

THE MINARET  
AND  
ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE MOSQUE IN  
EARLY ISLAM

by

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I

Text

Thesis Presented to the University of Edinburgh  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1964



### Acknowledgement

I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge my gratitude to those who have assisted me in writing this thesis. First of all, I should like to thank my supervisors, Professor D. Talbot Rice, and Professor W. Montgomery Watt whose patience, kindness and encouragement will always be remembered with the deepest gratitude. Their comments on the first draft of this study were extremely helpful and illuminating. My thanks are also due to the University Library of Edinburgh which has given me every possible facility. I must also thank the National Library of Scotland as well as the School of Oriental and African Studies Library for their kind assistance.

## Preface

It is a great pleasure for me to have been given the opportunity by the University of Edinburgh of discussing the early history of the minaret which is one of the most interesting features of Islamic religious architecture, and I hope I shall here be able to reveal some of its qualities.

The aim of this study is to discuss the minaret in early Islam from three stand points: functional, philological and architectural. The mosque is discussed from the functional stand point only in so far as it has any relation with the minaret.

Except for a very few examples, nearly all the early minarets have either vanished or have been replaced by new ones. I have experienced a great difficulty in collecting material about those that have perished, for particulars about them in the sources were rare in comparison with remarks regarding the mosques. Nevertheless, I have attempted to examine all the existing records regarding the early minarets in the western parts of the Islamic world though it has not been possible to deal exhaustively with those of Persia and India.

The present study falls into five chapters:

In Chapter I, I have tried to show why and how the mosques and minarets were built; then I gave accounts of their religious as well as secular roles. In this discussion, I have confined myself primarily to the function of the minaret, but as the mosque and the minaret were virtually a single unit closely affecting one another, I have thought it nec-

essary to discuss the role of the mosque too.

Although I have been mainly concerned with the early period, certain functions of the minaret in later dates, probably having their roots in the early times, have also been considered. Owing to the limited knowledge as to the positive function of the minaret my work here was confronted with numerous difficulties, and it was necessary to spend much time in hunting out statements from a mass of text books. The results achieved have however been classified and presented in this chapter.

Owing to the important relationship between the adhān, the muezzin, and the minaret, I found it desirable to denote a special part of the discussion to each of these, studying their development through the ages. This is the aim of Chapter II.

In Chapter III, I have dealt with the origins of the minaret philologically as well as architecturally. On the philological side, I have consulted the works of many scholars such as Schwally, Fraenkel, Nöeldeke, Hartmann and others. They mostly had little to say on the linguistic side, nor has the question hitherto been studied at all carefully in the light of the mass of material belonging to the sources of the Mediaeval period of history. Concerning the architectural side, I have investigated the evidence regarding the early mosques established by the Muslims with a view to considering whether they had any tower built for the purpose of adhān. I have also dealt with various pre-Islamic towers which the

Muslims might have used as models for their minarets. Books and articles dealing with pre-Islamic architecture such as those of de Vogüe, Butler, Brünnow and Domaszewski, Tchalenko, Watzinger and others have been thoroughly studied. In addition, the literary works I have gone through have provided much material concerning my problem.

In Chapter IV, A, I have studied the early Umayyad minarets in the East - in Iraq, Egypt, and Palestine. Since none of the original minarets is in existence at the present day, I had to depend mainly on text books. Towers of pre-Islamic times which may perhaps have influenced some of those minarets have also been investigated. In section B of this Chapter, I have studied al-Walīd's architectural activities concerning the minarets of Syria and Hijaz. In section C, I have shown how far al-Walīd's successors influenced the minarets of Syria and in Iraq. In addition to the various original texts, I have also consulted more recent books and articles on the subject. Among them, Creswell's books and articles were most important. Others such as those of Sarre and Herzfeld, Marcais, Diez, and Thiersch have also been consulted, and I have also had the opportunity of discussing certain points with Professor Creswell himself.

In Chapter V, A, I have discussed separately the Umayyad minaret in the West - N. Africa and Spain, both with regard to the way in which it started and to the way in which the new soil affected it. I have also dealt with the minarets of N. Africa until Andalusian influence started to affect

them. In Spain, my study has mainly been confined to the Cordova minaret. Mediaeval sources such as those of al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī are of great importance for this area. Then the works of Thiersch, Marcais, Saladin, Kühnel, Basset and Terrasse, Lambert, and many others have also been of assistance. In section B, I have discussed the influence of the Abbasids, and the extent to which the spiral form of minaret was introduced. Three minarets of this kind: those at Samarra and Abū Dulaf, and in the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn at Cairo have been carefully examined, and here I was able to investigate the monuments on the spot in addition to consulting recent publications such as those of Sarre and Herzfeld, Creswell, Marcais, Hautecoeur and Wiet as well as many others mentioned throughout the discussion.

The final section of this thesis consists of a brief Chapter summerising some of the implications of this study.

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
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Transliteration:

The scheme adopted for transliteration of the Arabic letters is the same as that adopted by the Encyclopaedia of Islam, except for ق , ö , ز and the letter ز . They have been transliterated as q, -ah or -at, j, and ch respectively. The diphthong  has been transliterated as iy.

The Arabic words and phrases have been transliterated according to their written form - not pronunciation with the exception of the phrases of the adhān and iqāmah as well as few other phrases. In the case of geographical names, this scheme has not been so rigidly applied.

Abbreviations adopted:

The following abbreviations represent the references which have been often used in this thesis. Diacritical signs, if found, have been omitted from most of these abbreviations.

A. Books and Authors:

A.D.	Abū Dāwūd, <u>Sunan</u>
A.F.	Abū al-Fidā, <u>K. Taqwīm al-Buldān</u>
<u>Aghānī</u>	Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, <u>al-Aghānī</u>
A.M.	Abū al-Mahāsin, <u>al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah</u>
<u>Amida</u>	Berchem and Strzygowsky, <u>Amida</u>
Bak.	Al-Bakrī, <u>K. al-Mughrib</u> ----- <u>Mu. jam ma ista. jam</u>
Bal.	Al-Balādhūrī, <u>Futūh al-buldān</u>
Bukh.	Al-Bukhārī, <u>al-Jāmi. al-ṣaḥīh</u>
Butler, II. A.	Butler, <u>Ancient architecture in Syria, southern Syria.</u>
Butler, II. B.	----- <u>Ancient architecture in Syria, northern Syria.</u>
Dhah	Al-Dhahabī, <u>Tārīkh al-Islām</u>
<u>E.M.A.</u>	Creswell, <u>Early Muslim architecture</u>
<u>Erster</u>	Herzfeld, <u>Erster vorläufiger Bericht</u>
Fas.	Al-Fāsī, <u>Shifā' al-gharam</u>
I.A.	Ibn al-Athīr, <u>al-Kāmil</u> ----- <u>al-Nihāyah fī gharīb</u> <u>al-ḥadīth</u>

I.A.Had.	Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, <u>Thimār al-maqāṣid</u>
I.A.Hak.	Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, <u>Futūḥ Miṣr</u>
I.A.R.	Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, <u>al-ʿIqd al-farīd</u>
I.As.	Ibn ʿAsākir, <u>Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq</u>
I.B.	Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, <u>Tuhfat al-nuzzār etc.</u>
I.D.	Ibn Duqmāq, <u>al-Intiṣār</u>
I.F.	Ibn al-Faqīh, <u>Mukhtaṣar K.al-buldān</u>
I.H.	Ibn Hishām, <u>Sīrah</u>
I.Haj.	Ibn al-Hājj, <u>al-Madkhal</u>
I.Haw.	Ibn Hawqal, <u>al-Masālik wa al-mamālik</u>
I.Id.	Ibn ʿIdhārī, <u>al-Bayān al-mughrib</u>
I.J.	Ibn Jubayr, <u>Rihlah</u>
I.Jaw.	Ibn al-Jawzī, <u>al-Muntaẓam</u>
I.K.	Ibn Kathīr, <u>al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah</u>
I.M.	Ibn Mājah, <u>Sunan al-Muṣṭafā</u>
I.Misk.	Ibn Miskawayh, <u>Tajārub al-umam</u>
I.Mujaw.	Ibn al-Mujāwir, <u>Tārīkh al-mustabsir</u>
I.N.	Ibn al-Najjār, <u>al-Durrah al-thamīnah</u>
I.Qud.	Ibn Qudāmah, <u>al-Mughnī</u>
I.R.	Ibn Rustah, <u>al-Aḥlāq al-nafīṣah</u>
I.S.	Ibn Saʿd, <u>K.al-Tabaqāt al-kabīr</u>
I.Sh.	Ibn Shaddād, <u>al-Aḥlāq al-khaṭīrah</u>
Ist.	Al-Iṣṭakhrī, <u>al-Masālik wa al-mamālik</u>
I.Ukh.	Ibn al-Ukhawwah, <u>Maʿālim al-qurbā</u>
I.W.	Ibn al-Wardī, <u>Kharīdat al-ʿajāʾib</u>

<u>K.al-Fiqh</u>	Wazārat al-awqāf, <u>K.al-Fiqh alā al-madhāhib al-arbaʿah</u>
Khat.Bagh.	Al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, <u>Tārīkh Baghdād</u>
Kind.	Al-Kindī, <u>al-Wulāt wa al-quḍāt</u>
Kutub.	al-Kutubī, <u>Fawāt al-wafayāt</u>
<u>Lisān</u>	Ibn Manzūr, <u>Lisān al-ʿArab</u>
<u>M.A.E.</u>	Creswell, <u>Muslim architecture of Egypt</u>
Maqq.	Al-Maqqarī, <u>Nafḥ al-tīb</u>
Maqr.	Al-Maqrizī, <u>al-sulūk</u> ----- <u>al-Khiṭaṭ</u>
Mas.	Al-Masʿūdī, <u>Murūj al-dhahab</u> ----- <u>al-Tanbīh</u>
<u>Masālik</u>	Al-ʿUmarī, <u>Masālik al-abṣār</u>
<u>Muqad.</u>	Al-Muqaddasī, <u>Aḥsan al-taqāsīm</u>
<u>Muqaddimah</u>	Ibn Khaldūn, <u>Muqaddimat b. Khaldūn li-kitāb al-ʿibar</u>
Mus.	Muslim, <u>Ṣaḥīḥ</u>
<u>Musnad</u>	Ibn Ḥanbal, <u>al-Musnad</u>
<u>Naqā'id</u>	Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, <u>Naqā'id</u>
Nisabur.	Al-Nisābūrī, <u>Tafsīr</u>
Nuway.	al-Nuwayrī, <u>Nihāyat al-arab</u>
<u>Provincia Arabia,</u>	Brünnow and Domaszewski, <u>Provincia Arabia</u>
Q.N.	Qādī Nuʿmān, <u>Daʿā'im al-Islām</u>
Qalq.	Al-Qalqashandī, <u>Ṣubḥ al-aṣḥā</u>
Qast.	Al-Qastallānī, <u>Irshād al-sārī</u>
Qaz.	Qazwīnī, <u>ʿAjā'ib al-makhlūgāt</u> ----- <u>Āthār al-bilād</u>

<u>Rawd al-Qartās</u>	Ibn Abī Zar., <u>al-Anīs al-muṭrib fī rawd al-qartās</u>
<u>S.A.E.M.A.</u>	Creswell, <u>A short account of early Muslim architecture</u>
Samh.	Al-Samhūdī, <u>Wafā' al-wafā</u> ----- <u>Khulāṣat wafā' al-wafā</u>
Shaw.	Al-Shawkanī, <u>Nayl al-awṭār</u>
S. I. Jaw.	Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī, <u>Mir'āt al-zamān</u>
Suy.	Al-Suyūṭī, <u>Husn al-muḥāḍarah</u>
Tab.	Al-Tabarī, <u>Tārīkh</u> ----- <u>Tafsīr</u>
<u>Tāj.</u>	Al-Zabīdī, <u>Tāj al-arūs</u>
Tir.	Al-Tirmidhī, <u>Ṣaḥīḥ</u>
<u>Al-Umm</u>	Al-Shāfi'ī, <u>K.al-Umm</u>

B. Periodicals, series, encyclopaedias etc.

<u>A.I.</u>	<u>Ars Islamica</u>
<u>A.K.G.W.G.</u>	<u>Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</u>
<u>Alt. O.</u>	<u>Der alte Orient</u>
<u>A.M.</u>	<u>The arts of mankind</u>
<u>A.O.</u>	<u>Ars Orientalis</u>
<u>B.C.A.B.U.</u>	<u>Bulletin of the college of Arts - Baghdad University</u>
<u>B.F.A.C.U.</u>	<u>Bulletin of the faculty of arts - Cairo University</u>
<u>B.F.E.C.U.</u>	<u>Bulletin of the faculty of engineering - Cairo University</u>
<u>B.G.A.</u>	<u>Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum</u> ed. M.J. de Goeje
<u>B.M.</u>	<u>Burlington magazine</u>
<u>B.S.O.(A.)S.</u>	<u>Bulletin of the school of Oriental and African studies</u>
<u>C.G.S.</u>	<u>Cambridge geographical series</u>
<u>C.S.M.</u>	<u>Die Chroniken der Stadt Mecca (Leipzig 1858-61) ed. Wüstenfeld, F.</u>

<u>D.M.S.</u>	<u>Dā'irat ma'ārif al-sha'b</u>
<u>D.O.P.</u>	<u>Dumberton oaks papers</u>
<u>E.B.</u>	<u>Encyclopaedia Britannica</u>
<u>E.I./1</u>	<u>Encyclopaedia of Islam (1st ed.)</u>
<u>E.I./2</u>	<u>Encyclopaedia of Islam (2nd ed.)</u>
<u>G.B.</u>	<u>Der grosse Brock</u>
<u>G.B.A.</u>	<u>Gazette beaux - arts</u>
<u>G.M.S.</u>	<u>Gibb memorial series</u>
<u>G.O.S.</u>	<u>Gaekward's Oriental series</u>
<u>H.A.</u>	<u>Handbuch der Architektur</u>
<u>H.K.</u>	<u>Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft</u>
<u>I.C.</u>	<u>Islamic culture</u>
<u>I.R.</u>	<u>Islamic Review</u>
<u>J.A.</u>	<u>Journal Asiaticque</u>
<u>J.A.O.S.</u>	<u>Journal of the Americal Oriental society</u>
<u>J.R.A.S.</u>	<u>Journal of the royal Asiatic society</u>
<u>J.R.I.B.A.</u>	<u>Journal of the royal institute of the British architects</u>
<u>J.R.S.</u>	<u>Journal of Roman studies</u>
<u>K.O.</u>	<u>Die Kunst des Osten</u>
<u>M.K.</u>	<u>Majallat al-kitāb</u>
<u>M.M.I.A.D.</u>	<u>Majallat al-majma' al-'ilmī al-'Arabī bi-Dimashq</u>
<u>M.T.M.</u>	<u>Al-Majallah al-tārikhiyah al-Miṣriyah</u>
<u>O.T.F.</u>	<u>Oriental translation fund</u>
<u>P.B.</u>	<u>Penguin books</u>
<u>P.B.A.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the British academy</u>
<u>P.E.F.Q.S.</u>	<u>Palestine exploration fund, quarterly statement</u>
<u>P.P.T.S.</u>	<u>Palestine pilgrim's text society</u>
<u>R.A.</u>	<u>Revue Africaine</u>
<u>R.D.S.O.</u>	<u>Revista degli studi Orientali</u>
<u>R.Q.H.</u>	<u>Revue des questions historiques</u>
<u>S.E.I.</u>	<u>Shorter encyclopaedia of Islam</u>
<u>S.N.S.</u>	<u>Story of nations series</u>
<u>S.O.C.L.G.E.</u>	<u>Seriei operum cura legati de Geoje editorum institute Francas de Damas, Collection de textes Orientaux</u>
<u>S.P.A.</u>	<u>A Survey of Persian art, ed. A.U. Pope</u>
<u>T.R.A.A.H.M.</u>	<u>Thalāth rasā'il Andalusiyah fi adab al-hisbah wa al-muhtasib</u>
<u>Y.O.S.</u>	<u>Yale Oriental series</u>
<u>Z.A.</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</u>
<u>Z.D.M.G.</u>	<u>Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</u>

CHAPTER I  
THE PLACE OF THE MOSQUE AND THE MINARET IN THE  
ISLAMIC STATE

Religious buildings played an important role in regulating the way of life of the Muslim people, and in the development of their culture. It was natural, therefore, that Muslim societies should pay great attention to such buildings.

I will venture now to discuss the part played by the mosque and the minaret in the life of the Muslim people, paying particular attention to their religious, political, and social significances as well as their role in education.

A. Why and How the mosques and minarets were built.

1. The attitude of Islam towards building places of worship.

At the very beginning of Islam, it was regarded as a pious work and an obligation to God to build a mosque. This is referred to in many traditions of the Prophet's sayings, e.g. "For him who built a mosque, God will build a home in Paradise" (1) as well as in verses of the Qur'an, e.g.

"It is not for the polytheist to manage God's places of worship, giving evidence of unbelief against themselves; the works of such are not of avail, and in the fire they abide. They only shall manage God's places of worship who have believed in God and the Last Day, have established the prayer, and have feared nothing but God; possibly such will be among those who are rightly guided". (2)

- 
- (1) Bukhārī, al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ, I, p.124; Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ, V, p.14; Tirmidhī, Ṣaḥīḥ, II, pp.115f. Ibn Mājah, Sunan al-Muṣṭafā, I, pp.129,249f; cf. Ibn 'Asākir, Tārīkh Madīnat Dīmashq, II/1, pp.54f.
- (2) IX, 17-18, Bell's translation. See also X<sup>IV</sup>, 36-37; cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Hadī, Thimar al-maqasid fī tarīkh al-masājid, p.166.

Such verses encouraged people to undertake pious benefactions, and such words were often engraved on mosques and minarets (1). Since this act was a religious obligation, people shared and co-operated in building, and undertook the work as a labour of love. They did so following the example of the Prophet when he built the Qubā' mosque and his mosque at Medina (2). The same was the case with regard to the building of minarets (3).

## 2. Motives for building mosques and minarets.

It is evident that tribal mosques were established in very early times, and grew to greater importance as time went on (4). After the Prophet's death, his memory became very precious to his followers and they endeavoured to go to all places which the Prophet had visited or prayed in (5), and very soon mosques began to be built in all those places (6). Many mosques were also

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- (1) Cf. C.I.A., II, Syrie du nord, I, 1-2, pp.130, 179, 223, 374.
- (2) Ibn Sa'd K.al-ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr, III/1, p.180; Bukh., I, pp.123f; Samhūdī, Wafā' al-wafā' bi-akhbār dār al-Muṣṭafā, II, p.24.
- (3) Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, Futūḥ Miṣr wa akhbārahā, p.131; Ibn Duqmaq, al-Intiṣār li-wasīṭat 'iqd al-amṣār, IV, p.62; Maqrīzī, Khiṭaṭ, I, p.301.
- (4) I.S., I/1, p.6; Maqr., II, p.264; Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-buldān, pp.3,285; Ṭabarī, Tarīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk, I, p.1704, II, pp91,532,670,734,918,1687, III, p.2509.
- (5) Samh., II, pp.31ff.
- (6) Ibn Hishām, Sīrah, p.872; Bakrī, Mu'jam mā ista'jam, pp.170, 191, 282 etc.; Bukh., I, pp.132ff; Samh., II, pp.162ff, 177f.

established along the roads on which the Prophet had passed during his military expeditions (1). Later on minarets were attached to several of them (2). Even parts of mosques in which the Prophet used to perform his prayers were accorded particular sanctity (3). Just as these places were associated with the Prophet, many others had reference to his family or his companions (4). Other mosques were even associated with Prophets who had existed before Islam (5).

Individuals also wanted to leave memorials to themselves, and they thought that the construction of mosques and other religious buildings would be best means of glorifying themselves, and their reign (6). When Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik found that magnificent building such as the Dome of the Rock which commemorated the name of ʿAbd al-Malik, or the Damascus Mosque praised that of al-Walīd I, he wanted something similar for himself, and therefore he built his famous mosque at Ramla (7). Similar

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- (1) I.H., p.907; Bak., p.559, Samh., II, pp.180ff; Wüstenfeld, Die von Medina auslaufenden Hauptstrassen, pp.3-48.
- (2) See chapter IV, Sec. B. of this thesis.
- (3) Samh., II, p.24.
- (4) Bak., p.681; Muqaddasī, Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm, p.102; Abū al-Fidā, K.taqwīm al-buldān, p.191.
- (5) I.D., IV, pp.92, 128, 129; Masʿūdī, Murūj al-dhahab wa maʿādin al-jawhar, IV, p.77; I.As., II/1, pp.80, 85.
- (6) Maqr., II, p.62, cf. ʿUmarī, Masālik al-absār, I, p.192.
- (7) Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-buldān, II, p.818.

ambitions led the caliphs to look outside their capitals, and to build mosques in remote parts of the empire, and to record their names on those buildings (1). Such buildings in distant places also implied a recognition of the central governments' authorities (2). In spite of the fact that the names of founders were recorded on the buildings, people, sometimes, did not recognise those new patrons, but continued to call the buildings by the names of their original builders (3).

It was thus for reasons of religion as well as for secular reasons that rulers and individuals built mosques in widely separated places.

The money of the Khums (the fifth of the spoils) was regarded as the purest money that could be used in building mosques; and prayers said in those mosques were considered particularly affective (4). When the governors of al-Walīd I informed him that the state treasuries were filled by these funds, he ordered that mosques should be built with the excess of the money (5).

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(1) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh, III, p.107.

(2) Cf. Ibn al-Faqīh, Mukhtaṣar K. al-buldān, p.269; Yaq., III, p.213; I.A., VII, p.61.

(3) Muqad., p.411.

(4) Al-Marrākushī, al-Muʿjib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-Maghrib, pp.372f.

(5) I.A. Hak., p.132.

Building mosques was considered as fard kifayah(1)(communal obligation), but in spite of that, each family, or sometimes each member of the family wanted to build a mosque individually (2) and considerable numbers of mosques were erected in most cities and villages (3). Despite the exaggeration of some of the estimates, they serve to give an idea, as to the great number of the mosques which were built.

The assembly prayer (ṣalāt al-jamā'ah), which expressed support of the community, was much encouraged by Islam. The daily prayer which was performed individually became especially meritorious when it was performed in the assembly (4). The common people considered the most important mosque in their area to be that with the largest congregation, followed in importance by that established at an early date (5).

In the early days of Islam people held their Friday prayers in one mosque in the city called the mosque of congregation (masjid al-jamā'ah). Muslims were indeed recommended to gather there for that purpose (6). When new towns were founded during 'Umar I's reign, the caliph ordered his governors in Kūfa, Basra, and Fustāṭ to build a congregational mosque in each

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- (1) I.A. Had., p.179; cf. Watt, Muslim Intellectual, p.113.  
 (2) Yaq., I, p.719, III, pp.409, 410; Ibn Hawqal, al-Masālik wa al-mamalik, p.84.  
 (3) I.D., IV, p.92; A.F., p.175.  
 (4) Bukh., I, pp.131, 171, 225, 230, 236, II, p.21; Mus., V, pp. 151ff; Tir., II, p.15; Bahshal, Tarikh Wasit, pp.165f.  
 (5) Cf. I.A., p.184.  
 (6) Qur'an, LXII, 9.

city, as well as mosques for the tribes, but they had to gather in the assembly mosque for Friday prayers (1). ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ forbade holding Friday prayers in the villages of Egypt except in that of al-Fuṣṭāṭ (2). When the Muslims became more numerous so that a single assembly mosque in each city was inadequate, additional mosques were built (3). These Friday's mosques had great importance and were known by different names which changed through the ages (4). The name of the minaret was derived from that of the mosque to which it was attached (5). On account of the importance of the congregational mosque, its name overcame the name of the market (sūq jāmiʿah) (6), the village (qaryah jāmiʿah) (7), and the city (madīnah jāmiʿah) (8). Since the Friday's mosque was a place of assembly, it tended to become large in size, the streets which led to it were widened,

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(1) I.As., II/1, pp.94f.

(2) Maqr., II, pp.244, 247, 270; cf. Tab., II, p.532.

(3) Iṣṭakhrī, Masālik al-mamālik, pp.49,82; Ibn Rustah, al-Aḥḥādīth al-nafīṣah, p.187; A.F., p.133; Muqad., p.117.

(4) Pedersen, art. "Masdjid", E.I/1, p.327.

(5) Ibn Khaldūn, Muqaddimah, p.21.

(6) Bakrī, K.al-mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifrīqīyah wa al-Maghrib, pp. 3, 7, 54, 87.

(7) Op.cit., p.2; Bukh., I, p.229.

(8) I. Haw., P.321.

especially those which were used by the retinues of the caliph who attended prayers in the mosque (1). Such mosques had to start the adhān first, and the others had to follow suit when it had finished in the first (2). Special mosques were allotted to the schools of each rite of Islam (3), and it sometimes happened that more than one group shared each mosque (4).

When the minaret was introduced, the main mosque of some cities had more than one as was the case in 'Amr's mosque in Fustāṭ which had four (5). Several other mosques had four (6) or even more (7), but in general, most of the mosques had single ones. In cases where a mosque had more than one minaret, each was assigned for special religious duty, such as adhān, tas'hīr, tawqīt (8). The caliphs also set out to build tall minarets in the conquered countries (9) for prop<sup>o</sup>gating their pious qualities to the common people, no doubt. The founders

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(1) Ma'arūf and Dūrī, Mūjaz tārikh al-ḥadārah al-'Arabīyah, p.118; Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-udabā', II, p.349; cf. Mas., VIII, p.2.

(2) Kindī, al-Wulāt wa al-quḍāt, p.39; Maqr., II, p.270.

(3) Cf. I.A. Had., p.159; Muqad., pp.182,358f; I.As., II/1, p.68.

(4) I.Haw., pp.65f; Muqad., p.102.

(5) Maqr., II, p.248.

(6) I.R., p.70; Ibn al-Najjār, al-Durrah al-thamīnah fī tārikh al-Madīnah, p.373; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-farīd, VII, p.298.

(7) Fāsī, Shifā' al-gharām bi-akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām, I, pp.240, 241f.

(8) Samh., I, pp.374, 375, 455; Fas., I, p.241.

(9) Ibn al-Mujawir, Tārikh al-mustabsir, p.257; al-Iṣfahānī, Aghānī, XIII, p.25.

of mosques paid a great attention to the construction of the minarets. They were lavishly decorated and admirably designed. The care lavished on them was greater than that given to the mosque itself, and a proverb recorded by Ibn al-Mujāwir, "Do not look at the tallness of the minaret, but look at the mosque" (1), may express that position. Constant references to the height of the minarets are to be found in the mediaeval sources: a tall minaret, a minaret in the extreme of height, lofty minaret, a tall graceful minaret and other expressions (2). The founders were also described as the builders of the "tall minarets" (3). The tall minaret often gave an identity to the mosque which distinguished it from others which also had minarets (4), or the presence of a minaret served to identify a mosque from one which did not have any (5). Their height was expressed by poets as resembling the height of the stars (6), and the position of the minaret was expressed in concise statements (7). The question of the height of the minaret was also important for those who lived far from the mosques so that they could hear the adhān or

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(1) Op.cit., p.98.

(2) Muqad., pp.425,437; A.F., p.281; Ibn Battūṭah, Tuhfat al-nuẓẓār fī gharā'ib al-amsār wa 'ajā'ib al-asfār, I, p.231.

(3) Yāqūt, Mu'jam, III, p;249.

(4) Ya'qūbī, K.al-buldān, (BGA) p.15.

(5) I.A. Hak., pp.119, 120.

(5) Yaq., II, p.313; Ibn Shaddād, al-A'lāq al-khaṭīrah, I/1,p.37.

(7) Cf. A.F., p.359; Muqad., pp.432,463; Bak., pp.5,28.

see the muezzin's signal.

### 3. Inscriptions and embellishments:

The founders of mosques and minarets were anxious to have their names recorded on the monuments they built. The first to inscribe his name on a minaret was Maslamah b. Mukhallad when he built the minarets of 'Amr's mosque at Cairo (1). The statement "the blessed minaret", in addition to other blessings were often recorded on later minarets (2). Many minarets have suffered from the effects of bad weather, earthquakes and fires (3); and such events were recorded on the buildings after their restoration (4).

A favourite form of inscriptions was: It was built with the aid of the founder's own money (5); by the favour of God (6), and with the grace of God (7), or from what God had given (8), and other expressions. Many expressions were used to glorify the mosque such as: The blessed mosque (9), the happy the blessed (10), the inhabitation of the blessed (11), the holy (12),

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- (1) I.D., IV, p.62; Abū al-Mahāsin, al-Nujūm al-zāhirah, I, p.60; Samh., I, p.374.  
 (2) C.I.A., I, Egypte, I/1, pp.47,48,188, I/2, p.598; II, Syrie du sud, I/1-2, p.173.  
 (3) Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam fī tarīkh al-mulūk wa al-umam, IX, pp.14,15; Maqrizi, K.al-suluk fī ma'rifat duwal al-muluk, I/3, p.944; Khitat, II,p.278; I.Sh., I/1,p.35.  
 (4) C.I.A., I, Egypte, I/1, pp.131,132.  
 (5) Op.cit., p.172.  
 (6) Op.cit., p.172, I/2, pp.424,510,511.  
 (7) Op.cit., I/1, p.198.  
 (8) Op.cit., p.172; cf. Qur'an, LIX, 6-7; Masālik, I, p.198.  
 (9) Op.cit., I/1, pp.121,172,195.  
 (10) Op.cit., I/2, p.510.  
 (11) C.I.A., Syrie du nord, I/1-2, pp.44, 192.  
 (12) Op.cit., p.365.

and so on. It was often recorded on monuments that the purpose of building the mosque was to gain the approval of God, and to manifest the strength of religion, or as a thanks giving for the gift of God. Verses from the Qur'<sup>ān</sup>, the traditions of the Prophet or religious proverbs and poetry were inscribed on the walls of the mosque and on the minarets (1).

The names of the architects and carpenters were also recorded on some of the buildings (2). It was however not the usual practice for the architect's name to be inscribed on a religious building. Some of the reasons which may explain why the names of architects were not inscribed on mosques and minarets may be that the execution of the work was generally entrusted to foremen, that the founder preferred to have his own name inscribed rather than that of the architect, that the recording of names on religious buildings was not universally approved of, for those who had their names inscribed were not regarded as truly pious (3), and probably because some of the architects were Christians, and it was not permitted to inscribe Christian names on Muslim religious buildings (4).

Caliphs and rulers vied with one another in enlarging, restoring, or adding new buildings in the three sacred Mosques in

(1) Cf. I.F., p.161.

(2) Al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, Tārīkh Baghdād, I, p.108; cf. Maqr., II, p.250.

(3) Cf. Qāsim, al-Mazārāt al-Islāmiyah, I, p.193.

(4) Lane, Modern Egyptians, p.578, n.l., Hauteceur and Wiet, Le Mosquées du Caire, I, p.120.

Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. Their names were recorded on the buildings for which they were responsible (1). In spite of the fact that the Prophet's mosque became a model for the mosques built after it, it was not permissible to imitate the Sacred Mosque in Mecca (2). Other mosques were imitated in their decorations only (3). Minarets, however, were also taken as models for others built in other countries such as those of Samarra and Tabrīz(4).

The early mosques were architecturally simple, and had little decoration. The Prophet's mosque was of this type, simple and lacking all ornaments. Other early mosques similarly followed the example of the Prophet's. Any attempt to bring about a change was not encouraged by either Abū Bakr or ʿUmar (5). In ʿUthmān's reign, the situation was completely different. The military expansion was not of the same extent as before. Most of the Muslims who were forbidden by ʿUmar I to settle in the conquered countries, had adopted a settled life, and lived luxuriously (6). The mosques, however, always received their great attention. ʿUthmān himself enlarged and decorated the Prophet's mosque at Medina (7). The most important changes in that mosque were however made in the time of

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- (1) I.D., IV, pp.68f; Fas., I, p.220; Masālik, I, pp.125f; Samh., I, pp.374, 379, 382.  
 (2) Cf. Tab., I, p.2489.  
 (3) Maqr., II, p.267.  
 (4) Op.cit., II, p.267, 307.  
 (5) Cf. Tab., I, pp.2487ff.  
 (6) Maqr., II, p.259.  
 (7) Bal., p.6; Ibn Hanbal, Musnad, IX, p.10; Bukh., I, p.123; Yaq., IV, p.465; I.A., III, p.79.

Umar II (706/707 A.D.) during his rule of Medina in al-Walīd I's reign (1). Other mosques were richly decorated such as Amr's mosque in Fustāṭ or the mosque of al-Qayrawān. The Dome of the Rock, and the Great Mosque of Damascus, as well as others were also richly ornamented. The minarets, however, were another field on which exquisite ornamentation could be set. The northern minaret in the Damascus Mosque was gracefully ornamented, and for this reason, it was called the Minaret of the Bride (2).

Traditions attributed to the Prophet forbade the decoration of mosques (3), but the <sup>authenticity</sup> ~~accuracy~~ of these traditions is doubtful. If we look at the examples of texts dating from the early days of Islam, two important cases are to be found regarding the Prophet's mosque. The first is its enlargement and decoration by Uthmān b. Affān, and the second is that of Umar b. Abd al-Azīz. (4). Both of the two caliphs were known for their piety, and their religious qualities, and if there were such traditions, they would surely not have done what they did. In addition, there is nothing in the Qur'an that can be interpreted as discouraging or forbidding decoration. On the con-  
(5)  
trary, some of its verses would seem to encourage that practice,

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(1) Samh., I, p. 371; I.R., pp. 69, 71; Bal., pp. 6f.

(2) Maqr., II, pp. 248, 316, 379f., Masālik, I, p. 94; I.Sh., I, p. 322.

(3) Bukh., I, p. 123; I.M., I, p. 250.

(4) See Chapter III, B.1., and Chapter IV, B.2.

(5) Qur'an, VII, 32.

while other verses referring to the houses and trees of Paradise (1) might be interpreted as encouraging the processes of architecture and decoration (2). However, it seems that such traditions grew up in the Umayyad period in order to halt the extravagant life of the Umayyads which had till then been unusual to the Arabs. When al-Walīd I finished his mosque at Damascus, people did not approve of the large sums which had been spent on it, though they eventually acknowledged the quality of its decoration. Till that time, no objections had been raised with regard to the decoration, but rather with regard to expenditure on the building (3). Abū Ḥanīfah did not forbid the decoration of the mosque (4), and Mālik disapproved only of the decoration of the qiblah. (5)

Nevertheless, in spite of the rich decorations in the mosque, any representation of human beings and animals was vigorously banned (6). The interesting thing is that even records of endowments of the mosques, curses were called upon those who executed drawings of creatures near the mosque, or showed them there or even if they produced drawings for sale (7); rare exceptions however occurred (8). This hatred of representing live creatures in religious buildings, or even in books,

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(1) Qur'an, XXIX, 58; XXXIX, 20.

(2) Some of those who made the mosaic designs in the Prophet's mosque said that they made them after the models of Paradise's trees and palaces. I.N., pp.372f.; Samh, I, pp.484f.

(3) Qazwīnī, K. āthār al-bilād, p.127; Dhahabī, Tārīkh al-Islām, III, p.238.

(4) Qāsim, op.cit., I, p.26f.

(5) As quoted by Ibn al-Ḥajj, Madkhal, II, p.214.

(6) I.R., p.69; Samh, I, p.368; Yaq., II, p.590f.

(7) C.I.A., II, Syrie du nord I/1-2, p.361.

(8) Qaz., pp.123f.

(1)  
was associated with many traditions attributed to the Prophet. This might have been done as an Islamic reaction against worshipping idols - Heathenism.

As a result of those traditions, the artist was compelled to concentrate his skill on abstract designs . but that did not prevent those designs from being subsequently damaged in many mosques (2). The same happened to pictures in manuscripts (3). When a fire broke out in the Prophet's mosque, al-Qastallānī insisted that the cause of the fire was the ornamentation of which the Prophet did not approve (4).

The expenses (5) lavished on building and decorating mosques, which were of no great use for the people gave rise to some opposition. In many cases, the caliphs invented legends in order to disguise the sources from which money had been drawn to build the mosque. For example, when Ibn Ṭūlūn finished his mosque, the people were suspicious as to the source from which the money had come for the building, and they refused to pray in it. Ibn Ṭūlūn, therefore, ascended the minbar, and assured them that the mosque was built thanks to a treasure which had been found on the hill of Yashkur and he reported that the ushārī on the minaret had been found in that treasure too (6).

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(1) About the question of the lawfulness of painting in Islam, See Creswell, IMA, I, pp.269ff, and the references he referred to.

(2) I.A. Had., p.182.

(3) Arnold, Painting in Islam, pp.46,47, ill.7.

(4) As quoted by Haykal, Fi Manzil al-Wahī, pp.46lf.

(5) I. As., II/1,p.35; I.Sh., I/1,p.65; Qaz.,p.258; Maqqarī, Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghusn al-Andalus al-raṭīb, I,p.308,II, p.83;Bak.,p.24.

(6) I.D., IV,p.123; cf. Maqr., II,pp.265,455.

The truth possibly is that Ibn Tūlūn retained sufficient funds for the work as a result of his refusal to send the revenue to the Caliphate at Baghdad in 259/873. Many similar legends are recorded (1).

#### 4. Non-Muslim religious places:

Many of the sacred places sanctified by other religions were recognized and used by the Muslims especially those associated with the Biblical personalities who had been accepted by Islam (2). In the conquered cities, the Christians often agreed to convert a quarter (3), a half (4), or the whole (5) of certain churches into a mosque. Ruined churches were transformed into mosques (6), and synagogues were also altered (7). In some places, mosques were set up next to the church of the city (8). Ibn Ḥabbās used to pray in the churches except in those of them in which there were images (9). ḤAmr b. al-ḤĀs did the same in a church in Egypt (10). Building materials, especially

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- (1) Maqr., I, p. 380, II, p. 406; I. Mujaw., p. 120; Creswell, op.cit., II, p. 336.  
 (2) Cf. Mas., I, p. 91.  
 (3) Kurd, Alī, K. khiṭaṭ al-Shām, VI, p. 45; cf. K. al-Istibsār, p. 142.  
 (4) Bal., pp. 125f., Muqad., p. 156; I. Haw., p. 244; Maqq., II, pp. 96f., 156; Yaq., II, p. 59.  
 (5) Yaq., I, p. 719; I. A. Had., p. 109.  
 (6) I. As., II/1, p. 69.  
 (7) I. A. Had., p. 73.  
 (8) Ist., p. 188; A. F., p. 397; I. A. Had., p. 71.  
 (9) Bukh., I, p. 120; cf. p. 183.  
 (10) Maqr., II, p. 247.

columns, taken from the churches were used in the construction of mosques (1). Legends were associated with some of the most precious columns, which were believed to be related to the throne of Bilqīs, the Queen of Sheba (2). Some of the Muslims protested against this practice, and refrained from attending prayers in mosques where such materials had been used (3). Church-towers were also used as minarets when the Muslims conquered Damascus (14/635) (4).

Many of the ancient sites were attributed to Solomon (5), and were thus regarded as holy, and were used by the Muslims. At Iṣṭakhr, a mosque was built on the site of one of the fire-temples, which was supposed to have been the temple of Solomon (6). The mosque at Delhi had also been a temple (7). But although the habit of converting such places into mosques was wide spread, a muezzin and an imām were punished in the reign

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- (1) Muqad., p.165; Tab., III, p.2492; I.Sh., I/1, pp.31f.  
 (2) I.Sh., I/1, pp.38, 64; I.K., IX, p.148; K.al-Istibṣar, p.114  
 (3) I.D., IV, p.127.  
 (4) Hasan, Funun al-Islām, p.144; Creswell, art. "The evolution of the minaret with special reference to Egypt", B.M., XLVII, (1926), p.297.  
 (5) I.R., p.117; Qaz., pp.97, 99; Idrīsī, Ṣifat al-Maghrīb wa ard al-Sūdān wa Miṣr wa al-Andalus, pp.140f.  
 (6) Mas., IV, pp.77; Yaq., I, p.99., Stein, Old routes of Western Iran, pp.161f; Hass, Iran, p.207, Frye, The Heritage of Persia, p.84.  
 (7) I.B., III, p.151.

of al-Mu'tasim (862 A.D.) because they converted a "house of idols" into a mosque (1). Similarly, minarets were also built either on a heathen site (2), or with heathen materials (3). Such action was considered to have achieved the satisfaction of God (4).

B. The religious significance of the mosque and minaret:

1. The impact of the three Sacred Mosques:

The history of the mosque showed an increasing tendency towards sanctity as time progressed. The expression "Bayt Allāh" (the House of God) which was at first only used for the Ka'bah, became applied to any mosque (5).

Before Islam, the Ka'bah was a very important religious centre in Arabia. It was there that the idols were collected and the pilgrimage thither became the most important religious rite of the Arab. The sanctuary retained its religious position till it became the holiest place in Islam. It is the "House

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- (1) Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah, X, p.292; cf. Yūnīnī, Dhayl mirāt al-zamān, I, p.553; I.A., VI, p.365.  
 (2) Qaz., p.65; Yaq., IV, p.337.  
 (3) I.Sh., I/1, p.34; Ibn Waṣīl, Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyub, I, p.20.  
 (4) Yūnīnī, op.cit., I, p.553; I.Sh., I/1, p.34.  
 (5) Qur'an, IX, 17-18, XXIV, 36-37; Nisaburī, Tafsīr gharā'ib al-Qur'ān, I, pp.369.

of God" (1), also called the "Old House" (2), and Mecca and the Ka'bah were both associated with the story of Abraham (3). Towards it, the Muslims direct their faces while praying (4), and there they performed their pilgrimage (5). This sanctuary was referred to in the Qur'ān in many places, on account of its sanctity and its position among the Muslims (6).

For the religious place of the Ka'bah, attempts to supplant its importance were made before Islam (7). At an early stage in the Islamic history, it was also recorded that 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān built the Dome of the Rock as a substitute for the Ka'bah, when Mecca was held by his rival Ibn al-Zubayr (8). It may however be questioned whether this was true or not, since from the beginning, the Muslims sanctified the Ka'bah, and many traditions related that rituals performed in the Ka'bah were many times more blessed than those done outside it. Even to look at a part of the building was regarded as meritorious (9). For this reason, people were not encouraged

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- (1) Qur'ān, XXII, 26.  
 (2) Op.cit., XXII, 33.  
 (3) Op.cit., II, 125-127.  
 (4) Op.cit., II, 144.  
 (5) Op.cit., II, 196.  
 (6) Op.cit., II, 191, 217, V, 12, VIII, 34-35, IX, 7, 18-19, 28, XVII, 1, XLVIII, 27.  
 (7) Bak., Mu'jam, p.367; Qaz., pp.34, 77, 221, Batanūnī, al-Rihlah al-Hijaziyah, pp.128ff; Scott, The High Yemen, pp.213f.  
 (8) Ya'qūbī, Tārīkh, II, p.311.  
 (9) Qaz., p.74.

to build sanctuaries similar to the Ka'bah, or to attempt to improve on it (1). If any one desired to build a similar sanctuary, or to decorate a mosque with materials used in the Ka'bah, he would be suspected of seeking to imitate the Ka'bah. It is also recorded that when Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz wanted to cover the decoration of the Damascus mosque with tiles - a material used in the Ka'bah, he was told that that action would be an imitation of the Ka'bah (2). It was suspected of al-Mansūr, who hallowed the three sanctuaries at Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem (3), that he wanted to depreciate the Ka'bah when he built his Green Dome at Baghdad (4). Therefore, for 'Abd al-Malik to build such a magnificent building as the Dome of the Rock, the condition of which was very similar to the Ka'bah, would undoubtedly arouse the suspicion that it was done in imitation of the Ka'bah. It is improbable that 'Abd al-Malik introduced this alteration and changed one of the principal rites of Islam. That suspicion might well have been put forward by the opponents of the Umayyads.

Gifts were dedicated to the Ka'bah from the time of the Prophet onward (5). Caliphs and rulers competed in sending presents to the Sacred Places, and in looking after them (6).

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(1) Cf. Tab., I, 2489.

(2) I.As., II/1, p.44.

(3) Tab., III, p.129.

(4) I.A., V, p.404.

(5) I.F., p.20; Tab. II, p.1234; Batanūnī, op.cit., pp.133f.

(6) Tab., II, 1234; Pāshā, Mirāt al-Haramayn, I, p.452.

Additional buildings were erected and renovations were executed. Many rulers built minarets especially at Mecca (1).

The Sacred Mosque in Mecca, the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, and the Aqṣā Mosque in Jerusalem were considered to be the holiest places of Islam (2). The polytheists were not allowed to enter the Ka'bah (3). To learn or to teach in the Prophet's Mosque was considered as equivalent to jihād (4). Merits were also associated with certain sites in the mosque (5), and Medina itself became as holy as Mecca (6). The Aqṣā Mosque was always considered the third among the three sanctuaries (7).

2. The sanctity of mosques, and Reactions against additional constructions:

Another mosque in Medina namely Qubā', was highly recommended (8), and was believed that a prayer in it was worth a umrah (9) (visit to Mecca). The mosque of Kūfa was also elevated to the level of those mosques at a later date, and it was also regarded as of exceptional merit (10). Many other

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- (1) Fas., I, p.241; Samh., I, pp.374, 375.  
 (2) Bukh., I, p.466; Mus., IX, pp.167f.  
 (3) Qur'an, IX, 28; Mus., IX, pp.115f.  
 (4) Samh., I, p.301.  
 (5) Op.cit., I, pp.302f; I.S., I/2; pp.10,12; Mus. IX,pp.161ff.  
 (6) Mus., IX, p.134.  
 (7) Qur'an, XVIII, 1; Samh., I, p.295, II, p.19; I.A. Had.,p.183.  
 (8) Mus., IX, pp.169ff.  
 (9) I.N., p.379.  
 (10) I.F., p.173f; Yaq., IV, p.325.

mosques in different places such as that of al-Qayrawān (1), that of Damascus (2), al-Manṣūr's mosque (3) at Baghdad, and others (4) acquired great holiness and sanctity.

Religious buildings had their influence on the people, and it was held that an oath taken in them must be kept, and that breaking it would lead to catastrophe (5). Of one particular minaret in Baṣra, Hamd Allāh Mustawfī records that if a person went there, and conjured it with an oath in the name of the Caliph 'Alī, and shall cry out, "Let the minaret tremble (if this be the truth, and if not) let it be still", (6), it would act accordingly. Trembling minarets were also to be found in Egypt (7) and in Al-Andalus (8).

The dedication of children to serve in a mosque was practiced in Islam. The custom was usual in other religions, and it might have been introduced to Islam through ~~Christian~~ *pre-Islamic* influence (9).

In some mosques relics were preserved which were said to belong to companions of the Prophet and because of those relics, miracles were associated with those mosques (10). The use of

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- (1) Cf. Anthony, About Tunisia, pp.155, 156; Hammerton, Tunisia unveiled, p.98.  
 (2) I.K., IX, p.157; I.A. Had., p.183.  
 (3) I.K., X, p.102.  
 (4) I.F., p.174; I.B., II, p.141.  
 (5) Cf. Tab., II, p.88; Watt, Muhammad at Medina, p.314.  
 (6) Nuz'hat al-Qulub, p.38; cf. I.B., II, pp.10ff.  
 (7) Maqr., I, pp.203f., 226.  
 (8) I.B., II, p.13.  
 (9) Qur'an, III, 35-36; Bukh., I, p.126.  
 (10) Qaz., p.342; I. Mujaw., p.92; cf. Tab., I, p.2408; Pope, art, "Islamic Architecture", in S.P.A., II, p.908.

some of the mosque's property or the drinking some of its water was believed to be a means of curing a patient (1). Certain mosques were used for invocations on a certain day of the year, such as that of 'Arafah, when the people stood in the court of the mosques of Jerusalem, Damascus and others, bare-headed, praying with their imāms (2). Such practice was also resorted to in times of drought or of misfortune of any kind (3).

Some parts of the mosque which were introduced after the Prophet's death were rejected by the people and jurists. Some Islamic states rejected building minarets in their mosques saying that it was not the practice of the Prophet (4). Despite the fact that many minarets were pulled down owing to the misbehaviour of muezzins (5), there is no evidence that such action was done for its being not the practice of the Prophet. This would indicate that the minaret was generally accepted by the Muslims, and becoming an important part in the mosque. Other parts faced similar criticism. The maqṣūrah which, according

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(1) I.D., IV, pp.74f.

(2) I.B., I, pp.243f.

(3) Cf. Tab., III, p.2163; I.K., XIII, p.13; Ibn 'Idhārī, al-Bayan al-mughrib, I, p.237.

(4) I. Haw., p.321; cf. Balgrave, Central and eastern Arabia, I, pp.256f.

(5) See the social importance of this chapter.

to reliable sources (1), was introduced in the Umayyad period, was removed from the mosque by order of the caliphs (2), because it was not used in the Prophet's time. So it was with the mihrab (3) and with any minbar (4) whose stairs exceeded the stairs of the Prophet's minbar. All those measures recall the Wahhābī practice.

### 3. The importance of the qiblah:

The qiblah, which was first indicated by a block of stone (5) or by a sign on the qiblah wall (6), was accorded utmost sanctity. A great attention was paid to the qiblah, and a special committee supervised its direction. When the Prophet's mosque was rebuilt by Umar II, an assembly was gathered to make sure that the qiblah was situated in the right direction (7).

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- (1) Maqr., II, p.250; I.D., IV, p.68; Samh., I, pp.362f; Ibn Jubayr, Rihlah, p.265; Le Strange, Palestine under the Moslems, p.244; Creswell, E.M.A., I, p.33. It has also been recorded that it was built first by Uthman, cf. Diez, Die Kunst der islamischen Völker, pp.36f.
- (2) Maqr., II, p.251; Tab., III, p.486; Balkhi, K.al-Bad'wa al-tarikh, VI, pp.96, 114.
- (3) Hasan, op.cit., p.36.
- (4) Maqr., II, p.251; Tab., III, p.486; I.A., VI, p.37.
- (5) Burton, Personal Narrative of Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah, II, p.72.
- (6) Corbet, art. "The history of the mosque of 'Amr", J.R.A.S., (1890) pp.757-800, cf. Diez, art. "Mihrab", E.l./1, III, pp.485f.
- (7) Samh., I, p.368.

Eighty companions were related to have directed the qiblah of Amr's mosque at Fustāt (1). Legends were also invented to account for the special sanctity of certain mosques. The mosque of al-Qayrawān enjoyed a special sacred position. It was said that its qiblah and minaret were built as a result of a vision seen by Uqbah b. Nāfi' (2). Similar visions are recorded with regard to the qiblah of Ibn Ṭūlūn's mosque (3). Another legend claimed that a prophet (4) or hundreds of prophets (5) were buried in the qiblahs of certain mosques. Such legends express the reverence in which the qiblah was held by the people. The Malikites gave evidence that the qiblahs of the Prophet's Mosque, the Damascus Mosque, the Qayrawān Mosque, at that at Fustāt were exactly directed towards Mecca, and that no one should doubt the truth of this (6).

Qiblahs were lavishly decorated, and were furnished with precious mihrābs (7), some of them having more than one face which could be rotated around a spindle (8). Those mihrābs

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(1) I.D., IV, p. 62; Maqr., II, p. 246f; Ibn Mammātī, Qawānīn al-dawāwīn, p. 77.

(2) Bal., pp. 229f., K. al-Istibṣār, p. 114; Abū Abd Allāh al-Mālikī, Riyād al-nufūs, I, p. 7.

(3) I.D., IV, pp. 123f.

(4) I.R., p. 110.

(5) I.B., I, p. 128.

(6) Wazārat al-Awqāf, K. al-Fiqh 'Alā al-madhāhib al-arba'ah, I, p. 145, n. 1.

(7) Muqad., p. 158; Ist., P. 314; I.B., I, pp. 202f.

(8) Muqad., p. 93.

which were introduced after the Prophet's time were considered as innovations (1). Mālik, in particular, hated the decorations of the qiblah, because, in his opinion, that it might attract the attention of the people while performing their prayer (2). Owing to its great importance, the qiblah became a term signifying the Muslim community, -ahl al-qiblah (3). Regulations were made forbidding the hanging of anything whatsoever on its wall, or placing any object in front of the worshippers (4).

#### 4. Customs and regulations:

A special form of prayer had to be said when entering and when leaving the mosque (5). Praying two rak'ahs in honour of the mosque (tahīyat al-masjid) had to be said also when entering the mosque (6). After a journey, one had to perform two rak'ahs in the mosque (7). The custom of taking off one's shoes when entering a mosque was also unusual in Islam, and it arose in spite of the fact that the Prophet did not order such practice; indeed he even allowed people to pray with their shoes on (8). This practice prevailed in sanctuaries of other religions. In Islam it was first mentioned in the Qur'an with

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(1) Horovitz, op.cit., p.260; Hasan, op.cit., p.36.

(2) I. Haj., II, p.214.

(3) I.A., III, p.309.

(4) I.A.Had., pp.170,180f; cf.I.A., III, p.410; Other regulations are recorded by Wensinck, art. "Kibla", E.I./I, II, p.686.

(5) Mus., I, p.224; Nisabur, I, p.370.

(6) Bukh., I, p.123; Mus., V, p.225; Nisabur, I, p.370.

(7) Bukh., I, p.122; Mus., V, p.227; I.A. Had., p.20.

(8) Mus., V, pp.42f; I.A.Had., pp.176,177.

reference to Moses, when God spoke to him on the sacred valley Tuwā (1). When Umar I wanted to build his mosque on the sacred rock at Jerusalem, one of his companions took off his sandals there, and Umar suspected him of resembling the Jews in that action (2). However, it seems very likely that this practice might have been influenced by Judaism, but it was not universal (3), and in some Islamic countries, it is maintained even to-day. It is recommended that people should adorn themselves, and wear their best clothes when attending prayers in the mosque, especially on Fridays or feast days (4). It was desirable that the interior of the mosque should be kept quiet, and it was not permitted to speak aloud except to praise God or to discuss theological matters (5); anyone who spoke loudly would receive a punishment which a responsible body would decree as suitable (6). To keep the mosque clean of dirt was a religious obligation (7), and the people were recommended to clean it as a labour of love (8). Sweet smells were used in

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(1) XX, 12.

(2) Tab., I, p.2403.

(3) Yāqūt, Udabā', V, p.272.

(4) Qur'an, VII, 31-32.

(5) I.A.Had., p.172; Bukh., I, pp.129f; Mus., V, p.54.

(6) Bakrī, Mughrib, p.170; I.A.Had.173; Nisabur., I, pp.370, 371.

(7) Bukh., I, pp.114, 126; Mus., V, pp.38ff; I.A.Had., pp.169, 175.

(8) Bukh., I, p.126; I.S., VII/1, p.147; I.A.Had., pp.176, 177.

the mosque. The mājmar (1) (alose-wood) and the khalūq (2) (compound safforn) were mostly used. Majmar was especially used in the month of Ramaḍān and Fridays (3). Incense was also used in perfuming mosques, and that who burnt it was called bukhūrī (also bukhārī) (4).

The Prophet did not prevent women from attending general prayers in the mosque, and disapproved of any hindrance being put in the way of those who wished to (5). Until the third century of the Hijrah (9 A.D.), women indeed enjoyed the same right as men to pray in the mosque (6). Later on conditions were imposed on the women who attended public prayers (7), and a place was set apart in the mosque for the women to pray in (8).

In the Prophet's time and that of his successors, and during most of the Umayyad period Christians and Jews could freely enter the mosque (9). Many of them were employed in building mosques and minarets (10), or were in charge of the expenses of

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- (1) I.N., p.364; I.F., p.20, Fas. II, pp.236f.  
 (2) Samh. I, p.376; I.N., p.364.  
 (3) I.R., p.66.  
 (4) Yaqut, Muḥjam, I, p.522.  
 (5) Mus., XVIII, pp.80, 84; Tir., III, pp.53f; cf. Tab., I, p.2649; al-Ghazali, Ihya' ulum al-din, II, p.295.  
 (6) Levy, The social structure of Islam, p.126; cf. Tab., II, p.734.  
 (7) Mus., IV, pp.161f.  
 (8) I.J., pp.222f., Levy, op.cit., p.131; Stevens, The lands of the great sophy, p.51.  
 (9) Cf. Pedersen, op.cit., p.326.  
 (10) I.N., pp.372f; Qaz. 71; Samh., I, p.367.

others (1). In the later days of the Umayyads (120-127/737-744), there are reports that Christians came before the Muslim judges, were not allowed to enter the mosque and were judged at the doorsteps (2). This practice was not followed regularly, however, and the architect of Ibn Tūlūn's mosque was a Christian (3). Occasionally, conditions were recorded in endowment records of mosques that dhimmīs should not enter the mosque (4), and the same points were sometimes made in truces drawn up after wars (5). The purity of the person who entered the mosque was also requisite, and those who were not, were not permitted to enter it (6). Others, such as drunken person or mad, were also forbidden (7).

##### 5. Al-I, tikāf (prayer in Seclusion)

The mosque was also used for a kind of devotion called i, tikāf, which occurs in the Qur'ān in different contest (8). It is preferable that this practice should be done in the month of Ramaḍān especially in its last ten days (9); it was regularly performed by the Prophet (10) with certain exceptions (11). Noturnal vigils were practiced by the Prophet and his

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- (1) I.F., p.102.  
 (2) Kind., p.351.  
 (3) Maqr., II, p.265.  
 (4) C.I.A., II, Syrie du sud, I/1-2, p.53.  
 (5) I.A., VIII, p.357.  
 (6) Mus., IV, pp.116f; I.M., I, p.222; Abū Dāwūd, Sunan, I, p.101, Cf. Qur'ān, II, 22.  
 (7) I.A., Had., pp.167f; al-Ghazālī, op.cit., II, p.296.  
 (8) Qur'ān, II, 125, 187, XXII, 25-26, XXVI, 71.  
 (9) Op.cit., XLIV, 3, XCVII, 1-5; Juynboll, art. "I, tifāf", E.I./I, II, p.564.  
 (10) Bukh., I, pp.501f., 503ff; Mus., VIII, pp.66ff.  
 (11) Bukh., I, p.507; Mus., VIII, pp.69f.

followers when he was in Mecca (1). They continued in Medina, and the Prophet himself did not seek to prevent believers doing the same (2). Iṭikāf was known in the Jāhiliyah (3), and it was associated with the ascetism of the monks (4). Despite the fact that Islam disapproved of ascetism as a religious cult, and discouraged people from practicing it (5), many individuals or groups, adopted ascetic life, and a number of monasteries are known which served as places where people could live such life (6).

Christian history tells us that towers and pillars had their attractions for ascetics and devotees. Many of them lived on pillars, a way of living which was introduced in the fifth century by St. Simeon Stylites who first took up his abode on a column, where he passed thirty-seven years of his life (7). Monks used the church-towers as an abode for their solitary life (8). This was taken up by Muslims who took their abode in minarets.

Muslimah b. Mukhallad (53/672) was the first to worship in a minaret (9). Al-Azraqī (858) records that one of the minarets of Mecca was used for worship by Abū al-Hajjāj al-Khurāsānī (10). The outstanding Muslim theologian, al-Ghazālī,

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- (1) Qur'ān, LXX, 20.  
 (2) Bukh., I, pp.235, 286; cf. Watt, Muhammad at Medina, p.305.  
 (3) Bukh., I, pp.504, 508, III, p.148. *Sergeant, art. "Mihrāb", 850AS (1953)*  
 (4) Cf. Momigliano, The conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the IV century, pp.11f.  
 (5) Tab., Tafsīr, VII, pp.6ff; Nisabur, VII, p.18; cf. Qur'ān, VII, 26, 31, XVI, 5-8, XVIII, 7, XCIII, 11.  
 (6) Muqad., pp.179, 182, 202 etc.; Bak., p.7; I.R., p.118; I.J., pp.243, 271, 284; I.B., II, p.4; A.F., p.503.  
 (7) Art. "Stylite", E.B., 3rd ed. XVIII, pp.47f.  
 (8) I.As., II/1, p.20; Masālik, I, p.181; I.K., IX, p.146.  
 (9) Maqr., II, p.273.  
 (10) Op.cit., p.332.

shut himself in isolated places for study and for devotion. The western minaret in the Damascus Mosque was one of the places in which he used to retire (1): Ibn Tūmart, also worshipped in this minaret (2). This way of living, however, continued, and many other people resided perpetually in minarets (3).

6. The mosques and minarets on occasions:

The mosques were of special significance to the Muslims on feast days. Illuminations were regarded as essential, especially from the reign of al-Ma'mūn (813-833) onwards. New mats, candles, oil-lamps, chandeliers, and torches were presented (4), and incense was burnt on those occasions (5). On particular events, special attention was paid to the three sanctuaries at Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem (6).

