agricultural and
with mosques as worship-related objects. This means that the previous definition of bid‘ah could be applicable to them. This would, in turn, imply that any innovation regarding their form is included as a bid‘ah unless there was no need for the Prophet to do it, or there was a need but something prevented him from doing it.

We have already seen that when the mosque area had no longer given enough room for the attending congregation, the Prophet enlarged it, and when the Companions complained to him of the hot weather, he roofed it. In a way, this seems to reflect a receptive attitude, but when the Companions wanted to treat the walls of the mosque with a simple kind of paint, he disagreed. This account combines three architectural improvements offered to the Prophet: enlarging the mosque area, roofing it and painting its walls. Of these, he accepted two and denied one. While there was a basic need to do the first two, the third was regarded as relatively secondary, especially given the context of establishing a new religion.

For a further step towards better understanding of the Prophet’s perspective regarding the form and material of mosques, we will try to deduce the standard, or standards, he considered to allow or prevent an act regarding mosque’s architecture. There is evidence that the Prophet adopted simplicity not because it was the only available option due to technical inexperience, or the limited availability or ephemeral character of materials. According to traditions, the Prophet came while ’Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥah415 and Abū al-Dardā’416 were measuring the mosque area using a commercial affairs, but that is usually in the context of administering people’s dues and rights.

415 On ’Abd Allāh, see Ibn Sa’d, III, 486-91. According to a hadith in ‘Abd al-Razzāq, it was Ka’b b. Ubayy and Abū al-Dardā’ who were measuring the mosque: hadith no. 5135.
**qaṣabah**, ‘gauging rod’. Then he asked: ‘What are you doing?’ They answered: ‘We want to (re-)build the mosque after the style of the buildings of Shām (Syria); a work that would be shared out between the Anṣār.’ The Prophet then said: ‘Give me this qaṣabah.’ He took it from them and walked along with them and when he reached the door of the mosque, he threw it away and said: ‘No, I want it in the form of thumām, ‘dried twigs’.’ Explaining thumām, he added: ‘few pieces of wood and an arbour like that of Moses. The affair, namely this life, is not that long.’

417 They then asked: ‘And what is the arbour of Moses?’ The Prophet answered: ‘When he stood

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417 Ibn Zabālah, p. 78; al-Samhūdı, I, 339; M. J. Kister, “A Booth Like the Booth of Moses...“: A Study of an Early Hadīth’, in Bulletin of the Society of Oriental and African Studies, 25 (1962), pp. 150-155. Kister, however, argued that this tradition was not reported by any of the orthodox collections of Hadīth. Yet, in fact, it is included in the recently published Muṣannaf of ῦAbd al-Razzāq (ḥadīth no. 5135). Al-Samhūdı and others mentioned a similar ḥadīth according to which, ‘the Anṣār collected money and came [with it] to the Prophet and said: “O Prophet of Allāh, build the mosque and adorn it for us; until what will we pray under these palm fronds?”’ [...].’ Al-Samhūdı, Khulāṣat, II, 15. According to Ibn Kathīr, this ḥadīth is gharīb, ‘unfamiliar or rare’. Ibn Kathīr, VI, 532-3. On similar narrations, see Ibn Sā’d, I, 206; al-Ṭartūshi, p. 104; Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, I, 84; Ibn Rajab, III, 281-2. There is also another ḥadīth of the same meaning. Narrated ῦAbd Allāh b. ῦAmr: The Prophet passed by me while I was treating with mud a wall (ḥāʾitan) of mine of khuṣ. He asked: ‘what is this ῦAbd Allāh?’ I replied: ‘a wall which I am restoring.’ Then, he said: ‘the affair is not that long (al-amru a’jalu, in a narration: asra’u, min dhālik). Al-Bukhārī, Al-Adab al-Mufrad, ḥadīth no. 354; Abū Dāwūd, ḥadīths no. 5235-6; Ibn Mājah, ḥadīth no. 4160. Some scholars argue that the Prophet’s insistence to build ephemeral structures is due to his belief that either death or the Last Day would soon come. See Rosenthal, ‘The Influence of the Biblical Tradition on Muslim Historiography’, in Lewis and Holt (eds) 1962, pp. 35-45 (pp. 36-9); Antun, p. 102. Kister (pp. 150-55) believes that this ‘early’ tradition was omitted by the 3rd/9th century compilers of Hadīth because it includes an unrealized prophecy that the Day of Judgment would come in the lifetime of the Prophet. Indeed, the orthodox collections of Hadīth include many ḥadīths that give clearer references to the ‘short’ time between the advent of the Prophet and the Last Day, but ‘short’ here does not necessarily mean months, years or centuries. This ‘short’ period of time should arguably be seen in relation to the age of this world. Neither the above ḥadīth nor any other ‘orthodox’ one says that the Day of Judgment will come while the Prophet was alive.
up, his head reached the roof.\textsuperscript{418}

The phrase ‘life is not that long’ is of particular significance for this discussion; it implies one reason for which the Prophet did not want his mosque to be massive and decorated, that is, regarding the transitory nature of this life. In many \textit{ḥadīths}, the Prophet warns against paying much attention to this life, for this would lead to losing sight of the hereafter. According to previously-mentioned \textit{ḥadīths}, the Prophet maintained his persistent reluctance to connect the Muslims with any material object. It could be argued that he wanted the mosque to be praised only for the function, or rather functions, which it was set to serve and not for its charming structural features.

Similarly, \textit{ḥadīths} about detesting the act of decorating mosques imply that the Prophet did not want any worldly object to distract people during prayers. Mosques are places for worship and meditation. Therefore, they should not contain any sort of distraction. The reason for the prohibition against building mosques on graves is much clearer. It was plainly mentioned by the Prophet in many \textit{sahīh ḥadīth}. Here, the tone of prohibition is much stricter. This might be attributed to the ‘dire’ effect that such practice would beget from an Islamic point of view.

It could, therefore, be argued that the more untoward is the consequence of a transgression, the more plain-spoken is the reason given for its prevention, and the stricter the punishment. When the Companions offered to rebuild the mosque on a larger scale and in a more elegant style, the Prophet was content with refusing and indicating why this is not

\textsuperscript{418} Ibn Zabālah, p. 78; Ibn Rustah, p. 66; al-Samhūdī, \textit{Wafā’}, I, 339; al-Sakhāwī, \textit{Tuḥfah}, p. 43. An abridged form of this account is mentioned in a \textit{ḥadīth} reported by al-Bayhaqi in his \textit{Daīl}. Yet, according to Ibn Kathīr, this \textit{ḥadīth} is \textit{mursal}. Ibn Kathīr, IV, 532.
suitable. Yet, he did not mention any punishment.\footnote{The ḥadīth which states that destruction is the corollary of decorating mosques is a statement of Abū al-Darda’ and is a ḥadīth mawqūf.} When it came to building mosques on or by graves, on the other hand, the repercussion was nothing less than God’s wrath.

With all said, it seems that the Prophet wanted his mosque to be built in a proper way. This is why he assigned the work of moulding adobes to the one who had the most experience amongst the attending Companions (see above). Also, the Prophet praised Tamīm al-Dārī, a Companion, for illuminating the mosque in spite of that he was not commanded to do so and that it was an unprecedented habit in Islam.\footnote{See Ibn Mājah, ḥadīth no. 760; Ibn Ḥajar, Ḥṣābah, I, 191; al-Jurā῾ī, p. 362.} Such ḥadīths suggest that the Prophet wanted the work of building the mosque to be properly done and that he allowed useful improvements which had not been previously prescribed. This interpretation conforms to the general Islamic approach of praising perfection of work. Narrated `Ā`ishah, the Prophet says: ‘Verily, Allāh loves that when anyone of you does a work to do it perfectly’.\footnote{Al-Bayhaqi, Shu’ab al-Imān, ed. by. A. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ḥāmid, 14 vols (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 2003), ḥadīths no. 4929-32; al-Ṭabarānī, Awaṣṭ, ḥadīth no. 897; Abū Ya`lā, ḥadīth no. 4386. While this ḥadīth is not of a high degree of authenticity for its strand includes Muṣʿab b. Thābit whose memory was not very strong, it is accepted by a majority of scholars for its sound meaning. See Abū Ya`lā, Musnad, p. 349.} It is also known that the Prophet built his mosque a number of times, and each time he added a new part or used a better technique of building.\footnote{See chapter 4.}

To sum up, there are two groups of ḥadīth which may reflect divergent perspectives regarding mosque architecture, and thus explain a lot of the relevant later debates. The first group seems generally to adopt a critical attitude against elaboration and decoration of mosques, while the
second seems not only to permit but actively to urge people to properly build mosques. To understand this paradoxical situation and whether later polemics created or just reacted to it, we need to firstly identify the number of things against which the Prophet warned, or at least did not recommend: extravagance, distraction, imitation of non-Muslims (particularly in religious matters), and exalting the departed pious. This list of constraints did not, however, prevent the Prophet from building his mosque in a proper way, although ‘proper’ here does not mean elegant and massive. Rather, it means simple but practical, frugal but durable, and fine-looking but neither distracting nor pretentious.
Chapter 6: The influence of Ḥadīth on the architecture of the Rāshidūn mosques
Chapter 6: The influence of Ḥadīth on the architecture of the Rāshidūn mosques

6.1. Introduction

Generally, the mosques which were built in the first half-century AH were influenced by the ‘mosque’ of the Prophet at Madīnah.¹ On this view – which was earlier stated by al-Ṭabarī² – early congregational mosques were more or less a reproduction of the Prophet’s archetype.³ Such early mosques are commonly referred to as either ‘garrison mosques’ or ‘courtyard mosques’.⁴ The reason for the first term is that such mosques were soon laid out in the centres of new Islamic towns, both those recently-founded and Islamized versions of older ones. Baṣrah (14/636), Kūfah (16-7/637-638) and Fustāṭ (20/641) are good examples for the first type; Madāʾin and Jerusalem typify the latter.⁵ The reason for the second appellation is that they were normally composed of an open courtyard, usually parallelogram, enclosed by a simple device and abutted by the dār al-imārah, ‘official residence’. Inspired by the Prophet’s model, this group, a mosque and a dār imārah, represented the seed of a complex that prevailed for more than two centuries afterwards.⁶ In such hypaethral buildings, the only covered space was the qiblah side which was shaded by means of a simple ẓullah.

¹ See Pedersen, ‘Masdjīd’, p. 646; Hillenbrand, Islamic Architecture, p. 33; Hattstein and Delius, Islam: Art and Architecture, p. 67; Ettinghausen, Grabar and Jenkins-Madina, p. 20; Bloom and Blair, p. 25; Irwin, p. 58. However, not all of the early mosques had courtyards. See Johns, ‘the House of the Prophet’, pp. 62-9.
² Al-Ṭabarī, IV, 45.
⁴ Hattstein and Delius, Islam: Art and Architecture, p. 67.
Chapter 6: The influence of Ḥadīth on the architecture of the Rāshidūn mosques

According to Hillenbrand, ‘the need for some serviceable gathering place for these thousands of Muslims was acute, and a simple enclosure best fitted that need. The means chosen to enclose the desired space were not necessarily monumental: a line of scattered ashes, a reed fence, a shallow ditch and the like.’ Commenting on this simple arrangement, Hillenbrand adds: ‘it is highly significant that their austerity of plan and elevation ran increasingly counter to contemporary taste.’ The main question here is: why did the patrons and builders of these mosques favour such austerity when most of them were built in newly Islamized territories where long artistic traditions existed?

As a matter of course, the original form of such ephemeral buildings did not long survive. They were expanded, modified or in toto overwritten by a series of architectural works that were made at them by successive rulers. The archaeological evidence of how these mosques looked when they were first built is unfortunately missing. While the palace of Kūfah, for instance, has been excavated, our information about its mosque is still mostly textual. Thanks to excavations, the plans of the second buildings of some of these mosques are more safely delineated. Yet, because they were built in the Umayyad period, these better-documented buildings will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Our information about the earliest forms of these mosques is mainly based on early Arabic sources. In spite of the historiographical problems

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7 Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, p. 34.
which we have already referred to (see chapter 2),\(^{10}\) the description provided by these sources is arguably sufficient to support hypothetical reconstructions.\(^ {11}\) Further, some early non-Arabic writings assist the study of the first-half century mosques. With this noted, the lack of concrete evidence may be the main reason why so few modern scholars have paid much attention to their study, even when writing under titles such as: ‘Early Islamic Art and Architecture’\(^{12}\) or ‘the Birth of Islamic Art’.\(^ {13}\)

The mosques of the first half-century AH were built by, or under custody of, the ṣaḥābīs, ‘Companions’ of the Prophet who are traditionally known to be the keenest amongst his nation to follow his sunnah. For a majority of Muslim scholars, the vitae of the ṣaḥābīs are actually regarded as a part of the sunnah, as their conducts and approaches should have stemmed from their understanding of the Prophet’s teachings.\(^ {14}\) There are whole chapters in the eight-ninth century collections of Ḥadīth in which the Prophet praises his Companions, especially those four who later succeeded him as the earliest caliphs.\(^ {15}\) These were: Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (11-3/632-4), ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (13-23/634-44), ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (23-35/644/-56) and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (35-40/656-61).\(^ {16}\) They are traditionally known by

\(^{10}\) On these problems, see also Robinson, pp. 11-9; Albrecht Noth, Lawrence I. Conrad, The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-Critical Study, Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam, 3, 2nd edn (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1994).


\(^{13}\) See Hillenbrand, Islamic Art and Architecture, pp. 11-38.


\(^{15}\) See al-Bukhārī, Muslim and Ibn Mājah, chapters of Faḍā il Aṣḥāb al-Nabī (the Virtues of the Companions of the Prophet), and Manāqib al-Anṣār (the Good Deeds of the Anṣār).

\(^{16}\) On these caliphs, see al-Ṭabarī, III, IV; Ibn Kathīr, IX, X; Hugh Kennedy, The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: The Islamic Near East From the Sixth to the Eleventh Century (London: Longman, 1986), pp. 50-81.
Sunnis as the *Khulafāʾ Rāshidūn*, ‘the Rightly-guided Caliphs’.¹⁷

Those caliphs paid much homage to the teachings of the Prophet. Pedersen stated that the memory of the Prophet was considered ‘so precious’ by his followers that they liked to imitate him in everything loving to pray in the places where he used to pray.¹⁸ In his *Orient Under the Caliphs*, Alfred von Kremer states: ‘the life of the Prophet, his discourses and utterances, his actions, his silent approval and even his passive conduct constituted next to the Qur’ān the second most important source of law for the young Muslim empire.’¹⁹ It is thus relevant to investigate how such devout Companions observed the simple model of the Prophet in a new milieu with changing settings. How did they perceive the features of this model? Were their perspectives uniform or different? Did they regard it as binding?

In what follows, the main architectural works of the Rāshidūn will be pointed out. Then, the *ṣaḥābīs*’ attitudes towards building in general and building mosques in particular will be discussed. Afterwards, some architectural incidents, in which *Hadīth* was clearly consulted will be considered. Next, the influence of *Hadīth* on the location, material, plan and architectural components of early mosques will be examined. At a general level, their architecture will then be compared to relevant *Hadīth*. Also, there will be a discussion about the traditional views on the *ṣaḥābīs* converting churches into mosques and reusing antique columns in building them. The

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Chapter 6: The influence of Ḥadīth on the architecture of the Rāshidūn mosques

chapter ends with a brief summary of the main findings.

6.2. Architectural works of the Rāshidūn

With the exception of some reports about Abū Bakr renewing the mosque of the Prophet, there is no historical evidence that he achieved any work of architectural significance. According to some accounts, the roof and columns of the mosque were renewed in his caliphate because they had become ruined. Thus, he rebuilt the mosque using palm stems and fronds. At first glance, such accounts seem to contradict a ḥadīth in al-Bukhārī according to which, 'Abū Bakr added nothing to the mosque of the Prophet, for he was entirely engaged in the Muslim conquests. According to al-Samhūdī, the apparent contradiction in these accounts is only superficial, for what was denied according to the latter ḥadīth is the act of expansion (lam yazid fīhī Abū Bakr shay'an). Al-Samhūdī added that this is what was (exactly) done by Abū Bakr, whose works of restoration did not extend to an expansion of the area of the mosque or to the use of different materials. On the other hand, the reign of the second Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb witnessed not only a rebuilding of the mosque of the Prophet at Madīnah but also the building of a number of congregational mosques in Baṣrah, Kūfah (figures 11 and 12), Fustāṭ (figures 13 and 14), and

20 Abu Dāwūd, ḥadīth no. 452; Ibn Kathīr, IV, 533; al-Sakhāwī, Tuhfah, I, 45.
21 Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth no 446; al-Bayhaqi, ḥadīth no. 4294.
22 Ibn Zabālah, p. 113; al-Samhūdī, Wafāʾ, II, 481.
23 Al-Samhūdī, Wafāʾ, II, 481.
24 Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth no. 446; Abū Dawūd, ḥadīth no. 451-2.
26 On the first mosque of Kūfah see al-Ṭabarī, IV, 44-6; al-Balādhurī, p. 388; Yāqūt, IV, 491; Ibn al-Athīr, Al-Kāmil fil Tārikh, 11 vols (Beirut: Dār Ẓādir, 1965), II, 529; Reitemeyer,
Jerusalem. 28 This is in addition to some architectural works in the Holy Mosque at Mecca. In the time of ῦUthmān, however, the mosque of Madīnah was rebuilt in a more advanced form (see figures 6 and 7). Having ruled in a time of conflict and fitnas ‘ordeals’, on the other hand, the fourth caliph, ῦAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is not reported to have patronized the building of any congregational mosque. In the meantime, small mosques were built throughout the time of the Rightly-guided Caliphs.

6.3. Ṣaḥābīs’ attitudes towards building

To study the influence of Ḥadīth on the architecture of the mosques which were built under the Rāshidūn Caliphs, we need to examine their attitudes towards building, and those of the ṣaḥābīs who lived in their times. It is equally important to investigate whence these attitudes derived. In his article about ‘Masdjīd’ in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, Pedersen has already distinguished between what he called ‘the old-fashioned attitude’ and the ‘Umayyad attitude’, which was on the face of it a liberal one.

It seems safe to assume that the two personalities whose works had the most influential impact on mosque development in the first half-century

28 On the first mosque of Jerusalem (the mosque of ῦUmar), see Ibn Kathîr, IX, 656, 662; Tobler, Itineraria et descriptiones Terrae Sanctae, I, 145; Rivoira, p. 14 (quoting Caetani, Annali, III, 2, pp. 950, 951; vol. IV, 507-509). See also Rivoira, pp. 15-8; Pedersen, ‘Masdjīd’, p. 648; Creswell, Short Account, p. 10; Irwin, p. 58-9; Bloom and Blair, Islamic Arts, p. 25.
AH were ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān. The personality of ‘Umar, as depicted by the sources, is that of a pious and a strict caliph. Traditions are full of narratives which give the impression that he was regarded as an authority per se. After the early Muslim migrants settled down in Kūfah, they did not use qaṣab, ‘reed’, in building its mosque and houses before they were given ‘Umar’s permission.²⁹ He advised them that a ‘comfortable life’ would not usually make soldiers primed (to fight) (inna al ḍaskar ashaddū [in al-Ṭabarī, ajaddū] liḥarbikom wa adhkarū lakom). Nonetheless, he admitted that he did not want to dissent.³⁰ It seems that ‘Umar was ignorant of what qaṣab looked like and what it was used for. According to al-Ṭabarī, when ‘Umar asked about ‘qaṣab’, he was given the answer: ‘[it is] ‘iqrib which, when irrigated, becomes solid like reed (idhā rawiya qaṣṣab fasāra qaṣaban). ‘Umar agreed and said: ‘it is your affair (sha’nukum).’ So the people of the two towns of Baṣrah and Kūfah built with reed.³¹

This account is reminiscent of the Prophet’s conservative stance when the Companions wanted to rebuild his mosque in a more advanced form (see 5.11). Likewise, ‘Umar’s statement ‘it is your affair’ could have been inspired from the hadīth which says: ‘you are more aware of the affairs of this life of yours’.³²

The report about ‘Umar’s unwillingness to use reed have been regarded by some as exaggerated on the grounds that almost nothing could

²⁹ Al-Ṭabarī, IV, 43; Ibn al-Athīr, II, 528. The houses and mosque of Baṣrah were also built of qaṣab, ‘reed’ in 14/635. See al-Balādhurī, p. 483; Ibn Qutaybah, p. 563.
³¹ Al-Ṭabarī, IV, 43. Prof. H. Kennedy has kindly drawn my attention to that building with reed is still in use in parts of Oman.
³² Muslim, ḥadīth no. 6128. See also Ibn Mājah, ḥadīth no. 2470-1.
have been simpler. In fact, the reed of Iraqi rivers often attains eight meters in height, and is thus suitable for large and elaborate structures. This can still be seen in the vernacular constructions of the Marsh Arabs in southern Iraq.  

Similarly, labin, ‘unfired brick’, which was already in use in Mesopotamia at that time, was not used in building the mosque and houses until a great conflagration broke out at both towns. The commander-in-chief, Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ, dispatched envoys to ‘Umar to ask for his permission. ‘Umar agreed, yet warned: ‘none of you is allowed to build more than three abyāt, ‘houses’, and do not compete in elevating your buildings (wala taṭāwalū fil bunyān), and be adherent to the sunnah so that the state will be adherent to you (namely patronize you).’ It is said that ‘Umar sent the same message to Baṣrah. On the authority of al-Ṭabarī, ‘Umar was given the people’s pledge that they would not elevate a building to exceed the qadr which ‘Umar specified, as ‘it is what would keep

34 Antun, p. 4
35 Al-Ṭabarī, IV, 43-4; Ibn al-Athīr, II, 528; Ibn Kathīr, X, 34-5.
36 Sa’d b. Mālik b. Uhayb b. ‘Abd Manāf was born in AD 595 (i.e. 23 years before the Hijrah). He was one of the first to embrace Islam, one of the ‘ten blessed Companions’ who were promised Paradise by the Prophet and one of the six to whom ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb entrusted the affair of the caliphate when he was stabbed during prayers. In the caliphate of ‘Umar he was made the commander-in-chief of the Muslim army which defeated the Persians in the battle of al-Qādisiyah in 15/635. Two years later he conquered Madā’in, the Persian capital. He was appointed by ‘Umar as the governor of Kūfah which he founded in 17/637. Sa’d narrated a large number of hadiths which were later transmitted by scholars such as Sa’d b. al-Musayyab and Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim. He died in 55/664. See Ibn Sa’d, II, 127-38; al-Mizzī, Tahdhib al-Kamāl, X, 300-14; Ibn Hajar, Iṣābah, III, 83-5; al-Dhahabī, Siyar, 1784-90.
37 Al-Ṭabarī; IV, 43; Ibn al-Athīr, II, 528, Ibn Kathīr, X, 34-5.
39 Ibid.
you away from lavishness and keep you close to frugality, (qaṣḍ).\(^{40}\) It is true that the use of *labin* was not criticized, in itself, as it was used in the mosque and houses of the Prophet, but the Prophet is reported to have said: ‘I have not been commanded to do *tashyid* to mosques [namely, raise and perfect their buildings].’ (See 5.8). The zeal of 'Umar to maintain the Prophet’s model is clearly represented in making the people’s adherence to the *sunnah* as a stipulation for them to be patronized by the state.

According to al-Ṭabarī, in the time of 'Umar, mosques had neither structures nor banners (*min ghayr bunyān wala aʾlām*). Al-Ṭabarī also stated that 'Umar ordered markets, as well, to be on the fashion of mosques.\(^ {41}\)

On the authority of Abū Mikhnaf, Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ adopted for his ‘palace’ a wooden gate (*bāban mubawwaban min khashab*) and a shack of reed (*khuṣṣan min qaṣab*).\(^ {42}\) [Having known that,] ‘Umar sent to him Muḥammad b. Maslamah al-Anṣārī who burned the gate and the *khus*.\(^ {43}\)

According to Ibn al-Athīr, ‘Umar resented the fact that his *wālī*, ‘governor’, took for himself what the people called ‘the palace of Sa’d’. ‘Umar’s tetchy message to Sa’d included:

> I have been informed that you took for yourself a palace, and you made [it] a stronghold. [I have been also told] that it is known as the palace of Sa’d and that there is a gate between you and the people. This is not your palace. [Rather,] it is the palace of corruption. Step down to a place next to the Treasury and close it.\(^ {44}\)

There is a possibility, however, that what ‘Umar particularly disliked

\(^{40}\) Al-Ṭabarī, IV, 44.  
\(^{41}\) Al-Ṭabarī, IV, 45.  
\(^{42}\) Working from scanty and problematic archaeological evidence, Antun argues that the *dār* of Sa’d could have been more elaborate than depicted by the sources: pp. 32-3.  
\(^{43}\) Al-Balādhrī, p. 392; Ibn al-Athīr, II, 529; Ibn Kathīr, X, 35.  
about the gate of Sa’d was that it could have prevented the people from easily meeting him (namely Sa’d). We understand from Ibn Kathīr that ‘Umar became particularly angry because Sa’d used to close it. So he ordered him not to do this, nor to put anyone such as chamberlain or a door-keeper to prevent people who wished to meet Sa’d.  

The above-mentioned and other stories about ‘Umar imply his willingness personally to intervene to terminate whatever seemed to be a transgression. The latter tendency is clearly expressed by al-Ṭabarī who stated that ‘Umar was consulted about whatever the Muslim rulers were about to discard or adopt.  

Such rigour on the part of ‘Umar does not seem to have blunted his appreciation of exquisite craftsmanship. According to al-Masʿūdī, no [unbeliever] non-Arab (min al-ʿajam) was allowed to enter Madīnah in the time of ‘Umar. However, when he was told by al-Mughirah b. Shu’bah, his governor at Kūfah, that he had a boy who was a painter (naqqāsh), carpenter and ironsmith and who could bring a lot of benefits for the people of Madīnah, ‘Umar gave him permission. We have already seen that the Prophet had praised the skill of Ṭalq b. ‘Alī and entrusted him with the task of moulding labīn for he proved to be the most familiar with it (see chapters 4 and 5). Likewise, ‘Umar’s austerity does not seem to have prevented him

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45 Ibn Kathīr, X, 35.  
47 Al-Ṭabarī, IV, 43-4.  
48 Al-Mughirah b. Shu’bah b. Abi ‘Āmir was one of the notable Companions of the Prophet. There are twelve hadiths in al-Bukhārī and Muslim that were narrated through him. See Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, VI, 131-2; al-Dhahabi, Siyar, 3917-20.  
49 This boy was Abu Lu’lu’ah al-Majūsī, the one who later killed ‘Umar. Al-Masʿūdī, Murūǰ, II, 329.
from paying attention to having the mosque of the Prophet rebuilt in a proper way. He is reported to have asked the builders to thicken the courses of the walls and tighten the planks used in construction.

Some reports give the impression that a more liberal attitude was adopted during the caliphate of ʿUthmān. Al-Masʿūdī mentioned that in the time of ʿUthmān a number of ṣaḥābis had farms (diyā) and [big] houses (dūr). Of those, he mentioned: al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbayd Allāh, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAwf and others. According to al-Masʿūdī, al-Zubayr, for example, built for himself houses in Baṣrah, Miṣr, Kūfah and Alexandria, while the house of Saʿd, at the valley of ʿAqīq, was high and wide with crenellations ʿshurufāt on it. However, al-Masʿūdī’s opinions are, according to Wālī and others, coloured with Shiʿism. Should this be true, it would be enough reason for him to try to attribute dissipation and corruption to the days of ʿUthmān who was regarded as a heretic by the Shiʿīs. In fact, the afore-mentioned ṣaḥābis are said to have been well-to-do since the time of the Prophet. We should also bear in mind that the early historians’ use of the word qaṣr, which is generally used to mean palace, was different. Ibn Rustah, for instance, attributed quṣūr, ‘palaces’ to the tanners of Ṣanʿāʿ in his days.

The above-mentioned stories about ʿUmar and ʿUthmān cast shadow on the ṣaḥābis’ different understandings of Ḥadīth. The conduct of each of them seems to have sprung from a certain deed or saying of the Prophet. This, in a way, seems to enhance Goldziher’s suspicions about the authenticity of Ḥadīth (see chapter 2). However, this could be attributed to

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50 Al-Masʿūdī, Murūj, II, 342-3.
51 On the valley of ʿAqīq, see al-Fayrūzabādī, Magḥānim, p. 454.
52 Al-Masʿūdī, Murūj, II, 342-3. On the houses of the Companions in the time of ʿUthmān, see also Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 159.
54 Ibn Rustah, p. 110.
how each of them understood the same hadith, or to the possibility that some of them were acquainted with hadiths of which the other side was not. In some cases, especially in later times, the different opinions of legalists could equally be attributed to their different perspectives of valuing the authenticity of relevant hadiths. We are told about incidents where individuals or groups of early Muslims acted according to a certain hadith which was later abrogated by another of which they were ignorant. Sometimes, argument arose on whether a certain hadith had been abrogated. Disagreement might also have emerged concerning: the religious significance of a specific act of the Prophet; the wisdom behind it; and whether it was exclusive to a specific situation or applicable to others.⁵⁵

Let us, for example, consider the works of 'Umar and 'Uthmān at the mosque of the Prophet. 'Umar’s represented the strictly conservative approach. His work reflects that very clearly. The structure he built is seen by Briggs, for instance, as ‘far from constituting architecture as we understand it’.⁵⁶ According to Ibn 'Umar, the mosque was expanded in the caliphate of 'Umar who rebuilt it [in 17/638] on the same pattern it had had in the time of the Prophet. 'Umar used unbaked brick, leaves of date-palms and exchanged its [old wooden] pillars with [new] wooden ones.⁵⁷ Ibn Baṭṭāl said that 'Umar’s work at the mosque emphasized that the Prophet’s sunnah regarding mosque building and furnishing is frugality and scantiness.

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⁵⁶ Briggs, Muhammadan Architecture, p. 29.

⁵⁷ Al-Bukhārī, hadith no. 446. See also Ibn Kathīr, IV, 533; Ibn al-Najjār, p. 170; al-Barzanjī, p. 12; Wensinck, p. 154; Rivoira, p. 3; Briggs, Muhammadan Architecture, p.29. According to Ibn Zabālah, the new pillars were made of labīn, but al-Samhūdi had more confidence in the account of sahih hadith which states that 'Umar retained the form and material of the Prophet’s structure. See Al-Samhūdi, Wafā, II, 481; Ibn Ḥajar, Fath, II, 85-7; al-Barzanjī, p. 12.
He added that 'Umar, in spite of the abundance of money in his time, changed nothing of the form which the mosque had had in the time of the Prophet. At the same time, he had to renew it because the fronds had become tattered by his time.\(^{58}\)

'Uthmān, on the other hand, rebuilt the mosque on a larger scale in a more advanced form and using better materials. The walls were built of cut stones (\(\text{al-}\text{ḥijārah al-manqūshah al-muṭābiqah}\)) and [coated with] stucco (\(\text{qaṣṣah}\)). Ashlars were also used for the columns, and teak for the roof.\(^{59}\) The columns were drilled and fitted with iron dowels set in lead bedding.\(^{60}\) According to another accounts, the roof rested on pillars that were built of ājurr ‘sun-dried brick’ in the time of ’Uthmān.\(^{61}\)

6.4. **Examples of Ḥadīth consultation**

Ḥadīth played a significant role in shaping the architecture of the mosques which were built under the Rightly-guided Caliphs. In some cases, Ḥadīth was clearly consulted. In others, the reported form and material of a certain mosque indicates that it was built after the fashion of the Prophet’s model. Materially, the Prophet’s model was represented by his mosque at Madīnah which as we have noted is itself regarded, by definition, as a part of his Ḥadīth. We shall now deal with the cases in which Ḥadīth was clearly consulted.

We are told about a number of incidents where Ḥadīth was considered as the most important, if not the only, criterion to judge an ‘architectural’ debate. Moreover, although these occasions are not copious,

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\(^{60}\) Ibn al-Najjār, p. 174; al-Barzanjī, p. 12.