The minaret was illuminated with the aid of the new candles, and lamps that had been presented (7). In "Layālī al-waqūd

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- (1) Al-Harawī, al-Ishārāt ilā ma'rifat al-ziyārāt, P.15; Yaq., II, p.596, III, 561; Subkī, Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyah, IV, p.104; Cragg, The call of the minaret, p.124.
- (2) Yaq., II, p.596.
- (3) Yaq., Udaba', IV, p.274; Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, Mirāt al-zamān, VIII, p.159; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, Uyun al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā', II, pp.192,204; al-Kutubī, Fa wāt al-wa fayūt II, 318; Ibn 'Asākir, Tabayīn, p.215; Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern architecture, p.550.
- (4) I.J., pp.141,143,149f,152 etc.; Lane-Poole, Moors in Spain, pp.138f; Maqq., II, p.90, IV, p.203.
- (5) Tab., Ann., II, p.1234; I.F., p.20.
- (6) I.F., pp.100ff; I.N., p.494; Samh., I, p.417; K.al-Istibṣār, pp.28, 41.
- (7) Maqq., II, p.90; Kind., p.255.

al-arba'ah" (The four nights of kindling), the nights of the first and middle of Rajab, and those of Sha'ban, the mosques of Egypt received particular attention (1). The night of the fifteenth of Sha'ban (2) was one of the most important to be commemorated in the Fatimid period. Lights were suspended in the mosque, and from the minarets, and religious recitations were read (3).

In Ramaḍān, other events were associated with the minaret and the mosque. Judges, in the Fatimid period, used to tour the religious places of Cairo and Fustāṭ three days before the beginning of Ramaḍān to know what they required in the way of mats, and lamps, and to know whether these places needed restoration (4). It was the duty of the imām and the muezzin to watch the new moon of the month from the summit of the minaret (5). In a late date, the watching of the moon was well organized by appointed and trustworthy people. A report had to be made as to whether the moon had been observed or not (6).

During the nights of this month, the people were informed

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(1) Maqr., Khiṭaṭ, I, pp. 465ff; Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ al-a'ashā, III, p. 501; Mubārak, al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfiqīyah, II, pp. 11f.

(2) Cf. Wensinck, art. "Sha'ban", E. I. / 1, IV, p. 239.

(3) Maqr., I, p. 465f., II, p. 268; Kutub., II, p. 436; I. Haj., II, p. 226; I. J., p. 271.

(4) Mubārak, op. cit., I, p. 11.

(5) Ibn 'Abd al-Ra'uf, Risālah fī adāb al-ḥisbah wa al-Muhtasib,

p. 77.

(6) Ibn Zaydan, al-Durar al-Fakhīrah, pp. 31, 32.

by a special call as to the time of eating and fasting. The muezzin proclaimed religious recitations (tas'hīr) during the second half of the night to encourage people to have their sahūr (1). In mosques having more than one minaret, a special one was assigned for that purpose, and sometimes, all of them were used (2). In addition to the tas'hīr, Ibn Jubayr (1184) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭah inform that kindled lamps were hung on a long post on the minarets of Mecca to convey the information to those who could not hear the adhān. At day-break, the lamps were put out to indicate that the time of fasting had begun (3). In Morocco, flags were used for this purpose (4). In this month, special lamps were hung in the mosque which were taken away at the end of the month (5); and a special door was used in 'Amr's Mosque for bringing the lamps up to the minaret (6). Instruments were also sounded on the minaret for the adhān in the morning, evening, and at night (āshā') (7). On the night of the 27th of Ramaḍān, particular attention was given to the illumination of the mosques, and the people spent their night worshipping (8).

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- (1) The last meal shortly before day-break.  
 (2) Fas., I, p.241.  
 (3) Meakin, The Moors, p.265.  
 (4) Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Ma'alim al-qurbā fī ahkām al-ḥisbah, p.178;  
 (4) I.J., p.145; I.B., I, pp.390f.  
 (5) Maqr., II,p.275; cf. I.Id., II,pp.287f.  
 (6) I.D., IV, p.60.  
 (7) Westermarck, Ritual and belief in Morocco, II,p.91; Rohlfs, Adventures in Morocco, p.70.  
 (8) I.J., p.271.

On the first night of Shawwāl month, the same practice was repeated, and the muezzins spent the night reading religious recitations (1). In the morning, a special prayer was held on the occasion of Īd al-Fiṭr (the Feast of breaking Fast), which the caliph attended followed by a procession of followers (2). In Sicily, drums were beaten, and instruments sounded at the finishing of the prayer of the Īd. (3)

In Egypt, the minaret used to play a part when the rising of the Nile was celebrated. A special performance was held on the minaret of Ibn Tūlūn (4). At a late date, robes of honour were distributed and celebrations were held at the completion of the building or reconstruction of a minaret (5). Lamps were hung all along the minaret, and the Qur'ān was recited (6). On other occasions, drums were beaten, and lights were kindled on the minaret (7).

Certain places were said to be particularly famous in connection with special religious occasions. Ramadān was thus especially important in Mecca, the Khatmah in the Aqṣā Mosque at Jerusalem, and the Two Feasts in Sicily, Arāfah Day in Shīrāz, and the Jumu'ah in Baghdad (8).

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- (1) Op.cit., p.156; IB., I, p.393; Maqr., II, p.467; Wensinck, art. "Shawwal", E.I./1, IV, pp.342f.  
 (2) Benjamin of Tudela, Itinerary, pp.36f., Samadi, art. "Social and economical aspects of life under the Abbasid hegemony at Baghdad", I.C., XXIX (1955), pp.244f.  
 (3) I.J., p.340.  
 (4) Maqr., I, p.477.  
 (5) Op.cit., II, p.307.  
 (6) Op.cit., II, p.276; Samh., I, pp.374, 375.  
 (7) Cf., I.Jaw., X, p.60; Muqad., p.177  
 (8) Muqad., p.183.

C. Political and Administrative role of the mosque and minaret:

1. The importance of the principal mosque:

From the early days of Islam, the Prophet's mosque was used as a religious centre and a place of administration. The role of government thus came to be associated with the mosque, and thereafter, this association between the mosque and the administration continued in popular understanding, and the mosque was always considered as the centre of authority, and each new government cemented this idea by selecting one special mosque as its official centre, and the symbol of its authority.

The principal mosque of the city was paid great attention, and indeed, that mosque was regarded as the home of the parliament, the forum, the head quarters of administration, and the place of arms (1). That mosque was the natural centre to which the travellers and envoys repaired on arrival, and it was there that the government showed its wealth and strength. When the Byzantine representatives visited the Umayyad mosque at Damascus in the time of Umar b. Abd al-Aziz, they glorified the builder and gave expression to their expectation that the Umayyad state would be long lived although they assumed its speedy decline before visiting the mosque (2). This incident serves to indicate how the greatness and richness of the mosque reflected the greatness and stability of the state, and how the political importance of the mosque led to its beautification and splendour.

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(1) Cf. Creswell, op.cit., I, p.34.

(2) I.A.s., II/1, pp.43,44; Yaq., Mu. jam, II, p.595; Masālik, I, pp.190f.

However, the wealth of the government, and religious enthusiasm together helped to bring forth this aspect of life (1). Moreover, the liturgical system (2) increased this activity (3).

The political and administrative role of the mosque was indicated by its position adjacent to the governor's house, and the other government buildings (4). In 'Umar I's reign, and in Umayyad times, it was usual to build the mosque first, then the governor's house and other buildings (5). This custom, however, was not adopted by the Abbasids or the Fatimids. The arrangement of the various constructions were regulated by orders of the central government. Minarets were added to 'Amr's mosque in Fustāṭ by order from Mu'āwiyah (6). The government even demanded that the maqṣūrah should be either placed in or removed from the mosque (7), that the minbars should be constructed or the steps of the minbars be decreased. (8). Most of the mosques had endowments for their regular

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(1) I.A., Hak., p.132, Landau, Islam and the Arabs, p.216.

(2) Cf. Creswell, M.A.E., I, pp.163f, and n.4.

(3) Cf. Maqr., Sulūk, II/2, p.320.

(4) Bal., p.346; Tab., I, p.2491; Ist., p.184; I.Haw., p.241.

(5) Sulayman b. 'Abd al-Malik built his abode first in Ramla, cf. Bal., p.143.

(6) Maqr., II, p.248.

(7) Balkhī, op.cit., VI, pp.96, 114.

(8) I.D., IV, p.64; I.A., VI, p.37; S.I.Jaw., VIII, pp.253f.

maintenance (1). Special officials looked after the mosque, and as a rule, the caliph recognised them.

2. The Mosque as a place of political assembly:

Most of the assembly mosques had a minbar (2) from which the speeches were delivered. Until the reign of Marwān b. Muhammad, the Friday Khutbah was delivered in the villages of Egypt beside a pole set in the ground as was the case in the Prophet's mosque before the introduction of the minbar. In the year 132/749 minbars were ordered to be used in those places by the governor of Marwān in Egypt (3).

The pulpit indeed played an important role in the religious as well as in the political life of the Muslims. From the early times, it became the custom to pay homage to the caliph, Abū Bakr, from the pulpit (4), and this custom was followed more often (6). The caliph repaired thither on his accession, and the governor on his appointment. The discourses which they pronounced on those occasions were as much political in character as they were religious (7). In the time of pilgrimage, the caliph and his representative used to deliver their speeches on the minbars at

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- (1) I.As., II/1, pp.60,62,63 etc., I.B., I, p.201; Pedersen, op.cit., pp.368f.  
 (2) Maqr., II, p.293; About the mosque's personels see Pedersen, op.cit., pp.272-276.  
 (3) For the derivation and use of this term see Horowitz, op.cit., pp.257-60; Nöeldeke, Neue Beiträge, p.49; Pedersen, op.cit., pp.339ff.  
 (4) I.D., IV, p.64; Cf. Becker, art."Zur Geschichte der islamischen Kultus", Der Islam, III (1912), p.396.  
 (5) I.H., p.1017; Tab., I, p.1828; I.A., II, p.251.  
 (6) Mas., Tanbih, p.333; Tab., III, p.2131, cf. I.A., III, p.61, IV, p.415; V, pp.182,183, VI, p.152.  
 (7) Maqr., II, p.260; I.A., III, pp.61,374ff,393ff, IV, pp.309f.

Mecca and Medina (1). To establish full authority, the name of the caliph had to be mentioned in the Khutbah, (2). In a late date, when the name of the new caliph was mentioned in the main mosque, money was showered on the people (3). The minbar, however became the principal symbol of authority (4), and it was the duty of the caliph to see that it was set up in the mosques. (5). It was important for the pretenders to authority to put their flags on the right side of the minbar at Mecca (6). In time of war, the minbar was sometimes transferred to another mosque to keep it safe (7). Rulers were sometimes stoned on the minbar (8). Rulers speaking from the minbar were guarded by special guards, and clothed in full armour (9). Enemies were cursed from it (10), and some curses were recorded on the doors of some mosques by order of the caliphs (11). The shirt of Uthmān was hung on the minbar by Mu'āwīyah who used it as

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- (1) Tab., II, pp.1233f; I.A., IV, p.439, VI, p.371.  
 (2) Tab., III, p.1714; I.A., X, p.6.  
 (3) Cf. Ibn al-Fuwatī, al-Hawādith al-jāmi'ah, p.164.  
 (4) Cf. Yaq., Udabā', VII, p.196; I.A., V, pp.5,238.  
 (5) Cf., I.A., V, p.5.  
 (6) Tab., III, pp.2008f; Cf. Abū Shāmah, Tarājim rijāl al-garnayn al-sādis wa al-sābi', p.76.  
 (7) I.A., III, p.303.  
 (8) Tab., II, p.88.  
 (9) Tab., II, pp.254, 1233f.  
 (10) Tab., II, p.12; III, pp.2048, 2164f; I.A., V, p.31, VII, p.336; I.B., II, pp.58f.  
 (11) Maq., II, p.358; I.A., VIII, p.403.

avenger of blood (1). News and orders were announced to the people from the minbar (2). Because of the significance and importance of the minbar, the caliphs were always advised to entrust the task of delivering messages and speeches from the minbar to members of their own families (3), or to trusted members of their party (4). Those who were not loyal, or not suited to this task had to be dismissed (5).

The minaret like the minbar was of vital importance to the rulers and to the caliph. They were praised from the minarets, and prayers were said for them on special occasions (6). The flags of the authority were also put on the minaret (7).

Chanting adhān from the minaret before its proper time was taken as a means of regulating affairs in the city. If the adhān was chanted before the correct hour, it served to convey a secret message to the caliph of disorder in the city, and was at once able to take necessary action (8). Because of the minaret's height, it was used by the rulers as a place from where they could choose sites for their buildings (9), or watch the people in the city (10).

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(1) Tab., I, p.3255.

(2) Tab., II, pp.40, 238; III, p.2224; Kind., pp.589, 599, 604.

(3) I.A., VI, p.11, X, p.6.

(4) Cf., Yaq., VII, pp.174, 179.

(5) I.A., IV, p.170, VI, p.254, X, p.6; Tab. II, p.592; cf. Maqr., II, p.267.

(6) Maqr., Sulūk, I/3, p.825; I.J., p.146.

(7) I.A., V, p.418; Maqq., II, p.90; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, al-Iḥāṭah fī akhbar Gharnāṭah, pp.541.f.

(8) Tanūkhī, al-Faraj ba'd al-shiddah, II, pp.18f; I.Jaw., V/2, pp.132f, I.K., XI, pp.895f.

(9) I.A., XI, p.239.

(10) Khazrajī, op.cit., II, p.154.

The mosques were places where people could meet and pass the time of the day and keep abreast of events (1). When questions of importance had to be discussed or weighty tidings to be communicated, the people would gather in the mosque (2). People were exposed or denounced at the mosque's door (3), and rulers were presented before the public in the mosque in order to be asked about their behaviour. When the people of Kūfa complained of their Amīr Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, the caliph 'Umar I sent a messenger who burnt his palace door and presented Sa'd in the mosque asking the people about his personality (4). The mosque was also a centre where the people might be incited to rebellion against the caliph or the governors (5).

3. How its political importance affected its condition, and construction:

Because of its religious, and political importance, no mosque could be demolished unless it was requested by the people that this should be done. Then the qādī had to send trusted people to make sure that a mosque was in need of repair or that it should be pulled down, and a report had to be written by that committee. If the qādī agreed, another report had to be written after the reconstruction, and had to be signed by a number of eye-witnesses (6). The minaret was the concern of the caliph himself. If a ruined or decayed minaret needed pulling down, a committee formed of architects and others had

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- (1) Tab., I, p. 3177.  
 (2) Tab., III, p. 2224; Becker, op.cit., p. 394.  
 (3) Tab., III, p. 1255; I.A., IV, p. 457.  
 (4) Mas., Murūj, IV, p. 256; cf. I.A., II, p. 444.  
 (5) A.M., I, p. 301.  
 (6) Kind., pp. 407ff; cf. S.I. Jaw., VIII, pp. 253f; Heffening, art. "Shāhid", E.l./1, IV, pp. 261; Tyan, art. "Adl", E.l./2, I, pp. 20f.

to make a report on that matter. Then the caliph made decision after reading the report (1).

Indeed, the people regarded the mosque as though it were the government itself. In order to express their feeling towards the policy of the government, those who opposed it sometimes invaded and on occasions damaged the mosque. The minbars of many mosques were wrecked and the mihrābs were blackened (2). The mosques also suffered from secret movements in opposition to the government's policy (3). In time of rebellion, the mosques were affected by the authority itself (4).

The minaret was considered as a symbol of the government. Its height and firmness were linked with the strength of the caliphate, and it was something of which the people were proud (5). If any harm touched the minaret, the people would prophecy that the government would collapse. When the minaret of Sultān Hasan's mosque in Cairo fell down, the majority of the people expected that the government would also collapse. In fact, the Sultān was killed thirty days after the collapse (6). Even the things seen in a vision about minarets had their special

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- (1) Maqr., II, p.328, cf. II, p.290; Masālik, I, p.200; Samh., I, p.437.  
 (2) I.A., VIII, p.108; 'Arīb, Ṣilaṭ Ṭarīkh al-Ṭabarī, pp.173f; cf. Diez, art. "Minbar", E.I./I, III, p.500.  
 (3) Tab., III, p.2219; I.A., VII, p.353, X, p.420; I.Jaw., IX, p.224.  
 (4) Pedersen.  
 (5) I.Jaw., VIII, p.137.  
 (6) Maqr., II, p.316; Suyūṭī, Husn al-muḥāḍarah, II, p.193.

explanation in the mind of the people (1).

The victorious party in the country always tried to pull down the buildings of the previous government, and to replace them with ones of their own (2). Mosques were demolished and rebuilt in order to perpetuate a victorious government (3). Sometimes, however, instead of demolishing a building, its name was changed. Al-Mahdī removed the name of al-Walīd I from the Prophet's Mosque when he made a little renovation there. (4). The same practice was followed by al-Ma'mūn when he changed the name of 'Abd al-Malik in the Dome of the Rock (5). The object of this was to remove all reminiscence of the previous dynasty especially from the sacred places.

#### 4. The mosque and the minaret in time of war.

In time of war, mosques played a vital role. In them the people gathered and were instructed in time of danger (6). Councils of war were held in the mosque (7), and the soldiers

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- (1) I.Jaw., VIII, pp.69f.  
 (2) I.Sh., I/1, p.31.  
 (3) I.Jaw., VI, pp.195, 317; I.A., X, p.413, cf. IV, p.454.  
 (4) Tab., III, p.535; I.A., VI, p.57.  
 (5) Hasan, op.cit., p.39; I.Id., I, p.158.  
 (6) Tab., II, p.670; Mus., XII, p.90.  
 (7) Tab., I, p.3415, II, pp.284f., 1921, Yaq., Mu'jam, I, p.647.

gathered in them (1). From the mosques the armies were directed and in it the flags were blessed (2). Armies tried to be in the neighbourhood of the mosque (3). Many battles were centred either round (4) the mosques or even in them (5).

The minaret of the mosque too often played an important role in winning battles. In the reign of al-Manṣūr, the second Abbasid caliph, Muḥammad Dhū al-Nafs al-Zakīyah revolted in Medina in 145/762. When .Īsā b. Mūsā was trying to subdue the revolt, a black flag was raised on the minaret by his supporters. So the rebels escaped thinking that the mosque had been captured by the Abbasid army (6). This, however, shows the place which the mosque had in times of fighting. Its capture meant the capture of the city itself. Swords were also suspended on the main minaret of the city as a sign of victory (7). The raising of a flag, or sometimes even a cross (8), on the minaret was practiced many times by the Crusaders in the cities they had captured (9).

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(1) Kind., p.89.

(2) I.A., II, pp.85f; I.As., II/1, pp.117f; Tab., I, pp.3178, 3415, III, p.1761; Marrakushi, op.cit., p.10, Idrisi, Ṣifat al-Maghrib ..., p.177.

(3) Tab., III, pp.1806, cf. 1010, 1745.

(4) Mas., Tanbih, pp.314, 385; Tab., II, pp.960f; Mubarrad, Kāmil, III, p.257; I.A., V, p.183.

(5) Tab., II, p.1701, III, p.200; I.A., VI, p.132; Qaz., p.198; Balkhi, op.cit., IV, p.26.

(6) Yaʿqubi, Tārīkh, (Beirut, 1956), III, pp.93f; I.A., V, p.418, cf. Maqq., II, p.90.

(7) Muʿaddimah, p.21; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, Rawḍ al-Qarṭās, pp.2f.

(8) S.I. Jaw., VIII, p.200.

(9) Ibn Shaddād, Sirat Ṣalah al-Dīn, p.161; I.K., XII, p.344; S.I.Jaw., VIII, p.408.

The minarets since they were high places in the city, were used for declaring proclamations in times of danger (1). This was practiced since the early days of the minaret's introduction. They were also used by invaders to shout from to demand <sup>proclaim security</sup> peace (2). By centering the battles round or near the mosques some of them were seriously damaged. Although mosques suffered from the invaders (3), sometimes the minarets were left intact (4). Moreover, minarets were used by some rulers to protect themselves from enemies (5).

In some countries, mosques were used as citadels where the people could take shelter in time of war, and it was for this reason, a fortified place surrounded by thick walls, and a ditch. A spring of water was preserved in its centre as a security measure (6). On a few occasions, guards were appointed to ensure its defence (7). In the mosque of Damascus a special share of the revenue was allocated for the makers of bows and arrows which were to be used in times of emergency (8). Churches were also used to protect their followers in times of danger (9). Muslim rulers<sup>c</sup> concluded treaties with non-Muslim rulers regarding the religious freedom of Muslim who lived in dār al-shirk

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(1) Dhah., II, p.263; Azdī, Tārīkh al-Mūsul, year 133; Maqrīzī, Itti'āz al-Hunafa bi-akhbār al-a'immah al-Faṭimiyyin al-Khulafā, pp.175f.

(2) Yūnīnī, op.cit., I, p.375.

(3) I.A., VII, p.58, VIII, p.375, XI, p.119; Yūnīnī, op.cit., II, p.471.

(4) Cf. I.B., III, p.26.

(5) Maqr., Suluk, I/3, p.827; Maqq., IV, p.33.

(6) I.Haw., p.240; I.A., V, p.183.

(7) I.A., III, p.377; Ibn Durayd, al-Ishtiqāq, p.253.

(8) Qaz., p.127.

(9) Op.cit., p.371.

(sphere of war) (1). Even the emperor of the Byzantines made himself responsible for the damage to the mosque at Constantinople after the truce with the Muslims (2). The wounded (3) and the sick (4) were treated in the mosque. The booty of the war was also distributed there (5). The captives of war were kept in the mosque (6), and in some mosques, there was a raised platform on which the captives were made to stand, to be seen by others (7). Some were imprisoned in the mosque (8), and people were locked in it in time of war or troubles (9).

5. The mosque and the minaret as the treasury:

Another indication of the close connection between the administration and the mosque was the fact that the state-treasury (bayt-al-māl) was situated in the latter. In the time of 'Umar I, this treasury used to be kept in the governor's house, which was separated from the mosque by a street (10). To safeguard against the treasuries' theft, 'Umar I ordered Sa'ad, governor of Basra to join the two buildings together, so that the people who were to be found day and night in the mosque

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- (1) I.A., VII, p.357.  
 (2) Op.cit., X, p.18.  
 (3) Tab., I, p.1491.  
 (4) Bukh., I, p.127.  
 (5) Tab., I, p.3223; Bukh., I, pp.116f; Tir., II, p.119.  
 (6) Bukh., I, pp.126f.; I.A., VIII, p.357; Mus., XII, pp.87f.  
 (7) Balkhī, op.cit., p.12.  
 (8) Tab., II, p.130; I.A., V, p.80.  
 (9) Tab., II, p.1702; I.A., V, p.208.  
 (10) Tab., I, p.2489; cf. Coulson, art. "Bayt al-Māl", E.1./2, I, p.1142; Query, Driot Musulman, I, pp.178, 337.

would act as guards for their treasury (1). In time of war, the treasury was transferred from one mosque to another as a security measure (2). This custom of keeping the treasury in the mosque became a general practice in the Umayyad period in Syria (3), Egypt (4), and many other places in Persia (5). A special place was built as a secure home for the treasury, usually was a domed room resting on columns in the court of the mosque free on all sides but joined when in use to the roof of the mosque by a special bridge. This dome was secured by a metal door and locks (6). A running fountain was set up below the treasury of 'Amr's mosque at Fustāt (7), and the treasury at Damascus was decorated with mosaics (8). Despite the great security, these treasuries were robbed like that of the Damascus Mosque (9). That of 'Amr's was robbed twice (10), and for that reason, the mosque was closed except at the time of prayer in order to assure the safety of the treasury (11). The private property of each mosque used to be kept in the mosque in a private place

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- (1) Tab., I, p.2491.  
 (2) Tab., I, pp.3414f.; I.A., III, p.305.  
 (3) Muḡad., pp.157, 182; I.J., p.267.  
 (4) I.D., IV, p.64; Yaḡ., II, pp.890f.  
 (5) Ist., p.184; I.Haw., p.241.  
 (6) I.R., p.116.  
 (7) I.D., IV, p.68; Yaḡ., III, pp.898f.  
 (8) Muḡad., p.157; I.J., p.267.  
 (9) I.A., V, p.214.  
 (10) I.D., IV, p.65; Kind., pp.112ff.; Maqr., II, p.249.  
 (11) Kind., p.266; I.R., p.116.

consecrated to that purpose (1). Men also deposited their money in the mosque (2), or kept their documents and money in the minaret (3). Likewise, church-towers seem to have been used for the safeguarding of treasury (4).

6. The mosque is the court of justice:

The mosque was also used as a court of justice. Many answers to legal questions were given in the mosque by the Prophet (5). In the time of Abū Bakr, Umar I had the duty of the Supreme Judge (6). Judges were appointed in different places (7) and the sentences were passed either in the mosque or in other places (8). The judge was not the only one who passed the sentence, but others shared the task with him (9). Special days of the week were appointed for various cases. In Nīshāpūr, the days of judging were Sunday and Wednesday; in another mosque, they were Monday and Thursday. The hours of judging were also limited (10). In the Abbasid period, the judge had to wear the sawād when he was appointed to that office (11). The first who preached in this costume was Abd Allāh b. Abd al-Rahmān b. Hudayj (12). The judges had a special

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- (1) I.B., I, p. 201.  
 (2) Nāsir-i Khusrāu, op.cit., p. 27.  
 (3) S.I. Jaw., VIII, p. 773.  
 (4) Cf. op.cit., p. 773; Tristram, Land of Moab, pp. 146f.  
 (5) Bukh., IV, pp. 392, 395.  
 (6) Tab., I, pp. 2135f.  
 (7) Tab., III, pp. 2477, 2505.  
 (8) Bukh., IV, p. 387.  
 (9) Muqad., p. 328; cf. Kind., p. 590.  
 (10) Tab., III, p. 2161; Muqad., p. 328; al-Rāfi'ī, Hadārat al-'Arab, p. 146.  
 (11) Kind., pp. 469, 488; cf. Akhbār majmū'ah fī fath al-Andalus, p. 127  
 (12) Op.cit., p. 118.

place assigned to them either in the mosque or beside it (1). Particular places were also determined according to the Season (2). Even the four ritual schools, were accommodated in the mosque (3). Christians were judged by Muslim judges, but they were not permitted to enter mosques, so judges dealt with them at the door (4).

In spite of the fact that punishment was not allowed in the mosque (5), cases happened that people were thrown down from the top of minarets. In Qazwīn, in 316/928, order was given that the muezzin should be thrown from the minaret on which he was chanting the adhān (6). When Syria was under the control of Nūr al-Dīn Zangī, orders were issued to the judges to throw the muezzins down from the minarets if they shout the phrase "Come to the best of the work" \* from the adhān. (7). In later times, the minaret of Bukhārā was a place from which many criminals were executed, and for that reason, it was called the Tower of the Dead (8). People committed suicide by throwing themselves down the minaret (9), and others fell down by accident (10).

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- (1) Bukh., IV, p.391.  
 (2) Kind., pp.443f.  
 (3) I.D., IV, pp.61, 64.  
 (4) Kind., p.351.  
 (5) Bukh., IV, p.393; I.A. Had., pp.168, 173; Nisabur, I, p.371.  
 (6) I.A., VIII, p.142.  
 (7) Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubdat al-halb, II, pp.293f; Maqr. II, p.271, cf. Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-ʿarāb, XV, pp.57ff.  
 (8) This practice was stopped after the last execution which took place in the year 1888. See Olufson, The Emir of Bukhara, p.548; Schuyler, Turkistan, II, p.92; Van Berchen in Diez, Churasanische Baudenkmäler, p.116, n.1.  
 (9) I.A., X, p.445.  
 (10) Yaq., Udaba', IV, p.274.  
 (\*) See p. 75 of this thesis

D. The social importance of the mosque and minaret

1. The role of the mosque in the city:

The position of the mosque in relation to the governor's house, and the surrounding inhabited area, makes it a vital place in the history of the city. Mosques have never been built far away from urbanized places.

Although the mosque was primarily a place of devotion, the people could also find a shelter in it. Since the beginning of Islam, the mosque of the Prophet was inhabited by Ahl al-Suffah who had no abode, and who were occasionally provided with food (1). Other people used to sleep in it at the Prophet's time (2). The Sacred Mosque at Mecca was also used for this purpose (3). Many of the mosques in the Islamic world were used as hostels where strangers could get a free bed, sometimes with board (4). Special apartments were built in the mosque (5) or near it (6). Some mosques were put entirely at the disposal of strangers, and livelihood was provided (7). An eating-place (bayt-ṭa'ām) joined the mosque of Jabbul in Iraq (8). In addition to the apartments which were built for this purpose, people also lived in other parts

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- (1) I.S., I/2, p.13; Samh., I, pp.321ff; Fayer, in Der Islam, XXXVIII (1962), pp.83f.  
 (2) I.S., III/1, p.41; Tir., II, p.117.  
 (3) Azraqī, Akhbar Makka, p.306.  
 (4) Magr., II, p.277; Qaz., p.361; I.A., VIII, p.518.  
 (5) I.J., pp.266, 272; Lane-Poole, The Moors in Spain, p.136.  
 (6) Ibn al-Fuwatī, op.cit., p.254.  
 (7) I.J., p.50; Yaq., III, p.109; K.al-Istibsār, p.140; Idrīsī, op.cit., p.143.  
 (8) I.R., pp.186f.

of the mosque. For centuries, people used to live in the huge minarets of the Mosque of Damascus. The Eastern and Western minarets (1) contained many apartments where foreigners could stay. The muezzin's qubbah, (2) and room (3) were also used for accommodation.

However, the jurists disagreed as to whether the mosque could be used as a residence. Some of them absolutely condemned it (4). Certain groups of residents such as person in retreat (mu:ta:kif), guests, the sick traveller, and the tourist were excluded by other jurists (5). People brought food into the mosque since the earliest times (6). Mālik however did not permit food to be eaten in the mosque except light refreshments (7), but in spite of that, mosques were often used for eating in (8), and others provided food <sup>for</sup> to the poor or <sup>for</sup> to the foreigner (9). The tall minarets which could be seen from remote distances were interpreted as a symbol of hospitality (10). The travellers were anxious to find them before they entered the city in order to make sure that they would obtain

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- (1) I.Ae., Tabyīn, p.215; I.K., XIII, p.44. Other references in I.tikaf.  
 (2) Ibn al-Fuwatī, op.cit., p.408.  
 (3) Suy., II, p.178.  
 (4) I.A., Had., pp.172f.  
 (5) Op.cit., p.173; I.Haj., II, p.216; Bukh., I, p.122.  
 (6) I.M., II, pp.310, 312; I.A., IV, p.454.  
 (7) I.Haj., II, pp.229ff.  
 (8) Maqr., I, p.341.  
 (9) Tab., I, p.3415; I.A., III, p.303.  
 (10) Muqad., p.358.

the accommodation which the mosques offered (1). To some extent, mosques were also used as clubs where people spent their leisure time (2).

2. The Mosque as a place for business transaction:

In the mosque many business transactions were settled. The mosque, the governor's house, the prison, and the market were all treated as a group in most of the Islamic cities (3). At first, the markets were open places where people could sell their wares (4). Later on, markets were built, and many of them were associated with the mosque (5). The position of the mosque in the city gave it a commercial importance. Commercial matters were discussed in it from the very beginning (6), but to prevent the confused noises in the mosque, which such activities caused, a special place was put aside or near the mosque for such purposes (7). Goods were also sold in the mosques. In the sanctuary at Mecca, many kinds of wares were sold (8). In Baghdad, sellers sat in the two mosques, and orders were issued to forbid this, because of the disturbances caused by them and by the story-tellers (quṣṣās) (9). In

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- (1) Bak., p.17; Yaq., I, pp.626f., III, pp.17,18,733,898; Muqad., p.205.  
 (2) Maqr., II, p.277; Mubarrad, op.cit., III, p.11.  
 (3) Tab., I, p.2491; I.Haw., pp.298f., 314f., 317,378,386f., 1st., pp.239ff.,254f.,258f.etc; Muqad.,pp.316,317f,396 etc. I.A., II, p.412; Yaq., III, p.113.  
 (4) I.A., II, p.412.  
 (5) 1st, pp. 239ff; I.Haw., pp.298f.  
 (6) Bukh., I, pp.125ff.  
 (7) I.D., IV, p.66; Yaq., I, p.668.  
 (8) I. Haj., II, p.226.  
 (9) Tab., III, pp.2164.

Cordova, the mosque was thronged with v<sup>e</sup>ndors who hawked their wares in it: a practice which Ibn Abdūn viewed with disfavour though he had no hope of preventing it (1). The same was true of Amr's mosque at Fustāt (2). Cheques were exchanged in the mosque (3), and bills of exchange and contracts were drawn up (4). Cases of surety were contracted in the mosque too (5). The use of mosques for such purposes showed that in Islam there was no gulf between material and spiritual things. Although all kinds of crafts were forbidden to be practiced in the mosque (6), sewing was permitted by some jurists (7).

The minaret as a part of the mosque, played an important role in organising the work of the people. The call to prayer from the minaret became an indicator for the starting and ending of official or public work (8). Later<sup>-er</sup>, clocks were installed on the minarets to determine the time of prayer and to assist in people's business (9). The mosques built in the sea-shore were places where merchants from different parts of

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- (1) As quoted by Hole, Spain under the Muslims, p.258.  
 (2) Nasir-i Khusrau, op.cit., pp.72ff., Maq., II, p.341.  
 (3) Bukh., I, p.25.  
 (4) Nasir-i Khusrau, op.cit., pp.72ff.  
 (5) Tab., II, p.1119.  
 (6) Mus., V, p.55; I.A., Had., p.171.  
 (7) Qaz., pp.68f; I.Jaw., V/2, pp.132. For the view of the rite schools about this activity in the mosque, see I.A.Had., pp.170f; al-Ghazali, op.cit., II, p.295.  
 (8) Tanukhi, op.cit., II, pp.18f; I.Jaw., V/2, pp.132f.  
 (9) Abu Shamah, op.cit., p.64; Ibn Abi Usaybi'ah, op.cit., II, p.190; Brockelmann, The History of the Islamic peoples, p.87.



the world could meet (1), and near which ships could land (2), In such instances, the minarets were certainly used as light houses to guide the ships to the shore (3).

### 3. The behaviour of the muezzin on the minaret:

Owing to misbehaviour of some muezzins (4), minarets were sometimes demolished or closed by rulers. One of the four minarets of the Prophet's Mosque was in the neighbourhood of Marwān's house was ordered to be pulled down, because the muezzin looked down at the house while chanting the adhān (5). During his governorship in Kūfa (723-737), Khālīd al-Qasrī demolished other minarets for the same reason (6). In a satirical verse, al-Farazdaq accused Khālīd that he did this because of his hatred of religion (7), but this is to be doubted. He must surely have assumed this attitude because of the reasons mentioned earlier and not as a result of any lack of religious feeling. The accusation might well have been made by his

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(1) Ya:qūbī, Buldān (BGA), pp.150f.

(2) Bak., pp.40, 87, 103.

(3) Qasim, op.cit., I, p.95; Marçais, Manuel, I, p.39;

Creswell, E.M.A., II, p.170.

(4) \*Saḡḡī, Adāb al-ḥisbah, p.8; Ibn Aḡsim al-Gharnāḡī, Hada'iq al-azḡār, as quoted by Gomez; Antologia Arabe, pp.52f., cf. al-Jumāḡī, Fuḡul al-shu'arā, p.93, n.3.

(5) I.R., p.70, Samh., I, p.373, I.N., p.373; Fas., I, p.240.

(6) It is recorded that Khalid heard a man saying poetry, desired to be a muezzin so that he could look at the harim on the roofs. Aghani, XVIII, pp.267f. Saḡḡī, op.cit., p.8; I.A., V, p.210.

(7) Naqā'id, II, p.989; Aghani, XIX, pp.59, 61.

\* (a)s is to be added here and elsewhere .

opponents in that province (1). Soon after, we find that Jarīr disapproved the accusations made by al-Farazdaq in another verse, and he praised Khālīd for building the manār (2). A similar accusation was made against al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī (3). Instead of pulling the minarets down, some of the rulers ordered that they should be closed, and that no one should ascend them at any time (4). In that case adhān was called either from the mosque door or from its roof. Trouble arose in some districts because of the muezzin who misinterpreted things from the minaret (5). For those reasons, the muhtasib imposed strict conditions on the muezzin insisting, for instance, that they should veil their eyes! when proclaiming the adhān. He also ordered that no one should ascend the minaret except the muezzin, and he only at the time of adhān (6). Ibn al-Hājj was of the opinion not to build high minarets firstly because it was not the practice of the Prophet, and secondly because it enabled the muezzin to penetrate the

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- (1) I.A., IV, pp.424f; Zetterstéen, art. "Khālīd b. Abd Allāh al-Kasrī", E.I./1, II, p.878.  
 (2) Naqā'id, II, pp.987,989; Horowitz, op.cit., p.254.  
 (3) Yaq., IV, pp.819f; Jāhiz, op.cit., III, p.209.  
 (4) Aghānī, XVIII, pp.67f.  
 (5) Saḡṭī, op.cit., pp.7f.  
 (6) Op.cit., p.7; I.Ukh., pp.176f. cf. Tanūkhī, Nashwār al-muḥadarah, p.163.

privacy of the people(1).

4. Funeral-prayer in the mosque:

After the death of a citizen, his corpse was brought into the mosque so that ṣalāt al-janāzah might be recited upon it. Prayers had been similarly said upon the corpses of the Prophet, Abū Bakr, and Umar in the mosque (2). Despite the fact that there was no evidence that the Prophet forbade praying over a corpse in the mosque (3), a dispute arose among the jurists as to whether it was permissible (4). Guardians were appointed to prevent people from taking corpses into the Prophet's mosque (5), and a special place outside the mosque was set aside for the purpose (6), but the place was not regularly used (7). Some of the mosques received the name al-janā'iz (the funerals) according to its usage for that purpose (8). In much later times, minarets were used for announcing the names of those who had died. This was not approved of by the jurists except in the case of collective burials (9). In Persia, the mosques were used to receive visits of condolence on certain days after

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- (1) I.Haj.,II,p.241.Also see Qādī Nu'mān, Da'ā'im al-Islam, I,p.178.  
 (2) I.S.,III/1,p.147,cf.p.302; Samh., I,p.376.  
 (3) Bukh., I,pp.331,334; Tir.,IV,pp.250f.  
 (4) I.Haj., II,pp.219f.,281; Tir.,IV,pp.250f.  
 (5) Samh., I,p.376.  
 (6) Op.cit., I,p.378.  
 (7) Tab.,III,p.2436; Samh., I,p.377.  
 (8) I.As.,II/1,pp.80,81; I.A.Had.,p.105.  
 (9) Art. "Fatawa", in al-Manar, XII (1909) pp.272f; cf. Kind., p.266.

death (1). The Qur'an was also recited in the mosque on these occasions (2).

5. Legends associated with mosques and minarets:

Talismans were believed to be associated with certain mosques such as that of al-Qayrawān(3), at Damascus (4), and al-Az'har (5) in Cairo. As a matter of fact, the belief that a magical power lay in pictures prevailing among many different nations, and was not restricted to the Semitic or the eastern peoples, but was known among western people as well (6). The Muslims did not adhere to this belief more than did other peoples. Those who mentioned the statue on the Green Dome of al-Mansūr's palace at Baghdad "that there might be a revolt in the direction to which the spear, in its hand, pointed", should not forget the comment of Yāqūt that "it is impossible and a sheer lie ---" (7).

Legends also developed regarding the minaret of the Damascus Mosque. It was believed that the Eastern minaret was the place

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- (1) Muqad., p.440.  
 (2) A.M., I, p.308.  
 (3) I.A., III, p.386.  
 (4) I.As., II/1, pp.47,48; I.K., IX, pp.157f.  
 (5) Maqr., II, p.273.  
 (6) Croswell, E.M.A., I, p.271, art. "The lawfulness of painting in early Islam", in A.I., XI-XII (1946) pp.165f.  
 (7) Yaq., Mu'jam, II, p.235; Hasan, in Ahmad Taymur, al-Taṣwir 'ind al-ʿArab, p.235.

where the Messiah Jesus would descend and enter the mosque to judge the Muslims, Christians, and Jews alike (1). It was also believed that in it was preserved a piece of the rock which was struck by Moses with his rod to cause the twelve springs to spring up (2).

6. Symbolic figures installed on minarets:

A great deal of care was paid to the top of the minaret, and symbols representing different beliefs were installed upon it. The crescent was the first among such symbols (3). In Islam, the moon was of great importance. The Muslims adopted the lunar calendar (4), and on the moon depended their religious rites such as pilgrimage and fasting (5). In the time of 'Umar I, two crescents, probably made of metal, were sent to the Ka'bah, and hung there (6). The moon, especially during Ramaḍān was watched from the minaret since the earliest times. This motif exercised an increasing influence on Islamic life, and even became the principal symbol of Islam. Together with the minaret, it served to identify the Muslim community (7).

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- (1) I.As., I, pp.213,214,215,217; Mus., XVIII, p.67; al-Harawī, op.cit., p.15; Yaq., II, pp.589,593,596; Horovitz, op.cit., p.256.  
 (2) Al-Harawī, op.cit., p.15; Yaq., II, p.596; cf. Qur'an, II, 60, VII, 160.  
 (3) Masālik, I, p.198; I.Sh., I/1, p.35; Samh., I, p.374; Abū Shāmah, op.cit., I, p.374.  
 (4) Qur'an, II, 189, X, 5.  
 (5) Qur'an, II, 189.  
 (6) I.F., p.20.  
 (7) Yaq., III, p.625, IV, p.339; C.I.A., I, Égypte, I/1, p.121; Anthony, op.cit., p.164.

After the Crusader's invasion, the crescent was replaced by the cross on buildings at Jerusalem (1). Various parts of the mosque including the minaret were decorated with the symbol of the crescent (2).

Religious events were also represented by symbols on the minaret. It was recorded that Ibn Tūlūn put a ushārī (3) (boat) on his minaret instead of the crescent (4). In case this change would cause rise to some opposition, Ibn Tūlūn claimed that he found the boat in the treasury he discovered on the Muqattam hills (5). The legends associated with that boat were disapproved of by al-Maqrīzī (6). The Mausoleum of al-Shāfī'ī has a similar boat on its dome (7). The practice of setting boats on religious buildings is perhaps to be associated with the ark of Noah which is mentioned in the Qur'an (8). When Ibn Tūlūn built his mosque on the Muqattam hills he might

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(1) I.A., XI, p.364.

(2) 'Akkūsh, Tarikh wa waṣf al-jāmi' al-Tūlūnī, p.67, n.1., Van Bercham, art. "The mosaics of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem", in Creswell, E.M.A., I, pp.195f.

(3) It is a small boat especially used in the Nile and the gulfs. See 'Abd al-Wahhab, Tarikh al-masajid al-athariyah, I, p.112.

(4) Maqr., II, pp.266,267; I.D., IV, p.123; Qalq., III, p.344.

(5) I.D., IV, p.123; Corbet, art. "The life and works of Ahmad Ibn Tūlun", J.R.A.S. (1891), p.545, n.2.

(6) Khiṭaṭ, II, p.268.

(7) Op.cit., II, pp.262f.

(8) Qur'an, XI, 38-51, XXIII, 27-29, cf. Maqr., II, p.463; Yaq., IV, pp.325,326,

have been influenced by the story of Noah's ark landing on Jūdī mountain, and thereby representing it by installing a boat on the minaret of the mosque.

In the Sacred Mosque at Mecca, a statue of a pigeon was found on the Dome of Drink. This might have been installed by the Fatimids who presented three such birds to the Az'har mosque in Cairo (1). Metal doves were also installed on the minaret. They symbolised the Hijrah, (Flight) when the Prophet hid in a cave which his pursuers did not search when they saw a pair of doves on its rocky walls and concluded that no one could possibly have entered it (2). Other types of figures were installed. In Sayrajān, 'Adud al-Dawlah had installed on its minaret very skilfully objects worked of wooden handicraft (3). A copper figure resembling a man standing on a fish, adorned the Dome of Ḥomṣ mosque (4). It was possible that this figure was taken from the church of which the mosque formed a part.

#### 7. Designation of Names:

Although mosques were very often called after their founders, or in memory of other persons, they were also named for other reasons. Some of them were thus called after the salient features of their construction (5), others after the outstanding colour they had (6). Some derived their name from

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(1) Cf. Maqr., II, p.273; Wensinck, A Handbook of early Muhammadan traditions, p.120.

(2) Quṭub al-Dīn, K.al-Islam, p.448; Scott, op.cit., p.125.

(3) Muḡad., p.464.

(4) Op.cit., p.156.

(5) I.D., IV, p.81, V, p.42; I.A.Had., pp.119,120,121.

(6) I.D., IV, p.56.

the names of the mosque personnel (1), or the names of tribes (2). The names of other mosques were associated with certain events (3). The plants which grow inside or around the mosque sometimes gave their names to it (4).

Minarets were generally called after the names of their founders, persons (5) or tribes (6). Many of them were called after their building materials (7), the colour of the tiles that adorned them (8), or after the colour of the gold on their surface (9). In a mosque with more than one minaret, the one which was used by the chief of the muezzins given the name of his rank and was called "the chief minaret" (10). In addition to identification of the minaret because of its situation, they were also named because of their size or condition (11). Others were called after their decoration (12), or their shape (13).

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- (1) I.A.Had., p.73; I.D., IV, pp.81,83; I.A., VI, pp.50ff; Yaq., Udaba, VII, p.438.
- (2) Bukh., I, p.116; Tab., II, pp.91,670, III, p.2509; Bal., p.285.
- (3) I.As., II/1, p.88; Idrīsī, op.cit., p.177.
- (4) I.D., IV, p.80; I.As., II/1, pp.56,93.
- (5) Qudamah b. Ja'far, al-Kharaj, p.240; I.D., IV, p.75; Bak., p.34; Bal., p.293.
- (6) Bal., p.355.
- (7) I.F., p.250, Qaz., p.195; Yaq., Mu'jam, IV, p.646; al-Katib al-Isfahani, Tawārikh Al Saljūq, pp.69f.
- (8) Ya'qubi, Buldān, p.19.
- (9) Muqad., pp.305, 324; cf. I.A.R., VIII, p.298.
- (10) Samh., I, p.455; Fas., p.241; Pasha, Mirat al-Haramayn I, p.449.
- (11) I.D., IV, p.61; Qalq., III, p.342f.
- (12) I.D., IV, p.61; Muqad., p.159; Masalik, I, p.94.
- (13) Masalik, I, p.181; I.As., II/1, p.20.

Some of the later minarets had clocks, and for that reason they were called the "minarets of the clocks" (1).

In the section on the muezzin we shall see how the word muezzin was used as a proper name. The same was true in the religious buildings. The word Jami, (2) as well as the word Manarah (3) were also used as proper names. Places, such as mountains (4), valleys (5), districts (6), and streets (7) were also called after the names of the religious buildings.

E. The role of the mosque and the minaret in education

1. The subjects taught:

The teaching of the Qur'ān as well as the Sunna of the Prophet encouraged people to learn and teach. The Prophet was asked many times about Islam either inside (8) the mosque or outside (9) it, and the answers were thrice repeated to the listeners who sat around him (10). Many of those who were

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- (1) I.As., II/1, p.20; I.K., IX, p.146.  
 (2) I.S., III/1, p.197, VI, pp.222,228; Ibn Al-Faradī, Tārīkh al-Ulamā' al-Andalus, I, p.145.  
 (3) Ibn Abī Ya'la, Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah, II, p.195; cf. Yaq., IV, p.648.  
 (4) Bak., p.105.  
 (5) Yaq., IV, p.72.  
 (6) Op.cit., IV, p.648; cf. Tab., III, p.2140.  
 (7) I.Jaw., VI, p.124.  
 (8) Bukh., I, pp.47,128.  
 (9) Op.cit., I, 33ff, 44f.  
 (10) Op.cit., I, p.36.

instructed in the principles of the new religion were sent abroad to teach Islam (1). Indeed the rulers who were appointed by the caliphs were ordered to teach the Qur'ān to their subjects.

The Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth were the principal subjects taught, language was introduced later (2). Tafsīr had the priority among the subjects. This was due to the extension of the Empire, and the increased need of the people to derive from the Qur'ān the solutions for the problems which they faced. These subjects were taught to groups of students who sat round their tutors. Each group formed a class for a special stage of study. In Qazwin, Muhammad al-Rāfi'ī had a majlis in the mosque in which he taught about two hundred students daily after Afternoon Prayer (3). In Tūnis tafsīr was taught after morning prayer (4). Lectures on tafsīr were also delivered in the principal mosque of Baghdad in about 200/815 (5). Ḥadīth was also studied in the mosque and special circles were devoted to it (6). Circles were numerous, and amounted in 'Amr's mosque to one hundred and ten (7). In those circles general news was announced to the people by officials who went to each circle informing them of the news (8).

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(1) Op.cit., I, p.27.

(2) Yaq., Udaba', VI, p.318, XII, pp.90,91.

(3) Qaz., pp.293, cf.301.

(4) I.B., IV, p.342.

(5) Yaq., VII, p.105; cf. Suy., I, p.183; Yaq., IV, pp.243f;  
I.K., XIV, p.321.

(6) Muqad., p.415; Yaq., IV, pp.243f., VI, pp.318,383.

(7) Muqad., p.205.

(8) I.R., p.116.

Mosques were assigned to special schools according to the rite they followed (1), and even some of the rites which disappeared later had their circles in the mosque in early times (2). The practice of teaching in the mosque continued for a long time. In the time of al-Shāfi'ī (d.819), lectures were continually delivered in the mosque, starting after morning prayer, and ending by noon. The lecture on the Qur'ān was delivered first, then one on the Ḥadīth followed by "mudhākarah wa nazar" (3), and finally literature, prosody, grammar, and poetry were studied (4).

Although the Qur'ān did not encourage reciting poetry (5), this subject seems to have been taught in the mosques from the earliest times (6). The Prophet had his laureate-poet, Ḥassān b. Thābit, who read poems in his presence on different occasions, and the Prophet himself even encouraged the reading of poetry (7). Poetry was recited or taught in many mosques (8), and was also composed or sung on the minaret (9). Religious poems were naturally always preferred in the mosque (10).

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- (1) C.I.A., II, Syrie du nord, I/1-2, pp.354, 368.  
 (2) Muqad., pp.179, 439.  
 (3) I.K., XII, p.125.  
 (4) Yaq., VI, p.383.  
 (5) XXVI, pp.224-227.  
 (6) Tab., II, p.1266, Yaq., VI, p.432.  
 (7) Aghānī, XIII, p.67; Bukh., I, p.125.  
 (8) Aghānī, III, p.148, XIV, p.98, XVIII, pp.42f; Kind., p.89; Yaq., IV, p.135, VI, pp.215, 318.  
 (9) Masalik, I, pp.209f., 240.  
 (10) I.A.Had., p.172.

Al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī read his book, the history of Baghdād in the mosque of al-Manṣūr (1). History books were also read in the Eastern minaret of the Damascus Mosque either by the authors or by their students (2). Some of the teachers could deliver lectures on their specialized subjects in more than one mosque on an appointed hour of a certain day (3).

In spite of the fact that philosophy disappeared from the mosque in the early days, and those who studied it were banded as Zindīqs, yet lectures on the subject were delivered later (4). Special lectures were also delivered on medicine by ‘Abd al-Latīf al-Baghdādī (1162-1231) in al-Az’har mosque in Cairo (5).

The minaret as a part of the mosque was also used for delivering lectures on different subjects, both religious and secular. The Western minaret of the Damascus Mosque had many apartments, some of which were used for scientific studies. Al-Ghazālī, and many others stayed in it for purposes of study and devotion (6). Books were read in it, and assemblies for discussions of various matters were held (7). ‘Abd Allāh b. Taṭlī delivered lectures in the Western minaret on chemistry and

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(1) Yāq., I, pp. 246f.

(2) I.Ās., I, p. 58.

(3) Yāq., V, pp. 209, 210,; VII, p. 174.

(4) Abn Abī Usaybi‘ah, op.cit., II, p. 204.

(5) Op.cit., II, p. 207; cf. Maqr., Suluk, I/3, p. 827.

(6) See I.tikaf in Sect. B. 5. of this chapter.

(7) I.Ās., I, p. 58; Ibn Abī Usaybi‘ah, op.cit., II, pp. 204f.

philosophy as well (1). The minarets were also used as pulpits to proclaim regulations concerning religious teachings. Thus when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn adopted the Ash'arī's creed, he ordered that the ḥaqīdah, which was known al-murshidah, should be proclaimed from the minarets of Cairo each day in the time of the tasbīḥ. This custom was still in use in Cairo and Fustāṭ in the time of al-Maqrīzī (1427) (2). Other teachings were also proclaimed in the same way (3).

Despite the fact that higher studies were pursued in the mosque, children were also taught such subjects as reciting the Qur'ān and writing (4). Teaching children in the mosque was opposed by some of the jurists because of the undisciplined behaviour of the children (5).

## 2. The recitation of the Qur'ān:

The Qur'ān was also read in the mosque, and from the minaret (6). Reading the Qur'ān was considered as a kind of devotion for which the mosque was originally founded (7). It was said that Ṭhman, who first gathered the Qur'ān together ordered that the Qur'ān be read every morning in the mosque (8). Mālik

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(1) Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, op.cit., II, p.205.

(2) Maqr., Khiṭaṭ, II, pp.273, 358, cf. Watt, Islamic philosophy and theology, pp.82-90.

(3) Ibn al-Jawzī, Talbīs iblis, p.137; Muqaddimah, p.535.

(4) I.R., p.216; I.B., I, p.213.

(5) I.A. Had., p.171.

(6) Ibn al-Jawzī, op.cit., p.137.

(7) Mus., VI, pp.75f., XVII, pp.21f.

(8) Samh., I, p.481.

claimed that al-Hajjāj was the first to introduce this practice (1). It was more likely, however, that it was ʿUthmān who started this practice since there were few copies of the Qurʾān, and few people who knew it at his time. Al-Hajjāj, however, ordered that many copies of the Qurʾān be written and sent to the main cities. A large one was sent to the Prophet's mosque from which people read after the morning prayers of Thursday, and Friday (2). Al-Mahdī followed the practice of al-Hajjāj, and sent many Qurʾān manuscripts together with their stands to the Prophet's mosque (3). Many of the manuscripts which were presented to the Prophet's mosque were written in beautiful script, some of them in gold and were kept on good shelves (4). Al-Hakīm presented to ʿAmr's mosque numerous copies of complete Qurʾān or of parts of the Qurʾān (5). Some of the mosques possessed manuscripts belonging to the Companions, and the Followers from which people read weekly, each Friday (6). In Cordova, there was a manuscript which contained four folios of ʿUthman's manuscript (7). Special Qurʾān manuscripts were

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(1) Op.cit., I, p.480; I.Haj., II, pp.206f., 224f.

(2) I.N., p.376; Samh., I, p.481.

(3) Op.cit..

(4) Samh., I, p.481.

(5) Corbet, in J.R.A.S. (1890), 780f.

(6) I.D., IV, p.73.

(7) Idrīsī, op.cit., pp.210f; cf. I.Id., II, pp.287f.

preserved for teaching people (1), and even in the endowments, a special allowance was made to pay for manuscripts so that poor could read (2). The Qur'ān manuscripts were so many (3) that special places were provided for them (4), and even an amin (keeper) was appointed to look after them (5). Although reading the Qur'ān in a loud voice in the mosque was considered an innovation (6), this practice spread in most mosques in which the Qur'ān had been read melodiously every morning and evening (7). Appointed readers of the Qur'ān had their allowance from endowments or from the money which the caliphs sent from time to time (8). In Amr's mosque, an allowance of three dīnārs a month was assigned for the man who read the Qur'ān manuscript of Asmā', the daughter of Abd al-Azīz, the governor of Egypt in 76/695 (9). In Nīshāpūr, the readers of the Qur'ān used to assemble and read it from after morning prayer till afternoon (10). After morning prayer, the people in

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- (1) I.N., p.376.  
 (2) C.I.A., II, Syrie du nord, I/2, p.351.  
 (3) Ibn al-Jawzī, Muntaẓam, IX, p.224.  
 (4) I.D., IV, p.79.  
 (5) Kind., p.469.  
 (6) I.Haj., II, pp.206f., 224 f.  
 (7) Kind., p.469; I.B., I, p.212.  
 (8) I.K., IX, p.162; I.A.Had., p.232; Pāshā, op.cit., I, pp.346f., 351f.  
 (9) I.D., IV, p.73; cf. Corbet, op.cit., pp.786f.  
 (10) Muqad., p 328.

Egypt assembled round the imām who used to recite a chapter of the Qur'ān at that time (1). In the Damascus Mosque, the Qur'ān used to be read twice a day, after morning, and afternoon prayers (2). Mausoleums as a rule, had regularly appointed readers of the Qur'ān (3).

Whenever any person died, the Qur'ān was read in the mosque (4). Special readings of the Qur'ān associated with individuals - such as Abū 'Amr, Ibn 'Amr, and al-Kassā'ī, prevailed in Syria (5), and the seven readings of the Qur'ān were also taught (6). A particular reading of the Qur'ān called al-Kawthariyah was recited in the Damascus Mosque after afternoon prayer; the Qur'ān was read in it from al-kawthar chapter of the Qur'ān to the very end, and those who did not know the Qur'ān assembled in the mosque at that time (7). The Hadīth books, especially the ṣaḥīḥ of Bukhārī, as well as other religious books were recited in the mosque (8). A special religious class called "al-mī'ād", used to be held in some of the mosques; among the subjects taught were the Hadīth as well as Qur'ān verses (9).

Teaching in the mosque was continued even after the introduction of schools. Schools had originally been founded in the

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- (1) Op.cit., p.205.  
 (2) I.J., p.271.  
 (3) I.D., IV, pp.102,103.  
 (4) A.M., I, p.308.  
 (5) Muqad., p.180.  
 (6) I.D., IV, p.83; Muqad., p.180.  
 (7) I.J., pp.271f.  
 (8) Muqad., pp.182,202,323,365; Pashā, op.cit., I, pp.364f.,351f.  
 (9) I.D., IV, p.15; Maqr., Suluk, I/3, p.827, n.3.

mosques or near them (1), and some of the schools had special mosque in them (2). The Larger mosques to which schools were attached were administered by the caliph (3).

### 3. Their use to astronomy:

Astronomy received great attention from the Muslims (4). By it, they could ascertain the time of the religious rites (5), and direct the qiblah accurately towards Mecca (6). Astronomy advanced under the patronage of the caliphs whose interest is said to have been in part due to the desire for horoscopes and other astrological information. Muslims made important contributions to what might be called practical astronomy and to astronomical instruments, especially in the Abbasid period (7). Al-Ma'mūn was very much interested in astronomical observations, and for this purpose, he constructed at different places several important observatories (8). The important cities of the Islamic state, such as Baghdad, Cairo, Cordova, and Samarqand had famous one (9). Some of the observatories were situated above the mosque (10).

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- (1) I.B., I, p.212, II, pp.83, 110, III, p.80.  
 (2) Op.cit., II, p.39; I.A.Had., pp.90ff.  
 (3) I.A., VIII, p.518. Levy, op.cit., p.298.  
 (4) Astronomy was the fundamental and the highest science of the Sumerians and Babylonians, Diez, The ancient words of Asia, p.70.  
 (5) Muqaddimah, pp.408ff.  
 (6) Maqr., Khitāṭ, II, p.262.  
 (7) Landau, op.cit., p.170.  
 (8) Samadi, op.cit., p.243; al-Findī, art."al-Falak", in D.M.S., 1959, p.152.  
 (9) Bamāt, art. "Kayf asham al-Muslimūn fī al-hadārah al-insaniyah," al-muslimun, No.7-8 (1962) pp.58ff.; Findī op.cit., pp.152f.  
 (10) Maqr., I, pp.125ff.

Such mosques were called the "mosques of observations" (1). However, the installation of these observatories arose various rumours which were circulated at the time among people (2). In the eleventh century, the Great Mosque at Sāva had a good collection of astronomical instruments such as astrolabes for the study of astronomy (3).

The minaret had an important role in astronomy (4). From it, the moon was observed every month (5), and the muezzin who summoned the worshipper from the minaret had to be well acquainted with astronomy to ascertain the time of prayers (6). Astronomical tables (Aziāj sing. Zīj) (7) were made, some of which were placed in the minaret to be used in time of need. It was a special occasion to install a zīj on the minaret. When a zīj was installed on the minaret of al-ʿArūs in the Damascus Mosque, all the city was illuminated (8). The Pharos of Alexandria was also used in al-Mutawakkil's reign for the observation of the sun to ascertain its setting during Ramadān (9).

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- (1) Op.cit., II, p.445.  
 (2) Cf. Maqr., I, pp.125ff.  
 (3) Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, pp.211f.  
 (4) Cf. I.A., IX, p.150.  
 (5) Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʿuf, op.cit., p.77.  
 (6) See Chapter II B. of this thesis.  
 (7) Cf. Taj, II, p.55; Findī, op.cit., p.153.  
 (8) Ibn al-ʿImād al-Hanbalī, Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab, VI, p.252.  
 (9) Mas., Tanbīh, p.46.

CHAPTER II  
THE ADHĀN AND THE MU'ADHDHIN

A. The adhān:

Adhān (1) in general terms means "proclamation". Technically, the term is used to denote a special call to Friday and five daily prayers, with fixed words at certain times of the day.

The term adhān as a call to prayer is not mentioned in the Qur'ān, but the call to prayer and particularly to Friday prayer, is mentioned, and the verb nidā' (2) is used for it. In literature, the words nidā' and adhān are also used quite indiscriminately. Adhān which was used to indicate prayer time (3) was also used in a profane sense (4). Nidā' on the other hand was used both in a religious and in a secular context (5).

1. The idea and form of the standard adhān:

When the prayer was prescribed in Mecca, they prayed without any preliminary call or adhān, (6), and similarly when they first came to Medina (7). It was difficult for the faithful

(1) It is also pronounced adhīn and ta'dhīn. See Ibn Manzūr, Lisān al-ʿArab, XIV, p.150.

(2) LXII, 9.

(3) Naqa'd, I, p.365; I.S., IV/1, p.85; Tab., I, pp.210, 2291, 3105; I.A., V, p.214; Kutub., I, p.365, n.1.

(4) Qur'ān, VII, 44, XXII, 27; Bukh., I, pp.104f, 498; Mus. II, pp.9, 115f; I.S., IV/1, p.21; Tab., I, pp.1427, 3411; I.A., I, p.106; Yaq. Udaba, IV, p.116; Nuway., XVI, p.439, XVII, p.338.

(5) Qur'ān, LXII, 9; Bukh., I, p.160; Musnad, V, pp.18, 34; Tab., I, 861 uses the verb yashīh (to cry); Aghānī, VI, p.168 uses the verb aṣat; Becker, op.cit., pp.386f.

(6) Ya:qūbī, Tārīkh (Beirūt), II, p.13; Tab., I, p.1164;

(7) I.H., p.347; Musnad, IX, p.169; Tir., I, p.306.

to know the exact hour of prayer, and therefore needed some way to indicate it. They deliberated with the Prophet on that matter, and many suggestions were put forward: a fire to be kindled (1) at each time; a horn (shofar) to be blown, as with the Jews (2), a nāqūs (clapper) to be struck as among the Christians (3). Among the other suggestions made was the lifting up of a flag (4) at prayer times or the beating of a

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- (1) Bukh., I, pp.160,161; Mus., IV, p.79; This practice was used by the Jews as a sign of announcing the appearance of the new moon. See Hartmann, art. "Zum Theme: Minaret und Leuchtturm", Der Islam, I(1910), p.390; Wensinck, art. "Feuer als Signal", Der Islam, I,(1910), pp.100f.
- (2) I.H., p.347; Bukh., I, p.160; Musnad, XI, p.65; I.A., Nihayah, III, p.116; Doutté, art. "Le minarets et l'appel a la pierre", R.A., (1899) p.345; Tir., I, p.309.
- (3) In the early days, the Christians had no signal for their prayer meetings. Subsequently, various means were used. Trumpets seem to have been used in Egypt and Palestine, and were used in Palestine till the sixth century A.D. In some monasteries, a person used to go to every monk's cell calling him to prayer by the knock of a hammer. The word "Hallelujah" was also sung in other places as a call to church, while the naqus was mostly used in Syria. The use of bells was not known until the year 865 A.D. Bingham, Origins Ecclesiastica, or The antiquities of the Christian church, III, pp.233ff. See also its abridgement, I, pp.247f; Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, pp.28f. The word naqus which is still in use among the Nestorians, in the form naqusha, has often been mentioned in the Arabic poetry. See Yasu'i, op.cit., II, pp.207,208; Shabushti, al-Diyarat, pp.147,187; Yaq., Mu'jam, IV, p.339; Bak., Mu'jam, p.376; Qaz., p.172; Sameh (in B.F.E.C.U., 1954/5, p.155) has wrongly translated naqus, as a bell. Fraenkel (op.cit., p.276) was not right when he stated the Prophet adopted the naqus for sometimes; See I.H., p.347; Bukh., I, p.160; I.A., IV, p.181.
- (4) A.D., I, p.194.

drum (1), but none of these proposals was accepted at that time. During this period, according to Ibn Sa'ad, the phrase "al-salāt<sup>u</sup> jāmi'ah" (Prayer assemblies) was used by the herald of the Prophet as a signal for collecting the believer for the prayers (2). It seems very likely that the above phrase was used after the meeting held between the Prophet and the believer, and remained in use till the introduction of the standard form of adhān later on.

According to Ibn Hishām, the Muslims still had no agreed form of call to prayer when they first came to Medina, and assembled at the supposed time without any notification (3). The date of introducing adhān as a call to prayer is not certain. According to one reference, it was first introduced in Mecca before Hijrah (4). According to another, it was introduced in the first year of Hijrah (622) in Medina (5), while a third reference asserts that it was introduced in the second year of Hijrah, (623) (6). It seems that the latter is the most probable, and its adoption after the battle of Badr seems very likely. Tabarī records that the Prophet on the day of the battle, when the morning prayer approached, called

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- (1) K.al-Fih, I, p.226; Meakin, The Moors, p.267.  
 (2) Op.cit., I/2, p.7.  
 (3) Op.cit., p.347; cf. Musnad, IX, pp.169, 171; Bukh., I, p.160; Mus., IV, pp.75f.  
 (4) Qastalanī, Irshād al-sarī, II, p.2.  
 (5) Mas., Muruj, IV, p.155.  
 (6) I.S., I/2, p.7; Mas., Tanbih, p.237.

"aiyuhā al-nās al-ṣalāt (1) (O' people Prayer), and did not use the form of adhan which became known afterwards.

Agreeably to some traditions, the idea of adhan in its standard form was revealed in the mi'rāj (2), according to another, it was revealed in a dream to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who found that, when he went to inform the Prophet, he had been anticipated by Jibrīl (3), and a third tradition had it that the idea was vouchsafed to 'Abd Allāh b. Ziyād in a vision and was approved by the Prophet, and supported by 'Umar (4). To the effect of the third version, Ibn Hishām records:

"On his arrival, God's messenger had the people gathering to him for prayer at its times without invitation. God's messenger intended using a horn like that used by the Jews for calling their prayers but he dismissed the idea. Then he ordered for a naqus which was made to be struck calling the Muslims to prayer. While they were thus, 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd ... saw the calling and went to God's messenger and told him: "O, God's messenger, a ṭā' if came to me this night, wearing two green clothes and carrying a clapper in his hand. I told him: "O' God's servant, would you sell this clapper?" He said: "And what will you do with it?" I answered: "To call prayers with it". He said: "Shall I tell you of something better?" I asked, "What is it?" He answered: "say

1. Allāh<sup>u</sup> akbar. (4 times) (God is the greatest)
2. Ashhad<sup>u</sup>an lā ilāh<sup>a</sup> illā , llah (twice) (I bear witness that there is no god but God.)
3. Ashhad<sup>u</sup>anna Muḥammad<sup>ah</sup> rasūl<sup>u</sup>, llah. (twice) (I bear witness that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God).

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(1) Op.cit., I, p.1289; cf. I.A., Kāmil, II, p.104.  
 (2) Nuway, XVI, p.291; Q.N., I, p.172.  
 (3) I.H., pp.347f; Qast., II, p.4.  
 (4) I.H., p.347; I.S., I/2, pp.7f; Bukh., I, p.160.

4. Hayya 'alā aṣ-ṣalāt. (twice) (Come to prayer).
5. Hayya 'alā 'l-falāh. (twice) (Come to salvation).
6. Allāh<sup>u</sup> akbar. (twice) (God is the greatest).
7. Lā ilāh<sup>a</sup> illā 'llāh. (once) (There is no god but God).

And when he told this to God's messenger he said: "It is a true vision, if God wills. So go with Bilāl and tell it to him so that he would call the adhan with, for he has a louder voice than you have". When Bilāl called the adhan with it, Umar b. al-Khattab heard it while he was in his house. He went to God's messenger dragging his coat and saying: "O' God's Prophet, by He who sent you with truth, I have seen what he saw". And God's messenger said: "Praise be to God". (1).

Bilāl used to announce it from the highest roof in the neighbourhood of the mosque.

According to a tradition concerning the formulas of the adhan, it is recorded that Abū Maḥdhūrah, who was the Prophet's muezzin in Mecca, was taught by the Prophet to repeat the first formula twice only, and to chant the second and the third each one twice in a low voice and then to repeat each of the two twice in a loud voice. This repetition is called tarjī: (2). The Hanafites and the Hanbalites follow Bilāl's form, while the Mālikites follow Abū Maḥdhurah's. The Shāfi'ites, however, follow Bilāl's in addition to what is known as tarjī: (3). After the fifth formula, another one "al-ṣalat<sup>u</sup> khayr<sup>un</sup> min'an-nawm" (prayer is better than sleeping) was

(1) I.H., pp.347f; See Musnad, VII, pp.312f; Bukh., I, p.160.

(2) Mus., IV, pp.80f; Qast., II, p.4; Shawkānī, Nayl al-awaṭar, II, p.37.

(3) K.al-Fiqh, I, pp.226f., n.1.2.

added to the morning adhān by Bilāl, and approved by the Prophet (1). This formula is called "tathwīb". (2)

The above form of adhān is the usual practice of the sunnites, authority for it is furnished by the dream of ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd, and the formula added by Bilāl. The Shīʿites however add another formula, "hayya ʿalā khayr al-ʿamal", (come to the best of work), between the fifth and the sixth formulae of the above form (3).

From a historical point of view, we do not have a record of the date in which the formula "come to the best of work" was introduced. The earliest evidence for "come to salvation" (4) in the literature occurs in the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (684-704), in a poetical verse composed by al-Akhtal (5).

In the year 307/968, a muezzin was killed in Qayrawān since he refused to add "come to the best of work" to the adhān (6). When ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī died in 322/934, his son Abū al-Qāsim replaced the phrase "prayer is better than sleeping" with the phrase "come to the best of work". (7). Maqrīzī records that the first person ordered to mention "come to the best of work" in Egypt was Jawhar, the army leader of

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(1) I.S., I/2, p.8; I.M., I, p.244.

(2) Tathwīb has differently been explained by the jurists, see Tir., I, pp.313f; Ibn Qudamah, al-Mughnī, I, pp.407f; I.Haj., II, p.262; Mann, Der Islam einst und jetzt, p.73.

(3) Q.N., I, pp.172ff; Shawk, II, p.39; al-ʿAmīlī, Aḡyan al-Shīʿah, II, pp.145f; Maqr., II, p.271.

(4) Cf. Shābushtī, op.cit., p.186.

(5) As quoted by Horowitz., op.cit., p.254.

(6) I.Id., I, pp.182f.

(7) K.al-ʾIstibṣār, p.205.

al-Mu'izz the Fatimid, in 359/969 in Ibn Tūlūn's mosque, which was still in use until 567/1171 when it was abandoned by Ṣalāh al-Dīn (1). In 360/970, this formula was proclaimed in Damascus and all the mosques of al-Shām, then the same formula was added to the iqāmah as well (2). Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, however, who released this country from the Fatimids discarded this formula (3). In Aleppo, Sa'd al-Dawlah added this formula in the year 367/979 (4). It remained in use until 543/1148 when it was discarded by Nūr al-Dīn Zangī (5).

## 2. Various forms of calling to prayer:

Though the adhān is the established rule for calling people to prayer, various forms were in common use. The phrase "prayer assemblies", for example, was used before and after the introduction of the standard adhān. The same words were used to call people for voluntary prayers, such as those of the two feasts of the eclipse of the moon and the sun, the prayer for rainfall, and so on. It was also used to announce news to people such as those of the conquests, or to precede the orders of the ruler (6). In the

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- (1) Maqr., II, p. 270, cf. I.A., VIII, p. 435; Al-Dawādārī, al-Durrah al-muḍīyah fī akhbar al-dawlah al-Fatīmiyah, p. 125; Abu al-Fadā'il al-Hamawī, al-Tarikh al-Manṣurī, p. 60, and Suy., II, p. 15 record the year of introduction as 358H.
- (2) I.K., XI, p. 270.
- (3) Op.cit., XII, p. 113.
- (4) The year has also been recorded as 358H., and 369H., see Ibn al-Adīm, op.cit., I, p. 172; cf. Maqr., II, p. 271.
- (5) Ibn al-Adīm, op.cit., II, pp. 293f.
- (6) I.S., I/2, p. 7; Mas., Muruj, V, p. 292; Bukh., I, p. 266; Mus., XVIII, pp. 80, 84, Tab., III, p. 861; Dhah., II, p. 373; Goldziher, art. "Van den Berg's Fath al-Karīb", Z.D.M.G., XLIX (1895) p. 315; Musnad, VIII, p. 65; Azraqī, op.cit., p. 340.

time of the caliph ʿAlī, the call "ayyuhā al-nās al-ṣalāt al-ṣalāt" (1) (O' people, Prayer, Prayer!) was used by him for the morning prayer. Later on "Prayer assemblies" was used as a call to noon prayer (2). In Kh<sup>W</sup>arizm, the muezzin had to collect the people, and those refusing to come to the mosque were whipped and fined (3). This strictness in carrying out the rules of Islam may be considered one of the reasons why there was strong opposition to building minarets in that part of the country (4).

When orders were issued to build minarets for calling the adhān, these minarets were soon also used for chanting religious recitations which are known as tasbīh (glorification of God by exclaiming subhān Allāh). This was not in practice at the birth of Islam. Adhān was the only call to prayer. It is recorded that this practice was first introduced in Egypt during the rule of Maslamah b. Mukhallad as a reaction to the Christian clappers. The ʿArīf of the muezzins in ʿAmr's mosque started reciting daily tasbīh from the second half of the night until dawn (5). This custom developed through the centuries. In the Ṭulūnid period, Ahmad b. Ṭulūn preserved a room for special muezzins, twelve in number, called mukabbirūn. Every night, it was the duty of four of them to

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- (1) I.S., III/1, p. 24; Tab., I, p. 3460; Mas., IV, p. 429; I.A., III, p. 328.  
 (2) Dhah., II, p. 267.  
 (3) I.B., III, pp. 4f., also IV, pp. 151f; cf. Bak., Mughrib, p. 169.  
 (4) I.Haw., p. 321; Pedersen, op. cit., p. 374.  
 (5) Maqr., II, p. 270.

proclaim religious recitations and to read the Qur'ān in turn. The same practice was followed in the time of Khumārawayh, his successor (1). Reciting tasbīh with the adhān rapidly became a custom (2). In addition to the morning adhān decreed by the law two other calls were subsequently introduced in Egypt during the night to arouse those who desired to perform supererogatory acts of devotion. The first was called "the first" (al-Ūlā) and the second "the everlasting" (al-abad) (3). In Morocco, a special phrase, "Arise and Praise be to God" was added, in the reign of 'Abd al-Mu'min (1150), at the end of morning adhān. This was cut off in about 1227 A.D. (4). Such religious recitations which were sometimes recited in poetry had a striking impression on the people (5).

On Thursday nights, a special recitation called "al-salām" (peace) consisted of a salutation to the Prophet, not always expressed in the same words, had to be uttered after the adhān. This was introduced by the muhtasib of Cairo in 760/1358. Later on, in 791/1388, it became the practice to include it after each adhān (6). On Fridays, a different kind

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- (1) Op.cit., II, p.273.  
 (2) Cf. I.D., IV, pp.62f; Manīnī, al-I.lām bi-fadā'il al-Shām, p.86.  
 (3) Lane, op.cit., pp.73ff; Meakin, The Moors, p.267.  
 (4) Meakin, op.cit., p.268.  
 (5) Dhah, IV, p.249; I.K., XIII, p.31; S.I.Jaw., VIII, p.508.  
 (6) Maqr., II, p.272.

of dhikr had to be recited on the minarets before noon adhān as an information to those who desired to attend the prayer. This practice came into use after 700/1300 (1). These additions to the adhān encountered opposition particularly when melody was involved. They were regarded as innovation (2). At a late period, flags or lamps at night were sometimes used to call people to prayer (3).

### 3. Different procedures for summoning rulers to prayer:

After the public adhān had been said, a special call was delivered to the ruler by the same muezzin. In the days of the Prophet, Bilāl had to call at the Prophet's door saying:

"al-Salām ,alayka yā rasūl<sup>a</sup> Allāh wa rahmatuhu wa barakātuhu, hayya ,alā al-salāt, hayya ,alā al-falāh, al-salāt<sup>u</sup> yā rasūl<sup>a</sup> Allāh"

(Peace be upon you, O' Messenger of God and His mercy, and blessings. Come to Prayer, come to salvation. Prayer O' Messenger of God (4).

In the reign of Abū Bakr, the same words were addressed to him except that the phrase "O' messenger of God" was replaced

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- (1) Op.cit., II, p.273.  
 (2) I.Haj., II, pp.248ff; Ibn al-Jawzī, Talbīs, p.137; Maqr., II, p.272.  
 (3) Rohlf's, Adventures in Morocco, p.65; Meakin, The Moors, p.265; Pedersen, op.cit., p.373.  
 (4) Maqr., II, p.271; Ya'qūbī, Tārīkh, (Beirut) II, p.25.

by "The successor of the Messenger of God" (khalīfat rasūl Allāh). In the time of ʿUmar, the latter title was changed into "Prince of the Believer" (Amīr al-Mu'minīn), and the call was ended by an additional phrase "God have mercy upon you" (yarḥamuka Allāh). (1). By the time of ʿAlī, the special call was not used regularly, and was shortened to as few words as "O' Prayer Prayer!" (al-ṣalāt al-ṣalāt) (2).

During the rule of the Umayyads, they returned to the early form of calling the ruler (3), with the replacement of "Amīr al-Mu'minīn" with Amīr only, yet, sometimes they also reduced it to "Prayer, O' Prince" (al-ṣalāt ayyuhā al-amīr) (4). In the early Abbasid period, the same formula was in use, but later one, and under the Fatimids, the muezzins ended the morning adhān, from the minaret only, with "Peace be upon the caliph". This was changed in the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn into "Peace be upon the Prophet", which had to be said every day in Egypt, Syria, and Hijaz before the morning adhān. In the year 761/1359, the word "Prayer" (al-ṣalāt) was added to it by the muhtasib, but it was included only on Thursday night after the night adhān. In

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- (1) It is said that this phrase was added by ʿUthmān not by ʿUmar. Maqr., II, p.271.  
 (2) I.S., III/1, p.24; VI, p.166; Tab., I, pp.3059f.  
 (3) I.S., V, pp.246, 264f.  
 (4) Jāhiz, op.cit., II, p.93.

the year 791/1388, the above form became the rule in all prayer times (1).

In rare case, a complete adhān was chanted at the door of the caliph in order to indicate to him the displeasure of the people as was the case in the time of al-Malik al-Ādil, the Ayyubid ruler of Syria and Egypt. This was in the year 626/1228 when he signed the truce with the Crusaders (2).

Normally, the human voice was used to call the ruler at the time of prayer, but trumpets and drums were sometimes used (3). By order of the caliph al-Tā'i, drums were beaten in 368/978 at the door of ʿAḍud al-Dawlah three times a day. This is the first such occasion to be practiced in Islam. The same was done for Ṣamsām al-Dawlah, Sharaf al-Dawlah, and Bahā' al-Dawlah (4). Drums were beaten five times a day for caliphs only, but in spite of this, they were also beaten for Sulṭāns (5). The vizier Fakhr al-Dawlah (1083) had the two qualifications: the drums were beaten for him five times a day on one occasion, while only three times on the other (6). The drum-beaters seem to have had special allowances (7).

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(1) Maqr., II, pp.271,272; cf. Muqaddimah, 183.

(2) Maqr., Suluk, I/1, p.231.

(3) Cf. Muqaddimah, pp.216f; Former, art. "Būq", E.I./1, supp., pp.42ff, art. "Tabl", op.cit., p.216.

(4) Ibn Miskawayh, Tajarib al-umam, VI, p.396; I.A., X, p.215. Ibn al-Jawzi, Muntazam, VIII, pp.30,119, cf. VIII, pp.300f, IX, p.3, X, p.5; I.K., XII, p.123, XIII, p.43;

(5) I.Jaw., VIII, pp.30, 119.

(6) Op.cit., IX, p.6.

(7) Op.cit., VIII, pp.57,64.

#### 4. The ways of calling adhān:

In the early days, adhān was only recited in the chief mosque of the city, but when the mosques were increased in number, each mosque had its adhān and muezzin, but the main mosque was still the first from which the adhān was chanted, and all the other mosques followed simultaneously (1).

The adhān was recited from different places until the minaret made its appearance. When the adhān was first introduced, it was chanted on an open place on the ground (2) or from the roof of the highest house in the neighbourhood of the mosque (3). It was also called from the fortifications of Medina (4). In the year of the conquest of Mecca, 8/630, Bilāl was ordered to chant the adhān from the top of the Ka'bah (5). It is said that he also chanted the adhān from a high rock in a place to the north of Mecca (6). In the Friday prayer the muezzin used to chant one adhān within the mosque when the imām was about to deliver his speech from the pulpit. In the days of 'Uthmān (7), an additional adhān, chanted on the Zawra', (8) was introduced, which had to be recited before the establ-

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- (1) Maqr., II, p. 270; I.S., III/1, p. 121; Q.N., I, p. 177; Ibn 'Abd al-Ra'uf, op.cit., p. 73.  
 (2) Bukh., I, p. 166.  
 (3) I.H., p. 347; A.D., I, p. 206; I.Haj., II, p. 241; Samh., I, p. 141.  
 (4) I.S., I/2, p. 7.  
 (5) I.S., II/1, p. 99, III/1, p. 167; Azraqī, op.cit., p. 192; I.A., II, p. 193; Abū al-Fida, Tarikh, I, p. 154; Ibn Hisham says that the Prophet ordered Bilāl to recite the adhān only.  
 (6) Nāsir-i Khusrāu, op.cit., p. 114.  
 (7) It is also said Mu'āwiyah. cf. al-Shāfi'ī, al-Umm, I, p. 173.  
 (8) It is a high place in the market of Medina. see Yaq., Mu'jam, II, p. 955.

ished one (1).

The introduction of the minaret (665) did not cause the disappearance of other methods for calling people to prayer. Before the construction of the Qubā' mosque by al-Walīd I, the adhān used to be called from a domed <sup>step</sup> platform (2). Al-Farazdaq (c.96/714) mentioned that the walls of the towns were used for the recitation of the adhān, (3). After the introduction of the maqṣūrah (4), the muezzin used to call the Friday's adhān from within, but it was forbidden in Egypt in 219/834 (5).

On the roof of the Sacred Mosque at Mecca, there was a zullah on which the muezzin used to call the adhān at Friday prayer while the imām was in the pulpit. It was built during the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and was demolished and rebuilt with additions during the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil (240/854) (6).

In the eastern part of the Islamic world, the muezzins had to recite the Friday adhān on a raised platform (dakkah) facing the pulpit (7). Although Ibn Ṭūlūn's mosque had a

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(1) Bukh., I, pp. 231f; al-Umm, I, p. 173; I.A., III, p. 90.

(2) Samh., II, p. 24.

(3) Naqa'id, I/3, p. 565; Tab., II, p. 1302.

(4) ~~It is a~~ place set apart in the mosque where the caliph used to pray. They assumed that it was introduced by 'Uthman, but it is most certain that Mu'awiyah introduced it after the attempt to assassinate him. See Hasan, op.cit., p. 36; Muqaddimah, pp. 225f.

(5) Kind., p. 195; Lane, op.cit., p. 584; I.D., IV, p. 68.

(6) Azraqī, op.cit., pp. 332f.

(7) Muqad., p. 327; cf. I.Haj., II, pp. 207f.

minaret, the muezzin called the adhān from the dome (1). It was also called from a staircase (sullam) (2), or a chamber (3) in 'Amr's mosque. On the Day of 'Arafah, the adhān used to be called from a dukkān at the rear of 'Arafah's mosque (4).

#### 5. Iqāmah:

When the congregation assembles, and the imām attends the prayer, the muezzin starts reciting a second adhān which is called iqāmah. It is a prelude to the prayer requiring those who assembled to get ready (5). Its formulae are:

1. Allāh<sup>u</sup> akbar. (twice)
2. Ashhad<sup>u</sup> an lā ilāh<sup>a</sup> illā 'llāh. (once)
3. Ashhad<sup>u</sup> anna Muhammad<sup>an</sup> rasūl<sup>u</sup> 'llāh. (once)
4. Hayya 'alā aṣ-ṣalāt. (once)
5. Hayya 'alā 'l-falāḥ. (once)
6. Qad qūmat aṣ-ṣalāt. (twice)
7. Allāh<sup>u</sup> akbar. (twice)
8. Lā ilāh<sup>a</sup> illā 'llāh (once)

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(1) Maqr., II, pp.268f.

(2) I.D., IV, p.66; Mubārak, op.cit., IV,p.47.

(3) I.D., IV, pp.67f.

(4) Azraqī, op.cit., p.413.

(5) Tir., I, p.314; Art. "Ikāma", S.E.I., p.161.

(6) The Hanafites say: it is as the adhan with the addition of the sixth formula. The Malikites say that the sixth formula to be mentioned once only.

Iqāmah is very important for the prayer, and regarded as the original adhān, so it is called adhān too (1). It indicates the imminent beginning of the prayer. In a few cases, iqāmah was the only call to prayer as was the case in the time of Ibn Ziyād in 60/679, when he ordered his herald to recite the iqāmah (2). Again, in 120/737, Yūsuf al-Thaqafī ordered the muezzin to recite iqāmah without adhān (3). To forbid the long interval between the adhān and the iqāmah, and to give a considerable time for the people to attend, the period between the two calls was limited by the force of law by the time in which a person could perform the ritual ablution (wuḍū') and pray two rak'ahs (4), except in the case of evening prayer in which the iqāmah must follow the adhān after a very short interval (5). Between adhān and iqāmah, a short call was sometimes recited at the door of the mosque to inform those who did not hear the adhān (6). The latter was considered by Ibn al-Ḥājj as an innovation (7). The iqāmah was recited inside the mosque and not, like the adhān, from outside it, and therefore called in a lower tune (8). It is not recommended that iqāmah be

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- (1) Bukh., I, pp. 231f; Qast., II, p. 178.  
 (2) Tab., II, p. 260.  
 (3) Tab., II, pp. 1648f.  
 (4) Bukh., I, pp. 164, 165; I, Qud., I, p. 413. Rak'ah means "a bending of the torso from an upright position followed by two prostrations."  
 (5) The Hanafites consider it as long as the time of reciting three short verses of the Qur'an.  
 (6) Tir., I, p. 314.  
 (7) I. Haj., II, p. 262.  
 (8) Mus., IV, pp. 78f.

called by more than one muezzin except in the case when the caller's voice is not sufficiently loud to be heard by the congregation. The person who recites the iqāmah must then be the same one who chants the adhān (1). While reciting iqāmah, all the congregation should direct their faces towards the qiblah (2).

6. The fundamentals of adhān:

Arabic must be the language of the adhān, except in the case of non-Arabs when it could be recited in their own language, although it is also recommended to be recited in Arabic (3).

Adhān must be recited at one time without long intervals or talking between its formulae. In some cases, however, talking is permitted either during (4) or immediately after (5) the call.

Normally, it is completely chanted by one person, and should not be chanted by two or more persons each reciting part of it.\* This is different from what is called "adhān al-jawq" (the chorus adhān) or "al-adhān al-Sultānī" (the royal adhān) which is chanted together in the mosque or on the minaret by a group of muezzins each of them reciting a complete adhān (6). This sort of adhān was introduced by the Umayyads (7).

- (1) I.S., VII/2, p. 195; Tir., I, pp. 315f; I. Qud., I, p. 415; Abū Ḥanīfah and Mālik do not make difference between the two.  
 (2) I.S., V, p. 271.  
 (3) The Hanafites ascertain that the adhān was not ordered at all without the Arabic. See K.al-Fiqh, I, p. 229, n. 3.  
 (4) Bukh., I, pp. 173f., 229. The Hanbalites forbid it.  
 (5) I.S., II, p. 113, Musnad, IV, p. 171; Ibn Abd al-Ra'uf, op.cit., p. 73.  
 (6) \* (Al-Umm, I, p. 72) I. Haj., II, pp. 207f, 242ff.  
 (7) Qast., II, pp. 16f; I. Haj., II, pp. 208-211, K.al-Fiqh, I, p. 229.

The melody of the adhān is not fixed, and each muezzin recites it at will, provided that he retains the right pronunciation of its words. Some countries were famous in their way in which the adhān was recited. Jerusalem was regarded as the most perfect (1). In Egypt, there was a special adhān which was recited as "al-nuwāh" (dirge) at the last third of each night (2). In the Damascus mosque, the muezzins used different tunes in the adhān for each night of the week (3). This melody for the adhān met with some opposition from the jurists (4), but in spite of that its art was highly developed and one could hear different tunes in one city at the same time (5). In Khurāsān and many other places, the muezzins recited the adhān in a melodious way, "tatrīb" (6). There the voice of the muezzin was very striking to the hearer, especially in the morning adhān (7). It was said that the tunes of some of the singers of secular melodies were inspired by it. Is'ḥāq the singer is reported to have based his tunes on the melody of 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the muezzin of al-Mu'tasim (8). As the art of reciting the adhān developed, al-Muqaddasī mentioned many places in which adhān was chanted without melody (9).

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(1) Muqad., p.167.

(2) Op.cit., p.205.

(3) Ḥabīb, art. "Al-Adhān wa al-Mu'adhdhin fī al-Islām", in al-Hilal, XXXIX, p.394.

(4) Cf. I.Haj., II, pp.244f.

(5) Cf. Hurgronje, Mekka, II, p.87.

(6) Muqad., p.327.

(7) Ibshīhī, op.cit., II, p.200.

(8) Aḥanī, V, p.69.

(9) Muqad., pp.129, 439, 441.

### 7. Qualities and utilities of adhān:

Adhān as a call to prayer was always regarded as representing the main belief of the Muslim. Its words were a reminder of the essence of God, the unity of God, then the Prophecy and the testimony in the Prophet's message. Adhān contained also an invitation to prayer and to salvation (1). The Prophet recommended people to recite adhān. His companions and even some of the caliphs themselves recited it (2). When the adhān is recited, the hearer must repeat it with the muezzin, but instead of the fourth and the fifth formulae, he says: "La ḥawl<sup>a</sup> wa lā quwwat<sup>a</sup> illā bi-'llāh" (there is no strength nor power but in God). Instead of repeating tathwīb formula in the morning adhān, he repeats: "Sadaqt<sup>a</sup> wa barart<sup>a</sup>" (You have spoken truthfully and rightly) (3). In iqāmah, the same procedure is to be repeated, but instead of the sixth formula, he repeats: "Aqāmahā Allāh wa Adāmahā" (God initiated it and perpetuated it) (4).

In addition to the use of adhān as a call to prayer, it

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- (1) Mus., IV, pp. 77, 89; Tir., II, p. 13.  
 (2) I.S., III/1, p. 208, VII/2, p. 117; Mushad, VII, p. 22. cf. Tab., III, p. 2339; Bukh., I, p. 162; Maqq., IV, p. 6; Juynboll, art. "Adhān" E.l./2, pp. 187f.  
 (3) The Malikites repeat the first three formulae of the adhan only. Bukh., I, p. 232; al-Umm, I, p. 76; Qast., II, p. 8; I. Qud., I, p. 427; al-Ghazali, op.cit., I, p. 130.  
 (4) Qast., II, p. 8; I. Qud., I, p. 427. In the practice of repeating what the muezzin says in adhan and iqamah, Becker (op.cit., pp. 386f.) found a similarity with the response rites of the Mass in Christianity.

was used for other purposes. On the birthday of a child, the father pronounced the adhān in its right ear, and the iqāmah in its left (1). Adhān was also chanted in some countries for a dead person (2). It was also pronounced in the ears of those who were supposed to be possessed by a jinn or evil spirit (3). As a protection against misfortunes, adhān was also chanted for a person who intended to travel (4).

Adhān became the voice of Islam (5), and it was considered as a decisive medium to distinguish the "dār al-Islām" (sphere of Islam) from the "dār al-shirk" (sphere of idolatory)(6).

In time of war, adhān was regarded as a protection against raid. This was the result of an old practice of the Prophet. He used to raid at the time of morning adhān, but if he heard the adhān being recited by the enemy, he would stop the raid (7). This custom became an example to the Muslims in later times (8). Adhān was also used as a cipher for the conveyance of secret messages among the Muslim armies in time of war(9).

- (1) Dhah., III, p.168; I.A., II, p.85; Khat.Bagh., I, p.163; Lane, Arabian society in the Middle Ages, p.186; Westermark, op.cit., II, p.378.
- (2) Khazrajī, op.cit., I, p.129.
- (3) Qaz., p.254; Maqq., VII, p.223; Lane, op.cit., p.186; Westermark, op.cit., II, p.378; cf. Bukh., I, p.308; Mus., IV, pp.90f.
- (4) Westermark, op.cit., I, pp.95, 206, II, p.30.
- (5) Cf. I.S., I/2, p.272; Maqq., VI, p.239, X, p.242.
- (6) Mawardi, al-Aḥkam al-Sultānīyah, p.212. "dār al-shirk" was also called "dār al-harb" (sphere of war). See Watt, Islamic philosophy and theology, p.12, 15.
- (7) I.S., II/1, p.107; Bukh., I, p.162; Mus., IV, p.84; Qast., II, p.7.
- (8) Tab., I, pp.1883,1924, cf. III, pp.1202f; I.S., III/1, p.64; I.A., II, p.258, cf. III, p.98.
- (9) Dhah., I, p.344.

B. The muezzin (mu'adhhdhin):

The office of the muezzin was introduced at the same time as adhān, and it may serve to say a word about the nature of the herald (munādī) before Islam as a background to a discussion of the muezzin when Islam was established.

1. Heralds before Islam:

The office of public crier was well known among the Arabs. In Mecca and other places, there were professional heralds known as munādīs or muezzins who announced the meetings and the news. Each chieftain had one or several heralds (1), not only to call emergency meetings, but also to announce such things as the banishment of some member of a family, pardon for some of those who had committed crimes (2), or invitations (3). Emergency meetings could be called by any person. The heralds used to be completely naked when they announced their calls and were thus known as "al-nadhīr al-uryān" (4) (the naked herald).

Before the time of Qusayy b. Kilāb, the meetings were held either in an open place or in the tent of the chieftain, but in Qusayy's time, a special hall, a few yards to the north of Ka'bah, was erected and was known as "dār al-nadwah" (5). In

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(1) Ya'qūbī, Tārīkh, (Leiden), I, pp. 281, 291; Aghānī, XI, p. 65. Lammens, La Meccque, pp. 64ff.

(2) They cried it in special form which had to be answered by every hearer with certain reply. of. I. Mujaw, p. 99.

(3) I. S. III/2, p. 142.

(4) Hamidullah, art. "City-State of Mecca", in I. C., XII (1938), pp. 264f.

(5) It was called so because Quraysh gathered in it for evil or for good. See I. S., I/1, p. 40.

it all the affairs of Quraysh were discussed (1). It existed at the time of the Prophet, and was commemorated by Ḥassān b. Thābit, his poet-laureate (2). In the Umayyad period, it was bought by Mu'āwiyah and he made it the governor's house (3). It was used by other caliphs until it was demolished by al-Mu'tadid in 281/894 (4).

## 2. The need for muezzins in Islam:

Bilāl, the Prophet's herald, was the first muezzin to call the adhān in Islam (5). His voice was sonorous, and loud enough to be heard by the mosques that existed in Medina at that time (6). He joined all battles with the Prophet (7), and on the day that Mecca was conquered, he brought the keys of the Ka'bah, and recited the adhān from its roof (8). After the Prophet's death, he asked Abū Bakr if he could leave to Syria, but Abū Bakr refused and retained him as his own muezzin (9). In the time of 'Umar I, however, he did leave to Syria where he died in the year 20/640 (10). Ibn Umm Maktūm, the blind,<sup>man</sup> shared with Bilāl the task of adhān in Medina, and acted as the Prophet's representative in the prayer when the Prophet was away (11). In Mecca Abū Maḥdhūrah, who had very striking voice

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- (1) I.H., p.80; I.S., I/1, pp.39;51; Masālik, I, p.113.  
 (2) Dīwan, pp.63, 79.  
 (3) I.S., I/1, p.45; Masālik, I, pp.113f.  
 (4) I.J., p.90; K.al-Istibṣār, pp.8, n.1, 26.  
 (5) I.S., II/1, p.63; Tab., I, pp.1451, 1543.  
 (6) Maqr., II, p.270; Samh., II, p.62.  
 (7) I.S., III/1, p.170, VII/2, p.112.  
 (8) Op.cit., II/1, p.99, III/1, p.167.  
 (9) Op.cit., VII/2, pp.112f; Maqr., II, p.270.  
 (10) I.S., VII/2, p.113; I.A., II, p.444.  
 (11) I.S., IV/1, pp.151f, 153f.

was the muezzin of the Prophet and took part in reciting the adhān with Bilāl (1). Sa'd al-Qarḡ, who was called "jadd al-mu'adhdhinīn" (the grandfather of the muezzins) recited the adhān several times to the Prophet in Qubā' (2). He was recommended by Bilāl to be the muezzin for the caliph 'Umar (3). Another muezzin called al-Aqra' recited the adhān to 'Umar (4). Abū Dawūd names Mas'ūd as another one (5). Ibn al-Nabbāḥ was 'Alī's muezzin (6). It is recorded that the Prophet himself chanted the adhān while he was on a journey (7), and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān chanted it occasionally in front of the minbar in the Prophet's time (8).

In the early days of Islam, each ruler or army leader, and sometimes each jurist, had his own muezzin to call the adhān or other announcements. Khālīd b. al-Walīd had his own muezzin who was also his herald (9). The muezzin of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ recited the adhān in the battle of Qādisīyah (10). In the rule of 'Amr b. al-Āṣ, Abū Muslim al-Ghāfiqī was the first muezzin in Fustāṭ (11). Al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān al-'Abdī

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- (1) I.S., V, p. 329; Dhah., II, p. 332; A.M., I, p. 153; I.A., III, p. 434.  
 (2) Maqr., II, p. 270; Mus., IV, p. 82; Samh., I, p. 477.  
 (3) I.S., III/1, p. 168.  
 (4) Op.cit., II/1, p. 73.  
 (5) Op.cit., I, p. 211.  
 (6) I.S., III/1, p. 24; VI, p. 166.  
 (7) Al-Khath'amī al-Suhaylī, K.al-Rawḍ al-unuf, II, p. 21.  
 (8) Maqr., II, p. 270.  
 (9) Tab., I, p. 2034.  
 (10) Op.cit., I, p. 2291.  
 (11) I.A.Hak., p. 314.

was the muezzin of 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād in the mosque of Baṣra (1). Suhāmah al-Ghanawī was the muezzin of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī in Wāsiṭ (2). The jurist, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, also had his own muezzin, Aktal, who was blind (3). Adhān was sometimes combined with another duty. 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd was a muezzin and vizier in Kūfa (4).

### 3. The qualifications of a muezzin:

The muezzins had to be accepted by the community (5) to whom the adhān was recited. Before appointment, they had to pass tests given to them by the imām or the muhtasib, or, sometimes even by the caliph (6). The muezzin had to be a male, Muslim, adult, worthy of confidence, free from mental disease, and must have read the chapters of adhān and iqāmah in the books of jurisprudence (7). To know the time of prayer was important to the muezzin. In the Prophet's time, the shadow cast by the mosque's wall was used as a means to ascertain prayer time (8). This was a general practice among the Arabs, but successively, instruments such as the mizwalah (sun-dial) was installed in many

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- (1) Ibn Durayd, op.cit., I, p.331.  
 (2) Bal., p.352; Tab., II, pp.919,1126, III, pp.111f.  
 (3) Dhah., IV, p.233.  
 (4) I.F., pp.164f.  
 (5) Al-Farra', al-Aḥkām al-Sultānīyah, pp.82, 83.  
 (6) Maqr., II, pp.212,325; I.Ukh., p.177; al-Farra', op.cit., p.80.  
 (7) Al-Umm, I, pp.72f; I.Qud., I, pp.413f; al-Ansarī, al-sharḥ bi-ghurar al-bahjah fi sharḥ al-bahjah al-wārdiyah, I, pp.269ff; I.Ukh., pp.176f; I.Ḥaj., II, pp.247f; K.al-Fiqh, I, pp.228f.  
 (8) Samh., I, p.239.

mosques (1). So the muezzin had to know something about astronomy (2). Subsequently, water clocks were installed in some mosques such as that of Damascus (3). It is not certain whether those clocks were installed by the Umayyads or later on (4). It is very interesting to find that cocks played a role in the timing and muezzins depended on their crowing to call the morning adhān (5). Because of this association between the muezzin and the cock, muezzin in Jerusalem used to be called "dīk al-ʿarsh" (the cock of the Throne) (6). A special muwaqqit who ascertained the qiblah, and fixed prayer time used to be appointed in the larger mosques, and sometimes the ra'īs (chief) of the muezzins fulfilled this task (7). The harmonious and sonorous voice is recommended. Many of the muezzins had very beautiful voice which was very effective either in reciting the adhān or reading the Qur'ān (8). Such muezzins received government patronage, and from early times, it was the custom to choose them

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- (1) Fas., I, p.242; Maqr., II, p.269; Akkūsh, op.cit., pp.86f; Pasha, op.cit., I, pp.235,259f; Anthony, op.cit., p.165; Naqshabandī, art. "Al-Rub: al-mujayyab wa al--muqanṭar, al-mizwalah wa busalat al-qiblah wa kurah falakiyah", Sumer, XVI (1960), pp.52ff.
- (2) I.Ukh., p.177, Tanūkhī, Nashwār al-muhādarah, p.250.
- (3) I.As., II/1, pp.20,47; I.Sh., I/1, p.52; Masalik, I, pp.181, 198; I.K., IX, p.158; cf. Qalq., V, p.162.
- (4) Cf. Al-Munajjid, art. "Sa'at Jami: Dimashq", M.M.I.A.D. XXXVIII/1, pp.120f.
- (5) K.al-Istibṣār, p.199.
- (6) Abū Shāmah, op.cit., p.174.
- (7) Cf. I.Haj., II, pp.248f; Fas., I, pp.240f.
- (8) Aghānī, V, p.69; Ibshihī, op.cit., II, p.200; Yaq., Udabā', II, p.18, S.I.Jaw., VIII, pp.480f. Yunīnī, op.cit., II, p.490; Shaw., II, pp.39f.

from different places in order to chant the adhān together (1). In the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (586/1190), a khaṭīb and a group of muezzins were sent to Constantinople where there was a mosque built by the Umayyads (2). The appointment of blind muezzins was faced by jurisprudential opposition, except in the case of those who were accompanied by sighted people to inform them of the time (3). In spite of that, many blinds were chosen and appointed in this office in order that they might not look down from above on their neighbours (4). One-eyed men also occurred among the muezzins (5). At a later date, it is recorded that the muezzin should follow the same rite of the mosque's builder (6). In the great mosques, however, such as the Sacred Mosque at Mecca, the four schools of thought of Islam could be found among the muezzins. Each rite had a special muezzin to recite adhān and iqāmah and to do the tablīgh (7). Just as each mosque had its special muezzin or muezzins, so it was with the zāwiyah, khānqāh and many of the madrasas (8).

4. The number of muezzins in each mosque and their organisation:

With regard to the number of muezzins employed in the mosque, it has been mentioned that the Prophet had two in Medina.

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- (1) Al-Marrākushī, op.cit., p. 343; K. al-Fiqh, I, p. 229.  
 (2) Ibn Wasil, op.cit., II, pp. 328f.  
 (3) Bukh., I, p. 163; Mus., IV, p. 83; al-Safadī, Nakt al-himyan bi nukat al-umyan, pp. 46f.  
 (4) Dhah, IV, p. 233; Lane, Modern Egyptians, p. 73; Meakin, The Moors, p. 268; Briggs, art. "Mosques and minarets", in J.R.A.S. LXXIX (1930), p. 252.  
 (5) Khat, Bagh., VIII, p. 216.  
 (6) C.I.A., II, Syrie du nord, I/1-2, pp. 280f.  
 (7) I.J., pp. 98ff; I.B., I, pp. 375f; Masalik, I, p. 195; On tablīgh, see below.  
 (8) I.B., II, p. 230; al-Khazrajī, op.cit., I, pp. 120, 128.

Uthmān, however, was the first to have four (1). The jurists did not define the number of the muezzins in each mosque, but the preferred number was 2 - 4 - according to the largeness of the mosque; this number might be increased if there was need for it (2). The muhtasib limited the number to the number of the mosque's doors with an excess of two muezzins in order to make the imam's words clear to the congregation (3). In the eighth century, most of the mosques of Maghrib had four muezzins, but an additional number were appointed to recite tasbīh and adhān at night before the standard adhān of morning prayer. Those muezzins were called the "companions of the sick" (4). In spite of this limitation, al-Az'har mosque had fifteen muezzins in the time of al-Hākam (5). Al-Idrīsī records that sixteen muezzins were allotted to the minaret of Cordova (6). Qalāwūn appointed twenty muezzins in the Qal'ah mosque in Egypt (7). Seventy muezzins were counted by Ibn Battūṭāh (1326) in the Damascus Mosque (8);

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- (1) Mus., IV, pp.82f; Shaw., II, p.51; I.Qud., I, p.429.  
 (2) Mus., IV, pp.82f; al-Umm, I, p.72; I.Qud., I, p.429; al-Anṣarī, op.cit., I, p.276, Shaw., II, p.51.  
 (3) Ibn 'Abdūn, Risālah fī al-qadā' wa al-ḥisbah, pp.21f.  
 (4) I.Haj., II, pp.211f; Meakin, op.cit., pp.267f, The Lands of the Moor, p.272.  
 (5) Maqr., II, p.274.  
 (6) Op.cit., p.211.  
 (7) Maqr., II, p.325.  
 (8) Op.cit., I, p.204.

al-Manīnī (1678-1758) counted seventy-five muezzins in this mosque, and it seems that he was exaggerating when he mentioned that they were 120 muezzins in the time of al-Walīd I (1). About 1900 A.D., an estimated number of about fifty muezzins and twenty-six assistants were counted in the mosque of Medina (2), and forty-five muezzins in the Sacred Mosque at Mecca (3). Even the schools of the Qur'ān had many muezzins such as Dār al-Qur'ān al-Ṣābūniyah in Damascus, which had six muezzins (4). In Asia Minor, the number of the muezzins was defined in some late documentary endowments (5).

It is clear that a sort of organization was founded among the muezzins since the early days during the reign of 'Umar. We hear of the arīfs who appeared on the scene. Al-Maqrīzī records:

"The first arīf of the muezzins was Ṣālim b. 'Amīr al-Murādī. He called the adhan for 'Umar b. al-Khattāb, and went to Egypt with 'Amr b. al-'As calling the adhan for him until Egypt was conquered. He continued to call adhan, and 'Amr b. al-'As joined him with eight men. The calling adhan remained in his family until it died out. Then his brother Shuraḥbīl became an arīf". (6)

Successively, the term ra'īs seems to have replaced the "arīf", and each large mosque which had many muezzins had a

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- (1) Op.cit., pp.79, 86.
  - (2) Batanūnī, op.cit., p.242.
  - (3) Op.cit., p.101; Pasha, (op.cit., I, p.260) counted them as 41 muezzins.
  - (4) Al-Nu'aymī, op.cit., p.45.
  - (5) C.I.A., III, Asie Mineure, p.30.
  - (6) Maqr., II, pp.270, 273.

head of the muezzins. In Mecca, the head was identical with the "al-Zamzamī" whose place of adhān was on the dome of Zamzam Well (1). The head of the muezzins also fulfilled the profession of muwaqqit who used to call the adhān first, then was followed by the other muezzins on their minarets (2). In Medina, it seems that the muezzins had more than one ra'īs (3), supervised by shaykh al-ru'asā' who had the privilege of calling the adhān from the ra'īsīyah (chief) minaret (4). More than one ra'īs is recorded to have been in 'Amr's mosque and treasuries belonged to them were found on the roof of the mosque (5). The Haram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem also had its own special organisation and its ra'īs,<sup>(6)</sup> and a similar organization existed in the Damascus Mosque (7). Nothing had been mentioned about the way of selecting the ra'īs or his qualifications, but it seems that the long standing familiarity with this profession might be one of those qualifications.

#### 5. Duties of the muezzin:

Initially, the muezzin's duty was only to recite the adhān, but later on, other duties were involved. Religious recitations (tasbīh) was one of the additional duties. Some of them occupied more than one profession at one time, being gayyim and bawwāb, in addition to muezzin (8). Looking after the

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(1) I.J.p.156

(2) Fas., I, p.241.

(3) Cf. Samh., I, pp.525, 526.

(4) Cf. Burton, op.cit., II, p.159; Samh., I, pp.329, 374, 455.

(5) I.D., IV, p.69; Maqr., II, p.252.

(6) I.B., I, p.279.

(7) I.K., XIV, p.57.

(8) Nu'aymī, op.cit., p.43.

endowments, became a duty which the muezzin had to fulfill (1). In the larger mosques, it was difficult for the congregation to hear the imām's voice, so muezzins were scattered in different parts of the mosque or stood in front of <sup>the</sup> maqṣūrah to repeat the words of the imām. This duty was called tablīgh (2) (information). The muezzin also replaced the imām in many mosques (3), and even Friday prayers were led by him but without speech (4). Most of these duties were watched by the qāḍī, the imām, and the muhtasib (5).

On occasions, the muezzins had other duties. When the Amīr of Mecca entered the Ka'bah, the head of the muezzins, al-zamzamī, and his brother had to praise the Amīr and his family, sometimes in poetry (6). In the first night of Shawwal, the muezzin spent all night reciting religious recitations (7). In Ramaḍān, the sphere of his activity was further extended. He had to invite and encourage people before dawn to have their food or drink, and to extinguish the lamps as a sign of fasting (8). The muezzins in this month were asked by the

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(1) I.J., p.279.

(2) Cf. Ibn 'Abdun, op.cit., pp.21f; Qast., III, p.511.

(3) K.al-Istibṣar, p.220; Ibn al-Jawzī, Muntazam, VIII, p.44;

Haskafī, Sharḥ al-durr al-mukhtār, I, p.70; Westermark, op.cit., I, p.175.

(4) Tab., III, pp.1301 f.

(5) Al-Umm, I, p.72; Ibn al-'Adīm, op.cit., II, p.310; Maqr., Sulūk, I/2, p.231.

(6) I.B., I, pp.80, 81, 94, 379.

(7) I.J., p.156; I.B., I, p.393.

(8) Maqr., Khiṭaṭ, I, p.451; I.B., I, pp.390f.

muhtasib to increase the religious recitations, and to inform the people at intervals whether they may eat or drink (1).

At Friday prayer, in Mecca, the khaṭīb was clothed in the "sawād" (black dress) with black "amamah" (turban), and was accompanied by two muezzins each of them holding a black flag (rāyah), and preceded by a third who held the farqah (2) to notify the people that the khaṭīb was coming. After the khaṭīb visited the Black Stone, he went to the minbar with the zamzamī in front holding the sword. The two flags were put on both sides of the minbar. When the khaṭīb ascended the first step of the minbar, the sword was given to him by the zamzamī and when he sat down, the muezzins started reciting the adhān together in front of the minbar (3). After preaching and praying, the khaṭīb left in the same manner as he came (4). The same performance was followed in the Two Feasts, but when the khaṭīb started the speech with takbīr, the muezzins joined him (5).

In India, on occasions of feasts, the khaṭīb mounted on an elephant was preceded by muezzins, also mounted on elephants, and also praised God in front of him (6). The muezzins in Egypt had another activity especially in "the four nights of

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(1) I.Ukh., p.178.

(2) "A red staff turned on a lathe and having tied to its top a cord of twisted skin, long and thin with a small thong on its tip". (I.J., 94 (text) p.91 (transl.)).

(3) Ibn Battūṭah, (I, pp.375f) records that "this adhān was recited on the Dome of Zamzam, which seems to be not accurate since this adhān of Friday-prayer was recited in front of the khaṭīb as usual.

(4) I.J., pp.94f; I.B., I, pp.374-79,

(5) I.J., p.157.

(6) I.B., III, p.390.

kindling". On those nights, the qādī rode from his house after sunset-prayer, preceded by two rows of people carrying candles, thirty on each side. Between the two rows were the muezzins of the mosques praising God and lauding the caliph and his vizier (1). When a caliph travelled, a muezzin accompanied him in his journey (2).

While dealing with muezzins it is relevant to record something about the duties of the heralds (munādīs) in addition to that of making call to prayer. In Egypt, according to pre-Islamic custom, the rise of the Nile was proclaimed in the streets by several munādīs, each for a special district. In the time of al-Mu'izz the Fatimid, the proclamation of the Nile rise was forbidden in order to prevent people from becoming anxious if the river did not rise to its usual height, and to ensure that the merchants did not store up grain in order to sell it at a higher price later. But it was announced when the river reached its usual height (3). The heralds played an important role in the history of Islam. They were used by their chiefs either in the time of peace (4), or in the time of war (5) to proclaim orders or issue information. They

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- (1) Maqr., I, pp. 467, 491; Qalq., III, p. 501.  
 (2) I.B., II, pp. 127f; Yunini, op.cit., I, pp. 450, 542, II, pp. 104, 365.  
 (3) Maqr., Itti'āz, pp. 191, n. 2; Nāsir-i Khusrau, op.cit., pp. 59f.  
 (4) Tab., II, p. 1161; Mas., VII, p. 90; I. Id., I, p. 261; Dhah., II, p. 355; I.A., V, pp. 334f; Maqr., Khitāṭ, II, p. 265; Qalq., V, p. 146.  
 (5) Tab., II, pp. 1701, 1893, III, p. 906; Mas., V, p. 136; Dhah., III, p. 24; I.A., IV, p. 251, V, pp. 123, 232, 357.

used to recite their call in the markets (1) or in the streets (2) as the heralds did before Islam. The call was sometimes continued for more than one day (3). In the time of war, more than one herald was used and a special cipher as "Yā Mansūr" was proclaimed as tactics of modern times (4). The heralds were also employed by the judges to call those who had cases against others to justify it (5). Instead of people proclaiming news, the riqā (placards) were scattered in the mosques and streets (6), which indicated a highly organized method of propogating news.

#### 6. Payments to the muezzins:

The muezzins used to chant the adhān free, and were encouraged by the sayings of the Prophet and the writings of many jurists not to accept payments, and to do it as a labour of love (7), but in spite of that, payments were given.

It is said that 'Uthmān b. 'Affān was the first to pay

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- (1) Tab., II, pp.1161.  
 (2) Op.cit., III, p.2163.  
 (3) I.īd., I, p.271.  
 (4) Mas., V, p.136; I.A., V, p.123.  
 (5) Ibn al-Tiqṭaqa, op.cit., p.401; I.A., VII, p.306; cf. al-Jāhiz, al-Tāj fī akhlāq al-mulūk, pp.159f.  
 (6) Tab., III, p.1795; I.Jaw., IX, p.35.  
 (7) I.S., VII/1, p.27; Tir., II, p.11; I.M., I, pp.127, 247; Abu Hanifah and others strictly forbade the acceptance of payments, while Malik allowed it. Al-Shafi'i allowed payments to be given from the khums only if there were no muezzins willing to do it free. See al-Umm I, p.72; Shaw., II, p.59; I.Qud., I, p.415; al-Farrā', op.cit., p.82; Also see I.Ukh., p.178; Tir., II, pp.12f.

the muezzins (1). Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz paid them from "bayt al-māl" (2). In the early period, we do not know the amount of this payment, but on the whole, it was little (3). In the time of Ibn Ṭulūn, however, the muezzins were paid great sums. At al-Az'har mosque, in the time of al-Hākīm, each muezzin was paid two dinārs a month (4). Nāṣir-i Khusrau records that the agent of the Sultān paid the expenses of the mosque which were built in places between Syria and Qayrawān. These expenses were for the maintenance of the mosques as well as allowances for employees including the muezzins (5). In the year 730/1329, in Egypt, the muezzins were paid ten dirhams a month (6). Ibn Shaddād (d. 1285) mentions that in Syria, the monthly pay of the muezzin was twenty dirhams while the gayyim was paid fifteen (7). In about 1425 A.D., al-Fāsī recorded that the muezzins on the surrounding mounds of Mecca had "a little jāmakīyah which came from Egypt with that of the muezzins of the Sacred Mosque and the employees in it". (8).

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- (1) Maqr., II, p. 270; Samh., I, p. 376.  
 (2) I.S., V, p. 264.  
 (3) Muqaddimah, p. 330.  
 (4) Maqr., II, p. 274.  
 (5) Op.cit., p. 81.  
 (6) Maqr., Suluk, II/2, p. 317.  
 (7) As quoted by I.A.Had., p. 105, n. 4.  
 (8) Op.cit., I, p. 242.

The salary was not regular all the time, and was stopped when a mosque fell into ruins, being paid again after its repair (1). In a few cases, the muezzins received their salary weekly as a gift from the ruler. In Taflīs, in the year 1122 A.D., the ruler used to pay a large amount of gold to the khaṭīb and the muezzins after each Friday prayer (2). Although money was the usual payment for the muezzin, the salary was often paid in kind, for example by the produce of certain olive grove (3). Muezzins were also paid for teaching in addition to the salary. Their share of the endowments was provided regularly often by special provisions in the documents establishing the foundations (4). In addition to the salary, the muezzin sometimes received presents on special occasions (5).

#### 7. The status of the muezzin:

The office of the muezzin was hereditary. Some of the families kept it for generations such as Bilāl's (6) and Sa'ad al-Qarṣ's (7) in Medina (8), Abū Maḥdhūrah's in Mecca, and Sālim al-Murādī in Fustāṭ (9). The office of al-Mundhir al-ʿAbdī, the muezzin of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād was inherited

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- (1) I. Misk., VI, p. 404; I.A., VIII, p. 51.  
 (2) S.I. Jaw., VIII, p. 102.  
 (3) Cf. Meakin, The Lands of the Moors, p. 305.  
 (4) I. J., p. 277; Mubarak, op.cit., I, p. 12.  
 (5) S.I. Jaw., VIII, p. 657.  
 (6) I. J., pp. 194, 196.  
 (7) I.S., III/1, p. 168; I.R., p. 204; Yaq., Muʿjam, IV, p. 467.  
 (8) By this custom, the sanazah of the Prophet which might be the symbol of his office was preserved in Medina for a long time. See Yaq., I, p. 639; Tab., I, p. 1281; I.A., II, p. 89; Bukh., I, p. 247; Miles, art. "Anaza", E.l./2, I, 482, "Mihrab and 'Anaza", in Archaeologica Orientalia (1952), p. 165; 'Arafat, art. "Bilal b. Rabbah", E.l./2, I, p. 1215.  
 (9) Maqr., II, p. 270.

by his family too (1).

In some places, the muezzins wore special uniforms during their duties. In Baghdād, they had "al-sawād wa al-qibā'" (the black dress, and the vest with long sleeves) as an official costume (2). But when al-Basāsīrī controlled Baghdad in 450/1058, the khutabā' and the muezzins wore the bayād (The white costume)(3). In the time of Ibn Jubayr's visit to Mecca, the muezzins there used to wear the black costume (4).

The muezzin sometimes was known by the title of the mosque in which he chanted the adhān as "mu'adhdhin masjid Dimashq" (5), or by the title of the group to whom he recited the adhān as "mu'adhdhin al-Urbān" (6) or by the name of the person to whom he recited it as "mu'adhdhin Sa'd" (7). The muezzin's name sometimes, was used for the mosque in which he called the adhān as "masjid Mansūr al-mu'adhdhin" (8). The word munādī became a proper name or title for many people, such

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- (1) Ibn Qutaybah, p.279 as quoted by Pedersen.  
 (2) Khat.Bagh., I, p.48. cf. al-Dawādārī, op.cit., pp.388f.  
 (3) I.Jaw., VIII, p.196. The black colour was a sign of the Abbasids who were called al-musawwidah. When the 'Alīd's struggled against the Abbasids they used white as their colour, and were called al-Mubayyidah. Al-Ma'mūn discarded the two previous colours, and used green. See Muqaddimah, pp.216f; I.As., II/1, pp.117f; Yaq., I, p.936; I.A., II, pp.85f.  
 (4) Op.cit., p.94; I.B., I, p.375.  
 (5) Bal., p.116; cf. I.S., V, p.301; Bahshal, op.cit., p.39.  
 (6) Musnad, VII, p.314.  
 (7) Tab., I, p.2291; Bal, 347.  
 (8) I.A.Had., p.127; Fas., II, p.242.

as "... Ibn al-Munādī" (1), or "... al-munādī". (2). The same was true for the word muezzin either as a name "... Ibn Mu'adhhdhin" (3) or as a title "... al-mu'adhhdhin" (4).