\(^{61}\) Abu Dāwūd, Ḥadīth no. 452; Ibn Kathīr, II, 170.
there is a further possibility that there were negotiations about how a mosque should be built according to Hadith.

Narrated Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī, 'Umar commanded the mosque (of the Prophet) to be (re-)built and said (presumably to himself or to a worker): 'Provide the people with shelter from the rains and do not use red or yellow [paint], lest the people should be led astray [particularly distracted during their prayers].’62 In this it was assumed by Ibn Baṭṭāl that 'Umar might have been inspired by the Prophet’s attitude when he had given the khamīṣah, a woollen garment with marks, to Abū Jahm, a Companion, and said: 'It distracted me during my prayers’,63 or that 'Umar had special knowledge from the Prophet.64 Also, it could be assumed that it was the later commentators who might have presumed that 'Umar thought in these terms; it rather seems clear that he is ‘orthodoxy’ here – an authority with great status in his community. In any event, 'Umar seems to have been strict against heightening and decorating buildings. He is also reported to have said: 'no nation had committed sinful acts without adorning their mosques.’65

The following incident from the time of the Caliph 'Uthmān is an example of how Hadith determined a dispute concerning mosque architecture. After mentioning the story of 'Umar’s expansion of the

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63 The complete text of this ḥadīth, and others of relevant topics, has been mentioned in chapter 5.
64 Ibn Ḥajar, Fath, II, 85.
65 Ibn Mājah, ḥadīth no. 471. Ibn Mājah reported it as a ḥadīth of the Prophet and not a saying of 'Umar. Ibn Ḥajar commented that this ḥadīth’s chain of narrators is trustworthy with exception of Jubārah b. al-Mughallas. Fath, II, 85. According to al-Albānī, this ḥadīth is ḍa’īf. ḍa’īf al-Jami’ al-Ṣaghīr wa Ziyādatuh (al-Fath al-Kabir), rev. edn (Berut: al-Maktab al-İslāmî) ḥadīth no. 5075. This ḥadīth is reported, in similar words, by 'Abd al-Razzāq in his Muṣannaf on the authority of 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib. Muṣannaf, ḥadīths no. 5131-4. For more details about the implications of this ḥadīth and scholars’ different interpretations of it, see chapter 5.
mosque, Ibn Baṭṭāl said: ‘then came ʿUthmān and the money in his time was more abundant. He improved the building (namely the Prophet’s mosque) without decorating it (on ʿUthmān’s structure, see above). Nevertheless, he underwent criticism from [conservative] Companions.’

ʿUbayd Allāh related that when the people criticized ʿUthmān for rebuilding the mosque of the Prophet (apparently in a more advanced form), he heard him saying to them: ‘you have overstated, and I heard the Prophet saying: ‘whoever builds a mosque (Bukayr, a sub-narrator, said: ‘I surmised he said for the satisfaction of Allāh’), Allāh will build for him one like it in Paradise.’’

Narrated Maḥmūd b. Lubayd al-Anṣārī, when ʿUthmān wanted to build the mosque, the people disliked the proposal and wished that he left it in the same form and material as it had been in the time of the Prophet. According to al-Baghawī (435-516/1043-1122), ʿUthmān was blamed for the use of carved stone and not for expanding the mosque.

Based on the approach of ʿUthmān, al-Baghawī concluded that the use of hewn stones ʿḥijārah manqūshah’ to build mosques is only allowed if that would help fortify the masonry. It is noticeable here is that Hadīth played the most decisive role in this discussion between ʿUthmān and the conservative saḥābis; it was Hadīth that validated ʿUthmān’s approach and persuaded his critics who reportedly complied once they heard the hadīth which justified his attitude.

It is of interest, however, to note that the hadīth he mentioned does not necessarily mean that mosques had to be built in a perfect way, for it would still be a good deed if they were built in a modest way. It was

67 Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth no. 450; Khan’s transl.
68 Muslim, ḥadīth no. 1190.
69 Al-Baghawī, II, 349.
70 Ibid.
71 Ibn Kathīr, IV, 534.
'Uthmān’s understanding, then, which might have been built on the phrase 'like it', that led him to make such improvements. Building a mosque is, in any case, a charitable work, and ṣaḥābīs loved to give alms in a pleasing way so that they would gain a more pleasing reward from God. For instance, it is reported of ‘Āʾishah, the Prophet’s wife, that she scented money before she gave it to the needy. When she was asked about that she replied: 'it falls in the hand of Allāh before it falls in the hand of the poor.'

‘Uthmān’s desire to use better material did not conflict with his reverence for the Prophet’s model. For example, he was keen to erect his new stone columns in the same positions of the palm trunks which once supported the roof of the mosque and which were set by the Prophet and renewed by 'Umar. This task was assigned to Zayd b. Thābit who also made ṭiqān, ‘small windows’, in the mosque’s eastern and western sides.

‘Uthmān is also reported to have retained the original number and positions of the doors. He is further said to have ordered a stucco utrujjah, ‘a flask or a fruit similar to a big lemon’, which was hung in the ceiling of the mosque, to be removed when he was told that the worshippers were looking up at it. According to Ḥadīth, the worshipper is not allowed to look up during prayers. In another instance, ‘Uthmān is reported by his female servant to have ordered the image (timthāl) of a sarcophagus towards which he was praying to be obliterated.

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72 A ḥadīth (gharīb) of the same meaning is reported by Abū Na‘īm. See Abū Na‘īm Ahmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Aṣfahānī, Hilyat al-Awliyāʾ wa Ṭabaqāt al-Aṣfiyāʾ, 10 vols (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1988), IV, 81. See also al-Albānī, Da‘īfah, ḥadīths no. 5074, 6739.
75 Al-Murjānī, p. 128; al-Maṭarī, p. 80; al-Samhūdī, Wafāʾ, II, 507.
76 Ibn Manzūr, I, 425; al-Fayrūzabādī, I, 179; al-Rāzī, p. 67.
77 Ibn Abī Shaybah, ḥadīth no. 4617; al-Baghwī, II, 349.
78 Ibn Abī Shaybah, ḥadīth no. 4620.
The following story can throw further light on how Hadith was considered to arbitrate a debate in terms of mosque building. Ibn Saʿd recounted:

When ῾Umar wanted to expand the area of the mosque, he bought all the houses around it so as to merge their areas into it. The exception was the houses of the Prophet’s wives and the dār of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, a Muslim uncle of the Prophet. ῾Umar, thus, told al-ʿAbbās that he wanted to buy his house as there was no way to take the houses of the Prophet’s wives. When al-ʿAbbās refused, ῾Umar gave him three options: to buy the house, to exchange it for a piece of land at Madīnah and build it for him, or that al-Abbās donates it. When the latter accepted none, ῾Umar asked him to choose anybody he wished to judge between them. Al-ʿAbbās chose Ubayy b. Kaʿb who, when told the story, cited a ḥadīth in which the Prophet tells a similar story happened to Prophet David when he was ordered to build the Temple. When David planned it, he needed to merge to its area a house of one of the Israelites. It occurred to David that he could take it (forcefully) from the man, but Allāh blamed him. The punishment was that he would not be allowed to build the Temple. Hearing that, ῾Umar caught Ubayy from his clothes and said to him: You have to find a way out of this. He led Ubayy to the mosque [of Madīnah] and when they entered it, ῾Umar caused him to stand by a circle of the Companions, with Abū Dharr included. Ubayy said: ‘By Allāh, is there a man who heard the Prophet telling the ḥadīth of Bayt al-Maqdis when He ordered David to build it? Abū Dharr and others said: ‘We did’. So, ῾Umar set Ubayy free. The latter blamed ῾Umar: ‘O ῾Umar! Do you accuse me of fabricating the Prophet’s ḥadīth? ’Umar said:‘ No Abū al-Mundhir [an epithet of Ubayy], by Allāh, I did not, but I wanted the Prophet’s ḥadīth to be publicized. ’Umar, accordingly, said to al-Abbās: ‘go [freely]; I will not try to take your house. On hearing that, al-Abbās said: ‘as you said so, I donate it to enlarge the mosque [...]’.79

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Although this incident does not seem to have had a direct impact on the evolution of mosque architecture, apart from the illegality of usurping the adjacent houses of the mosque to enlarge it, it can give us some idea about how Hadith dominated such discussions. It is also clearly reflective of the 3rd/9th century ideas about the relation between polity represented in 'Umar and social elite represented in al-‘Abbās. Here, 'Umar’s reaction to the hadith he heard is of great interest. If Hadith was consulted in discussions such as these, there is the possibility that it would have been taken into consideration when a mosque was about to be built. Al-Samhūdī mentioned other six narrations of this story. According to one of which, al-‘Abbās deeply regretted the demolition of his house because the piece of land on which it was built had been dedicated to him by the Prophet who also took part in building it. He swore that it was the Prophet himself who set the gutter of this house. Having heard that, 'Umar felt remorseful for demolishing the gutter and swore that al-‘Abbās would re-fix it while his feet were on his shoulders. 80

While this stance of 'Umar shows much respect to whatever the Prophet had erected, it has been argued by some that the demolition of the mosque of the Prophet by later caliphs reflects a lack of reverence. 81 However, there seem to have been other reasons to do this. 'Umar is reported to have said: 'unless I heard the Prophet saying: “we want to expand our mosque”, I would not expand it.’ 82 This means that 'Umar did so in fulfilment of a previous wish of the Prophet who is also reported to have said: 'if this mosque was built to Ṣan‘ā’, it would [still] be [regarded as] my

81 For example, see Johns, 'House of the Prophet', p. 108.
mosque. Another reason for rebuilding the mosque was that it no longer provided enough space for the increasing number of worshippers. On the authority of Ibn 'Umar: 'the number of people multiplied (kathūrū) in the time of 'Umar, so they asked him to expand it. 'Umar replied that 'unless I heard the Prophet saying “I want to enlarge the qiblah of this mosque of ours”, I would not expand it'.

A third reason, however, was that the lower part of the palm trunks which were set by the Prophet had decayed by the time of the 'Umar. Muslim b. Ḥubāb related that one day while he was in the mosque, the Prophet pointed to the qiblah and said: 'Shall we expand our mosque?' In an attempt literally to do what the Prophet had said, the Companions in the time of 'Umar caused a man to enter the mosque and sit down in the Prophet’s place of prayers and then to raise and lower his hand until they saw it was similar to the expansion referred to by the Prophet. Then, they caused him to hold one end of a cord (miqatṭ) and stretched it [to the qiblah]. They kept moving it forward and backward until they thought it was identical to the length referred to by the Prophet. While 'Umar's decision to expand the mosque must have been mainly based on the above clearly expedient reasons, the way he applied such expansion could reflect his loyalty to the prophetic model. Further, there is the possibility that this account, which was first reported by Ibn Zabālah, reflects a later debate referred back to memory of the Prophet.

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83 Al-Ḥarbī, p. 361; Ibn al-Najjār, p. 171; al-Marāghī, p. 46; al-Samhūdī, Wafāʾ, II, 481. This ḥadīth is regarded by Ibn Rajab (III, 292) and al-Albānī (Ḍaʿīfah, ḥadīth no. 973) as ḍaʾīf jidan.
84 This opinion was also adopted by a number of early legalists such as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Sufyān al-Thawrī. See Ibn Rajab, III, 288-9.
85 Al-Samhūdī, Wafāʾ, II, 482; al-Marāghī, p. 45; al-Maṭarī, p. 80. See also al-Ḥarbī, p. 361. According to al-Samhūdī, these were the same reasons for 'Uthmān to rebuild the mosque. Wafāʾ, II, 502-3. See also al-Murjānī, p. 128; al-Maṭarī, p. 80; al-Marāghī, p. 47.
86 Al-Samhūdī, Wafāʾ, II, 489.
It seems that ᾿Umar was motivated to achieve what can be called the Prophet’s ‘architectural’ desires. In his work at the mosque of the Prophet, ᾿Umar provided the mosque with six entrances. The one which was known as Bāb al-Nisā’, ‘the gate of women’, was called this because the Prophet was reported to have said: ‘I wish we could dedicate this gate for women’. ᾿Umar accordingly prevented men from using it and his son, ᾿Abd Allāh, is said to have not used it until he died.

Reported by al-Bukhārī, another incident indicates how dominant Hadīth was in judging argumentations at mosques. When ᾿Umar saw ᾿Hassān b. Thābit (d. ca. 40/660), a Companion known as the poet of the Prophet, recited a poetry at the mosque, he stared [angrily] at him. ᾿Hassān commented: ‘I was saying a poem at it while a better [man] than you [namely the Prophet] was there. Then, ᾿Hassān looked at Abū Hurayrah and said to him: ‘tell me by Allāh, have you heard the Prophet saying [to me]: “Answer [the unbelievers] on my behalf. O Allāh, support him with the Holy Spirit.”’ Abū Hurayrah said:’ Yes, by Allāh’. In a narration of Yaḥyā, ᾿Umar left [the mosque] as he knew that ᾿Hassān meant the Prophet. However, in another hadīth, the Prophet forbade versification at mosques. Later, Ibn ᾿Hajar argued that what is denied by the Prophet is saying a poem of pre-Islamic times and that of the heretics (al-jāhiliyyah wal mubṭilin). According to others, versifying is generally denied at mosques for it would
cause distraction. Either way, this stance of ʿUmar on versification led him to the architectural solution of adding to the mosque a ṛaḥbah, ‘open yard’, called Buṭayḥāʾ where those who wanted to versify, talk about worldly concerns, or raise their voices could do so.

To take another case, ʿUthmān b. Mazʿūn washed and perfumed (khallaqtuhā) the qiblah as a penance for unintentionally spitting in it during his prayers. As a result, he is said to have been the first to perfume the qiblah. This incident has been regarded by Grabar as an example of how ‘trivial events’ played a significant role in developing many of the mosque’s architectural features. The theory of ‘trivial facts’ had previously been subscribed to by Creswell (see 3.5). However, there is the possibility that ʿUthmān’s behaviour could have been based on a ḥadīth, according to which the Prophet treated the position of a spit with saffron. Ibn ʿUmar, the narrator of this ḥadīth, expressly stated that saffron was hence made (ṣuniʿa) at mosques.

Of course, it could be argued that the proponents of certain tendencies might simply have fabricated ḥadīths to legitimate their opinions. While this was possible in later times, the previously-reported discussions in which Ḥadīth was involved in architectural concerns already include

95 On these views, see, al-Samhūdī, ʿWarāʾ, II, 500.
96 Al-Ṭarṭūshī, p. 124; al-Hindī, ʿKanz, ḥadīth no. 23085; al-Samhūdī, ʿWarāʾ, II, 497-8. According to al-Fayrūzabādī, it was a platform (one cubit in height) built outside the mosque. ʿMaghānim, p. 57.
97 ʿUthmān was one of the earliest converts to Islam. He is said to have been the first Companion of the Muhājirūn to die at Madīnah and that was in 3/624. See Ibn Saʿd, III, 365-71.
98 Ibn Rustah, p. 66; al-Maqrīzī, II, 247.
99 Grabar, ʿFormation, p. 103
100 Creswell, ʿShort Account, p. 9.
101 Ibn Khuzaymah, ḥadīth no. 1295. See also al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth no. 405-17; al-Bayhaqī, ḥadīth no 4310; Wensinck, p. 154.
evidence that the fabrication of Hadith would not have been easy, particularly in early days of Islam, because quite a number of the Prophet’s closest Companions were still alive. Hence, for a hadith to be trustworthy it ought to be acknowledged by other Companions. We have just seen that 'Umar asked Ubayy to repeat, in presence of other Companions, the hadith which he said he had heard from the Prophet. While such stories may reflect the 3rd/9th century debate about Hadith authoritativeness, they could tell us about the techniques conceived to sift it in early Islam. Likewise Ḥassān b. Thābit adjured Abū Hurayra to certify whether he had heard the same hadith about saying poem in the mosque. Further, the hadith mentioned by 'Uthmān b. 'Affān about the reward of building mosques, was also narrated by other Companions such as 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and Anas b. Mālik. Such hadith, which was passed down by a large number of people to a later large number of people, is traditionally known as mutawātir and has a reasonable degree of authority in Islamic law depending on other conditions (see chapter 2).

There is evidence from the late 2nd/8th century when the caliphs began, on a firmer grounds, to cite Hadith that Hadith played a significant role in shaping mosque architecture. Al-Qudā‘ī, for instance, mentioned that in 161/777, the pious Abbasid Caliph, al-Mahdī ordered minbars to be shortened so as to be in the form of that of the Prophet. It is also reported that when al-Mahdī visited Madīnah to perform Ḥajj in the same

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102 For more on that, see ‘Ājjāj, pp. 92-125.
103 For more details about the strategies implemented by the ṣaḥābīs to publicize and protect Hadith, see chapter 2.
104 For more details about the reasons of hadith fabrication and the procedures taken by the ṣaḥābīs to resist it, see chapter 2.
105 Ibn Mājah, hadith no. 737.
106 Ibn Ḥanbal, hadith no. 126; Ibn Mājah, hadith no. 735.
107 Al-Tirmidhī, hadith no. 319.
year there was a plan to remove the alabaster which was later put on the minbar of the Prophet and so return it to its original form. However, Mālik b. Anas, the famous Ḥadīth scholar (93-179/711-795), pointed out that the minbar, having been made of ṭarfā‘, ‘tamarisk’, and strengthened with the alabaster, would be shredded if the alabaster was removed. In result, al-Mahdī did not change it.109 Al-Mahdī is further said to have ordered the maqṣūrah in the mosque of Madīnah to be demolished in 160/778.110 Such orthodox trends continued throughout Islamic history. In this respect, Hillenbrand states:

It is salutary to remember the willed austerity of the arrangements for worship as defined and practised by Muhammad. In the centuries to come Muslims never entirely forgot the starkness of his example, and periodically the forces of revivalism and pietism attempted at least a partial return to the pristine simplicity of earliest Islamic worship. The mosques erected in Saudi Arabia by the Wahhabis typify the attempt to reconcile early Islamic practice with the accumulated traditions of a millennium and more of mosque architecture. The polarities are virtually irreconcilable, but it is highly significant that such consistent attempts have made over the centuries to bring them together.111

6.5. The influence of Ḥadīth on the architectural features of early mosques

The group of ḥadīths about the virtue of building mosques (see 5.4) assisted their multiplication since the time of the Rāshidūn Caliphs. Al-Balādhurī recounted that there were already a multitude of mosques at Kūfah in the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.112 This must have affected their architectural

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109 Ibn Shabbah, p. 8; Ibn al-Najjār, p.159-60.
112 Al-Balādhurī, p. 391.
development, for with many mosques being built a context for their architectural evolution was provided.

Linked with this and also in compliance with Ḥadīth, ‘in the early period, the building of mosques was a social obligation of the ruler as representative of the community and the tribes.’\textsuperscript{113} Yet, in the beginning, Friday sermons were not allowed to be given in small mosques. The Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb is said to have sent messages to the rulers of the Amşār, ‘cities’, to build mosques for daily-five prayers in villages,\textsuperscript{114} but for such small mosques to be abandoned in favour of the congregational mosque in the city or the town on Fridays.\textsuperscript{115} This stance of ʿUmar seems to be based on a hadīth according to which performing prayers at congregational mosques is better-rewarded than performing them at tribal small mosques (see 5.4). It seems that the early caliphs disliked having a multitude of Friday sermons in the same town as this would act against the supreme purpose of erecting congregational mosques, namely the consolidation of the Muslim community.\textsuperscript{116} Also, the development of Friday mosques might have been connected to the centralization of caliphal power.

Below, we will see how under the Rāshidūn Ḥadīth interacted with mosque-related issues such as location, builders, and architectural components.

\textbf{6.5.1. Location}

Each of the three major mosques of Baṣrah, Kūfah and Fusṭāṭ was built in the centre of a new town. It is a question why the Muslim conquerors

\textsuperscript{113} Pedersen, ‘Masdjid’, p. 653.

\textsuperscript{114} Ḥadīth states that mosques could also be built in markets.

\textsuperscript{115} Al-Hindi, Kanz, ḥadīth no. 23075; al-Maqrīzī, II, 246. Al-Maqrīzī also told us that Friday assemblies were not held in the time of ʿAmr b. al-Āṣ except in the mosque of ʿAmr. This would imply that in the beginning Friday sermons were held at villages.

\textsuperscript{116} M. al-Jadid, pp. 104-6.
usually ignored older towns with already-standing buildings and charming palaces and began to build new ones, usually of much simpler configuration with a mosque in the centre. Is there anything in tradition to imply that this practice was based on the Prophet’s teachings? What were the criteria for choosing the sites of these new towns?

When the triumphant Muslim general 'Utbah b. Ghazwān\footnote{\textsuperscript{117} 'Utbah b. Ghazwān b. Jābir b. Wahh b. Nusayb (d.17/ 639) was amongst the earliest to embrace Islam (the seventh according to some accounts). He was one of the Prophet's archery. In the caliphate of 'Umar he was one of the generals of the Muslim army. After the victories he achieved in a series of battles, such as that of Ubullah, 'Umar appointed him as the governor of Baṣrah which 'Utbah founded in 14/636. The few hadīths he narrated were transmitted by scholars such as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Khālid b. 'Umayr. See Ibn Sa’d, III, 92-3; IX, 5-8; al-Mizzī, \textit{Tahdīb al-Kamāl}, XIX, 317- Ibn Ḥajar, \textit{Isābah}, IV, 215-6; al-Dhahabī, \textit{Siyar}, 2646-7.} reached a place called Khuraybah in 14/636, he wrote to the Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb telling him that he had taken it as a residence. 'Utbah added that there would be a place for the Muslims to take as a winter-camp where they could settle down when they came back from invasions. 'Umar, then, commanded 'Utbah to take one place for all the Muslim troops. This place according to 'Umar should be near to water sources and meadows (mar‘ā). Such conditions were found in Baṣrah.\footnote{Al-Balādhuri, p. 483; Ibn al-Faqīh, pp. 229-30; Yāqūt, I, 432.}

At Kūfah, the situation was different. It seems that the Muslims at first had no intention to found a new town there. According al-Ṭabarī, they first spread out in Madāʾin, the Persian capital, but then soon began to experience general weakness in their bodies (presumably because of different climate).\footnote{Al-Ṭabarī, IV, 40-2. While the geometric height of Madinah attains 608 m (1,995 ft), that of al-Madāʾin is approximately 34 m (112 ft).} Having noticed this, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb ordered Sa’d, the commander-in-chief, to adopt a habitable migration-place for them. 'Umar asserted that he wanted neither sea nor bridge between him at Madīnah and the Muslim troops in their new encampment. Thus, Sa’d
moved to a place called Anbār, but it was full of flies. Therefore, he left it for another place which proved equally inappropriate. Al-Balādhurī mentioned some accounts where other places were tried before they settled on Kūfah.\textsuperscript{120} When Sa’d explained the dilemma, ʿUmar told him that the Arab people are, in this respect, like camels, and advised him to adopt for them a fertile place (ʾadna) where they would love to live.\textsuperscript{121} However, living in new towns was not obligatory; Sa’d is reported to have given the people the choice of living either in Baṣrah or Madāʾin.\textsuperscript{122}

The same thing is recorded in Egypt. When ʿAmr conquered Alexandria, he wanted to retain it as the capital of Islamic Egypt. Justifying his proposition, ʿAmr argued that it would save them the task of building a new one. When he sent a message saying this to the Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the Caliph wondered whether there would be ‘water’ separating him from the Muslims if they inhabited this city. ʿAmr said that the Nile would do this in days of inundation. ʿUmar then refused, as he did not wish to be separated from Muslims by water all the year round.\textsuperscript{123} Here again, then, priority was given to accessibility. Another reason for caliph ʿUmar not to have favoured living in such cities was that he did not want the Muslim conquerors and other migrants to live in a ‘luxurious’ ambience, lest they should get used to relaxation and neglect the continuation of conquests.

Seen in this light, the long Islamic convention of leaving the already established cities of the conquered countries and erecting new capitals could have begun with a number of expedient reasons. The rationale of ʿUmar for not taking Alexandria and Madāʾin as Islamic capitals bears a lot of

\textsuperscript{120} See al-Balādhurī, pp. 387-8; al-Ṭabarī, IV, 40-2.
\textsuperscript{122} Al-Ṭabarī, IV, p. 43; Ibn al-Athīr, II, p. 528.
implication. His objection was based on logistical factors rather than on a particularly Islamic percept.\textsuperscript{124}

For Muslim generals, the mosque was apparently the cornerstone of every new community. This view, which later became a deeply-held Islamic tradition, stemmed from the fact that the Prophet built his mosque soon after he migrated to Madinah.\textsuperscript{125}

The mosque played a seminal role in every Islamic society. The many functions it held, especially in early Islam, rendered it truly the core of the community. It was not merely the place where the Muslim congregation performed their prayers, but it served as their meeting-point and the place where they discussed their concerns and conducted their judicial affairs. In many cases, it also contained the treasury and served as the military headquarters. According to Irwin, ‘books were commonly “published” by being read out aloud in the mosque.’\textsuperscript{126}

Running after the Prophet’s model, when ’Utbah b. Ghazwān and Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ founded the two towns of Baṣrah and Kūfah in 14/635 and 16-17/637-638, respectively, the first thing they did was to lay out the mosque. While there is no adequate information about how the sites of the two mosques were actually chosen, the mosque of ’Umar at Jerusalem was built to commemorate a blessed spot of land. Luckily, more information is available about the site of the mosque of Fustāṭ. According to traditions,\textsuperscript{127} the place where the mosque was built was originally a \textit{khan}, ‘shop’, seized by a migrant Companion, Qaysabah b. Kultūm al-Tujībī, who preferred to

\textsuperscript{124} It should be noted, however, that securing the Muslim conquerors also comes from Islamic teachings with Hadith included.

\textsuperscript{125} On the connection between \textit{hiǧrah} and mosque foundation, see Patricia Crone, ’The First-Century Concept of ”Hiǧra”’, \textit{Arabica} 41 (1994), 352-87.

\textsuperscript{126} Irwin, p. 59; See also Hillenbrand, \textit{Islamic Architecture}, p. 42. On early oral publication, see Schoeler, \textit{Genesis}, p. 69.

\textsuperscript{127} Al-Maqrīzī, II, 246; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, I, 84, al-Qalqashandī, III, 341.
donate it so that the mosque would be built on it.\textsuperscript{128} This is reminiscent of the story of the two orphans who gave their mirbad to the Prophet so as to build his mosque at Madīnah (see 4.4). According to Ibn Ῥabd al-῾Hakam, the area around the mosque of Ῥam Ὺ was once occupied with gardens and vineyards.\textsuperscript{129} It is true that there is a similarity between the site of the mosque of Ῥam Ὺ and its precedent of the Prophet. Yet, this is not necessarily to say that Ῥam Ὺ chose this site to imitate the Prophet who built his mosque on a mirbad.\textsuperscript{130} While there is a possibility that this account about choosing the mosque site was romanticized to attribute to Ῥam Ὺ and his comrades the grace of following the Prophet, there is nothing in Ḥadīth to say that the Prophet recommended certain sites for mosques (see 4.4 and 5.6).\textsuperscript{131} Indeed, this lack of specificity seems to have helped accelerate the building of a multitude of mosques by enabling broadness of choice so as to serve the rapidly increasing numbers of Muslims.\textsuperscript{132}

The practice of building a new city after conquest with a mosque in the centre may have implications for the mosque site preferences. Since the mosque would be the nucleus around which a whole community would agglomerate,\textsuperscript{133} it was necessary to choose a level place with a wide and unencumbered vicinity. This is exactly what happened in Baṣrah, Kūfah and Fustāṭ. The mosque at Baṣrah, for instance, was built in a place known in the time of al-Balādhurī as the raḥbah, ‘wide yard’ of Banū Hāshim.\textsuperscript{134} As soon as these mosques were planned, the area around each of them was

\textsuperscript{128} Yāqūt, IV, 265; Ibn Taḡhrī Bardī, I, 84. See also al-Qalqashandī, III, p.341.
\textsuperscript{129} Ibn Ῥabd al-῾Hakam, p. 92; al-Sūyūṭī, ῾Usn, p. 132.
\textsuperscript{130} On mirbad, see p. (4.4).
\textsuperscript{131} For more information about the specifications of mosque location according to Ḥadīth, see chapter 5.
\textsuperscript{132} Irwin, p. 59.
\textsuperscript{133} Hillenbrand, \textit{Islamic Architecture}, p. 42.
\textsuperscript{134} Al-Balādhurī, p.483-4; Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 188.
divided into *khiṭṭa* and each *khiṭṭa* was dedicated to a tribe of the migrants.\(^{135}\)

Some have argued that decisions on site selection in a new town or where to lay out its mosque, *dār al-imārah* and other buildings were taken by the governors who usually asked for advice from informed people.\(^ {136}\) There has been doubt as to whether the tribes had any impact on the way of laying out towns.\(^ {137}\) The account of al-Mawardī (d. 450/1058) ascribed such tasks to the Companions. It is worth noting that the word ‘companion’ could refer to citizens and authority, for the word ‘companion’ means any Muslim who talked with, or even just saw, the Prophet.\(^ {138}\)

### 6.5.2. Builders of mosques and their awareness of Ḥadīth

It is necessary to define who was primarily responsible for laying out early mosques and choosing the material and technique for building them. It is equally important to investigate those people’s knowledge of relevant Ḥadīths.

Al-Balādhurī mentioned different accounts about those to whom the task of planning the mosque of Baṣrah was assigned.\(^ {139}\) According to the most usually accepted one, it was ‘Utbah himself who planned the mosque.\(^ {140}\) In any event, it seems that the task of laying out the first mosques of Baṣrah and Kūfah did not require much experience. According to tradition, it was not until 17/639 that the mosque of Baṣrah, for example,

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\(^ {137}\) Ibid.
\(^ {139}\) Some said it was laid out by Mihjar (or Mihjan according to Ibn Qutaybah) b. al-Adhra’ al-Bahzī, others said it was Nāfi’ b. al-Ḥārith b. Kaladah. According to others, it was laid out by al-Aswad b. Sarī’ al-Tamīmī. All are reported to have laid it out in 14/635. Al-Balādhurī, p. 483. According to Ibn al-Faqih the architect was Hijr b. al-Awza’. p. 231.
\(^ {140}\) Al-Balādhurī, p. 483.
was built of *labin* and mud by Abū Mūsa al-Ashʿarī.\(^{141}\)

At Kūfah, when the State Treasury suffered a burglary in the time of Saʿd, he sent a message to ʿUmar asking for his advice. ʿUmar advised him to shift the mosque so as to be adjacent to the *dār* and to render the *dār* in front of its *qiblah*.\(^{142}\) When Saʿd wanted to build the mosque, a man called Rūzbīh b. Buzurdjmihr b. Sasān offered to build it along with a palace for him.\(^{143}\) Al-Ṭabarī tells us that Rūzbīh was a *dihqān*, from Hamadan,\(^{144}\) and adds that he fled to Byzantium (Rūm) after being persecuted by the Akāsirah, ‘Persian kings’. He did not feel safe until the advent of Saʿd. Thus, he built the mosque and the palace for Saʿd before he converted to Islam.\(^{145}\)

According to al-Ṭabarī, later on, when Ziyād (d. 53/673), the Umayyad governor,\(^{146}\) wanted to perfect the mosque of Kūfah, he invited non-Muslim builders to do the work for him.\(^{147}\) Taken alone, this might imply that such builders had not been hired in the previous works; however, we have just seen that the mosque of Kūfah was reportedly laid out by Ruzbīh before he embraced Islam. Does this represent any departure from Islamic teachings?\(^{148}\) Although some recent Islamic voices do not accept that


\(^{142}\) ‘Umar’s vision was that the State Treasury would be guarded by the people who frequented the mosque all day and night.

\(^{143}\) Al-Ṭabarī, *Muʿjam al-Warāʾ*, IV, p. 46.


\(^{146}\) On Ziyād and his role in developing mosque architectural design, see next chapter.

\(^{147}\) Al-Ṭabarī, *Muʿjam al-Warāʾ*, IV, 46.