In the early days, the position of the muezzin was regarded as important. Many traditions attributed to the Prophet were recorded on their behalf, and their rewards in this day, and the Day After (5). Many of the muezzins took part in battles (6), like 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd who was in the battle of Badr (7). Ibn Umm Maktūm was the keeper of the flag in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah (8). Some of the muezzins were honoured by the invaders, and were excluded from forced labour (9). In the last days of the Muslims in Spain, it was noted in the contracts between the Muslims and the Christians that they should perform their religious duties freely (10). When reaching the cities, the first aim of the invader was often to persuade the muezzins to change the form of the adhān \* In Qayrawān, 'Arūs the muezzin was killed in 307/919 when he refused to add the phrase "Come to the best of work" to the adhān (11). Jawhar ordered the

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- (1) Khat. Bagh., I, pp. 50, 139, IV, p. 69; Ibn Abī Ya'ālā, op. cit., I, p. 46, Yaq., III, pp. 271, 823.  
 (2) Tab., II, p. 1493; Khat. Bagh., VII, p. 184.  
 (3) Ibn al-Farādī, op. cit., I, p. 38, II, p. 202.  
 (4) I. As., I, p. 200; Ibn al-Farādī, op. cit., I, p. 413; Khat. Bagh., I, p. 65; Maqr., Suluk, II/2, p. 388; Bahshal, op. cit., p. 39; Bal., p. 116.  
 (5) Mus., IV, p. 89; Musnad, XII, p. 155; Tir., II, p. 8; I. M., I, p. 128.  
 (6) Tab., III, p. 2339.  
 (7) I. F., pp. 164f.  
 (8) I. S., IV/1, pp. 155f; Tab., III, p. 2347; cf. I. As., II/1, pp. 117f; I. A., II, pp. 85f; Yaq., I, p. 936.  
 (9) Qalq., IV, p. 311.  
 (10) Maqq., VI, p. 273  
 (11) I. Id., I, pp. 182f.

(\* See p. 75

muezzins of Amr's mosque, al-Askar's mosque, and those of Ibn Tūlūn's mosque to add the above phrase to the adhān. (1) Also of importance were those in the mosques which had minarets. They were the first to recite the adhān and the other mosques which had no minarets had to follow them (2). The people generally had great confidence in these muezzins (3). Several of them were invited to be members of secret movements, but on refusing were either killed or kidnapped (4). Some of them were treated harshly, and were thrown down from their minarets (5).

Some of the mosques had their special sanctity, and there was rivalry for the office of the muezzin, as in the mosque of Banū Amir b. A'wīf (6), or those of Jerusalem, Mecca, and Medina (7).

The corpses of the muezzins received special honour. In Damascus, when a person died, the people walked in front of the funeral procession, and readers of the Qur'ān read it in a solemn voice, chanted to a sad melody, until they reached the mosque door at which they stopped reading, and took the corpse to its prayer place. If the person was a muezzin, an imām or one of the servants of the mosque, he would be honoured by the readers entering with him until the place of prayer is reached (8). Ibn al-Hājj recommended that muezzins should

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- (1) Maqr., Khitāṭ, II, p. 270; Suy., II, p. 15.  
 (2) Ibn 'Abd al-Ra'uf, op.cit., p. 73.  
 (3) Cf. I.S., V, p. 329.  
 (4) I.A., VIII, pp. 213, 214.  
 (5) Yaq., II, pp. 439f; I.A., VIII, p. 142.  
 (6) I.S., IV/2, p. 86.  
 (7) Mujir al-Din, op.cit., I, p. 208.  
 (8) I.J., p. 297f; I.B., I, pp. 244ff.

not walk with the corpses of the dead muezzin in the courtyard of the mosque, and not to shout the takbīr and tahlīl while they did this (1).

#### 8. The role of the muezzins:

From the scientific point of view, the muezzins played an important role, especially in that of the religious sciences. A number of them studied the Ḥadīth and explained it to the people (2), most of them were trustworthy (3). For studying and collecting the Ḥadīth, they started journeys to distant places for years in order to meet authoritative teachers, and to establish contact with scholarly personalities in this subject. Muhammad b. Mūsā b. Miṣbāḥ, a muezzin in Cordova, travelled to the east, and heard the Ḥadīth in Mecca, Medina, Egypt and Qayrawān. Many people studied with him and received his ijāzah (4) (permission to teach). Such long journeys were called "al-riḥlah fī ṭalab al-ilm" (the journey for seeking knowledge) which sometimes lasted for a long period, as in the case of Ibn al-Najjār, a scholar in the

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- (1) I.Haj., II, pp.247f., cf. p.263.  
 (2) Khat., Bagh., VI, p.394; IX, p.405, X, p.178, XIV, p.27; Kind., p.418; Ibn Abī Ya'la, op.cit., I, pp.285, 418; Yaq., IV, pp.340, 419; I.Jaw., X, p.149; A.M., I, p.336.  
 (3) Khat., Bagh., IV., p.387; VII, pp.276, 277; About some of untrustworthy muezzins see VIII, pp.355f.  
 (4) Ibn al-Farādī, op.cit., II, pp.97f; About others see p.192, and S.I.Jaw., VII, p.117.

Hadīth, which took about twenty-eight years (1). The law of inheritance received great attention by the muezzins, and some of them were authorities on this subject, such as ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Jubayr al-Miṣrī who was one of the famous scholars (2). Other muezzins accompanied scholars for a long time and learnt different subjects from them. Al-Rabī, al-Murādī accompanied al-Shāfi‘ī for a long time, and taught about his books. The founders of the four rite schools taught many of his sayings (3). Also Muḥammad b. Qasūm al-Fahmī accompanied ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mujāhid and studied the Muwattā’ of Mālik, the Musnad of Abū Shaybah, and the Risālah of Ibn Abū Zayd; he was a theologian and a grammarian as well (4). The muezzins were also famous for their knowledge of the Qur’ān, and some of them studied it with scholars such as Ibn al-‘Ijl, who studied it with al-Anṭākī and perfected it (5). The teachers in the mosques were frequently imāms and muezzins and had the reputation for both learning and religion (6). Owing to their religious reputation, the muezzins participated with the scholars in attending ceremonies to lay the foundations of mosques and Madrasas (7).

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(1) Ma‘rūf and al-Dūrī, op.cit., p.168; Muqaddimah, pp.361f.

(2) Dhah., IV, p.25.

(3) Mas., VIII, pp.65f; Suy., I, p.196.

(4) Ibn al-‘Abbar, al-Takmilah li-kitāb al-ṣilah, I, p.293.

(5) Ibn al-Faradī, op.cit., II, pp.222f; See I.S., VI, pp.276f.

(6) I.S., VI, p.276; I.Id., I, p.126.

(7) I.A.Had., p.227.

CHAPTER III

THE ORIGINS OF THE MINARET

A. Derivation and use of the term:

When the minaret came into use throughout the Islamic countries, different designations were associated with its structure. The words manārah (1), sawma'ah and midhanah are all synonymous with minaret. Sometimes, in very rare cases, the minaret was also called Asās. In this section each of these terms will be discussed, with special attention being given to the most common term mānarah.

1. Mānarah:

The most frequent term applied to the minaret is either manār or manārah. Its original meaning does not contain the idea of tower. It means a "place where fire burns" (2).

Gramatically, the two terms manār and manārah are derived from the Arabic verb nāra not anāra; thus they should be associated with nār (fire) not with nūr (light), although both of them mean shining. In spite of the sole origin of manār and manārah, Fraenkel (3), followed by Van Berchem (4), believes that they are not synonyms, and that manār means a stone or a building provided with fire, while manārah is one provided with light. R. Hartmann has emphasized the latter interpretation and stated that the light-towers had an important role to play in this connection (5). Because of

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- (1) The English term "minaret", so written in imitation of the Turkish pronunciation. See Lane, An Arabic-English lexicon, VIII, p. 2866.
- (2) Yaqut, Mu'jam al-buldān, IV, p. 644; Gottheil, art. "The origin and history of the minaret", in J.A.O.S., XXX, (1909-1910) p. 132; Creswell, Early Muslim architecture, I, p. 39; Reuther, art. "Sasanian architecture", in Pope, Survey of Persian art, I, p. 566.
- (3) Die aramäische Fremdwörter im Arabischen, p. 271.
- (4) Quoted in Diez Churasanische Baudenkmäler, p. 113.
- (5) Quoted in Diez, op.cit., p. 113.

the frequent use of the word manārah, Van Berchem has concluded that the minaret stands nearer to the light-tower than to a place of fire of any type (1). He also confirms that manār for minaret is a specifically Egyptian term and must certainly have been borrowed from the Pharos of Alexandria (2).

Although the word manārah seems very likely to have been derived from the above Arabic root, nevertheless Guidi (3) and Fraenkel (4) tried to find its origin in the Syriac form m<sup>o</sup>nārtā saying that the formation is perfectly regular (5).

To give a clear idea as to the two words, the literary works must be discussed in detail.

Nār (fire) from which the word was certainly derived, was used for signal purposes both before and after Islam and different names were given to it according to the purpose for which it was used. That of "al-qirā"<sup>(6)</sup> became the object of competition; the fire which was put on a higher place gained a proud distinction. The fire of "al-indhār" (7)

(1) Diez., op.cit., p.113.

(2) Quoted in Thiersch, Pharos, Antike, Islam and Occident, p.172; Hartmann, art. "Manārah", Memnon, III, p.220. Pharos is also called fanar, a Turkish word derived from Greek "Phanarion", see A.M., VIII, p.201, n.3; Der Grosse Brockhause, VI, p.54.

(3) Dalla seda primitiva dei popoli semetici, p.38 as quoted by Gottheil, op.cit., p.132.

(4) Op.cit., p.270.

(5) Cf. Nöeldeke, Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, p.41.

(6) This fire was lighted for those who were seeking hospitality. See Ma'luf, al-Munjid fi al-lughah wa al-adab, wa al-ulum, pp.925f.

(7) It was lighted to call members of the tribe in time of danger. Ma'luf, op.cit., p.925.

was also made on a place which could be seen by followers and members of the tribe. Those places were probably the first to be called manār because of the fire upon them. The word Manār seems gradually to have been modified, and the term eventually became applicable to any tower-like building even if there was no fire on it. This is not unusual in Arabic for the name of the article to be transferred to the place in which it is used; the opposite is also true. This may explain why manār became synonymous with the sign-posts, and it is so in the lamp-holder which is signified as manār too (1).

The two words were used in pre-Islamic times. The Himyarite prince "Abraham dhū al-Manār" (Abraham of the sign-posts) was called so because he erected manār (sign-posts) on the way by which he passed when he conquered far countries in order to secure the safety of his army on the return journey (2). Al-Dīnawarī mentioned that these sign-posts were provided with fire at night (3), but this seems difficult to accept because it would have been almost impossible to organ-

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- (1) Ya'qūbī, Tārīkh, (Leiden) I, p. 35; Aghānī, V, p. 166; Maqrīzī, Khitat, II, p. 453; Kutub, II, p. 214; I. B., II, p. 263, Brown, Driver and Briggs, Hebrew and English lexicon of the Old Testament, p. 633; Jahiz, Bukhala, p. 20.
- (2) Tab., Ann., I, p. 441; Ibn Durayd al-Ishtiqāq, p. 532; I. A., I, pp. 161, 194f; al-Himyari, Shams al-'Ulūm wa dawa' kalam al-'Arab min al-kulum, pp. 56f.
- (3) Al-Akhbar al-tiwāl, p. 14.

ize this for such a great number of posts. It would seem that they were somewhat like mile-stones without fire. Imru' al-Qays (VI cent. A.D.) however, referred to the word manār as corresponding to a sign-post in the desert (1), and the word manārah to an oil-lamp in the cells of Christian monks (2). The monks lamp is a theme which impressed the Arab people before and after Islam and can be seen in their poems composed on many different occasions (3).

The Arab lexicographers explain manār and manārah as a lamp, a lamp-stand, a thing upon which a lamp is put, boundary-

- (1) Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab, VII, p.163; E.l./l, s.v., "Imru' Al-Kais".
- (2) Sharh diwan Imru' al-Qays, by Ḥasan al-Sandūbī, p.131 and n.4; Yasū'ī, al-Naṣranīyah wa adābahā bayna 'Arab al-Jāhiliyah, II, p.196; Butler, Ancient architecture in Syria, II, B., Northern Syria, p.235.
- (3) I.H., p.385; Aghānī, XIV, p.97, XVI, p.7, XIX, p.92; Bak., Muḥjam, pp.251, 376, 572; Yaḡ., II, pp.676, 686, 694, 699; Masalik, I, pp.375, 381, 382; Wellhausen, Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, III, pp.200f; Fraenkel, op.cit., p.270; Creswell, E.M.A., I, pp. 6n.4, 39n.9; Lamps were used in decorating Islamic religious buildings, a practice which might be attributed to the surah XXIV, 35, of the Qur'an which says that "God is the light of the heavens and earth, His light is like a niche in which is a lamp, the lamp in glass and the glass like a brilliant star ...". (Bell's translation, I, p.340). This motive has been attributed by Herzfeld to a Christian origin since the lamp was used in Christian art representing Christ as "the Way, the Truth, and the Life". (St. John's Gospel, XIV, 6). For the use of the lamp as a decorative motive in the mihrah, see Fehervari, The Development of the Mihrah down to the XIVth century, II, pp.263, 292.

stone, and a sign-post (1). The term Alam also corresponds to manār, and could be used to designate sign-post, land mark, or even mountains in general, and high ones in particular. Manār al-ḥaram (the boundary-marks of the Haram), which were called "al-lām al-ḥaram", were sign posts fixed round the sacred area of the Haram in Mecca (2). These manār are likely to have been nothing more than rough high erections which bore neither fire nor light. The nūr (light) which is explained as "an object appearing in itself and gives appearance to other things" (3) could also be applied to those land marks or any other tower-like buildings or to towers though they had no fire or light on them, but they could give appearance to the sacred area. Mīl (mile) which is explained as having the meaning "as far as the sight extends" (4) has been transferred to the sign-posts too (5). According to those lexicographers manār means nothing more than a mark which could be visible from a distance or could give appearance to others; neither the fire nor light had any part

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- (1) Al-Zabīdī, Tāj al-ʿarūs, III, pp.388,587; Lisān VII, pp. 99f, XV, p.314; cf. Lane, op.cit., V, p.2140, VIII, p.2866; Tab., Ann., I, pp.864, 878; Dozy, Supplement aux dictionnaire Arabes, II, pp.736f; Fagnan, Additions aux dictionnaires Arabes, p.179. In Hebrew, the lamp-stand is pronounced as menurā, see Brown, Driver, and Briggs, op.cit., p.633; Diez., op.cit., p.113.
  - (2) It is reported that these marks were put by Abraham and were known to the Arabs in the Jahiliyah, and the Prophet accepted them on behalf of the Arabs. See Ibn al-Athīr, al-Nihayah fī gharīb al-Hadīth, IV, pp.119,193; Lisān VII, p.100, Lane, op.cit., VIII, p.2866.
  - (3) I.A., IV, p.196.
  - (4) Lisān, XIV, p.161; al-Azraqī, K.Akhbār Makka, p.414.
  - (5) Cf. Fraenkel, op.cit., p.282f.

to play in connection with them.

Towers for sending fire signals played a significant role in the Byzantine world- in N.Africa, and in Syria, and they were built in great numbers. They were used by the Byzantines for sending fire signals as part of their military defence system. Also, they were extensively used in the first half of the ninth century A.D. during the wars between them and the Muslims, and it is certain that such towers were used in the early days of Islam, as well as in the pre-Islamic times.

At the very beginning of the 2nd century of the Hijrah, al-Farazdaq referred to the minarets as manār al-masājid (1). In another verse, Jarīr referred to the word manār as manār al-ṭariq (2) (sign post). Miskīn al-Dārimī, who lived in the same period, assigned the word manār to alāmah (mark), and he said that the best manār were the high ones (3). Thus it seems that the word manār was used interchangeably as a sign-post as well as a minaret.

Al-Muqaddasī (985 A.D.) has recorded that there were ribāts (guard-houses) on the Palestinian coast where the Greek ships used to bring prisoners of war for ransom. Whenever those ships appeared, warning was given by lighting the manārah (place for fire) of the ribāṭ at night, while a cloud of smoke was made during the day. Those signals were sent from one ribāṭ to

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- (1) Jarīr and Farazdaq, Nagā'id, II, p.989; al-Zamakhsharī, al-Asas, s.v. (٩٩٠) "wa hadam fulan manar al-masājid" (sing. manarah) as quoted by Horovitz, art. "Bemerkungen zur Geschichte und Terminologie des islamischen Kultus", Der Islam, XVI, (1927), pp.255f., and n.1, p.255; Tab., Ann., II, 127; Aghani, XIX, pp.59, 61.
- (2) Aghani, VII, p.68.
- (3) Aghani, XVIII, p.68.

another until the alarm reached the city while drums were beaten on the minaret of the mosque (1). Al-Muqaddasī did not differentiate between the manārah of the ribāṭ and that of the mosque, while fire was not used on the latter. The manārahs of two buildings, certainly had different shapes.

If we take all the above facts into consideration, it is not too rash to assert that the word manārah did not only exist in Egypt, but also in Syria. The suggestion of Schwally (2) that the ṣawmaḥ in Syria might have been called manārah is also of significance here.

The minarets of 'Amr's mosque at Fustāṭ were designated by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (A.D.871)(3) and al-Kindī (961)(4) as manār al-masjid. Later authorities, such as Ibn Duqmāq (before 1399 A.D.)(5) and Maqrīzī (A.D.1427)<sup>(6)</sup> called these minarets as manār as well as ṣawāmi, but they did not mention the source of the latter designation. The question here to be asked is: were they called manārs because of the similarity in shape with that of the Pharos of Alexandria, or because of the similarity in function? If neither purpose is attained, then, why were they so-called?

With regard to their shape, Thiersch has suggested that

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(1) Op.cit.,p.177.

(2) Art. "Lexikalische Studien" Z.D.M.G.,LII (1898),pp.145f.

(3) Op.cit.,p.131.

(4) Op.cit.,p.38.

(5) Op.cit.,IV,p.62.

(6) Maqr.,II,p.248; A.M.,I,pp.68,133;Masālik,I,pp.209f.

the shape of the Pharos of Alexandria played an important function in arriving at a term for the minaret, but it will be shown later on that the first minarets of Amr's mosque were rather like little towers perched at each of the four corners of the roof of the mosque. So they must in any case have been of a unique and distinctive form, for we know that they were reached by a flight of steps from the street. Therefore, it seems that the shape had a minor part to play in determining the designation of the minaret at that time, though the shape did play a significant role later on when the minarets were well developed.

Concerning their function, the name manārah may suggest that the minaret had strictly utilitarian origins, being derived from a watch-tower used for fire signals (1). But in spite of the fact that the minaret of al-Arūs in the Damascus mosque was used as <sup>the</sup> place from which fire was signalled, it was used for this purpose very rarely. This fact makes the said minaret appear to be unique in the history of the minaret. This practice was first referred to by al-Umarī (1345 A.D.) (2), and we cannot suggest that the word manārah was used for the minaret because fire (nār) was lighted on it. In addition, the purpose of the minaret and that of the light-house was

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(1) Cf. Cragg, The Call of the Minaret, p.124.

(2) Al-Ta.rif, bi-al-muṣṭalah al-sharīf, p.200; Hartmann, in Z.D.M.G., LXX (1916) pp.486 and n.9, 505 and n.6: Qalq., XIV, pp.398ff., cf. I, pp.127f.

quite different. In this connection, Schwally (1) followed by Douttè (2), suggests that the application of the word manār to the minaret was due to the light held by the muezzin as he recited the adhān at night-time and at daybreak; it must have given the impression to the onlookers below that the minaret was a light-tower. This interpretation seems to be far-fetched, for it is difficult to judge whether the muezzin could have taken such a lamp at early time while ascending the minaret; even if he had done so, it is hard to see how it could have produced such an impression.

If that was the case, why then were those minarets called manār? The true explanation is probably to be found in the fact that they drew attention to the mosque and "what is out of sight is too often out of mind" (3). They are like the sign-posts, and light-houses could also be seen from a distance. This may be supported by the two designations "manār al-masājid" and "manār al-ṭarīq". When al-Mutawakkil built his mosque and minaret in Samarra, "he ordered the minaret to be heightened in order to make the voice of the muezzin louder, and also that it could be seen from parasangs (4). The use of some of the minarets in Mecca to mark places in later times (5) gives a hint to the original use of "manār al-ḥaram" (6). Moreover, the minarets of al-Andalus were also used as sign-posts so that people on land or at sea could make use of them (7).

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(1) Op.cit., p.145.

(2) Op.cit., p.339.

(3) Simpson, A history of architectural development, II, p.15.

(4) Bal., p.298; Yaq., III, p.17.

(5) K.al-Istibṣar, p.8; Fas., I, pp.230, 240; cf. Muqad., pp.43, 312.

(6) I.Haw., p.25.

(7) Maqq., II, p.90.

Mediaeval Arabic literature is rich in references made to the word manār as a sign-post (1). The word manār or manārah has also been applied to pillars and columns furnished even with bird-statues or human figures (2). Watch-towers were also called manārahs (3). The expression manārah was associated too with huge buildings which could be seen from distances (4), or anything outstanding that could be seen from afar (5). The Pharos of Alexandria was referred to as manār as well as manārah (6). Some towers which were called manārahs were strangely built with animal hooves and horns embedded in them. They were to be found in deserted areas. Such a tower was of "al-Hawāfir" (7) built by Shāpūr b. Ardashīr. Another was that of "al-Qurūn" (8) which was built by Malik-Shāh b. Alp Arslān in 480 H. (A.D. 1087).

When minarets were established and had become popular,

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- (1) Aghānī, IV, p.158; VI, p.60, XIII, p.62, XVIII, p.68; Bak., p.516; Yaq., II, p.803.
- (2) Ibn Rūstah, al-aḥlāq al-nafīṣah, pp.78, 117; Qazwīnī, ʿAja'ib al-makhlūqat, p.124; Nuway, XV, pp.4, 10, 20, 23, 47, 58, 61, 68, 80; Ibn al-Wardī, Kharīdat al-ʿaja'ib, p.58.
- (3) Cf. Ibshīhī, al-Mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustaṭraf, II, p.191.
- (4) Bal., p.437; Yaq., IV, pp.689f; I.R. pp.135ff; I.Haw., pp.228f.
- (5) Bal., p.286; Bak., p.106; Yaq., III, p.733; al-Khazrajī, op.cit., I, pp.419, 420.
- (6) I.D., V, p.121; I.R., p.118; I.Id., I, p.89; Maqr., I, p.157; Qalq., III, pp.321f; I.B., I, pp.29f. See other references cited by Thiersch, op.cit., pp.39-52.
- (7) Ibn al-Faqīh, Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān, p.250; Qazwīnī, Athār al-bilād, p.195; Yaq., I, p.246, IV, pp.645-48.
- (8) Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam fī tarīkh al-mulūk wa al-umam, IX, p.35; Yaq., IV, p.648; I.J., p.210, al-Iṣfahānī, Tawarīkh Al-Saljuq, pp.69f; I.A., Kamil, X, p.144; al-Dawādārī, al-Durrah al-mudīyah fī akhbār al-dawlah al-Fatīmiyah, p.436.

they were often used as objects of comparison. Many things were compared with them in their different aspects. High buildings were compared with minarets, "very <sup>h</sup>high like the minaret" (1), being a phrase quite often used. Sturdy objects were also compared, "very sturdy like the minarets" (2), being quite common. The same was the case with its shape "similar to the minaret" (3). The word manār was also used to express whatever was regarded as outstanding and admirable, such as Islam (4), prophecy (5), justice (6), caliphate (7), jurisprudence (8), and other matters (9). The word was also used in praise of persons or things (10). Persons (11) and places (12) were called manārah, but in this case the word was used as a name, and that who lived in such place was called "manārī", (13) in the sense that they were inhabitants of that place.

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- (1) Muqad., p.198; Yaq., IV, pp.57f, 300; Ibn Shaddād, K.sirat Ṣalah al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, p.134; Ibn Wasīl, Mufarrij al-kurūb, II, pp.343, 366; Ibn al-Mujāwir, Tārīkh al-mustabṣir, p.256; cf. Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa al-Hind, p.1; Bak., p.372; I.D., V, p.126.
- (2) Yaq., IV, p.300.
- (3) Tab., III, pp.1307f; cf. Qaz., Āthār, p.150; Bakrī, K.al-Mughrib, p.26; Idrīsī, op.cit., p.110; I.R., p.169; I.K., X, p.292.
- (4) I.K., IX, p.70; al-Dawādārī, op.cit., p.259.
- (5) Qalq., XII, p.272.
- (6) Qalq., X, p.80-90; al-Jāhīz, al-Bayān wa al-tabyīn, II, p.101.
- (7) I.K., XI, p.86.
- (8) Qalq., XII, pp.43, 54, 56.
- (9) Aghānī, XIII, p.25; Yaqut, Muṣjam al-udabā', VII, p.135, Muṣjam al-buldan, IV, p.248; Ibn Sa'ād, K.al-Tabaqāt al-kabīr, II/1, p.135; Abū Nu'ās, Diwān, p.436, Abū Shāmah, op.cit., p.156.
- (10) Yūnīnī, op.cit., I, p.267.
- (11) Mas'ūdī, Muru'j, VIII, p.215; Aghānī, XIX, p.121; Ibn Abī Ya'la, Tabaqāt al-Hanābilah, II, p.195; I.A., VI, p.22.
- (12) Hamadānī, Ṣifat Jazīrat al-ʿArab, I, p.79; Yaq., Muṣjam, IV, p.648; Shaykh al-Rabwah, K.Nukhbat al-dahr, p.245.
- (13) Yaq., IV, p.648.

2. Ṣawmaḥ:

As to the word ṣawmaḥ, it generally means a "Christian's cell or chamber for retirement, or seclusion having a high slender head" (1).

The Arab lexicographers derive this word from the root "ṣamaḥa" which means "to be pointed or to be provided with a point" (2). While Tāj al-ʿArūs explains that "ṣawmaḥ" is ..... a chamber (bayt) to the Christian, and a cave to the monk ..... so called because of the sharpness of its summit" (3), al-Baḥr al-Rāʾiq explains the word ṣawmaḥ as "where originally the monk worships" (4). Al-Zamakhsharī, however, provides that as has been reported to him, the ṣawmaḥ is whatever "its middle is lifted, its top is sharpened and refined" (5). To al-Jawharī, "tharīdah muṣammaḥ" (6) is "what is softened, and its head is sharpened". He adds that this is the root for the Christian ṣawmaḥ "because of the sharpness of its head" (7). Al-Qurtubī (8) defines it as "a high building with a sharpened summit", and "ṣammaḥa al-tharīdah means lifting its top".

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- (1) Lane, op.cit., IV, p.1728; The place in which the Christian monks lived were called by other names namely: Qus, Manhamah, Ṣarḥ, Tirbal, Dayr, Tamur, Ukayrah, Umr, Namūs, Kirḥ, and Qallāyah. See I.H., p.385; Yaq., II, 639, III, pp.525, 790, 792, Yasūʿī, op.cit., II, pp.212ff; Lisān, V, p.387, VIII, p.130.
- (2) Ibn Durayd, al-Ishtiqāq, p.272; Tāj, V, pp.419,424; Lisān, X, p.76, cf. VII, p.69.
- (3) V, p.411.
- (4) Zayn al-ʿAbidin al-Baḥr al-Rāʾiq, p.268 as quoted by Gottheil, op.cit., p.136.
- (5) Asās al-balaghgh, s.v.
- (6) "Tharīdah is a mess crumbled bread with broth".
- (7) Quoted by Nisaburī, Tafsīr, XVII, pp.92f; cf. Jāhiz, op.cit., p.216
- (8) Al-Jamiʿ li-aḥkām al-Qurʾān, XII, p.71.

Lisān al-ʿArab, however, explains it as follows "it is from al-aṣmaʿ which means the sharpened pointed utmost part .... and the ṣawmaʿah of the Christian is from this because it is of pointed extremity"(1).

Fraenkel (2) however confirms the Arabic interpretation and suggests that ṣawmaʿah is quite clearly an Arabic formation, and no trace of this expression is to be found in any Aramaic dialect. Consequently, he has deduced that it seems originally to have meant nothing else than "a high pointed building". Gottheil on the other hand suggests that the root of this word is one that is very rare in Arabic, and there is no corresponding word in other semitic tongues (3). Although he has found no south Arabian word with which to compare it, Jeffrey suggests that the idea of the origin of the word ṣawmaʿah is to be sought in south Arabia in the form of the Ethiopian word sōmāʿet (hermit's cell)(4). This assumption however seems to be far-fetched since it has been suggested that the Ethiopian word sōmāʿet itself is a form from the Arabic (5).

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(1) X, p.76.

(2) Op.cit., p.269.

(3) Op.cit., p.200. The word ṣawmaʿah does not occur in Biblical Hebrew. In Akkadian, the word ṣamu, zamu corresponds to the Arabic root smʿ. The former means "architectural term referring to a wall of a house or a temple". A footnote in the same page says "An architectural term that seems to describe a type of wall or the reinforcement of a wall, perhaps a slope". See Assyrian dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, XXI(1961)p.41 and note.

(4) Foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān, pp.200f.

(5) Cf. Nöeldeke, op.cit., p.52, and n.2.

In view of the above suggestions, it seems quite probable that the word has its origin in Arabic (1).

Lammens suggests (2) that sawma'ah originally meant the pillar (ustuwānah) of the Stylite (3). The South Arabian poet Dhū Jadan the Himyarite recited a poem on the occasion of the divastation of the Yemen by Abyssinians in which he said that even the mutarahhib fī ustuwān was not protected from death. It was described as an inaccessible place (4).

The word sawma'ah occurs in the Qur'ān. The text reads:

"... But for God's warding off the people some by means of others, hermitages (ṣawami') and churches and oratories and places of worship in which the name of God was had in remembrance who would have been destroyed in numbers". (5).

Nothing has been specified about the characteristics of these ṣawami'. The commentators disagree as to whether to ascribe them to the Jews, the Christians, the Sabeans or the Muslims, but on the whole agree on the idea of associating ṣawami' with the Christian hermits (6).

The word sawma'ah was at times used as a designation for the minaret (7). Many of the Arab Mediaeval writers, especially those of N. Africa and Spain such as Bakrī (8) (A.D.1068),

- (1) Al-Khafājī (Shifā' al-ghalīl, p.141) did not regard sawma'ah as a borrowed word, as did Jeffery state (op.cit., p.200).
- (2) Quoted by Jeffrey, op.cit., p.200, n.3.
- (3) Hofmann associated it with zawba'ah. See Z.A., IX (1894)p.334.
- (4) I.H., p.26; Goldzieher, art. "Säulenmänner im Arabischen", in Z.D.M.G., LV, (1901) p.504.
- (5) XXII, 40, Bell's translation, I, p.321.
- (6) Tabarī, Tafsīr, XVII, pp.112ff; Nisabur., XVII, pp.92ff, al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, Mufradāt, II, p.282; Z amakhsharī, al-Kashshaf, II, p.908; Qurtubī, op.cit., XII, pp.71f.
- (7) Aghānī, XX, p.25; I.D., IV, p.62; Maqr., II, p.248; A.M., I, p.68; Dozy, op.cit., I, p.845.
- (8) K.al-Mughrib, pp.2, 26, 28, etc.

Ibn Jubayr (1) (A.D. 1184), Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (2) (A.D. 1326), Maqqarī (3) (1630 A.D.) and others (4) mostly call the minaret sawma'ah, i.e. use the two words as synonymous. However, it is difficult to determine when the designation sawma'ah has been taken to mean the minaret. The term ṣawma'ah according to Maqrīzi (5) was mentioned in the order directed by Mu'āwiyah to Maslamah to build minarets in Egypt. But this use of the term seems to have been of a later time. It is clear that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (871 A.D.) was the earliest source who furnished us with the said order, has reported the word manār and not ṣawami' (6). When al-Maqrīzī quoted this authority, he mentioned the same term manārah, but he did not mention his source of information when he referred to the word ṣawma'ah (7). However, the term ṣawma'ah is likely to have been transferred to the minaret at an earlier date and might have been restricted to N. Africa and Spain in order to differentiate between the minaret and the light houses which were extensively used in that part of the world. Along all the

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- (1) Op.cit., pp. 197, 275f etc.  
 (2) Op.cit., I, pp. 203f, 231, 272, 323f; 390, II, p. 13 etc.  
 (3) Op.cit., II, p. 86.  
 (4) I. Id., II, pp. 68, 228, 230; Qaz., Āthār, p. 179.  
 (5) Khiṭaṭ, II, 248.  
 (6) Op.cit., p. 131.  
 (7) Op.cit., II, p. 248.

coast between Alexandria and Tripoli, towers were built for the purpose of conveying messages by the use of fire (1). Many of the Mediaeval authorities such as Idrīsī (2) (1154), Ibn Jubayr (3) (A.D.1184) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (4) (A.D.1326) who had called the minarets ṣawāmi, referred to the Pharos of Alexandria as manār (5). Moreover, the use of those terms might have been interchangeably employed because of the similarity in structure with that of the church-towers which were often called ṣawāmi. If the latter suggestion is correct, it is logical that this term (ṣawmaḥ) should have been used in Syria, the home of the minaret and monk's towers. But the circumstances were different at that time. This is because the terms manārah and mi'dhanah were dominant. It is not certain whether ṣawmaḥ was used to identify the minaret in Syria in its early days, and it seems very doubtful that it was so since al-Farazdaq (c.105/723) referred to the minarets as manār al-masājid.

However, the term ṣawmaḥ is mostly confined to N.Africa, and it is still in use at the present day (6). During the Muslim rule in Spain, the word was carried there, and its mean-

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- (1) 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Marrākushī, op.cit., pp.347f, cf. I.R., p.118; Thiersch, op.cit., pp.173,174.  
 (2) K.Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī dhikr al-amsār wa al-aqtār wa al-buldān wa al-juzur wa al-madā'in wa al-afāq (Rome 1592) p.109.  
 (3) Op.cit., pp.38,41.  
 (4) Op.cit., pp.29f.  
 (5) I.Id, I, p.99.  
 (6) Swally, op.cit., p.146; Thiersch, op.cit., p.172; Hasan, Funun al-Islām, p.144.

ing still exists in Spanish as Zoma which means minaret (1).

In view of what has been said, it seems very likely that this transformation in the use of the term had started in N. Africa to distinguish it from the light houses. No doubt the shape of the monk's towers had their role in that transformation.

There were many such buildings (ṣawāmi:), and the monks dwelt in them during Islamic times. In al-Walīd's reign, there was a monk living in a ṣawma:ah in one of the four towers of the church of St. John the Baptist. The term does not apply for the whole tower, but to a chamber in it (2). When al-Manṣūr the Abbasid caliph, wanted to build al-Rāfiqah (154/770), a monk was living in a ṣawma:ah at Raqqa (3). Some of the ṣawāmi:, were of particular type such as the one called "ṣawma:at al-sawārī" (the cell of the columns) in Palermo, which was described as magnificent by Ibn Jubayr (4), and that of ʿAbdūn the monk near Takrīt (5). At the same time, it should be remembered that Arabic literature is rich in its reference to the ṣawāmi: as a monk's cell in a high or in a

- (1) Eguilaz, Glosario Etimologico de las palabras espanolas de origen oriental, pp.531f. Dozy, op.cit., I, 845; Gottheil, op.cit., pp.136f; Creswell, A short account of early Muslim architecture, p.14; Salim, art. "Al-Qāhira madīnat al-ma'ādhin", Al-Majallah, No. 16, April, 1958, p.53.
- (2) Ibn ʿAsākir, Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq, II/1, p.20; Ibn Shaddad, al-Aḥlāq al-Khatīrah, I/1, p.52.
- (3) Tab., Ann., III, p.372, cf. p.276.
- (4) Op.cit., p.332.
- (5) Masālik, I, p.309.

deserted place (1), but they were not necessarily built with a pointed roof (2).

A famous theme in pre-Islamic and Islamic literature is that of the lamps of the monks in their cells. Relying on this, Schwally (3) deduced that the Arabs might have occasionally described sawma'ah as manārah. This seems very likely, although nothing similar has been found in the literature.

Because of the similarity in form, the name sawma'ah was also given to octagonal high buildings used for purposes other than religious ones (4); but the word is also found in several place names (5), and even people's names (6).

### 3. Mi'dhanah:

The minaret is called by a third term, "mi'dhanah" (7). It is derived from adhan "proclamation or announcement" (8). Both muezzin and adhan are pre-Islamic words, and the Arabs used to designate the herald who called the meetings or gave

- (1) I.S., I/1, p.99; Tab., Tafsīr, VII, p.7; Bukh., I, p.304; Aghani, XIX, p.92; Muqad., pp.171,209; I.As., I, p.36; al-Shābushti, al-Diyarat, pp.70,131; Yaq., Udaba', VII, p.156;
- (2) See I.As., II/1, p.20; I.Sh., I/1, p.52; Abū Bakr al-Sanhajī, Akhbar al-Mahdi, pp.63f.
- (3) Op.cit., pp.145f.
- (4) K.al-Istbsar, p.115; Bak., Mughrib, p.26; Idrīsī, op.cit., p.110; cf. Yaq., Mu'jam, I, p.263, III, pp.790,792; Qaz., pp.150, 285.
- (5) Hamadani, op.cit., I, p.130; Tab., Ann., III, p.1711.
- (6) A.M., III, p.117.
- (7) Also pronounced ma'dhanah, and sometimes mu'dhanah; Lisan, XVI, p.150; Bustāni, Muḥiṭ, I, p.15.
- (8) Lisan, XVI, pp.149ff; I.A., Nihāyah, I, p.27; Lane, op.cit., I, p.43.

the news either munādī or muezzin (1). The use of the latter two terms continued throughout Islamic times and were often used interchangeably (2).

The designation mi'dhanah "the place upon which the time of prayer is made known" (3) was rarely (4) used and appears to have been replaced by the more common term manārah.

#### 4. Asās:

It is strange to find that the minaret was also called asās, (a place of watching) by some of the Maghribiens (5). Such would give an impression that the minaret was used as a watch-tower as well as a place for the adhan (6).

#### B. Its occurrence in the early mosques:

At first there was no special place and not even a call to prayer. In Mecca, prayers were performed secretly in narrow

- (1) Bak., Mu'jam, p.233; cf. Fraenkel, op.cit., p.276; Horovitz, op.cit., p.253.
- (2) Aghānī, VII, p.184.
- (3) Lisān, XVI, p.150; Tāj, IX, p.121; Thiersch, op.cit., p.172; Dozy, op.cit., I, p.16. The term mi'dhanah also denoted things quite different from the mosque tower. It was associated with a platform standing on pillars, although the adhan was not announced from it. See Tab., Ann., I, p.795.
- (4) And not frequently as J. Pedersen states in art. "Masdjid", E.I./I, III, p.334.
- (5) Hasan, op.cit., p.144; Sameh, art. "The Birth and evolution of minarets in Islam", in B.F.E., C.U., 1954/5, pp.157f.
- (6) Cf. Maqq., I, p.204; Lisān, VIII, pp.14-17; Bustani, op.cit., II, p.1498.

alleys (1) or in private houses either singly or in groups (2). Prayers were also held openly near the Ka'bah (3). The qiblah seems to have been directed towards Jerusalem (4). Ibn Hishām records:

".... and His qiblah was towards al-Shām. If he prays, he stands between the Yamanite corner and the Black-stone, and he puts the Ka'bah between him and al-Sham"  
(4)

When Islam first developed in Medina, before the Prophet's <sup>e</sup>immigration, people used to worship in a special place assigned for that purpose. It was called "mirbad". The qiblah was directed towards Jerusalem (5).

In Qubā', which is situated about three miles from Medina, a special place was also allotted for prayers before the Prophet's arrival. The qiblah was also towards Jerusalem (6). On his arrival in Qubā', he prayed in that place, and thereby laid the foundation of the first mosque in Islam (7).

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(1) I.H., pp. 159, 166; Tab., Ann., I, p. 1164.

(2) I.H., pp. 202, 203, 246; I.S., III/1, p. 193; Bukh., I, p. 131, II, pp. 39, 103.

(3) I.H., pp. 190, 224.

(4) I.H., pp. 190, 228, cf. pp. 294f. I.S., III/2, p. 146, Samhūdī, Khulāṣat wafā' al-wafā', p. 107; cf. Azraqī, op. cit., p. 249.

(5) I.S., I/2, p. 2., III/2, pp. 53, 139f., 146f., Samhūdī, wafā' al-wafā' bi-akhbar Daral-Muṣṭafa I, p. 233; Nuway, XVI,

p. 344; Mirbad means a place where camels and sheep are kept. It also means a place where date is dried. Lisan, IV, pp. 150f; Yaq. IV, p. 483.

(6) I.S., IV/2, p. 43; Bal., p. 2; Yaq., IV, pp. 23f; Samh., Khulāṣah, p. 179.

(7) Tab., Ann., I, p. 1260; Maqr. II, p. 246, Imtā' al-asmā', I, pp. 45f.

Later, the direction of the qiblah was changed. This event is recorded in the Qur'an:

"We see thee turning thy face about in heaven . So we shall put thee in possession of a gibla that satisfy thee; turn thy face in the direction of the Sacred Mosque, and wherever ye are, turn your faces in its direction. Those to whom the Book has been given know that it is the truth from their Lord, and God is not neglectful of what they do ..." (1).

Consequently, alterations were made in that mosque which seems to have been merely a vacant space surrounded by a wall built of uncemented rough stones (2).

On the way to Medina, 16 Rabī' I, (1-2 July, 622 A.D.), he performed the Friday prayer in Banū Sālim (3), then he continued his journey to Medina. On arrival, he lodged at Abū Ayyūb's house for at least seven months (4). During all that time, the Muslims worshipped in the mirbad or in other places depending on the times where they had to pray (5). On the authority of al-Zuhri, Ibn Sa'd records that As'ad Ibn Zurārah enclosed the mirbad by a wall, and that the mirbad was roofless (6). The qiblah was also towards Jerusalem.

#### 1. The Mosque of the Prophet:

The general idea that is held is that the Prophet did not intend it to be used as a mosque, but a house for his private use, "and that afterwards, through adventitious circumstances, the courtyard gradually assumed a more and more public

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- (1) Qur'an, II, 139-145, Bell's trans. I, pp. 20f.  
 (2) I.S., I/2, p. 5; Nuway. XVI, pp. 345f; Creswell, E.M.A., I, p. 9.  
 (3) I.S., I/1, p. 160; Tab. I, pp. 1256f; I.N., p. 355.  
 (4) I.S., I/1, p. 161; I.H., p. 338; I.B., I, p. 266,  
 (5) Tab., I, p. 1260; Ibn Majah, Sunan, I, p. 251.  
 (6) I.S., I/2, p. 2, III/2, pp. 139f; Samh., wafā', I, p. 233.  
 (7) I.S., III/2, pp. 146f; Samh., Khulāṣah, p. 106.

character. This evolution continued after his death and it was not until half a century later that with the evolution of the religion of Islam, it became a place of worship properly speaking"(1).

The question as to whether the building was originally intended as a private house or not, deserves some discussion.

Seven months after the arrival of the Prophet in Medina, he decided to build the mosque and his buyūt at the site of the mirbad (2). All obstructions were removed, the ground was levelled, and the Prophet laid the foundations (3). The walls of the mosque were about seven cubits high, the foundation being of stone while the upper part of sun-dried clay bricks. A part of the mosque was roofed later on to shelter the worshippers against bad weather. The roof was built of palm branches covered with mud, and supported by palm trunks (4). Three doors were built in the enclosure: the Bāb 'Uthmān (Bāb Jibrīl) on the eastern side, the Bāb 'Ātikah on the western and a third was on the southern side. The latter was closed when the qiblah was changed, and another one instead of it was opened on the north (5). Its dimensions

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- (1) Cf. Creswell, E.M.A., I, p.3. This theory was laid down by Cattani, L., Annali dell' Islam, I, pp.432,438 as quoted by Creswell.
- (2) I.H., pp.336f; I.S., I/2, p.2; Tab., I, pp.1259,1260.
- (3) I.S., I/2, p.2; Nuway, XVI, p.344; Samh., I, p.233; I.N., p.356.
- (4) Musnad, IX, p.10; I.F., p.24; I.S., I/2, p.2; 'Umari, (op.cit., I, p.124,) says that its qiblah was of hewn stone. Hamd Allah Mustawfi records that the burnt bricks were used, See Nuz'hat al-Qulub, p.14; J.Kister, art. "A booth like the booth of Moses...", in B.S.O.A.S., XXV/1, (1962) pp.150-155.
- (5) Nuway, XVI, p.345; Samh., I, p.240; I.N., p.356; I.B., I, pp.265ff.

were 70 x 60 cubits (1).

At first the Prophet's buyūt numbered two, that of Ā'ishah which was situated at the southern corner of the east side, and that of Sawdah lying north of it. The number of the buyūt increased as the Prophet's wives increased until they ultimately became nine (2). They were all on the same side ranging from south-east to north-east. All the buyūt had doors which opened into the mosque while Ā'ishah's bayt had two doorways, one leading into the mosque and the other to the exterior (3). These buyūt were not a part of the mosque except that their doors opened into it (4). The change of the qiblah, which took place on 15th Sha'bān 2 A.H. (5) (11 Jan., 624 A.D.), had no effect on the position of the buyūt.

When adhān was introduced, Bilāl used to call it from the highest roof in the neighbourhood of the mosque (6). No minaret was attached to it. Instead, there was a small platform slightly raised above the roof level. The column which is related to have been used by Bilāl as a minaret (7) seems to be very doubtful. Al-Samhūdī who reports this information

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- (1) Masālik, I, p. 125; Samh., I, p. 238; Various versions were recorded about its dimensions. cf. Samh., I, p. 242.  
 (2) About their condition, see, I.S.I/2, pp. 180f., Samh., I, pp. 326, 397; Nuway. XVI, p. 345.  
 (3) I.S., VIII, p. 119; Samh., I, p. 384.  
 (4) Samh., I, p. 366; I.N. p. 358.  
 (5) Cf. Creswell, E.M.A. I, p. 8.  
 (6) I.H., pp. 347, 348; See the section of al-adhān.  
 (7) Samh., Khulāṣah, pp. 132f., Wafa', I, p. 375; al-Marāghī,

K. Taḥqīq al-Nusrah, fol. 41a; Pāshā, Mir'at al-Haramayn, I, p. 479; cf. I.N., pp. 365f.

doubted the authenticity of its relator (1). Moreover, none of the earliest compilers, such as Ibn Hishām and Ibn Sa'd, has recorded such a statement; on the contrary they all agree that Bilāl called the adhān from the highest roof in the neighbourhood of the mosque, and not from a column. The third adhān which was introduced by ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān in the Friday prayer was announced from al-zawrā', a place in the market of Medina (2). The custom of calling the adhān from a roof or from a flight of stairs running at a right angle to the roof or alongside the walls of the mosque has survived in many places in the Islamic world (3).

The mosque remained in this condition for about six years until it was enlarged to about 100 x 100 cubits in the year seven of al-Hijrah (4) (628/9 A.D.). In the same year, a minbar made of tamarisk wood was introduced (5).

It is disputed whether the name masjīd al-taqwā (a place of worship founded upon piety) refers to the mosque of Medina or to the Qubā' mosque (6). As the masjīd al-ḍirār

(1) Wafā', I, 376.

(2) Al-Zawra' is explained to have been a house belonging to ʿUthmān. It is also explained by al-Dawūdī as a high place like the minaret. See Bukh. I, p. 231; Samh., Wafā', II, pp. 318, 319; Yaq., II, p. 955; Pedersen (op. cit., p. 374) refers wrongly that Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik transferred this adhān to the minaret. Indeed, al-Walīd I was the caliph who built the minarets of this mosque. See chap. IV, B of this thesis.

(3) Cf. Sameh, op. cit., pp. 167f.

(4) Samh. I, pp. 239, 240f; 242: I. R., p. 64; Pāshā, op. cit., I, p. 462; Haykal, Fi Manzil al-Wahī, p. 449.

(5) Tab. I, p. 1591; Creswell, E. M. A., I, p. 9.

(6) I. S., I/2, p. 6; Tir., II, p. 120; Yaq. IV, pp. 23f; Samh., II, pp. 16ff.

(the mosque of dissension) is in Qubā', and as this has been built to rival the Qubā' mosque (1), it is more likely to assume - when one refers to Chapter IX, 108-109 of the Qur'an - that the term is used in connection with the Qubā' mosque and not that of Medina.

From the afore-said, it seems safe to assume that the mosque was not a part of the buyūt but was intended entirely for the public, and was used by the public for prayer as well as secular activities (2).

The following facts support this hypothesis:

1. The fact that the Prophet had already built a mosque in Qubā' before his arrival in Medina indicates that the idea of mosque was not new, and therefore it is very likely that a mosque would be built in Medina.
2. Why the Prophet started building after seven months after entering Medina may be explained by the increasing number of converts and the necessity to set apart a particular place for worship, and to find a lodging for the immigrants who were homeless in addition to his lack of a house of his own. Caetani emphasized the significance of the fact that "Muhammad gave Aṣṣ' hāb al-Ṣuffah a temporary roof only viz:- because Muhammad considered the building as his own private house ..." (3). But on the contrary, it seems that he did so because the place was for devotion and not a living place.

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(1) I.S., III/2, p. 96; Tab., I, p. 1704; Samh., II, pp. 28-31; Watt, Muhammad at Medina, pp. 190, 306.

(2) Cf. Fikrī, Masjīd al-Qayrawān, pp. 39-50.

(3) Cf. Caetani, op.cit., I, p. 439 as quoted by Creswell, E.M.A., I, pp. 5f.

3. Had the mosque been a courtyard of the Prophet's buyūt one door would have sufficed, for it was customary at the time to have only one door in the houses of Arabia, Syria and Mesopotamia (1). Yet the courtyard had three doors.
4. The fact that 'Ā'ishah's bayt, which was built at the same time as the mosque had a door leading to the exterior, indicates that the buyūt were intended to be separated from the mosque. Otherwise she could have been able to use any of the mosque's three doors.
5. Moreover, four of the buyūt were of mud-brick, and had partitioned rooms - each one formed a separate house of its own (2). When the Prophet died in 13 Rabī' I, 11 A.H. (8 June 632), he was buried in the bayt of 'Ā'ishah which was divided by a wall into two chambers (3).
6. The enlargements which were executed in the time of the Prophet and also in that of 'Umar, 'Uthmān and al-Walīd I.
7. The changing of the qiblah's direction and its consequences in the courtyard.
8. Celebrating the Īd of Sacrifice, which used to be held once a year, in the musallā (4) does not mean that there was no mosque in Medina for holding the daily and Friday prayers.
9. Caetani claims that the masjid al-haram and the masjid

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(1) Creswell, op.cit., I, p.3.

(2) I.S., I/2, p.181; Samh. I, p.327.

(3) Samh., I, p.385.

(4) Caetani, op.cit., I, pp.44lf, as quoted by Creswell, op.cit. I, p.6. cf. Watt, op.cit., p.306.

al-aqṣā are the only masjids mentioned in the Qur'ān (1). He further claims that "there is not a word about a masjid in Medina" (2), whereas such a reference can be found in the Qur'ān, e.g. masjid al-taqwā, and that of al-dirār(3). Other verses encourage people to build mosque (4).

During the Caliphate of Abū Bakr, the mosque remained as it was in the Prophet's time. In the year 17 Hijrah (A.D. 638), Umar rebuilt the mosque on the same scheme and the same building materials as used by the Prophet. He also enlarged it from all sides, except the eastern, where the buyūt of the Prophet's wives stood (5). Three more doors were built, the number of doors becoming six in all. The new dimensions became 140 x 120 cubits (6).

It was also enlarged by Uthmān in the year 29 Hijrah (A.D. 646/7) from all the sides except for the eastern one. New building materials were used. Its walls were built with cut-stone and mortar, and the columns were made of cut-stone fixed with lead. The roof was covered by teak wood. The dimensions were increased to 160 x 150 cubits (7) (Fig.1.)

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- (1) XVII, 1.  
 (2) Caetani, op.cit., I, pp. 442-4 as quoted by Creswell, op.cit., I, p. 7.  
 (3) Qur'ān, IX, 108-9.  
 (4) Qur'ān, IX, 17-18, XXIV, 36-7.  
 (5) Musnad, IX, p. 10; I.S., III/1, p. 203, IV, pp. 13f; Bal., pp. 6f; Masālik, I, p. 124; al-Dhahabī, Tarikh al-Islam, II, p. 21; Bukh., I, p. 123; Other version says that palm trunks were changed into mud-brick piers, cf. I.R., p. 66; Samh., I, pp. 341, 351, I.B., I, p. 268.  
 (6) Samh., I, p. 349; I.N. pp. 369ff.  
 (7) Musnad, IX, p. 10; Bal., pp. 6, 362; I.A., Kāmil, III, p. 79; Tab., I, p. 2833; Masālik, I, pp. 124, 125; Bukh., I, 123; Mus., V, pp. 11-14; I.F., p. 24 mentions that its length became 200 cubits. The dimensions according to Samhudī (I.p. 360) were 160x130.

The revolts which followed the assassination of ʿUthmān, and the rebellion of the people of Hijaz against Muʿāwiyah and his successors distracted the Caliphs from introducing any changes in the mosque. Up to this time, the mosque had no minaret.

In the years 88-90 H. (A.D. 707-9), it was rebuilt by the Caliph al-Walīd I. In this reconstruction a mihrab was added as well as four minarets, one at each of its corners (1).

Wherever Islam spread, mosques were founded. The earliest of these were in Baṣra, Kūfa, and Fuṣṭāṭ. Another mosque was also built in Jerusalem. They were rude buildings, exhibiting much diversity of design, and consisting of simple elements. None of them has survived to the present day, but descriptions of several are known.

## 2. The Mosque of Basra

Baṣra was the earliest town founded by the Muslims in Iraq. The year 14/635 is accepted as the most certain one for its foundation (2). Miḥjan al-Adraʿ al-Sulamī marked out an open space which was used as a mosque (3). ʿUṭbah b. Ghazwān surrounded it with a fence of reeds (4). In 17/638 this was replaced by a brick wall covered with reeds by Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī (5). So far nothing is known about a

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(1) I.R., p. 70; Samh., I, pp. 372f; I.N., p. 373.

(2) Bal., p. 346; I.A., II, p. 379; Yaq., I, p. 640; Creswell, E.M.A., I, p. 15.

(3) Bal., p. 350; Dhah., II, p. 315.

(4) Bal., p. 350; Yaq., I, pp. 640, 642; I.A., II, p. 379; I.F., p. 188.

(5) Bal., p. 347; I.F., p. 188.

minaret in it. The one that was built is said to have been added (c.45 H/AD.665) by Ziyād b. Abīhi during the Caliphate of Mu'āwiyah (1).

### 3. The Mosque of Kūfa

Al-Kūfa was founded in 17/638 (2). The mosque was built in the same year. A suitable site was chosen from the centre of which four arrows were cast, each to mark one corner of the mosque. The mosque had no walls. The only enclosure was a ditch dug round it. A sheltered colonnade 200 cubits in length the columns of which were brought from Hīra, stood in the qiblah side. There were no other architectural features (3). At this stage the mosque, like that in Basra, was a primitive building. Both the mosque and the house of the governor, were rebuilt later by a Persian called Ruzbih Buzurgmihr (4). A statement was made by Tabarī that "the zullah (prayer hall) of the mosque was 200 cubits on marble columns, belonging to the Kosroes samā'uhā is as the asmiyah (pl. of samā') of the Greek churches" (5). The word samā' was translated by Lammens and Creswell as the roof of the zullah.

Lammens deduced that the roof was covered with fresco and mosaic (6). This is unlikely as it is difficult to find such decorations in mosques pertaining to 'Umar's reign who

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(1) Bal., p.348.

(2) Bal., p.275; I.A., II, p.411; Tab., I, p.2684.

(3) Tab., I, 2689; I.A., II, p.412.

(4) Ann., I, p.2491; I.A., II, p.412; cf. Creswell, op.cit., I, pp.18f.

(5) Ann., I, p.2489.

(6) Art. "Ziad ibn Abihī, vice-roi de l'Iraq lieutenant de Mo'awiyah I". R.D.S.O., IV(1911-12)p.247.

strictly prohibited such decorations. Creswell on the other hand states that the zullah had a wooden gabled roof (1). This is also unlikely, since the flat roof made of mud mixed with straw was the prevailing style in Mesopotamia long before. Samā' in Tabarī's extract must have referred to the upper part of the columns (i.e. capitals). The text might be "... their capitals as the capitals (of the columns) of the Greek churches". Any similarities which might have existed would have been between the capitals of the columns and not between the roofs (2). The ceiling of the Prophet's mosque was so low that it could be touched by hand (3); thus it is also possible that the text of Tabarī might have meant only the height in the two roofs, and not the shape or decoration.

This mosque was rebuilt and enlarged by al-Mughīrah b. Shuḥbah, but nothing was recorded with regard to a minaret being built in it (4).

#### 4. The Mosque of Fustāt:

This was the earliest mosque to be founded in Egypt by Ḥamr b. al-ʿĀṣ in the year 21 Hijrah (A.D.642) (5). The site was originally a garden. The mosque founded on it was

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(1) Op.cit., I, p.18.

(2) Cf. Tab., I, p.2491; I.A., p.412.

(3) Samh., I, p.329.

(4) Bal., p.276.

(5) I.D., IV, p.62; Maqr., II, p.46; Yaq., III, p.898; Qalq., III, p.341.

only oblong simple hall, 50 x 30 cubits (1). (Fig.2). The walls were built of baked or possibly unbaked bricks. The mosque seems to have been sheltered by a low roof which could have been supported by palm trunks (2). It had six doors in all, two on the west side, two on the north, and two on the east opposite ʿAmr's house (3). The mosque was surrounded by a road (4). Creswell claims that the mosque had a mihrab (5) but this is unlikely since ʿUmar objected to having any additions in a mosque (6). This mosque had no minarets.

The mosque underwent many alterations; that due to Maslamah b. Mukhallad (53H./A.D.672) was the most important in the history of the minaret in Egypt.

#### 5. Al-Aqsā Mosque:

The city of Jerusalem was surrendered to ʿUmar b. al-Khattāb in 17 Hijrah (A.D.638). None of the Arab authorities make any mention of the construction of a mosque at that time, and the first mosque to be built there has been attributed either to ʿAbd al-Malid b. Marwān (7), the fourth Umayyad Caliph, (72 H/A.D.691), or to al-Walīd I (87H/70\_A.D.). But no doubt that a primitive mosque was built before ʿAbd al-

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(1) I.D.IV,p.62;A.M.,I,pp.66f; Yaq.,III,p.898.

(2) I.D.,IV,p.62; A.M.,I,p.67.

(3) I.D.,IV,p.62; A.M.,I,p.67.

(4) I.D.,IV,p.62; cf.p.98;A.M.,I,p.67.

(5) Op.cit.,I,p.28.

(6) I.D.,IV,pp.63f;A.M.,I,pp.69f.

(7) Muqad.,pp.168,169; Mujir al-Din,K.al-uns al-jalīl bi-tarīkh al-Quds wa al-Khalīl,II,before p.379,cf.I.F.,p.101.

(8) I.A.,V,p.5.

Malik's reign, since Arculfus who visited Jerusalem in C.670A.D. says:

"In the renowned place where once the temple had magnificently constructed placed in the neighbourhood of the wall from the east, the Saracens now frequent a four-sided house of prayer which they have built rudely, constructing it by raising boards and great beams on some remains of ruins: this house can, it is said, hold three thousand men at once." (1)

He mentions no minaret as having been associated with it.

### C. The early architectural features.

Scholars have considered different types of pre-Islamic towers as models for the minaret (2). Most of them, however, agree that its origin is to be found in church-towers.

Thiersch (3), Gottheil (4), Diez (5), and Creswell (6), are among those who support this theory, but none has investigated the matter thoroughly. There are some, on the other hand, such as Franz-Pascha (7), and Lane-Poole (8) who see the minaret as an original architectural development.

The minaret was later than the mosque. In a previous section of this chapter it has been shown that none of the early mosques possessed a tower, or any such construction used as a minaret before the Umayyad period. Such early minarets as

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- (1) The Pilgrimage of Arculfus in the Holy Land, pp.4f.
  - (2) Hasan, op.cit., p.144; Kühnel, Die islamische Kunstgeschichte (Arabic version), p.4.
  - (3) Op.cit., pp.99-110.
  - (4) Op.cit., p.138.
  - (5) Art, "Manara", in E. I. /1, III, p.228.
  - (6) Op.cit., I, p.329, II, p.371.
  - (7) Die Baukunst des Islam, p.17.
  - (8) Cairo, p.42.

there are, were added from time to time after the foundation of the mosque to which they belonged.

To see how this architectural element became a part of the mosque, the historical evidences, as well as the architectural features will have to be discussed.

The earliest records concerning the minaret have come down to us from Mu'āwiyah I's reign. Al-Balādhuri records that Ziyād b. Abīhi (C.45H/A.D.665) attached a stone minaret to the congregational mosque of Baṣra (1). From Syria, in 53 Hijrah (A.D.672), Mu'āwiyah conveyed an order to Maslamah b. Mukhallad, his Governor in Egypt, to enlarge 'Amr's mosque and to attach four minarets at its corners. The order also included the building of minarets for all the mosques of Fustāt except those of Khawlān and Tujīb (2). In view of these facts, it is generally accepted that the idea of the minaret arose during the Umayyad regime, and its origin must be sought in Syria.

Mu'āwiyah's order is of great importance for our study since we have no recorded evidence about minarets built in Syria before the reign of al-Walīd I. It is unbelievable that Damascus did not possess anything in the nature of a minaret when Mu'āwiyah issued his order. It is unlikely too that Damascus, the Capital remained without minarets until al-Walīd I's time when minarets were attached to mosques elsewhere outside Syria according to orders from the central

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(1) Op.cit., p.348.  
 (2) Maqr., II, p.248.

government in Damascus. Therefore it seems very likely that towers from which the adhān was called had become common practice in Syria in view of the fact that the order of Mu.āwiyah was not limited to the main mosque of Fustāt, but extended to all the mosques of Egypt. An investigation of all the characteristics of this region at the time of the conquest is therefore of great importance.

Architecture of very varied kinds existed in Syria at the time of the Arab invasion, and the towers, the square shapes of which were dominant, offer the closes parallels with which we may associate the idea of the minaret. They were built to serve various purposes as: tomb-towers, watch-towers or church towers, and a number of other towers exist, the exact use of which is difficult to discover. No doubt these towers were mostly in an excellent state of preservation when the Arabs first saw them.

1. Tomb-towers:

a. At Petra

At Petra, the monuments almost all belong to the Nabataean age - the Nabataeans occupied the country from about 587 B.C., but the city reached its zenith when it was under the Romans in the first and the second century A.D. (1). The important features there <sup>which</sup> demand our consideration are the tomb-facades,

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(1) Frye, The heritage of Persia, p.240.

and the block-towers.

Concerning the tombs, Sir Alexander Kennedy has classified them into three types: The Assyrian, the Egyptian and the Classical. In spite of the fact that these tombs are hewn in the rock, the general appearance of many of them gives the impression of a series of square-towers grouped together. Hundreds of these rock-cut-frontals are to be found in Petra (Fig.5.). Internally, they are mostly alike, but the difference in their external appearance suggests a number of easily traceable stages of development. In general, they are of one storey, only a few of them having double storeys. What may be termed the Assyrian type has a plain facade with a single, sometimes double row of crowsteps. The Egyptian type is characterized by its heavy cornice and the cavetto which is surmounted by crowsteps (1). The facades decorated with single or double rows of crowsteps appears to have been developed in the closing years of the first century B.C., they flourished especially in the first century of the Christian era. The numbers of the crowsteps varies from four to eight. In many tombs, the crowsteps of the upper row stand free and are not built in relief (2). Some of the tombs have large-size crowsteps on the corners of the roof, and only occasionally

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(1) Kennedy, Petra, p.49; cf. Erskine, The Vanished cities of Arabia, pp.36f.

(2) Brunnow and Domaszewski, Provincia Arabia, I, figs. 135-139.

have space for a loculus (1). The classical type which in contrast discarded this feature (i.e. crowsteps) appeared at a time not earlier than the beginning of the Roman occupation (2).

The detached towers which were called sahārīj by Musil existed at Petra from the early days of the Petrean history (Fig.6). They are huge four-sided block-towers, 20-30ft. high; twenty-six of them were enumerated by Brünnow. About half of them are solid towers without chambers; the others have chambers which are entirely plain though some of them carry the crowstep ramparts. The exact purpose of these towers is uncertain. It has been suggested that the towers which had chambers may have been used as burial places, since they were too small to serve as dwellings. It has also been proposed that they might have had some religious significance representing either the symbol of the deity itself or the altar for worship. An especially important example of these remarkable monuments is that at Bābal-Sīq. It is a solid tower without a door or internal chamber, and it has no ornamentation. Another notable one stood in the southern region of the city and has an internal chamber. A frieze of crowsteps on one of its sides is regarded by Kennedy as a later addition (3).

The crowsteps which we have discussed above are of great

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(1) Op.cit., I, pp. 138-155 and figs.

(2) Kennedy, op.cit., p.80.

(3) Op.cit., p.41; Forder, Petra, Perea, Phoenicia, pp.21, 55.

importance as they exercised some effect first on towers of the pre-Islamic period, and later on the minarets themselves where they were retained for their ornamental value - they were placed at the fringe of the roof. Walls of the mosques were also often terminated by this element.

b. At Palmyra:

At Palmyra, the most striking features of the architecture are the square tomb-towers. These towers vary in size but are very similar in their proportions (Fig.7<sup>(\*)</sup>) They are high, rectangular and stone-built. Those to the west of the acropolis have some characteristics which distinguish them from the rest. They are primitive but homogenous in technique. Their lateral length varies from five to seven metres, and they have internal staircase built of stone in the thickness of the walls. In some towers, however, the complete absence of a staircase suggests the probability of wood having been used in their construction. Loculi were hewn in rows one above the other in the interior walls to contain both the remains and the images of the dead. This group is situated on the highest points of the western range of hills and might also have been used to serve as watch-towers in the time of danger. The primitive character of the towers of this group suggests two possibilities - either they belonged to less wealthy families or were built sometimes after the invasion of Aurelian (1).

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(1) Watzinger, art. "Zur Geschichte des Grabtürmes" in Wiegand, Palmyra, I, p.78, cf. Frye, op.cit., pp.213f.

(\*) "The heavy base (of these towers) is reminiscent of the dry stone plinth upon which the mud brick towers of southern Arabia are built .(Professor Sergeant's comment)

The remainder of the towers are more or less similar in construction and homogenous in appearance. The cores of their walls are built of quarried stone and mortar, while the external faces of the walls are built of fine squared blocks polygonal in shape. The layers are not always horizontal. The lateral measurement of these towers ranges between five and thirteen metres. Their height depends on the number of storeys which in some cases is as many as five. Each storey consists of a chamber with loculi hewn in it and a staircase leading to the floor above. Most of these chambers were decorated with painting or sculptures. The upper terminations including the roofs of most of these towers, have disappeared, but it seems probable that they had either flat battlemented roofs like the ones in the grave facades of Petra, or that they took the form of low pyramids. There is also a pedimental framed niche on one side which gives a two-storeyed effect to the front (1). The dated towers mentioned by Watzinger show that the Palmyrians began to build them before the end of the first century B.C. and continued doing so through the first three centuries of the Christian era (2).

The tomb-tower of Jamlīshū is a good example of the towers of this type (Fig.8.). According to an inscription on a plaque above the entrance, this tower was built in April 83 A.D. It

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(1) Watzinger, op.cit., I, pp.79f.

(2) Op.cit., p.77.

has five storeys with a ceiling of stone slabs and staircases connecting one story with the other. The first storey was elaborately decorated. Corinthian pilasters, carved friezes, ceiling of caissons ornamented with figures in high relief and painting; loculi were also built. The outer appearance has a certain elegance. On the centre of the facade, there is a partly disposed niche placed on top of two eagles perching on the heads of two lions. The niche is surmounted by a pediment carried on two Corinthian pillars; in the niche, there used to be a figure of Jamliṣhū lying on a bed, but neither of the two exists now although similar scenes are to be found in some of other tombs in Palmyra (1).

One of the most known examples is that of Elahbel, Manai, Schokhadji, and Malikhu, the four sons of Vaballath. It is a massive tower which stands on a low ground floor storey above which rise three other floors lit by arrow-slit windows. At the top is a cornice makes the roof, which no longer exists. The tower consists of many rooms. Some are decorated with paintings, and others with richly carved and upholstered couches. Buts frequently figured below these couches (2).

The reason for building these towers for the dead is to be found in the desire of the Palmyrians to provide an eternal

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- (1) De Vogüé, Syrie centrale, I, pp. 73f; pl. 26.  
 (2) Richmond, art. "Palmyra under the Aegis of Rome", J.R.S., LIII (1963) pp. 53f.

resting place for the dead of their families. Their belief is attested by an inscription on one of the tomb-towers which reads "the repose of eternity" (1). One of these towers contained loculi for as many as 480 bodies (2). Moreover, it has been suggested that these also probably served an astronomical purpose (3).

c. Tomb-towers built on the pattern of Palmyra:

Tomb-towers built on the pattern of those at Palmyra are also to be found in Qanawāt (4), and in Rīmat al-Luhf (5). At the latter place, there is a handsome tomb of three storeys, the uppermost of which may have been added after the original construction had been completed (Fig.9). The exact date of its building is, however, not known but probably it was either in the second or third century A.D. (6). Other square tombs are to be found in al-Juwaysima (7), as well as in Kharībat al-Sūq (8).

2. Watch-towers:

a. Detached towers:

Distinct from the tomb-towers are the square detached watch-towers which are very frequent in Syria, though most of

- (1) Watzinger, op.cit., I, p.84; de Vogüé, op.cit., I, pp.73f; Robinson, Baalbek, Palmyra, p.84; Addison, Damascus and Palmyra, II, pp.305f.
- (2) Wright, An Account of Palmyra and Zenobia, p.279.
- (3) Richmond, op.cit., pp.53f.
- (4) Provincia Arabia, III, pp.139f; cf. Will, art. "La Tour Funeraire de la Syrie", Syria, XXVI (1949), pp.264ff, figs, 2, 4, 5.
- (5) Butler, Ancient architecture in Syria, II, A. Southern Syria, pp.412ff, ill. 353f.
- (6) Butler, II.A., pp.412ff.
- (7) Provincia Arabia, II, pp.208-11, fig., 807.
- (8) Op.cit., II, pp.180f.

them are now in total ruins. They are frequently built of stone or basalt and vary from two to six storeys in height. The entrance to many of them is distinguished by an interesting feature for the lintel is mounted by a relieving arch, the span of which is closed by a slab of stone (Fig.10-12). This feature is of considerable importance since it was carried to Qayrawān where it can still be seen in the minaret of its great mosque (1). (Fig.13). The entrances of these towers are almost always to be found on the ground floor, and are often protected by overhanging projections which were used for throwing missiles at any attacker. Such projections are to be found on other sides of these towers where they may have been used as latrinas. They represent the progenitors of the idea of machicolation which was subsequently developed for defensive purposes first by Islamic architects and then in the west. The lower storeys were often provided with loop-hole windows while the upper storeys were provided with single or double ordinary windows on each side. The roofs of these towers were most probably flat, with crowsteps as the tower of Mashqūq with the remnants of its battlement shows. In some of these towers there is now no trace of any staircase leading to the uppermost storeys which suggests that wood might have been used for their construction. The earliest examples of these detached-towers are the following:-

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(1) This minaret is going to be discussed later on.

1. A tower existed at Qaṣr al-Hayr before the establishment of the Umayyad palace there. It was built of fine ashlar masonry, provided with a projected structure (machicolation) above the entrance. It dates from the second century A.D. (1).

2. The tower in Temek was built out of ancient material upon ancient foundations. It is in ruined state and might originally have been of four storeys. The faces were built of well finished stone. The first floor was built of stone while wood was used in the others; each storey was externally marked by a slightly projecting belt of masonry, and lighted by narrow openings. The shape of the portal is similar to that of the minaret of Qayrawān. According to Butler, it was built either in the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century A.D. (2).

3. In Mashqūq stood a tower built of roughly quaderated masonry in an almost perfect state of preservation even including two merlons of its battlements. The date assigned to it by Butler was before the fourth century A.D. (3).

4. A tower also stood in Umm al-Quṣayr (east) which was built of squared masonry, probably does not date later than the fourth century A.D. No doubt this tower was used for defensive purpose and for sending signals to the adjacent

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(1) Creswell, op.cit., I, p.347.  
 (2) Butler, II.B., pp.11ff., ill.8f.  
 (3) Butler, II.B., p.129.

guard-posts (1).

5. In Melah al-Sarrar, in Southern Syria stood very old towers. It seems that the upper storey of the higher one was reconstructed in the Middle Ages on a lower storey of earlier date, and it had a window with a pointed arch in the third storey. The other towers are all of ancient masonry. There were perhaps watch-towers like those of the Southern Hawrān and the eastern edge of the mountain. They may date from 372 A.D. (2).

6. The tower of Sirā measures 6.10 x 5.70m. from inside. It was lighted by loop-hole windows, and the remains of its stairs were still visible at the time of Butler's visit to it. The doorway had a lintel with a relieving arch above. It has been assigned to the fifth century A.D. (3).

7. In Kfellūsīn, a tower dated in 492 (or 522) A.D. was of 15m. high, perfectly preserved (Fig.14). It was four storeys high, the two lower ones having been provided with loop-hole windows, while the upper ones had normal windows. It was also provided with latrina in the top floor (4).

8. A tower also stands in al-Burj. It is 5.50m.sq., about 10m. of which are still preserved. The lower story was of basalt while the upper two storeys were of limestone, and

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(1) Op.cit., p.143,B.,p.234.

(2) Op.cit., pp.333f.

(3) Butler, II.B.,pp.65f., ill.65.

(4) Butler, II.B., p.225, ill. 227f.

well finished in the exterior. The portal had a lintel surmounted by a relieving arch. An inscription on the lintel gives the date of its construction as 526 A.D. (1)

9. The tower of Shaykh 'Alī Qāṣūn is about 7 m.sq. The portal and some of its walls are still preserved (Fig.15). The lintel has a relieving horse-shoe arch, the span of which is filled by a stone plate. Inscriptions and ornaments are carved on the lintel. It dates from the sixth century A.D. (2).

Other dated towers of this type of the sixth century also exist, such as the tower of Ḥalbān (3) (543 A.D.) (Fig.16), and that of Dār Qīṭā (551 A.D.) (4).

b. Towers incorporated in defensive fortifications:

Square towers incorporated in defensive fortifications are common in Syria, and those of them which still exist appear to be similar to the detached towers. Several examples of this type are known:

1. In Umm al-Jimāl, a tower stands at the south eastern angle of the barracks (Fig.17). It is six storeys high being marked by a slightly projecting course of masonry. The uppermost storey is provided with large openings; there is one at each side, and there are projecting structures before

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- (1) Butler, II.B., pp.103f. ill.122.  
 (2) Op.cit., p.7.  
 (3) Op.cit., p.18, ill.16.  
 (4) Op.cit., pp.189f.

them, the purpose of which is not known. The exterior of the tower, like the rest of the building, was covered with stucco. It dates back to about 412 A.D. (1).

2. One of the towers of Jerāda forms a part of the town wall. It is of six storeys, 28m. high, and is 5.50m.sq. at the base. The first floor is of stone while the others were of wood. The uppermost storey which could be reached by a wooden staircase or by a ladder, is provided with large cruciform openings one on each side. It is also provided with a projecting structure which might have been used as latrina (Fig.18). No date has been assigned to this tower (2). An entrance tower is also to be found in Jerāda. It is three storeys high, the third one was in the form of fine opened loggia with coupled windows separated with short Corinthian columns (3).

Towers of the same characters were also to be seen in Anderīn (4) (558 A.D.), Qal'at Dayr al-Kahf (5), in al-Habbāt (6), and other places (7).

c. Towers attached to private houses:

Square towers were also attached to private houses. On eastern and south-eastern slopes of the Jabal Hawrān, they have

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- (1) Butler, II, A., p.170; ill. 144f; Harding, Antiquities of Jordan, p.148.  
 (2) Butler, Architecture and other arts, pp.128; Creswell, op. cit., I, p.346.  
 (3) Op.cit., p.125 and illustration.  
 (4) Butler, II, B., pp. 49-52 and plate, VIII.  
 (5) Butler, II, A., p.145.  
 (6) Butler, II, B., p.102, ill. 120.  
 (7) Butler, II, A., pp.21, 83f; ill. 18, 92f; pl. IX.

distinctive features. The houses in several villages often had one or two towers incorporated with them. These towers were about 5.m.sq. and of three to five storeys which were marked by slightly projected belts of masonry. Those built on the roof is perhaps an indication that they served as watch-towers (1). Such towers are to be found in Şabha, Burāq, Şanamayn, Kokaba, and other places.

That of Şabha belonged to a ruined house above which<sup>it</sup> rose 16m. Three of its storeys are retained, and marked by slightly projected belts of masonry. There is a door in the ground floor topped by a lintel of stone and another one on the third floor (Fig.19). The upper storey must have been reached by wooden staircase or by a ladder, since no sign of stone stairs is to be found inside the tower. A flat roof with crenellations is suggested here similar to that of Burāq. No date has been assigned to this tower (2). In al-Şanamayn one of the houses possessed two towers (3) (Fig.20).

In Burāq stand two square towers which were connected with residences. One is built of finished masonry with moulding and pierced window-plates. The roof is flat with crenellations at the corners. The other is a late Christian building, but few signs of Muslim occupation exist here (4)

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- (1) Butler, II.A., pp.115,126,141.  
 (2) Op.cit., p.115; ill.95.  
 (3) Op.cit., p.315.  
 (4) Op.cit., p.127.

(Fig.21).

The house-tower in Kokaba is still standing. Its walls are preserved up to three storeys, the first of which is circled by slabs of stone and provided with loop-holes. The only door of this tower is to be found in the second storey (1). Butler suggests no date for this tower.

In the early Islamic times house-towers of this type were used as minarets when such houses were converted into mosques (2).

It appears from the above that fortresses and watch-towers are more common on the eastern and south eastern frontier than on the centre or western borders of the country. This is due to the fact that these parts were more exposed to raiders than the other frontiers so that it was very necessary to build such watch-towers in order to look out for raiders coming from a distance and to warn the villagers to be prepared before their arrival (3). But instead of having one public tower on the site, we find that each village had several houses with their own private towers. This feature has puzzled investigators. Butler suggests that "it may have been that well-to-do citizens built these towers upon their own house and provided for a watch during

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(1) Butler, II.B., p.138.

(2) Op.cit., pp.77f; ill.85.

(3) Cf. Hartmann, art. "Zum Thema: Minaret und Leuchtturm", Der Islam, I (1910) pp.388f.

stated periods as a public service". (1). But such service could equally well have been conducted on one public tower. It seems that this practice of building towers on the house might have had a religious significance, and it may well be these that are referred to in the Bible where it is written:

"There was a certain house-holder who planted a vineyard, and hedged it round about, and digged a wine press in it and built a tower, and let it out to husband-men..." (2).

These towers were situated so that the private fields and the folks outside the inhabited area could be guarded from them.

#### d. House-towers:

Numerous examples of house-towers are also to be found in the Jabal Halaqa in Syria, but they are in ruins. In Serjiblah (Fig. 22) in Northern Syria stands a tower of this kind which was planned and constructed for residential purpose. It is about 9 x 6.20 m.sq. at the base, and has five storeys, over 17m. high. The first floor is built of stone while the other floors were of wood. The roof is supposed to have been a low pyramidal one. Butler has assigned it to the sixth century A.D. (3).

#### 3. Church-towers:

The most important type of towers in Christian Syria were,

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- (1) Butler, II.A., p.127.  
 (2) St. Matthew, XXII, 33.  
 (3) Butler, II.B., pp.213, 230f; ill. 232, Architecture and other arts, pp.253 ff.

however, the square church-towers, generally characterized by the use of stone as its building material. Basalt and sun-baked bricks were also used. Such towers are 2-7 storeys high. The first floor usually built of stone slabs; the other floors are in most cases missing - which indicates that they were probably constructed of wood. Some of the towers have been found with their stone slabs floors well preserved. The entrances are mostly on the ground floor, but in some towers the entrances are on the first floor. The staircases are almost always missing which again may suggest that the upper storeys used to be reached by wooden staircases or by a ladder used only in time of need. A wooden staircase is however more likely, since we know cases where it was in use till a later time (1). These towers are mostly lit by narrow loop-hole windows in the lower storeys and were provided with large windows in the upper storeys. The roofs of these towers were built of slab stone, either flat, occasionally provided with crenellations at the corners, or of low pyramidal form (Figs. 23-25). Some of these towers, however, have projecting constructions which served either as machicolations or latrinas.

The earliest examples of church-towers with which the Muslims made acquaintance were those of St. John the Baptist's church at Damascus. After the capitulation of Damascus

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(1) See the minarets of the Damascus Mosque in Chapter IV of this thesis.

(14H/A.D.635-6 A.D.), a part of St. John the Baptist's church was converted into a mosque. At each corner of the temenos, there was a high tower, originally belonging to the peribolos of the pre-Christian temple (1). The part occupied by the Muslims remained the only congregational mosque in Damascus until the construction of the Great Mosque by al-Walīd I (87-97H/A.D.705-15). There can be no doubt that the towers of the church or at least one of them, were used for calling adhān since they were the highest places in the church. The order of Mu'āwiyah to erect four minarets for 'Amr's mosque at Cairo was certainly influenced by the nature of the temenos of this church. The towers of the latter were used for the adhān because they were already there, and the Muslims accepted their presence in so far as they were not contradictory to the ideals of Islam (2). In times, the Muslims grew accustomed to them and found that there was nothing wrong in introducing minarets to other mosques.

From the above, it seems very likely that the idea of the minaret originated in these towers, and it seems most probable that they were used for the adhān from the early days of the occupation of Damascus. But the towers of this church were only one of the factors that influenced the development of the minaret, and many other churches with towers were on the spot.

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(1) I.K., IX, p.150; Diez., Die Kunst der islamischen Völker, p.38.  
 (2) Cf. Bukh., I, p.120.

Christianity became an established religion in Syria in 313 A.D., but the great temple of Damascus was probably converted into a church only in the reign of Theodosius in 379 A.D; it was thus dedicated to St. John the Baptist (1). A number of other churches were built at much the same time especially for the purpose of paying honour to the remains of the Saints or to mark some sacred spot. It is true that we do not know exactly when church-towers were first introduced or even where they were first used in the Christian churches of the region. It would however be quite reasonable to consider those of the said church as the earliest in Syria.

A number of church-towers other than those of St. John the Baptist's church existed in Syria at the time of the Muslim conquest. The most important of them are as follows:

1. At Qaşr al-Banāt, in Northern Syria, a tower was associated with the church in 390-418 A.D.(2)(Fig.26). It had six storeys and was about 30m. high. Each storey was divided into two small and one big apartment; one of the small ones seems to have been occupied by a wooden staircase. Stone was used in the building of the first floor, while wood was used for the others. The roof of the tower may have been flat and built of stone slabs. It was provided with loopholes and interior decoration. Butler suggests that it served

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(1) Spiers, art. "The Great Mosque of the Omeyyades, Damascus", J.R.I.B.A., p.35.

(2) Thiersch, op.cit., p.99 and Gottheil, op.cit., p.139 allotted it to the fifth century A.D., cf. Tchalenko, Villages antiques de la syrie du nord, I, pp.173,174.

purpose other than that of watch-tower since its situation was not suitable for watching. The sound instrument which Butler proposes was hung in the uppermost storey seems to be improbable since this tower had no suitable openings barring the small loop-holes in the walls (1). It might well have been used as storage for the valuables of the church.

2. Qaṣr Iblīsū's tower is dated in 431 A.D. It has now fallen, but it has been suggested that it originally had low pyramidal roof (2).

3. In Umm al-Ṣurāb, Southern Ḥawrān, the church of S.S. Sergius and Bachus has a tall square tower, all of it still well preserved except for the roof. Each face of the top storey had a wide opening divided into two halves by a slender colonette (Fig.27). The staircase inside is crudely fitted and might have been added later. It was perhaps originally made of wood. Butler has restored the roof of the tower giving it a low pyramidal shape. It is dated 489 A.D.(3).

4. In the Church of Jerāda, there stands a well preserved tower (5th cent.A.D.) of five storeys, adjoining the narthex on the north. All of its floors are of slabs of stone like those of the tomb-towers of Palmyra (4). (Fig.28).

5. In Shaqqa convent there are two towers, one which is fairly well preserved, seem to have been in existence before the construction of the convent. Its lower storey is completely roofed by slabs of stone, and had no communication with

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(1) Butler, II.B., pp.220f. ill.219, and Pl.XX, Architecture and other arts, pp.140,141,156f.

(2) Butler, II.B., p.207, ill.211,214. He suggests the roof to have been a low pyramidal one, but he drew it flat. see ill.24.

(3) Butler, II.A., p.96, ill.78.

(4) Butler, Architecture and other arts, p.153, fig.60; Thiersch, op.cit., p.99.

the storey above. The lower storey has a special doorway and another one opened in the second storey, the two stone leaves of which were standing at the time of de Vogüe's visit. The staircase was constructed of timber, and in the uppermost storey, there were two windows. The roof of this tower was flat and battlemented at its four corners. The pagan origin of the tower has been proved by the discovery of an epitaph which belonged to a priest of that age. The two towers were incorporated in the convent in the fifth century A.D., and a cross was then engraved on the lintel of the entrance to the ground floor (1).

6. In Zarzita is a detached tower about 4m.sq. of two storeys separated by stone slabs. It dates in 500 A.D.(2).

7. In Anderin, the great enclosing wall of the South church (528 A.D.) had four corner towers as well as gate towers. All were built of stone, but with the exception of a few fragments none of them now exists. The four corner towers might have been a copy of those of St. John the Baptist's church at Damascus (3).

8. In Dayr al-Nawā (595 A.D.) a tower about 7.50m.sq. stood at the northwest angle of the second atrium of the convent. It had two storeys which were lighted by loop-hole windows. The second storey was provided with latrina (4).

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(1) Cf. de Vogüe, op.cit., I, p.58, Pl.18.  
 (2) Butler, II.B., pp.247f., ill.250ff.  
 (3) Op.cit., pp.60f., ill.54f.  
 (4) Op.cit., p.15.

9. Samah, in southern Hawrān, which was associated with the monastery of St. George also had a square tower (Fig.29). It is well preserved and is certainly coeval with the structure of the masonry. It is about 12m. high with an entrance in its second storey. The stairs, which may be an Islamic insertion, begin here and wind up to the top which was provided with big openings. Its roof was reconstructed as a low pyramidal one. It was built in 624/5 A.D. (1).

10. The tower of Umm al-Raṣāṣ perhaps stood in an open courtyard of a small monastery (Fig.30). It is about 10m.sq. at its base, and about 30-40 ft. high. Wilson suggests it "it was perhaps a stylite-tower" (2). On the northern -, eastern -, and western-sides of the tower, there was a cross sculptured in relief, and contained within a circle. This emblem is absent on the southern side (3). A rude flight of steps winds round the inside (4). No date has been given to it.

11. The monastery of Umm al-Qiṭṭayn, in Southern Hawrān, also has a well preserved square tower (Fig.31). The upper

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(1) Butler, II.A., pp.83f., Creswell refers to the pages as 95-99 cf. E.M.A., I, p.329.

(2) Quoted in Provincia Arabia, II, p.72, cf. pp.70,71.

(3) Buckingham, Travels among the Arab tribes, p.99. Creswell assigned a cross to the eastern and western faces only, see S.A.E.M.A., p.111; cf. Doughty, Arabia Deserta, or Travels in Arabia Deserta, I, p.18.

(4) Provincia Arabia, II, p.72; Tristram, The Land of Moab, p.146.

storey was provided with cruciform-shaped windows one at each of its four faces. The roof was flat, covered with slabs of stone, and crenellations stood at its corners (1). It bears no date.

12. In Dayr al-Naṣrānī, on the south-eastern foothills of the Jabal Hawrān, a square tower was incorporated in a monastery there. It was built of unhewn blocks of basalt, except for the doorway which was made of cut stone. It seems that this tower is older than the building itself; it could have been a watch-tower set up on the site, and was incorporated into the convent at the time of its construction. No date has been assigned to it (2).

Many other churches in Syria could also be added to the list given above on account of their similar characteristics (3).

In view of the importance of towers in pre-Christian times, the question arises whether or not these church-towers were introduced solely for religious purpose. That there was some underlying spiritual idea behind the church-tower is suggested by the nature of the Mesopotamian ziqqurat, the real purpose of which was perhaps to reach nearer to God. It is however difficult to state whether the church-towers

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(1) Butler, *op.cit.*, p.139, ill. 120f, Pl. IX seems to be inaccurate, see ill. 120f.

(2) Butler, *op.cit.*, pp.334f.

(3) Butler, *II.B.*, pp.275, 313f., 329, ill. 294f., 346f., 373; de Vogüé, *op.cit.*, I, pp.101, 135, 138ff, Plates: 65f., 122-129, 130-136.

initially had any similar religious significance.

It has been suggested that ajrās (bells) may have played a role in the introduction of the church-towers (1), but this seems unlikely since the instrument used for summoning people to prayer was not the same in the early days of Christianity as to-day. The earliest form was a nāqūs (wooden-gong) "a thing oblong piece of wood which is beaten with a flexible rod called wabīl" (2). It is held in the hand or hung up, but would have quite unsuitable for suspension in a tower.

Again, these towers might merely have been watch-towers at a time when the church was used as a fortress for protection from sudden attack - the south church in Anderīn (A.D.528) had four corner-towers as well as gate-towers. Ibn al-Faqīh (903 A.D.) designated one of the minarets of the Damascus Mosque as a nāṭūr (3) (watch-tower). Yāqūt defined it as a "daydabān" (4) (watch-tower), while Ibn Kathīr associated the four towers with astronomy (5). The designation manṭarah is applied nowadays to watch-towers lifted in the plain of Damascus which may bear the same relation to the permanent structure of the past. Abū Ṣāliḥ

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(1) Art. "Tower", E.B., XXII (1962) p.333

(2) Qalq. XIII, p.284; Zayyāt, al-Diyarāt al-Naṣrānīyah fī

al-Islām, pp.90-98. The nāqūs is still in use in some of the Greek monasteries. See Curzon, Visits to the monasteries in the Levant, p.15.

(3) Mukhtaṣar K.al-buldān, p.108.

(4) Muṣ. jam, II, p.593.

(5) Op.cit., IX, p.159;

al-Arminī, a fourteenth century A.D. authority, gives an indication of great importance in the study of the problem.

He says:

"This monastery (of Merry) is closed with a surrounding wall in which there is a large garden .... in the upper part is a ṣawma:ah raqubah (watch-tower) in which a monk is stationed to warn the other monks of any person approaching the monast<sup>r</sup>y while still at a distance whether they might be soldiers, Amirs, or Walis. The sentinel strikes the nagus in a different manner according to the comm<sup>r</sup>, so that the monks may know when they hear who it is that is approaching the monastery, and may prepare what is fitting for them before they arrive".  
(1).

Ancient watch-towers were incorporated in more recent Christian monast<sup>r</sup>ies and churches. The practice of having detached towers beside the churches may also give a clue to the origin of these towers - that they were old watch-towers to which the churches were subsequently added (2). All this may confirm that the church-towers were originally watch-towers, and the latter may have been their prototype. This is confirmed by the projected structures which are attached either above the entrances (machicolations), or to the other sides of the towers (latrinas).

Tristram records two traditions pertaining to the purpose of the tower at Umm al-Raṣāṣ. According to one, it was to imprison two persons, and according to the other that it was

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(1) Op.cit., fols. 71b - 72a.

(2) Cf. Lassus, Sanctuaries Chrestiens de Syrie, p. 235.

to protect the treasuries of the Christian community (1). Whatever truth is in these suggestions, they serve to give a hint as to what they were used for.

4. Towers of rare shape:

Towers other than those of the usual square type also existed in certain parts of Syria:

1. The stone-built stepped-towers are of the oldest type found in the Hawrān district, and their characteristics are of great antiquity. They are of two storeys having the shapes of truncated pyramids in the lower stage of which has staircase. Several such towers have been found in al-Sāfiyah and Dāmit al-Alyā in Leja (2) (Fig.32).

2. Round towers are also found, but in small numbers. Two ancient towers with sloping sides are to be found between Khabeb and Zabīr. Butler is of the opinion that they used to be wind-mills (3). These towers may be compared with those scattered along the road from Qanawāt towards al-Kefr to the southwest of Sī, and north of the foot of Jabal al-Quleb. Butler suggests the possibility that they were built for defence purposes: but this seems improbable as almost all the customary defence towers in Syria were square (4). Circular tomb-towers were in existence before the advent of

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(1) Op.cit., pp.146f.

(2) Butler, II.A., pp.123,125,432f.

(3) Op.cit., pp.437f.

(4) Op.cit., pp.354f.

Islam such as that to the west of Khirbat al-Khiṣṣīn (1), and that near Bosra (2).

3. Another type in the form of a cube topped by a pyramid was also found in northern, - as well as in southern Syria, a good example of this type can be seen in the tomb at Dānā (3) (Fig.33).

However, these sorts of towers were rare and there were probably not many examples for the Muslims to see and copy.

#### 5. General conclusion

The square tomb-towers of Palmyra doubtless had their effect on the development of the minaret, but no examples have been found of a tower of this type being used by the Muslims(\*)

Single watch-towers were, no doubt, converted into minarets when mosques were attached to them or built in their neighbourhood (4). The habit of adding detached minarets to the mosques may indeed have originated from the latter practice. House-towers also fulfilled the function of the minaret in cases where houses were converted into mosques. This was done in Kirratayn in the house No.3, dated in 436-7 A.D., which was converted into a mosque in the early Islamic days (5). But the first towers which the Muslims used for the purpose of the adhān were very probably those of the

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(1) Op.cit., pp.345f.

(2) Op.cit., pp.277f., ill.244; cf. Watzinger, op.cit., p.83.

(3) Butler, II.B., p.139, ill.162; cf. Buckingham, op.cit., pp.495f; de Vogüe, op.cit., I, pp.103-107 and Plates.

(4) Thiersch, op.cit., p.101; Provincia Arabia, III, p.181, fig.1068.

(5) Butler, op.cit., pp.77f., ill.85.

(\*) Professor Sergeant notes that towers were built of unbaked brick in the Arabian Peninsula or its borders. It is however not certain whether there may have influenced the idea of associating a minaret with the mosque.

church of St. John the Baptist at Damascus. They must have remained in use until the construction of the Great Mosque on the site by al-Walīd I.

As far as it can be said from the sources, the minaret was officially introduced as a part of the mosque in 45H. (665 A.D.). Before this date, it is very likely that the church-towers fulfilled the function of the minaret where churches were converted into mosques or where mosques were attached to churches. The towers of St. John the Baptist's church, thus, probably played a vital role in the introduction of the minaret, and they became a prototype for several mosques built outside Syria. Amongst them, other churches converted into mosques (1) may have had towers which were also certainly used as minarets.

The Islamic monuments in Bosra are similar in style to those of the Hawrān which had been developed a long time before Islam. They were built on the principle of stone beam work and roofed of stone slabs. For this reason, and for the use of the ancient building materials, it is difficult to determine the age of the building wherever the date is lacking. In this conservative city, there are several remarkable examples of minarets still standing to this day, the characteristics of which may suggest their prototypes (Fig.34).

1. In the mosque commonly ascribed to Umar b. al-Khattāb.  
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(1) K. al-Istibṣār, p. 142; Ist., p. 188; I. Haw., p. 244; Abū al-Fidā, K. Taʾwīm al-Buldān, p. 397; Kurd 'Alī, Khiṭaṭ al-Sham, VI, p. 45.  
(2) Provincia Arabia, III, pp. 25, 28f.

It is at the north-eastern angle of the mosque and is of square shape (Fig.35). It is tapered, so that the upper stages become progressively smaller than the lower ones (1). Buckingham describes this minaret as follows:

"We ascended on the inside of the square tower by 16 several stages of steps each containing four in number making 64 steps in all. The door which closed the entrance to this tower below was one solid slab of stone and a similar but smaller door of stone served to close the apertures for light in different stages of the building; as we ascended it all of them being hung by pivots traversing in sockets above and below ... At the top of this tower was an open space with a high wall enclosing it each side of which had a double arched window in its centre divided by a column; that in the western front spirally fluted and all the rest plain. The roof of this open space and the ceiling of it also was solid stone and every part of the tower strong and perfect, but whether constructed by Romans, Saracens, or Christian Greek it was not easy to determine". (2).

The door of this tower is similar to those of the towers at Palmyra which were also of stone slabs. Butler (3) allotted this minaret to the twelfth century A.D., while Brünnow (4) considered it to be a bell-tower. This minaret was very probably built following an ancient pattern which long prevailed in the city.

2. In the mosque of al-Khidr, there is a square tower slightly detached from the main building (Fig.36). It has

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- (1) Buckingham, op.cit., p.200, cf. p.205.  
 (2) Op.cit., p.199; cf. Thiersch, op.cit., p.101; Diez, Die Kunst der islamischen Völker, pp.37f.  
 (3) II.A., p.292; Thiersch, op.cit., p.101.  
 (4) Provincia Arabia, III, p.38.

a winding flight of steps inside. There is a window 20 ft. above the ground with a stone shutter; higher up, the stairs are in ruinous state (1). On the door of the mosque is an inscription which dates the re-establishment of the mosque in (2) 528 H. (1134 A.D.)

3. A square tower is also associated with the mosque of Dayr al-Muslim (3) (Fig.37). Buckingham reports:

"I saw an old building with a high square tower attached to it, in which was a double arched window near the top. The arches being divided by a spiral fluted columns and an open work battlement on the top; this must have been a Muhammadan work as we noticed many Arabic inscriptions on different parts of it; some originally sculptured, and coeval with the building itself and others let into the masonry at some subsequent period". (4)

The parapet of the upper storey was partly in ruins in the time of Butler's visit (5). Brünnow considers this tower like that of Umar's mosque to have been a bell-tower (6).

4. In the southern end of Bosra, near the reservoir stands another mosque with a square minaret at its southwestern corner (7).

Other minarets in southern Hawrān, in al-Umtā'īyah (8), which might originally have been a temple-tower in the second

- (1) Op.cit., III, p.13, ill.886f; Butler, op.cit., p.292, ill.205; Porter, Five years in Damascus, II, p.154.  
 (2) Provincia Arabia, III, pp.13, 210; Butler, op.cit., p.292.  
 (3) It is also called Jami' al-Ṣalat, and Jami' Fātimah, see Butler, op.cit., p.292.  
 (4) Op.cit., p.197; Butler, op.cit., p.292; ill.261.  
 (5) Butler, II.A., p.293.  
 (6) Provincia Arabia, III, p.38.  
 (7) Butler, op.cit., p.294; ill.262; Provincia Arabia, III, p.42; ill.926; Thiersch, op.cit., p.101.  
 (8) Butler, op.cit., pp.88, 90f.

or the early years of the third cent. A.D. (Fig.38), that of al-Dayr (1), and that of al-Nawā (2) which seems to be in part of the pre-Islamic period - probably the fifth or the sixth centry A.D., may all reflect their ancestors.

This examination of the various types of tower shows that the square type was in general favour till the seventh century. There were thus numerous examples to be found when the Muslims settled in Syria, and it is among towers of this type that the oldest minaret is no doubt to be found.

It may be stated in conclusion that the idea of the minaret originated in Syria, and that it was suggested by the church - and watch-towers which were so numerous there; it was pushed into the body of the mosque as a local impulse. The Umayyads were the first to introduce it to the mosques outside Syria.

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(1) Op.cit., p.105.

(2) Op.cit., p.311.

CHAPTER IV  
THE UMAYYAD MINARET IN THE EAST

A. The minaret in the early Umayyad period:

It has been shown earlier that there is no record proving the existence of the minaret before the Umayyad period, and that it is very likely that, especially in Syria, pre-Islamic towers were thus used for the purpose of adhān.

The earliest records known ~~are~~ relating to the minarets of the mosques of Baṣra, and Fuṣṭāṭ, as well as the <sup>al-</sup>haram al-sharīf in Jerusalem. Special attention will be paid to these minarets so as to expose the earliest pattern of minarets officially introduced to the mosques.

1. The minarets in Iraq:

The minaret of Baṣra was the first minaret to be associated with a mosque. Ziyād b. Abīhi, c.45H. (A.D.665), undertook the responsibility of rebuilding and enlarging the Baṣra mosque. On the authority of al-Walīd b. Hishām al-Qaḥḍhamī, al-Balādhurī records:

"When Ziyād built the mosque he made the prayer-hall (*portico*) (suffatuhu al-muqaddimah) five rows of columns and ~~built its minaret from stone~~". (1).

On the completion of this mosque, al-Balādhurī continues:

"When Ziyād built the mosque and dār al-imārah (governor's house) he asked some of the notables of Baṣra who were watching the building whether they had seen any defect (in the mosque) to which they replied, "We do not know of any monument more solid than this one". He said "Yes, since these columns carry four arches each, it would have been better if

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(1) Op.cit., p.348.

they had been stouter than the other". (1).

Pedersen suggests that the statement concerning the minaret may indicate that there was another one prior to the stone minaret (2). However, this statement is the earliest we have found. The shape of this minaret is not easy to conceive since all we know about it is that it was built of stone.

To understand the influence which affected the construction of this minaret, reference to the architectural environment of the places where Ziyād served may be illuminating.

Before becoming the governor of Baṣra, Ziyād served as a governor of Iṣṭakhr (3) where <sup>the</sup> commonest architectural feature was its numerous columns - particularly in Pers̄polis. Ziyād, therefore, must have been struck by the architectural beauties of this district. The Great Mosque of Baṣra which

- (1) Op.cit., p.347; cf. Yaq., I, p.642. This statement seems to have been completely misunderstood by Creswell who records: "Baladhuri goes on to say that the Khalif Mu'awiya one day asked some notables of Baṣra whether they know of any defect in the mosque to which they replied, "We do not know of any monument more solid than it is". He then said "Yes, certainly, these columns (asaṭin) each of which has for ties (uḡud) are the largest in existence". E.M.A., I, p.35.
- (2) Op.cit., p.334.
- (3) I.A., III, p.321; Pope, art. "Islamic architecture", S.P.A., II, p.214; Creswell, op.cit., I, p.34.

was a great architectural achievement of Ziyād reflects this influence. It is seen in the lofty columns which were admired by all who visited the mosque. How far the minaret was affected by Persia at that time is not clear. However, the question of why the minaret was built of stone whereas the rest of the mosque was built of bricks stimulates special attention since the use of stone as a building material was not the practice of southern Iraq. Dried-and baked-brick was the most common. The source from which the stone of the minaret was extracted is unknown; doubtless, it was brought from the mountains of al-Ahwāz (1), particularly from al-Qu.ayqi.ān (2), where the stone columns were obtained. It is very likely too that the columns and the stone of the minaret were first transported by sea, then carried by road (3).

The question here is whether there was a tower in the surrounding vicinity which might have served as a prototype for Ziyād's minaret.

It is a fact that the early churches of Iraq, as well as those of Iran had no towers similar to those known in Syria (4). It is also true that this district was not endowed with watch-towers which were abundantly distributed throughout Syria. The

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(1) Bal., pp. 347f; Yaq., I, p. 642.

(2) Yaq., IV, p. 146.

(3) Qaz., Athar, p. 75.

(4) Reuther, *op. cit.*, p. 566; Rice, art. "The Oxford excavations at Hira", *A. I.*, I (1934) pp. 54-58.

buildings common in the East were the fire-temples and those of the goddess Anahita whose cult was closely associated with fire-worship (1). Two of those tower-like buildings are to be found near Istakhr, one of which is in Pasargadae (Fig.39). It was built by Cyrus (549-529 B.C.), and probably destroyed by Gaumata (c. 522 B.C.). The other one is near Naqsh-i Rostam which was probably built by Darius (522-485 B.C.) who stated in his inscription of Bisitun that he had rebuilt the temples destroyed by Gaumata (2) (Fig.40). The purpose of these towers is supposed to be either a tomb or a temple, the latter explanation being the one gradually accepted (3). However, the general impression of the shape of these towers does not conceive the idea of minaret (4).

The tower of Nourābād, was built by a Parthian prince (c. III-I century B.C.) (Fig.41). It stands on a base of three courses of big blocks of finished stone, one course of which is bevel cut. The other courses above the base are also of stone blocks but of small dimensions. It has a

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- (1) Ghirshman, Iran, Parthians, and Sasanians., p.121.  
 (2) Ghirshman, art. "La Tour de Nourabad", Syria, XXIV (1944-45) p.184; Will, op.cit., p.300; Sarre-Herzfeld, Iranische Felsreliefs, pp.3f., n.l. Wachtsmuth, art. "Achaemenid architecture", S.P.A., I, p.311, and n.l; Fergusson, History of architecture, I, p.212.  
 (3) Cf. Ghirshman, op.cit., pp.178f; Fyfe op.cit., p.93.  
 (4) Op.cit., Plate, XIV.

plain square shape measuring about 3.38m. on each side. The first course being 4.35 m. long in the north side, and 4.10 m. wide in the west. Access to it, is by way of a door some distance above the ground level in the southern wall of the tower. This door gives access to a staircase which leads to the top. The general characteristics of this tower indicate that it was a fire-temple (1). The reason for the great similarity between this tower and those of Palmyra, is suggested by Will to be due to Hellenistic influence on the former (2). He also proposes that the Palmyrene towers had no origin in Iran or in Mesopotamia, but he does not excluded the possibility of relating the towers of the two regions to those of Palmyra and the Middle-Euphrates (3).

Near Fīrūzābād, there stood a stone tower which was in a bad state of preservation when Dieulafoy first studied it (Figs.42-43). The shape as well as relics of its staircase were still visible. On the basis of his investigations, Dieulafoy reconstructed it with an external staircase, and an arched entrance of about 60 cm. wide opening into a vaulted gallery. Another arch crowned the entrance. The staircase which Dieulafoy suggests to have been flat (4) started at the end towards the left of the gallery, and wound twelve

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(1) Ghirshman, op.cit., pp.175f.,184, and Pl.XII; Will, op.cit., p.299.

(2) Op.cit., p.300.

(3) Op.cit., p.301.

(4) L'Art antique la Perse, IV, p.84.

times round the shaft which was about 28m. high. The tower was probably built by Ardashīr Babakan who also built Fīrūzābād.(1).

Dioulafoy's reconstruction was accepted first as authentic, but later Herzfeld, who investigated it on the spot, rejected Dioulafoy's suggestion, and in 1924 A.D., stated that the square shaft was merely the case of a tower with vaulted staircase, the outside walls of which have disappeared entirely, and only few traces of the ramp and the vaults were left (2).

However, it seems difficult to accept Herzfeld's criticism. Dioulafoy's observations were made at an earlier date, when any relics of vaults that may have survived would have been clearer than at the time of Herzfeld's visit. The general impression of the shape of the shaft also suggests receding storeys with an external staircase, and Figure 94 in Ghirshman's Iran shows this clearly. Moreover, if this tower had an external staircase, there would have been no need for such a huge core for the staircase, and the tower of Nourbābad had nothing similar.

Rectangular towers for memorials were also common in Sasanian architecture. In Pāikūlī stood a massive tower about  $29\frac{1}{2}$  ft. square (Fig.44). It was built of rubble and mortar faced with masonry. On it was an inscription commemorating

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- (1) Reuther (*op.cit.*, p.566), mentions the height of the tower as 25m. (82ft.) Dioulafoy, *op.cit.*, pp.79ff, and Plates XIX-XX.  
 (2) Art, "Reisebericht", *Z.D.M.G., N.F.*, 5(1926) pp.254f; Reuther (*op.cit.*, p.567) Creswell (*E.M.A.*, II, p.263) and others follow Herzfeld's assumption.  
 (3) See also Dioulafoy, *op.cit.*, Pl.XIX.

the war of the builder (A.D.292-303). There were also royal <sup>5</sup>bufts in relief built into its faces. It is impossible to determine whether it had an internal staircase leading to the roof or not. If such a staircase existed, there must also have been an entrance (1).

Nevertheless, it is hardly probable that any of these towers could have served to inspire the idea of a minaret - except perhaps those of Nourābād and Fīrūzābād, and it would seem unlikely that Ziyād could have been influenced by them alone. It is much more likely that Ziyād was influenced by the towers of Syria before being appointed to Iṣṭakhr. Indeed, this suggestion is supported by the fact that the idea of building a minaret can hardly have come about by chance; it must surely have been the product of thought and planning. Inspiration for such planning may well have existed in Syria since such towers were used for the purpose of the adhān - particularly those of the temenos at Damascus. Any Persian influence that may have existed is to be sought, as has been stated above, in the use of the lofty columns which were very frequently used in Persia. The Persian mosques later on, were mostly columned ones (2). The minaret which was added to the mosque of Baṣra might have been recommended by Ziyād to the architects, in the form of a square stone minaret like

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(1) Herzfeld, op.cit., pp.227,258; Reuther, op.cit., p.568.

(2) Cf. Muqad., p.440.

the Syrian ones. Nothing has been reported concerning the location of this minaret, or whether it was actually attached to the building of the mosque or not. According to a record of 53H. (A.D.672/3) (1), it appears very likely to have been attached to the mosque - very probably, somewhere to its northern wall. (\*)

This mosque was enlarged many times (2), and was burnt by the Zanj in 257H (870/1) (3). Nothing is known about the facts of Ziyad's minaret. After a time this mosque fell into neglect and al-Muqaddasī (985) spoke of it as a third mosque in the city of Baṣra situated towards the desert (4). It was in a bad condition in Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's time (1334) and was only opened for Friday prayers (5). He makes no mention as to whether there was a minaret associated with it.

It appears, therefore, that the nucleus of the Iraqī minarets was very probably square towers similar to those of Syria, and it seems that this country remained loyal to this type during the Umayyad rule. Later, this type was affected by other influences, and shapes other than the square one started appearing.

## 2. The minarets in Egypt:

In Egypt, the minaret was introduced in 53H. (672/3A.D.). Maslamah b. Mukhallad, the governor of Egypt (667-681/2 A.D.)

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- (1) Dhah., II, p. 263.  
 (2) Bal., pp. 348, 349; I.A., VI, p. 37.  
 (3) Tab., Ann., III, p. 1851; I.A., VII, p. 170.  
 (4) Op.cit., p. 117.  
 (5) Op.cit., II, pp. 10ff.

(\*) An examination of many plans of mosques belonging to various periods has shown that there was no general rule regarding the position or the number of minarets in any one mosque.

undertook the responsibility of adding minarets to the mosque of 'Amr in Fustāṭ. It has been recorded that the Caliph Mu'āwiyah ordered him to enlarge the mosque, and build four minarets for it (1) (Fig.45). In carrying out this order, Maslamah demolished the original mosque and built a new one (2). Four minarets were erected, one at each of its four corners. Maslamah also ordered that minarets should be erected in all mosques in Fustāṭ except those of Khawlān and Tujīb. His name was inscribed on these minarets (3). Maslamah was the first to construct them (4). The shape of these minarets is difficult to determine, but the historical records may help.

Al-Maqrīzī records that: "The staircase by which the muezzin used to ascend the minarets was in the street until Khālīd b. Sa'īd transferred it inside the mosque" (5).

That there was only one staircase leading to the minarets suggests that all four of the minarets were erected on the roof of the mosque. Al-Maqrīzī also reports:-

"Maslamah retreat in the minaret of the mosque, and heard the sounds of the nawaqīs loudly in the Fustāṭ. He called Shurahbīl b. 'Amir and told him that this annoyed him. Shurahbīl said: "I shall extend the adhan from midnight till before dawn, so forbid them, O Prince, from striking the nawaqīs when I call the adhan". Maslamah forbade them to strike the nawaqīs

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- (1) Maqr., II, p. 248; Rivoira (*op. cit.*, pp. 27f.) misunderstood the text of Maqrīzī by thinking that five minarets were added.
  - (2) Other versions indicate that the structure which was built by 'Amr was not demolished; cf. A.M., I, p. 68; I.D., IV, p. 62.
  - (3) I.D., IV, p. 62; Maqr., I, p. 301, II, p. 247f.; A.M., I, pp. 68, 133; I.A.Hak., p. 131; Yaq., III, p. 899; al-Suyutī, Husn al-muhādarah fī akhbar misr wa al-Qahirah, II, pp. 177f. Ad'nam, art. "Jāmi' 'Amr", al-Muqtatāf, 67 (1925), p. 161.
  - (4) Maqr., II, p. 248; A.M., I, p. 133.
  - (5) Khitāṭ, II, p. 248.

during the adhān time, and Shurahbil extended and lengthened the adhan through most of the night until he died in 65H. (A.D. 684/5)" (1).

However, the building of the minarets in this mosque appears to have been an afterthought, and Maslamah must have known what was meant by Mu'āwiyah's order. Before being appointed in Egypt, Maslamah must have spent a lot of time in Syria, and the architectural environment there must surely have affected him. He must (have, at least,) been acquainted with the four towers of St. John the Baptist's church part of which was occupied by the Muslims for worship. This may explain the carrying out of the order which included the term "manār" without its being explained. The number of the minarets built in Amr's mosque no doubt originated in the four towers of this church. The question here is whether there was a similarity in shape between the towers in the one, and the minarets in the other structure.

Schacht states that the type of minarets prevailing in the country-side of Egypt, and in central and western Anatolia, namely "a small sentry box or lanternlike structure" was the same as that of those built by Maslamah (2). The form, however, seems to be an unlikely one when we know that one of these minarets was used for retreat as well as for the adhān.

Nevertheless, a similarity of function may suggest a

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(1) Op.cit., II, p. 270.

(2) Art. "Ein archaischer Minaret-Typ", A.I., V (1938), p. 54.

similarity in structure. The Christian monks used the towers of this church as places of retreat as late<sup>as</sup> al-Walīd I's time. Maslamah also used the minaret as a place of retirement. As the places of retirement used by the monks were mostly square in shape, it can be assumed that the place of retirement - the minaret, used by Maslamah was also square. The similarity in the number of the minarets with those of St. John the Baptist's church also suggests the possibility of an influence on their form. But as we are explicitly told by Maqrīzī that 'Amr's minarets had a staircase leading directly from the street - unlike the towers of the temenos, which had internal staircases, we can assume that these minarets were no more than little towers similar to the shape of cubical chambers. The traces of such tower-like minarets are indeed indicated by the tradition of building chambers on the roof of 'Amr's mosque, which fulfilled the function of the minaret (1). It is most likely that the adhān was pronounced inside, in which case openings must have been built in the walls while crenelations probably surrounded the roof.

Therefore, it is quite likely that the minarets of Maslamah were small towers, square in shape, akin to the Syrian towers - especially to those of the temenos (Fig.46). These minarets were the nucleus of the future graceful minarets of

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(1) See I.D., IV, pp.67f. Maqr., II, p.250.

Egypt.

The minarets of Maslamah must have been pulled down since the whole structure of the original mosque was completely altered at different ages starting from the year 79H (A.D. 698/9) (1), and there is no mention of these minarets or anything concerned with them until 237H. (851/2 A.D.) when al-Hārith b. Miskīn transferred the ladder of the muezzins from the Gate of Isra'īl (al-Naḥḥāsīn), to the west of the mosque (2). The absence of a minaret would present no problem for calling the adhān. Indeed, cases are known in which the adhān was called from the top of a ladder (3).

In 336H (A.D. 947/8) Abū Ḥafṣ al-Abbāsī built a chamber on the roof of the mosque from which the muezzins used to call the adhān (4). From this, it is clear that the mosque could have had no minarets, otherwise there would have been no need to construct a chamber for the adhān. In the year 442H. (A.D. 1050/1) this chamber was improved and an opening looking on to the courtyard of the mosque was built in it (5). It was still in existence in 666H (A.D. 1268) (6).

In Sha'abān 445H (Nov.Dec.1053 A.D.), a minaret was built in the place between the minaret of 'Arafah and the Great

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- (1) Kind., pp. 51, 60, 100, 184; IIA., Hak., pp. 131f; I.D. IV, pp. 62, 66; Maqr., II, pp. 248f; Qalq., III, p. 342.
- (2) I.D., IV, p. 66; Maqr. II, p. 250; The Gate of Isra'īl was the last of the four gates in the eastern side of the mosque. See Maqr., II, p. 249.
- (3) Schacht, art. "Further notes on the staircase minaret", A.O., IV (1961), pp. 137-141.
- (4) I.D., IV, pp. 67f; Maqr., II, p. 250; Suy., II, p. 178.
- (5) I.D., IV, p. 69; Maqr., II, p. 251.
- (6) Maqr., II, p. 252.

Minaret (1). Ibn Muyassar records that the two latter minarets were built in 515H. (1121/2 A.D.) (2).

In the course of time, the number of minarets was increased in this mosque; there were five in about 713H. (A.D. 1313/4) (3). The same number still stood in Ibn Duqmāq's time (before 1399); he records:

"The number of minarets in it are five; two towards the southern side and three towards the northern. One of the minarets towards the south is a room (ghurfah) on the south-western side, while the other, the larger one, is on the south-eastern side. The third, al-Jadīdah, is on the north-eastern side; the fourth, al-Sa'idah, the middle one between al-Jadīdah and al-Mustajaddah which will be mentioned is on the northern side, and the fifth, al-Mustajaddah, is the minaret which is above the door of the roof, and the staircase lies on the north-eastern (in fact, the author must have meant western) side". (4).

It is certain that the shape of these minarets must have been other than that of Maslamah's minarets. Perhaps the influence of early Egyptian building forms may have been responsible for this change. It may also have been due to the fact that Egypt was ruled by a different line of kings (5).

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(1) Op.cit., p.251.

(2) Akhbar Miṣr, II, p.59. Al-Dawādārī, (op.cit., p.261) records that al-Hākim ammār the Great Minaret.

(3) Qalq., III, pp.342f.

(4) Op.cit., IV, p.61; cf. Maqr., II, p.253.

(5) See Lammens, art. "Phares, Minarets, clochers et Mosquées", R.O.H., XLVI, (1911) p.16; Landau, Islam and the Arabs, p.218; Thiersch, op.cit., p.97; Art "Minaret", E.B., XV (1962), p.521.

All these minarets are outside the scope of our study. Nevertheless, they have all disappeared from this mosque, except for two; one stands on a northern gateway, and the other stands on the south-western corner. Both of them are of Turkish style.

### 3. The minarets in Palestine:

In Palestine, minarets are reported to have been built in the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem by the Caliph Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. The early references are almost silent as to any minaret in the Haram area of Jerusalem in the Umayyad period. However, Ibn al-Faqīh (c. 902 A.D.) refers accidentally to a minaret at its qiblah side. He says: ".... and the marbat of the Burāq was at the corner of the qiblah side minaret". (1). This may indicate that more than one minaret was in existence at his time. Ibn Abd Rabbih (940 A.D.) counts four elegant minarets in it. He reports:

"... and in it are four minarets for the muezzins. All the roofs (sutūh) of the mosque, the domes, and the minarets are covered with gilded plates". (2).

Neither of the two authors have dated them.

Nevertheless, a very late authority, Mujīr al-Dīn (1496) ascribed four minarets to the reconstruction of Abd al-Malik (c. 72H/A.D.691). He says:

".... In it are four minarets, three of which are in

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(1) Op.cit., p.101.

(2) Al-ʿIqd al-farīd, VII, p.298.

one line to the west of the mosque, and one at the Bāb al-Asbat (the Gate of the Tribes). In the present days, the case is the same, but the minarets now are renewed after that building (of 'Abd al-Malik) and it seems that they were (rebuilt) on the old foundation" (1).

Mujīr al-Dīn continues:

".... The first of them is on the front, to the west of the qiblah-side ... It has no foundation in the ground, but it was built on the roof of the Fakhriyah-Madrassa, and might have been constructed by the latter's builder ... The second is at the Bab al-Silsilah (the Gate of the Chain) to the west side of the mosque ... and I was informed that it was built by Tangaz ... The third on the hind of the mosque in the north-eastern side, and it is called the minaret of al-Ghawanimah... It was built by the Qadī Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahman b. al-Ṣahib the vizier Fakhr al-Dīn al-Khalīlī ... and he might have renovated the minaret at that time (23 Jumāda II, 677 H /11th Nov.1278 A.D.), and I was informed that it was built during the reign of Banu Qalawūn, and this is possible. The fourth is on the north side of the mosque between Bab al-Asbat and Bab Hittah (the Gate of Remission) ... it was built by al-Sayfī Qutlū-Bughā ... in 769 H (A.D. 1357/8)" (2).