\(^{148}\) For the answer of this question, see next chapter.
mosques should be built or designed by non-Muslims, there is nothing in Hadīth to condemn such practice. As the practice of hiring non-Muslim masons was more established in the Umayyad period, we will defer the discussion on how it should be ascertained until the next chapter (see 7.3). In any case, the process of building the mosque of Kūfah could not have been wholly left to Ruzbīh, as he would surely have received his brief from, and may have been supervised by, Sa`d and other Companions.

The task of laying out (the qiblah of) the mosque of Fusṭāṭ is said to have been supervised by eighty Companions including al-Zubayr b. al-`Awwām and `Ubādah b. al-Šāmit. However, in a less familiar account, the number of these Companions is reduced to four. On the authority of `Abd Allāh b. Abī Ja`far, the miḥrāb was set by naqibān, `two prefects`, 'Ubādah b. al-Šāmit and Rāfi` b. Mālik, while according to al-Layth b. 

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150 Al-Maqrīzī, II, 246-7; Ibn Duqmāq, IV, 62, 64; al-Qalqashandi, III, 341. Al-Zubayr b. al-`Awwām (d. 36/656) was known as 'the disciple of the Prophet'. He narrated a large number of ḥadīths. See Ibn Sa`d, III, 93-106; al-Mizzī, Tahdhib al-Kamāl, IX, 319-29; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, III, 5-7; al-Dhahabī, Siyār, 1711-7. The second person, `Ubādah b. al-Šāmit (d. 34/654) was one of the five Companions who are said to have compiled the Qurʾān in the time of the Prophet. `Ubādah narrated about 181 ḥadīths. See Ibn Sa`d, III, 506; al-Mizzī, Tahdhib al-Kamāl, XIV, 183-90; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, IV, 27-8, al-Dhahabī, Siyār, pp. 2117-8.
151 These were: Abū Dharr, Abū Baṣirah, Mahma`a al-Zubaydī and Nabih b. Ṣawāb. Al-Maqrīzī, II, 247.
152 Those are the group of the Anṣār, `Helpers from Madīnah` who met the Prophet at `Aqabah, embraced Islam and spread it at Madīnah.
153 Al-Maqrīzī, II, 247. Rāfi` b. Mālik b. Zurayq was the first one to embrace Islam from the tribe of Khazraj. The mosque of his kin, Banū Zuryaq, is said to have been the first mosque in Islam in which Qurʾān was recited. When he met the Prophet at `Aqabah he took from him all that had been revealed from the Qurʾān and then taught it to his people. See Ibn Sa`d, III, 573-4; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, II, 189-90; Ibn Rajab, III, 152-3.
Sa’d, 154 ‘Amr stretched the cords himself until the qiblah was fixed. 155 Whatever the case might have been, all Companions could not have missed the major event of building the mosque of the Prophet at Madīnah, or at least had the chance to see it. There is a strong probability that they transferred such experience to the workplace at Fustat.

At Madīnah, we are told that the Caliph ʿUthmān supervised the work of rebuilding the mosque of the Prophet by himself. 156 An eyewitness, ʿAbd al Rahmān b. Safinah, reported that he saw qaṣṣah, ‘stucco,’ being brought to ʿUthmān from a place called Baṭn Nakhl 157 while he was building the mosque of the Prophet. Ibn Safinah added that he saw ʿUthmān standing and the masons working in the mosque and when a prayer time was due, he was leading them [...].158

The inherent problems of investigating builders’ acquaintance of Ḥadīth are lessened by the fact that they were mostly saḥābīs who either knew relevant hadiths, had witnessed the process of building the mosque of Madīnah, or had seen it in its original form. 159 For example, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Āṣ, who stayed with his father at Fustat and built for himself a house adjacent to the mosque (see figure 17), was one of the earliest

154 Al-Layth b. Sa’d b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Fahmī was a notable Egyptian scholar in the generation of tābiʿīs. He took knowledge from scholars such as al-Zuhri and Hishām b. ʿUrwa. Al-Layth’s knowledge of Ḥadīth and Fiqh was remarkable to the effect that he was regarded as the founder of a separate school of Islamic jurisprudence. He died in 175/791. See al-Dhahabī, Siyar, 3133-9.


156 Al-Maṭarī, p. 80.

157 On this place, see al-Fayruzabādī, Maghānim, p. 57.


159 For more information about the saḥābīs’s acquaintance of Ḥadīth, see (2.1.3.2).
Companions to set *Hadith* down in writing (see 2.1.3.2).\textsuperscript{160} Guillaume states:

Of the series authorizing the writing of ḥadīth we may cite one on the authority of that prolific father of tradition Abū Huraira, who said that one of the helpers (Ansar) used to sit and listen with admiration to the utterance of the prophet of God, and, being unable to remember what he heard, lamented his weakness to the prophet. The latter replied, ‘Call your right hand to your aid,’ i.e. write them down. This ḥadīth exists in many different forms associated with the names of Abū Śāliḥ and Anas b. Mālik. Again ᾿Abd Allah b. ῾Umar says: ‘We said, “O prophet of God, we hear from you ḥadīth which we cannot remember. May we not write them down?” ’By All means write them down,” said he.’ This ḥadīth exists in no less than thirty versions, which present small differences. Again, Abū Huraira asserts—not without reason!—that none of the Companions preserved more hadith than he, except ᾿Abd Allah b. ῾Umar. ‘But he wrote them down, and I did not write them.’ This ᾿Abd Allah (d. 65) says, ‘The book I wrote from the prophet of God is Al-Ṣādiqa,’ and Mujāhid asserts that he saw this book in the possession of its compiler. Anas b. Mālik states that Abū Bakr wrote down from him the laws regarding alms.\textsuperscript{161}

It should be noted, however, that in these early days of Islam for a ḥadīth to be circulated it was not necessary for it to be written in *ṣuḥuf,*\textsuperscript{162} for it could have been heard from the Prophet by many Companions who, in turn, might have told it to others.

Although most of the ḥadīths about mosques were narrated by Companions like Anas b. Mālik,\textsuperscript{163} Ibn ʿUmar, Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿĀʾishah, there

\textsuperscript{160} Al-Dārimī, *ḥadith* no. 513; al-Baghdādī, *Taqyīd*, pp. 100-06; Seyzgin (Hijazi’s transl.), I, 153-4. On ᾿Abd Allah’s notable knowledge of *Ḥadith*, see also Muslim, *ḥadith* no. 6799.

\textsuperscript{161} Guillaume, pp. 15-6. On ᾿Abd Allāh b. ʿUmar’s writing of Ḥadith, see also al-Bukhārī, *ḥadith* no. 113; al-Dārimī, *ḥadith* no. 500.

\textsuperscript{162} On ways of early oral publication of *Ḥadith*, see Schoeler, *Genesis*, pp. 69-71.

\textsuperscript{163} We will see in the next chapter how Anas was involved in discussions about mosque architecture.
Chapter 6: The influence of Ḥadīth on the architecture of the Rāshidūn mosques

is a probability that some of the ṣaḥābīs who are not known to us as major Ḥadīth narrators were nevertheless acquainted with relevant ḥadīths. Al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awvām, for instance, who is said to have participated in setting the qiblah of the mosque of Fustāṭ, was asked by his son ’Abd Allāh: ‘why do not I hear you narrate the Prophet’s Ḥadīth [...]?’ Al-Zubayr’s answer was: ‘I have not left him [namely the Prophet] since I embraced Islam, but I have heard him say: “he who lies to me [namely falsely attributes sayings to me] should prepare himself to have a place in Hell”.’

Another example is Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ who was the key figure in laying out the mosque of Kūfah. Sa’d was accompanied in a journey from Madīnah to Mecca by al-Sā’ib b. Yazīd (d. 91/709) who stated: ‘I did not hear him [namely Sa’d] telling a ḥadīth until he came back.’

According to Abū al-Qāsim al-Ka’bī (d. 273/886 or 317/929), al-Sā’ib b. Yazīd’s attributed the same discretion to Ṭalḥah b. ’Ubayd Allāh, ’Abd al-Rahmān b. ’Awf, and al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad. The latter is said to have participated in setting out the qiblah of the mosque of Fustāṭ. Even if these Companions did not like to tell Ḥadīth for fear of making mistakes, or for any other reason, it is still likely that they applied their knowledge to the building of mosques in which they took part.

As already hinted, there is more likelihood that many of the builders of the first half-century mosques had taken part in, or at least witnessed, the process of building the mosque of the Prophet at Madīnah. According to

164 Ibn Mājah, /lists no. 36. See also Ibn Mājah, /lists no. 30-7; al-Bukhārī, /lists no. 106-10; al-Haythami, /lists no. 620-64.
165 Ibn Mājah, /lists no. 29; Ibn Sa’d, III, 134. See also Ibn Mājah, /lists no. 23-8 under the heading of ‘the chapter of being precautious while reporting (al-ḥadīth ‘ann) the Prophet’. On Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ, see Ibn Sa’d, III. 127-38.
167 Ibn Taghrī Bardī, I, 84; al-Maqrīzī, II, 247.
Ibn Sa’d, large numbers of the people of Madīnah welcomed the Prophet.\textsuperscript{168} There was not a tribe but offered the Prophet a place to stay amongst them.\textsuperscript{169} Naturally, such a major event as building the mosque and houses of the Prophet should have been attended by a large number of the early Muslims. The\textit{ Muhājirūn}, ‘Migrant Muslims’ and the\textit{ Anṣār}, ‘Muslim Helpers of Madīnah’ were said to have participated in the work which was launched by the Prophet himself.\textsuperscript{170} Even those who missed the event because they had not yet migrated, or for any other reason, should have seen the mosque later on and possibly joined the Prophet in the second or the third phase of building it.

\subsection*{6.5.3. Components of the mosque}

\subsubsection*{6.5.3.1. The \textit{miḥrāb}, ‘prayer niche’}
We do not possess enough information about how the \textit{qiblah} was marked in mosques which were built under the four Rightly-guided Caliphs. However, the first mosque of ῾Amr might have had a \textit{miḥrāb} for when a \textit{miḥrāb} was added to it in the Umayyad period, it was said to have been set in a line with the older \textit{miḥrāb} of the first mosque.\textsuperscript{171} That older \textit{miḥrāb} was not a concave prayer niche.\textsuperscript{172} While expressly stating that the mosque had no concave prayer niche (\textit{miḥrāb mujawwaf}), al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418) is the only source to say that the \textit{qiblah} was marked by means of colonettes (\textit{῾umud qāʾimah bi ᵃṣār al-miḥrāb}).\textsuperscript{173} Abouseif, accordingly, hypothesizes that there might have been a ‘flat niche formed of two pairs of columns with

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{168} Ibn Sa’d, I, 201-2.
\textsuperscript{169} See al-Sūhaylī, II, 334-5.
\textsuperscript{170} Ibn Hishām, II, 141-2; Ibn Sa’d, I, 205-6.
\textsuperscript{171} Al-Maqrīzī, II, 249; Ibn Duqmāq, IV, 64, Ibn Taghrī Bardī, I, 88.
\textsuperscript{172} Creswell, \textit{Early Muslim Architecture}, I, I, 37.
\textsuperscript{173} Al-Qalqashandī, III, 341.
\end{flushleft}
an arch drawn between them.\textsuperscript{174} Ṭāha al-Walī, however, argues that the earliest \textit{mihrāb} was added to the mosque of the Prophet in the caliphate of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (23-35/643-55),\textsuperscript{175} but that this was no more than a mark posted on the \textit{qiblah} wall which remained flat.

Whatever it was, \textit{Hadīth} did not specify a particular way to mark the \textit{qiblah}. Thus, Muslims can apply whatever device they see as appropriate unless it collides with general Islamic principles as established by Qur’ān and \textit{Hadīth} (see 5.7.5.2 and 7.9.1).\textsuperscript{176}

\textbf{6.5.3.2. The \textit{minbar}, ‘pulpit’}

A similar scarcity of information is faced when dealing with early \textit{minbars}. We know from Yāqūt that the mosque of Baṣrah, for example, had a \textit{minbar} that was first set in the middle,\textsuperscript{177} but we have no information about what it looked like. This said, it seems that in the early years of Islam, the Prophet’s legacy, and particularly his \textit{ḥadīths} abhorring pompousness, deterred the adoption of lofty \textit{minbars}. According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, when ʿAmr adopted a \textit{minbar} for himself, the Caliph ʿUmar sent a strict message to him: ‘is not it enough for you to stand up while the Muslim congregation are sitting at your feet?’ He ordered ʿAmr to pull it down. So he did,\textsuperscript{178} but it is said that ʿAmr ‘rebuilt’ it after the death of ʿUmar.\textsuperscript{179} Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam’s use of the word ‘rebuilt’ suggests that the \textit{minbar} of ʿAmr could have been an elevated structure, and hence perhaps explains, ʿUmar’s resentment. The \textit{minbar} of ʿAmr – which could have had a political significance – was seemingly in contrast with contemporary

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{174} Doris Behrens-Abouseif, \textit{Islamic Architecture in Cairo: an Introduction}, p. 47. See also Yeomans, p. 20.
  \item \textsuperscript{175} T. al-Walī, \textit{Al-Masājid fil Islām}, p. 231.
  \item \textsuperscript{176} More on that will be discussed in the next chapter.
  \item \textsuperscript{177} Yāqūt, I, 433.
  \item \textsuperscript{179} Al-Qalqashandi, III, 341.
\end{itemize}
minbars. According to Sauvaget, 'Various evidence allows one to imagine that particular minbars of the first two centuries of the Hijra were very modest in height, a feature shared by the minbar of Muhammad.'

6.5.3.3. Floor covering

It seems that the reconstruction of the mosque of Madīnah in the time of 'Umar resulted in spreading out the pebbles with which its floor had been covered since the time of the Prophet (see 5.7.11). Therefore, 'Umar, on the advice of Sufyān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Thaqafi, ordered the floor of the new mosque to be covered with pebbles from the valley of 'Aqīq. Ibn Sa’d added that 'Umar did so when he saw the people clapping their hands after prostration to free them from dust. It seems that he was afraid that, by passage of time, later generations would consider this action as a part of the prayer.

Under the Rāshidūn Caliphs a step was taken towards applying more comfortable materials. In the time of 'Umar, a ṭunfusah, 'rug', owned by 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib, was used on Fridays to cover the area next to the mosque’s western wall of the Prophet’s mosque. At Fusṭāṭ, however, the floor was strewn with pebbles from the beginning, while at Basrah and Kūfah, the floor of the two mosques were of sand. It was not until the Umayyad period that pebbles were used to cover their floors. For some, these accounts about covering the floors of the mosques of Madīnah, Kūfah and Basrah with pebbles are conflicting, for they attribute the introduction of pebble flooring to four different people, that is the Prophet, 'Uthmān, Ziyād

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181 Sufyān was a Companion from al-Tā’if. Some of the few hadiths he narrated were reported by Muslim and al-Nasāʾī. See Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, III, 105-6.
182 Ibn al-Najjār, p. 173. See also Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 81.
184 Ibn Zabālah, p. 124; al-Samhūdī, Warāʾ, II, 663.
185 Al-Maqrīzī, II, 248; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, I, 86.
186 Al-Balādhurī, p. 389-90.
and al-Walid. In fact, tradition does not say that the work of any of the above names, with 'Umar added to them, was unprecedented. 'Umar was the first to cover the floor of the Madīnah mosque with pebbles after he had rebuilt it. This is not to say that pebbles were not used to cover the floor of the mosque in the time of the Prophet. Likewise, Ziyād and al-Walid are said to be the first to apply pebble flooring to the mosques which they built and not the first to do so in Islam. In addition to having been a natural improvement, the use of more comfortable materials to cover the mosque floor is legalized by reports about the Prophet praying on fabrics and other comfortable materials (see 5.7.11). This practice of using Hadīth to substantiate later practices was put into effect in the 3rd/9th century and may be earlier. The use of more comfortable flooring to prostrate oneself is a natural upgrading that must have been matching with the people’s cultural life and it did not need any statutory vindication.

6.5.4. Plan and material

The early mosques, judged by their plans and materials, were inspired by the Prophet’s archetype. They were functional, void of any minarets, domes, monumental façades, concave prayer niches or any decorative element. Apart from the re-use of antique columns, which could have given the colonnade of the mosque of Kūfah the look of a ‘gallery’, the early mosques as described in sources were void of any artistic tinge.

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187 See Antun, pp. 120-1.

188 It seems that this form of building, namely ‘arīsh, was also a familiar one for the Companions. When the army of ‘Amr entered the Ptolemaic city of Rhinocorura, located in the North-eastern part of Egypt, they camped there in a ‘arīsh, which they erected. This town was, accordingly, given the Arabic name of ‘Arish’, which it still bears to the present day.


190 Rivoira, p. 8.
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The dimensions of these earliest mosques (with the exception of that of Fusṭāṭ whose case will be discussed below) were relatively large. We saw in chapter 5 that the Prophet asked the builders of a mosque to make it large.

Like the mosque of the Prophet, the dominant scheme was of an open courtyard with an unpretentious ẓullah in the qiblah side. The technique of demarcating the mosque proper was either a trench, as in the mosque of Kūfah,\(^{191}\) or a reed fence as in that of Baṣrah.\(^{192}\) Like the mosque of the Prophet to which the houses of his wives were attached, these early mosques were abutted by the governor’s residence and the State Treasury. Al-Ṭabarī stated that this was the arrangement of [all] mosques except the holy sanctuary at Mecca. According to him, the ṣahāba did not like to imitate the latter’s unique configuration as it enjoyed an exceptionally high status.\(^{193}\)

However, according to tradition, the mosque of Fusṭāṭ had no ṣahān when it was first built by 'Amr.\(^{194}\) Yet, al-Maqrīzī,\(^{195}\) who also stated that there was no ṣahān in the mosque, mentioned a lane between the mosque and the adjacent house of 'Amr in which people prayed during the summer. Ibn Taghrī Bardī (d. 874/1470) stated: '[...] its roof was low and [it] had no ṣahān. [In the summer],\(^{196}\) the people were aligned in rows in its finā';

\(^{191}\) Al-Ṭabarī, IV, 45; Pedersen, ‘Masdjid’, pp. 647-8.

\(^{192}\) Al-Balādhurī, pp. 483-4; Ibn Qutaybah, p. 563; Yāqūt, IV, 432.

\(^{193}\) Al-Ṭabarī, IV, 45.

\(^{194}\) Al-Maqrīzī, II, 247-8; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, I, 85.

\(^{195}\) On al-Maqrīzī, Max van Berchem states: ‘All the great cities of the East have their topographers; Maqrizi surpasses them all, if not in accuracy, at least in the quantity of his information.’ Max van Berchem, ‘Notes on Arab Archaeology’, in Early Islamic Art and Architecture, ed. by Jonathan M. Bloom, the Formation of the Classical World, 23 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 1-6 (p. 5).

\(^{196}\) This addition is quoted from ‘Alī Mubārak, Al-Khiṭat al-Tawfiqiyah al-Jadidah, 20 vols (Bulāq: al-Maṭba‘ah al-Amīriyyah al-Kubra, 1889).
‘vacant space’.\textsuperscript{197} [A lane of] seven dhirā’s separated between it and the house of ἾAmr. And it was enclosed from all sides by the road.\textsuperscript{198} Pedersen considered the phrase ‘it had no ṣaḥri’ to mean that ‘this space planted with trees, between the covered halls was very narrow.’\textsuperscript{199} Apparently, then, this lane provided the congregation with a substitute that was suitable enough to have delayed the process of adding a courtyard for thirty-two years.

However this may be, it seems safe to argue that the plan of the mosque of Fustāṭ differed from that of the mosque of the Prophet in that the middle open courtyard was not its main element (see figures 13 and 14). Why did it so differ? The pressing need for a place of prayer and Egypt’s relatively moderate climate might have been two reasons why the mosque lacked a ṣaḥr.\textsuperscript{200} It could be also due to the fact that the mosque was built during the winter of 21/641-2.\textsuperscript{201} It may be that the Companions did not see any urgent need to build a courtyard which is more frequently used in summer than in winter. Kubiak, arguing from the mosque’s relatively limited size, suggested that it was originally intended to be a masjid for the Ahl ar-Rāyah, rather than a jāmi’ for the whole Muslim community of Fustāṭ.\textsuperscript{202} Nonetheless, the thirty-two years that elapsed before the Umayyad governor Maslamah b. Mukhallad rebuilt the mosque rather weaken the suggestion that it was only intended to be temporary.\textsuperscript{203}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[197] Finā’ is another term for courtyards, particularly used in residential architecture. Al-Shahri, ‘Ṣaḥh’, p. 1.
\item[198] Ibn Taghrī Bardī, I, p. 85.
\item[200] For more information about the influence of climate on Islamic architecture, see Farīd Shafi’, p. 233.
\item[201] See Ibn ’Abd al-Ḥakam, pp. 91-2.
\item[202] W. B. Kubiak, \textit{Al-Fustat} (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1987) p. 129. See also Yeomans, p. 20.
\item[203] On Maslamah and his work at the mosque of ἾAmr, see next chapter.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
A further aspect is that by this time the Muslim community was heavily engaged in acquiring more land or defending what it had already gained; hence there might have not been enough time for such ‘secondary’ issues. In fact, the lack of an open courtyard did not instantly represent a problem. Later when its absence did become a problem, a courtyard was added in 53/673.

Meanwhile, it does not seem reasonable to attribute the lack of an open courtyard to the difficulty of making it, since it was a simple part of the Prophet’s structure that did not need any special experience or material. This may imply that the Companions understood that the form adopted by the Prophet was not _per se_ binding, and that they used ‘whatever came to hand’.²⁰⁴

The most noticeable and transferable trait in the Prophet’s structure was simplicity. Therefore, whether the mosque had a _sahn_ or a portico was apparently left to the builders, whose treatment was in turn influenced by the needs of place, climate, the number of worshippers, or other locally-varying factors. The previously-mentioned Ḥadīth, ‘you are more aware of the concerns of your [worldly] life’, is believed to have given Muslims freedom of action in different ways in the different aspects of life as long as there is no religious rule to govern such issues. The only condition, here, was that they should not act in a way that contradicted any of the Islamic general principles; otherwise their acts would be regarded as _bid ‘ah_.²⁰⁵

Generally, the relatively simple form of early mosques could imply that the Companions of the Prophet preferred the grace of following his _Sunnah_ of simplicity to the adoption of more advanced architectural styles of the conquered territories. If so, this is not to say that they did not

²⁰⁴ Bloom and Blair, _Islamic Arts_, p. 23. See also Bloom, ‘Mosque’, _EQ_, III, 431.
²⁰⁵ The definition of _bid ‘ah_ and the difference between it and the religiously-accepted improvisation are discussed in chapter 5.
appreciate the grandeur of such architectural heritage. For example, when
ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ conquered Alexandria he sent a message to the Caliph ʿUmar
at Madīnah describing how splendid the town was.\textsuperscript{206} The fact that the
mosque of ʿAmr at Fustāṭ and that of ʿUmar at Jerusalem were built in such
modesty, in spite of the availability of other more durable materials and
architectural expertise is telling.\textsuperscript{207}

We have seen that some scholars have argued that the mosque of
the Prophet at Madīnah was so simple because the Arabs’ knowledge of
architecture at that time was rudimentary, and because Arabia is poor in
building materials.\textsuperscript{208} While this may seem, \textit{prima facie}, plausible, if the
same reasoning is applied to the also-simple mosque that ʿAmr planted in
Egypt – a land which boasted thousands of years of architectural heritage
and is rich in building material – it makes no sense.

The fittingness of the mosque of the Prophet, in spite of its
simplicity,\textsuperscript{209} derived from its provision of three essential elements: a
praying space, a way of indicating the direction of Mecca, and a shelter.\textsuperscript{210}
For Hillenbrand, one of the reasons why the model of the Prophet was
largely favoured is that it ‘answered to a nicety the needs of Muslim liturgy
and prayer’\textsuperscript{211}. The courtyard, for instance, suited the sunny climate of the
southern Mediterranean and the Near East. Thus, the so-called ‘Arab plan’

\textsuperscript{206} See Yāqūt, I, 182-9.
\textsuperscript{207} The simplicity of ʿUmar’s mosque at Jerusalem was confirmed by Arculf, \textit{Pilgrimage}, p. 6.
See also Tobler, \textit{Itinera et descriptiones Terrae Sanctae}, I, 145; Rivoira, p. 18; Pedersen,
‘Masdjid’, p. 648; Irwin, p. 58-9; Bloom and Blair, \textit{Islamic Arts}, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{208} For more details, see G. R. D. King, ‘Creswell’s Appreciation of Arabian Architecture’,
\textsuperscript{209} Irwin argues that this simplicity ‘facilitated the extension of mosques to accommodate their
ever-growing numbers of worshippers’: p. 59.
\textsuperscript{210} Bloom and Blair, \textit{Islamic Arts}, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{211} Hillenbrand, ‘Masdjid’, \textit{EI2}, VI, 679.
was capable of adaptation dictated by changeable factors.\footnote{Ibid. See also Bloom, ‘Mosque’, \textit{EQ}, III, 432.}

The feature of supreme importance for consideration in the plan of such early mosques was facing the \textit{qiblah}.\footnote{Al-Jadid, pp. 109-11.} Its significance can be recognized from the above \textit{ḥadīths} about its inevitability (see chapter 5), and the scholars’ long discussions about it. For example, there is a notable subheading in al-Maqrīzī, ‘the \textit{miḥrābs} of Egypt: the reasons of their variation and the indication of the right and the wrong among them’.\footnote{Al-Maqrīzī, II, 256.}

Under this, he fully discussed this subject from the astronomical and jurisprudential perspectives. We have just seen that the process of setting the \textit{qiblah} of the mosque of ῞Amr, for example, was said to have been supervised by eighty Companions.\footnote{Al-Sūyūṭī, \textit{Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ}; p.132; Yāqūt, IV, p. 265; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, p. 84; al-Qalqashandi, III, 341.} According to some authorities, ῞Amr set the \textit{qiblah} by himself,\footnote{Al-Maqrīzī, II, 247.} but did not manage to set it accurately. It should be noted that prayers are still valid if, for some reason, facing the \textit{qiblah} was unattainable. The Prophet is reported to have said: ‘between the East and the West is [generally] a \textit{qiblah}’.\footnote{Mālik, \textit{Muwaṭṭa’}; \textit{ḥadīth} no. 548; al-Tirmidhī, \textit{ḥadīth} no. 342.}

6.5.5. \textbf{Spolia and the conversion of churches into mosques}

To investigate how the Companions observed the attitude of \textit{Hadīth} towards the conversion of other buildings, we should first consider how the Companions approached the question of performing prayers in places containing images of humans and animals, for churches and other houses of prayers of other faiths often contained such images.

According to al-Ṭabarī, when the Muslims conquered al-Madāʾin,
capital of the Persian Empire, Sa’d prayed *ṣalāt al-fāth*, ‘prayer of conquest’, in the *iwan* of Kisrā and took it as a mosque while there were statues of stucco (*jiṣṣ*) for men and horses.\(^{218}\) Al-Ṭabarī commented that neither he, namely Sa’d, nor the Muslims were molested by the existence of these figures which they did not obliterate.\(^{219}\)

This could be explained by an instantaneous need on the part of the Muslim conquerors to give thanks. According to al-Ṭabarī, the first thing the Companions liked to do when they founded a city or settled down in a place was to pray and supplicate.\(^{220}\) In this context, occasional, or rather seldom,\(^{221}\) prayers in the houses of worship of other faiths do not necessarily imply that the earliest Muslims tolerated the decoration of mosques or the regular prayers in churches or synagogues.

Indeed, there is a stark tone of abomination in *Ḥadīth* about the imitation of Christians and Jews in religious matters in general and in decorating places of worship in particular (see 5.8). Did the early Muslims adhere to this? According to Grabar, the Prophet and early Islam strove to avoid priesthood and its clergy.\(^{222}\)

An incident reported by al-Ṭabarī illustrates ‘Umar’s ardency not to

\(^{218}\) Al-Ṭabarī, IV, p. 16, Ibn Kathīr, X, 13.


\(^{220}\) Al-Ṭabarī, IV, 41; Ibn Kathīr, X, 41.

\(^{221}\) It is reported that ‘Umar and ‘Amr performed prayers in churches. A man from the tribe of Tujīb said that he saw ‘Amr entered a church and prayed in it. Al-Maqrīzī, II, 247. According to Ibn Kathīr, after the conquest of Jerusalem, ‘Umar entered the ‘mosque’ of Bayt al-Maqdis and prayed in the *mihrāb* of Dāwūd where he led the Muslims in *ṣalāt al-ghadāt*. Ibn Kathīr, IX, p. 656. Mu‘āwiyah is also said to have prayed at Christian churches. See *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*, trans. by Andrew Palmer, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993), p. 31.

\(^{222}\) Grabar, *Formation*, p. 102-3.
imitate them in mosque related-issues. When Ka‘b al-Aḥbār advised him to build his mosque at Jerusalem behind the Holy Rock, ’Umar nudged his chest and said: ‘[in so doing] you have imitated the Jews’. He then built it in front of the Holy Rock. 223 This account seems to counter Caetani’s argument that ’Umar’s mosque was built on the remnants of the church of the Virgin. 224 If ’Umar disliked choosing a site for his mosque that would put it in relation with Jewish tradition, how could we believe that he tolerated the conduct of regular prayers in a church or a fire temple? Further, he is reported to have refused to pray in a church in Bayt al-Maqdis lest Muslim people would take that as a justification to turn churches into mosques. 225

What about the reports about the re-use of columns taken from ruined churches and palaces in the mosque of Sa‘d at Kūfah? 226 In fact, there are reasons to doubt such accounts, which were provided only by al-Ṭabarī on the authority of Sayf b. ’Umar whose narratives were rejected by Wellhausen. 227 Al-Balādhurī, for example, said nothing about the ẓu’llah or the antique columns. 228 Shafi’ī argued that the account (which also states that the Companions were told about the site of Kūfah by a Christian) was doctored so as to link the birth of Islamic architecture to Christian origins. 229

Nonetheless, al-Balādhurī tells us about a few cases where churches, or parts of them, were converted into mosques in the time of the Rāshidūn caliphs. 230 Should such akhbar be reliable, they would imply that

223 Al-Ṭabarī, III, 611; Ibn Kathīr, IX, 662. See also Muthīr al-Ghāram, p. 166.
225 Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, I, I, 34. This story is also referred to by al-Maqrīzī, II, 492. See also Wüstenfeld, Geschichte der Copten, p. 21; transl., p. 52.
226 See al-Ṭabarī, IV, 44-6.
228 Al-Balādhurī, pp. 388-9.
229 Shafi’ī, p. 239.
230 See al-Balādhurī, p. 179. See also Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 117.
the Companions found nothing outrageous in converting churches into mosques or reusing antique columns to build them, especially when these were taken from derelict structures.\textsuperscript{231} There is no account to tell us that such a practice was condemned by any of the Companions, even the most zealous of them like ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb who – as we have seen – usually intervened to undermine any unorthodox innovation.

Yet, the question remains: could such practices imply that the ṣaḥābīs dealt with the houses of prayers of other faiths with little respect? There is evidence that non-Muslim sanctuaries were dealt with a considerable amount of reverence under the Rāshidūn Caliphs. When ʿUmar conquered Jerusalem, he – after the model of the Prophet’s pledge to the Christians of Najrān – promised to protect churches and crucifixes. His pledge included: ‘This is what the slave of Allāh, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the emir of the faithful, has given of safety to the People of Ilyā’; he has given them safety (amān) for themselves, their money and their crosses. This is also for the rest of those who embrace the same religion as that of the people of Ilyā’ [namely, Christianity]. Their churches are neither to be populated [namely by the Muslims], nor to be dilapidated. Nothing is to be taken out of their areas nor of their crosses nor of any of their riches, and they are not to be obliged to convert (wala yukrahūn ʿala dīnihim).\textsuperscript{232} This is also asserted by M. Biddle who wrote: ‘In the end it was decided to follow the example of caliph Omar who on his capture of the city [of Jerusalem] in 638 had confirmed the Christians in their possession of the church [of

\textsuperscript{231} It should be noted, here, that the use of spolia was a wide phenomenon. See S. Bassett, \textit{The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople} (Cambridge: 2004); L. Bosman, \textit{The Power of Tradition: Spolia in the Architecture of St. Peter’s in the Vatican} (Hilversum, 2004); J. Alchermes, ‘Spolia in Roman Cities of the Late Empire: Legislative Rationales and Architectural Reuse’, \textit{Dumbarton Oaks Papers} 48 (1994), 167-78.