Mujīr al-Dīn here asserts that in his days, the minarets occupied the same position as their predecessors built by 'Abd al-Malik. If these minarets of Mujīr al-Dīn are to be located on the plan of al-Haram al-Sharīf (Fig.47), the first one should be placed on the south-west side - probably at the corner of the Haram, the third on the north-western corner, and the second in between. The fourth one should lie on the eastern part of the northern side, but certainly not at the corner (3). This disorderly distribution of the minarets may

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- (1) Op.cit., II, p.379; cf. Muthīr as quoted by Le Strange, Palestine under the Moslems, pp.144f.
- (2) Op.cit., II, pp.379f; Le Strange's translation of this text is not accurate, see his Palestine under the Moslems, p.170; Clermont - Ganneau allotted the third minaret to the time when the Muslims re-occupied Jerusalem in 1187 A.D. see his Archaeological research, I, p.153.
- (3) Creswell's classification of these towers with those of Fustat and Medina does not fit, cf. E.M.A., I, p.39, n.2.

have been due to different dates of building, since it is wholly out of accord with the Umayyad tradition of erecting one minaret at each corner. Moreover, the one on the front had no foundation on the ground but was built on the roof of al-Fakhrīyah-Madrasa. Mujīr al-Dīn suggests that it might have been built at the same time as the Madrasa which suggests that the minaret did not stand on that spot before. ‘Abd al-Malik - if he did build a minaret - might have built the one in the place of that at the Gate of the Chain on the western side to call the adhān for both the Aqsā Mosque, and the "Dome of the Rock". Its situation being nearer to the "Dome of the Rock", as well as its allocation for the leading muezzins may suggest its ancient origins. Another possibility is that the original position of the three western minarets might have been occupied by strategic fortified points in an ancient enclosing wall of the temple (1), and those points were used as places for calling adhān as was the practice before the introduction of the minaret (2). The arrangement of three minarets in one line may support the latter suggestion. Moreover, it has been suggested that the north-western minaret rises on the remains of the Antonia tower (3). The minarets which are mentioned by Ibn al-Faqīh, and by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih are

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(1) Clermont-Ganneau, op.cit., I, pp.144f.

(2) Naqa'id, I/3, p.365; Tab., Ann., II, p.1302.

(3) Kendall, Jerusalem, p.36.

probably to be assigned to the restorations which might have been carried out by al-Mansūr, the second Abbasid Caliph, in 154 H. (A.D. 770/1), or by his successor, al-Mahdī, in 163H. (A.D. 779/80) (1). They might have been built of stone (2).

The minarets which are standing nowadays in the Haram al-Sharīf belong to a time not earlier than the fourteenth century A.D. (3).

Although Palestine has preserved examples influenced by old Syrian types, like Arabia it does not seem to have developed a type of its own. It was in the main influenced by Egypt (4).

However, the minarets mentioned above at Basra, and Fustāt seem all to have been of square shape, in step with the Syrian type which no doubt inspired them. The number and the arrangement of those in 'Amr's mosque are also of Syrian type. Those of Jerusalem were very probably strategic points. If any minaret was built by the Umayyads in Jerusalem, it would probably have been of square shape.

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- (1) Cf. Le Strange, op.cit., pp.91ff; Fikrī, al-Madkhal ila masajid al-Qāhira wa madarisaha, pp.209f.  
 (2) Cf. Muqad., p.166.  
 (3) Creswell, op.cit., I, p.39, n.2.  
 (4) Thiersch, op.cit., pp.119-122; Diez in E.1./1, III, pp.228f.

B. The influence of al-Walīd I on the minaret:

According to the Mediaeval sources a number of minarets were built during the reign of al-Walīd I in Syria and Hijaz.

Al-Walīd was certainly one of the greatest builders in the history of the Umayyads and his architectural manoeuvres were not confined to Damascus, his capital, but he was also responsible for work in the holy cities in Medina and Mecca as well as in other places in the Islamic world.

This section will be devoted to a discussion on the minarets of the Damascus Mosque as well as the mosque itself since this complex of building has played such a significant role in the architecture of the mosques and the minarets throughout the Islamic world. The minarets of Medina and Mecca will be discussed in a later stage of this section.

1. Syria

The Damascus Mosque:

This mosque is one of the greatest achievements of al-Walīd b. Abd al-Malik. Al-Mas'ūdī records that an inscription on the wall of the mosque reads:

"... The servant of God, al-Walīd, the Prince of the Believer has ordered to build this mosque, and to demolish the church which was in it in Dhū al-Hijjah 87H (Nov.Dec. 705/6 A.D.)".

He continues:

"These words are written in gold in the Damascus Mosque to this day. 332H /A.D. 943/4)". (1).

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(1) Murūj, V, pp.362f; Other versions of the date have also been recorded. See I.Sh., Aḥḥāq, I/1, pp.51,63; Dhah., III, p.236; I.K., IX, p.16.

Al-Walīd died without the mosque being completed; it was finished by his successor Sulaymān (96-98H/A.D.714-716/17) (1).

Before proceeding to trace the history of its minarets, it is desirable to preface it with a precise account of the mosque's history before and after construction. The former is important in order to see how much of the ancient building has been preserved in the present mosque.

Originally, this mosque was a heathen temple (2) consisting of two sacred enclosures (temenos), the inner of which had one tower at each of its four corners (Fig.48). The construction of the temple has been dated in the first century A.D., except for the triple entrance which was considered as a later insertion (3). It is not certain, however, whether the whole of the temple was converted into a church or not. The church may have been built by Theodosius (379 A.D.), and was later on enlarged by his son, Arcadius (395-408 A.D.) (4). After the occupation of Damascus, the Muslims shared the peribolus with the Christians for

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(1) I.Sh., I/1, pp.51,63; I.K., IX, p.16.

(2) Mas., IV, p.9; Ist., p.60; I.Haw., p.115; Masālik, I, p.178.

(3) Croswell, S.A.E.M.A., pp.49f. In E.M.A., (I, p.109) he ascribes it to the third century. Others dated it in the beginning of the Solucid period. Spiers, Architecture East and West, pp.223f; Dickie art. "The Great Mosque of the Omeyyades, Damascus", in P.E.F., Q.S., (1897) pp.269f. Thiersch, op.cit., p.103; For other datings see Croswell, E.M.A., I, p.109.

(4) Diez., Die Kunst der islamischen Völker, p.34.

worship (1).

In 705 A.D., al-Walīd took possession of the church and pulled it down prior to the construction of his mosque (2). It is certain that the demolition did not apply to most of the external walls, "but he built all that was within the walls of the mosque (pre-Muslim walls), and added to the thickness of the walls" (3). Experts and materials for building and decoration were gathered, particularly from Syria and Egypt (4), and it is even recorded that al-Walīd wrote to the Emperor of the Byzantines (Rūm) asking him for the loan of craftsmen and mosaic workers and that his demand was answered (5). About 5,600,000 dīnārs were spent on this construction (6).

The mosque was magnificently built and a new minaret called "al-ʿArūs" (the Bride) was built in the southern wall.

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- (1) On the question whether the Muslims shared the church itself see Creswell, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 128-135, Elisséef, art. "Dimashq", *E.I.*/2, II, pp. 279f.
- (2) Bal., p. 125; *I.F.*, pp. 106, 107; Mas. IV, p. 90, V, pp. 362f; Tab., II, p. 1275; *Yaq.*, II, p. 591.
- (3) *I.Sh.*, II, p. 59; *I.K.* IX, p. 149; *Masālik*, I, p. 180.
- (4) Cf. Bell, in *Der Islam*, II, p. 374, III, pp. 133, 373.
- (5) Bal., p. 7; *Muqad.*, p. 73; Ibn ʿAsakir, *Tarikh madīnat Dimashq*, II/1, pp. 26f; *I.J.*, p. 261; *I.B.*, I, pp. 197f; Sarre, *Roise in Kleinasien*, p. 63. About the problem of employing Byzantine craftsmen see Creswell, art. "The Legend that al-Walīd asked for and obtained help from the Byzantine Emperor, a suggested explanation", *J.R.A.S.*, 1956, pp. 142-45; Gibb, art. "Arab-Byzantine relations under the Umayyad caliphate" *D.O.P.*, XIII (1958), pp. 219-233.
- (6) *I.As.* II/1, p. 35; *I.Sh.*, II, p. 65; *I.K.* IX, pp. 148f; Nuway, I, p. 342; cf. *I.F.*, p. 60; *Ist.* p. 60; *I.Haw.*, p. 115; *Muqad.*, p. 158; *Hamd Allah Mustawfi* refers to the expenditure as 6,000,000 dīnārs of red gold pieces (*op.cit.*, p. 250). The figure 11,200,000 dīnārs has also been mentioned. See *I.J.*, p. 263; *Dhah.*, III, p. 238; *Qalq.*, IV, p. 96.

The way of building as well as the embellishment succeeded in impressing the imagination of people down the centuries. The following selections would suffice to show the impression that the beauty of this mosque has made:

"When al-Mahdī passed to Damascus on his way to Jerusalem, he entered the Mosque of Damascus together with his clerk Abū 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ash'arī and said:  
: "O, Abū 'Ubayd Allāh, the Sons of Umayyah have surpassed us in three things". Abū 'Ubayd Allāh asked, "And what are they, O, Prince of the Believer?", Al-Mahdī answered: "This house", meaning the mosque. "I have never seen anything like it on earth ..." (1).

"When al-Ma'mūn, Abū Is'hāq al-Mu'tasim, and Yahyā b. Aktham entered the Mosque of Damascus; al-Ma'mūn said: "What is the most wonderful about this mosque?" Abū Is'hāq answered: "Its gold, and its survival. In our palaces it does not last more than twenty years and is changed", and al-Ma'mūn said: "It is not that which I like in it", while Yahyā b. Aktham said: "It is the construction of its marble for I have seen in it knots I never saw the like of before". Al-Ma'mūn said: "It is not that which I liked it". And they said to him: "What is it that you liked it?" He said: "The way it is built is unique". (2).

In words by al-Shāfi'ī (767-820 A.D.). "The wonders of the world are five ... the fourth is the Mosque of Damascus. What has been spent on it is indescribable. The fifth is the marble and mosaic for no one seems to know where they are from". (3).

Ibn Abū al-Layth al-Khaṭīb - who visited Damascus in 432H (A.D.1040) - said in one of his letters: "I

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- (1) I.As., II/1, p. 15; cf. Masālik, I, p. 192; Mujīr al-Din, op.cit., I, p. 251; Raba'i, Faḍā'il al-Sham wa Dimashq, p. 42.  
 (2) I.As., II/1, p. 15; cf. Masālik, I, p. 192; I.K., IX, p. 152; al-Raba'i, op.cit., p. 43.  
 (3) I.As., II/1, p. 16; Masālik, I, p. 192; Ibn Zahīr, al-Faḍā'il al-bahirah bi-maḥāsin miṣr wa al-Qahira, fol.

48b., cf. I.F., p. 106; Yaq., II, p. 590.

entered the mosque and saw what no writer can describe, and no sightseer can know ... the wonder of its time ... unique ... The Umayyads have become by it something to be studied, and have left in it a memory which cannot be disguised or disintegrated". (1).

"A man of good ancestry said: "I have spent forty years without missing any of the five prayers in this mosque; and I have never entered it without my eyes falling on work of genius decoration, and skill I have never seen before". (2).

Benjamin of Tudela (12th cent. A.D.) says: "Here is a mosque of the Arabs called the Gami of Damascus; there is no building like it in the whole world". (3).

Hamd Allāh Mustawfī (1330 A.D.) says: "Verily, if a writer of books wrote continually for a month about the same, he would not be able to describe and explain them at all". (4)

All Mediaeval literary sources would agree with regard to the fact that al-Walīd had completely demolished the church except for the outer wall of the temenos, which remained as an enclosing wall of the mosque (5). Despite this, however, Watzinger and Wulzinger (6), Dussaud (7), and others (8) have suggested that the present mosque is in fact

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- (1) I.As., II/1, p. 16.  
 (2) I.W., p. 33; cf. Manīnī, op. cit., p. 81; al-Mahallī, Tuḥfat al-Mulūk, fol. 165a.  
 (3) The Itinerary, p. 30.  
 (4) Op. cit., p. 250, cf. I.F., p. 108; Yaq., II, p. 592; Manīnī, op. cit., p. 81.  
 (5) See statements collected by Creswell, E.M.A., I, pp. 126-28.  
 (6) Damaskus, I, pp. 96f.  
 (7) Art. "Le temple de Jupiter Damascenien", Syria, III (1922) p. 235.  
 (8) See Creswell, E.M.A., I, pp. 123-126.

the previous church, and that only the dome is confined to the work of al-Walīd I.

The investigations which were carried out on the mosque by Spiers (1), Dickie (2), and Creswell (3), were all against a Christian attribution for the sanctuary of the mosque (4). They also proved that the northern wall was completely pulled down except for a small part towards the west (5). (Fig.49). At the north-eastern and the north-western corners there were two square towers which, according to the Mediaeval sources fell down before the building of the mosque (6). It seems that the fallen parts were only those above the wall since Ibn Jubayr (1184 A.D.) ascended the roof of the mosque by a marqā (staircase) in the western corner of the arcade of the courtyard. "It was a ṣawma'ah in the ancient days", he said (7). In 728H (A.D.1327/8) building materials were taken from this tower, and were used in repairing the western part of the qiblah wall which was completed on 26th Ṣafar (30th Dec.1328

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- (1) Art. "The Great Mosque of the Omeyyades, Damascus", in J.R.I.B.A., IV (1896-7) pp.25-41, 57-65; art. "The Great Mosque of Damascus" in P.E.F., Q.S., 1897, pp.282-299.
  - (2) Op.cit., pp.268-282.
  - (3) E.M.A., I, pp.126-135.
  - (4) Cf. Sauvaget, La Mosquée Omeyyade de Medine, p.95; Fikrī, op.cit., pp.271-75.
  - (5) Dickie, op.cit., p.279; Creswell, S.A.E.M.A., p.45; cf. Masālik, I, pp.194f; Yaq., II, p.591.
  - (6) Ibn Shakir, Uyun al-Akhbar, in Quatreméro, Sultans Mamlouk, II, p.273; Abu al-Baqā records that they were demolished, and the materials were used by Walīd I in building the octagonal chamber in the western part of the ṣahn (de Sacy translation, p.576). According to a Greek inscription on this tower, it was completed in A.D.264-5; Watzinger and Wulzinger, op.cit., I, pp.29f; Dussaud, op.cit., p.232; Creswell, op.cit., I, p.109.
  - (7) Op.cit., p.292.

A.D.) (1). Parts of these towers were found in the recent investigations (2). Only the northern part of the eastern wall remained intact, while the rest was completely rebuilt (3). There is a triple doorway in this wall called Bāb Jayrūn. It is believed to have been the chief doorway (4). The western wall of the enclosure is completely preserved with eighteen pilasters, nine on each side of the triple entrance, "Bāb al-Barīd", which is an Islamic insertion (5). The investigations also proved that the southern wall is pre-Islamic except for its western part which was mostly rebuilt in 1328 A.D. (6). At the corners of this wall stood two towers which seem to have been completely intact at the time of al-Walīd.

When the mosque was completed, it had three minarets, two of which stood at the southern corners. The third which is called the minaret of al-ʿArūs was alongside the northern entrance which was called as "al-Farādīs" at Muqaddasī's time (7) (985).

The Minarets of the Mosque:

With regard to the two southern minarets, most of the

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- (1) ʿIlmawī, pp.214f as quoted by Creswell, op.cit., I, p.108, n.2.  
 (2) Creswell, E.M.A., I, p.109.  
 (3) Op.cit., I, p.104.  
 (4) Creswell, S.A.E.M.A., p.47; cf. Masālik, I, pp.194f; Yaq., II, p.590.  
 (5) Dickie, op.cit., p.269.  
 (6) Dickie, op.cit., p.270. cf. Rabaʿī, op.cit., pp.34f., 39.  
 (7) Op.cit., pp.158f.

Arabic sources agree that their pre-Islamic condition remained unchanged in the time of al-Walīd and that they served for calling the adhān.

Ibn al-Faqīh (903 A.D.) mentions one minaret only. He say :

"The minaret which is in Damascus was a watch-tower (nāṭur) of the Greek (Rūm) in the church of John. When al-Walīd demolished the churches, it was left in its original state" (1).

Al-Mas'ūdī (943 A.D.) records: "In the pre-Christian era, the Mosque of Damascus was a large temple ... the Christianity appeared and it became a church, then Islam arose and it became a mosque. Al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik built it firmly, and the sawami, in it are not changed. They serve as the minarets for the adhān until the present day (3).

Ibn Jubayr (1184 A.D.) reports; "The mosque has three minarets: one on the west side is like a lofty tower with large apartments and spacious chapels: these are locked and inhabited by strangers of pious mode of life ... The second is on the western (should say the eastern) side after the same style (of the western). The third is on the north at the gate known as Bab al-Naṭifiyīn (the Gate of the sweetmeat sellers)"(4).

Yāqūt (1225 A.D.) says: "It has three minarets, of these the biggest was a watch-tower (daydaban) which was turned into a minaret ..." (5). He continues: "and the western minaret ... was a fire temple, and that

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- (1) Op.cit., p.108: Le Strange's translation is not accurate, see Palestine under the Moslems, p.234.  
 (2) Murūj, IV, p.90.  
 (3) Op.cit., IV, p.90.  
 (4) Op.cit., p.266; Le Strange, op.cit., p.246; The name of the gate occurs in various spelling, see Nu'aymī, Dur al-Qur'an fi Dimaṣq pp.63ff.  
 (5) Op.cit., II, p.593.

the flame of the fire arose from it ..." (1).

There is no other evidence to support the latter statement of Yāqūt.

Ibn Battūtah (1326 A.D.) reports: "It has three minarets, one to the east was originally built by Greek (Rum) - workmen; ... the second on the west is also of Greek construction, and the third is on the northern side, and this is of Muslim construction" (2).

Ibn Kathīr (1373 A.D.) also refers to these minarets; he records: "Al-Walīd built the northern minaret which was called "Mi'dhanat al-Arūs", the eastern and western ones were there at an early date. At each corner of this temple there was a very high tower, built by the Greeks for the purpose of astronomical observation. The northern ones collapsed while the two on the qiblah side still stand to the present day" (3).

Many others such as Ibn Shākir (d. 1362), Abū al-Baqā (1494/5), and Buṣrāwī confirm this fact.

It therefore appears that al-Walīd's work on the minarets of this mosque was confined to the northern one only. The southern minarets were ancient towers which were included in his building, and served as minarets in his days. The evidence is clear enough, and it is strange to find Rivoira stating:

"Walīd's mosque had four minarets placed at the angles of the outer walls. Two of them are the

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(1) Op.cit., II, p.596.

(2) Op.cit., I, pp.203f; cf. Abū Shāmah, op.cit., p.137; Le Strange, op.cit., p.269.

(3) Op.cit., IX, p.150.

south-west, and south-east corners of the original Christian building, the lowest parts of which still survive and upon which Walid built. The other two stand at the interior north-east and north-west angles, and were built by him". He also suggests that the minaret of al-ʿArus was built after Walid's time (1).

The issue here is whether or not that al-Walid had built superstructures on the two southern ancient towers. To clarify the problem, it is necessary to examine the subsequent events which effected these minarets after the construction of the mosque.

The two minarets remained in good condition for a long time (2), and the fire of 461H (A.D.1068/9) which seriously damaged the mosque seems to have had no effect whatsoever on the minarets (3).

The striking earthquake of 598H (A.D.1202) destroyed a great portion of the south-eastern minaret (4).

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- (1) Op.cit., pp.92f.  
 (2) Kutub., I, pp.58,116; S.I.Jaw., VIII, p.159; I.As., Tabyin kadhīb al-muftarī, p.215; I.J., p.266, and others.  
 (3) Masālik, I, pp.198f; I.As., Tarikh madīnat Dimashq, II/1, p.48; I.Sh., II, p.74; I.A., X, p.40.  
 (4) It is called "the minaret of Jesus", to the effect of an account that Jesus will descend on it in the Last Day (Yaq. II, pp.589,593,596; Qalq., IV, p.96; Raba'i, op.cit., pp.71-74; Spiers, Architecutre East and West, p.223; Briggs, Muhammadan architecture, p.42. It is also known under the name dhāt al-adālī, dhāt al-asabī, and al-saʿat. See, I.K., IX, p.146; I.As., II/1, p.20; I.Sh., I, p.52; Moreover it is called al-Bayda' and al-sharqīyah, I.As., I, pp.213,214,215, Mus. XVIII, p.67; Yaq., II, p.596; Maqr., al-Suluk fī maʿrifat duwal al-muluk, II/2, p.495; I.K., IX, pp.155f. Masālik, I, p.201.

Ṣalāh al-Dīn who restored the mosque after this disaster (1), may perhaps have renovated this minaret, as it was used for dwelling shortly after the earthquake (2). The minaret caught fire in 25 Rajab 646H (1248/9). Abū Shāmāh (1266 A.D.) records: that the fire "burnt its upper parts and all the chapels it contained. The staircase which was made of wood was also burnt". (3).

Ibn Shaddād (1265/6) who wrote after Abū Shāmāh recorded that the minaret caught fire in 645H (A.D.1247/8). This seems to be incorrect since he added that:

The minaret remained in ruins for eight months and thirteen days till the Sultan ordered its construction in the first days of 647H: (1249/50) (4).

Therefore it is clear that it was his error, and the year 646H. seems to be the correct one.

The statement of Abū Shāmāh suggests that there was at the top a sort of superstructure very probably of wood. As the minaret was restored after the earth-quake, it is not clear whether such a superstructure was built by al-Walīd I. It is very probable that it was rebuilt on the same style as

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- (1) I.Sh., II, p.76; Tantāwī, al-Jāmi' al-Umawī, pp.52, 54.  
 (2) Cf. Abu Shamah, op.cit., p.177.  
 (3) Op.cit., p.182; Maqr., Suluk, II/1, p.332 also dates the fire in 646 H.  
 (4) Op.cit., II, p.76.

the old pattern. Notwithstanding, the statement:

"When al-Walīd intended to demolish the Church of John for the purpose of adding it to the mosque he entered the church and ascended the minaret of al-adali, which

is known as "of the clocks". In it, there was a monk in a ṣawma'ah whom al-Walīd obliged to leave ..." (1).

may suggest the intention of renovation in it, and a super-structure might have been added as well. The extent of the expenditure on the building makes it quite probable that al-Walīd had repaired the two towers, so that their conditions should be worthy of the majesty of his mosque which was one of the world's wonders.

The south-eastern Minaret:

With regard to the present eastern minaret (Fig.50), Dickie has proved that a part of the original pre-Muslim western wall is still preserved (2). Concerning the other walls of this tower, the historical evidences must be consulted.

After the fire of 646H (1248/9), this minaret was rebuilt, and became suitable for use (3). It appears that wood was used in the rebuilding since it caught fire again in 740H. (1339/40). To the effect of this fire, al-Umūrī records:

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- (1) I.As., II/1, p.20; I.Sh., II/1, p.51; Masālik, I, p.181.  
 (2) Op. cit., p.270.  
 (3) Abū Shāmah, op.cit., p.218.

"On the 16th Shawwāl 740H. (17 April, 1339), a fire spread in al-Dahshah market, and al-Turayfiyin market ... and the sparks of the fire spread and reached the upper part of the eastern minaret. They started to repair the damage of the fire caused. They found the upper part shaken, and its stone baked and cracked. The judges examined it and decided that it was necessary to demolish and rebuild it. Its four walls were taken down to the level of the arches of the southern hall, (and) the southern and the eastern walls were demolished to the ground; in the part between them, in the centre of the minaret, was dug for several statures of man, and it was built in one part. The minaret was magnificently built. Nothing had till then been built which could equal it in magnificence and stability since the time of al-Walid (1).

The fire burnt in the minaret for two days and two nights. It was rebuilt at the expense of the Christians who were accused of being responsible for the fire (2). Ancient stone building material was used in this reconstruction (3), and wood was also employed. At the last days of the year 770H. (1368), another fire broke in the minaret and at this time, it was completely rebuilt of stone (4). Owing to a defect in this minaret, the upper part was recently demolished and rebuilt on the previous pattern (5).

It is obvious now that the present eastern minaret - except for the upper part - should be dated in 770H. (1368 /9) and not to 1272 as Briggs (6) and Rivoira (7) state, or

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(1) Op.cit., I, pp.200f.

(2) Maqr., Suluk, II/2, pp.495,497; I.K., IX, pp.150,155f; Tārīkh al-Salātīn al-Mamalik, p.209; al-Munajjid, art. "Hariq al-Jami' al-Umawī bi-Dimashq, in M.M.I.A.D., XXX/1, pp.36,38; About the Fatwas given concerning the fire, see pp.35-47.

(3) Masalik, I, p.189; in this page, he mentions the date of the fire as 704, which is undoubtedly a slip.

(4) I.K., IX, p.150.

(5) Tantawī, op.cit., p.55.

(6) Op.cit., p.42.

(7) Op.cit., p.93.

to 1340 as Creswell (1) suggests. Saladin strangely has dated it in the eleventh century A.D. (2).

The statement of al-Umarī shows very clearly that the qiblah and the eastern walls of this minaret were completely demolished down to the ground while the other walls were pulled down as low as the arches of the prayer-hall. But according to Creswell's plan, it seems that only the internal part of the qiblah wall was demolished while the external face still stands with its pilasters (3). Dickie also states that:

"At the junction of the eastern tower with the western wall there is a vertical joint where the upper storey mosque butts against the lower, but the tower pilastered wall continues in (an) unbroken bond across the tower-wall" (4).

The original northern wall of this tower is also missing (5); it seems to have been rebuilt during the reconstruction after the fire of 770 H. (1368).

#### The south-western Minaret:

In spite of the disasters which seriously damaged the mosque, at various dates, the western tower remained intact for a long time (Fig.51), and we first hear of damages to it

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- (1) E.M.A., I, p.122; S.A.E.M.A., p.58.  
 (2) Manuel d'art musulman, I, pp.61-77 as quoted by Rivoira, op.cit., p.93; 'Abd al-Haqq and Mu'adh, Mashahid Dimashq al-athariyah, p.23 also attribute it to the XIth cent.  
 (3) CF. S.A.E.M.A., pp.48f., fig. 9.  
 (4) Op.cit., p.270, see also Spiers, Architecture East and West, p.224.  
 (5) Creswell, op.cit.

in 2<sup>nd</sup> Sha'bān 803H. (18th March 1400) when it was involved in the fire before the departure of Taymūr (1). The damaged part must have been reconstructed since in 27 Rajab 884H. (13 Oct. 1479) it caught fire again, and the fire continued until the next day (2). The fire seems to have damaged the superstructure in addition to the compartments and the staircase which were undoubtedly made of wood like the eastern minaret. Qāyt Bey took the responsibility of its restorations in 893H. (1487/8), and used its north-western corner as a base of his minaret (3). The walls of this tower are almost intact. They are built of fine ashlar decorated with pillars carrying an architrave and a dentil cornice. Up to the level of the cornice, the tower might belong to the date of 176 B.C. as Spiers suggested. He also proposed that the upper part which was crowned by an egg-and-tongue moulding, a small fragment of which still existed in his days belonged to a later date - probably to the time of Arcadius (c.500A.D.) (4). The battlements at the top of this tower are unlikely

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- (1) 'Alī of Yazd, Zafarnāmah, II, p.246 associated the fire with the Eastern minaret, but due to the confusion in his text, Creswell (E.M.A., I, p.121) has ascertained that 'Alī of Yazd must have meant the Western minaret. al-Tantawī ascertained Creswell's view, and the reconstruction date as 816H. (1413/14), see al-Jamī: al-Umawī, p.55; cf. Diez, Die Kunst der islamischen Völker, p.34.
- (2) Abū Shāmah, op.cit., p.182; Maqr., Suluk II/2, p.495.
- (3) Briggs, op.cit., p.42; Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., IV, pp.136f., Sameh (in B.F.E., C.U., 1954/5, p.159) dates it in 1483.
- (4) Spiers (in J.R.I.B.A.) IV, pp.58f, Architecuture East and West, p.224; Dickie, op.cit., p.273.

to be of as early a period as Muqaddisī's (1) (985 A.D.) especially when we remember the various fires damaged this minaret after that date. The staircase of this tower is lit by loop-hole windows (2).

The minaret of al-ʿArūs:

As to the minaret of al-ʿArūs, it was built by al-Walīd who assigned to it special muezzins and lamps which were daily lighted (3).

Concerning the date of the present minaret, it is surprising to find that modern writers, such as Hartmann (4) Spiers (5), Henry C. Kay (6), and Thiersch (7) attribute it to the time of al-Walīd (8). Rivoira assigns its construction to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (1180/1) while he suggests that the lowest courses belong to the original minaret built shortly before the Muqaddasī's time (985 A.D.). This date was suggested on the grounds that he was able to distinguish

"two different kinds of masonry. Near the ground, it consists of big blocks (while) the upper part is built

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- (1) Spiers (in J.R.I.B.A.) IV, 59.  
 (2) Creswell, op.cit., I, p.104.  
 (3) Ibn ʿAsakir as quoted by Manīnī, op.cit., p.79; It is strange that Rivoira (op.cit., pp.91f) should suggest that this minaret was originally built shortly before 985, and not by al-Walīd; the statement made by Gibb in The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, I, n.215, p.127, that this minaret "is reported to have been the first minaret of Muslim construction", is out of date.  
 (4) In Memnon, III, p.222.  
 (5) Architecture East and West, p.223.  
 (6) In a discussion of Spier's paper in J.R.I.B.A., IV, (1896-7), pp.62f.  
 (7) Op.cit., p.103.  
 (8) Cf. Glück, art. "Die Baukunst der Arabischen und Türkischen Länder", in Die Kunst des Islam, p.21.

of dressed stone. Neither resembles the work of Walīd's time in the mosque and quadrangle". (1).

Later investigations proved however that all the masonry was contemporary as there was no break in the bond between the lowest and the upper courses (2). Accordingly it was attributed wholly to the end of the twelfth century (1187-1193 A.D.) (3).

To understand the true situation regarding this minaret, it is necessary to survey its history since the establishment of al-Walīd's building.

All, except Rivoira, agree that this minaret is the one which was originally built by al-Walīd. The original features of the minaret are however unknown.

Al-Muqaddasī who visited Damascus referred to this minaret as muhdathah. He said:

"... and the fourth gate, is the Gate of al-Farādīs which consists of two doors set up in the same axis of the mihrāb between two wings of cloisters, east and west. On it is a modern (muhdathah) minaret adorned (muraṣṣa'ah) (with mosaic)". (4).

Rivoira dated this minaret shortly before Muqaddasī's coming to Damascus (985 A.D.) (5). The only evidence he had for this dating is that he was not able to find a minaret so

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(1) Op.cit., p.98.

(2) Creswell, E.M.A., I, p.120.

(3) Creswell, S.A.E.M.A., p.58.

(4) Op.cit., pp.158f.

(5) Op.cit., p.92.

embellished before that built by 'Abd al-Rahmān III in Cordova. Indeed, Creswell has put it well when he says:

"The Umayyad dynasty of Cordova in architectural matters was profoundly influenced by Syria ... and the existence of such a minaret at Cordova in 945/6 almost presupposes the earlier existence of a similar feature at Damascus. Moreover, gold mosaic was employed by al-Walid for external decoration on the outer face of the sanctuary and riwaqs, and had been so employed even earlier by 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan, on the exterior of the Dome of the Rock (1).

Moreover, the name "the minaret of the Bride" tends to suggest that heavy decorations and embellishments were carried out on the original minaret (2).

The designation "muḥdathah" which is mentioned by Maḥqaddasī, has been translated "as recently built" (3). This seems to be inaccurate. Similar expressions are in Tabarī (923 A.D.) qasr muḥdath (4), in Iṣṭakhrī (951 A.D.) al-masjid al-jāmi' al-muḥdath (5), in Ibn Hawqal (978 A.D.) madīnah kabīrah ... muḥdathah Islāmīyah (6), ... istiḥdāth manārah (7) ... and in Ibn Jubayr "qubbah kabīrah muḥdathah jadīdah (8), ... fī al-maqṣūrah al-muḥdathah (9)

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(1) E.M.A., I, pp.120f.

(2) Cf. Spiers, Architecture East and West, p.230.

(3) Le Strange, op.cit., p.230.

(4) Ann., III, pp.1485f.

(5) Op.cit., p.260.

(6) Op.cit., p.260.

(7) Op.cit., p.321.

(8) Op.cit., p.194.

(9) Op.cit., p.265.

and all mean nothing else than "not having existed before".

In view of this data, and because of the fact that none of the original sources has mentioned alterations to this minaret up to Muqaddasī's time, it is logical to consider it as the original one built by al-Walīd I. After Muqaddasī's time, however, the minaret suffered damages at various dates and various improvements were carried out upon it.

In Muharram 570 H. (Aug. 1174 A.D.) the mosque caught fire, and this minaret and the kallāsah (lime-kiln) were burnt (1). Salāh al-Dīn ordered the renewal of the kallāsah in 575 H. (1179/80) and he may have rebuilt the minaret as well, since Ibn Jubayr who visited the mosque in 1184 mentions three minarets in it (2).

In 27 Sha'bān 598 H. (21 May 1201 A.D.), a severe earthquake shook Damascus and other places. A report quoted by 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī says:

"... 16 of the mosque's crenellations, and one of its minarets (the eastern) had fallen; another (Minaret) had split; Qubbat al-Rīṣas (the Dome of the Lead) had fallen as well. The kallāsah sank and collapsed, and many places in the mosque were split (3).

(1) It was so called because of its previous use as a place of making lime, see, I.Sh., II, p. 76; Ṭanṭāwī, op.cit., pp. 32, 54; Rivoira, op.cit., p. 92.

(2) Op.cit., p. 266.

(3) Mukhtaṣar akhbar Miṣr, p. 268, of p. 266; Abū Shāmah (op.cit., p. 20), and Ibn Kathīr (op.cit., XIII, p. 28) record the year as 597H; The part underlined has been omitted by Creswell, E.M.A., I, pp. 121, 124.

The part underlined may refer to the minaret of al-ʿArūs since al-kallāsah which was in its neighbourhood was seriously damaged. The installation of a clock in this minaret in Rajab 604 H. (Jan.-Feb. 1208)(1) suggests that it was built by the time of the clock's installation.

Despite of the catastrophes which befell the mosque, the history of this minaret seems to be firm as compared with the others. In al-ʿUmarī's time (1348), fire signals were sent from it (2), and this practice continued in Qalqashandī's time (3) (d.1418 A.D.). It was in good condition when Ibn al-Shātir (d.777H./1376) installed his zīj (astronomical almanac) (4). In Dhū al-Qaʿdah 814H (Feb.-March, 1412), a parapet was attached to it (5), and recently about half a century ago, the upper half of the minaret was renewed (6).

This analysis of its history may limit the date of the lower part to the reconstruction which followed the earthquake of 598 (1201), i.e. 1201-1208. If Rivoira was right in distinguishing two periods of masonry the lowest might have belonged to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's restoration, and not to the minaret which was seen by Maqaddasī. The investigations of Creswell, however, support that there was actually only one kind of masonry. (7).

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(1) Abū Shāmah, op.cit., p.64.

(2) Al-Taʿrīf, p.200.

(3) Op.cit., XIV, pp.398ff.

(4) Ibn al-ʿImad al-Hanbalī, Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār mann dhahab., VI, p.252.

(5) Tantāwī, op.cit., p.54.

(6) Op.cit., p.55.

(7) E.M.A., I, p.120.

In accordance with the architectural traditions of Syria, and following the statement of Muqaddasī which records that all the minarets of Syria were square in shape (1), there can be no doubt that this minaret was originally square. Al-Walīd very probably built it with a superstructure at the top similar to the shape of the two other minarets (Figs.52-53). Owing to the successive renovations in this minaret, there is no doubt that new accessories were added to it. It seems, however, that the minaret has maintained the original shape - a main square shaft surrounded by crenellations at the top, and surmounted by a lantern-tower which seems to have had a gabled roof like the mosque (2). The horse-shoe arches on the present minaret may also suggest that the original minaret had similar ones. This is probable since the horse-shoe arch was known to Syria along time before Islam, and it was used in this mosque on many occasions. Moreover, the minaret of Cordova which seems to have been a miniature of this minaret had similar arches. Its building material was stone and mosaic was used for decorating the surface, particularly that looking onto the court of the mosque. It seems very likely that the original minaret was built on the roof, and had no foundation on the ground; this case is similar to those

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(1) Op.cit., p.182.

(2) Cf. Marçais, art. "La Mosquée d'El-Walīd a Damas", R.A., 1(1906) p.44.

built in Fustāṭ by Mu'āwiyah, and those built in Mecca and Medina by al-Walīd himself (1). The present minaret, therefore, seems to have been built from the ground upwards after the fire of 570 H., and should be assigned to 598-604 H. (1201-1207 A.D.), except for its slight superstructure which is of recent reconstruction. Each face of this tower is pierced with coupled light-openings enclosed by one relieving arch (2).

The above discussion of the minarets of this mosque, shows that the two northern towers were in ruins at the time of the mosque's construction, and that al-Walīd I must have made them level with the mosque's roof. Relics of them can be traced nowadays (3). The south-eastern tower has mostly been demolished while the south-western one is mostly preserved, except for its interior which was destroyed by the fires. Superstructures were very probably added by al-Walīd to the two towers. As for the minaret of al-'Arūs, it was completely rebuilt and it is unlikely that any relics of the original one is existed now.

Concerning the building materials of these minarets, Creswell states:

"As for the materials of the minarets which were burnt, there can be little doubt that they consisted of a

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- (1) These minarets will be discussed soon.  
 (2) Rivoira, op.cit., p.92; Briggs, op.cit., p.42.  
 (3) See Creswell, S.A.E.M.A., fig.9, pp.48f.

timber framework filled in with bricks and plastered over, like so many of the houses of Damascus to-day, and even the present minaret of Bāb al-Sharqī ... This from the expression "on the following day the fire remained in the minaret" must certainly have been the case with the south-western minaret burnt in 884 H. (1479 A.D.)" (1).

The assumption of "a timber framework filled in with bricks" seems to be unlikely particularly in the south-western tower where most of the original structure is preserved, for there is no trace of such a work in its body. It is strange to find Creswell assuming the use of the brick in this framework when it is clear that stone was used throughout in the construction of the mosque. Moreover, no trace can be found of the use of such building material in any other pre-Islamic towers in Syria. Many of those towers lack the floors as well as the staircases which might have been built of wood, but the building material - the brick, which Creswell suggests is never found. That the fire continued to burn for a long time in the western minaret was due to the fact that the staircase was entirely made of wood. The walls of these towers, therefore, were most probably built of stone, while wood was used only in the inside.

The building of minarets entirely of wood was at one time

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(1) E.M.A., I, p.122.

the custom in Damascus for Ibn ʿAsākir refers to numerous examples of the kind (1). This practice may perhaps have originated in the wooden superstructures which were probably built on the southern towers of the Damascus Mosque. Nevertheless, the custom of using wood in building minarets became very rare, perhaps because of the danger of fire.

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(1) Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq, II/1, pp.60, 62, 63, 69, 88, 100, 103, 114.

2. Hijaz

In Arabia nothing has been recorded about minarets in the early Umayyad period. The first we hear of them is in connection with the mosques of Medina during the reign of the Umayyad caliph, al-Walīd I. This also applies to Mecca, and to several other mosques in the country.

a. In Medina:1. The Mosque of the Prophet:

In Medina, al-Walīd paid great attention to the Prophet's mosque. He instructed ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, his governor there to demolish the Prophet's Mosque and houses, as well as many of the surrounding houses and to replace them by a new mosque (1). The work was started either in the year 87 H. or 88 H. (706 or 707 A.D.) (2). The walls were decorated with mosaic and marble (3). A cove mihṛāb and crenellations were installed (4), and four minarets were placed at the corners of the structure (5).

After performing his pilgrimage to Mecca, al-Walīd visited Medina when the construction of the mosque had been completed. He and Abān b. ʿUthmān inspected the building

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- (1) Tab., II, pp.1192f; I.S., I/2, pp.80, VIII, p.119; I.R., p.69; Samh., Wafaʿ, I, pp.365f; Dinawarī, op.cit., p.329; I.N., p.358; Abū al-Fida, Tarīkh, I, p.428.  
 (2) I.S., I/2, p.181; Mas., V, p.361; Bal., p.7.  
 (3) I.R., p.69; Qaz., Athar, p.71; Yaq., IV, p.466.  
 (4) Samh., I, p.372; I.N., p.373.  
 (5) I.R., p.70; Samh., I, p.373; I.N., p.373; al-Marāghī, K.Ṭahqīq al-nuṣrah bi-talkhiṣ Dār al-Hijrah, fol.28a;

I.B., I.B., I, p.272.

then he proudly asked Abān: "How does our building compared with yours!" Abān's reply was "We built it like a mosque while you built it like a church" (1). The latter statement is of great importance. It indicates a great change which developed in the mosque's architecture. It is not only the building material that changed, but new elements were introduced to the mosque in addition to rich embellishment. In spite of the fact that ʿUthmān changed the mosque fundamentally, no innovations with regard to its architectural feature were added. This was not the case in al-Walīd's time. A concave mihṛāb was introduced for the first time in this mosque in addition to the four minarets. It was such features as these, together with the rich mosaic decorations that probably made Abān liken it to a church.

Regarding the arrangement of four minarets at the corners, Rivoira speaking of the minarets of Damascus mosque, states that:

"This arrangement was derived from the four corner turrets erected in 673 A.D. under Muʿawiyah's order in the mosque of ʿAmr at Fustāṭ. It was also applied to the mosque of Medina on the occasion of Walīd's restoration" (2).

It seems, however, very improbable that the minarets of Fustāṭ can have furnished the prototypes of this arrangement, since the original source of the formers is probably to be found

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(1) Al-Dīnawarī, op.cit., p.331; I.N., pp.373f.  
 (2) Op.cit., p.92.

in the four ancient towers of the temenos of Damascus. Rivoira himself acknowledged this for he stated:

"The fact that the towers at Damascus are older than the mosque is confined by the very early belief that the minarets were originally watch-towers or astronomical observatories of the Greek period, and that they had belonged to the Church of St. John"(1).

The four minarets of al-Walīd were the first to be built in this mosque (2). They remained intact until the time of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (714-717/8 A.D.) who deliberately demolished the south-western minaret since it overlooked in an indiscreet fashion the house of Marwān in which Sulaymān had settled after his pilgrimage to Mecca (3).

Al-Maṭarī (1340 A.D.) cited by al-Samhūdī (1488) says: "The mosque had three minarets until the fourth one was rebuilt in 706 H. (A.D. 1306/7) by Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn"(4). Al-Badr b. Farḥūn (1397 A.D.) also states that no trace of the previous minaret had been found (5). However, this does not avoid the existence of the previous one since it has been reported that it stood on the roof of the mosque, and its door was next to the house of Marwān (6). Ibn Farḥūn's statement suggests that the four minarets of al-Walīd were built on the

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(1) Op.cit., p.92.

(2) Samh., I, p.375. Pedersen (in E.I./1, III, p.334) has confused between ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz and ʿUmar b. al-Khattāb when he attributes four towers to the latter. Also see S.E.I., p.341.

(3) I.R., p.70; I.B., I, p.272; Samh., I, pp.373, 374, 375; I.N., p.373; Marāghī, op.cit., fol.28a.

(4) Samh., I, p.374.

(5) Ibn Farḥūn attributes this construction to Salār and not to Baybars. See Samh., I, pp.374, 375; Marāghī, op.cit., fol.44b.

(6) Samh. I, pp.374, 375.

roof without having a foundation on the ground. The latter may also suggest that they were not of great height, but that they were high enough for the purpose of adhān. They were undoubtedly square in shape and the shuraf (pl. of shurāfah) (crenellations) which were first introduced to the mosque at this time (1), were most probably installed on their top. Al-Azraqī referred to this element as being used extensively in the Sacred Mosque in Mecca, and on the top of al-Khīf minaret (2) which reflects al-Walīd's influence (Fig.54). Jairazbhoy who must have misunderstood the term shuraf has suggested the presence of galleries on them, so that the view which he had drawn seems to be inaccurate (3).

The Abbasid caliphs looked after this mosque (4). The enlargement of al-Mahdī which lasted for about four years (777-781/2 A.D.) was significant. The length of the mosque was extended by 100 cubits on the north side (5), and its walls embellished with mosaic (6). Ibn Zabālah (199H/814 A.D.) quoted by Samhūdī (7) says that in his days, the mosque

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(1) Yaq., IV, p.466.

(2) K.Akhbar Makka, pp. 331, 408.

(3) Art. "The history of the shrines at Mecca and Medina", I.R., L(1381), p. 29, fig. X.

(4) Bal., p.7; Masalik, I, p.126; Yaq., IV, p.447., Samh., I, pp.379, 382f.

(5) Bal., p.7; Tab. III, p.535; I.R., pp.72f; Muqad., p.81; Samh., I, p.380.

(6) Samh., I, p.382.

(7) Op.cit., I, p.373.

had three minarets; those on the south-east, and the north-east were 55 cubits high, while the one to the north-west was 53 cubits. The dimensions of the base were 8 x 8 cubits (1). Ibn Rustah (903 A.D.) agreed with Ibn Zabālah in the location, and with regard to all the measurements of the minarets except for the height of the north-western one which was 50 cubits (2). Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (940 A.D.) who refers to them as three in number mentions nothing about their condition (3). These minarets seem to have been built from the ground, and may perhaps have belonged to the restorations of al-Mahdī.

Ibn Jubayr who visited the mosque in 1184 gave a vague description of its minarets. He said:

"The holy mosque had three minarets; one in the eastern corner which adjoins the giblah, and two small and shaped like towers, in the two corners of the northern side. That first mentioned had the shape characteristic of a minaret" (4).

The primitive form of the northern ones which certainly were square in shape (5), suggest that they should be assigned to an early date. Rivoira expressed no doubt in assigning

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- (1) In another version, he says that they were equally 60 cubits high; See Samh., I, p.373; I.N. quoting Ibn Zabālah recorded the height as 55 cubits each. See Maraghī, op.cit., fol.30a.
- (2) Op.cit., p.76, also see p.70.
- (3) Op.cit., VII, p.296; he located two at the southern side and one at the eastern, but this is not right since the south-eastern one was demolished by Sulayman b. 'Abd al-Malik, and was not rebuilt until 706 H; The same location was followed in K.al-Istibsar, p.41.
- (4) Op.cit., p.195, cf. p.105.
- (5) I.J., pp.266f.

them to the time of al-Walīd's construction (1). But this attribution seems unlikely since we know that al-Mahdī's enlargement was towards the north and it is possible that the original minarets on that side may have been pulled down to make way for that extension. Remnants of mosaic survived on the north-western minaret after the severe fire of 654 H (1256), as well as on the part of the western wall nearest to it (2). This mosaic may have been a part of al-Mahdī's restoration, so that the two minarets under discussion may very likely to be allotted to al-Mahdī, and he may well have built them on the pattern of the original construction. Since the minarets mentioned by Ibn Zabālah and Ibn Rustah were roughly of similar size, and of similar shape, one could assume from the context of Ibn Jubayr that the south-eastern one was changed after 903 A.D. It might have been similar in shape to those seen by Ibn Jubayr in the Sacred Mosque in Mecca before visiting Medina - squares surmounted by a cylinder. It may also have been the work of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī who in 555H (1160 A.D.) built a ribāṭ in Medina opposite to the Gate of Jibrīl. The northern minaret seems to have been altered after the time of Ibn Jubayr's visit, since al-Samhūdī (1488 A.D.) recorded that they had the same characteristics as the south-eastern one known as "al-Ra'īsīyah"

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- (1) Op.cit., p.5; Rivoira misunderstood the text of Ibn Jubayr, and translated the jawf-side as the southern when the contrary was right. cf. I.J., pp.190f., 195.
- (2) Samh., I, pp.382, 484f., Khulāṣah, p.134.
- (3) Al-Marāghī, op.cit., fols. 42b., 81a-b, 82a.

which was 77 cubits high from the ground to the crescent at its summit (1). The minarets which existed in al-Samhūdī's time were four: al-Ra'īsīyah, al-Sanjārīyah, al-Khashabīyah, and that at Bāb al-Salām. A fifth is said to have been built by Qāyt Bey at the Gate of the Mercy (2), but Samhūdī makes no reference to it. This suggests that it was probably erected after 1488 (3).

The above survey shows that square minarets were constructed by al-Walīd, but no relics of them can be traced in the present still standing minarets.

Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, who assumed the responsibility of building the Prophet's mosque, was also asked to build mosques on the sites used by the Prophet for prayers (4). Cut and squared stone and gypsum were used in erecting them (5), and minarets were attached (6).

## 2. The mosque of Qubā':

Special attention was paid to the mosque of Qubā' (7), and a minaret was built in its north-western corner. Before

- (1) Samh., Wafā', I, pp. 373f., 457-460; Khulāṣah, pp. 132, 159, 161; Qutub al-Dīn, K. al-Ilām bi-a'lām Bayt Allah al-Haram, p. 227.
- (2) Pasha, Mirat al-Haramayn, I, p. 479.
- (3) Later reconstructions are excluded.
- (4) Samh., Wafā', II, pp. 54, 56; Maraghī, op.cit., fol. 76b.
- (5) Samh., II, pp. 54, 56.
- (6) Samh., II, p. 35. Ya'qūbī, Tārīkh, (Leiden) I., p. 15; Muqad., p. 76.
- (7) I.F., p. 106.

this time, the adhān used to be called from a domed step known as al-Naʿāmāh (1). Ibn Shubbah reports that the height of the minaret was 50 cubits, and its sides were 9 cubits, 1 span x 9 cubits (2). According to Maṭarī cited by Samhūdī, the mosque was renewed by the Aṭabeks of Mosul in 555H (1160), and its minaret may well have been restored at this time (3). In 1184, Ibn Jubayr referred to it as "a tall white minaret clearly visible from a distance" (4). Ibn al-Najjār (c. 1196), however, gives further details about it. He says:

"I measured the mosque of Qubā' ... the height of its walls is 20 cubits ... the minaret is on the right side of the prayer hall. It is of square shape, and its height from the mosque's roof is 22 cubits, and on its top stands a dome of approximately 10 cubits high. The minaret's width on the qiblah-side slightly exceeds 10 cubits, and the western-side is 8 cubits". (5).

The total height therefore is about 52 cubits. This minaret seems to be not unlike the original one built by ʿUmar. The dome which is mentioned here may well have been a lantern-tower on the top. The original minaret was an elegant one (6) undoubtedly built of stone since all the mosques constructed by al-Walīd at Medina were of cut stone. Mosaics which were extensively used in this mosque may have existed on this minaret. At a later date, plain white stone was

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(1) Samh., II, p.24.

(2) Op.cit., II, p.25.

(3) Samh., Khulāṣah, p.182.

(4) Op.cit., pp.191,199.

(5) Op.cit., p.380; Samh., Wafā', II, p.26.

(6) Samh., II, p.25.

used (1).

3. The mosque of Banū Qurayzah:

In Banū Qurayzah, Umar constructed another mosque. A minaret on the same pattern as Qubā's one was also attached to it. In the ensuing centuries, both the mosque and the minaret fell into ruins, and all their stone was taken away (2). But in 893 H. (1487), the mosque was rebuilt, and a dakkah (stone-bench) was constructed on the site of the old minaret (3).

b. Mecca:

1. The Sacred Mosque (al-masjid al-ḥarām):

Concerning the Sacred Mosque, there is no record about minarets built by al-Walīd I. Al-Azraqī (d.858 A.D.), the oldest authority on the subject says:

"(Al-Walīd) was the first who brought the marble columns to the mosque, and roofed it with decorated teak wood ... He covered the lower parts of the inner walls with marble, and the surface of the upper parts of the arches with glass mosaic ... and he made shurrāfāt for the mosque" (4).

Pedersen tried vainly to translate the word shurrāfāt as turrets and minarets (5). Lane in his dictionary defined

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- (1) I.J., pp.191,199; I.B., I, p.288; For later history see Samh., II, p.25, cf. I, pp.442f., Khulāṣah, p.182.  
 (2) I.N., cited by Samh., Wafā', II, p.35; Marāghī, op.cit., fol.76b.  
 (3) Samh., Khulāṣah, p.185.  
 (4) Op.cit., pp.309f., cf. Bal., p.47.  
 (5) Op.cit., p.334; Jairazbhoy, (op.cit., p.19) follow the same interpretation of Pedersen.

the word shurfah more successively as:

"An acroterial ornament, forming a single member of a cresting of wall or of the crown of a cornice generally of fanciful form, and pointed, or small at the top; pl. shuraf, shurufat, shurafat, are only what are built on the top of a wall, distinct from one another (side by side, like merlons of a parapet) according to a well known form" (1).

Elsewhere in Azraqī's book, the word shurrāfah has the same meaning given by Lane. Azraqī records:

"... and the number of the shurrāfāt of the mosque's wall looking outwards, is 272 shurrāfah and a half one ... their surface was decorated with stucco ... and the number of the shurrafat inside is 418 ... (2). ... and on the walls of the siqāyah (3) (of al-ʿAbbas b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib) are 46 shurrāfah" (4).

Such variations of this architectural element cannot be explained, in any case, as turrets or minarets.

Despite the fact that the Arabic sources have ignored al-Walīd as a builder of minarets in Mecca, the subsequent circumstances indicate that he did so in a way similar to what he did in Medina and other places in that vicinity. Al-Azraqī reports:

"In the Sacred Mosque, there are four minarets from which the muezzins of the mosque call the adhan. They are on the roof at the four corners of the mosque. They are reached by steps, and each minaret has a special entrance with a door opening into the mosque. Shuraf are on the top of the minarets. The first minaret next to the Bāb of Banū Sāhm, looks over the house of ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs, and in it the time-watcher (muwaqqit) of Mecca calls the adhan. The second

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(1) Op.cit., IV, pp. 1537f; cf. Wüstenfeld, Geschichte der Stadt Medina, p. 75, n. 1.

(2) Op.cit., pp. 330f.

(3) "A place for giving to drink or for water", Lane, op.cit., IV, p. 1386.

(4) Op.cit., p. 338; for others see pp. 408f; I, J., pp. 99f.

minaret next to Ajyād Gate ... and from it, the muezzin calls the suḥur (1) in the month of Ramaḍān. The third minaret LOOKS over the house of Ibn ʿAbbās, and the house of the Sufianides ... it is called the minaret of the Meccans. The fourth lies between the east and the north; it looks over dar al-imarah ... and Abu al-Hajjāj al-Khurasānī worships in it day and night ..." (2).

He adds nothing about the date, the shape, or the building materials of these minarets. It seems likely that they were square of the same pattern as that described by Azraqi in the mosque of al-Khīf (3), and those of Medina which were described above (4). Stone must have been used in their building since it was the main material then used, especially in the Umayyad epoch. The shuraf which were enormously employed in the time of al-Walīd crowned these four minarets. The number and arrangement of these minarets is similar to that of ʿAmr's mosque in Fustāṭ and the Prophet's mosque in Medina. All this may suggest their Umayyad origin. Therefore, al-Walīd who executed notable architectural work in Mecca may have added these minarets; but it is difficult to decide whether they were the original ones or not, since many alterations were carried out to this mosque after the period of al-Walīd.

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- (1) A night meal before start fasting.  
 (2) Op.cit., pp.331f; cf. pp.319, 328, 349f.  
 (3) Op.cit., p.408.,  
 (4) Cf. Samh., Wafa, I, p.373.

Al-Mansūr (137-140/754-57) the second Abbasid caliph was responsible for repairs to this mosque (1), and the northern minaret was renovated (summirat) by him (2). This may confirm the idea that the minarets were added to this mosque earlier than 137-140 H., and very likely by al-Walīd since there are records of other minarets renovated by al-Mahdī. In 160-167 H. (A.D. 776-783), he carried out a great work in the Sacred Mosque (3), and renovated (ammar) the minarets at the north-eastern, south-eastern, and south-western corners (4). Other renovations and enlargements were executed by Hārūn al-Rashīd 786-809 A.D. (5), and al-Muṭaṣim (840 A.D.) (6), but nothing of significance to the minarets of this mosque. Therefore the minarets mentioned by Azraqī may be attributed to al-Walīd, renovated by al-Mansūr and al-Mahdī.

Al-Muṭaḍid added dār al-nadwah to the Sacred Mosque in 894-896 A.D., and built a minaret as well as shurāfāt (7).

Ibn Rustah who has written his book in 903-913 A.D. referred to four minarets in the Sacred Mosque, one at each (8) corner, but he made no reference to that at dār al-nadwah.

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- (1) Bal., p. 47; Azraqī, op. cit., pp. 310ff., 315; Muqad., p. 75.  
 (2) Fas., I, p. 240; Ibn Zuhayrah, al-Jami' al-laṭif fi akhbar Makkah, p. 205.  
 (3) Bal., p. 47; Azraqī, op. cit., pp. 312f., 318f; Tab., III, p. 167; Muqad., p. 73; I. J., p. 91.  
 (4) Fas., I, p. 240, cf. p. 225; Ibn Zuhayrah, op. cit., p. 205.  
 (5) Azraqī, op. cit., p. 333.  
 (6) Bal., pp. 47f.  
 (7) Azraqī, op. cit., pp. 342-5; Qutūb al-Dīn, op. cit., pp. 147f, 425; Ibn Zuhayrah, op. cit., pp. 202, 205; Paret, art. "Dār al-Nādwah", E. I. / 2, II, p. 128 has translated shurāfāt as galleries which is wrong.  
 (8) Op. cit., pp. 44, 47, 51.

It seems that either he obtained his information before the construction of the latter or that he did not refer to it since he mentioned the others only as points of limitation to the boundaries of the mosque.

The addition of Bāb Ibrāhīm was included in the mosque in the time of al-Muqtadir in 918 A.D. A minaret was erected at this gate, but it is not certain whether it was erected with the gate at the same date (1).

As late as 918 A.D., however, this mosque possessed six minarets, four of which stood at the four corners, the fifth was in dār al-nadwah addition, and the sixth was at Bāb Ibrāhīm (2).

All the minarets of this mosque were renovated by al-Jawād Jamāl al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, the vizier of the Atabeks of Mosul. It has been related that his name was inscribed on the minaret of Bāb al-Umrah (the north-western minaret). The inscription contained his order of renovation in 1156 A.D. (3). Ibn Jubayr (1183) recorded that the mosque had

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(1) Qaṭṭāb al-Dīn, op.cit., pp. 159f; Ibn Zuhayrah, op.cit., p. 203; Mujīr al-Dīn, op.cit., I, p. 246. The latter states the date of the additions as 376H which is obviously wrong.

(2) Naṣīr-i Khusrau (1050 A.D.) appears to have meant, by five maṅaras, the sign-posts which indicated the area between the hills of the Ṣafa and Marwah. See safarnamah, pp. 99, 105; cf. Muḡad., pp. 73, 74; Harawī, al-Isharat ilā maṅarifat al-ziyarat, p. 86; This is clear from Ibn Jubayr's description to that area. Jayrazbhoy (op.cit., p. 24) has also confused the minarets with the green mīls (sign-posts) which were built by al-Mahdī.

(3) Fas., I, p. 240.

seven minarets including one at the Ṣafā Gate (Fig.55). The latter one was the smallest, and the most difficult to climb owing to its narrowness (1). The one at Bāb Ibrāhīm contained decoration oblong in shape, pierced into the stucco, and was similar to that of the mihṛāb which were surrounded by fascinating qarnaṣah (2). The "canopy" (faḥl) of this minaret rested on stucco supports with openings between them (3) (Fig. 56b.). The upper part of this minaret was in ruins in the time of al-Fāṣī (1425 A.D.) (4). Ibn Jubayr continues describing the rest of the minarets, which are different from the above (Fig. 56a.); he says:

"The minarets have innovated forms. The angles of the lower half are finished off by means of finely sculptured stones remarkably set and surrounded by a wooden lattice of rare workmanship. Above the lattice, there rises into the air a spire (amūd) that appears to be cylindrical shape (makhṛut) wholly dressed with baked bricks fitting the one into the other in a way which attracts the gaze on account of its beauty. At the top of this spire is the canopy also encircled by a wooden lattice of exactly the same pattern as the other. All these minarets had a distinct form, not one resembling the other, but all are of the type described, the lower half being square, and the upper circular" (5).

The decoration of the square part seems to have been just the same as on the minaret of Bāb Ibrāhīm (6). The ornamentation

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(1) Op.cit., p.91.