\textsuperscript{232} Al-Ṭabarī, III, 609. A similar pledge was given to the people of Ludd (Lydda) and the rest of Palestine. Al-Ṭabarī, III, 609-10.
Chapter 6: The influence of Ḥadīth on the architecture of the Rāshidūn mosques

Resurrection].

A similar guarantee was given by 'Amr b. al-‘Āṣ to the Copts of Egypt. According to al-Ṭabarī, 'Amr’s pledge included: ‘This is what 'Amr b. al-‘Āṣ has given to the people of Egypt of safety (amān) for themselves, religion (millatihim), money (properties), churches, crosses, land and sea. Nothing of this should be added or taken out of them (lā yudkhal 'alayhim shay’un min dhālek wala yuntaqaṣ).’

We are also told that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-‘Azīz ordered his governors not to pull down a church or a synagogue.

An important and related point is that the layouts of churches and synagogues do not fulfil the Islamic need for a place of prayer. As Hillenbrand says:

The briefest acquaintance with Muslim liturgy is enough to explain why the places of worship employed by the other faiths of the time were fundamentally unsuitable for the needs of Islam. It is true that many churches, some fire temples, and on occasion even portions of classical, Hindu or Jain temples, were adapted to serve as mosques. But this was only a matter of expedience, and was never a long-term deliberate policy. It did, however, have its uses; indeed, several motives could account for these conversions. In newly Islamised territory the pressing need for a place of worship could not always be met as quickly as might be wished. The advantages of using an already existing monument – convenience, cheapness, suitable location, and saving of time and effort and of course the less easily definable proselytising, propaganda and symbolic elements – outweighed the initial disadvantage of using an architectural form not designed to serve as a mosque. Nevertheless, these disadvantages made themselves felt in short order, and already within the first decade of the Islamic conquests ‘custom-built’ mosques — if that is not too grand a term for such extremely structures — were

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being erected.\footnote{Hillenbrand, \textit{Islamic Architecture}, p. 33.}

Hence, the rationale of using an existing monument was probably one of temporary urgency rather than a matter of wide and a permanent strategy.

\section*{6.6. Conclusion}
This discussion about interaction between \textit{Hadith} and mosques under the Rāshidūn Caliphs argues that from an early stage we begin to note evidence of diversity of form within unity of underlying principles. These underlying principles were extracted from a varied range of sources including the \textit{Qur‘ān}, \textit{Hadith}, and practices of notable \textit{ṣaḥābīs}. Although the time of the Rightly-guided Caliphs, which lasted for only thirty years, was directly next to that of the Prophet, we could say that the strong political and social changes it saw made it a truly different milieu.

Under the Rāshidūn, the simple model of the Prophet was observed. We are told about examples of clear consultation. The reported forms of the mosques they built encourage the same thinking. The recorded change in some mosques – the most salient example was the lack of \textit{ṣaḥn} in the mosque of Fusṭāṭ – could well be ascribed to the fact that the Prophet did not set out a binding architectural form for the mosque. The Rāshidūn ruled in a time where Muslim communities lived in various places of widely contrasting climate and geology, and of different cultural backgrounds. It was thus inevitable for mosque architecture to acclimatize to such new and varying dimensions provided the general principles which had been prescribed by the Prophet were maintained.
Chapter 7: The influence of Ḥadīth on the architecture of the Umayyad mosques
Chapter 7: The influence of Ḥadīth on the architecture of the Umayyad mosques

7.1. Introduction

The Umayyad Dynasty was founded after al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib relinquished the disputed caliphate to Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, the inveterate rival of his father, in 41/661. This year, hence, was called ‘the year of unanimity’ (‘ām al-jamā‘ah). The dynasty was named after Umayyah b. ‘Abd Shams b. Manāf, the grandfather of the first Umayyad caliph (see chart 3). It ruled for a period of 91 years during which fourteen caliphs succeeded to the throne. The last of the Umayyad caliphs was Marwān b. Muḥammad who was defeated by the ‘Abbāsids in a battle known as al-Zāb al-Kabīr in 132/750. Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb (41-60/661-80), the founder of the Umayyad caliphate, was born at Mecca. He, along with his father, Abū Sufyān, embraced Islam on the day of Mecca conquest. Under Mu‘āwiya, the residence of the Islamic caliphate was moved from Kūfah to Damascus, partly because of the large number of partisans he had there and also because of its fitting location. In spite of having greatly expanded the Muslim empire and achieved military and administrative improvements, the Umayyads are generally accused of having changed much of the sunnah.

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238 Al-Ṭabarī, V, 328.
240 Ibn Qutaybah, Ma‘ārif, II, 332; H. Kennedy, The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates, p. 82.
of the Prophet and his Rightly-guided Caliphs. While the Umayyads’ ‘notoriousness’ could arguably be ascribed to the fact that they lost power, there are reasons to think that they took procedures which ran counter to the Prophetic model. One salient example is their controversial adoption of hereditary succession which was already established in Alid/proto-Shi’i thought. Mu‘āwiya bequeathed the throne to his son Yazid. There is belief that the Umayyads brought a liberal attitude to the Muslim community, and that this was in contrast to the conservative one which had been adopted by the Rāshidūn Caliphs and the Umayyads’ contemporary pious legalists.

Under the Umayyads, many mosques were erected; some for the first time, others as rebuildings. Below are the most significant royal patrons and their architectural works at mosques:

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• Mu‘awiyah b. Abī Sufyān (41-60/661-80): rebuilt the mosques of Baṣrah (45/665),243 Kūfah (50/670),244 Fustāṭ (53/673, 92-3/710-12)245 and Aqṣā246

243 On the Umayyad rebuilding of the mosque of Baṣrah, see Ibn Qutaybah, p. 563; al-Balādhūrī, p. 485; Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, I. I, 45; Fikrī, Madkhal, pp. 199-200.

244 On the Umayyad rebuilding of the mosque of Kūfah, see Ibn Qutaybah, p. 565; al-Balādhūrī, pp. 389, 485; al-Ṭabarī, IV, 46; al-Muqaddasī (Collins’s transl.), p. 106; Yāqūt, I, 492-3; Ibn Jubayr, pp. 187-8; Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, I. I, 46-8; Fikrī, Madkhal, pp. 200-3.

245 On the Umayyad architectural works at the mosque of Fustāṭ, see Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, p. 131; al-Maqrīzī, II, 247-56; Yāqūt, IV, 265; Ibn Taghhrī Bardī, I, 86; al-Sūyūṭī, Ḥusn, pp. 132-3; al-Qalqashandī, II, 342; Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, I. I, 58-60, 149-51; Kamāl al-Dīn Sāmīh, Al-‘Imārah al-Islāmiyyah fi Miṣr, Kitābuk Series, 30 (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1977 [?]), p. 4; Fikrī, Madkhal, pp. 67-9; Yeomans, pp. 20-6.

246 According to Antun and Julian Raby, the two preliminary phases of the first Aqṣā mosque were built under Mu‘awiyah as a governor and then as a caliph (see figure 27). See Antun, p. 57; Johns, ‘House of the Prophet’, p. 62.
· ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (685-705): built the Dome of the Rock (72/691-2),\(^{247}\) and Wāsiṣ (83 or 84/703-4),\(^ {248}\) and rebuilt the mosques of Aqṣā\(^ {249}\) and Qayrawān (84/703)\(^ {250}\)

· Al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (705-15): built the mosques of Damascus (87/706),\(^ {251}\) Anjar, Khirbat al-Minyā and Jabal Says. He also rebuilt the

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249 According to a number of historians such as al-Ṭabarī, Muǧīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanbālī (*Al-Uns al-Jalīl bi Tārīkh al-Quds wal Khalīl*, I, 248) and al-Muqaddasi (Collins's transl. p. 153), the Aqṣā mosque was rebuilt by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān in 65/685. More recently, this attribution has been sustained by Antun, p. 57.


mosque of the Prophet at Madīnah (88-90/707-9),\(^{252}\) and the mosque of Ṣanʿā’, and decorated the Aqṣā mosque (87/706).\(^{253}\) He also built, jointly with his brother the Caliph Sulaymān, the mosque of Aleppo.

- Hishām b. ’Abd al-Malik (724-43): rebuilt the mosque of Qayrawān (105/723) and built a number of smaller mosques such as Jerash, Khirbat al-Mafjar, Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī and Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqī.

It is worth noting that the Umayyads, having been overthrown by the ’Abbāsids, established in Andalusia (Hispania) an independent emirate in 138/756 and then a caliphate in 317/929.\(^{254}\) However, none of their mosques will be dealt with here as the first of them was built at a date


outside the scope of this study.\textsuperscript{255}

It is generally considered that the Umayyad period witnessed the real onset of Islamic architecture. It was under art-lover caliphs, such as ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān and his son al-Walid, that many of the mosque’s architectural elements, whose seeds had emerged in the early caliphate, began to flower.

A comparison between the reconstructed plan of the mosque of the Prophet and the surviving Umayyad mosques, which were built slightly more than half a century later, reveals a large gap in terms of form and material. This gap looks even wider when one compares the reported description of these Umayyad mosques in their heydays to the simplicity of the Prophet’s model. A number of questions accordingly emerge. What explains the contrast? Why did the Umayyads elevate and decorate their mosques if they knew it was against Ḥadīth to do so? Did they know about the Prophet’s model? If so, how and how did they appreciate it? To what extent did they consider it in building their mosques?

\textsuperscript{255} See Grabar, Formation, p. 20.
Chapter 7: The influence of Ḥadīth on the architecture of the Umayyad mosques

Chart 3: Tree of the Umayyad dynasty
Chapter 7: The influence of Ḥadīth on the architecture of the Umayyad mosques

7.2. Scope of the chapter
In order to approach these and other questions we will investigate the religious attitude of the main Umayyad patrons of mosques and their knowledge of Ḥadīth. There will be discussion about what it was that incentivised the building of such massive and ornate mosques, and whether these incentives were consistent with Ḥadīth. The question of the origins of Islamic architecture has been dealt with by a large number of scholars and it is thus not the main topic of this study. For present chapter, it is nonetheless important to know whether the architectural components of the mosque were formed in a way consistent with Ḥadīth. There will be discussion about this and about whether Ḥadīth played any significant role in shaping such components. The chapter will conclude with a general discussion centring on whether and how Ḥadīth influenced mosque architecture in the Umayyad period.

7.3. Builders of the Umayyad mosques: their knowledge of Ḥadīth and their religious attitudes
Key Umayyad figures for mosque architecture appear to be Muʿāwiyah, ʿAbd al-Malik and the latter’s son and successor al-Walid. It is important for this study to investigate the religious attitude and knowledge of Ḥadīth of these Umayyad caliphs.256

Muʿāwiyah narrated 163 ḥadīths. His narrated ḥadīths were trusted and transmitted by a number of prominent saḥābīs such as Ibn ʿAbbās, Ibn ʿUmar,257 and a number of tābiʿīs such as Ibn al-Musayyab.258 These three people narrated the largest number of ḥadīths about mosques. Muʿāwiyah’s

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256 On the activities of the Umayyads to preserve the biography of the Prophet, see Schoeler, Genesis, pp. 54-6.
257 These three Companions are amongst those who narrated the largest number of ḥadīths.
258 Al-Sūyūṭī, Tārīkh al-Khulafa’, p. 172. For more information about these two tābiʿī scholars, see below.
hadīths were reported and kept by the compilers of Ṣahīhs and Musnads.\(^{259}\)

Muʿāwiya is reported to have written to al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah, his governor of Iraq, asking him to write and send to him something that he (namely al-Mughīrah) had heard from the Prophet. So, al-Mughīrah wrote down some hadīths and sent them to him.\(^{260}\) Muʿāwiya was also one of the kuttāb al-wahī, ‘writers of revelations’, in the time of the Prophet.\(^ {261}\) He wrote some Traditions from Muhammad and added a few more by correspondence with his governor of Iraq. He cited Tradition in his mosque’s speeches and court sessions, and is also listed as a Hadith scholar.\(^ {262}\)

ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, on the other hand, is reported to have had regular meetings with faqīhs and pious people. He was the patron of the traditionally-known chief ten scholars of his time. These included: Abān b. ʿUthmān,\(^{263}\) Khārijah b. Zayd, Sālim b. ʿAbd Allah, Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad and ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr.\(^ {264}\) This group of scholars had a significant influence in the Umayyad period and they were regarded as ʿAbd al-Malik’s ‘court scholars’ (see below).\(^ {265}\) ʿAbd al-Malik transmitted hadīths from a number of Companions of the Prophet.\(^ {266}\) His hadīths were transmitted by eminent narrators such as ʿUrwah, al-Zuhrī and Rajāʿ b.

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\(^{259}\) Ibn Kathīr, XI, 397; al-Dhahabi, Siyar, pp. 3880-91.

\(^{260}\) Muslim, hadīths no. 1341-2. See also hadīths no. 1338-40, al-Bukhārī, hadīths no. 844, 6330.

\(^{261}\) Ibn Kathīr, XI, 146, 397; al-Dhahabi, Siyar, p. 3881.


\(^{263}\) See Ibn Saʿd, VII, 150-2.

\(^{264}\) Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 18. Al-Yaʿqūbī added to them others such as ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar: I, 337-8. On these personages, see below.


\(^{266}\) These included Jābir, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, Abū Hurayrah, Ibn ʿUmar, Muʿāwiya, Umm Salamah and others. See al-Dhahabi, Siyar, p. 2583.
The piety of 'Abd al-Malik and his vigorousness in studying fiqh was praised by contemporary religious authorities, such as Nāfi’. According to Abū al-Zinād and al-A`mash, two of the early most famous Hadith narrators, 'Abd al-Malik was one of the four most renowned faqīhs at Madīnah. Yet, Ibn Sa’d expressly stated that, 'Abd al-Malik was such a worshipper, particularly, before ascending to the throne.

The most eminent Umayyad patron of mosques was al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik who seems to have had a conscious scheme for building massive mosques. Unlike his father, al-Walīd does not seem to have been particularly learned. Even his Arabic was less than eloquent. Ibn Kathīr tells us that al-Walīd took knowledge from Anas b. Mālik, a famous Companion and Hadith narrator. Yet, the only occasion on which we are told that al-Walīd learned something from Anas is when he asked him about the signs of the Last Day. Al-Walīd also listened to (that is, took knowledge from) Sa’īd b. al-Musayyab and al-Zuhri.

Another important figure is the pious 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (also

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267 Ibn Kathīr, Tārikh al-Dawlah al-Umawiyyah: Khulāṣat Tārikh Ibn Kathīr, ed. by M. Aḥmad Kan’ān (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Ma’ārif, 1997), p. 187; al-Dhahabi, Siyar, p. 2583; al-Sūyūṭī, Tārikh al-Khulafā’, pp. 191-2. 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr (d. 94/713) is one of the earliest historians and Hadith scholars. According to Duri and Schoeler, 'Urwah was one of the ‘seven principal jurists’ of Madīna to whom the systematic documentation of Hadith and other historical material is attributed’. Duri, p. 78. For more information about 'Urwah and al-Zuhri, see below.

268 His epithet was Abū 'Abd Allāh (d. 117/735). He was a Daylamī from Abrashahr. Having been the servant of 'Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar, the renowned Companion and Hadith narrator, Nāfi’ became one of the most eminent Hadith scholars in the generation of tābi‘īs. Ibn Sa’d, VII, 423-5; Ibn Qutaybah, pp. 460-1. On Nāfi’ and his position in Hadith literature, see Juynboll, Studies, pp. 208-44.

269 The other three were: Sa’īd b. al-Mussayab, 'Urwah and Qubaysah b. Dhu’ayb. Ibn Kathīr, Khulāṣat, p. 188; al-Sūyūṭī, Tārikh al-Khulafā’, p. 191.

270 Ibn Sa’d, VII, 221-32. See also Ibn Kathīr, Khulāṣat, p. 187; al-Dhahabi, Siyar, p. 2583.


known as 'Umar II) who reconstructed the mosque of the Prophet when he was al-Walid’s ruler at Madīnah. Apart from the Rightly guided Caliphs, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-‘Azīz is traditionally regarded as the most devout caliph in Islamic history. For many Islamic authorities, his deeds and sayings are of considerable credence in Islamic shari‘ah.\(^\text{273}\) His reportedly impeccable standing has caused some to see him as the fifth Rightly-guided Caliph.\(^\text{274}\) According to Hitti, 'Umar was entirely under the influence of the theologians and has enjoyed through ages a reputation for piety and asceticism that stands in glaring contrast with the alleged impiety of the Umayyad régime. He was, in fact, the Umayyad saint.\(^\text{275}\) He narrated ḥadīths from such scholars as Anas, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab and 'Urwh b. al-Zubayr and his ḥadīths were trusted and transmitted by the like of al-Zuhrī and Rajā‘ b. Ḥaywah.\(^\text{276}\) Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal said: 'I am aware of none of the tābi‘i is whose saying is evidence (ḥujjah) except 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.'\(^\text{277}\) ‘Umar is also said to have taken no decision without consulting the ten Medinese faqīhs whom he appointed as chancellors.\(^\text{278}\) We will see below how the work which 'Umar did at the mosque of the Prophet was significant to the general evolution of mosque architecture.

Other fundamental persons for mosque architecture in the Umayyad period were Ziyād b. Abīh (Mu‘āwiyah’s governor at Kūfah and Baṣrah),\(^\text{279}\) Maslamah b. Mukhallad (Mu‘āwiyah’s governor in Egypt), and Qurrah b.
Sharīk (al-Walīd’s governor in Egypt).\textsuperscript{280} Traditions do not tell us about the religious knowledge of Ziyād (d. 53/673).\textsuperscript{281} Ibn ’Asākir (d. 571/1176) tells us that Ziyād was not a faqīh or a scholar but he was a writer for Abū Mūsā al-Ash’arī and that he narrated few \textit{ḥadīths}.\textsuperscript{282} The clearest reported side of his personality, however, was firmness and resolution.\textsuperscript{283} While some accounts depict him as a tyrant,\textsuperscript{284} others state that he used power and authority to discipline the wicked and that he was even assisted in this task by some of the Companions.\textsuperscript{285} On the authority of al-Sha’bī, Ziyād was a knowledgeable and an eloquent speaker who was appreciated by ’Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.\textsuperscript{286} Naturally, these divergent reports about Ziyād can indicate how the past was remembered from different perspectives. Nonetheless, Ziyād seems to have been really obsessed with the adoption of manifestations of supremacy and solemnity; many of these were introduced to Islam for the first time by him.\textsuperscript{287} We will shortly see (7.5) how this tendency on the part of Ziyād influenced the architectural evolution of the Umayyad mosques.

Maslamah b. Mukhallad was born in the first year of Hijrah and the \textit{ḥadīths} narrated by him were accepted and transmitted by scholars like Abū Ayyūb al-Ansārī and Ibn Sirīn. He was seen by al-Bukhārī to have been a Companion. Maslamah died in 62/682.\textsuperscript{288} Qurrah b. Sharīk (d. 96/715), on the other hand, was a notorious

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item On the works of these three Umayyad governors, see below.
\item On him, see Ibn Qutaybah, \textit{Maʿārif}, pp. 346-7.
\item Ibn ’Asākir, XIX, 165.
\item Ibn al-Athīr (Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah), III, 307, 341.
\item Ibn Kathīr, XI, 168.
\item Ibn Kathīr, XI, 168-9.
\item Al-Ṭabarī, V, 224.
\item Ibn Hajar, \textit{Iṣābah}, VI, 97-8; \textit{Tahdhib}, IV, 78; Ibn Saʿd, VI, 562-3; al-Dhahabī, \textit{Siyar}, III, 3854. See also al-Maqrīzī, II, 248.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
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ruler. On the authority of Abū Na‘īm, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz said, while al-Walīd was ruling in Sham, al-Ḥajjāj in Iraq, ʿUthmān b. Jubārah in Hijāz and Qurrah b. Sharīk in Egypt: ‘By Allāh, the earth has been full of tyranny.’

It is even reported, on the authority of Ibn ʿAsākir, that Qurrah was having shameless night parties at the mosque of ʿAmr after the workers were leaving. Why did such reportedly impious personalities such as Qurrah b. Sharīk and al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (AH 41-95) build or rebuild mosques? The answer may well be that building mosques had, by that time, been not only religious but also political and social commitment. Both al-Ḥajjāj and Qurrah, having been governor in Iraq and Egypt, respectively, should have built mosques, especially if this was the wish of the caliph.

In fact, we do not possess adequate information about the architects of the Umayyad mosques, but we are told about two key persons to whom ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān assigned the task of building the Dome of the Rock. These were Rajāʾ b. Ḥaywah and Yazīd b. Sallām. While their duties are seen by some scholars to have been restricted to financial and administrative aspects, there are signs that they were responsible for designing and decorating the structure. Rajāʾ b. Ḥaywah (d. AH 112) was a renowned legalist and Ḥadīth narrator. The ḥadīths he transmitted were

289 On Qurrah, see Ibn ʿAsākir, XLIX, pp. 305-9.
290 Al-Sūyūṭī, Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ, p. 197; Ibn ʿAsākir, XLIX, 308.
292 Yazid, who was from Bayt al-Maqdis, was a servant of ʿAbd al-Malik. According to Mujīr al-Dīn, two sons of Yazid were also entrusted with the work. Al-UNS al-Jalīl, I, 241.
293 Gildemeister, XIII, 21, quoted by Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, I, I, 100.
295 Shihāb al-Dīn, Muthīr, pp. 343-4. According to Ibn Saʿd, the Caliph Sulaymān consulted him about, and entrusted him with, his will to appoint ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as the next caliph. Ibn Saʿd, VII, 329-33.
trusted and reported by prominent Ḥadīth scholars such as al-Zuhrī and Qatādah. His knowledge and devotion were praised by a group of prominent faqīhs and scholars of Ḥadīth such as Saʿīd b. Jubayr and Abū Naʿīm al-ʿAṣbahānī, and he was regarded as thiqah, ‘trusted’ by Ḥadīth compilers such as al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Ḥibbān.296 It is also reported that his religious knowledge was trusted, and consulted by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.297 ʿRajāʾ narrated that one day the Caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik asked him about a ḥadīth. He said: ‘I have forgotten it, but I had it written down.’298

According to al-Maqrīzī,299 when the mosque of ʿAmr at Fustāṭ was rebuilt in 92/710 by order of Qurrah b. Sharīk, the work was supervised by Yahya b. Ḥanzalah. The same thing is ascertained by the Aphrodito papyri.300 Unfortunately, we do not possess any information about Yahya apart from that he was the servant of Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʿāi.301 At Damascus, al-Walīd entrusted his brother and the crown-prince, Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, with the task of building the Great Umayyad mosque.302 Sulaymān, who succeeded al-Walīd as the Umayyad seventh caliph, and thus completed the works of building and decorating the Umayyad mosque, is traditionally known as a beneficent caliph.303 Ibn ʿAsākir also tells us that Zayd b. Wāqid, whose epithet was Abū ʿAmr al-Dimashqī, was put in charge of overseeing the workers.304 Zayd (d. 138/755) was a prominent Ḥadīth scholar who transmitted ḥadīths from a large number of early tābiʿīs such as Nāfiʿ, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān and al-Ḥasan al- Başrī. Some of his ḥadīths

298 Al-Dārimī, ḥadīth no. 522; al-Baghdādī, Taqyid, p. 139.
299 Al-Maqrīzī, II, 248.
300 Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, I, I, 150-1.
301 Al-Maqrīzī, II, 248.
302 Ibn ʿAsākir, II, 264; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 570.
303 Ibn Qutaybah, p. 360.
are found in al-Bukhārī, Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā‘ī and Ibn Mājah. He was seen as *thiqah*, ‘trustworthy’, by the like of Aḥmad b Ḥanbal, Ibn Ma‘īn and al-Dāraqūṭnī.

More information is available about workers and artisans. According to traditions, al-Walīd summoned a great number of craftsmen, architects and workers to building the Umayyad mosque. Al-Muqaddasi, for example, tells us that al-Walīd gathered skilful artisans from Persia, India, the Maghreb, and Rūm, ‘Byzantium’. According to the Aphrodito papyri, workmen from Egypt were also employed. When al-Walīd sent a message to *malik al-Rūm*, ‘the Byzantine king’, asking him to send marble workers, the king sent him two hundred craftsmen. Ibn Khaldūn also mentions in his *Muqaddimah* that skilful builders and mosaic workers were sent to al-Walīd by the Byzantine king to help him erect and decorate mosques.

The tradition about *malik al-Rūm*, however, is doubted by many scholars whose skepticism about it may be enhanced by the fact that it is repeated with the mosque of Madīnah, but with more details. Whether

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307 Ibn Kathīr, XII, 570.
308 Some earlier scholars such as Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889) in his *Uyūn al-Akhbār* and Ibn Ḥasāḳir (d. 571/1176) in his *Tārikh* (XXIII, 177) also mentioned the Byzantine emperor being associated with the process of building the mosque of Damascus. See also Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, I, 62; al-‘Umarī, I, 183.
310 Ibn Kathīr, XII, 570-1.
foreign builders were employed or not, a considerable part of the work at
the mosque of the Prophet was undertaken by local builders. According to
al-Ṭabarî, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azîz [along with the local builders of Madîna]
'began to pull down the rooms of the wives of the Prophet, may God bless
and preserve him, and build the mosque. Soon afterwards, there arrived the
workmen sent by al-Walîd.\footnote{Al-Ṭabarî, XXIII (Hinds's transl.), p. 141.}
Al-Ṭabarî adds:

Şâlih [b. Kaysân] said: he [namely 'Umar] put me in charge of pulling it
down and building it [again]. We pulled it down using the workers of
Medina, and we began to pull down the rooms of the wives of the
Prophet, may God bless and preserve him. [This went on] until there
came to us the workmen sent by al-Walîd.\footnote{Al-Ṭabarî, XXIII (Hinds's transl.), 142; al-Samhûdî, II, Wafấ, 522.}

According to Ibn Saʿd, Ibn 'Asâkir and al-Mizzî (d. 742/1341), Şâlih
b. Kaysân (d. after 140/758) was a trusted Ḥadîth scholar who took Ḥadîths
from scholars such as 'Urwah and al-Zuhîrî.\footnote{Ibn Saʿd, VII, 513; Ibn 'Asâkir, XXIII, 362-72; al-Mizzî, Tahdîh al-Kamâl, XIII, 79-84.}
He shared with al-Zuhîrî in the
pioneering efforts of preserving Ḥadîth and sunan.\footnote{Ibn 'Asâkir, XXIII, 367-9; al-Mizzî, Tahdîh al-Kamâl, XIII, 82-3; al-Baghdâdî, Taqyîd, p. 137.}
Şâlih is included in the
chain of transmitters on whose authority al-Bukhârî, and others,\footnote{See Abû Dâwûd, Ḥadîth no. 451.}
reported the Ḥadîth which describes the forms and materials which the mosque of
Madînah had in the time of the Prophet and the first two caliphs.\footnote{On this Ḥadîth, see below.}

There is a possibility, then, that he applied his knowledge of the Prophet’s model to
the new building of the mosque, especially that he built it under supervision
of such a pious ruler as 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azîz.

The Umayyad structure of the Prophet’s mosque, as described by
the sources, does not seem to have required the employment of foreign
masons, especially as there already were skilful builders at Madīnah such as ῾Uthmān b. ῾Urwha, and Wardān al-Bannā, ‘the builder’. The latter was called by ῾Umar b. ῾Abd al-‘Azīz to rebuild the eastern wall of the Prophet’s houses after it had collapsed when the builders were digging to lay the foundations of the columns of the mosque in the time of al-Walīd. According to al-Shīhri, the Medinese builders who had participated in the works of ῾Uthmān b. ῾Affān at the mosque in 29/650 should have had enough time to be well practiced.

The assistance of non-Muslim builders was also attributed to the mosque of Kūfah. Al-Ṭabarī related that al-Walīd summoned non-Muslim builders for building the mosque of Kūfah. He told them of his will for the architectural form of his mosque, which he was not able to describe properly (ashtahī min dhālika shay’an lā aqa’ū alā ṣifatih). One builder, whose name is not known to us but who formerly had been amongst the builders of Khusrau, said to the caliph that the only way to perfect this structure and accomplish it as wished was by using [stone] columns from the Jabal al-Ahwāz, scooping them out, drilling them and fitting them together by means of leads and dowels (safāfīd) of iron. The approach of hiring non-Muslim workers is also said to have been applied to the Muslims’ most venerated structure, namely the Ka’bah. According to some reports, Persian masons were employed by the pious emir Ibn al-Zubayr, the Umayyads’ rival at Mecca when he reconstructed the Ka’bah. The Aphrodito papyri state that skilled Egyptian workmen also took part in building the Ka’bah.

Sauvaget argued that the story which associates the Greek emperor

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319 On him, see below.
321 Al-Ṭabarī, IV, 46; Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, I. I, 46.
322 See Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, I. I, 63-4.
323 See Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, I. II, 373.
with the affairs of building the Umayyad mosque and the mosque of Madinah is doubtful.\textsuperscript{324} Sauvaget considered that this might have been invented by al-Walid’s pious critics who attempted to attribute to him the culpable act of using infidels to rebuild the Prophet’s mosque.\textsuperscript{325} Hamilton Gibb contested this opinion, which had been shared by Creswell and van Berchem.\textsuperscript{326} According to Gibb, there was no evidence for it apart from what he called ‘certain pietistic traditions against the decoration of mosques in general’.\textsuperscript{327} Gibb continued: ‘If there had really been any widespread, or even factitious, resentment of al-Walid’s initiative, one would expect to find it expressed in much more open terms, without having to guess at an anti-Umayyad implication.’\textsuperscript{328} In fact, there are some reports about transgressions and indecencies which were attributed to non-Muslim masons while building the mosque of the Prophet. Ibn Rustah, for example, mentions that one of the Byzantines made a representation of a pig above five windows (\textit{ṭaqāt}) in the qiblah wall and when 'Umar knew of that he ordered his head to be cut off.\textsuperscript{329} Al-Muqaddasī adds that one of the non-Muslim workers, when he found the mosque empty, tried to urinate on the grave of the Prophet.\textsuperscript{330} While such narratives could have been later invented to imply that al-Walid was mistaken to hire such masons – if he really did, they could also be reflective of how the later generations thought of the reasons for which non-Muslim builders should be supervised.

There are implications that such employment of non-Muslim masons

\textsuperscript{324} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{326} Creswell, \textit{Early Muslim Architecture}, I. I, 151-3.
\textsuperscript{327} Gibb, ‘Arab-Byzantine Relations’, p. 228.
\textsuperscript{328} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{329} Ibn Rustah, p. 69.
by al-Walid was approved, or at least not condemned, by contemporary religious authorities.\textsuperscript{331} We have already seen that there is nothing in \textit{Hadīth} to say that non-Muslim masons should not be hired to build a mosque (see 6.5.2). Indeed, a \textit{hadīth} in al-Bukhārī mentions an incident where unbelievers, especially Jews and Christians, were allowed to enter the mosque of the Prophet.\textsuperscript{332}

Under the rubric of ‘an unbeliever to enter the mosque except that of Mecca’, al-Bayhaqī also reported a group of \textit{hadīths} which deals with a number of episodes in which non-Muslim individuals or groups entered the mosque of the Prophet.\textsuperscript{333} According to one of these, the Prophet let a non-Muslim group of Thaqīf to stay in a ‘dome’, presumably a tent, at the mosque. While Mālik saw that it is not allowed for non-Muslims to enter the mosque, both Abū Ḥanīfah and al-Shāfi‘ī argued that only the people of the Scripture, namely the Jews and the Christians, are allowed to enter all mosques but that of Mecca.\textsuperscript{334} The latter opinion seems to have been based on the \textit{hadīth} according to which the Prophet allowed a group of Christian from Najrān to enter his mosque and even perform their prayers in it.