(2) Diez, art. "Muqarnaṣ", E.I./1, Supp., p.153.

(3) Op.cit., p.106.

(4) Op.cit., I, p.240.

(5) Op.cit., p.100; The translation is of R.J.C. Broadhurst with modifications (see p.96).

(6) I.J., p.106.

of the cylindrical part was entirely executed in brick work; it was formed by setting some of the bricks horizontally, and others vertically to form geometrical designs. This kind of decoration is called hazārbāf (thousand twistings). The first known decoration of this kind in Islamic Architecture is to be found in the Gate of Baghdad at Raqqa which was built either by al-Manṣūr (1) (772 A.D.) or by Hārūn al-Rashīd (2) (796 A.D.). This technique was elaborately developed later on in Persia (3).

Ibn Jubayr records nothing about the builder of these minarets. The minaret at the Ṣafā Gate might have been built by al-Mahdī to indicate the Gate, not to serve for the adhān. His name was found inscribed on the middle of a column facing this gate (4). The other minarets at the corners as well as that of dār al-nadwah are not likely to date from before the restorations of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (1156 A.D.) since al-Azraqī's description of the four minarets at the corners is quite different from that made by Ibn Jubayr. The five minarets are almost of similar style and in good state of preservation, even the wooden parapets of their balconies. The brick decoration of the cylindrical part is interesting and might have come from Persia.

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- (1) Creswell, E.M.A., II, p.25.  
 (2) Sarre and Herzfeld, Archäologische Reise im Euphrat - und Tigris - Gebiet, II, p.359.  
 (3) Creswell, op.cit., II, p.44.  
 (4) I.J., p.91, cf. pp.108f.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (1377 A.D.) counts five minarets in this Mosque discarding those at al-Ṣafā and Ibrāhām's Gates (1). The latter might not have been counted because of their independent situation or might have been considered as sign-posts, especially that at al-Ṣafā Gate.

All the minarets of this mosque were renovated at various times, others were added later on, but nothing remained of the original ones built by al-Walīd or even of those described by Ibn Jubayr (2).

## 2. Minarets in the area round the Ka'bah:

In the Umayyad and the early Abbasid period, many minarets were built on the mounts surrounding the Sacred Mosque so that the adhān could be heard over as vast an area as possible around the Ka'bah. A minaret wrongly attributed to Abū Bakr was erected on the mount of Ajyād to the west of this Mosque (3). During and after the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd many minarets were built on these places. Special muezzins, paid monthly, were appointed for these minarets (4). Nothing has been recorded about their characteristics, but they seem to have been the same as those described by Azraqī (5).

Most probably that the mosques of al-Khīf, al-Hulayfah,

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(1) Op.cit., I, pp.323f.

(2) The later history of these minarets has been left to another opportunity.

(3) K.al-Istibṣār, p.8.

(4) Fas., I, pp.241f; Qutub al-Dīn, op.cit., p.427; Al-Fākihī, Tārīkh Makka, pp.11f; Ibn Zuhayrah, op.cit., p.205, 206.

(5) Op.cit., pp.331f., 408.

and al-Rāyah were built by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

### 3. The mosque of al-Khif.

In the middle of the courtyard of al-Khif's mosque stood a square minaret, the condition of which was described by Azraqī (Fig.57). He says:

"... and in the centre of the mosque stood a square minaret, six cubits twelve fingers square, and 24 cubits high in the sky. It has 41 steps two of which are in the outside. In it, there are eight flights and eight apertures. Its door is arched. Above the minaret are eight crenellations, two on each side. The distance from the minaret to the qiblah of the mosque is 129 cubits, and from the minaret to the wall beyond ʿArafāt 110 cubits, and from the minaret to the wall beyond the road 91 cubits 12 fingers ... A siqayah lies between the minaret and the wall beyond the road" (1).

The above description shows that the minaret was of plain quadrangular shape broken by apertures, and its upper section crowned by crenellations, but it is not clear whether it had a lantern-tower at the top - the most probable that it had not, otherwise Azraqī, who recorded the above detailed description should have mentioned it. The stone may have been used in building it (2). This minaret may represent the style that had been imitated in the Umayyad epoch in that country.

Al-Jawād al-Isfahānī renewed this mosque in 1163 A.D. (3), and the minaret might have been included. At the time Ibn Jubayr's visit (1183) the minaret was in good condition (4),

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(1) Op.cit., p.408, cf; I.A.R., VII, p.293.

(2) Cf. Samh., Wafa', II, pp.54, 56.

(3) Pasha, op.cit., I, p.325.

(4) Op.cit., p.159.

but the author of K.al-Istibṣār recorded that at his time (before 1191 A.D.) its peak had fallen into ruin (1). An important renovation had taken place in 1275 A.D. The minaret was rebuilt, and certain additions were made. Nothing of the original minaret has been left.

#### 4. The mosque of al-Ḥulayfah

In the mosque of al-Ḥulayfah, the minaret stood at its north-western corner. Despite the alterations which took place in the mosque and the minaret, the position of the original minaret remained unchanged (2).

#### 5. The mosque of al-Rāyah

Another minaret also stood in the mosque of al-Rāyah. It might have originally been built by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Azīz (3). Undoubtedly, the original minarets of the two latter mosques followed the type preferred by the Umayyads - the square.

As a result of this investigation of the minarets in Medina and Mecca, it appears clear that the Umayyad style - the square - which prevailed in Syria, had been adopted in these places of Hijaz. The four pre-Islamic towers of St. John the Baptist's church served as an example as regards number, and they very probably affected the character also, both for the Prophet's Mosque as well as for the Sacred Mosque. The minaret of al-ʿArūs had an influence as well.

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(1) p.33.

(2) Samh., Khulāṣah, p.226; Marāghī, op.cit., fol. 87b.

(3) Qutub al-Dīn, op.cit., p.427.

For his remarkable architectural activities, al-Walīd might be considered as responsible for spreading this style, especially to Hijaz which probably had a role in propagating it to other countries since Mecca and Medina are the centre of pilgrimage of the Muslims.

What is most striking is that Hijaz never developed a style of its own.\*) The minarets which are standing there at the present day are all in a foreign style, particularly those favoured by the Mamlūk and the Turkish types (1).

C. The successors of al-Walīd and their influence in Syria and Iraq:

The square type of minaret which has been discovered above was strongly emphasized by the successors of al-Walīd. All the minarets they built were of square shape following the example of Damascus.

1. The Great Mosque of Aleppo:

Before becoming caliph, Sulaymān b. Abd al-Malik built in 710 A.D. the Great Mosque of Aleppo (2) on the pattern of that at Damascus (3), and furnished it with a minaret. This minaret was no doubt of magnificent appearance and was very probably similar in shape and embellishments to those of Ramla and Damascus. Subsequent changes took place in the mosque, but nothing was mentioned about its original min-

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(1) Cf. Samch., in B.F.E., C.U., 1954/5, pp.161, 162.

(2) Ibn Shaddād (Al-lāq, I/1, p.31) suggests that the mosque was built by al-Walīd I.

(3) Cf. I.Sh., I/1, pp.30, 31; Ibn al-Adām, Zubdat al-halb min tarīkh Ḥalab, I, p.140.

(\* ) "But there are characteristic Yemenite styles, both ancient and of the present-day, as well as local types of minaret in stone or mud brick" ( Professor Sergeant's comment)

aret (1). A new minaret was built in 1190/1 A.D., according to an inscription on it carrying this date (2).

2. The Great Mosque of Ramla:

Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik also started the building of the mosque of Ramla, but he was unable to complete it as he was appointed a caliph in succession to his brother al-Walīd I. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz continued the work, and completed the mosque (3); its minaret might also have been completed by him. Its shape must have been square like all the minarets of Syria (4). Moreover, the minarets which were built by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in Medina and Mecca were all of the square type. The finely dressed stone which was commonly used in Syria (5), must have been used in this minaret. In his account of this mosque Muqaddasī (985 A.D.) says that: "It (the mosque) has a splendid minaret" (6). This may imply that its mosaic decoration was similar to that of al-ʿArūs in the Damascus Mosque.

A violent earthquake severely damaged this mosque in

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- (1) I.Sh., I/1, pp.31f; Creswell, E.M.A., I, p.325.  
 (2) C.I.A., II, Syrie du nord, I, 1-2, p.150, no.75.  
 (3) Bal., p.143; Mas., al-Tanbih wa al-ishraf, pp.359f.  
 (4) Muqad., p.182.  
 (5) Op.cit., p.165.  
 (6) Op.cit., p.165; he wrongly attributes it to Hishām.

1033 A.D. (1), and the original minaret must have been seriously effected. The present minaret belongs to the restoration of al-Zāhir Baybars in 718 H/A.D. 1318.<sup>(2)</sup>

### 3. Qaṣr al-Ḥayr:

In Qaṣr al-Ḥayr, about 60 miles to the north-east of <sup>a</sup>Elmyra, stands a mosque with a detached square tower lying in the south-eastern corner of the great enclosure of this place (Figs. 58-59).

A slab was found on one of the mosque's piers assigning the structure to Hishām b. Abd al-Malik in 110H (728/29 A.D.) (3).

The tower is, however, built of finished limestone less regular than that used in the big chateau, and stands independently between the west wall of the mosque and the east wall of the lesser enclosure. It is a plain square tower about 2.94 m. a side; the existing height is about 10 m. Its entrance is to the south, oblong in shape, roofed with a slab of stone and thresholded with a similar one. This entrance lies higher than the ground level, and might have been reached by stone steps, the ruins of which can be seen near the tower. The upper part is ruined, but the spiral internal staircase remains intact in the part which is still standing. The lost part which is estimated as 2 - 3m. high

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- (1) Ibn al-Jawzī, Muntazam, VIII, p. 77; I.A., IX, p. 298. Mujīr al-Dīn, op. cit., I, pp. 269f; Naṣir-i Khusrāw, op. cit., p. 27.  
 (2) Mukhlis, Mi'dhant al-jāmi: al-abyad fi al-Ramlah, pp. 21-24.  
 (3) Clermont-Ganneau as quoted by Creswell, S.A.E.M.A., p. 116; Sameh, op. cit., p. 157.

might have had openings at the top similar to what have been accustomed to in many of the church- and watch-towers. It is also probable that it had a parapeted roof, but the general condition of the tower suggests the former type.

A dispute has arisen as to whether this tower was a minaret or not. Gabriel (1) considered that it was a watch-tower, while Clermont-Ganneau (2) and Creswell (3) have suggested that it was a minaret.

It is clear that the outer enclosure as well as the inner one are well fortified by attached towers at the corners and in between, and that there was no need for this tower to be used for watching since the task could be performed on the former one. Thus the tower might have had no purpose other than to serve for the adhān. However, Gabriel suggests that it is the latest of the buildings of Qasr al-Hayr (4).

#### 4. Khīrbat al-Mafjar

Hishām built another mosque at the south-eastern corner of his palace in Khīrbat al-Mafjar, but no minaret was erected in it. Hamilton, however, suggests that the square tower which butts out 8 m. from the south wall of the palace - adjoining the mosque - might have served as a minaret (5). If this assumption is right, it would be one of the earliest

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(1) Art, "Kasr al-Heir," Syria, XVIII (1927) p.322.

(2) Op.cit., p.289.

(3) E.M.A., I, p.339; S.A.E.M.A., p.118.

(4) Op.cit., p.322.

(5) Hamilton, Khīrbat al-Mafjar, pp.9, 10, 34; Harding, op.cit., p.180.

minarets, the remains of which exist to this day.

5. The Mosque of Harrān:

The mosque of Harrān is suggested to have been built by Marwān II (744 - 750 A.D.). Later, al-Ma'mūn, followed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn introduced some alterations in it (1). This mosque has a minaret at its northern side, half way between the northern entrance, and the north-eastern corner (2), (Fig.60). It is of square shape, about 5.30 m. a side, and its height, according to Strzygowski (3), was about 25 m. The lower part is built of big hewn ashlar blocks up to a height of 16 m., above which there is a course of cyma reversa moulding followed by ashlar blocks to a height of two of its apertures. Above this point, the tower is built of bricks. The staircase starts in the opposite side of the entrance. Apertures measuring 50 x 15 cm. sq. illuminate the staircase. There are fourteen of them including the two mentioned above (4).

The minaret stood at the same level as the wall where the inscription of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was seen by Sachau in 1879 (5). Whether the minaret belonged to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's time or not is not easy to tell from a photograph.

Strzygowski suggests that it dates from the pre-Islamic

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- (1) Fikrī, op.cit., pp.225ff; Creswell, E.M.A., I, p.408f.  
 (2) The direction of the qiblah which was wrongly done in fig. 489 (in E.M.A., I), Creswell corrected it in (S.A.E.M.A.) fig.29, p.151.  
 (3) Amida, p.332.  
 (4) Sachau, Reise, p.221; Van Berchem<sup>m</sup> and Strzygowski, Amida, p.332; Creswell, E.M.A., I, p.406.  
 (5) Op.cit., p.221.

era, but the proofs he gives are insufficient (1). None of the examples he mentioned was a tower, and in spite of the fact that those architectural examples were built of the same building materials as this tower - stone and brick, the technique is quite different. The pillar of Wieranshahr which he considered to be the nearest to this tower, is constructed in different manner. Above the seventeenth course of stone work, rise three courses of brickwork bedded in thick mortar, followed alternately by blocks of stone and brick (2). The alternate technique is not found here. Moreover, examples similar to the Ḥarrān's tower have occurred in Mecca as mentioned by Ibn Jubayr, but the brickwork was of a cylindrical shape. Therefore, this tower could be an Islamic minaret, very probably built at Ṣalāh al-Dīn's time.

#### 6. The Umayyad Mosque in Mosul:

The first mosque built in Mosul was in the reign of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. It was enlarged later on, and in the time of Marwān b. Muḥammad the mosque was enlarged again, and a minaret as well as maqṣūrah were introduced to it. Al-ʿUmārī reports that this construction was in 128H. (745 A.D.) (3). This minaret was used for spreading news during

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(1) Amida, pp.332f.

(2) Op.cit., p.333.

(3) Munyat al-udaba' fi tarikh al-musul al-hadbā', pp.35f.

the troubles arose in Mosul in 133 H (750 A.D.) (1). The condition of this minaret has been almost ignored by the sources, but it seems very likely that it was of square shape following the Syrian type which was dominant at that time (2). However, this minaret was reconstructed by the Atabeks (3) who dressed it the same shape of their time similar to that of Sinjār, Erbil and Dāqūq. They are all built in brick, and having the shape of octagon followed by cylinder.

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- (1) Azdī, tārīkh al-Mūsul, years 133, 146 as quoted by Dewah-chī.
- (2) Cf. Sameh, op.cit., p.159; Creswell (in B.M., XLVIII (1926), p.139) suggests that there is Syrian influence in Raqqa and Diyarbekr.
- (3) Dewah-chī, art. "al-Jāmi' al-Umawī fī al-Mūsul", Sumer, VI/2 (1950) p.216, Al-Mūsul fī al-'ahd al-Atabiki, pp.128f.

CHAPTER V

THE UMAYYAD (WEST) AND THE EARLY ABBASID MINARETS

A. The Umayyads and their influence on the minaret in N.Africa and Spain:

The Syrian type, as has been shown, was not confined to Syria. The Umayyads who were responsible for its adoption wanted it to become popular in other countries. It has been discussed above how this type was propagated to many countries such as Iraq, Egypt, and Hijaz.

The successors of al-Walīd who preserved this type in Syria and in Iraq had also introduced it elsewhere, for example into Ifrīqīyah (Tunisia); furthermore, it had been carried to al-Andalus where it flourished and acquired elegant characteristics. The minaret of al-Arūs in the Damascus Mosque seems to have served as best example to be followed in these places.

This part of the thesis will be devoted to a discussion on the beginnings of the minaret in these countries, and the factors which might have influenced its development. The minarets of N.Africa, and those of Spain will be discussed in turn.

1. The minaret in N.Africa:

The minaret seems to have been started at an early period in this part of the Islamic world. The foundation of the first one was probably laid at the same time as the foundation of the city of Qayrawān and its mosque. It was the minaret of Qayrawān which became a nucleus for the minaret in the whole of N.Africa.

a. The minaret of Sīdī 'Uqbah's mosque in Qayrawān:

The present minaret is the oldest existing one in N. Africa. The original one stood in the mosque which was erected at the same time as the city of Qayrawān by 'Uqbah

b. Nāfi' (55/674). Owing to successive repairs in the mosque, nothing remained of the original one with the exception of the mihṛāb which was enclosed between two walls. The mosque now retains the features which have been characteristic of it since the ninth century A.D. (1).

1. Description of the present minaret:

The present minaret stands to the left of the main axis, dividing the northern arcade of the mosque, almost the same as that of al-'Arūs in Damascus (Figs.61-62). It is a massive tower consisting of three storeys, the lowest of which is a square 10.67 m. a side at the base, and 10.20 m. at the top. This part is about 20.06 m. high including the crenellations. The second and the third storeys are square from bottom to top without diminution. The former one is 7.63 m. a side, and 6.16 m. high, including crenellations. The third storey is 5.48 m. a side, and about 7.5 m. high. The total height is about 31.37 m. (2).

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- (1) Cf. Diez, in art. "Masdjid," E.l./1, III, p.383; Creswell, art. "Architecture," E.l./2, I, p.619; Fikrī (art. "Nash'at al-fann al-Islamī wa al-Jami' al-Kabir bi-al-Qayrawan", al-Muqtataf, LXXXVI, p.517) suggests that the present walls of the mosque belong to the time of Hisham (105 H.). Hasan (Funun al-Islam, p.42) agrees with Fikrī's suggestion.
- (2) These measurements are taken from Creswell, E.M.A., II, p.326; cf. Sameh, in B.F.E.C.U., 1954/5, p.157.

The lower storey is built of two kinds of masonry. Large blocks taken from ancient buildings are used at the base to a height of seven courses. Higher up, the building material changes into small fine masonry very similar to bricks. The walls <sup>are</sup> at 3.30 m. to 3.50 m. thick at the base. The door which opens to the court is about one metre wide and 1.85 m. high (Fig.63). It is framed with antique jambs and the lintel above are very similar to those described by Bakrī (1). They are of carved marble brought from ancient Roman buildings. Many of the capitals and columns in the mosque were also collected from various ancient buildings (2). Above the lintels of the door, is a relieving horse-shoe arch built of masonry similar to that above the seven courses at the base. This entrance is paved with old fragments, and opens to a staircase which is 97 cm. wide and covered with a vault. It winds round a square core 1.97 m. a side, and it is illuminated by three large windows in the south side as well as three narrow slits in the north side, and two in the west. The three windows in the south are built on the same pattern of the main entrance. The first window is .69 m. wide, and 1.63 m. high, crowned by a horizontal arch; above it is a relieving arch of horse-shoe form. The second window above is similar to the

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(1) Mughrib, p.23.

(2) Hammerton, Tunisia unveiled, p.97; Fikrī, op.cit., p.518.

previous one except for the dimensions; it is .93 m. wide, and 1.68 m. high. The third window is .89 m. wide, and 1.77 m. high. In the west side of this shaft, there is a second doorway giving access to the roof of the arcades; it is treated similarly to the three windows on the south side. The top of this storey is surmounted by round-head crenellations pierced by arrow slits, and each one is 1.19 m. high.

The second storey stands on the platform of the first one. It opens to the qiblah side by a rectangular portal set in a shallow horse-shoe form. On either side of this portal is a blind horse-shoe niche similar to the portal but narrower than it is. The other sides are decorated with similar blind niches. The top of this storey is surrounded by crenellations similar to the previous ones, but smaller in dimensions. They are 1.16 m. high.

The staircase continues through the second storey up to the third one which opens to the four sides by horse-shoe bays of 3.70 m. high. The arches of the entrances are carried on columns, and each entrance is flanked by two horse-shoe recesses similar to those on the second storey. The space above the openings is decorated with five blind niches except for the middle one on the qiblah side which penetrates through. The whole minaret is crowned by a ribbed dome carried on four squinches. (1)

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(1) See Marçais, L'Architecture musulmane d'Occident, p.17, Creswell, E.M.A., I, p.326, fig. 399.

2. It's date:

Concerning the history of this minaret, al-Balādhurī stated vaguely that a minaret was built by ʿUqbah b. Nāfi, when he first founded his mosque; he said:

"A group of people from Ifrīqīyah told about their teachers, They said that when ʿUqbah b. Nāfi, al-Fihri wanted to build al-Qayrawan, he thought of the position of the mosque, and it was shown to him in a vision that a man was calling the adhan from the position he chose for his minaret. When he woke he built the manābir (sic) (pulpits) (<sup>probably</sup> must have meant al-manar (minaret)) in the position of the man and then he built the mosque" (1).

A minaret would not have appeared as strange at the time of ʿUqbah (55/674) since we hear of other minarets built earlier in Baṣra and Fuṣṭāṭ. If the statement of Balādhurī is right, this minaret might have well been one block with openings at the top, following a pattern very similar to those of Syria during the earliest days of Islam.

According to al-Bakrī, all the mosque except the mihrab was demolished, and reconstructed by Hassān b. al-Nuṣayr in Ramadān 84 H. (Sept. Oct. 703 A.D.) (2). In this reconstruction, nothing was mentioned about a minaret.

During the reign of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, his governor of Qayrawān, Bishr b. Ṣafwān, enlarged the mosque, and built a minaret in the northern enclosure of the mosque.

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(1) Op.cit., pp. 229f.

(2) Op.cit., pp. 22f; K.al-Istibṣār, p.114.

Pertaining to this, al-Bakrī states:

"He (Bishr) built the minaret in Bīr al-Jinān (the well of the gardens), and founded it on the water, and it happened to lie in the same northern (jawfī) wall. The minaret to-day stands as he built it, 60 cubits in height, and 24 in width. It has two doors; a western and eastern one. The jambs of the doors are made of decorated marble, and so are their lintels." (1).

The two doorways seem to have been opened to two independent staircases. This appears to have been an innovation since nothing similar had existed before. Ancient Syrian towers have two doors opening to only one staircase leading to the top, while al-Qayrawān, seems to have had two staircases climbed in juxtaposition. The question which arises here is whether Bakrī's description fits the present minaret or not.

As to its proportions, Marçais came to the conclusion that the width of the present minaret is equal to that given by al-Bakrī, and its height is about eight metres more. The excess in height is almost equal to the height of the third storey, thus suggesting that the latter might have been added after the time of al-Bakrī (2).

The homogenous appearance of the whole tower, however, does not confirm this suggestion. The present minaret seems

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- (1) Op.cit., P.23; Creswell (S.A.E.M.A., p.110) has mis-translated the text of Bakrī. Rivoira (op.cit., p.37) did not understand this text either; he says "in the XI cent. a second entrance was made, as is mentioned by Bakrī".
- (2) Marçais, op.cit., pp.17f; Manuel d'art musulmane, I, p.27; Creswell, E.M.A. I, p.328.

to have consisted originally of three storeys as it does now, and confining the height to two storeys only does not seem to be logical. The height of the present minaret, therefore, does not correspond to that mentioned by al-Bakrī. Moreover, the two portals described by al-Bakrī are missing here. They were to the east and to the west sides of the minaret while the present portal opens to the south-east. If al-Bakrī was wrong in guessing the directions, the second portal remains missing. Despite all this, Creswell states: "I am convinced that the present minaret is that described by al-Bakrī" (1).

For the above reasons, the present minaret, however, could not possibly be attributed to Bishr b. Ṣafwān. Al-Bakrī (1068 A.D.) who never visited N.Africa but collected his data in Cordova or Seville depended on verbal information as well as early and contemporary compilations (2). His description which does not correspond with the present minaret might have been quoted from an early compiler who described the minaret of his own days, but not that which existed at the time of al-Bakrī. This minaret can be attributed

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- (1) E.M.A., I, p.328; Thiersch, op.cit., p.123; Hasan, op.cit., pp. 43, 146, art. "Tatawwur al-Ma'adhiñ", M.K., II (1946), pp.718f; Sameh, art. "The Minarets of North Africa", in B.F.A.C.U., 1953, p.181; Marçais, L'Architecture ..., p.17, Manuel, I, p.27, and others all agree in ascribing it to Hisham. Marçais wrongly recorded its date as XI cent. A.D.
- (2) Cf. Lévi-Provinçal, art. "Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī", in E.I./2, I, pp.156f.

to the reconstruction of Ziyādat Allāh I in 221 H./836 A.D.

Al-Bakrī records that all the mosque, except the mihṛāb, was demolished, and reconstructed by Yazīd b. Ḥātim who became governor in 155 H. (771) (1). Al-Bakrī went on to say that in Jumādā II, 221 H. (May-June 836 A.D.) all the mosque was demolished by Ziyādat Allāh who did not want to leave any trace of the previous one in order to establish a mosque entirely his own. He did so except for the mihṛāb which was enclosed between two walls. Al-Bakrī continues: "And down to the present day, the mosque has remained just as Ziyādat Allāh left it" (2). This statement would seem to refute any attempt to attribute the present minaret to Bishr b. -Ṣafwān. More evidence may also be found in the masonry of the mosque itself, especially in the two massive buttresses on the qiblah-side (Fig.64). They are built of small masonry blocks very similar to what we have seen in the minaret. They have been dated not earlier than 221 H (836) (3).

Depending on a very small exposed part inside the min-

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(1) Op.cit., p.23; cf. K.al-Istibṣār, p.114.

(2) Op.cit., p.23; cf. K.al-Istibṣār, p.114.

(3) Creswell, E.M.A., I, p.328. Fikrī attributes them to the construction of Hisham which seems improbable, see Masjid al-Qayrawan, p.66. Sameh (in B.F.E.C.U., 1954/5, p.162) dates the lower colossal part in the time of Hisham, and the other storeys in 221 H. (736 A.D.).

aret, Rivoira (1) concluded that the first and second storeys were built at different times. Thiersch (2) and Diez (3) also agreed that the two upper storeys were built at a time other than that of the lower one. According to later investigations, when the structure was more exposed, it appeared that the first and the second storeys were built with one type of masonry, and must have been erected at the same time (4); there can be no doubt that the uppermost storey is of a later reconstruction. It has been allotted to the end of the thirteenth century A.D., when the mosque was restored by the Hafṣids (1294 A.D.) (5).

### 3. The origins of its shape:

The shape of the minaret seems to be an innovation as compared with the early Syrian minarets. It is more comparable with a pyramid of three receding individual storeys built one above the other, the lowest one of which is higher than the height of the above ones together. It is very probable that the new shape was influenced by the Pharos of Alexandria which was well known at that epoch.

Before proceeding further, it is relevant to examine the condition of this outstanding tower, the Pharos. There is

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(1) Op.cit., p.37.

(2) Op.cit., p.123.

(3) In E.I./1, III, p.229. cf. Samch, in B.F.A.C.U., 1953, p.181.

(4) Creswell, E.M.A., I, p.328.

(5) Marçais, L'Architecture . . . ., p.18; Creswell, S.A.E.M.A. p.110; Rivoira (op.cit., p.37) dates it in the 19th century A.D.

no doubt that the Pharos was in a dilapidated state when the minaret of Qayrawān was built, but it was still standing there and the Arabs were greatly effected by its characteristics.

Several of the Arab writers have fully described it as to have been built of three successive storeys, namely: squared, octagonal, and cylindrical. It was started by Ptolemy I, and completed by Ptolemy II in 280 - 279 B.C. (1). It seems to have been perfect at the time of the Arab conquest, but in al-Walīd's time, it was probably badly damaged (2). However, in 180 H. (796 A.D.) the upper part was destroyed by a severe earthquake (3). In 875 A.D., Ahmād b. Tūlūn: "restored part of it, and made a simple wooden dome on it. The ascent to this dome from inside is tiresome without steps" (4). The western corner of this tower fell into ruins, and was restored by Khumārawayh (5). Al-Mas'ūdī in 332H (943) described the Pharos as to have been of three storeys:

"Approximately half of it is squared in shape, built with white stone forming about 110 cubits. Beyond that it

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- (1) Schneider, Babylon, pp.123f.  
 (2) Mas., Muruj, II, pp.434ff; Qaz., Āthār, p.98; I.W., p.30; Ibshihī, op.cit., II, pp.193f.  
 (3) I.Id., I, p.89; I.A., VI, pp.104f; A.M., II, p.99; Suy., II, p.196.  
 (4) Mas., Tanbih, p.48; Maqr., I, p.157.  
 (5) Mas., p.48; Maqr., I, p.157.

is octagonal, built with bricks and stucco for more than 60 cubits, and round it there is a space in which one can rotate. Its top is cylindrical" (1).

This description may refer to the restoration of Ibn Tūlūn. However, in Ramadān 344 H. (Dec. 955 Jan. 956), a severe earthquake removed about 30 cubits of its height (2). It seems to have been restored since Ibn al-Shaykh who died in 605 H. (1208) described it as having had three storeys. The last two storeys had staircases instead of plain ramp (3). This tower was again restored in 673 H. (1274), and in 703 H. (1303) (4). At his second visit to Alexandria, Ibn Battūtah (1349) records: "It was so badly damaged that it was impossible to enter it or ascend up to its door" (5). This was not the end of the Pharos, as Creswell explains (6). Al-Maqrīzī records that in 777 H. (1375 A.D.), another earthquake removed its upper part (7). This may suggest its restoration between Ibn Battūtah's visit (1349), and the latter earthquake. The square part, at least, was standing at the time of Maqrīzī (8). (1427).

In his monumental book, the Pharos, Thiersch dealt with

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- (1) Mas., pp.47f; Nuway. I, p.397; Suy., I, p.54; Maqr. (I, p.157), who cited Mas'ūdī records the second storey as to have been built of stone and stucco.  
 (2) Mas., p.48; Maqr., I, p.157.  
 (3) De Asin, art. "The Pharos of Alexandria", P.B.A., XIX (1933), p.7.  
 (4) Maqr., I, p.158.  
 (5) Op.cit., I, p.30.  
 (6) E.M.A., II, p.246.  
 (7) Khiṭāṭ, I, p.156; Butler, The Arab conquest of Egypt, p.397.  
 (8) Op.cit., I, p.158.

all the available material, and made reconstruction of the tower at different periods throughout the Middle Ages. He suggested that the total height was 124 m. The square storey was 60 m., the octagonal 30 m., and the cylindrical was 15 m. (1).

Thiersch noted the influence of the Pharos on this minaret (2), especially in the receding storeys, but his statement that the stages of the two towers were similar, and that the upper reconstructed part of the minaret might have had the same cylindrical shape as that of the Pharos does not seem to be acceptable (3). There is no similarity in the storeys, except for the base which was of quadrangular shape. All the Mediaeval sources as well as Thiersch himself admit that the storeys of the Pharos were: squared, octagonal, and cylindrical respectively, while this minaret is all of one squared shape. Even if the upper part was cylindrical, the similarity would still not exist. It seems very likely that such influence was restricted to the individual storeys as well as to the huge base. However, Syrian influence can also be detected in this minaret. It is a plain tower similar to most Syrian ones, and the treatment of its entrance

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(1) Cf. Creswell, op.cit., II, p.242; Schneider (op.cit., p.123) records the height as to have been 370 ft, or 590 ft.

(2) This theory of the Pharos influence on the minaret has been opposed without satisfactory evidence. cf. Creswell, E.M.A., I, p.329, Muslim Architecture in Egypt, II, pp.246 ff; Sameh, op.cit., p.181.

(3) Thiersch, op.cit., pp.123 - 126.

a lintel surmounted by a relieving arch, the span of which is blocked, is a feature to be found in numerous examples in pre-Islamic towers in Syria (1). The inclination which is found in the lower storey of this minaret may also be due to Syrian influence, though it also could have come from the Pharos. This feature can be found in various types of Syrian towers. The crenellations installed on this minaret may also indicate Syrian influence (2).

b. The Mosque of al-Zaytūnah

Another clumsy minaret reflects Syrian influence stood in al-Zaytūnah mosque in Tūnis (Fig.65). It was reconstructed in the nineteenth century A.D. (3). A photograph in Kühnel's "Maurische Kunst" shows its conditions before reconstruction. It is of two storeys, the lower one, up to the pavilion seems to have belonged to the eighth century (114/732), while the upperpart, and the lantern-tower are both believed to have been built in 1653 A.D. (4).

The original part is plain square structure devoid of any sort of decoration. It was plastered over, and interrupted by loop-hole windows which illuminated the staircase. The plainness, simplicity, and massiveness seem to have been

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- (1) Butler, II, B., pp.12, 21, 65f., 103f., ill.8f,65f.,122. Also see Creswell, E.M.A., I, p.328.  
 (2) Cf. De Vogüé, op.cit., plates: 107,120,138,140.  
 (3) Kühnel, Maurische Kunst, p.71,Taf.103; Sameh, in B.F.E. C.U., 1954/5, pp.162f.  
 (4) Diez, in E.l./1, III, p.229; Kühnel, op.cit.,p.64, and Taf. VI; Diez and Glück, Die Kunst des Islam, p.550; Fikrī, art. "Masjid al-Zaytūnah al-Jāmi' fi Tūnis", in M.T.M., IV (1952), p.69.

remarkable features in the early minarets of this part of the world. The original minaret was very probably built as one massive block with a lantern-tower at the top. That of Qayrawān which was built in the time of Hishām probably had the same form.

Later minarets show<sup>~</sup>tendency towards slenderness. The large proportions have been reduced, and the decoration started to play important role on their structure.

c. The mosque of al-Qarawīyīn:

In 245/859, a minaret of small dimensions was erected of soft stone and pisé in the mosque of al-Qarawīyīn (1). In 345/956, Ahmad b. Abū Bakr al-Zanātī replaced this minaret by more elegant one (2), but could not match its contemporary one which was built in Spain by Abd al-Rahmān III (3). This minaret was built of finely cut stone. It was square about 27 spans a side, and its height was probably equal to its circumference (c. 108 spans). Its entrance opened to the qiblah side, and above it was a stucco medallion filled with Arabic inscriptions containing the date of the construction, and religious verses. Another stucco medallion, inscribed with Qur'anic verses, was made on this minaret. Openings for the illumination of the staircase were also built. At the

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(1) Rawḍ al-Qarṭās, p.1; Marçais, Manuel, I, p.309.

(2) About the place of the original one see Rawḍ al-Qarṭās pp.1f; Marçais, op.cit., I, p.309; Salīm, art. "Athar al-fann al-Khilafī bi-Qurtubah fī al-Imarah al-Masihyah bi-Ispānyah wa Faransa"; al-Majallah, No.14 (1958) p.74 n.1.

(3) Marçais, op.cit., I, p.396.

summit of the minaret, small gilded metal apples were installed and the sword of Idrīs II was hung (1). The above details suggest Andalusian influence which appeared in the metal globes (2), the dimensions, and very probably in the decoration.

In 788/1376, this minaret was loaded with various decorations (3). Subsequent changes which took place in the mosque might have fundamentally affected this minaret (4). (Fig.66).

d. The manār (watch-tower) of Sūsa:

Another tower, which was not a minaret, but was of this developed form is the watch-tower (manār) of Sūsa (Fig.67). It was built (245 H - 254/859-68) at the south-western corner of the town walls. It dominates the town, the harbour, as well as the Gulf of Gabes. Its surface is plain, built of cut stone arranged in courses each of which is about 18 cm. high. The whole tower stands on a plinth about 3.25 m. high, and rises up to a height of about 27 m. Externally, the tower shows two successive stages, the ascent of which is from inside. The interior, however, consists of four chambers one above the other.

The first stage is about 14.90 m. high. It measures 8.22 m. a side at the bottom, diminishes gradually, and be-

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(1) Rawḍ al-Qarṭās, pp.2-3; Muqaddimah, p.21.

(2) Thiersch, op.cit., p.128.

(3) Rawḍ al-Qarṭās, p.3.

(4) Cf. Ibn Zaydān, al-Durar al-Fākhira bi-māthir al-mulūk al-ʿAlwiyyin bi-Fūs al-Zuhira, p.138; Samah (in B.F.A. O.U., 1953) p.185.

comes 7.71 m. a side at the top. The second stage is 12.16 m. high. The diminution here is less than the lower stage. It measures 5.40 m. a side at the bottom becoming 5.14 m. at the top (1).

It has been proved above that the standing minaret of Qayrawān was originally executed in three storeys, therefore, it cannot be considered as a direct predecessor for this manār - as Creswell did (2). The style of this minaret, however, still reflects the Syrian influence which was carried out to these countries represented by the style of the minarets of the Damascus Mosque - main square shaft surmounted by a lantern-tower. But the lantern-tower in the said minaret, however, is considerably higher.

Nevertheless, the tendency in building minarets continued as can be seen in the minaret of Sfax which was built about 362 H./972 A.D.

e. The minaret of Sfax:

This minaret is composed of three telescoping storeys, the lowest of which is the largest and slightly diminished at the top (Fig.68). This storey has a door opening to the south and three bands of ornamentation have been cut on its surface. The first band is of triangular denticle (dog-tooth) and egg elements followed by a plain space then come the two other bands; the first being composed of oculi

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(1) Creswell, E.M.A., II, pp.274ff.  
 (2) Op.cit., II, p.276.

(shallow-saucers), and the second of Kufic inscription. At the top, this storey is surrounded by crenellations similar to those in Ibn Ṭūlūn's mosque. The decoration of the second storey is exactly the same as the first one. The third storey is formed of a pierced pavilion, the four corners of which are adorned with four engaged colonettes. It is crowned by a ribbed sharp dome (1).

It has been suggested that the minaret of Sfax has influenced, to a great extent, the two minarets of Ḥākim(2) but close investigation of the latter minarets shows the great differences between the three minarets. The shape of this minaret might have been suggested by that of Qayrawān, though the proportions are different.

However, at the end of the tenth century, and the beginning of the eleventh, a foreign influence appears to have come to N.Africa. This is clear in the extravagant decoration on the surface of the minaret, similar to those seen in the Andalusian minarets.

The minaret of Qal'at Banī Hammād seems to be the first minaret to have had Andalusian characteristics (Fig.69).

f. The minaret of Qal'at Banī Hammād:

This minaret was built in 323/1001, and destroyed by

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(1) Marçais, Manuel, I, pp.162-65, fig.91, L'Architecture, pp. 72f, 109; Sameh, (in B.F.E. C.U., 1954/5, p.163) dates the minaret in the XII cent. A.D.

(2) Sameh, op.cit., p.165.

Almohads in 1152 A.D. It is of simple design, and the decoration seems to be poorer than that of Cordova, but in some respect it shows that it is not without analogy with that of Cordova.

It is about 6 m. square, the remaining height of which is about 28 m. It is built of irregularly hewn square blocks of stone - perhaps covered with stucco. The lantern-tower which has disappeared was very probably square. Regarding its decoration, the side towards the courtyard is richly decorated while the other sides are completely plain. The decoration is arranged into three long vertical zones, the middle one is divided into six arched recesses. The bottom one forms the entrance, followed by a blind one above. The three following recesses form balcony openings which seem to have been divided into geminate arches. The fifth recess at the top is a blind one. Each of the blind recesses seems to have had twin arches in relief, the relics of which can be seen at the top one. The lateral zones are symmetric, each containing three blind niches, the lowest one is elongated, surmounted by a smaller one, followed by a third which is the smallest. Some of these niches seem to have had decorations in relief.

The arrangement of three long vertical zones of decoration on this minaret can also be seen on the Giralda minaret which was built in Seville in the 12th century A.D. (1), and

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(1) Thiersch, op.cit., p.129; Samoh (in B.F.A.C.U.(1957)) p.153; Kühnel, op.cit., Taf. 18.

both of the two minarets are very likely to have been influenced by that of Cordova which was built in 340/951. The minaret of the Qal'ah, however, seems to have been the nucleus of its type in the whole of N. Africa.

In spite of the fact that the square-type of minaret, as has been shown above, was dominant in N. Africa, two cylindrical examples are still standing in the two ribāts of Monastir (VIII A.D.) and Sūsa (IX A.D.). The manār of the latter is the more famous one (1).

g. The ribāt's manār of Sūsa

According to an inscription on the entrance of this tower, it was built by Ziyādat Allāh b. al-Aghlab in 206/821. It consists of two storeys ascended by a vaulted spiral staircase (Fig.70). The lower storey is circular, about 4.72 m. diameter, and rises up to about 16 m. including the parapeted wall which surrounds its top. The second storey is a small square lantern-tower furnished with a dome at the top. This tower was used as a minaret, and very likely as a signal tower (2). Various towers for signal purposes were extensively erected by the Aghlabites (3).

As to the origins of this type of minarets, Marçais is

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(1) Marçais, Manuel, I, p.39.

(2) Cf. Samah, (in B.F.E.C.U., 1954/5) p.163; Marçais, op.cit., I, p.39; Creswell, op.cit., II, p.170.

(3) Marçais, op.cit., I, p.49 n.l.

of the view that it was influenced by the prototype of the Malwīyah - the Tirbāl of Gūr which was a ziqqurat imitation (1). This suggestion seems to be unreasonable, and the great difference between the two towers is obvious. It is very difficult to see how the cylindrical tower with its internal staircase could have been influenced by the predecessor of the Malwīyah. Neither the Tirbāl nor the ziqqurat had the pure cylindrical shape or the internal staircase. Moreover, both of them stood apart from the walls of the sanctuaries while this manār is attached to the ribāt. Its origins might be sought in N. Africa itself in the watch-towers which could have been cylindrical.

## 2. The Minaret in Spain

The Syrian type of minaret was carried over to Spain particularly during the reign of the Umayyad Dynasty which was established there in 139/756 by ʿAbd al-Rahmān I (ruled in 756-88).

Spain was won by the Muslims in 92/711. It remained to be administered by Damascus for 39 years during which time it had 22 governors. During this period, no mosque was erected, but the Muslims at the time of the conquest divided the old Visigothic cathedral of St. Vincent into two parts, one for the Christians and the other for the Muslims themselves (2).

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(1) Op.cit., I, p.39.

(2) Cf. I.Id., II, p.244; Maqq. II, p.83; I.A., VI, p.76. This church was previously an ancient temple. See Thiersch, op.cit., pp.251f; Hartly, The Cathedrals of southern Spain, p.47, Moorish cities in Spain, p.14; Sālim, op.cit., pp.74f.

The breakdown of the Umayyad regime in Syria caused a wide diversion of feeling in Spain. 'Abd al-Rahmān I who escaped from Damascus was able to travel to Spain in Rabī' I, 138 H./755, and win the diversion there. Hence he established himself in Cordova, and was given the title Amīr (prince) in 139/756. 'Abd al-Rahmān III was the first to be called Caliph in I Dhū al-Hijjah 316 H./929 (1).

The study of the minaret in this region is interesting. Despite the fact that the Muslims <sup>had</sup> held this country since 92/710, they had no private mosque of their own neither was a minaret erected on that part of St. Vincent's church which they occupied, until the reign of the Umayyads there. They adopted Cordova as a capital, and established their own mosque together with the necessary requirements. The minaret occupied its rightful place.

Our study here will be confined to the minaret of Cordova. It had such an important influence on the minarets of Spain and N.Africa which in itself renders it obligatory to study this minaret in detail. Depending on the material available, an approximate sketch will be drawn for this minaret later.

#### The minaret of Cordova

There is no clear information indicating whether the converted church had a tower or not. In 139/756, al-Maqqarī

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(1) I.Id., II, pp. 211f; I.A., VIII, p.398.

records that:

"When ʿAbd al-Rahmān I (al-Dākhil) freed Cordova from Yūsuf al-Fihri, its governor, he left it under the control of his representative, Abū ʿUthmān, and Muʿāwiyah pursued the enemies. Yūsuf al-Fihri knew that (ʿAbd al-Rahmān left the city). He re-entered Cordova and captured the palace. Abū ʿUthmān fortified himself in the minaret of the mosque"(1).

This report may indicate the existence of a tower which conducted the duty of a minaret since the early days of the Muslim's rule in Spain. It has been suggested that this tower was in a palace in the neighbourhood of the church (2). This church, however, was continuously used for worship by both Muslims and Christians until the year 169/785 when the Christians agreed to leave their section for the Muslims. All the building was demolished and reconstructed as a mosque. ʿAbd al-Rahmān I who negotiated to acquire the building could not completely finish the mosque because of his death, and his successor Hishām completed it (3).

Concerning the minaret of this mosque, Creswell, taking his reference from Ibn ʿIdhārī, says:

"The mosque as left by ʿAbd al-Rahmān I apparently had no minaret, for we are told by Ibn ʿIdhārī that his successor Hishām added one 40 cubits high and installed a magnificent basin for abolution " (4).

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- (1) Maqq., IV, p.33; cf. I.A., V, pp.378f.  
 (2) Salim, op.cit., p.75.  
 (3) I.Id., II, p.58; Maqq., I, p.308, II, p.83; I.A., VI, pp.76, 101f; Shaykh al-Rabwah (op.cit., p.39) records wrongly that ʿAbd al-Rahman III completed it. Also see ʿInan, al-Athar al-Andalusiyah al-baqiyah, p.20; Pertrand and Petrie, The history of Spain, pp.68f; Abū al-Fida, Tarikh, II, p.60.  
 (4) Op.cit., II, p.140.

In this quotation, Creswell seems to mistranslate the text of Ibn Ḥidhārī who says:

"... and Hishām was he, who completed the roofs of the congregational mosque in Cordova, upraised its ancient minaret, and built the magnificent basin for ablution ..." (1).

He also says:

"... then his son Hishām added a minaret whose height to the stand of the muezzin was 40 cubits". (2).

Ibn Ḥidhārī's first quotation (3) gives clear evidence that the mosque of Ḥabd al-Rahmān I had a minaret. It seems that this minaret was not high enough or was not completed in his time but was raised by Hishām to the height of 40 cubits. All phenomena suggest that Ḥabd al-Rahmān must have put this minaret in his mosque's plan, and its building must have advanced with the progress of the work which was not finished by Ḥabd al-Rahmān I himself but by his successor.

Ḥabd al-Rahmān I who fled from Syria, the home of the minaret, must have been influenced by the minarets there, and applied them in his principal mosque at Cordova which had special importance when Cordova became the capital of the Umayyads there. The latter were keen to impose Syrian tradition in this New Damascus so as to create the same atmosphere of Syria. The condition of this mosque is more or less similar to that of Damascus in that they were originally churches, and the location of their minarets was at the

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(1) Op.cit., II, p.68.  
 (2) Op.cit., II, p.230.  
 (3) Op.cit., II, p.68.

northern side of the mosque (Fig.71). The latter may show Syrian influence suggested by ʿAbd al-Rahmān I. It is very likely, therefore, that the first minaret in this mosque was started by ʿAbd al-Rahmān I.

This minaret seems to have been built of stone as this was the usual building material used at that time (1). It had one staircase led to the summit (2). Its height is likely to have exceeded 50 cubits since it was 40 cubits up to the muezzin's stand. The arches, as well as the geometrical and floral elements seem to have played an important part on its surface. This can be compared with the Syrian prototype especially that of al-ʿArūs, and with that which replaced this minaret of Cordova in 340/951. The latter could not have come suddenly, but should have passed other stages of development which might have been found in the minaret of al-ʿArūs in the Damascus Mosque, and probably in that of Ramla and Aleppo, and this minaret of ʿAbd al-Rahmān I completed by Hishām.

Owing to a defect in this minaret (3), ʿAbd al-Rahman III, completely demolished it to its base, and built his wonderful minaret in 340/951. This minaret in its time was found as the greatest and most beautiful in Islam. It impressed many Mediaeval authors who described this incomparable

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(1) Muqad., p.229.

(2) I. Id., II, p.228; Maqq., II, p.98.

(3) I. Id., II, p.228.

minaret. Idrīsī (548/1154) gives a vivid description of it.

He says:

"On the northern side of the mosque is a strangely built minaret of beautiful shapes, and towering in the sky up to a hundred cubits, eighty cubits of which reach the place where the muezzin stands, and from there to the summit is twenty cubits (1). The top of this minaret is reached by two stair-cases, one leading from the western side, and the other from the eastern. If two climbers separated at the bottom of the minaret they would not meet until they reached its top. The surface of this minaret is all covered with soft stone (kudhdhān) brought from Luk (2), divided into zones containing various kinds of crafts, decorations, scripts, and shades of colour. On the four faces surrounding the minaret are two rows of arches falling on beautiful marble colonettes, and in this minaret, outside and inside are 300 colonettes of big and

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- (1) Different versions have been recorded about its height, but the number recorded most often is 100 cubits. See Masālik, I, p.214; I.W., p.22; Abu Hamīd al-Andalusī, ʿAjā'ib al-makhlūqāt, fol. 3a; al-Mahallī, op.cit., fol. 190b; Maqq., II, p.95. In another version, he gives the height as 73 cubits, see II, pp.85, 99; in p.86 he gives it as 54 cubits to the stand of the muezzin; Ibn ʿIdharī gives 80 cubits up to the stand of the muezzin (see II, p.228).
- (2) It is a city in al-Andalus. cf. Yaq., IV, p.365.

small size (1). On the top of the minaret is a lantern-tower (2) with four closed doors where every night there sleep two muezzins. The minaret has sixteen muezzins who call the adhan in turn, two muezzins for every day. On the very top of the minaret, on the dome which is on the lantern-tower are three apples of gold, and two of silver (3), and leaves of lily. The largest of the apples could contain sixty ratls (4) of oil". (5).

Ibn Bashkuwāl (d.1183) added that it was built of huge well dressed stone, and each of its staircase had 107 steps. The width of each of the square sides was 18 cubits, thus making 72 cubits in perimeter (6). The construction of this minaret was started in 340/951, and was completed in 13 months (7).

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- (1) The whole columns of this mosque which supported its roof together with those which were joined in its walls, domes, and the minaret were 1417 columns. See I.Id., II, p.287; Maqq. II, pp.86f., 88.
  - (2) This is called here as bayt; elsewhere, it is called "al-qubbah al-mufattahah (open-domed pavilion) see Maqq., II, p.85.
  - (3) Idrisi is the only one mentions them as five. All other authors give the number as three surmounted by a small one. Ibn 'Idhari gives the following description. "At the very top of the minaret, there are three pomegranates ...the first is made of gold, the middle of silver, and the third is of gold too. Above this, there is a lily of pure gold above which is another small pomegranate of gold followed by spear-head containing the date of construction written in gold". (II, p.248) cf. Maqq., II, p.98f; Lisan al-Din b. al-Khatib, K.A. mal al-a'lam, p.38; Calcott, History of Spain, I, p.152.
  - (4) It is about a pint of measure or a pound of weight. cf. Lane, S.V. Ratl.
  - (5) Wasf al-masjid al-jami: bi-Qurtubah (Edited and translated into French by A.D. Lamure) pp.10-12, notes 155-56; Masalik, I, p.214; Rivoira, op.cit., p.364. cf. Lambert, Art Musulman et art Chrétien, pp.70f.
  - (6) Maqq., II, pp. 86, 98, 99.
  - (7) Maqq., II, pp.98, 99; I.Id., II, p.228. Creswell (op.cit., II, p.141, n.4.) says "Ibn 'Adhari also mentions the reconstruction of this minaret by an-Nasir, but without giving the date", but in fact he does. See his book II, p.228.

Gayangos in his notes on Maqqarī says:

"An inscription commemorating the building of this tower is still preserved on one of the interior walls. It bears the date of Dhū Hijjah/354 H., that is four years after the accession of al-Hakam"(1).

This date noted here does not correspond with that of Maqqarī or of Ibn Ḍihārī. Gayangos's year cannot be accepted here since all the authorities agreed that this minaret was built by al-Nāṣir, and not by al-Hakam II. Moreover, Ibn Ḍihārī tells that the date was inscribed on the spear's head which surmounted the pomegranates on the peak of the minaret (2). Gayangos who also translated the date of Maqqarī as 330/945 might have confused his given date with others (3).

The position of this minaret was almost the same as the minaret of al-Arūs in the Damascus mosque, except that Cordova minaret was placed to the west of the main axis while that of Damascus is situated immediately to the east of it (4).

Before the construction of this minaret, Abd al-Rahmān III started building his enormous Summer palace of Madīnat al-Zahrā' outside Cordova in 325/936 (5). The building of its mosque was completed with 48 days in 23 Shābān 329/941. It had a minaret of square shape 10 x 10 cubits and a height

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- (1) The History of the Muhammadan dynasties in Spain, I, P.499, n.38.  
 (2) Op.cit., II, p.228.  
 (3) Op.cit., I, p.224. Creswell (in B.M.48(1926),p.139, and n.54) reproduced the same error.  
 (4) Cf. Sorde and Swaan, Moorish Spain, p.45.  
 (5) Cf. I.Id., II, p.231.

of 40 cubits (1).

Nothing is specified about its state, but there is no doubt that it was not less magnificent than the mosque itself. The minaret of the Great Mosque of Cordova which was built by the same builder may give an idea as to that of al-Zahrā'.

Despite the alterations which took place in the Cordova Mosque, the minaret remained for a long time unaltered (2). In 1572, Morales visited Cordova. He described the minaret as having been in sound condition; it had fourteen windows seven of which had three arches resting upon four colonettes while the other seven had two arches on three colonettes only. These colonettes were made of red and white jasper. He added that at the top, above all these windows there was a frieze of small ornamental arches falling on to colonettes of the same previous workmanship; all were presented in admirable aspect. He counted the colonettes as 100, and said that the tower was built of stone, about 60 ft. square at the bottom, diminished gradually towards the top (3).

Due to a storm in 1589 A.D., this minaret was badly damaged. Later on in 1593, it was restored, and a new campanile was erected on its top. Owing to the successive alterations, the original minaret was completely altered. (4) According to recent investigations, relics of the original

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- (1) Maqq., II, p. 100, Az' hār al-riyād, II, pp. 265f; I. Id., II, pp. 231f.  
 (2) I. Id., II, pp. 233f, 237f, 240f, 250, 387; Creswell, E.M.A., II pp. 141-145.  
 (3) Marçais, Manuel, I, pp. 394f, L'Architecture musulmane d'Occident, p. 170.  
 (4) Creswell, op.cit., II, p. 145; Inān, op.cit., p. 28; Sameh, (B.F.A.C.U., 1953) p. 182; Sordo and Swann, op.cit., p. 45.

minaret was proved to have been existed in the lower part of the present tower (1).

The above description of Idrīsī completed by Morales shows the high grade of development which had been imposed on this minaret. This kind of embellishment really started with the Umayyads in al-Andalus, and it proves that this creative skill was developed in Spain. The double stair-case which this minaret had, was not an innovation. The minaret of Qayrawān Mosque which was built by Bishr b. Safwān seems to have had double staircases too.

a. A suggested reconstruction

The description of Idrīsī - Morales well explains the minaret's condition, and makes it easy to form an approximate reconstruction of this minaret. A description for some of the still standing minarets, especially those of the Giralda, Kutubīyah and Ḥassān, is of importance. They seem to have been inspired by that of Cordova.

The Giralda of Seville:

This minaret was started by the architect Ahmad b. Bāṣah in 567/1172, but the work was interrupted in 580/1184. Another architect, ʿAlī al-Ghumārī resumed the work, but he did not finish it either. A third architect Abū al-Layth

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(1) Marçais, L'Architecture ..., p.170; Diez, Die Kunst der islamischen Völker, p.48; Basset et Terrasse, Sanctuaires et Fortresses Almohades, p.111; Hartly, op.cit., p.54; art "al-ʿAbniyah al-Ispāniyaal-Islamiyah" translated by A.I. ʿAnani, in R.I.E.E.I., I (1953) pp.104-107.

al-Siqillī completed it in Rabī' II, 594/Feb. 1198 (1). The building was started with stone (2), then the whole tower was executed in bricks. It is about 45 ft. square rising in right angle to a height of about 185 ft. The ascent to its top is by a spiral ramp consists of 35 slopes. Thiersch has suggested that building ramps instead of staircases was influenced by the Pharos, and that the influence passed from the Giralda minaret to the minarets of N. Africa (3).

The decoration of this minaret is different on the four sides, but it is generally arranged in vertical order. Each face is divided into three vertical zones, the middle of which is occupied by bays framed with arches. The middle zone of one of the faces consists of single and gminate bays, arched with various arches. The upper half of the lateral zones is divided into two large panels each consisting of gminate arches in relief, surmounted by lozenge patterns all cut in strong relief (4). This minaret used to have a lantern-tower on which three metal hollowed globes were installed for a big official ceremony (5) (Fig.72).

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- (1) Mayer, Islamic architects, pp.38f.,42,51; Jābir and other architects are thought to have been whom who built the Giralda. cf. Mayer, op.cit., p.29; Meakin, Moorish Empire p.80; Glück and Diez, op.cit., p.55. Kühnel, op.cit., p.66, n.27; Inān, op.cit., pp.47f; Bevan, History of Spanish architecture, p.97.
- (2) Cf. Inān, op.cit., pp.48f; Thiersch, op.cit., p.130; Hartly, op.cit., p. 69.
- (3) Op.cit., p.131; cf. Inān, op.cit., pp.51-4.
- (4) Marçais, Manuel, I, pp.399f; Flecher, History of architecture, p.947.
- (5) Ibn Sāhib al-Salāt, K.tārīkh al-mann bi-al-imāmah alā al-mustadāfiñ, fols. 168b - 170b.

It seems very unlikely that this tower was influenced by those of N. Africa, since this minaret was started earlier than the others, and the minaret of Cordova which was in a sound condition could have provided as a better prototype for it. The record that the Giralda minaret, and those of the Kutubīyah in Marrākīsh, and Hassān in Ribāt were built by one architect, Jābir, seems to be legendary. The architects of Giralda as have been mentioned by Mayer as well as the building material used in each one (1), and the arrangement of decorations, all refute this suggestion.

The minaret of al-Kutubīyah: (2)

This minaret was completed in 1193 A.D. (3). It is about 12.50 m. square, and its height is 67.50 m., including the lantern-tower on the top which is about 6.80 m. square. It is built of rubble, and its surface is divided into many storeys ornamented with different kinds of arches. The decoration on these arches changes from one side to another, both in elements and distribution. The balconies are dominant on this tower, and the toothed merlons have parapeted its main and inferior parts (4). This minaret has no staircase;

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(1) Marçais, art. "Binā", E.I./2, I, p.1226.

(2) It has been suggested that its name was derived from the bookshops which surrounded the mosque at a time. (Meakin, Lands of the Moors, p.305). Harris's suggestion seems more logical when he says that the name was derived "from its having contained at one period a vast collection of manuscripts" See Tafilt, p.38.

(3) Rawd al-Qarṭas, pp.163,193.

(4) Marçais, Manuel, I, pp.335f.

instead, it has a ramp which goes spirally round a nucleus which having six chambers in different directions of the tower's faces. The ramp is illuminated by the openings of balconies as well as by narrow loop-hole windows splayed inside. The lantern-tower is provided with openings on the four sides, and is covered with a ribbed dome of the kind which prevailed in Ifrīqīyah in the ninth century A.D. (1). Three globes, decreasing in size, arranged one above the other, are fixed on a rod which is installed at the top of this dome (2) (Fig.73).

The Minaret of Hassān:

It was built in 593/1195 (3), but was not completed. In its present state, it measures about 44 m. high, and its surface is divided into five storeys. It would have measured more than 60 cubits high, and the storeys mounted to seven or eight had it been completed. Its fretted sides are of beautiful designs in weather-beaten stone. A ramp similar to that of the Giralda, and Kutubīyah minarets leads to its upper point (4) (Fig.74).

According to Ibn Bashkuwāl, Cordova minaret was about 18 cubits square, and its height referred to by many authorities as about 100 cubits. Therefore, its proportions were

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(1) Op.cit., I, pp.335 f; Meakin, op.cit., pp.304f.

(2) Marçais, op.cit., I, p.336.

(3) Rawḍal-Qarṭūs, pp.163,193; Marrākūshī, op.cit., p.266;

Sameh (in B.F.A.C.U., 1953) p.183.

(4) Marçais, op.cit., I, p.336.

approximately 1:5. The super-structure which is described as bayt (1), or qubbah mufattahah (2) was about 20 cubits high. Morales counted fourteen windows on the surface of this minaret, seven with three openings each, the others having two only.

Two bas-reliefs at the entrance of Santa Catalina Cathedral in Cordova is shown by Basset and Terrasse to represent the original minaret of Cordova, except for the lantern-tower which appears to have been a Christian addition. These reliefs are believed to show the minaret from the N.E. side and the S.W. side (3).

On one of the two reliefs, the entrance is visible at the corner of the main body, while half of the body in the other relief is covered with a wall. This seems not to represent the reality of the tower since Idrīsī has described the two entrances as having been to the east and west sides of the minaret. If Idrīsī was wrong in pointing out the directions, the other door should have appeared in the second illustration.

As regards the arrangement of the bays, they seem to have been more suitably arranged vertically, one above the other and not in the way that Basset and Terrasse arranged ~~them~~. This arrangement seems to have been a common practice very

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(1) Idrīsī, op.cit., pp.11f.