In addition to the natural role of patrons and builders, the building of the Umayyad mosques was invigilated by contemporary scholars; some of whom transmitted the most important \textit{hadīths} about mosques. Examples are: Abū Qilābah al-Jarmī (d. 104/722),\textsuperscript{335} Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab (d. 96/715),\textsuperscript{336} Nāfiʿ (d. 117/735), ῦUrwh b. al-Zubayr (d. 94/713),\textsuperscript{337} his son

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{331} See Ibn Rajab, III, 297.
\item \textsuperscript{332} Juynboll, p. 278. See also al-Bukhārī, \textit{hadīth} no. 469.
\item \textsuperscript{333} Al-Bayhaqī, \textit{hadīths} no. 4330-5.
\item See also al-Khaṭṭābī, I, 145; Ibn Rajab, III, 390-4.
\item \textsuperscript{335} Ibn Saʿd, IX, 182-5; Ibn Ḥajar, \textit{Tahdhib}, II, 339-40.
\item \textsuperscript{336} Ibn Saʿd, VII, 119-43.
\item \textsuperscript{337} On him, see Ibn Saʿd, VII, 177-81; Ibn ῦAsākir, XL, 237-86.
\end{itemize}
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Hishām (d. 146/763) and al-Zuhri. The ḥadīth about how the Prophet founded his mosque was narrated by 'Abd al-Wārith b. Sa’īd (d. 180/796) from Abū al-Tayyāḥ (d. 128/647 or 130/648). Many of these scholars were reported to have participated in the building of the Umayyad mosques. The fact that mosques frequently accommodated the teaching circles of the above scholars, and others, should have made their architectural development under continuous vigilance of the pious.

7.4. How did the Umayyad patrons of the mosques regard the model of the Prophet?

Tradition provides us with quite a number of situations which imply that the Umayyad patrons appreciated the model of the Prophet and his early caliphs. It seems that they realized that their legitimacy sprung from respecting and retaining that model. It is true that there is a controversy on whether they followed it from the political and religious points of view, but as far as mosque building is concerned there are signs that they showed respect for that archetype.

On the authority of an eye-witness, Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ya`qūb, ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz pulled down the mosque of the Prophet while accompanied by the notable Medinese faqīhs. They showed to ‘Umar the key features (a lām) in the [old] mosque, estimated it and laid its foundations. According to Ibn Ishāq al-Ḥarbī, ‘they showed to him [namely ‘Umar] the [remnants of] of the first mosque of the Prophet which

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338 On Hishām, see Ibn Sa’d, VII, 462-3; al-Mizzi, Tahdhib al-Kamāl, XXX, 232-42.
339 On al-Zuhri, see chapter 2. For more on him see, Ibn Sa’d, VII, 429-39.
341 See al-Dhahabi, Siyar, p. 4221; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, IV, 409.
343 Al-Ṭabarī, XXIII (Hinds’s transl.), 142.
was enlarged by 'Umar and 'Uthmān, so that 'Umar should know the marks of the first mosque which had stood in the time of the Prophet.\textsuperscript{344} Al-Muqaddasī relates that before 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aẓīz pulled down the miḥrāb, he called the sheikhs of Muhājirūn and Anṣār (Ibn Rustah added: 'from the Arabs and the non-Arabs') and said [to them]: 'attend the erection of your qiblah lest you should say 'Umar changed it.'\textsuperscript{345} 'He did not take out a stone unless he put [a new] one in its position.'\textsuperscript{346} The tradition of appreciating the Prophet’s model was represented in a number of procedures such as retaining the positions and names of the old columns of his mosque. His minbar and miḥrāb were also kept in their old positions. Further, the new three doors of Bāb Jibrīl, Bāb al-Nisā’ and Bāb al-Raḥmah were set on the same axes of those which had been built by the Prophet and had had the same names.\textsuperscript{347}

Likewise, much reverence was paid to relics of the Prophet. When Marwān b. al-Ḥakām elevated the minbar of the Prophet and added some staircases to it to be nine,\textsuperscript{348} he nailed a wooden plank in the place where the Prophet used to sit lest anybody else should sit on his place.\textsuperscript{349} On the other hand, the account which states that Mu`āwiya ordered Marwān to move the Prophet’s minbar to Syria is unreasonable and has a legendary character.\textsuperscript{350} Further, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aẓīz is said to have taken the labin, 'brick', of the old mosque, which was built by 'Uthmān, and those of the rooms of the wives of the Prophet, which were built by the Prophet, and

\textsuperscript{344} Ibn Ishāq al-Ḥarbī, \textit{Manāsik}, p. 366.
\textsuperscript{345} Al-Muqaddasī, pp. 81-2; Ibn Rustah, p.69.
\textsuperscript{346} Ibn Rustah, p. 69.
\textsuperscript{347} Al-Pāshā, \textit{Madkhal}, pp. 105-6.
\textsuperscript{348} Ibn al-Najjār, p. 159; Ibn Mufliḥ, III, 175-6.
\textsuperscript{349} Al-Shihrī, \textit{Imārat al-Masjid al-Nabawī}, p. 105. On the minbar of the Prophet and the intention of al-Mahdī, the pious ‘Abbāsid Caliph (ruled from 158/775 to 169/785), to restore it, see 6.4.
reused them to build his own house at Ḥarrah. There is, of course, the possibility that such reports were invented, emended, or selected by some pro-Umayyad historians to imply the Umayyads' keenness to respect the Prophet's legacy. Yet, there are reasons to think that such report do not lack a genuine awareness, on the part of the Umayyads, of the authority of the model which had been set by the Prophet and his early caliphs. For example, in order to convince 'Umar b. Abī-'Azīz about the legality of demolishing and rebuilding the mosque of the Prophet, al-Walīd said to him: '[in this], you have the good ideals of 'Umar and `Uthmān [who formerly rebuilt the mosque].'\(^{351}\)

### 7.5. What incentives were there for building and perfecting the Umayyad mosques?

The group of ḥadīths which praise the act of mosques building, or participating in such building, should have urged, along with other political reasons, the Umayyad patrons and builders to erect many mosques. The cluster of ḥadīths and verses of the Qur'ān about the exceptional status of the three pan-Islamic sanctuaries of Mecca, Madīnah and Jerusalem should have stimulated the Umayyads to take special 'architectural' care of them. For the pious the building of mosques sprang from an innate wish to beseech God's satisfaction and reward, and for the others it was a workable strategy to build up a good reputation amongst the people and the pious scholars whose views were critical for the rulers' public image.

Generally, there is a strong impression that the Umayyads were inclined towards manifestations of pomp and vanity. They loved to erect towering palaces and massive mosques. History provides us with many examples of how proud the Umayyad patrons were of their mosques. In many cases, the work was supervised by the ruler himself. It is reported, for

\(^{351}\) Al-Ṭabarī, XXIII (Hinds's transl.), 141.
example, that when the work in the mosque of Baṣrah was accomplished, Ziyād was keen to examine it by himself while accompanied by the notables of Baṣrah. He admired almost everything. There was no crack, obliqueness or flaw. The only thing he criticized was the slenderness of some columns.352 ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr saw Ziyād going around the mosque and saying: ‘How similar to [great] mosques it is. I have spent 1800 mithqāl on each column [of it].’353 This last sentence was also attributed to a number of Umayyad patrons of mosques. Likewise, when ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād rebuilt the mosque of Kūfah, he gathered the people, mounted the minabr and said: ‘O people of Kūfah! I have built for you a mosque of no counterpart on earth, and I have spent on each column 1700 mithqāl. None will pull it down except a tyrant or a renegade.’354 Such reports about the Umayyad patrons could reflect a general third-century tendency to depict many of the Umayyad rulers as pretentious and profligate persons.

Similarly, when al-Walīd was inspecting the mosque of the Prophet after it had been rebuilt by his command, he looked at Abān (d. between 95/713 and 105/733),355 the son of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and said to him: ‘Look at the big difference between our building and yours.’ Abān, then, replied: ‘We had built it as a mosque but you built it as a church.’356 This statement of Abān implies that the generation of tābiʿīs believed that Companions, such as ʿUmar and ʿUthmān, consciously re-built the mosque

352 Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 230; al-Balādhurī, pp. 484-5; Yāqūt, I, 433.
353 Al-Balādhurī, p. 389; Yāqūt, I, 433.
354 Yāqūt, I, 492.
355 Abān was an early Hadīth scholar who also showed interest in the study of maghāzī, ‘battles of the Prophet’. His accounts about maghāzī were written down by one of his disciples. See Duri, pp. 24-5; K. V. Zetterstéen, ‘Abān b. ʿUthmān’, in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edn, I (1986), pp. 2-3; Muhammad M. ʿAli, Sirat al-Nabi and the Orientalists: with Special Reference to the Writings of William Muir, D. S. Margoliouth and W. Montgomery Watt, (Medina: King Fahd Complex, 1997), I, I, 9.
356 Al-Samhūdī, Wafāʾ, II, 523; Ibn al-Najjār, p. 177.
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after the model of the Prophet.

What were the reasons behind such Umayyad desire to perfect mosques? Creswell has argued that Ziyād had a tendency to erect massive structures and a great court which might have been ‘even greater than Muʿāwiyah at Damascus.’\textsuperscript{357} According to him, Ziyād, having formerly ruled at Iṣṭakhr, was instilled with ideas about the grandeur of the ruler’s court. The first place to which Ziyād thought to apply such an approach was the mosque. The mosque by that time had become the focal point of the Muslim community and the place where crucial decisions were taken, ‘a Parliament in fact’.\textsuperscript{358} Politically, the significance of the mosque surpassed that of the dār al-imārah, which was no more than the private residence of the sovereign.\textsuperscript{359} Ibn Khaldūn mentioned that the Umayyad mosque, for example, was known as the court of al-Walīd.\textsuperscript{360}

It could also be argued that the Umayyad caliphs paid a great deal of attention to perfecting and decorating their major congregational mosques so as to divert the people’s attention from the tribal and sectarian mosques whose political influence was on the rise.\textsuperscript{361}

While traditions tell that al-Walīd built the mosques of Damascus and Madīnah to accommodate more worshippers, there are some reports that he did so for other reasons. Al-Muqaddasī argued that al-Walīd did not build the mosque of the Prophet for the sake of God. Rather, he did so because he resented the fact that the house of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī

\textsuperscript{357} Creswell, \textit{Early Muslim Architecture}, I. I, 43.
\textsuperscript{358} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{359} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{360} Ibn Khaldūn, \textit{Muqaddimah}, p. 355.
whose door gave access to the mosque was still standing.\footnote{Al-Muqaddasi, p. 81; Ibn al-Faqih, p. 157; Ibn Rustah, p.67. See also Ibn Zabalah, p. 116; al-Samhudi, II, 513.} This would mean that enlarging the mosque was simply a pretext to demolish the house of al-Hasan. There are reasons why such anti-Umayyad reports should not be taken at face-value. There is a possibility that such accounts were invented to deprive the Umayyad caliphs from the credit of the good deed of building mosques. Al-Walid might have rebuilt the mosque of the Prophet because he realized, during his visit to Madinah, that the mosque no longer gave enough room for worshippers. We are told that there was already thinking in the caliphate of `Abd al-Malik, al-Walid’s father, to incorporate the area of some adjacent houses to enlarge the mosque.\footnote{Al-Samhudi, Wafā’, II, 515. See also al-Dhahabi, Kitāb al-`Ibar, I, 85.} It seems that the mosque was congested to the extent that, in the time of `Abd al-Malik, worshippers were allowed to enter the adjacent rooms of the Prophet’s wives to attend the Friday sermons.\footnote{Al-Maraghi, p. 50, al-Samhudi, Wafā’, II, 517. See also Mālik, Muwaṭṭa, ḥadīth no. 458.} We have already seen that the Prophet himself is reported to have enlarged the mosque a number of times.\footnote{See chapter 4.}

The Umayyads’ keenness to erect such buildings is attributed, by many religious authorities, to a retreat in religious devotion and also to the impact of the cultures of the conquered territories. However, there is historical evidence that such mosques might have been erected with other approaches, mainly religious, in view. These could properly include the caliphs’ desire to exalt the mosque which is known as the House of God. They wanted to make its form of no less glory than the places of prayers of other faiths, or the Muslims’ own houses.\footnote{Marzūq, p. 18.}

Now, talking to my father’s brother one day said I: ‘O my uncle, surely
it was not fitting for al-Walīd to expend the resources of the Muslims on the mosque at Damascus. Had he expended as much in building roads, or the water tanks, or in repairing the fortresses, it would have been more proper and more to his credit.’ Said he: ‘You simply do not understand, my dear son. Al-Walīd was absolutely right, and it was open to him to do a worthy work. For he saw that Syria was a country settled by the Christians, and he noted there their churches do handsome with their enchanting decorations, renowned far and wide, such as are the Qumāma [namely, the church of the Holy Sepulchre], and the churches of Ludd (Lydda) and al-Ruhā. So he undertook for the Muslims the building of a mosque that would divert their attention from the churches, and make it one of the wonders of the world. Do you realize how ’Abd al-Malik, seeing the greatness of the dome of the Qumāma and its splendour, fearing lest it should beguile the hearts of the Muslims, hence erected, above the Rock, the dome you now see there?\(^{367}\)

When ’Umar b ’Abd al-‘Azīz became the caliph, he intended to eliminate what the mosque included of gold. He also wanted to remove the gilt chains, the marble and the mosaics, return all this to bayt al-māl and put mud (ṭīn) and ropes instead.\(^{368}\) He said: ‘The people are distracted from their prayers by looking at them.’\(^{369}\) This intention of ’Umar annoyed the people of Damascus. One of the chiefs, Khālid b. ’Abd Allāh al-Qasrī said: ‘I could speak to him [about this] on your behalf.’ Khālid, then, told ’Umar that his wish could not be fulfilled as the major part of the marble which was used in the mosque did not belong to bayt al-māl. Rather it belonged to the Muslim individuals who willingly brought it from the different territories of the Muslim empire. This made ’Umar [re-] consider his idea. Simultaneously, a Byzantine delegation was sent to Damascus; when they

\(^{367}\) Al-Muqaddasī (Collins’s transl.), p. 146.

\(^{368}\) Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 158; al-Ṭarṭūshī, p. 106; al-’Umarī, I, 191-2; Ibn Rajab, III, 285; Yāqūt, II, 468; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 580-2. See also Ibn Ḥazm, Muḥallā, IV, 248.

\(^{369}\) Mālik, Mudawwanah, I, 197; al-Ya’qūbī, Tarīkh, I, 214.
saw the splendour of the mosque and the beauty of its ornaments, their leader, impressed, said: ‘I would not think that the Muslims could build such edifice. I reckoned that their time would be shorter than that.’ Having been told of this incident, ʿUmar felt relieved and commanded them to leave the mosque.\textsuperscript{370} Some accounts even exaggerated the reaction of the leader of the Byzantine delegation; according to some he was shocked, according to others he went unconscious.\textsuperscript{371} While this story seems to be coloured by patriotism, we cannot dismiss it completely. The original Umayyad mosque, as far as literary and archaeological evidence tells, was a striking piece of art and architecture, especially when its temporal and spatial contexts are taken into account; it must have impressed visitors and viewers. This means that the use of mosques as a tool of Islamic propaganda was regarded by some authorities like ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to be compatible with the principles of Islam.

### 7.6. Why was the Dome of the Rock built?\textsuperscript{372}

Three theories have been put forward to explain why the ‘unique’ Dome of the Rock was built and to interpret its religious and political meaning. It is traditionally believed that the Dome was built to protect and commemorate the Holy Rock which was, and still is, venerated in Islam as the place where the Prophet ascended to Heavens in the famous journey of al-\textit{Isrāʾ} \& mi\textit{rāj}.

\textsuperscript{370} Al-Ṭarṭūshi, p. 106; al-ʿUmarī, I, 191-2; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 581-2. See also Ibn al-Faqīḥ, pp. 158-9; Ibn ʿAsākir, II, 275-7.
\textsuperscript{371} Ibid.
Eutychius (d. 328/940), a Melkite priest from Alexandria, states that ʿAbd al-Malik ‘enlarged the masjid so that the Rock was included within the praying place’. In addition to evidence from Qurʿān and Ḥadīth, ‘a passage, possibly written before the accession of ʿAbd al-Malik, in the poems of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa (born 23 H. = A.D 644), shows that Jerusalem had already come to be regarded as the place whence Muhammad had made his famous night journey to heaven.

A different theory was first proposed by Goldziher and then adopted by Creswell. It depends on an account of al-Yaʿqūbī (260/874). According to this, ʿAbd al-Malik was annoyed by the fact that Syrian pilgrims kept visiting Mecca, which by that time was under the reign of his political adversary Ibn al-Zubayr. Having been afraid of Ibn al-Zubayr’s influence on them, ʿAbd al-Malik forbade the Syrians to go to Mecca for pilgrimage. The people became irritated by a decision which deprived them from conducting the fifth pillar of Islam. They said to him: ‘How do you forbid us from making the pilgrimage to Allāh’s house, seeing that the same is a commandment of Allah upon us?’ ʿAbd al-Malik replied: ‘Has not ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī [a famous Ḥadīth scholar] told you that the Prophet said: “Men shall journey to but three mosques, al-Masjiḍ Ḥarām [at Mecca], my mosque [at Madīnah], and the mosque of Jerusalem”?’ So this last is now appointed for you in lieu of the Masjid al-Ḥarām. And this Rock, of which it is reported that upon it the Prophet set his foot when he ascended into heaven, shall be


374 Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, I. I, 66.
375 Ibid.
376 He is a Shiʿī traveller who was brought up in Baghdad.
377 This Ḥadīth is reported by al-Bukhārī (ḥadīth no. 1189) on the authority of al-Zuhrī. See also al-Dārimī, Ḥadīth no. 1461; Ibn Ḥanbal, Ḥadīth no. 11347; Abū Yaʿlā, Ḥadīths no. 1167, 5880. On the merit of performing prayers at the pan-mosques of Mecca and Madinah, see also Mālik, Muwaṭṭa’, Ḥadīth no. 517; al-Dārimī, Ḥadīths no. 1458-60.
unto you in the place of the Ka’bah.’ He accordingly erected a dome above the Rock and ‘hung it around with curtains of brocade’. He then installed a door-keeper and let the people do ṭawāf around the Rock in the same manner as the Muslims do around the Ka’bah and this practice lasted all the Umayyad period.\(^{378}\)

Although this story was mentioned by a number of other medieval Muslim and Christian historians,\(^{379}\) it has been criticized by some modern scholars such as M. ‘Akkūsh, who argues that had ‘Abd al-Malik prevented the people from pilgrimage, it would have been an enormous crime against Islam.\(^{380}\) S. D. Goitein also wondered how such a decisive event as building a rival sanctuary to Mecca could have been ignored by observant historians such as al-Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī and by zealous partisans such as al-Muqaddasī. Goitein added that had ‘Abd al-Malik done so, it would have been a remarkable political sin, for he would have been regarded by the great majority of contemporary Muslims as Kāfir, ‘unbeliever’, and it would have led many of them to claim jihad against him.\(^{381}\) Grabar added that this story includes errors à propos dates and misattribution of events. Grabar went further to conclude that the source of this story is only one account which was repeated by later historians.\(^{382}\) It should be noted that if al-Ya’qūbī’s account was the reason of building the Dome of the Rock, then

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\(^{379}\) Eutychius (939), Ibn ‘Abd Ribbih (d. 940), al-Makīn (b. 1204), Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373), Abū al-Maḥāsin (1458), Mujir al-Dīn (1496), and al-Dīyārbakrī (1534). See also Abū Shāmah, p. 30.


\(^{382}\) Grabar, ‘Umayyad Dome’, p. 5.
Hadîth should have, in a way, played a significant role here. It was quoted, as shown above, to legitimatize the Ḥajj, or rather journey, to a holy sanctuary at Jerusalem.

In addition to these theories, a third has recently appeared. According to this, the erection of the Dome of the Rock was a part of a theological and political ‘cold war’ between Islam and the other two monotheistic religions.\textsuperscript{383} It is worth noting that this latter theory which seems best to match the historical context of the period is consistent with the accepted Islamic framework of the time of ‘Abd al-Malik’s who, based on al-Wāsîṭî’s account, did not embark upon his ‘national project’ before he got the approval of his subjects.\textsuperscript{384}

It is of interest for this study that according each of the three theories about the reason of building the Dome of the Rock and its interpretation, Hadîth played a significant role.

7.7. The Ka’bah

The Meccan shrine of Ka’bah enjoys an exceptional status amongst Muslim people.\textsuperscript{385} It represents their qiblah and is the holiest mosque in Islam. Many verses in the Qur’ān and a whole subset of ḥadîths stress the sanctity of the Ḥaram and deal with its āhkām, ‘regulations’, many of which are specific to


\textsuperscript{384} Wāsîṭî, Faḍā’il, pp. 81-1, account no. 136, quoted from and translated by Nasser Rabbat in his ‘The Dome of the Rock Revisited’, p. 68. For the same account, see Shihāb al-Dīn, Muthīr, pp. 171-2; Mujīr al-Dīn, al-Uns al-Jalīl, I, pp. 140-1.

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For example, passing in front of someone at prayer is forbidden at all mosques and places of prayer except the Ka’bah. As far as this study is concerned, we need to know how the Ka’bah was architecturally treated in early Islam. How did the Prophet and his followers reconcile their respect for this supreme Abrahamic structure and their intrinsic keenness to cut the relation between Muslims and any material object?

We will see below (7.11) that the Prophet expressed his desire to rebuild the Ka’bah in the form it had had after the work of Prophet Abraham, but that we have no report that he applied any kind of architectural treatment to it. Nor is there anything in tradition to tell us that he maintained any kind of special furnishing for the Holy Sanctuary apart from covering it with Yamānī fabrics. According to al-Azraqī, the first architectural work to have been done to the Ka’bah in Islam was by the Caliph ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. ‘Umar bought the houses around the Ka’bah, pulled them down and enclosed the area with a wall to the height of a man on which some lamps were placed. Having done this, ‘Umar gave the holy sanctuary, a finā’, ‘courtyard’ such as that of the mosque of the Prophet at Madīnah. After the works of ‘Umar and ’Uthmān, the unroofed Ḥaram was surrounded by a low enclosure wall around which the people used to sit during the day and in the evenings.

In 64-5/684-685, Ibn al-Zubayr, who set himself as a contender caliph at Mecca, reconstructed the Ka’bah after it was struck by catapults (manjanīq) by al-Ḥajjāj, ’Abd al-Malik’s notorious governor. Ibn al-Zubayr

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386 On this, see al-Azraqī’s Akhbār Makkah wa-mā Jā’ī fīhā min al-Āthār. See also al-Zarkashi, 43-219.
389 Al-Azraqī, pp. 294-320; al-Yaʿqūbī, I, 309-10; al-Diyārbakrī, II, 337. Al-‘Umarī, on the authority of al-Suhaylī, mentions that the reason of rebuilding the Ka’bah was that it accidently
consulted the chief ṣaḥābīs about whether to pull it down and rebuild it. Yet, a majority of them, with Ibn ʿAbbās included, refused lest later generations should do the same and that in result the Kaʾbah should lose its veneration. They advised him to restore it (irqaʾ ĥā), but he did not accept the idea. He said: ‘By Allāh, none of you would be satisfied with restoring the house of himself, his father or mother! How can I [then] restore the House of Allāh?’ He wanted to rebuild it using wars, ‘a yellow plant’, from Yemen, but the people told him that it is easily damaged and vulnerable to decay. Ibn al-Zubayr was advised to rebuild with qaṣṣah, ‘mortar’, the finest of which was to be found in Ṣanʿāʾ, Yemen. So he bought the qaṣṣah from there. This could also indicate how the Companions and the followers of the Prophet were keen to rebuild the Kaʾbah in proper way.

Ibn al-Zubayr rebuilt it in a way previously wished by the Prophet. He erected his new structure on the old foundations which it was believed had been laid by Prophet Abraham. The new building of Kaʾbah was made of stones and equipped with two double doors plated with gold. Al-Azraqī, however, ascribed such innovation to the days of al-Walīd. Following the fashion of ʿUmar and ʿUthmān, Ibn al-Zubayr provided the Kaʾbah with a covering of Coptic fabric (qabāṭḥ). Stones left over after the

burned when a woman was scenting it with incense. Al-ʿUmārī, I, 95. Al-Azraqī also mentioned other accounts about the reasons of damaging the Kaʾbah: pp. 296-7.

390 Ibn Manẓūr, VI, 4812.
391 Al-Azraqī, pp. 298-9.
392 Al-Muqaddasi (Collins’s transl.), pp. 73-4. See below.
393 Al-Azraqī, pp. 300-2; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, VI, 255; Mujir al-Dīn, I, 240; Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, I, I, 63.
394 Al-Balādhurī; 63; Ibn Khaldūn, Muqaddimah, p. 352.
395 Al-Azraqī, p. 307.
396 Al-Balādhurī, p. 63; Ibn al-Faqīh, pp. 76-7.
397 Al-Azraqī, p. 305; al-Yaʾqūbī, I, p. 311.
work was finished were used to make a pavement around the Ka’bah.\(^\text{398}\) Having demolished quite a number of the adjacent houses, Ibn al-Zubayr is said to have given the Ka’bah a spacious \textit{finā’}.\(^\text{399}\) Later, some modifications were carried out by ‘Abd al-Malik and his son al-Walîd. Mainly quoting al-Azraqî, Oleg Grabar states:

The Umayyads did not modify the sizes of the mosque [al-Haram in Mecca], but they did transform its character. Both ‘Abd al-Malik (685-705) and al-Walîd (705-15) are credited with beautification (\textit{husna}), and it is probable that we are dealing with a single activity which lasted many years. The outer walls were raised and a covered area was built, consisting probably of a portico with a wooden ceiling; the capitals or upper parts (\textit{ru’ūs}) of the supports (\textit{asāṭīn}, piers or columns) were gilt. Al-Walîd is remembered for having covered supports with marble, and soffits or spandrels (\textit{wajh al-ṭaqān}) with mosaics; he also built its crenellations and moldings.\(^\text{400}\)

7.8. **How were the Umayyad mosques regarded by contemporary religious authorities?**

As far as literature can tell, the Umayyad mosques were not considered as excessive innovations. Ibn Khaldûn states that al-Walîd built his mosques after the orthodox model (\textit{sunan}) of mosques of Islam.\(^\text{401}\) In spite of few reports of resentment, there are indications that the architectural sophistication of the Umayyad mosques was not generally condemned by contemporary scholars and Hadîth narrators. It seems that the architectural works of ‘Abd al-Malik and his son were agreed upon by some of the contemporary jurists, who sometimes

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\(^{398}\) Creswell, \textit{Early Muslim Architecture}, I, I, 64.

\(^{399}\) Al-Azraqî, pp. 594-7.

\(^{400}\) Grabar, ‘Upon Reading al-Azraqî’, \textit{Muqarnas}, 3 (1985), 1-7 (p. 4). This passage of Grabar is mainly based on al-Azraqî, pp. 297-8. See also al-‘Umari, I, 97-8.

themselves took part. For instance, the learned traditionists of Madīnah helped ʿAbd al-Malik choose the site of his mosque.⁴⁰²

According to Ibn Kathīr, none of the ṣaḥābīs except Anas b. Malik saw al-Walīd’s mosque of Damascus, (arguably because they had died or lived in other places). Anas (d. 93/712) who narrated a number of important ḥadīths about mosques saw the mosque when he visited Damascus in 92/711 while al-Walīd was still building it. Anas prayed in it and criticized nothing but the fact that al-Walīd delayed prayers to a late time.⁴⁰³ Further, on the authority of al-Samhūdī, who quoted al-Wāqīdī, Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, the contemporary religious authority and notable Ḥadīth scholar, observed the work of the Byzantine and the Copts at the mosque of the Prophet in the time of al-Walīd and commented that the work of the Copts was much better.⁴⁰⁴ Needless to say, if any of these scholars who saw what had been done thought it to transgress Ḥadīth, presumably they would have said so. Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, in particular, was known for his strong views against the Umayyad caliphs.⁴⁰⁵

We are left to conclude that al-Walīd’s patronage of building and decorating massive mosques was not regarded by legalists as a sacrilege of the Prophet’s tradition. Indeed, it was the opposite. According to Ibn ʿAsākir,⁴⁰⁶ one of the reasons why al-Walīd was regarded by the people of Shām, ‘Syria’, as one of their most beneficent caliphs is that he built [congregational] mosques in Damascus.⁴⁰⁷ Al-Walīd’s building of the Umayyad mosque and his works at the mosque of the Prophet were

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⁴⁰³ Ibn Kathīr, XII, 590.
⁴⁰⁵ On Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab and his confrontation with the Caliphs al-Walīd and Hishām, see Ibn Saʿd, VII, 119-43.
⁴⁰⁶ See Ibn ʿAsākir, LXIII, 164-87 (p. 176).
⁴⁰⁷ Al-Diyārbakrī, II, 348.
regarded by such scholars as Muḥammad b. al-Madāʾinī as two of his most outstanding deeds.\textsuperscript{408} Naturally, if these architectural activities were not felt to have been compliant with Ḥadīth, they would not have been so praised by such scholars, especially given that they all were eminent Ḥadīth narrators. Such reports might also reflect the own perspectives of later scholars such as al-Madāʾinī and Ibn Ḥāṣibī on the Umayyads’ building of elaborated mosques, and on the Umayyad period in general.

Al-Zuhrī relates that he was at ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Azīz’s [house] one day when a letter came from one of his governors telling him that the town was in need of restoration. Al-Zuhrī said to ʿUmar: ‘one of the governors of ʿAlī b. Abī Tālib sent him similar message, while ʿAlī wrote to him: “fortify it with justice and clean its streets from prejudice.” Then, ʿUmar took his advice and wrote a similar message to his governor.\textsuperscript{409} Such accounts, found scattered in literature, not only give impression that the Umayyad patrons received from contemporary scholars advice related to architectural issues, but could also indicate the extent of their architectural knowledge. Further, if al-Zuhrī, who is widely respected in modern circles as one of the earliest and most reliable Ḥadīth scholars,\textsuperscript{410} had more knowledge in this regard, he would have likely passed it down to ʿUmar.

It is also important to refer to that mosques, \textit{in illo tempore}, were regularly attended by Ḥadīth scholars and pious imams and it is natural that had such religious authorities found any aggression in the way these mosques were built, they would have referred to that in their works.

Nonetheless, we are told of strong resistance to the order to pull


\textsuperscript{410} Robson, ‘Ḥadīth’, p. 24. On al-Zuhrī, his role of collecting \textit{ḥadīths} and the views of Muslim and non-Muslim scholars about him, see chapter 2.
down the houses of the Prophet’s wives so that their area should be incorporated into the mosque.\footnote{Al-Samhūdī, Wafāʾ, II, 547; Al-ʿUyūn wal Hadāʾiq, I, 3-4. On the incorporation of these apartments into the mosque, see also Wensinck, p. 154.} An eye-witness, Ibn ʿAtāʾ al-Khurasānī, recounted: ‘I saw the compartments (ḥujr) of the Prophet. [...]. I was present when the letter of al-Walīd was recited [commanding] the ḥujar to be merged into the mosque. [I bear witness that] I have not seen more criers than what I have seen on that day. I heard Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab saying: “I wish that they left it so that a comer would see what the Prophet was contented with in his life. It should have been a reminder for people not to boast and extravagate.”\footnote{Ibn Saʿīd, I, 430; al-Samhūdī, Wafāʾ, II, 517; Ibn al-Najjār, p. 153.} Abū Umāmah said: ‘I wish they had been left so that the [later] people would not pay much attention to [the affair of] building and see what Allāh has been content with for his Prophet while the keys of this world are in His hands.’\footnote{Ibid.} While this incident does not mean that the contemporary religious authorities criticized al-Walīd’s intention to rebuild the mosque, it means that they had the ability to express their antipathy when there was a need to do so. Their general silence about the architectural works of ʿAbd al-Malik and his son al-Walīd would thus imply that they did not see them as stark contraventions.

The Medinese faqīḥs also protested against al-Walīd’s intention to include the grave of the Prophet and his two Companions Abū Bakr and ʿUmar in the mosque.\footnote{Al-Yaʿqūbī, I, 198.} We have already seen that the act of building mosques on tombs was reproached by many hadiths.\footnote{See chapter 5. Al-Albānī has mentioned 14 hadiths in his Taḥdīḥ al-Sājid min Ittikhādh al-Qubūr Masājid, pp. 11-8. See also al-Shihrī, Ḳimārät al-Masjid al-Nabawi, p. 112.} One of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz’s critics, ʿUthmān b. ʿUrwah,\footnote{According to al-Sakhāwī, he was one of Qyraysh’s eminent scholars: Tuḥfah, III, 161.} advised him to build a
[pentagonally-shaped] wall (\
\textit{ju}\
\textit{ju}\
\textit{an}) around it,\textsuperscript{417} lest the laity should pray towards it if they could see it. We are told that `Umar b. `Abd al-`Aziz purposely angled the sides of this structure in order to make it difficult for anyone to be orientated towards the \textit{qiblah} if facing it.\textsuperscript{418}

Finally, could the gap between the simplicity of the Prophet’s model and the advancement of the Umayyad mosques be attributed to \textit{Hadith} written under the `Abbāsids, the Umayyads’ political rivals? This would imply either of two possibilities: that the Umayyad builders did not know about the Prophet’s simple model and thus elaborated their mosques, or that the \textit{hadiths} about the Prophet’s model were written retrospectively by the `Abbāsids to distort the Umayyads’ reputation. We have seen that \textit{Hadith} began to be collected before the `Abbāsid period. Under the Umayyads, quite a number of \textit{Hadith} collections were committed to writing (see 2.1.3.3),\textsuperscript{419} and this should have possibly enabled larger number of people, including patrons and builders of mosques, to be aware of \textit{Hadith}. Besides, it is not likely that the `Abbāsid historians and collectors of \textit{Hadith} attributed \textit{ex post facto} such simplicity to the Prophet’s approach in order to portray the Umayyads as heretics. In fact, the `Abbāsid mosques were more lavishly decorated than their Umayyad predecessors. Further, all the \textit{hadiths} about the simplicity of the Prophet’s mosque and life in general were reported by Umayyad scholars such as Sa`īd b. al-Musayyab and al-Zuhri.


\textsuperscript{419} See chapter 2.
7.9. Components of the mosque

7.9.1. Miḥrāb (concave prayer niche)\textsuperscript{420}

It is believed by some that the miḥrāb mujawwaf, ‘concave prayer niche’, was borrowed unwillingly from church architecture.\textsuperscript{421} This theory has been built on a link between two early accounts. According to the first, the concave prayer niche was first introduced when 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Azīz rebuilt the mosque of the Prophet in Madīnah in 91/708.\textsuperscript{422} According to the second, the Caliph al-Walīd sent Byzantine and Coptic masons to participate in rebuilding the mosque.

Creswell supported these views by citing material from al-Samhūdī and al-Sūyūṭī. Al-Samhūdī relates that the masons who built the front part of the mosque of the Prophet [where the miḥrāb is always located] in the time of al-Walīd were Copts.\textsuperscript{423} In his I'lām al-Arib bi Ḥudūth Bid’at al-Maḥārīb,\textsuperscript{424} al-Sūyūṭī mentions a number of Ḥadīths which refer to miḥrābs as bid’ah and forbid praying in them (see also 5.7.5.2).

Creswell used the accounts of al-Samhūdī and al-Sūyūṭī to argue


\textsuperscript{421} See chapter 5.

\textsuperscript{422} This is stated by Ibn Duqmāq and al-Maqrīzī who both quoted al-Wāqīdī (d. 823). Ibn Duqmāq, V, 62; al-Maqrīzī, II, 247. It should be noted that this account is not found in al-Wāqīdī’s book, but it is told by other authorities such as Ibn Baṭṭūṭah. Rihla, I, 85.

\textsuperscript{423} Al-Samhūdī, Wafā’, II, 524; Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, I, I, 148. This group of scholars argue that it was also the Copts who introduced the concave prayer niche to the mosque of Fustāṭ in the time of Qurrah b. Sharīk, two years later. Fikrī, Madkhal, p. 277.

\textsuperscript{424} N. Yūnus al-Ḥājj, Al-Maḥārīb al-‘Irāqiyyah Mundhū al-‘Asr al-Islāmi Iī Īī Nihāyat al-‘Aṣe al-‘Abbāsī (Baghdad: Mudiriyat al-Āthār, 1876), pp. 36-43; al-Shihri, ‘Imārat al-Masjid al-Nabawī, p. 120.
that the *miḥrāb* was introduced to mosque architecture by the Copts and that it is for that reason reproached by Ḥadīth.\[^{425}\] This theory appears to depend on three points: (i) that the *miḥrāb* made by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Azīz in the mosque of the Prophet was the earliest example of a recessed *miḥrāb*; (ii) that it was introduced by the Coptic masons; and (iii) Muslims’ reluctance to adopt it.

Taking these in turn, the argument that the *miḥrāb* of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was the earliest concave prayer niche in Islam contradicts both historical and material evidence. It is not agreed that the first to introduce the *miḥrāb* was 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, for example, gives three different accounts of to whom the first introduction of the *miḥrāb* is due. According to one of them, it was 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. According to another, it was Marwān b. al-Ḥakam in 65/684, while the third assumes that it was 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.\[^{426}\] According to Ibn al-Faṭīḥ, Muʿāwiyah was the first to adopt *miḥrābs*.\[^{427}\]

Next, Fikrī’s archaeological work at the mosque of Qayrawān provides evidence that a concave prayer niche was made there by 'Uqbah b. Nāfi’, the founder of Qayrawān mosque in 50/670, forty years earlier than 'Umar’s works at the mosque of Madinah.\[^{428}\] Shāfiʿī argues that the earliest extant *miḥrāb mujawwaf* may be the one in the southern side of the outer octagon of the Dome of the Rock (figure 40), which was built before the

\[^{425}\] Mu’nis doubted the attribution of this article to al-Sūyūṭī, who lived in the fifteenth century, for it has no support from any of the earlier historians. Mu’nis, p. 70. In fact, many of these Ḥadīths were compiled by al-Bayhaqī and others.

\[^{426}\] Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, I, 85.

\[^{427}\] Ibn al-Faṭīḥ, p. 159.

time of al-Walīd.\textsuperscript{429} Also speaking of the \textit{mihrāb} beneath the Rock, and referring to the type of ornaments and the archaic Kūfic inscription, Creswell argues that this \textit{mihrāb} could be attributed to the founder of the Dome of the Rock and that this would mean that it is ‘the oldest \textit{mihrāb} in Islam, dating from the days before the concave \textit{mihrāb} was introduced’.\textsuperscript{430} Reinforcing the case for an earlier date is a representation of a simple \textit{mihrāb} on an early coin known as the ‘\textit{mihrāb} and the \textit{῾Anazaḥ} drachm (Figure 41).\textsuperscript{431} Although it has no mint date, Johns believes that it was struck in the mid-70s AH.\textsuperscript{432} The argument that ῾Umar’s \textit{mihrāb} at Madīnah was the first in Islam is even doubted by Creswell himself.\textsuperscript{433} There is evidence that Muslims in the Umayyad period used movable \textit{mihrābs} before the introduction of concave prayer niches in the time of al-Walīd.\textsuperscript{434}

Whatever the oldest \textit{mihrāb} might have been, if that of ῾Umar b. ῾Abd al-῾Aziz was not the first in Islam, then it should have been inspired by its predecessor (even if they were not in the form of concave prayer niches) and not the apse of the church, especially given clear architectural difference between a \textit{mihrāb} and an apse.\textsuperscript{435}

The story of the Copts was adopted by Caetani and Creswell, but has been quite widely contested.\textsuperscript{436} Sauvaget regards it as such a legend,\textsuperscript{437}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{429} According to him, the second earliest is the central \textit{mihrāb} in the Umayyad mosque. Shāfi῾ī, \textit{Imārah ῾Arabiyyah}, p. 611. According to Ettinghausen and Grabar, the earliest remaining \textit{mihrāb} is the one at the mosque of Damascus. Ettinghausen and Grabar, p. 40.
\item \textsuperscript{430} Creswell, \textit{Early Muslim Architecture}, I. I, 100. According to Pedersen, this marble panel is known as the \textit{mihrāb} of Sulaymān. p. 8.
\item \textsuperscript{431} Johns, \textit{Archaeology}, p. 431; M. Bloom, ‘Mosque’, \textit{EQ}, III, 430.
\item \textsuperscript{432} Johns, \textit{Archaeology}, p. 431.
\item \textsuperscript{433} Creswell argues that ῾Umar’s was the earliest concave prayer niche, but not the first \textit{mihrāb} in Islam.
\item \textsuperscript{434} Mu῾nis, p. 70.
\item \textsuperscript{435} The architectural difference between the \textit{mihrāb} and the altar is discussed by Pautey and Fikrī. Pautey, ‘Taṭawwur Niẓām al-Ta’’, p. 98
\item \textsuperscript{436} See Yeomans, pp. 19-20.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
pointing to the implausibility of the Umayyads asking their enemies to help them with rebuilding the mosque of their Prophet. According to him, even if they took part in the work at the Madīnah mosque, this would not necessarily affect the architectural form of the building.\textsuperscript{438} Sauvaget argued that a similarity between the features of two architectural elements cannot by itself stand as evidence that one of which is derived from the other, unless concrete reasons for such a derivation can be clearly presented.\textsuperscript{439} Sauvaget was not the only one to contest the story of the Copts. M. van Berchem and F. Shāfiʻī also doubted its authenticity.\textsuperscript{440} Both came to the conclusion that the builders who built and decorated the Dome of the Rock in the time of ʻAbd al-Malik, and then the Umayyad mosque in the time of his son al-Walīd, were from Syria and that they had their own school of art and architecture.\textsuperscript{441} The story of the Persians and the Copts has more recently criticized by Shāfiʻī who compared the number of the masons as given by the sources to the labour needed to erect and decorate such a colossal building as the mosque of the Prophet in the time of al-Walīd. Shāfiʻī concluded that the participation of these foreign workers was confined to decoration.\textsuperscript{442}

The third pillar on which the theory of the non-Islamic origin of the \textit{miḥrāb} is based is the \textit{ḥadīths} mentioned by al-Sūyūṭī about the abhorrence

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[\textsuperscript{437}] Sauvaget, pp. 113-4.
\item[\textsuperscript{438}] Ibid, pp. 115-6.
\item[\textsuperscript{439}] Ibid, p. 145; Sauvaget, 'Mosque and palace', pp. 133-4.
\item[\textsuperscript{440}] The earliest to mention the story of the Byzantine and the Copts was al-Yaʻqūbī. Eight years earlier, al-Balādhurī mentioned that al-Walīd sent to ʻUmar gold, mosaic and masons without saying any thing about the help of the Roman king. See Shāfiʻī, \textit{ʻImārah ʻArabiyyah}, 589-97. However, this argument of Sauvaget and van Berchem about the historical unreliability of the story of the Byzantine and Copt artisans was contested by H. Gibb. 'Arab-Byzantine Relations', pp. 225-9.
\item[\textsuperscript{441}] Shāfiʻī, \textit{ʻImārah ʻArabiyyah}, p. 593,597.
\item[\textsuperscript{442}] Ibid, pp. 588-90.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
of adopting it in mosques. This has already been dealt with (see 5.7.5.2).

Sauvaget and Fikrī conclude that the miḥrāb in Islamic architecture is an element in the mosque especially rendered for the imām. While so saying, Sauvaget does not agree that it was first innovated by the Muslims. He believes that the miḥrāb was derived from domestic architecture (particularly the palace). What are its functions? The miḥrāb became a persistent feature because:

- It would guide the worshippers to the true direction of the qiblah. Yet, the miḥrāb could not have been invented simply to indicate the qiblah direction as this would have been done by the whole outline of the mosque.

- It might have been introduced to act as a sutrah, which is an object put in front of the worshipper to demarcate his area of prostration and preclude any one to pass in front of him (see 5.7.5.1).

- It would also provide space within which the imām could pray. According to one ḥadīth the Prophet used to leave a space of three cubits, or at least the space of what would permit a sheep to pass, between him and the qiblah wall. The invention of a concave prayer niche would perform this function and spare a row for other worshippers.

- It would amplify the voice of the imām during ṣalāt.

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444 On sutrah, see al-Bayhaqī, ḥadīths no. 3453-65; al-Bājī, Muntaqā, II, 276-84; Ibn Hajar, Fath, II, 117-31; al-Hindi, Kanz, ḥadīths no. 19201-2; al-Nawawī, Sharḥ Sahih Muslim, IV, 216-29; Ḥāshiyaht al-Dusūqī, I, 246-7.

445 Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīths no. 496, 497; Ibn Ḥajar, Fath, II, 123; Wensinck, p. 223.

446 N. Yūnus al-Ḥājjj, p. 29.
The *miḥrāb* could have begun, in al-Walīd’s works at Madīnah, as a ‘precise memorial’ to commemorate the place where the Prophet used to pray.\(^{447}\) Needless to say, if this is true, it would also be a direct example of *Ḥadīth* influence on mosque architecture.

How did the Umayyads conceive the religious acceptability of the adoption of *miḥrābs*? The Prophet is reported to have said: ‘*Ḥalāl,* ‘religiously-accepted’ is what Allāh has made *ḥalāl* in His Book [namely the *Qur’ān*], and *ḥarām,* ‘religiously-prohibited’, is what He has made *ḥarām* in His Book, and what he has not addressed (*wamā sakat ᾿anhū*) should be regarded as a pardon.\(^{448}\) According to another *ḥadīth,* ‘Allah has enjoined *farāḍ,* ‘obligations’. So, do not disregard them [namely, observe them]. And [He] has set limitations. So, do not violate them. And [He] has not addressed many [things], without oblivion. So, do not affect them. This has been a mercy from Allāh. So, accept it.\(^{449}\) In another narration, ‘[…] Thus, accept from Allāh His pardon, as Allāh would have forgotten nothing.’ Based on this *ḥadīth* and others, an Islamic principle states that everything should be *ḥalāl,* unless otherwise is specified. It seems that the Umayyads, having seen nothing *ḥarām* in the adoption of *miḥrābs,* set up a multitude of them (namely *miḥrābs*). The Umayyads’ thinking of the acceptability of the *miḥrāb* could have also been based on the fact that there was no fixed form of the mosque according to *Ḥadīth.* It could have equally derived from the simple *miḥrāb* which the Prophet might have taken for his mosque, or from their understanding that the Prophet paid attention to indicating the *qiblah* direction by means of a wooden plank as reported.

\(^{447}\) Ettinghausen and Grabar, p. 40.

\(^{448}\) Al-Tirmidhī, *ḥadīth* no. 1726. According to al-Tirmidhī, this *ḥadīth* is *gharīb.* According to Albānī, it is *ḍa’īf.*

\(^{449}\) Al-Ṭabarānī, *ḥadīths* no. 7461, 8938.
It is also noticeable that the forms, number, and positions of these *miḥrābs* were different. The *miḥrāb* may, or may not, be set in the middle of the *qiblah* wall. There is no rule here. According to al-Samhūdī, the palm-stem on which the Prophet used to lean was situated in the middle of the *qiblah* wall, but after the mosque was enlarged his *miḥrāb* was no longer central. Both the palm-stem and the *minbar* of the Prophet retained their original positions. Similarly, the *miḥrāb* was not set in the middle of the *qiblah* wall in the Umayyad mosque of Madīnah, the Ḥarrān Bani Junayd, the mosque of Ḥarrān and the mosque of Ḥamra at Fusṭāṭ. The only instance in which we are told that there was a clear violation to *Ḥadīth* in this respect was at Wāsit. Excavations showed that the *qiblah* direction at the mosque of Wāsit was set askew. It is reported that al-Ḥajjāj did that on purpose.

7.9.2. *Manārah (minaret)*

Here too, there is no agreement about to whom the introduction of the minaret should be attributed. According to al-Balāḍhurī, it was introduced for the first time at the mosque of Baṣrah in the time of Ziyād b. Abīh in 45/665, and it was made of stone. Creswell, however, seems cautious to accept this, his reservation being that it is only mentioned by al-Balāḍhurī. Even so, Creswell argues the possibility that the mosque of Kūfah was provided with a minaret in

450 Al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ*, II, 393-4. This palm stem was one of the marks of the Prophet’s *muṣallā*.


454 This opinion was mentioned by al-Balāḍhurī on the authority of al-Walīd b. Hishām b. Qaḥdham. Al-Balāḍhurī, p. 485; Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I, 45. See also Irwin, p. 64.

455 Al-Balāḍhurī, p. 485.
the time of Ziyād b. Abīh. Creswell rests this suggestion on an account of Ibn al-Athīr which states that the minarets of the mosques of Kūfah were commanded to be pulled down by Khālid al-Qasrī who was at Kūfah in 105/723-120/738. The reason given by Ibn al-Athīr for al-Qasrī taking such a radical action could also show us how Ḥadīth and teachings of Islam influenced mosque architecture. According to the same account, the latter heard a poet saying that the muezzin [when mounting the minaret] could see, and communicate with, the people on the roofs of the [adjacent] houses. ⁴⁵⁶ It is prohibited, according to Islamic teachings, to build a ṣawmaʿah, ‘an elevated structure’ or use the roof of the mosque to spy on the private life of the people in the vicinity. ⁴⁵⁷ When Saḥnūn b. Saʿīd al-Tanūkhī (d. 240/854), a notable Mālikī scholar in the Maghreb, was asked about a similar case, he stipulated that the patron of the mosque must build a screen wall on the roof to obstruct gazes and that worshippers must not be allowed to use the mosque until the work is finished. ⁴⁵⁸

Other scholars believe that the first to build minarets in Islam was Maslamah b. Mukhallad, when he rebuilt the mosque of Fustāṭ in 53/673. ⁴⁵⁹ According to Creswell, these square structures (ṣawāmiʿ) were inspired by the four watchtowers at the Roman temenos in Damascus (see figure 25). ⁴⁶⁰

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⁴⁵⁶ Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I, I, 47.
⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.
⁴⁵⁹ According to al-Maqrīzī, Maslamah, at command of Muʿāwiya, ordered minarets to be adopted in all mosques except those of Tujib and Khawlān. Al-Maqrīzī, II, 248. On these four ṣawāmiʿ, see also Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, p. 131. Al-Maqrīzī (*Khitat*, II, 248) expressly states that the mosque of ʿAmr had no minaret before these four structures of Maslamah.
⁴⁶⁰ This argument of Creswell also depends on the account of Ibn al-Faqīh (written in 291/903) who said that al-Walid retained them when he constructed his mosque. The same opinion was adopted by al-Masʿūdī in his *Muḥūj al-Dhahab*. On these minarets see also Ibn Kathīr, XII, 578; Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I, I, 59-61; Jonathan M. Bloom, ‘Creswell and the Origin of the Minaret’, *Muqarnas*, 8 (1991), 55-8.
Shāfīʿī, however, argued that the watchtowers, having been not tall enough, served only as bases for the minarets of the Umayyad mosque.

According to others, the earliest minaret was that of the mosque of ῤUqbah b. Nāfiʿ at Qayrawān which was built in 50-5/670-5. Whatever the first minaret in Islam might have been, its introduction in the Umayyad period should have been prompted by the group of ḥadīths about adhān, ‘call to prayers’, and the necessity to convey this adhān to as many believers as possible (see 5.7.6).

7.9.3. Qubbah (dome)

The Dome of the Rock is traditionally known as the earliest dome in Islamic religious architecture. It is said that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was the first caliph to think of protecting the Holy Rock. He ordered a wooden ẓullah, ‘canopy’ to cover it. This ẓullah is said to have remained in situ until the time of ʿAbd al-Malik who saw that it should be replaced by a piece of fine art that would match the significance of the Rock for the Muslim people.

A description of the original dome, as built by ʿAbd al-Malik, was given by Ibn al-Faqīḥ who saw it in 290/903, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (300/913), and a more detailed description is given by al-Muqaddasī (375/985).

In addition to the Dome of the Rock, small domes or cupolas rose on the transepts of some Umayyad mosques, such as the Umayyad mosque of Damascus and the mosque of Ḥarrān. Some of these usually stood right above the mīrāb as an outer sign of its existence.

What is the attitude of Ḥadīth towards domes?

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461 See Muʿnis, p. 56.
462 Muʿnis, p. 154.
463 Ibn al-Faqīḥ, p. 151.
464 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, VI, 263.
Narrated Anas b. Mālik, the Prophet went out [one day], and saw a high dome [or a dome with battlements] (qubbatan musharrafatan). He asked: ‘what is this?’ His Companions answered him: ‘it belongs to so and so, a man from Anṣār.’ He, then, was silent and kept it in himself. Then, its owner came and greeted the Prophet amongst the people, but the Prophet did not reply (aʿraḍa ʿanhū). He [namely, the Prophet] did that many times until the man was sure of the Prophet’s annoyance and displeasure. The man complained of that to his Companions; he said: ‘By Allāh, I see in the face of the Prophet signs of resentment for which I ignore the reasons (Innī laʿunkirū rasūllallāh).’ They said: ‘when he [namely, the Prophet] went out, he saw your dome.’ Thus, the man returned to his dome and pulled it down to the ground. When the Prophet went out another day and did not see it, he said: ‘what happened to the dome?’ They replied: ‘its owner has complained to us of your resentment towards him (iʿrāḍaka ʿanhū), and we told him [about the reason]. So, he demolished it.’ The Prophet, then, said: ‘Verily, each [affair of] building is against (wabāl) his doer [or owner], except what is indispensable.’

It is noticeable, however, that the erection of domes in the Umayyad period was not expressly criticized by the pious. Their silence may imply that they understood that the Prophet did not criticize the act of dome building in itself. His attitude as recorded above might rather be understood in the sense of not wanting well-off individuals to boast about their wealth.

7.9.4. Ḍariḥs (funerary domes)

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Although the influence of Hadīth on funerary architecture is a subject of much interest,\textsuperscript{469} it will not be dealt with at length here as we do not possess information about tombs or mausoleums that were built in the Umayyad period.\textsuperscript{470} Some historians attribute the absence of archaeological evidence for any Umayyad funerary structure to damage by the 'Abbāsids who wanted to obliterate the memories of their former Umayyad rivals by removing their tombs, unearthing their graves and burying their bones in unknown places.\textsuperscript{471} However, we cannot find any archaeological or historical backing for such an assumption, which also fails to explain the absence of any reference by the sources to any Umayyad tomb. Creswell states that the prohibition against building domes on graves had been observed until the third/ninth century, when the Dome of Şulaibiyyah (figure 32) was built in Samarra, Iraq in 248/862.\textsuperscript{472}

Oleg Grabar provides us with a valuable chronological listing of the early Islamic mausolea and memorial constructions. The earliest is the Dome of the Rock (72/691) which, according to him, developed in later times into a shrine of the Ascension of the Prophet. The second earliest is the Qubbat al-Şulaibiyyah at Samarra (248/862),\textsuperscript{473} while the earliest accepted dome to

\textsuperscript{469} See T. Leisten, ‘Between Orthodoxy and Exegesis’, pp. 12-22.

\textsuperscript{470} Further, even if any funerary dome had existed in the Umayyad period, it would have to have been included in a mosque complex in order to be dealt with in this study.

\textsuperscript{471} Shāfi‘i, ‘Imārah ‘Arabiyyah, p. 256. What about other Umayyad monuments, such as palaces and mosques? The 'Abbāsid might have retained the Umayyad palaces because they deemed them as a great wealth, while mosques could not have been demolished because of their sanctity. Tombs, on the other hand, are closely related to whom they belonged to and thus their demolition would mean a lot.

\textsuperscript{472} Creswell, Muslim Architecture of Egypt, I, 110.

have been built over the tomb of imām ʿAli at Najaf was erected in 289/902.⁴⁷⁴

On the authority of Ibn al-Faqīḥ and al-ʿUmarī, the builders of the Umayyad mosque found a cave (maghārah), and when they told al-Walīd about it, he descended to it and found a small subterranean shrine, three cubits square. It had a casket including the head of a corpse labelled as the head of Yūḥanna al-Miʿmidān, ‘John the Baptist’. Yet, al-Walīd did not build a tomb on it and was content with leaving a column above the maghārah as a sign for its existence.⁴⁷⁵ There is the possibility that al-Walīd refrained from building a tomb because Ḥadīth bans the building of tombs at mosques.⁴⁷⁶

7.9.5. **Minbar (pulpit)**

Muʿāwiyah is reported to have adopted for himself a movable wooden minbar of six steps. He is reported to have taken this minbar with him when he went to Mecca and left it there until the time of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph Ḥārūn al-Rashīd. We are also told that some of the Umayyad caliphs used to take their own minbars with them when they moved to other places. This has led some scholars to assume that the minbar represented a symbol of sovereignty in early Islam.⁴⁷⁷ The minbar was not especially invented to satisfy the authoritarian aspiration of early rulers. It is possible that in the Umayyad period some monarchs were keen to take for themselves prestigious minbars so as to

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⁴⁷⁵ Ibn ʿAsākir, II, 241; Ibn al-Faqīḥ, p. 158; al-ʿUmarī, I, 188.
accentuate their authority, but as the first *minbar* in Islam was adopted by the Prophet himself, later *khaṭibs* must have desired to imitate him.

Did the Umayyad *minbars* evolve from that of the Prophet? Or were they derived from non-Islamic origin? As far as the origin of the *minbar* is concerned, a passage mentioned identically by al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Duqmāq is always considered. Speaking of the *minbar* that was put at the mosque of Fustāṭ when it was rebuilt by Qurrah b. Sharīk in 92-3/710-12 (figure 15), the passage reads:

[... ] and he [namely Qurrah] installed the new *minbar* in AH 94 and removed the *minbar* which was [previously] in the mosque, It was said that 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ had put it [namely the older *minbar*] in it [namely the mosque]. Thus, [he] might have [adopted it] after the death of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. It was [also] said that it [namely the older one] was the *minbar* of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān. It was reported that it had been brought to him from one of the Egyptian churches. It was said [as well] that it had been gifted to 'Abdullah b. Sa’d b. Abī Sarh by Zakariyā b. Margana, the king of Nubia, who had sent with it a carpenter to install it. The name of this carpenter was Buqṭur of Dendra. This *minbar* remained at the mosque until it was enlarged by Qurrah b. Sharīk [who] installed another one as mentioned above. In the villages, *khutba* was delivered [while the imām was standing] on sticks ('iṣīy) until 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān appointed Mūsā b. Nuṣayr al-Lakhmī by (*min qibal*) Marwān b. Muḥammad. [He] ordered *minbars* to be adopted in villages in AH 132. It was said that no *minbar* is known to be older than it, namely the *minbar* of Qurrah b. Sharīk, except the *minbar* of the Prophet [...].

Scholars have read this passage variously. Creswell, for example, argued that the *minbar* which was brought to 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān from one of the churches of Egypt was inspired by a structure discovered by

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478 'Abd Allāh b. Sa’d was the ruler of Egypt from 25/646 to 35/655.
479 Ibn Duqmāq, IV, 63; al-Maqrīzī, II, 248.
Quibble in one of the monasteries of Saqqara, Egypt (see figure 46). This opinion was denied by Sauvaget who argued that it was improbable.

While al-Maqrîzî and Ibn Duqmâq mentioned three accounts about the older minbar of the mosque of 'Amr, for no particular reason they accepted only the first. The other two were not mentioned by any earlier historian. Further, the passage contains some conflicting reports and ends with a statement that undoes its whole content, that is the minbar of Qurrah was the second oldest after that of the Prophet’s mosque at Madinah, and that would mean that the mosque of 'Amr had had no minbar before 92/711.

Creswell linked the previous passage of al-Maqrîzî and Ibn Duqmâq with an account of al-Ṭabarî according to which the minbar of the Prophet was made for him by a Roman carpenter called Bāqūm. In fact, some details betray the unreliability of al-Ṭabarî’s account. This Bāqūm is also said to have supervised the Quraysh’s rebuilding of the Ka’bah some forty years earlier. Thus, if we are to believe that he was still alive, he would be too aged to make the minabr for the Prophet.

7.9.6. Maqṣūrah

According to Ibn Zabālah and others, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān was the first to build a maqṣūrah of labin and it had kuwa, ‘small windows’ through which the people

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481 Sauvaget, p. 140. See also Sauvaget, ‘Mosque and Palace’, pp. 128, 130.
482 See Sauvaget, ‘Mosque and Palace’, p. 129. Shāfi‘ī, however, accepts that a minbar was adopted by ‘Amr.
484 Shāfi‘ī doubted that ‘Bāqūm’ could be the name of a Roman. Shāfi‘ī, 'Imārah ‘Arabiyyah, pp. 625-8. While the name does not sound Roman, ‘Roman’ could embrace people anywhere in the Empire, if they were imperial servants for instance.
could see the *imām*.\(^{485}\) On the authority of Mālik b. Anas, when ʿUthmān became a caliph, he built a small *maqṣūrah of labīn* for the people to pray inside for fear of what had happened to his former Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (when he was stabbed to death during his prayers). ʿUmar b. al-ʿAzīz is said to have made it of teakwood.\(^ {486}\) According to others, the first to build a *maqṣūrah* of dressed stones was Marwān b. al-Hakam, the governor of Madīnah, after he was stabbed by a Yemeni man in 44/664.\(^ {487}\) He is also said to have set a grid in it. Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān is also reported to have been the first to introduce *maqṣūrah* in the mosque in 40/660-1, or four years later when he was stabbed by a Khārijī.\(^ {488}\) According to others, he adopted it because he saw a dog on the *minbar*.\(^ {489}\) Yet, other historians attributed this innovation to Ziyād, Muʿāwiyah’s governor at Baṣrah.\(^ {490}\)

According to the majority of historical accounts, the *maqṣūrah* was adopted to protect the ruler who was also the *imām* in prayers. If so, it would then mirror the violent episodes just described. Yet, Lammens contested this argument as the Umayyad monarchs were always accompanied by their own guards. He also did not agree with the idea which says that it was introduced so as to distinguish the rulers from the laity. According to him, the Umayyad caliphs did not need to do so as they were already distinguished by their position on the *minbar*. For Lammens, the *maqṣūrah* was a chamber dedicated to the caliph in the congregational


\(^{486}\) Ibn Zabālah, p. 116; al-Samhūdī, II, 510; al-Maqrīzī, II, 247.


\(^{489}\) Ibn Rustah, 192; Ibn Qutaybah, p. 553.

mosque so that he could meditate. It also served as a place of retreat where he, namely the caliph, could rest between one meeting and another. According to this interpretation of Lammens, the adoption of the *maqṣūrah* was moderately detested (if not totally accepted). Creswell, depending on archaeological testimony, seems inclined to accept the former views. He also states: ‘the invention of the *maqṣūrah* dates from the time when the empire had become powerful, and when luxury had begun to appear. It has been the same with all the other practices which add to the pomp of sovereignty.’

Sauvaget argued that the adoption of the *maqṣūrah* was mainly to ‘enhance the majesty and prestige of the leader rather than to assure his security’. *Maqṣūras* could have been first introduced by the Caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān for security purpose, but then evolved into a symbol of sovereignty and solemnity. In all cases they were not related to church architecture.

We have already seen (see 5.7.10) that the adoption of the *maqṣūrah*, and in fact any other component of the mosque, would be reproached – as far as Ḥadīth is concerned – if it were taken as a symbol of pomp or sovereignty. It would also be inadvisable to adopt it if it were unnecessarily borrowed from foreign architectural types.

### 7.9.7. *Bayt al-māl* (the Treasure House)

It seems that the first instance of *bayt al-māl* in Islam was at the mosque of Fustāṭ. It was built by Usāmah b. Zayd al-Tanūkhī, the Director of Taxation by

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492 Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I. I, 42. This opinion was also adopted by Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, pp. 49-50.
the Caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik and that was in 99/717-8.\textsuperscript{494} According to al-Maqrīzī, it was made in 97/716.\textsuperscript{495} A description of it has reached us from Ibn Rustah who said:

The \textit{Bayt al-Māl} of Mīṣr is in the congregational mosque in front \textit{(quddām)} the \textit{minbar}; it is separated from its roofs \textit{(suṭūḥ)} and is not in contact with any part of them. It stands on stone pillars \textit{(asāṭīn)} and is a kind of raised dome, beneath which people sit and pass to and fro \textit{[...]}\textsuperscript{496}

This seems very similar to the \textit{bayt al-māl} at the mosque of Damascus.\textsuperscript{497} Although the first instance of connecting \textit{bayt al-māl} to the mosque was made as a result of a burglary,\textsuperscript{498} some Ḥadīths about the Prophet allocating spoils and bounties at the mosque might have taught later generations that the mosque could properly accommodate the State Treasury.\textsuperscript{499}

\textbf{7.9.8. \textit{Maṭāhir} (Baths and ablution places)}

The emphasis of Ḥadīth on ablution and purification\textsuperscript{500} led to the provision of ablution places in the form of basins at early mosques. However, in the earliest years of Islam baths were not reported to have been annexed to the mosque. This might be a direct influence of Ḥadīth which talks about the great reward of

\textsuperscript{494} Al-Maqrīzī, II, 249; Ibn Duqmāq quoted by Creswell, \textit{Early Muslim Architecture}, I. II, 483.
\textsuperscript{495} Al-Maqrīzī, II, 249.
\textsuperscript{497} See al-Muqaddasî (Collins’s transl.), p. 145.
\textsuperscript{498} This happened at Kūfah during the caliphate of ʿUmar I. For more information about this event, see 6.5.2.
\textsuperscript{499} It should be noted, however, that the Islamic \textit{bayt al-māl} had a pre-Islamic precedent. A similar device existed in the court of Alexander, for example. See Patricia Crone, \textit{Medieval Islamic Political Thought} (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), p. 308.
\textsuperscript{500} See Wensinck, pp. 258-63.
heading for the mosque after performing ablution at one’s house. Yet, this is not to say that such places should not be built. Early religious authorities such as Abū Hurayrah and Ibrāhīm al-Nakh’ī are reported to perform ablution at *matāhir al-masjid*. Sometimes water was carried to worshippers through pipes. Nothing of these early devices has survived. According to Shāfi’ī, this is because they were not built with adequate care. Later, these devices underwent a great extent of improvement. Al-Muqaddasī observed that on each of the four entrances of the Umayyad mosque, there was a pavilion for ablution. Each of which was tiled with marble and had closets (buyūṭ) where the water sprung and outer fountains which flowed in large basins (qiṣa) of marble. It is also said that when ʿUmar rebuilt the mosque of the Prophet, al-Walīd commanded him to build a *fawwārah*, ‘fountain’ at Madīnah. So, ʿUmar built it near the mosque and brought water to it.

7.9.9. *Shurrafāt* (crenellations)

According to most accounts, the first to introduce crenellations in the mosque of the Prophet was ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz when he rebuilt it in the caliphate of al-Walīd. This, however, was denied by al-Samhūdī who did not accept that such a pious personage as ʿUmar would adopt *shurrafāt*, ‘crenellations’ while they are denounced by *ḥadīths* (see 5.8). Al-Samhūdī, along with other

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501 Muslim, *ḥadīth* no. 1521. See also *ḥadīths* no. 548-9, 1488. Purification is also an essential prerequisite for Jewish prayer (Berakoth 14a-15b), and there is evidence that performing ablution in places of prayer was a late antique Jewish practice. See Kimelman, pp. 575-7; Khaleel, pp. 27-8; Johns, ‘House of the Prophet’, p. 97

502 Al-Zarkashī, p. 383.

503 Shāfiʿī, *ʾImārah Ḥarbiyyah*, pp. 258-8. While we do not have information about the technique and materials used to make those pipes, it is expected that attention must have been paid to preserve water which was, and still is, regarded in Arabia as a precious resource.

504 Al-Muqaddasī (Collins’s transl.), p. 146.

505 Ibn Kathīr, XII, 415.

historians, attributes the introduction of crenellations to 'Abd al-Wāhid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Naṣrī the ruler of Madīnah in 104/722. Al-Samhūdi's assumption is contested by the reports about 'Umar having applied gilding and mosaic to decorate the mosque. There are also reports that the adoption of crenellations by 'Umar went uncriticized by contemporary legalists and Hadīth scholars. On the authority of Yaḥya b. al-Ḥusayn, when al-Qāsim and Sālim looked at the crenellations which were made by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, they said: 'Verily, these are of [namely, they belong to] the decoration of the mosque (innaha min zīnat al-masjid). In fact, we cannot find in literature a clue to tell us whether this statement was intended negatively or positively by the two early scholars. Yet, its 'vague' tone could, per se, imply that it, at worst, was not a strong criticism. Al-Qāsim and Sālim seem to have had somewhat liberal views regarding the 'unavoidable' development of mosque architecture. We have already seen that they tolerated the adoption of the maqṣūrah. According to al-Azraqī, the Holy mosque in Mecca was also adorned with crenellations after the works of al-Walīd in 91/710.

### 7.9.10. Decoration

Generally, Umayyad mosques were opulently ornamented. A multitude of materials, techniques and motifs were employed. The earliest instance of using

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507 Al-Samhūdi, *Warā‘*, II, 525; His surname is ‘al-Bahzī’, according to Ibn Rustah. Ibn Rustah, p. 70. See also Ibn Ishāq al Harbī, *Manāsik*, p. 385. Al-Shihrī, however, argues that crenellations might have been made in the time of 'Umar and renewed 14 years later in the time of al-Naṣrī. Al-Shihrī, *‘Imārat al-Masjid al-Nabawī*, p. 125.

508 Al-Qāsim b. Muhammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (d. 108/726) was a famous and trusted early legalist and Hadīth scholar. For more information about him, see Ibn Sa‘d, VII, 186-93; Ibn ‘Asākir, XLIX, 157-93.


510 Al-Samhūdi, II, 525.

511 See chapter 5.
mosaic in Islam is attributed to the pious ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr when he rebuilt the Kaʿbah in 645/684.\textsuperscript{512} According to al-Masʿūdī, Ibn al-Zubayr used mosaic taken from a church in Ṣanʿāʾ,\textsuperscript{513} built by the Abyssinian Abrahā.\textsuperscript{514} According to al-Yaʿqūbī, the first to apply gold to the Kaʿbah in Islam was al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik.\textsuperscript{515} The walls, columns and domes of the Great mosque of Damascus, for example, were lavishly decorated. Precious materials such as gold, turquoise, carnelian and variegated marble were employed.\textsuperscript{516} According to al-Muqaddasī, the decoration of the Dome of the Rock was no less grand.\textsuperscript{517}

According to Ibn Ḥajar, al-Walīd’s decoration of mosques was witnessed by many of the late ṣaḥābīs. He added that many of them had refrained from criticizing it to avoid fitnah, ‘division and tribulation’. Some of the early faqīhs even licensed (rakhkhaṣa) it. Abū Ḥanīfah (80/699–148/765), for example, saw that decorating mosques would be jāʿīz, ‘allowed’ if it was done to glorify them (namely mosques) and if the expenditure on that was not from the bayt al-māl, ‘the state treasury’.\textsuperscript{518} In some cases, such as the mosque of Damascus, both conditions of Abū Ḥanīfah seem to have been fulfilled.\textsuperscript{519} When al-Walīd was told that the people spoke of him wasting the money of the state treasuries [in perfecting

\textsuperscript{512} Creswell states: ‘this is the earliest instance of using mosaics in Islam, for it antedates those of the Dome of the Rock by eight years.’ Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, I. I, 63.

\textsuperscript{513} Capital of Yemen.

\textsuperscript{514} Al-Masʿūdī, Murūj, III

\textsuperscript{515} Al-Yaʿqūbī, I, 199.

\textsuperscript{516} For a detailed description, see al-Muqaddasī (Collins’s transl.), p. 145; al-ʿUmarī, I, 195; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 573.

\textsuperscript{517} Al-Muqaddasī (Collins’s transl.), p. 154; Shihāb al-Dīn, Muthīr, pp. 175-6. The decorations of the Dome of the Rock have been thoroughly studied by Marguerite van-Berchem (1927-8) and published by Creswell in 1932. See also Richard Ettinghausen: Arab Painting, 2nd edn (New York: Rizzoli, 1977).

\textsuperscript{518} Ibn Ḥajar, Fatḥ, II, 86-7.

\textsuperscript{519} On how far the first condition was fulfilled in the case of the Umayyad mosque and others, see above.
and decorating the mosque of Damascus], he gathered them, ordered the money of the state treasuries to be presented before them and declared that the whole expenditure was of his own money. Then al-Walīd said: ‘O people of Damascus! You are proud of four things [...] and I loved to add a fifth one to you, namely this mosque.’ According to less familiar accounts, building and decorating the mosque consumed the seven-year revenues of the Muslim empire and when the accounts were brought to al-Walīd, he ordered them to be burned and said: ‘Why do we pursue some thing we have given for the sake of God?’

In spite of the evident sophistication and pretension of the Umayyad decorations, there are reports that the Umayyad patrons observed, in a relative way, the Prophet’s approach of ‘frugality’. It is reported that al-Walīd, in order to give the Umayyad mosque a more striking appearance, desired to make the entire oval part of the dome of pure gold. The architect told him that this would be beyond the caliph’s ability. After an attempt to mould one brick of solid gold, al-Walīd said that he still could do that, but it would be lavish and prodigal. According to a more plausible account, al-Walīd realized the impossibility of having the expenditure needed for such a project. Al-Walīd commented that: ‘It would be better if this [amount of money] is spent in the sake of God and for the benefit of the needy Muslims.’ It was reportedly also al-Walīd’s concern about the benefit of the Muslim people which made him use lead in lieu of mud for the roof of the mosque: the people complained that because of the large amounts of mud used in the mosque, hardly any mud (ṭīn) was available for the roofs of

521 Ibn ῆAsākir, II, 269; al-῾Umarī, I, 188; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 576; ‘Uyun wal Hadā’iq, I, 7. See also Yāqūt, II, 466.
522 Ibn al-Faqīh, pp. 157-8; Yāqūt, II, 466.
524 Ibn Kathīr, Khulāṣat, p. 319-11.
their own houses.\textsuperscript{525}

With all this said, the influence of Ḥadīth on mosque decoration in the Umayyad period is more evidently represented in the avoidance of making representations of living creatures, such as humans, animals, or birds.

In compliance with hadiths of prohibition (see 5.8), the Umayyad mosque of Damascus was deliberately kept free from any images of animals.\textsuperscript{526} The mosaic of the Dome of the Rock was similarly void of any representations of living creatures (see figure 44).\textsuperscript{527} The fact that images of humans and animals were used to an extent in Umayyad secular architecture implies that their avoidance in mosques cannot be attributed to any inability to make them (see figure 43).\textsuperscript{528}

We are told about the Islamic attitude against images by Theodore Abū Qurrah, the bishop of Ḥarrān who lived in the time of the `Abbāsid Caliphs Hārūn al-Rashid and al-Maʾmūn. Referring to the Muslim’s abhorrence of images, Abū Qurrah said: ‘those who assert that he who paints anything living, will be compelled on the Day of resurrection, to breathe into it a soul’.\textsuperscript{529} This phrase of Abū Qurrah, which is almost a literal citation of a relevant Ḥadīth, could mirror how Ḥadīth was prevalent and influential at that time. It has been argued, however, that hadiths about the abhorrence of making images did not occur before the second half of the

\textsuperscript{525} Al-`Umarĩ, I, 184; Ibn Kathĩr, XII, 573-4.
\textsuperscript{526} Yāqūt, II, 465.
\textsuperscript{527} Al-Pāshã, Madkhal. p. 201.
\textsuperscript{528} The stone facade of Qaṣr al-Mshatta, now on exhibition at the Museum of Berlin, includes all these exquisitely executed ornamental motifs. Examples of such ornaments were also found in the palace of Hishām at Khirbat al-Mafjar (figure 43). See Hamilton, \textit{Khirbat al-Mafjar: an Arabian Mansion in the Jordan Valley} (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959); E. Baer, 'Khirbet al-Mafjar', in \textit{The Encyclopaedia of Islam} 2nd edn, V (1986), pp. 10-17.
\textsuperscript{529} Creswell, 'Lawfulness', p. 162
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eighth century AD. The ground for such opinion is the fact that John, the Patriarch of Damascus (d. ca. 132/750) who was contemporary to the decoration of Quṣṭar ἊAmrah mentioned nothing about the Muslim’s condemnation to pictures. This tendency believes that such hadīths can only be taken to reflect attitudes that then existed. Should this be true, whence did the reluctance towards making images come? Grabar admits: ‘the undeniable denunciations of artists and of representations found in many traditions about the life of the Prophet are taken as a genuine expression of an original Muslim attitude.’ Yet, he argues:

Whatever reasons led to the growth of this position, it clearly clashed with a considerable body of authentic information about the presence of beautiful objects with figures—mostly textiles and metalwork—in the Prophet’s immediate surroundings.

In fact, the number of hadīths referred to by Grabar do not imply that the Prophet liked, or at least permitted, the presence of such objects in close proximity. It was the opposite. The group of hadīths to which Grabar refers as ‘authentic’ have a clear tone of prevention (see 5.8).

There is, however, another group of hadīths where the tone of prevention is milder:

It is narrated that one day the Prophet went out while he was putting on himself mirṭan murāḥḥal, a ‘garment with marks’ of black hair. It is also narrated that the Prophet used to pray while he putting on him

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530 This opinion was put forward by Creswell and agreed by Grabar. Formation, p. 83. Others, such as F. Shāfiʿi and H. al-Pāshā, argue that the hadīths of prevention were in effect only in the early years of Islam when there was a great fear of pagan practices.


532 Grabar, Formation, p. 83. The same opinion was held by Arnold who stated that such attitude could be traced back to the time of the Prophet. Thomas W. Arnold, Painting in Islam: A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928), pp. 4-9, 19.

533 Grabar, Formation, p. 83.
Islam’s abhorrence towards the decoration of mosques is closely related to another topic, the type of decoration permitted in Islam in general. The constraints put on drawings of humans and animals led early Muslim artists to develop other unique artistic types. These were mainly composed of geometric, vegetal and calligraphic ornamental motifs.

How did contemporaries look upon the lawfulness of decorating mosques? Traditions do report instances of ‘moderate’ antipathy on the part of contemporary scholars. On the authority of imām Mālik, when the qiblah of the mosque of Madīnah was decorated in 89/708 the people were annoyed because it distracted them during their prayers. Yet, there are indications that there was a parallel, and maybe stronger, trend of permissiveness. It seems that the act of decorating mosques was perceived in the context of the religiously-accepted appreciation of beauty. On the authority of al-Samhūdi, some of the mosaic-workers said: ‘We did they [namely, the ornamental motifs in the mosque of the Prophet] after the model of what we have conceived of the images of the trees and palaces of Paradise’. Ibn Thawbān is even reported to have said that none should be more eager to attain Heaven than the people of Damascus, the beauty of which was already anticipated in their mosque.

Here is another aspect of the influence of Ḥadīth, which provides a lot of descriptive images for Paradise (see 5.10). This indicates that there were different influences at different times. In fact, there is evidence from

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534 Ibn Manẓūr, III, 1610; al-Pāshā, Mawsū‘ at, I, 129. See also Abū Ya’lā, Ḥadīth no. 7095.
537 Al-Samhūdi, II, 519; Ibn al-Najjār, p. 176.
538 Ibn `Asākir, II, 246; Yāqūt, II, 467
Islamic teachings that beautification was not generally forbidden; a verse in the *Qurʾān* reads:

> O children of Adam! Wear your beautiful apparel at every time and place of prayer [...]. Say: Who hath forbidden the beautiful (gifts) of Allah which He hath produced for His servants, and the things, clean and pure, (which he hath provided) for sustenance? [...] ⁵³⁹

In brief, mosque decoration, and Islamic art in general, was subject to a superfluity of influences from different artistic styles such as the Roman, Byzantine, Coptic and Sassanian, ⁵⁴⁰ but the spirit of Islam likewise impacted it.

### 7.10. Conversion of churches into mosques

By the rise of the Umayyad period the Muslim conquerors had settled in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt and the countries of North Africa. They applied advanced methods in building their houses, palaces and other official and public buildings. ⁵⁴¹ There is a widespread tendency to believe that the Umayyad mosques were significantly influenced by the pre-existing architectural types of the conquered territories. Although only a few examples are known, it is generally assumed that the conversion of churches and other non-Muslim sanctuaries into mosques was undertaken in the Umayyad period.

The most salient example may be that of the mosque of Damascus. Why did al-Walid want to take the rest of the church—if he did— and add it to the already-existing mosque? A reason often given is that some Muslims were annoyed when they heard Christians reciting the Bible loudly during

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⁵³⁹ *Qurʾān*, VII, 31-3. See also Ibn Taymiyyah, *Fatāwā*, XXII, 68.


⁵⁴¹ Al-Shihri, ‘Ṣaḥn’, p. 5.
their prayers. Another reason was that the number of the Muslims had increased and the old mosque no longer gave enough room for the congregation.

Attention has already been drawn to those such as Rivoira and Creswell who have denied that the Umayyad mosque was built on the remnants of the church of St. John the Baptist. It has also been argued by Sauvaget that the Umayyad mosque owes nothing of its architecture to the church which once stood in situ: ‘Il a été établi qui ia mosque Omeyyade de Damas ne doit rien à l’église à laquelle elle a succeed.’ Fikri adds that the fact that the sanctuary of the Umayyad mosque is composed of three aisles cannot stand by itself as evidence that its plan was derived from that of a church. According to Creswell, the form of the Umayyad mosque is unlike that of any church in Syria. There are some reports that contemporaries saw the Umayyad mosque as unique in design. According to al-‘Umarī, when the ‘Abbāsid Caliph al-Ma’mūn saw the mosque of the Umayyads, he was particularly amazed by the fact that it was built after the fashion of no precedent ‘alā ghayri mithālin mutaqaddim.’

Due to the lack of architectural evidence, divergent views are held by modern scholars regarding the theory of converting houses of worship of other faiths into mosques. For example, Creswell, mainly depending on the already-mentioned account of al-Balādhurī (see 6.5.5), argues that the

542 Ibn Kathīr, XII, 566.
543 Ibn ‘Asākir, II, 254-5; al-‘Umarī, I, 179-80; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 566. See also al-Balādhurī, p. 171.
545 Sauvaget, p. 95.
546 Fikri, Madkhal, p. 273
547 Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, I, I, 191.
practice of converting churches into mosques was common in early Islam.\textsuperscript{549} The mosque of Ḥamāh, for example, was erected on the ruins of a church.\textsuperscript{550} This theory is criticized by Sauvaget who believes that Creswell adopted the idea without verification. Having studied the ruins of the mosque of Ḥamāh, Sauvaget produced a plan for the mosque that would, if accepted, show it to be completely different to the layout of contemporary churches.\textsuperscript{551} It seems from the account of Arculf who lived in the later seventh century AD that the Arabs were performing \textit{ṣalāt} at mosques which they built as early as the beginning of Islamic history.\textsuperscript{552} The early Muslims might, and might not, have converted some of the houses of worship of other faiths into mosques, but it is notable that the latter shortly attained a considerable measure of architectural distinctiveness. While accepting that Muslim architects borrowed ideas from the religious architecture they found in conquered countries, Hillenbrand states:

Yet the materials and ideas which they quarried from these buildings were not enough to make the mosque an Islamised church, fire sanctuary or temple. The places of worship used by the adherents of religions which Islam supplanted were basically ill-suited to Muslim needs. Churches emphasised depth rather than breadth, if they were of basilical form, and centrality if they were a variation of the martyrrium type. The sanctuaries of fire worship in the Iranian empire were built for ceremonies involving a few priests, not large congregations—indeed, the congregation foregathered in the open air — while the temples of Arabia and India also put no premium on

\textsuperscript{549} Creswell, \textit{Early Muslim Architecture}, I. I, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{551} Sauvaget, pp. 103-8, fig. no. 8. According to Fikrī, the practice of converting churches into mosques was rare and temporary, if not a legend. Fikrī, \textit{Madkhal}, p. 270.
housing great numbers of worshippers within a covered hall, let alone ensuring easy visibility between them. For these practical reasons the cultic centres of other religions were of limited value to early Muslim architects, who looked elsewhere for inspiration.\textsuperscript{553}

Turning from complete buildings to spolia, there is archaeological evidence, however, that the Umayyads reused antique columns to build their mosques. The influence of \textit{Hadith} is represented in that the early Muslim masons restricted themselves to using the simplest types. For example, they used the Corinthian capital after reducing the number of leaves and the acanthus tiers. Such an example of that is found in the Roman side of the Umayyad mosque.\textsuperscript{554} Afterwards, Muslim artists developed a capital more suitable for Muslim architecture by eliminating the acanthus and giving it the form of a calyx.

\subsection*{7.11. Conclusion}
As in the period of the Rāshidūn Caliphs, we can find in literature clear, if few, references to the influence of \textit{Hadith} on mosque architecture in the Umayyad period. The fewness of such episodes might be attributable to the disputes which arose in the 2nd/8th century regarding the authoritativeness of \textit{Hadith} (see chapter 2). Yet, the ones we are told about could be really telling. ‘Ā’ishah recounted:

\begin{quote}
I once asked the Prophet—God’s peace and blessings be upon him—whether the Hijr is part of the Sacred House. He answered, ‘Yes.’ I then asked him: ‘Then why have they not included it in the House?’ He said that the people fell short of funds for the cost. I also asked him concerning the door of the House, why it is raised above the ground. He replied: ‘Your people did so that they might admit whom they willed to enter, and deny whom they willed. And indeed, were it not that your people had only recently been in contact with paganism, so that I
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{553} Hillenbrand, \textit{Islamic Architecture}, p. 36.
\textsuperscript{554} Shāfi‘ī, \textit{‘Imārah ‘Arabiyyah}, p. 212.
feared that their hearts would be changed, I should certainly have considered including the Hijr in the House, and fixing the door on a level with the ground. Ibn al-Zubayr is said to have brought in ten of the chief Companions of the prophet to hear this from 'Ā’ishah herself. He then ordered the Ka’bah to be pulled down. [...] and he rebuilt it in accord with what 'Ā’ishah had told him, [...].

This account not only indicates that Ḥadīth was consulted in architectural affairs, but also shows us how this was implemented. When 'Abd al-Malik had control over Mecca, al-Ḥajjāj wrote to him that Ibn al-Zubayr added to the Ka’bah what had not been part of it and made another door in it. Al-Ḥajjāj asked 'Abd al-Malik to permit him to return the holy structure to its original form (as it had been built by the Quraysh). So, 'Abd al-Malik agreed and showed him how to do that without needing to pull down the whole structure of Ibn al-Zubayr. After the work was finished, al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Allāh al-Makhzūmī came to [visit] 'Abd al-Malik. The latter said: ‘I do not assume that Abū Khubayb, an epithet of Ibn al-Zubayr, truly heard from 'Ā’ishah what he claimed he had heard from her regarding the Ka’bah.’ Al-Ḥārith said: ‘I heard it from 'Ā’ishah.’ 'Abd al-Malik asked: ‘What did you hear from her?’ He replied: ‘I heard her saying: “the Prophet told me [and he mentioned the above Ḥadīth].”’ 'Abd al-Malik wondered: ‘Did you [truly] hear her saying that?’ Al-Ḥārith replied: ‘Yes, Commander of the Faithful; I heard that from her.’ 'Abd al-Malik bowed his head and kept scratching the ground with a stick for a while and then said: ‘By Allāh, I wish I had left Ibn al-Zubayr and what he said he had heard in this respect (wama taḥammala min dhālik).’ While this story, if it is authentic, does not say that 'Abd al-Malik undertake any ‘architectural’ procedure in

555 On this, also see al-Bukhārī, Ḥadīths no. 126, 1583-6, 3368, 4484, and 7243.
556 Al-Muqaddasī (Collins’s transl.), p. 74.
557 Al-Azraqī, pp.305-7; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, VI, 256, Ibn Qutaybah, p. 560.
558 Al-Azraqī, pp.305-7.
response, it could give a good example of how the Umayyad patrons of mosques appreciated relevant ḥadīths.

Another example of Ḥadīth’s influence on Umayyad mosque architecture took place at Baṣrah. When Ziyād saw the imām going across the lines of prayers to reach the minbar, in compliance with ḥadīth, he objected saying: ‘It is not allowed for the emir to go across the people (yatakhāṭṭā riqāb al-nās). Ziyād accordingly moved the dār al-imārah so that it was situated in front of the mosque and turned the minbar to the front. It is also noticeable that in the Umayyad period, and later, no doors were set in the qiblah wall. The Prophet criticized those who came late and wished to pray in the front lines, disturbing other worshippers.

Narrated Abū Juhaym, the Prophet said: ‘If the one who passes in front of a prayer knows what he committed (mādhā ’alayh) [of sin], he would wait standing for forty (Abū al-Naḍr, a sub-narrator, said: “I forgot whether he said forty days, months or years”). This would be better for him than passing in front of him.

Ziyād also observed that when the people finished their prayers they dusted their hands. The floors of the mosques of Baṣrah and Kūfah were covered with sand. Ziyād said: ‘I am afraid that by passage of time, the people might think that dusting hands in prayers is a sunnah [namely, a part of the Prophet’s acts during prayers]. He accordingly commanded its floor

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559 On ḥadīths which forbid such act, see Ibn Mājah, ḥadīth no. 1115-6; Ibn Hubayrah, ḥadīth no. 172.
561 See al-Bāji, Muntaqā, II, 139-40.
562 Mālik, Muwatta’, ḥadīth no. 409; al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth no. 510; al-Dārimi, ḥadīths no. 1456-7; al-Bayhaqi, ḥadīths no. 3452, 5886-9. See also Mālik ḥadīths no.408- 12.
to be strewn with pebbles.\textsuperscript{564} It was, allegedly, Ziyād’s keenness to maintain the orthodox form of prayers that led him to do such ‘architectural’ improvement; the Prophet is reported to have said: ‘pray [in the same way] as you have seen me praying.’\textsuperscript{565} This episode gives an insight into a capacity to imagine forwards, to counter the risk of the emergence of a popular false assumption.

When the pious ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz became the caliph, in compliance with the Prophet’s approach of simplicity and frugality, he took away the 600 gilt chains of lanterns (\textit{qanādīl}) which were in the Umayyad mosque and put them in the state treasury. Instead, he put new ones made of copper (\textit{ṣufrāh}) and iron.\textsuperscript{566} It is also reported of ‘Umar that he intended to return to the Christians the church which had been taken from them by al-Walīd.\textsuperscript{567}

There seems to be a consensus that the Umayyad hypaethral mosques such as Baṣrah, Kūfah (figure 12), Fustāt (figures 15 and 16), Ṣan‘ā’ (figure 35) and Harrān (figure 34) were built after the mosque of the Prophet, which according to Ettinghausen and Grabar ‘became the model in newly founded cities’.\textsuperscript{568} Nonetheless, other Umayyad mosques, especially those built by ‘Abd al-Malik (see figures 18 and 19) and his son and successor al-Walīd (see figures 24 and 33) adopted different architectural types. The Dome of the Rock in particular is held to have been influenced by

\textsuperscript{564} Yāqūt, I, 434; al-Balādhurī, pp. 389-90.
\textsuperscript{566} Ibn ‘Asākir, II, 275; al-Dīārbakrī, II, 348. See also al-Ya’qūbī, \textit{Tarīkh}, I, p. 214. According to al-Muqaddasī, the people of Damascus persuaded him to give up the idea. \textit{Best Divisions}, p. 147.
\textsuperscript{567} Al-Balādhurī, p. 171-2; Ibn ‘Asākir, II, 273-4; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 582. According to al-Balādhurī, he did return to the Christians of Damascus one of the churches. p. 169
\textsuperscript{568} Ibid, p. 36.
late antique and Byzantine architectural types (see figure 20 and 21).\textsuperscript{569} It represents a separate category of Umayyad architecture, distinguished from al-Walid’s mosques as one group, and the congregational hypaethral mosques as another.\textsuperscript{570}

The plan of the Umayyad mosque (see figure 24 as an example of al-Walid’s mosques) was differed from the hypaethral style which had been familiar in Islamic architecture before the time of al-Walid. The ṣaḥn, whose area usually occupied a quarter of the whole area of the mosque, was no longer set in the middle of it. What was the reason behind that? We can find nothing in literature to answer this question. According to al-Shihri, the existence of an adequately high enclosure of the ancient temenos might have prompted the architect to make use of it, especially since it was set towards the qiblah (see figure 26).\textsuperscript{571} If the architect followed the hypaethral form of the previous congregational mosques, the ẓullah of the qiblah would have been shallow and so deprived of adequate light and air.\textsuperscript{572} While the influences of Byzantine architecture on the Umayyad mosque are almost unmistakable, the Umayyad mosque, in its main scheme, was chiefly influenced by the mosque of the Prophet and was built according to the requirements of Islamic rituals. A large part of its area was allocated to the ṣaḥn. Although the mosque of Damascus is seen by a majority of scholars to have introduced new architectural elements to Islam,\textsuperscript{573} the influence of the Prophet’s mosque on it is clear in the connection between

\textsuperscript{569} Bloom and Blair, p. 28. See also M. Bloom, ‘Mosque’, EQ, III, 430.

\textsuperscript{570} Ettinghausen and Grabar, pp. 27-8. According to Mujīr al-Dīn, the model after which the Dome of the Rock was built is an earlier Umayyad structure called Qubbat a Sīsilah, ‘the Dome of the Chain’, which was built by ʿAbd al Malik for this particular purpose. Al-Ens al-Jalīl, I, 241; Bahnasī, p. 70.

\textsuperscript{571} Al-Shihri, ‘Ṣaḥn’, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{572} Al-Shihri, ‘Ṣaḥn’, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{573} These are the miḥrāb, the tripartite (three-aisled) division of the sanctuary, the axial nave and the dome in front of the miḥrāb.
the ṣaḥn, the porticoes and the bayt al-ṣalāt.\textsuperscript{574}

Similarly, the special spatial conditions (Grabar’s ‘unique settings’) explain why in the second construction of the Aqṣā mosque the ṣaḥn was replaced by a central nave (see figures 29 and 30).\textsuperscript{575} The lack of the ṣaḥn and the use of gables could be attributed to the comparatively cold and wintry climate of Syria and Jerusalem. For reasons already given, the lack of the ṣaḥn, or indeed any other components of the mosque of the Prophet, is not necessarily to be regarded as a rebellion against his model, any more than the adoption of features of his mosque should be interpreted as compulsory.\textsuperscript{576}

What does seem to have been compulsory, according to the teachings of the Prophet, was the avoidance of lavishness and pretentiousness, and the use of distractive features. Did the Umayyad mosques observe or break this principle? These mosques are a far cry form the model of the Prophet and the Rāshidūn. It may be enough here to quote Hayter Lewis’ statement about the Umayyad Dome of the Rock which ‘stands today essentially as it was built in the late seventh century’.\textsuperscript{577} Lewis says: ‘it is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful buildings existing, and I cordially agree with these eloquent words of Mr. Fergusson: — “[...]. There is an elegance of proportion [...] which does not exist in any other building I


\textsuperscript{575} Grabar, \textit{Formation}, p. 107. According to Antun (pp. 38, 169) open courtyard was the main theme of the first Aqṣā mosque which also had a wider central aisle. Also attributed to al-Walîd, the smaller mosques of ῎Anjar, Minya and Jabal Says also had no ṣaḥn. See Johns, ‘House of the Prophet’, p. 62.

\textsuperscript{576} More on that is discussed in chapter 6.

\textsuperscript{577} Bloom and Blair, p. 28. The same thinking is held by Creswell: \textit{Early Muslim Architecture}, I. I, 68.
Why did the Umayyads desire to perfect (yuḥkimūn) and elevate their mosques? We have seen some examples (see 7.5) in which perfection was sought to embody the conceit of the patrons, and others in which it served a religious and political agenda.

‘Uthmān b. Affān, having perfected the mosque of the Prophet, must have set a good example for the Umayyads to perfect their works at the mosque of the Prophet and elsewhere. While the ephemeral structures of the Prophet and that of ’Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb soon decayed, that of ’Uthmān stood for 58 years before it was replaced by the structure of al-Walīd, and that even was not due to wear and tear caused by age. During this relatively long period, the only recorded work made at the mosque of the Prophet was that of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam who paved the area around the mosque in the caliphate of Mu’āwiyah. There is historical evidence that the mosque of ’Uthmān remained durable even in the caliphate of ’Abd al-Malik. Al-Azraqī, on the authority of al-Wāqidī, relates that [during the reign of ’Abd al-Malik] the fabrics (dībājj) which were used to cover the Ka’bah were sent each year to Madīnah and put on the columns of the Prophet’s mosque. We have seen (6.4) that ’Uthmān’s adoption of advanced technique and material was inspired from Ḥadīth.

It seems that the idea of elaborating mosques began very early in

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579 Al-Samhūdī, II, 735. The reason for these works was not the damage of any of the parts of ’Uthmān’s building; al-Hakam, the father of Marwān, had been aged and so lagged his legs when he got out of the mosque. So, they were dusted. When Mu’āwiyah saw this pavement, he ordered the whole area around the mosque to be likewise paved. See also Ibn Shabba, pp. 7-8.

580 Al-Azraqī, p. 359.
the Umayyad period. Al-Balādhurī expressly stated that Zīyād rebuilt the mosque of Kūfah (50/670) ‘and perfected it (faʿaḥkamahū).’\(^{582}\) In a relative sense, it seems that every possible step was taken to guarantee the perfection of work. We are told that the workers who built the Umayyad mosque dug deep to lay the foundations of the great dome until they reached pure sweet water.\(^{583}\) Yāqūt recounts that the workers, while digging, found a well-built wall which had been built by the Greeks and was in line with the proposed foundations. Therefore, they told al-Walīd about how strong this wall was and asked him to allow them to leave it in situ and use it as a part of the mosque foundations. Al-Walīd refused saying: ‘I like nothing but perfection (iḥkam) and I like being sure of it (namely iḥkam), and I do not trust the perfection of this wall.’\(^{584}\)

Likewise, after the work at the mosque of the Prophet was accomplished, al-Walīd came to Madīnah to do pilgrimage and went to the mosque to inspect the work and receive felicitations from the notables of Madīnah.\(^{585}\) When he saw the roof of the maqṣūrah he appreciated it and said to ῾Umar: ‘I wish you had made all the roof of the mosque like that.’ ῾Umar replied: ‘then, the expenditure would have been great.’\(^{586}\) Al-Walīd said: ‘Even if [it would have been so]’. In another account of Ibn Zabālah, ῾Umar told the caliph that he spent 45,000 dinārs on the qiblah wall and the part between the two roofs.\(^{587}\) It is also reported that ῾Umar b. ῾Abd al-῾Azīz rewarded the worker who skilfully formed a big tree of mosaic with extra 30 dirhams.\(^{588}\) This appreciation of perfecting work stems from Ḥadīth. The

\(^{582}\) Al-Balādhurī, p. 389.

\(^{583}\) Ibn ῾Asākir, II, 261; Ibn Kathîr, XII, 572.

\(^{584}\) Yāqūt, II, 466.

\(^{585}\) Al-Dinawrî, p. 331; al-Ya῾qūbî, Tarīkh, I, 199.


\(^{587}\) Ibn Zabālah, pp. 120-21; Ibn al-Najjār, p. 177.

\(^{588}\) Al-Samhūdî, Wafā’, II, 519; Ibn al-Najjār, p. 176.
Prophet is reported to have said: 'Allāh loves it when anyone of you works to do perfectly.' It is natural that when much attention is paid to perfection, it turns into beautification and ornamentation.\(^{589}\)

Apart from the clear advancement in form and material, the Umayyad mosques were distinctly different from each other. This could be attributed to the fact that, according to *Ḥadīth*, there is no fixed form for a mosque. Many details were left to be settled in the light of locally changeable conditions. Freedom of choice in planning mosques is further indicated by the fact that there are no ideal dimensions for a mosque, or any specifically favoured proportions for its constituent parts. Some argue that a certain proportion linked the length of the *qiblah* wall to the depth of the *bayt al-ṣalāt*, 'sanctuary'. In fact, measurement of these parts in many mosques reveals no such governing rule,\(^{590}\) although in some cases parts of a mosque may have been later modified without taking initially-devised ratios into account.\(^{591}\) The same possibility applies to comparing the space occupied by the *bayt al-ṣalāt* to that of the whole mosque. Fikrī argues that the length and depth of the *bayt al-ṣalāt* depended, both in the Umayyad period and later, on the following factors:

- The population of the town where the mosque would be erected and, accordingly, the estimated number of worshippers
- The number of the available antique columns, which would support the roof, or the accessibility of the material to be used in making new columns and piers
- The height of the roof of *bayt al-ṣalāt* and the method of supporting it. The higher the roof, and the more

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\(^{591}\) Ibid.
illuminated the *bayt al-ṣalāt*, the more suitable it is to increase the dimensions of *bayt al-ṣalāt*.

The division of *riwāqs* into horizontal spaces or aisles seems to have been prompted by the many *ḥadīths* which put emphasis on the significance of persuading worshippers to arrange themselves in straight lines. When building his mosque, the Prophet is reported to have said: ‘ṣuффū al-nakhla qiblatatī’. The Prophet wanted the rows of palm trunks to be laid in parallel lines to the *qiblah*. Narrated Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, ‘the Prophet said: “either you will straighten your lines, or Allāh will deform your faces [or He will let you be enemies to each other].”’

In another *ḥadīth*, he says: ‘[...]’, and straighten the line [row] in prayers, as straightening the line is [one sign] of prayer’s meritousness. To fulfil such requirement, the *ṣaḥābīs* used to touch the feet and shoulders of one another.

Excavations have revealed that straight parallel ditches were dug in the *bayt al-ṣalāt* of some of the Umayyad mosques. It is instructive that the foundations were not only made for the columns or piers, but also ran in connected lines from the right to the left so as to mark the aisles of the sanctuary. Further, the Prophet is reported to have advised each person

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599 Fikrī, *Madkhal*, p. 304. See the plans of the Umayyad mosques.
to insert a cane or, at least, draw a line in front of him in order to delimit his area of prostration and, in turn, prevent anyone to pass before him. While division of the bayt al-ṣalāt into parallel lines is likely to have been inspired by Ḥadīth, there is no rule to say into how many aisles it should be divided. There might be only one aisle, as in the mosque of Ukhayḍar, two as at Boṣra, three as in the mosques of Damascus (figure 24), four as at Ḥarrān (figure 34), or five as in the mosques of Madīnah (figure 8), Kūfah (figure 12), Wāṣīṭ (figure 22) and Iskāf Banī Junayd.

Likewise, the influence of Ḥadīth is reflected in the fact that, in many mosques, the first aisle was made wider than the others so as to accommodate as many lines of worshippers as possible. According to Ḥadīth, there is special virtue in coming early to mosque at the Friday sermon and there is also a special reward for praying the daily five prayers in the first line after the imām. Narrated Abū Hurayrah, the Prophet said: ‘[...], and if they [namely the Muslim people] knew what the front line has [of great reward], they will surely draw lots for it (istahamū).’ On the authority of Bushayr b. Yasār al-Anṣārī, when Anas b. Mālik came back to Madīnah he was asked [by the people]: ‘what have you denied [of our deeds] since you accompanied (῾āhidta) the Prophet?’ He said: ‘I have denied nothing except that you do not straighten (or complete) (tuqīmūn) your lines.’ This incident would reflect the keenness of the tābi‘īn generation to investigate whether their deeds, especially in ritual affairs, were sound and matching the teachings of the Prophet. It is notable that Anas said nothing about the architecture of the mosques, which indicates

600 Al-Bayhaqi, ḥadīths no. 3466-70; al-Hindi, Kanz, ḥadīth no. 19206.
601 Fikrī, Madkhal, p. 306.
602 Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth no. 721. On the virtue of praying in the first line, see Ibn Mājah, ḥadīths no. 996-9; al-Dārimī, ḥadīth no. 1300; Wensinck, p. 193. On the meaning of istahamū, see Ibn Manẓūr, III, 2135.
603 Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth no. 724.
that he found nothing outrageous upon which to comment.⁶⁰⁴ The first aisle was also made wider as it contained the miḥrāb, minbar and maqṣūrah. This, though, was not a regular procedure.⁶⁰⁵ Further, the presence of the qiblah at the mosque front directed the major part of perfection and embellishment to bayt al-ṣalāt.⁶⁰⁶

Finally, the influence of Ḥadīth on the architecture of the Umayyad mosques represented in that no more columns or pillars were employed than necessary. The Prophet is reported to have forbidden the worshippers from arranging themselves between the columns (sawārin).⁶⁰⁷

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⁶⁰⁴ This accident of Anas is not the one in which he said: 'I know nothing of what was [applied] in the time of the Prophet except prayer, and it has been wasted'. (Al-Bukhārī, ḥadīth no. 530). The latter accident took place at Damascus.

⁶⁰⁵ Fikrī, Madkhal, pp. 306-7.

⁶⁰⁶ Mu’nis, p. 64.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibn Mājah, ḥadīth no. 1002. On the prohibition against praying between columns, also see: Ibn Abī Shaybah, ḥadīths no. 7578-84. Some authorities, particularly from the tābiʾīs, are reported to allow such act. Ibn Abī Shaybah, ḥadīths no. 7585-93.
Chapter 8: Conclusions

To investigate the interactions between Hadith and the architecture of early congregational mosques we have dealt with two main questions: what does Hadith have to say about the building of mosques? How far did that view influence the architecture of early congregational mosques?

In addressing the first question, we are confronted by a large body of Hadith which at first sight gives an impression of the Prophet’s abhorrence, or at least lack of enthusiasm, towards the erection of massive mosques, their decoration, and in fact against building in general (see 5.8 and 5.10). However, a dilemma arises, for there are also indications that the Prophet wanted the work of his mosque to be properly performed. He not only supervised the work himself but also participated in it (see 4.3). We have seen that much effort was exerted to prepare the site, which had been occupied by dilapidated structures, graves and marshes. Palm trees were cut and arranged to form the qiblah wall, adobe was moulded, stone foundations were laid, and walls of sun-dried brick were built (see chapter 4).

Evidently, the Prophet was keen to build his mosque in a proper way. He praised one of the Companions for his skill in mixing mud and moulding adobe. The Prophet asked him to do nothing but mix mud, and asked the other Companions to leave this part of work to that Companion as he perfected it. To encourage others to play their parts, the Prophet asked God’s mercy to be conferred upon those who work in a proper way (see 5.5). The Prophet’s attitude, we find, was more nuanced than the dogmatic outlook that has been attributed to him by many commentators.

In chapters 3 and 4, we saw that it has been argued that the simple form of the mosque of the Prophet was due to inexperience and poor material. Yet, there are quite a number of hadiths which imply that the Prophet purposely wanted the mosque to be simple. It is said that some of
the Companions wanted to rebuild the mosque after the fashion of the more advanced buildings of Syria, but that the Prophet refused, saying that he wanted it to be in the form of a shelter (see 5.11). He then commented: ‘the affair is not that long.’ This last statement could be understood in two ways: either ‘life is not that long’, or ‘we have other more important things to take care of at this early stage of the Islamic da’wah.

To understand these apparently paradoxical statements and attitudes, we need to assess the mosque of the Prophet not as a thing alone but in the physical and cultural setting in which it was placed. The Prophet did not want his mosque to be built after the fashion of the Syrian buildings, as it was not in Syria. Rather, it was located in a much simpler environment. We could imagine the strong visual impact that an advanced structure might have had if it had been planted in such a simple locality as that of Madīnah, in illo tempore. The Prophet did not want the mosque to be exalted for its striking appearance, but for the religious, spiritual and social roles it was set to play. He was keen to take every precaution to resist idolatry which originated from eulogizing material objects (see 5.6.1 and 5.10).

In the same vein, we could understand the Prophet’s annoyance when one of the Companions built a domed structure for himself (see 7.9.3). The Prophet did not mean that domes should not be built, but rather that he did not want the man to boast about a structure that must have seemed ‘luxurious’ in comparison with other contemporary lodgings. The Prophet also disapproved of the fact that the man paid much attention to such worldly and ephemeral concerns. Further, we saw that the theory about the Prophet’s negative attitude towards building contradicts other hadiths with a higher degree of authenticity. According to some of these, one of the two fundamental reasons for which mankind were created is to populate the earth through activities such as cultivation and construction.

To conclude on this aspect, we could say that the mosque of the
Prophet was made in such simple form not because there was no way to build a more elaborate one, or because the Prophet disliked building. Rather, it was made simple to match the simplicity of its surroundings and the simplicity of Islamic ritual requirements, which needed no more than a clean levelled piece of land.

In the early caliphate, Hadith played an important role in shaping mosque architecture. The form of the Prophet’s mosque was retained (see 6.5.4). There are clear examples of Hadith consultation (see 6.4). The large number of hadiths about the virtue of building mosques and attending them must have been an impetus for mosques to be built. And that, in turn, would have accelerated the architectural evolution of the mosque (see 6.5).

The latitude in the Prophet’s Hadith is mirrored in that diverse understandings were adopted by his Companions. The most salient example is the discrepancy between the attitudes of ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān, the second and third caliphs in Islam, respectively, and two of the Prophet’s closest Companions. As we saw in chapter 6, each of them rebuilt the mosque of the Prophet in a new milieu after the death of the latter. ‘Umar’s structure was a replica of the Prophet’s archetype. He retained the form and material of the Prophet’s structure. Even the old wooden pillars were replaced with new wooden ones. ‘Umar said to the builder: ‘Provide the people with a shelter from rain and do not use red or yellow paints lest the people should get distracted.’ ‘Uthmān, on the other hand, rebuilt the mosque on the same plan but in a more advanced form. The walls were built of carved stones and coated with stucco. He replaced the wooden pillars with columns of carved stones, and used teak for the roof.

The fact that some steps were taken by the Prophet’s Companions to relieve old simplicity would imply that they realized that sheer simplicity was not intended by the Prophet for its own sake or for all time. The Prophet wanted the mosque to be built in a way that was ‘frugal’ but
‘proper’. These two adjectives should be considered in the relative sense. Thus, being ‘frugal’ does not mean that it should be poor in form or material. Rather, it should be neither wasteful nor distracting. Likewise, ‘proper’ does not mean massive and striking but handsome and durable (see 5.11).

In the Umayyad period, we are not told about many cases in which Hadīth was considered when a mosque was to be built. Yet, this does not mean that such negotiations did not occur. In other words, rarity of evidence does not necessarily mean evidence of rarity. We have seen in chapter 7 that there are indications that Hadīth did influence the Umayyad mosques. These include:

- The ḥadīths about the necessity of facing the qiblah dictated that all mosques were orientated towards Mecca.
- The ḥadīths about the virtue of building mosques led to the building of a great number of them, which in turn provided a context for architectural evolution.
- The plan of the Prophet’s mosque was reproduced by the majority of mosques. They were mainly composed of an open courtyard surrounded by porticoes.
- From the rise of Islam to the end of the Umayyad period, no mosques were built over tombs and no tombs were attached to mosques.
- The avoidance of making representations for humans and animals on the walls of mosques.
- The group of ḥadīths which command worshippers to be arranged in straight parallel lines, as well as the need to see the imām, put architectural emphasis on width rather than depth.
- The same group of ḥadīths led to the sanctuaries of the
Umayyad mosques being divided into horizontal spaces (or aisles) that ran parallel to the qiblah wall.

- No more pillars or columns were used than necessary; according to Hadīth it is not advisable to cut a line of worshippers.
- The pulpit in some mosques was moved from the centre to the front (namely the bayt al-ṣalāt), as it is not allowed for the imām to go across the worshippers to reach it.

Under the Umayyads, the plan of the Prophet’s prototype was reproduced by a majority of mosques. However, there was betterment in almost every way. The walls were made of cut stones in lieu of rubble. After having been rough, they were coated with stucco and ornamented with fine decorations and in many cases glass mosaics were employed. Floors were paved instead of being covered with sand or strewn with pebbles. Palm trunks were replaced with marble columns, roofs were made of teakwood as a replacement of rushes, and in many cases domes or gables were used. Thus, the clearest difference between the mosque of the Prophet and the Umayyad mosques is the search for perfection and embellishment which were applied to the latter. Tradition reports examples which reveal that the Umayyad patrons were very keen to perfect their mosques (see chapter 7).

What were the reasons lay behind this? Were they consistent with Hadīth? According to Hadīth, God loves those who perfect their work (see 5.11). And it is natural that when attention is paid to perfection, it should gradually turn into beautification. Further, the fact that 'Umar’s mosque soon decayed while the more advanced one of 'Uthmān lasted for longer might have given an example to follow. We have cases (see 7.5) in which the patrons expressly declared that their intention was to confer majesty on the appearance of the mosque, lest the Muslim conquerors and migrants should be over-fascinated by the architectural grandeur of the non-
Muslim places of worship. In other words, perfecting and decorating mosques, in many cases, formed a part of Islamic competitive propaganda.

Some rulers, however, seem to have been obsessed with the desire to have an imposing court, and the first place they thought to apply this aspiration was the mosque which was more important than the ruler’s residence (see 7.5). The mosque in *illo tempore* was not simply a place for prayers, but it held other religious, political, military, and social functions. It should be noted that in Islam the two realms of secular and religious are difficult to separate. However, in most cases, the work was perfected to pursue durability and not merely to catch the eye.

We have noted (see 7.8) that the practice of erecting massive and lavishly decorated mosques was not effectively criticized by the contemporary legalists and *Hadith* scholars. It is true that there was a kind of condemnation, but it was in no way a stark one. It might have been deemed inevitable that such mosques should be erected, to match the general advancement in cultural life. Would it have seemed reasonable to build mosques that were structurally inferior to the houses of Muslim individuals? We can imagine the negative impact that could have been caused by the sight of a mosque built of rubble and *labīn*, roofed with rushes and lit with *surūj* in a setting of modern appealing buildings. This view is backed by the fact that one of the primary reasons for the late ṣaḥābīs and early tābiʿīs to criticize the elaboration of mosques was their belief that the money spent on these activities should have been preferably spent for the benefit of the needy. Such limitation was mitigated in later times by the general advancement that happened to the cultural life of the Muslim community.

Further, as Islam pays certain attention to *aʾmāl al-qalb*, ‘actions of the heart’, the religious acceptability of mosque architecture could be judged by the builder’s purpose and intention which are naturally imponderable. A
mosque could be elaborated and decorated and still regarded as religiously accepted if that was done for God’s pleasure, and to dignify mosques which are defined as ‘the houses of God’. On the other hand, a mosque could be built in a modest way and using ephemeral materials, but still not regarded to follow the model of the Prophet (if this, for example, was the only option available at the time). It could be even against the builder if he did so out of stinginess.

It is notable, however, that while mosque building usually brought good reputation for the patrons, in some cases the competition in elevating mosques and beautifying them led to pride which is also criticized by Ḥadīth. There are also rare instances where building mosques was a cause of notoriety, for they were built to hold malevolent schemes against the believers. The most famous example is the masjid al-ḍirār which was reproached by the Qur’ān (see 3.6).

Next, what about the new components which were added to the mosque in the Umayyad period such as the minaret and the concave prayer niche? It has been argued that the germs of many of these components were already included in the mosque of the Prophet. The minaret, for example, was prefigured by the fact that the Prophet’s muezzin used to call to prayers from the highest roof in the vicinity of the mosque. There are also reports that the minaret could have been a direct development of the istiwaḥ, ‘column’ which was mounted by the Prophet’s muezzin for the same purpose (see 5.7.6). Equally, external architectural influences on the minaret are very clear. Hence, the need for a raised place to call to prayers, a convention which goes back to the Prophet, was prompted by Ḥadīths about adhān, while the architectural realization of form and height of the raised place influenced variously.

Similarly, the concave prayer niche could have derived from the fact that the Prophet used to thrust a spear in front of him before praying so as
to mark the *qiblah*, and to preclude anyone from passing in front of him (see 5.7.5). The group of *hadīths* about the necessity of the *imām*, ‘prayer leader’, to put something in front of him (namely *sutrah*) and to leave a space between him and that thing might well have prompted the introduction of the concave prayer niche, especially as its adoption would save a complete line for other worshippers. Some have argued that simpler recessed prayer niches already existed in the time of the Prophet (see 5.7.5). Likewise, the Umayyad *minbar* must have been inspired by the three-step wooden pulpit which had been made for the Prophet to use at sermons. More basically, the group of *hadīths* about the *qiblah* and the necessity of being orientated towards it during prayers should have led to attention being paid to the *qiblah* wall and the *mihrāb*.

All these architectural elements derived from two sources: *Hadith*, in terms of devotional origin; and an array of variable influences, in terms of architectural form. The point to underscore here is that the effect of one source does not necessarily invalidate that of the other.

The process of building mosques was governed by both Islamic law and the convention of Muslim people at the time. It was governed by Islamic law because the act of building mosques to provide the worshippers with a place to pray is itself worship, while the form and materials of these mosques were governed by the convention of Muslim people since the Prophet did not specify a fixed form of the mosque. We have seen that the latter changed from time to time and from a place to another.

In the time of the Prophet and the Companions, the convention was to build simple mosques, but in later times, for reasons already given (see 7.5), this changed. In the Umayyad period, the mosque of the Prophet, for example, was rebuilt in a more advanced form. Many architectural features were introduced for the first time: minarets, concave prayer niche, *maqṣūrah*, crenellations and decoration. It is noticeable, however, that these
elements, which became the main architectural components of later mosques, were introduced to the Prophet’s site by a renowned Ḥadīth scholar, Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysân who narrated the most significant ḥadīth about the form of the mosque in the time of the Prophet and the Rāshidūn Caliphs (see 7.3). This ḥadīth is reported through him by the compilers of canonical collections. What may give more significance to these architectural works is that they were done under supervision of the pious ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and in a time where the consent of Medinese community (ʿamal ahlīl Madīnah) was considered as an important source of Islamic jurisprudence.¹

This same thing also applies to the convention of the Muslim nation, at any time; the Prophet is reported to have said: ‘God has protected my ummah, ‘nation’ from consenting a perversity.”²

Under the Umayyads, a foreign component: namely the central nave was introduced in some mosques. While in the Aqṣā mosque the central nave completely replaced the open courtyard, in the mosque of Damascus the latter was retained, but in a smaller size. The Dome of the Rock, on the other hand, is a unique type of religious building not only in the Umayyad period but in Islamic history overall (see 7.11).

Did these architectural changes violate the Prophet’s model? Some of the recent Ḥanafīs believe that the mosque should be simple in form and material just as that built by the Prophet more than fourteen centuries ago. They build unpretentious mosques of no minarets, domes, concave prayer niches, etc. and call them ‘masājid aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth, ‘the mosques of the

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¹ The Prophet is reported to have said: ‘Soon, the people will ride their camels (yūshiku an yadrība al-nāsu akbād al-ibīl) asking for knowledge and they will find nobody more knowledgeable than the scholar of Madīnah.’ Al-Tirmidhī, ḥadīth no. 2680. On the weight of ʿamal ahlīl Madīnah in Islamic jurisprudence, see Ibn al-Qayyim, Iʿlām al-Muwaqqiʿīn, I, 175.
² See Abū Dāwūd, ḥadīth no. 4253; Ibn Mājah, ḥadīth no. 395; al-Albānī, Sahihah (abridged), III, 319.
people of Ḥadīth,³ and some Shīʿis continued to call to prayer from a doorway or a roof.⁴ The Wahhābis’ mosques in Arabia (eighteenth century onwards) also typify this conservative approach.⁵ Yet, the Prophet’s model, as already said, does not include a must-follow architectural form of the mosque. We have no ḥadīth or historical account to say that he commanded, or even advised, that the plan of his mosque should be copied by others. So whether a mosque had a courtyard or any other component was left to the builders to determine according to climate, space, and other local conditions (see 6.5.4). The seasonally cold and rainy weather of Syria and Jerusalem dictated that a spacious courtyard should be replaced by another architectural element that would permit light and air but protect the mosques from rains. A central nave best fitted these needs (see figures 24 and 27). Equally, the nature of the activities which the courtyard had accommodated since the time of the Prophet, along with its suitability for the summer months, led patrons to retain it, albeit in a smaller size (see 7.11).

Next, what does Ḥadīth have to say regarding the influence of non-Muslim architectural types on mosque architecture? It is known that the central nave, for example, was borrowed from church design. Does Ḥadīth say anything about how the Prophet appreciated the architectural forms of the places of worship of other nations? We have seen that when one of the Prophet’s wives told him about a church she had seen in Abyssinia, he criticized the practice of dedicating churches to saints, and that of adorning

³ See Al-Khudayrī, ‘Ahkām’, p. 35.
⁵ The latter is reported to even have destroyed a number of early Islamic sites including historic mosques, mausolea and artefacts on the grounds that material objects and sites related to the dead should not be venerated. See Daniel Howden, ‘The Destruction of Mecca: Saudi Hardliners are Wiping out their Own Heritage’, _The Independent_, 6 August 2005; Salah Nasrawi, ‘Mecca’s Ancient Heritage is Under Attack’, _Los Angles Times_, 16, September, 2007.
them with icons and other representations (see 5.6.1.1). What he denounced was exalting the dead and venerating material objects. The statement he made when some of his Companions wanted to rebuild his mosque after the Syrian buildings may give us another clue. It would imply that he objected not because the adoption of other architectural forms was disallowed, but because he considered the transitory nature of this life. He, in a similar situation, agreed to adopt the minbar, in spite of the fact that it was referred to by Tamim, the Companion who proposed the idea and reported the incident, as a Syrian habit (see 5.7.7).6

It is true that the Prophet was keen to render the rites of Islam distinct from those of other religions (see 5.8 and 5.11). Nonetheless, it seems that the adoption of foreign architectural elements, such as the central nave and the dome, could not be regarded as a breach of the Prophet’s model on the only grounds that they were not parts of his own mosque. It could be so only if these elements breached the general principles which he set for the form of the mosque, namely it should not be lavish, pretentious, distracting, and more importantly it should not include any representations of humans or animals.

The latter condition is par excellence realized. The deliberate avoidance of making representing living creatures could be one of the clearest aspects of Hadith influence on the Umayyad mosques. This very restrictiveness led Muslim artists to invest their effort and talent in developing uniquely intricate vegetal, geometric and calligraphic decorative motifs.

Finally, did the mosque and its architecture influence Hadith? There are a number of indications that the architectural development of the mosque, particularly, in the Umayyad period could have influenced Hadith

6 Ibn al-Najjār, p. 158. See also al-Bayhaqī, hadīths no. 5698-9.
First, quite a number of hadīths, whose authenticity is controversial, praise specific mosques and talk about the big reward of performing prayers at them. Many of such hadīths are typically mentioned by the chroniclers of Muslim towns. For instance, Ibn Asākir reported, on the authority of Mu‘āwiyah b. Qurrah, that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said: ‘He who performs an enjoined prayer at the mosque of one of the amṣār, ‘territories’ will be rewarded as if he performed an accepted pilgrimage, and if he performs a supererogatory prayer [there], he will gain the reward of a blessed ʿumrah.’

It should be noted that such hadīths about the faḍā‘il, ‘merits or special qualities’ of specific people, or places, have been always looked at with skepticism by modern scholarship.

Some Hadīth compilations, such as the Muṣannaf of Ibn Abī Shaybah and that of ʿAbd al-Razzāq include chapters about what were by then new architectural elements of the mosque such as the minaret (see 5.7.6) , the maqṣūrah (see 5.7.10) and the miḥrāb, or rather al-ṭāq (see 5.7.5.2). With the exception of few pseudo hadīths which linked the Prophet to such elements, these were mainly reports about the ṣaḥābis’ different attitudes towards the adoption of these elements.

Significantly, the architectural development of mosques influenced the style of grouping hadīths in the 3rd/9th century compilations. Al-Bayhaqī, for example, reported a number of hadīths about the preferable piety of the muezzin under the heading of ‘none is allowed to call for

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9 See Juynboll, Muslim Tradition, pp. 12-4, 17; Juynboll, Studies, pp. 70-2.
prayers unless he is trustworthy and honest for he could catch sight of the people’s private life’. Al-Bayhaqī’s choice of such a rubric is, of course, attributed to later adoption of the minaret. This is in spite of the fact that none of the hadiths he mentions under this heading talks about the reasons why the muezzin should be trustworthy and honest. In the same manner, al-Bukhārī mentioned the hadith about the maker of the minbar under the heading of ‘asking the help of carpenters and craftsmen in [making] the minbar and [building] the mosque’ (see 5.5).

While the architectural evolution of the mosque progressed, the expositors of Hadīth like Ibn Ḥajar, al-ʿAynī and al-Nawawī found themselves obligated to discuss, in their Hadīth commentaries, the ordinances of mosques, the specification of their sites and the lawfulness of adopting new architectural elements.

Islamic architecture cannot be studied apart from the religious context in which it originally emerged. In this study we have seen clear cases in which Hadīth did influence the architecture of early congregational mosques, and others where – in contrast to the perceived picture of dogmatic inflexibility – its approach towards certain architectural features was nuanced. Of course, due to limitations of time and length, not all such points have received attention. Hence, while the present theory is mainly based on literary evidence, we hope that coming years will bring forth archaeological evidence that will help us go further with the study – on a firmer ground – of the various factors that shaped early Islamic architecture...wa ākhiru daʿwānā an al-ḥamdu lil-lāhi rabb al-ʿālamīn.
Bibliographies: primary sources and secondary scholarship

Note on Qurʾān

The passages of the Qurʾān are quoted from *The Holy Quran: English Translation of the meanings and Commentary*, ed. by the presidency of Islamic Researches, Iftā’, Call and Guidance (Medina: King Fahd complex for the printing of the Holy Quran, 1992)

*Hadīth* and Arabic accounts are my own translation unless otherwise specified.

Later references

Should more than one work by an author be used, the following details are given: author’s name, title (in a shortened form), volume number (if applicable), page reference. If only one work by an author is cited, then the title is not given.

Abbreviations

After their first citations, where full details are given, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* and *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* have been abbreviated to *IE* and *IQ* respectively.

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Figure 35: Ṣanʿā’, Finster’s (1978) reconstruction of al-Walid’s mosque (Johns 1999)
Figure 36: Ruṣāfah, Ulbert’s (1990) reconstruction plan of the mosque (Johns 1999)

Figure 37: ʿAmmān, Northedge’s (1992) reconstruction of the plan of the mosque (Johns 1999)

Figure 38: Darʿah, Creswell’s reconstruction of the plan of the mosque (Johns 1999)
Figure 39: Map of selected Umayyad mosques (Johns 1999)

1. Mecca
2. Medina (1.6/62)
3. Baza (146/635)
4. Jerusalem (5.9/81-80/666)
5. Kufa (10/629)
6. Fustat (62-641-2)
7. Qayrawan (350-360)
8. Wattis (674-709)
9. Damascus (86-709)
10. Aleppo (86-905/775-777)
11. Sahli (932-946/711-713)
12. Bhambric (92-96/711-713)
13. Rusulf (105-124/724-743)
14. Karth (107-120/724-729)
15. Cordoba (171-174/78-19)
16. Sina (late 11th-mid 13th cent)
Figure 40: Jerusalem, the so called 'miḥrāb of Sulaymān' under Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah (72/962) (Fehérvári 1993)

Figure 41: The reverse of the so-called 'Miḥrāb and ᴾAnazah' dirhem (Miles 2002)
Figure 42: The miḥrāb at the mosque of Qaṣr al-Ukhayḍar (Shāfiʿī 1970)
Figure 43: The palace of Khirbat al-Mafjar, a piece of mosaic floor containing images of animals (Ettinghausen 2002)

Figure 44: Calligraphic band and mosaic showing floral designs on the arches of the Dome of the Rock (al-Pāsha 1990)
Figure 45: A stone *mihrāb* at Qaṣr al-Mshatta (Shāfiʿī 1970)
Figure 46: A drawing of the pulpit found by Quibble at Saqqara, Egypt (Shāfiʿī 1970)