(2) Maqq., II, p.85.

(3) Basset and Terrasse, op.cit., p.111, and Plate XVII.

likely to have started in this minaret, and used in the Giralda minaret which seems to be a copy of the Cordova's one which was well preserved at the construction time of the former. This system of arrangement is also to be seen on earlier minaret - that of Qal'at Banī Hammād in N. Africa.

The problem which is to be solved here, is how to arrange the fourteen windows, since half of them had three openings while the rest had two only.

It seems quite possible that the windows with three openings were grouped on two opposite sides, and those with two on the sides at right angles. Basset and Terrasse have suggested that the triple open windows were six in number, while the geminate ones were eight. The doorways are more likely to have been placed in the centre of the faces which contained the triple windows.

The lantern-tower which Basset and Terrasse have sketched show a single opening on two opposite sides, and geminate ones on the others. With regard to these openings, the two authors suggested an arcading similar to that edging the top of the four faces of the main tower (1), but they did not draw it on their sketch. The Idrīsī's report that "on the four faces surrounding the minaret are two rows of arches falling on beautiful marble columns", might be interpreted either that this ornamental arcading was confined only to two

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(1) Op.cit., p.113.

faces of the minaret, or that each face, including the main and the inferior parts of the minaret had two arcadings, one at the top of each part. The latter suggestion sounds more likely. Crenellations surrounding the top of each part are very suitable. Unfortunately, the Qal'ah and the Giralda minarets have lost their lantern-towers; that of Ḥassān was not completed. The Kutubīyah is still firmly standing with its lantern-tower, but the upper part of its two styces are decorated with faience mosaic instead of arcading. By analogy, it seems not impossible that there was arcading on the two parts of Cordova minaret.

Morales counted hundred<sup>a</sup> colonettes on the four faces of this minaret. The fourteen windows he referred to, have had forty-eight colonettes, the rest of these colonettes, therefore, were fifty-two. They were distributed on the four faces of the main body and the lantern-tower, thus each face of the former might have had eight colonettes, and the latter five colonettes only, all with arches falling on them. The shape of these arches seems to have been similar to that of the Giralda minaret, the main part of which still exists. Similar arcading is to be found on the "Door of the Sun" (1) in Toledo.

The openings of the lantern-tower are likely to have been arranged in coupled bays similar to that of the Kutubīyah

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(1) Calvert, Morrish remains in Spain, p.409.

minaret, and the Giralda one before alteration (1). As to the roof of this inferior tower, it was a domed one; this is specified by Idrīsī. At the top, four hollowed metal globes were installed one above the other (Fig.75).

Various sculpted, as well as painted or studded decoration were executed on it. The glass mosaic seems to have played an important role as well. Idrīsī notes that the minaret contained various kinds of crafts, decorations, scripts and shades of colour. To the same effect Maqqarī states that "the different types of the accurate paintings and crafts which the minaret contains can not be described" (2).

The floral motifs as well as geometrical decoration seems to have played the major role in the painted decoration; such can be seen on the Kutubīyah. A large number of geometrical motifs are found in the painting, much rarer epigraphy, and most of all floral formations (3). Idrīsī also saw epigraphical decoration on the Cordova minaret.

The colours of this minaret were very striking and attractive, and this brilliance made it visible from a distance, and first attract the gaze of the viewer. The polychrome colour of the bare stone gave the tower a special effect. Such colour was generally applied to all the exteriors of buildings in the time of the caliphate (4).

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(1) Bevan, op.cit., Fig.40.

(2) Op.cit., II, p.95.

(3) Basset and Terrasse, op.cit., pp.124-127.

(4) Op.cit., pp.113,117.

The openwork decoration, as well as the stalactites might have been applied on this minaret of Cordova (1).

b. The influence of the Cordova minaret

The above suggestions should serve to clarify the importance of the effect that this minaret exercised on those of al-Andalus and N.Africa, and the reconstruction which has been suggested above shows the relationship between these minarets.

Despite the similarity in craftsmanship of these minarets, it seems likely that both Cordova and Seville were more closely related than the others. This is not unusual since the two minarets were built on the same soil at a time when the minaret of Cordova was in a very sound condition. Moreover, Seville which gradually became important and took the place of Cordova (2), accepted Cordovan characteristics in the course of time. It seems very likely that the Giralda minaret was copied from that of Cordova with differences in details owing to the brick which helped to produce patterns which were difficult to be produced on stone (3). There is no doubt that artists as well as architects left Cordova for Seville to fulfil the requirement of this growing city.

The ornamental arceding at the top had the same role to play on the two minarets, namely to emphasize the end of the

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(1) Op.cit., p.128.  
 (2) Bovan, op.cit., p.97.  
 (3) Marçais, Manuel, I, p.337.

main, as well as the inferior parts of each minaret, while on the Kutubīyah the faience is used on the two parts. Many other ornamental elements are likely to have been common to the two towers. The major difference seems to be that the minaret at Cordova had two entrances opening on to two staircases, while the Giralda minaret had one entrance giving access to a plain ramp leading to the top.

Due to the above facts, it seems wrong not to recognize the relationship between the two towers as did Schack (1).

### 3. General conclusion

The above discussion shows the role which was played by the square type of minaret in N. Africa and Spain; But despite the superiority of this type - except for that of Sūsa and Monastīr, some other irregular examples have been described in literary sources. These examples are:

1. Al-Bakrī records that a cylindrical minaret existed in the city of Abbāsīyah which was built by Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab to the north of Qayrawān in 800 A.D. He says:

"It is built of bricks, and the colonettes are seven storeys the like of which has never been built either in firmness or in beauty" (2).

2. Al-Shaykh al-Tījānī (1306-1309) referred to another type which was erected in the mosque of Tripoli in 300/912.

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(1) Kunst und Poesië der Araber in Spanien und Sizilien, p.243 as quoted by Thiersch, op.cit., p.127.  
 (2) Op.cit., p.28; Yaq., IV, p.119.

It consisted of a cylindrical lower storey surmounted by an octagon (1).

3. In Ajdābīyah at Barqa, al-Bakrī refers to an octagonal minaret which was built at the beginning of the Fatimid period.

He records:

"... and in it, there stands a well-built mosque erected by Abu al-Qasim having an octagonal minaret magnificently done" (2).

This statement shows the inaccuracy of Diez when he says: "It is only later in the XVI century that we find the octagonal tower appearing in Tunis..." (3).

The Andalusian type of minaret flourished in N. Africa after the example of that of Qal'at Banī Hammād. Later on, it found a suitable home in Morocco where it progressed and spread to other neighbouring countries. The geographical position of Morocco distinguishes it from the other N.African countries. It was the nearest to al-Andalus, and therefore a bridge to the peninsula to whose influence it was susceptible. Moreover, the travelling of architects from one place to another increased the duration of the new style.

The Andalusian form of minaret spread to a large extent in the XIII century A.D., particular<sup>ly</sup> when the Muslims lost Cordova (1239), and Seville (1248). Thousands of

(1) Rihla as quoted by Thiersch, op.cit., p.126.

(2) Op.cit., p.5.

(3) Art. "Manara", E.1./1, III, p.230.

Muslims left the Peninsula and resettled in Morocco and other parts of N. Africa (1). Hence those emigrants started their activities in the new home.

Despite the fact that political affairs played an important role in the development of the minaret form in Egypt, it seems that the contrary is the truth with regard to N. Africa and Spain; the political circumstances seem to have exercised no effect. The square type had been preserved by the successive governments (2), and its continuous use gave it the sanction of custom, not to be violated by the rulers whatever their policy was. It is more interesting that the horse-shoe arch and the square form of minaret became an official form for the Malikite's mosques of the Maghrib (3). A glance at that part of the Islamic world shows how far successive generations preserved this type of minaret. The Ottomans, who encouraged the Hanafite rite in Tunisia and Algeria, maintained the octagonal shape of minaret which became a characteristic feature of the Hanafite rite there (4).

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- (1) Thiersch, op.cit., p.130; Creswell, M.A.E., II, pp.228f; Salim, art. "al-Ta'thirat al-Andalusiyah fi nizam al-mi'dhanah al-misriyah", al-Rabitah, XIII (1960) pp.160ff; Gayangos, op.cit., II, pp.262, 323f., 328, 335, 337f.
- (2) Marçais, Manuel, I, pp.293ff; Samch, (in B.F.A.C.U., 1953) p.184; cf. Rivoira, op.cit., p.173.
- (3) Diez, Die Kunst der islamischen Völker, p.47.
- (4) Kühnel, op.cit., p.71; Samch, op.cit., p.187.

As to the characteristics of this type of minaret, it generally consists of a main square section surmounted by a small square lantern-tower called Azrī, usually roofed by a ribbed dome (1), above which were installed gilded or silvered metal globes. These globes seem to characterize the minarets of these countries (2). These minarets are mostly built of stone although brick has been used. Combined materials of stone and brick are also found (3). As far as the proportions are concerned the minarets of this region were generally built according to a certain rule. The height of the minaret up to the platform is mostly built four times higher than the measurement of the width (4).

The above survey shows that these minarets are the most embellished and decorated type. Various lozenged designs in network, called Derj or Ktef were carved on the surface. The glass-mosaic and paints were also used. The scalloped and horse-shoe arches were frequently executed on them (5).

In the Ṣahāra region, the characteristics of the minaret is quite different from that of the towns. The building materials are poorer, and it is mostly built of unbaked

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- (1) Sameh (in B.F.E.C.U., 1954/5) p.164; Kühnel, Die islamische Kunstgeschichte, pp.128f.  
 (2) Meakin (Lands of the Moors, p.268) interprets these globes as to have been talisman to shield the place from evil.  
 (3) Marçais, op.cit., I, p.338; Sameh, op.cit., p.186.  
 (4) Cf. Sameh, op.cit., p.185; Shafi'ī (art. "Mi'dhant masjid Ibn Tulun", in B.F.A.C.U. XIV/1 (1952), pp.193f) considers the proportions as 1:3.  
 (5) Sameh, op.cit., p.184; Muqad., pp.227, 231.

bricks which are little able to resist the weather. This change in the material brought with it as alteration to the external form of these towers. The pyramidal shape is characteristic, and they are mostly plain and without decoration (1).

In Sicily, which the Muslims held for about three centuries, nothing has been left of the Islamic architecture, except for two profane buildings: Lazziza and La Kuba. The type of minaret which one would expect to find in this island is represented by the N.African - Andalusian ones. Traces of these minarets, no longer in existence, might be observed in the general features of the church-towers (2) (Fig.76).

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(1) Diez., op.cit., p.143; Thiersch, op.cit., pp.138f.  
(2) I.J., p.331; cf. Thiersch, op.cit., pp.139f.

B. The advent of the Abbasids

In 145/762, al-Manṣūr, the second Abbasid caliph built Baghdad as the capital of the new dynasty. The architectural atmosphere in the new region was quite different from that of Syria, since Iraq at that time was more influenced by Persia. Unfortunately, we have no knowledge of the early Abbasid minarets nor even have any description survived from the Mediaeval sources. All we have are vague hints that minarets were built by certain people without specifications. We have not been able to find any particulars about the minaret which was built by al-Manṣūr. Although Herzfeld in his sketch of the mosque (Fig.77) has indicated a square minaret, we have no sources confirming the shape of the minaret. Al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī (d.1058 A.D.) seems to be the only writer who mentions this minaret, and that only accidentally. He says:

"The area of the first mosque is about 200 x 200<sup>(cubit sq)</sup>, and the wooden columns in the mosque, each of which consists of two parts bounded with sinews, glue, and ferrule of iron, except five or six by the minaret. In the latter, each column contains rounded pieces joined together, and made from wood of the columns"(1).

But at any rate descriptions of the beauty of Baghdad compiled by Mediaeval authorities in addition to the accounts in the Arabian Nights - some of which are no doubt near to the truth - indicate that magnificent minarets can hardly have been lacking.

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(1) Tārīkh Baghdād, I, p.107.

Humayd b. 'Abd al-Hamīd al-Ṭūsī (813) who possessed the Palace of Humayd on the Tigris bank, had built a minaret in Baghdād near the four markets (1).

Al-Ya'qūbī refers to other minarets that were built in Bagdad. A green minaret was attached to the mosque of al-Bukhāriyah in the qaṭī'ah of Salamah b. Sam'ān al-Bukhārī (2). The statement suggests that the minaret was covered with green or blue tiles a kind of decoration which is hardly to be seen on the eastern Umayyad square minarets.

The tile decoration was known in Iraq centuries before Islam. The upper parts of the Babylonian ziqqurats were covered with blue tiles and the blue colour was considered sacred being the same colour as that of the sky which was known as the abode of the dieties worshipped at that time (3).

In the qaṭī'ah of al-Musayyad b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī, al-Ya'qūbī also records that a minaret was built in the mosque of al-Musa'yyab. He called it a "tall minaret" (4).

In Wāsiṭ, Ibn al-Jawzī records that a magnificent minaret was built in 304/916. He reports:

"The minaret of Wāsiṭ fell down in 23 Muḥarram 497/1103. It was built for the Muqtadir by Hamid b. al-'Abbas in 304/916. The people of Wasit were very proud of it and of the Dome of al-Hajjāj" (5).

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- (1) Le Strange, Bagdad during the Abbasid Caliphate, p.137.  
 (2) Buldan, (Brill), p.19; cf. Le Strange, op.cit., p.134.  
 (3) Al-Amin, art. "Sarh Babil al-mudarraj", B.C.A.B.U. II (1960), p.227.  
 (4) Op.cit., p.15; Le Strange, op.cit., p.59.  
 (5) Al-Muntazam, VIII, p.137.

The above hints suggest that the Abbasid minarets belonged to a new and distinct type, but they were certainly not akin to the very special minarets of Samarra. There the Malwīyah which is still standing shows an independent style which had no connection with the Syrian style whatsoever. The Malwīyah of Samarra and that of Abū Dulaf were imitated in Egypt, and the three minarets would seem to have been unique in their form in the whole of the Islamic world.

This section of the chapter is concerned with a discussion of the three above examples with special attention to their origins.

1. The Malwīyah of Samarra:

Most of the sources agree that al-Muṭaṣim built the city of Samarra (in 221 H/836) primarily to accommodate his misbehaved Turkish soldiers and to satisfy his passionate desire of having a capital of his own (1). He built the city with its congregational mosque, but no mention was made of any minaret. Al-Mutawakkil who enlarged the mosque in 234-7/848-52 attached the Malwīyah to it (2) (Figs.78-79).

This minaret was built high so that the adhan could be spread to a vast area, and the minaret could be seen from a great distance acting as a sign-post of the mosque (3).

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- (1) Mas., VII, p.120; I.A. VI, p.319; Yaq., III, pp.15ff; Ibn al-Tiqṭaqa, al-Fakhrī fī al-ādāb al-Sulṭānīyah, pp.319f.  
 (2) Creswell, art. "Architecture", E.1./2, I, p.620.  
 (3) Yaq. III, p.17; Bal., p.298; cf. Muqad. p.122.

Herzfeld observed it from as far away as 'Uzaym, Balad, and Himrīn on the way from Kirkuk to Dour (1). It is called Malwīyah because of its spiral ramp which climbs externally up to the summit (2).

It stands completely independent, about 27.30 m. from the north wall of the mosque exactly on the middle axis (Fig. 80). This location, in some way, reminds us of the situation of the ziqqurat in relation to the Assyrian and Babylonian temples (3). The internal walls of the mosque and the Malwīyah were surrounded by another enclosure (ziyādah) on the east, west, and north. This style was followed in the Abū Dulaf mosque, about 15 km. to the north of Samarra, as well as in that of Ibn Tūlūn in Egypt. The practice of having ziyādahs has been explained by the increasing number of worshippers. This explanation seems unlikely, since the mosque of Abū Dulaf which was used just for a few months only had such enclosure. It is probably that it was planned with the mosque at the same time in order to provide the mosque with a quiet place away from the noises of the markets which were usually built in its neighbourhood. It is also probable that they were built to provide a suitable place for the animals of those who came from places far away from the

(1)

Erster vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Samarra,  
p. 12.

(2) Cf. Tab., Ann., II, p. 2648.

(3) Cf. Diez and Glück, op.cit., p. 25; Creswell, E.M.A., II, p. 259.

congregational mosques.

Both the minaret and the mosque were built of light-yellow coloured bricks laid in gypsum.

This minaret rises about 50 m. above the socle, the socle being 4.20 m. high (1). The socle consists of two square sections one above the other (Fig.81). The lower one is about 31.80 x 31.60 x 2.60, while the upper one is about 30.60 x 30.40 x 1.60 m. (2). The south side of the socle is decorated with six recessed niches while the other sides each has nine niches (Fig.82). All are different from those on Abū Dulaf's minaret. A sloping ramp, the foundations of which still exist was used to join the minaret to the mosque. It was about 26 m. long and 12.80 m. wide (3). This ramp cuts two of the blind niches on the south side, one on either side, and it seems that there was a small bridge about one metre in span leading to the lower section of the socle, then to the commencement of the spiral ramp on the second section(4).

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- (1) See Herzfeld, op.cit., pp.11f; Creswell refers to the pages as 12-13 (E.M.A., II, p.261) In Archäologische Reise im Euphrat - und Tigris - Gebiet, I, p.96, Herzfeld records the complete height as 53.675 m. The exact height of the socle according to my measure is about 4.20 m. Thiersch (op.cit., p.140) gives the total height as about 60 m: Mustawfi, (Nuz'hat al-gulub, p.42) refers to its height as 170 cubits, while al-Tha'alibi (Lat' a'if al-ma'arif, p.161) gives it as 99 cubits.
- (2) Creswell, (in E.I./2, I, p.620) refers to the measurements as 33 m. a side and 3 m. high. Herzfeld records the length as 32 m. (Erster, p.11)
- (3) Creswell's measure is 25 m. long and 12 m. wide. See S.A.E.M.A., p.278.
- (4) Herzfeld, Erster, p.11.

The ramp and the bridge seem to have been well preserved at the time of al-Tha'ālibī (350-429) who records:

"Al-Mutawakkil used to climb the minaret of Samarra on a Marīsiān donkey, and the steps of that minaret are from the outside, and its foundations on a jarīb (60 cubits) of ground and its height is 99 cubits" (1).

The sloping-ramp is very likely to have had niches similar to those on the socle.

The spiral ramp starts in the middle of the south side of the socle, and consists of 401 steps. The beginning of the first step measures about 1.92 m. wide; this width decreases gradually and becomes about 1.25 m. in the last one (2). It winds round for five complete revolutions in an anti-clockwise direction. Each revolution is about 6.10 m. (3) high, and its approximate slope is about  $11^{\circ}$  (4).

Herzfeld suggests that a wooden balustrade may have surrounded this ramp but it is difficult to judge whether it had a wooden threshold or not (5).

At the top of the present minaret is a cylinder of about 6 m. diameter (6). Its external wall is decorated with eight recesses of pointed arches (Fig.83), the southern one of which forms its doorway, where the spiral ramp ends its revolutions. Twenty steps of varying width are set spirally

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- (1) Op.cit., p.161; cf. Ibn Khurdādhbah, al-Masālik wa al-mamālik, pp.114f.  
 (2) Creswell, (E.I./2, p.620) records the width as 2.30 m.  
 (3) Op.cit., p.620.  
 (4) Herzfeld, Samarra, p.23.  
 (5) Op.cit., pp.12f.  
 (6) Herzfeld, op.cit., p.23.

inside this cylinder. They climb first at a straight angle, and up to the eleventh step, the staircase turns to the left round a half cylindrical pier joined in the body of the minaret. At the fourteenth step to the right of the climber, there is a niche large enough to accommodate one man standing. The pier discontinues at the seventeenth step, and the staircase continues at a right angle up to the top platform. All these twenty steps are covered with a pointed vault. At the top, above the blind niches, the cylinder has been taken a little inwards forming a cylinder of about 1.30 m. high. The niches on this cylinder are very shallow, and each of them is about 1.10 m. wide at the bottom. It consists of two recesses similar in shape. The arch of the outer recess rests on half cylindrical piers projecting from the body of the minaret. According to his investigation, Herzfeld found eight holes on the uppermost platform. He suggests that these holes might have belonged to wooden columns which carried a wooden cupola (1). No sign of these holes can be traced nowadays.

A decision as to whether or not such a cupola existed on the Malwīyah must depend to some extent on the nature of the uppermost storey of Ibn Ṭūlūn's minaret. This is important since Ibn Ṭūlūn's minaret was built after the style of the Malwīyah, al-Quḍā'ī states (2).

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(1) Herzfeld, Erster, pp. 11f.

(2) I.D. IV, p. 123; Maqr, II, p. 266 (numbered 267).

Many authorities suggest that the octagonal storeys of the present minaret of Ibn Tūlūn's mosque was built later than the rest of the minaret. They mostly refer to it as having been built at the beginning of the Mamlūk period (1). The shape of the original one is not certain, and it is difficult to judge whether it was like the Malwīyah reconstruction by Herzfeld or not. Qudā'ī's statement suggests that the original storey was of two parts, the lower one had an internal staircase similar to that of the Malwīyah. The top part is very likely to have been in the form of a chamber provided with openings on its sides. Lāchīn who did restore the mosque probably added some modifications, which suited the style of his age, to the pattern of the original one. It is therefore most probable that the original part was octagonal too (2). This is not impossible since the idea of an octagonal form exists in its prototype, the Malwīyah, in the eight recesses on the cylindrical part, and in the eight holes which were found by Herzfeld on the uppermost platform.

In the light of the above suggestions, the reconstruction of the uppermost storey of the Malwīyah which was made by Herzfeld seems to be questionable. This finial of the Malwīyah is very likely to have been of octagonal shape and the

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- (1) Thiersch, op.cit., p.112; Hassid, The Sultan's turrets, p.58; Creswell, E.M.A., II, pp.352ff; Rivoira, op.cit., p.144; Franz-Pascha (op.cit., p.11) attributes it to the Fatimids. Cf. Hauteceour and Wiet, op.cit., I, p.216; Corbet, op.cit., pp.545, 552; Herzfeld, Samarra, p.31.
- (2) Cf. Herzfeld, op.cit., p.32.

holes found by Herzfeld might perhaps have belonged to marble and not to wooden columns attached to the corners of this octagonal superstructure. The idea of attaching marble columns to a brick structure was practiced in the mosque of Samarra itself. The roof of the sanctuary was held up by brick piers decorated with marble colonettes joined to the corners of each pier (1) (Fig.84). The fate of these suggested columns on the minaret is similar to that of the piers of the mosque; none of which has been found.

The body of this minaret is plain. Its only decoration is the blind windows on the socle and those on the upper cylindrical part. The custom of decorating outer walls with niches was common in the arts of the Assyrians and the Sasanians. They are purely decorative elements (2). We do not know whether this minaret bore other kinds of decoration such as the mīnā (enamel<sup>l</sup>ed tiles) which was abundantly used in the mosque itself (3). The fire which destroyed part of the mosque in 407 H. (4) (A.D.1016) seems to have had no effect on this minaret at all.

## 2. The minaret of Abū Dulaf:

In Abū Dulaf, a miniature Malwīyah (Figs.85-86) was built between 860 and 861 A.D. by the builder of al-Mahwīyah(5).

- (1) See its sketch in Herzfeld, Erster, quoted in Creswell, E.M.A., II, p.257, fig.203.  
 (2) Cf. Bell, Palace and mosque at Ukhaidir, p.156; Creswell, op. cit., II, p.261.  
 (3) Cf. Qaz., Athar, p.258; Muqad., p.122; Ya'qūbī, Buldān, pp.32, 39.  
 (4) I.A., IX, p.209; I.Jaw., VII, p.283; I.K., XII, p.5. The wood of the mosque was carried to Baghdad in 485/1092, See I.Jaw., IX, p.60.  
 (5) Creswell, op. cit., II, p.282.

It was built on the north south axis of the mosque about 9.60 m. away from its northern wall (Fig.87). It has a square socle, measuring 10.60 m. in the north and south, and 10.90 m. on the east and west; its height is about 2.70 m.(1). On each face of the socle, there is a row of 13 niches except for the southern face which, due to the opening of the staircase, has ten niches only. These niches consist of double-recessed frames very similar to those on the piers facing the courtyard of this mosque (Fig.88). The height of these niches is about 1.59 m. (2), their internal width about 20 cm. while the outer width is about 63 cm. The total depth of each niche is approximately 27 cm. These niches were covered with gypsum, and terminated with pointed arches (3).(Figs.89-90). The blind niches, as a decorative element, were extensively used in early Abbasid architecture. They are arranged in lines on the surface of the monuments. In spite of the fact that this arrangement was extensively employed in Assyrian and Babylonian monuments, it seems that there is no spontaneous connection between the niches on the socle of these minaret and the Babylonian Assyrian fluted decoration on the ziqqurats. Above the niches, there are two friezes of brick decoration, one slantly projects about 12 cm.

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- (1) Rivoira, (op.cit., p.147) gives the measurements as 12.50 x 10.80, while Creswell, (E.I./2, I, p.621) measures it as 11.20 m. square.
- (2) Sarre and Herzfeld (Archäologische Reise, I, p.77) record its height as that of the socle.
- (3) Rivoira (op.cit., p.147) describes the terminations as horse-shoe arches.

outside, while the other goes 15 cm. inside.

The southern side of the socle is of special interest. The length of its wall, where it is supposed to be of the same length as the northern one, exceeds the south-eastern corner by about 77 cm., and the south-western corner by about 40 cm. These latter increments were joined by other standing walls of the same height as the socle, and about 1.22 m. long to the east, and 1.69 m. to the west. These last two walls meet two other standing walls from the east and the west to form a little hall with four piers in it. All these additions seem to have been built at a later date and were not part of the original building, because two of the four piers in this little hall touch the socle in an untidy manner, a niche and a half being obscured by each pier. The entrance of the minaret was built slightly above the ground level in the middle of the southern side of the socle. It is about 1.17 m. wide. In the entrance, there are three steps ascending at a right angle, followed by another three steps facing eastwards and leading to the top of the socle (Figs. 91-93).

Above the socle to the left of the entrance, remains of brick and stucco building combined with the spiral body of the minaret. It has been suggested that these relics might belong to a building erected on the two sides of the entrance in order to fill the space between the minaret

and the two piers which were built after the minaret (1). A personal investigation showed that these remains must have been built at the same time as the minaret for there is no break in the bond of the bricks. It probably consisted of an arch or a vault which covered this entrance, and had no connection with the piers. Following the stepped entrance, a plain ramp of about 1.5 m. wide spreads over the socle, then followed by steps leading to the top of the minaret. These steps are about 1.6 m. wide decreasing in width as they ascend upwards (2). Above the socle, the ramp winds for four revolutions in an anti-clockwise direction leading to the summit which was entirely absent until the Antiquity Department of the Republic of Iraq reconstructed it on the style of Samarra minaret. It is very likely that this ramp had a wooden balustrade similar to that suggested for the Malwīyah of Samarra. At the present, the minaret rises about 20 m. above the socle, while before restoration its height exceeded that of the socle by only about 16 m.

### 3. The origins of the Malwīyah:

Most authorities suggest that the Malwīyah was built in imitation <sup>of</sup> to the ziqqurat which was common in Mesopotamia (3).

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- (1) Fransīs and .Alī, art. "Jāmi: Abī Dulaf fī Sāmarrā'", Sumer, III (1947) p.69.  
 (2) Sarre and Herzfeld, op.cit., I, p.77 records the width as 90 cm.  
 (3) Creswell, E.M.A., II, p.261ff, Diez, Die Kunst der islamischen Völker, p.40; Hautecoeur and Wiet, op.cit., I, p.208; Cook, Zeus, II, p.128. The ziqqurat is connected with a verb means "to rise up high" (Beek, Atlas of Mesopotamia, p.142). It also means "Hill of Heavens" or "Mountain of God" (Diez, The ancient words of Asia, p.29.)

Others however believe that the influence of the ziqqurat came to Samarra indirectly through the Tirbāl of Gūr near Fīrūzābād in Persia. This was suggested by Herzfeld (1). His later investigations of the Tirbāl, however, showed that it had an internal staircase, and the shaft was merely the core of the original tower (2). His conclusion regarding the origin of the Malwīyah thus cannot be relied on, and I prefer to stick to the construction of Dieulafoy which treated it as a tower with an external staircase (3).

Although all investigations prove that the ziqqurats were staged towers (4), Herzfeld (5), followed by Thiersch (6) suggest that the ziqqurats were not staged-towers, but ramp-towers. However, their true shape will be shown below.

Whatever the purpose of these towers might have been, (7) they were common in Mesopotamia. They were generally built of mud-brick covered with baked-brick. Because of the nature of their core, it was difficult to provide such colossal structures with an internal staircase, and all the ziqqurats

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- (1) Samarra, pp.26f., 30f., cf. Marçais, Manuel, I, p.39.  
 (2) Art. "Reisebericht", Z.D.M.G., N.F.5 (1926), pp.254f.  
 (3) See chapter IV of this thesis.  
 (4) Cf. Gottheil, op.cit., pp.141-145.  
 (5) Samarra, pp.26ff.  
 (6) Op.cit., p.144f.  
 (7) Cf. Beck, op.cit., p.143; Parrot, Sumer, p.98; Saggs, The Greatness that was Babylon, pp. 33, 355f; Hooke, Babylonian and Assyrian religion, p.90; Champdor, Babylon, p.170.

had external ascents while some of them rose spirally round its stages.

These ziqqurats consisted of 3 - 7 storeys (1), the size differing from one locality to another, but mostly were wider at the base than that at the top, more like hills than towers (2). These towers remind us of the stepped pyramids of Egypt especially that of Saqqara, but it is only a superficial similarity since the purpose of the two is quite different. The pyramids are merely tombs while the ziqqurats were built for a completely different purpose.

It is relevant to our question to know whether a ziqqurat existed during the time of construction of the Malwīyah, and whether or not such a ziqqurat had a continuous external staircase.

The most famous ziqqurat in Mesopotamia was the "Tower of Bābil" which is mentioned in the Bible (3). Herodotus (458 B.C.) visited Babylon, and among the monuments he described was the above tower. He records:

"In the middle of the precinct, there was a tower of solid masonry, a furlong (220 yards) in length and breadth upon which was raised a second tower, and on that, a third, and so on up to eight. The ascent to the top is on the outside by a path which winds round all the towers. When one is about half way up, one finds a resting place, and seats where persons

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- (1) Saggs, op.cit., p.355; Rawlinson, Five great monarchies, III, pp.378 f.  
 (2) Schneider, op.cit., p.70; cf. Saggs, op.cit., p.355.  
 (3) Genesis, XI.

are wont to sit sometimes on their way to the summit. On the topmost tower is a spacious temple ... " (1).

On the evidence of an ancient tablet (2), it has been concluded that this tower consisted only of seven storeys, the last one of which formed the temple (3).

The reconstruction of this tower in "Der babylonische Turm" (4) may have well represented the reality of the tower's shape which Herodotus seems to have failed to explain. The first and second storeys are represented to have been reached by a flight of steps running straight from the ground at a right angle to the structure. The spiral path starts at the third storey, and runs continuously up to the top. The landing of the straight path may represent the break which was mentioned by Herodotus as the place where one could have had a rest.

This tower seems to have fallen into ruins after the visit of Herodotus. It was a heap of rubble when Alexander the Great proposed to reconstruct it in 331 B.C. He assigned 20,000 of his soldiers to clear up the ruins, but the

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(1) History of Herodotus, I, p.255.

(2) It was transcribed by G. Smith, whose transcription was the only source of information until the tablet was found by Scheil owned as a private property. It was fully edited by Scheil and M. Dieulafoy. See "Esagil on le temple de Bél-Marduk á Babylone" in the Memoires del'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, Paris, Picard, 1913, as quoted by Koldewey, The Excavations at Babylon, p.327; cf. Creswell, E.M.A., II, pp.262f.

(3) Cf. Koldewey, op.cit., p.193, n; Lethaby, Architecture, nature, and Magic, p.45; Schneider, op.cit., pp.70f; Macqueen, Babylon, pp.174f.

(4) Dombart, art. "Der babylonische Turm", Alt.O., XXIX (1931), Taf. 1-4.

work was never started (1). Subsequently, the tower became a featureless mound, and no traces of its terraces were visible (2). But for its fame, many travellers who visited Babylon described in details what they believed it to have been the same tower of Babel.

Harpocration (IV cent. A.D.), and Cosmas Indicopleustes (VI cent. A.D.) also described what they assumed to be the tower of Babel (3), while Benjamin of Tudela (XII cent. A.D.) gave an account of it. He says: "At every cubit's distance, there are slopes which go round the tower by which one can ascent to the top" (4).

The ziqqurat of Borsippa (Birs-Nimrūd) which arose above the plain to a considerable height might well have been generally mistaken for that of Babylon (5).

Whether or not the tower mentioned by the above authorities was that of Babylon, may however prove the existence of a staged-tower having an external spiral staircase.

The best example of this type of ziqqurat was that of Khūrsabād. Four of its stages were well preserved at the time of Pālace who exposed it. Its staircase started at the south corner of its square base, and rose gently by steps

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- (1) Schneider, op.cit., pp.79f; al-Amīn, op.cit., p.220.  
 (2) Contenau, Everyday life in Babylon and Assyria, p.279; Herzfeld, Samarra, p.29.  
 (3) Born, art. "Spiral towers in Europe", in G.B.A. 6<sup>per</sup>, XXIV, (1943), p.235.  
 (4) The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, pp.65f.  
 (5) Champdor, op.cit., pp.127f; Bereshith Rabba, as quoted in the Itinirary of Benjamin, p.66, n.3.

about 5 cm. high. It wound round all the corners in an anti-clockwise direction, and reached the starting point at a height of 6.10 m. This staircase continued round the other storeys. Owing to the width of the staircase running round this ziqqurat, each side of the storey became four metres less than the side of the storey below it. Palace found relics of a parapet round this staircase. He also assumed that this tower consisted of seven stages (1).

Other staged ziqqurats may well have been preserved at that time, such as those in Borsippa (2), Ur (3), and Aqarqūf (4), but we know nothing of a continuous spiral ramp on them, except for that of Borsippa which very probably had such a staircase.

The best preserved ziqqurat in Persia is that of Choga-Zambīl, near Sūsa, but does not have a spiral staircase (5).

Despite the ruinous conditions of the ziqqurats which have been preserved, there is sufficient evidence to show that this kind of tower was recognizable at the time that the Mal-wīyah was constructed. The statement of Hamd Allāh Mustawfī (1340 A.D.) that:

"He (al-Mutawakkil) built a minaret for the mosque 170 ells in height with a ganway outside, and no

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- (1) Palace, Nineve, I, pp.137-48 as quoted by Creswell, E.M.A., II, p.262; Gottheil, op.cit., p.141; Dombart, op.cit., pp.25f; Contenau, op.cit., p.277.
- (2) Rawlinson, art. "On the Birs of Nimrūd, or the great temple of Borsippa", in J.R.A.S., XVIII (1861), pp. 18-24; Rich, Observations, pp.16f.
- (3) Diez, The ancient worlds of Asia, p.30; Saggs, op.cit., p.56.
- (4) Parrot, op.cit., p.314.
- (5) Beek, op.cit., p.143; Parrot, op.cit., p.322.

minaret after this fashion was ever built by any one before his time" (1).

cannot be explained as meaning that no ziqqurat with such a ramp could have been seen at his time, as Herzfeld suggests (2). Mustawfī's statement is confined to the shape of the minarets only and does not refer to other structures.

Herzfeld's denial of the existence of any ziqqurat in the ninth century A.D. (3) therefore cannot be accepted as we have shown that ziqqurats actually did exist when al-Mutawakkil built his minaret, but the question as to whether a ziqqurat could have served as the prototype for the Malwīyah is distinct. The similarity between the two consisted in the fact that both had staged storeys and external spiral staircase, in addition to their being situated in the same way in relation to the boundaries of the sanctuary. Despite this similarity, differences also existed especially in the proportions as well as in the shape of the storeys. The ziqqurats were wider than they were high while the height of the Malwīyah is as twice as the length of the socle. Moreover, the quadrangular shape was dominant in the style of the ziqqurat while the circular shape is the dominant one in al-Malwīyah. The example used by Thiersch to support the existence of the circular ziqqurats seem to be unconvincing

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(1) Op.cit., p.42.

(2) Op.cit., p.28.

(3) Samarra, pp. 28ff; cf. Reuther, op.cit., p.576.

to convey such an impression (1).

Although cylindrical seals suggest the round shape for some ziqqurats, none of this type has been discovered. The building of al-Hibba (c. 3000 - 2500 B.C.) which had a ramp rising on one circular side was probably the stepped superstructure of a tomb (2). Yet, a glance at the representation of ziqqurats on Sumerian and Assyrian Babylonian seals shows the great similarity between them and the minarets (Fig. 94-95).

Another structure which might have influenced the nature of the Malwīyah is that of Gūr near Fīrūzābād which was supposed to have been a fire-temple. This tower was reconstructed by Dieulafoy in a manner which bears a very great resemblance to the Malwīyah. The proportions as well as the continuous external spiral staircase are much the same in the two. The difference exists only in the shape of the stages (3).

We thus have two possible prototypes for the Malwīyah: the ziqqurats and the Tīrbāl of Gūr but it is not easy to decide which may have been the actual predecessor (Figs. 96-98).

According to historical facts, the starting point of

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(1) Op.cit., p.144.

(2) Born, op.cit., p.236. Strabo (The Geography of Strabo, VIII, p.41) refers to the sanctuary of Paneium near Alexandria that "It has the shape of a fire-cone resembles a rock hill, and is ascended by a spiral road, and from the summit one can see the whole of the city lying below it on all sides".

(3) See Bagzin, Media, Babylon, and Persia, pp.151,153, and Chapter IV, A. of this thesis.

this type was in Samarra which was mainly built to accommodate non-Arab soliders. When Ibn Tūlūn, who was brought up in Samarra, built his mosque in Egypt, he was naturally influenced by the Malwīyah of Samarra.

The fact that this type of minaret was confined to the above places, where the Turkish race had an influence, tends to suggest that the Malwīyah idea was copied from the tower of Gūr rather than from the ziqqurat, even though the Tīrbāl was perhaps itself derived from the ziqqurat. The idea might have been brought to Iraq by Turkish people passing through Persia. The great similarity between the entrance of the Tīrbāl and that of Abū Dulaf's minaret may suggest the influence of the former, and not the ziqqurat.

The rareness of this type might be due to the view of the people who regard it as a heathen building, and therefore not to be imitated.

#### 4. The Dome of the Donkey

It is recorded that al-Muktafī (902 A.D.) constructed a certain building in Baghdad known as the Dome of the Donkey. This building is believed to have had a shape similar to that of Malwīyah. Le Strange describes it as a tower. Thus he records:

"This being a tower ascended by a spiral stair of such an easy gradient that the caliph could ride to the summit on a donkey trained to an ambling gait. Thus without vatiue, he could enjoy the view over the surrounding country, for the height of this tower is described as very long, and in

plan it was semi-circular" (1).

Yāqūt on the other hand describes it as a seat (dār) in the House of the Caliphate. He records:

"And the Dome of the Ass was a seat (dār) in the House of the Caliphate in Baghdad. It was built by al-Muktafi Billah b. al-Mu'tadid (289-95 H/A.D. 902-8). It was called so because he used to ascend it on a humble donkey. It looks on its surroundings and it had a half circular shape. In the days of al-Muqtafi Billah (1136 A.D. ...), it was struck by lightening" (2).

Thus, the statement of Yāqūt is evident that qubbat al-ḥimār is a dār in bayt al-khilāfah, and not a tower. That dār seems to have been ascended on a ramp rising in a right angle by the caliph riding a donkey (3), similar to that used in ascending the Palace of al-Ukhaydir in Iraq. The half circular shape of qubbat al-ḥimār makes it difficult to believe that it was a tower ascended by a spiral ramp. It seems very likely that it was only a pavilion set on the roof of the palace, and had no resemblance whatsoever with the Malwīyah.

##### 5. The minaret of Ibn Ṭulūn

###### a. Its construction and description:

Al-Malwīyah's type was imitated in the Ṭulūnid mosque in Egypt (Figs. 99-100). This mosque and its minaret were built at the same time by Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn in Ramaḍān 256 H.

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(1) Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate, p.254. cf. Creswell, E.M.A., II, p.264, Herzfeld, Samarra, p.36: Thiersch, op.cit., p.144.

(2) Yaq., IV, p.34.

(3) I. Mujaw, pp. 75f.

(April - May, 879 A.D.) (1). Pertaining to its building, al-Maqrīzī records:

" ... and when he intended to build the mosque he estimated that it needed 300 columns. He was told that he would not find them unless he went to the churches in the countryside, and ruined properties and carried away what he wanted. He refused this and did not choose it. He became worried of this matter. The Christian who had built the aqueduct and who had once provoked the wrath of Ibn Tulun, and thereby imprisoned, heard of the matter and wrote to Ibn Tulun: "I can build it for you the way you wish and choose without columns except the qiblah columns which he himself brought to Ibn Tulun who told him: "Behold, what did you say about building the mosque?" and the Christian said: "I shall draw it to the Prince so that he could see it for himself without columns except the qiblah ones". And he ordered for the skins which were brought. He drew it to the Prince who liked it and consequently freed the Christian and allowed him hundred thousand dinars to spend on the mosque ... and the Christian started building it in the place in which it still stands - Yashkur hill, from which he used to cut the stone and make gypsum and build until he completed it. Then he plastered it ..." (2).

The whole minaret is built of blocks of hard limestone while the mosque itself is built of bricks. The use of brick in the mosque building, and the stone in its minaret were not an innovation. The same combination is recorded to have been used in the mosque of Baṣra about two centuries earlier.

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- (1) This date is recorded on the foundation stone, and corresponds with that given by Maqrīzī, Khiṭaṭ, II, p.266. For other versions of the date see Kind., p.219; I.D., IV, pp.122,123; Qalq. III, p.344, Creswell, E.M.A., II, p.335.
- (2) Op.cit., II, p.265.

Later, this practice was followed by al-Ḥākim (990-1003) in his mosque in Cairo. In general, this minaret is similar to those of Samarra and Abū Dulaf. According to Arabic sources it appears that its form was agreed upon haphazardly by Ahmad b. Ṭulūn. A legend tells us that when he was trifling with a roll of paper, the roll changed shape into a spiral form, and he thus ordered the architect to build him a minaret after the new shape of the roll. (1). Some dispute has arisen as to whether the architect of the minaret was an Iraqī or not. Corbet suggests that the architect was a Copt (2), while Wiet proposed that he was a Christian whom Ibn Ṭulūn brought with him from Mesopotamia (3). It is not impossible that a Copt should have built such a minaret here.

The piers of this mosque are very similar to those of Samarra, and for this reason, Creswell considers the above statement of Maqrīzī, concerning the columns to be a legend (4). While it is true that piers of bricks were used in Samarra as they were in this mosque, the difference lies in that in Samarra each pier had four small marble columns, one

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- (1) I.D., IV, p.124; Maqr., II, p.267 (numbered 268); Qalq., III, p.344; Mubarak, op.cit., IV, p.47; cf. Corbet, op.cit., p.547, n.1; Lane-Poole, Cairo, p.24. The shape of the minaret will be discussed later.
- (2) Op.cit., p.532; cf. Devonshire, Moslem builders of Cairo, pp.12ff.
- (3) Mosquée du Caire, I, pp.122,210. cf. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, Tarīkh al-masjīd al-athariyah, I, p.144; ‘Akkush, al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṭulūnī, pp.27f; Diez, Die Kunst der islamischen Völker, p.42.
- (4) Op.cit., II, pp.332,333.

at each corner, whereas in Ibn Ṭulūn's mosque the marble columns on the piers are replaced by counterfeit columns of brick. Ibn Ṭulūn might have been worried about the columns which the architect drew on the skins and not by the main columns replaced by the piers. Keeping the story of the columns in mind, the story of the roll may offer an explanation as to how Ibn Ṭulūn managed to explain his idea generated by the shape of Samarra's minaret to the architect who was not an Iraqī, and who knew nothing about a tower with a spiral external staircase.

The present minaret is about 40.44m. high (1). It stands in the north ziyādah but is not parallel with the wall of the mosque proper (Fig. 101). It is built of blocks of hard limestone (2) and consists of four storeys, namely: one quadrangular, one cylindrical, and two octagonals one above the other. A ribbed cupola crowns them all.

The base is a cube about 13.19 x 12.93 x 21.35 m. square size. It has two doorways, one a little above the ground at the south side of the base, and the second is at the roof of the mosque. The former is about 1.05 m. wide crowned by a horse-shoe arch, the span of which is 91 cm. at its springing and 1.17 m. at the maximum (3). The archway is surmounted

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(1) Sameh, art. "Evolution of minarets in Egypt", B.F.E.C.U., 1955/6, p.167, al-Imarah al-Islāmiyah fi Miṣr, p.43.

(2) The ashlar came into use in the Fatimid period 4-6 cent. H., see Marçaise, art. "Bina", E.1./2, I, p.1228.

(3) Creswell, E.M.A., II, p.227.

by a frame in relief (Fig.102). This portal leads to two flights of stairs the first has 13 stairs, and the second twenty-nine. Two slightly pointed arches are built on the landing of the second flight. One of these arches forms an archway leading to the top of the minaret and the other one forms the archway of the bridge which joins the mosque with the minaret at this landing.

The bridge is about 3.85 m. wide, carried on two horse-shoe arches placed about 2.40 m. apart, and they are about 4.20 m. in span (1). These arches rest on stone piers attached to the body of the minaret and to the wall of the mosque cutting across the middle of two of its windows. The two arches are communicated by a barrel-vault carried on corbels of stone called in French modillons à copeaux (2). Each of these corbels consists of five lobes divided into couples by a string carved in relief. In the half corbels at the sides of the barrel, this string is joined to the arches without dividing the lobes. Each of the corbels is carried on a square column of stone joined to the minaret or to the wall of the mosque (Figs. 103-104). Corbet suggests that the bridge is a later addition to the present structure, "and that some care was taken to keep them in harmony with the original portion" (3), but the investigations which I made on

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(1) Creswell, E.M.A., II, p.227.

(2) Op.cit., II, pp.350f; Corbet, op.cit., pp.545f; Shāfi'ī, op.cit., p.177.

(3) Op.cit., p.546.

this minaret showed the uniformity of the bridge with the whole structure of this minaret.

The arched way opposite the bridge opens onto three flights of steps followed by two little steps leading to the platform of the socle. Two moulded lines about 1.30m. apart, project on the sides of the base. This base is also decorated with pairs of horse-shoe arches, one pair on each face except for the southern side which has two pairs one above the other. In the middle of each pair, the arches rest on a spirally fluted cononette, probably brought from some ancient building. Each unit of these arches is surmounted by a frame except for the upper one on the southern face which has no frame whatsoever (Figs. 105-106). The arches on the eastern side of the base are surrounded by scooping and seems to have been covered by stucco later than its time of building. Parts of this scooping is visible at the present day.

The second storey is a cylinder standing on the socle, and is surrounded by its platform on the west, north, and south sides. This storey is about 8.82 m. high. Its diameter being reduced about 92 cm. by the width of the staircase. This staircase consists of 44 steps winding half a circle round this storey in the same direction as that of the socle - an anti-clockwise direction. The minaret has a stepped parapet of stone up to the top of the second storey, most of it not being original. On the evidence of what remains near the bridge, the parapet seems to have had a

fluted edge up to the top of the second storey.

On the top of the cylindrical storey, there is an octagonal shaft of two storeys, 5.05 m. and 5.70 m. high respectively (1). The lower octagon has four polylobbed openings alternating with the other four solid sides of the octagon. A staircase of 15 steps running internally round an octagonal pier up to the second octagon, the floor of which is built of wood covered with smooth plates of stone. This second octagon is smaller than the one below it. Its lower part has plain external surface with four quadrangular openings of the same arrangement as in the first octagon. These openings lead to a platform carried on stalactites, and undoubtedly surrounded by a parapet the holes for which are to be seen on the eight angles of this platform. The upper part of this second octagon is decorated with eight colonettes joined at the corners, forming eight niches each having an opening of three lobbs. Above the colonettes there is a belt of stone surmounted by stalactites carrying a ribbed dome. Internally, the dome is carried on shallow squinches.

The original minaret had a ushārī (boat) installed on its top. This was claimed to have been found in a treasure discovered by Ibn Tūlūn (2). The boat was thrown down by a

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(1) Creswell states the height of the former storey as 4.40. see E.M.A., II, fig.247 opposite p.342.

(2) I.D., IV, p.123; Maqr., II, p.268; cf. I, pp.476, II, pp.462f; 'Akkush, op.cit., pp.82f; 'Abd al-Wahhab, op.cit., I, pp.112f.

violent gale in 1105 H. (1) (1694 A.D.), but seems to have been set up again (2). In 1892, the boat was replaced by a crescent (3).

b. The date of this minaret:

The date of the present minaret is still questionable. Some believe that the present minaret is the original one built by Ahmad b. Tūlūn, except for the octagonal shaft. Diez states:

"the oldest manāra in Egypt is the tower of the Djāmi' b. Tūlūn. .... The two upper octagonal storeys are later in date having been erected by the Mamlūk Sulṭān Lādjin" (4).

Sameh considers the square part as the storey restored by Lāchīn and the cylindrical storey as the original work of Ahmad b. Tūlūn.

He states:

"The lowest square part dated from the restoration of Sultan Lājīn 696 H - 1296 A.D. The round second storey was part of an original helicoidal minaret, with outside staircase copied from the Malwiyah tower. It formed a core running to the ground, and then its lower part had become ruined, and the present square storey attributed to Lājīn, was merely a new casing built by him, and the bridge joining it to the mosque proper was built at the same date. Above this storey

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- (1) Al-Jabartī, ‘Ajā’ib al-āthār fī al-tarājum wa al-akhbār, I, p.25.  
 (2) Creswell, E.M.A., II, pp.351f.  
 (3) ‘Akkūsh, op.cit., p.103.  
 (4) Art. "Manara", E.l./1, III, p.229, Die Kunst der islamischen Völker, pp.44f; cf. Dieulafoy, op.cit., IV, p.84; Franz-Pascha, Kairo, p.11; Herzfeld, Samarra, p.32; Thiersch, op.cit., pp.111f, n.1; Hassīd, op.cit., p.29.

is another one, circular in plan with a staircase on the outside which makes a little more than half a turn round it ... " (1).

Corbet however attributes it to the Fatimid period except for its octagonal storeys. He writes:

"On the whole, while I should myself incline to believe that the minaret must date from a later - that is Fatimy - period, it would seem that the only attitude to be safely taken in the present state of our knowledge is one of suspended judgement" (2).

Many other scholars assign it to the reconstruction which was carried out by Lāchīn in 696/1296. Creswell has summarized his view as follows:

" ... Can it date from the period of Lājīn? Two distinctive features at once present themselves as a basis for argument, viz. the two round horse-shoe arches of the bridge, and the five pairs of blind horse-shoe arches set in the faces of the minaret. Such arches appear in Egypt for the first time in the Madrasa-Mausleum of Sultan Qatā'un 683-4H. (1284-5) and a few years later in the Madrasa-Mausoleum of Salār and Sanjar al-Gawli, 703 H. (1303/4). Thus we can assume that extensive alterations to the minaret formed part of the works known to have been carried out in the mosque by Lājīn in 696H /1296) (3).

On the other hand, Rivoira attributes the whole present minaret to a restoration which took place in 1389/90. He says:

"The two polygonal storeys with internal staircase, which now crown the building, are a later alteration.

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- (1) In B.F.E.C.U., 1955/6, p.167; also see his article in B.F.E.C.U., 1954/5, p.164, and his book al-Imarah al-Islamiyah fi Miṣr, p.184.  
 (2) Op.cit., p.548.  
 (3) S.A.E.M.A., p.315.

The anomaly now to be seen of ranges of two light openings with pronounced horse-shoe arches, instead of pointed horse-shoe arches, is due to the fact that they are a later insertion as is shown in the materials used in them. To the period of this alteration will belong the communication now existing between the minaret and the roof of the cloister. It may all be connected with the work carried out in this part of the mosque in 1389-90"(1).

In considering this problem, the historical records will be arranged chronologically and the architectural elements discussed in order.

Muqaddasī (985 A.D.) described the Ṭūlūnid mosque as follows:

"And the upper mosque which is a Banū Taylūn building is large, and more elegant than the lower one, on broad plastered columns (asaṭin) with high ceiling. In its centre is a dome on the pattern of Zamzam Dome, and in it is a siqayah ... it has additions, and behind it stands a nice house, and its minaret of stone is small with stairs from the outside"(2).

This is the earliest record that exists regarding this minaret, and it no doubt concerns the original one built by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn. It seems that this minaret was damaged in al-Ḥākim's reign (386-411/996-1020). Nāṣir-i Khushṣāu who visited Cairo in 436/1046-7 referred to an attempt of demolishing the minaret by the descendants of Ibn Ṭūlūn. Thus, he records:

"Ṭūlūn's mosque was built by an Abbasid Amīr who was once the governor of Egypt. At the time of al-Ḥākim ... the descendants of Ṭulun sold him the mosque for

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(1) Op.cit., p.144.  
 (2) Op.cit., p.199.

30,000 dīnārs maghribī. After a while, the descendants of Tūlūn started to take the minaret from the mosque because they thought that it had not been sold with the mosque. Amir bi-Amr Allāh sent a person to say as they had sold him the mosque how could they deface it. The descendants of Tūlūn answered that they have sold the mosque not the minaret. Al-Hākim, paid them five thousand dīnārs more for the minaret, and so he bought it. The Sultān used to pray in this mosque in Ramaḍān and on Fridays" (1).

The statement of Nāṣir-i Khusrau is of great importance, and it seems reasonable to believe that this minaret stood completely detached from the mosque proper. Its situation indeed encourage the descendants of Ibn Tūlūn to claim it as an independent property. Their attempt at demolition may have affected the minaret seriously. Despite the silence of the sources about restorations carried out in this mosque by al-Hākim, it seems very likely that this minaret was reconstructed and joined with the mosque in Hākim's time. The attempt of the Tūlūnīds might also have been a mere threatening, but the contents of Nāṣir-i Khusrau's story, and the junction of the minaret with the mosque, may suggest that it was a work constructed by al-Hākim. Moreover, this minaret had an

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(1) Safarnāmah, pp.70f; cf. Hauteceur and Wiet, op.cit., I, pp.215f; Creswell who depended on Schefer's edition (text p.49, translation, pp.145f) translated the text in a way which seems illogical, and which does not correspond with the original text; he records: "Nāṣir-i Khusrau - states that under the reign of al-Hākim, the descendants of Ibn Tūlūn sold him the mosque for 30,000 dīnārs, and then shortly after, began to demolish the minaret ... when asked for an explanation, they replied that they had not sold the minaret. The Khalif thereupon made them repurchase the minaret for 5,000 dīnārs ..." E.M.A., II, p.354.

important role in the Fatimid festivities. In 461 H. (A.D. 1068), the minaret appears to have been in excellent conditions up to the summit. Al-Maqrīzī reports that in this year (461) the said minaret played a part in the activities on the occasion of Wafā' al-Nīl (Faithfulness of the Nile); he says:

"From the top of the minaret, from the place of the copper boat (ushārī), is tied a long rope, its end placed in the road ... and one in the dress of a knight on a horse-like, a spear in his hand, and a shield on his shoulder, and he rolls down on a wheel ... and he turns in the air anteriorly and posteriorly until he reaches the ground" (1).

The most trusted authority among the Egyptian Mediaval historians, al-Qudā'ī (d. 464 H./A.D. 1062) records that: "He (Ibn Ṭulūn) built it (the mosque) on the pattern of Samarra, and so was the minaret" (2). This indication is of great importance since differences exist between the two minarets, and it seems that al-Qudā'ī was referring to the general characteristics of the two mosques and their minarets, not to their details.

It seems strange, however, that Creswell, depending on al-Qudā'ī's statement, could deduce that Ibn Ṭulūn's minaret "was originally a spiral circular in plan, with a staircase outside, a type derived from Samarra" (3) while he rejected the statement as far as the mosque is concerned (4). At any

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(1) Maqr., I, p.477.

(2) I.D., IV, p.123; Maqr., II, p.266 (numbered 277); Suy., II, pp.181.

(3) M.A.E., II, p.247.

(4) Art. "Architecture", E.l./2, I, pp.622ff., E.M.A., II, pp. 353,355.

rate, this statement seems to have been almost correct in connection with both the mosque and the minaret, but the local traditions of Egypt may have played a role in the differences.

The Pharos of Alexandria seems to have exercised some influence on this minaret. The colossal rectangular base, with regard to other storeys as well as the building materials are similar with that of the Pharos. In spite of the fact that the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn is to some extent an imitation of that of Samarra in decoration, building materials, and in plan, the case is different with respect to the minaret. The materials and detailed proportions of the two minarets are quite different. The restorations which were executed on the Pharos by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn may show the impression which that tower had on the builder. The influence is reflected in the building materials of his minaret as well as in the huge square base which is completely different from that of the Malwīyah; it is elongated here to match that of the Pharos. The cylindrical part in addition to the external helical ramp are certainly of Mesopotamian origins. The latter influence might be explained by the life of Ibn Ṭūlūn. He was born in Baghdad and brought up in Samarra, where from he was posted to Egypt. The artistic atmosphere of that city must have influenced him. Aspects of that influence can be seen in the building material of the mosque, stucco decoration, brick piers, the ziyādas, as well as the general appearance of the minaret, and in its location in the northern ziyādah.

In spite of the alterations which took place in this mosque, the sources do not comment on the condition of the minaret until the reign of al-Kāmil (615-635/1218-1238). It is recorded that al-Kāmil ordered this minaret to be illuminated on the occasions of the Nights of the Middle of Sha.bān month (1). This suggests that the minaret must have been in good condition. The practice however was discontinued shortly after its introduction (2), very probably because of the disuse of the mosque and not owing to the state of the minaret. The destruction of the mosque continued, but the minaret seems to have been in good condition even in the time of al-Mansūr Lāchīn who took refuge in it before he restored the mosque in 696 H (1296). To this effect, al-Maqrīzī records in his Sulūk:

"... And the Sultān asked the Prince, Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Dawādārī to renovate the Tulunid Mosque ... The reason for this request being that when the Sultan escaped in the Battle of Baydarā in the ~~vie-~~<sup>coast</sup> inity of Giza, he disappeared in the minaret of the Tulunid mosque which was then deserted, no light in it at night, but the adhan being called by someone standing at its door, and where he stayed for some time no one knowing his whereabouts. And he wanted to thank God for his help by reconstructing the mosque"

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(1) Maqr., II, p.268.

(2) Op.cit., II, p.268.

(3) I/3, p.827; Khitāṭ, II, p.268 (numbered 269). The minaret is not mentioned in the latter.

The question which arises here is whether or not Lāchīn had reconstructed the minaret during his restorations of the mosque? - except for the octagonal part, most certainly he did not. All events which have been surveyed above prove that the minaret was in good conditions up to Lāchīn's time, and there was no need to reconstruct or even to restore it. Without giving references, Creswell records, "considerable works were carried out, e.g. : the great miḍa'a (so-called), and a stucco mihṛāb both of which bear inscriptions in his name, the minaret, ..." (1).

However, this minaret has few architectural elements which are alien to Egypt.

The Modillons à copeaux under the bridge is a foreign element. It is the practice of Western Islam, and has not been found in Egypt in any other monument except for this minaret (2). In al-Andalus, it is found in the Mosque of Cordova in the part belonging to 346 (958) (Figs.107 - 108). They were possibly used in the early Umayyad period in al-Andalus, but owing to the continuous wars and troubles, it seems that these elements were lost or carried elsewhere to other Spanish cities and to Morocco (3). Monuments other than the Mosque of Cordova, such as St. Millán at Segovia

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(1) M.A.E., II, pp.223f.

(2) Shāfi'i, op.cit., p.177.

(3) Marçais, L'Architecture musulmane d'Occident, p.165.

(1057) are furnished with such elements (1).

The geminate horse-shoe arches on the base are of Andalusian character since numerous earlier examples can be seen in that part of the world (2) (Figs. 109-110). Although coupled windows were used in Egypt on other monuments, but they were not the same as this, and their date was very late. The first dated example appeared in the Mausoleum of Fāṭimah Khātūn (682/3/1283/4) (3).

Another element which seems to be strange is the single horse-shoe arch of the entrance, and those under the bridge. The first known example of this type is to be found in Syria in the Baptistery of Mār Yaḥqūb (359 A.D.) at Niṣībīn. Many other pre-Islamic examples were discovered in Syria. In Muslim architecture, this type of arch was first used in the Damascus mosque, but was not found again in Syria. Culmination of this arch is seen in N.Africa and Spain where it flourished and became a distinctive feature of that part of the world (4). (Figs. 111-112). In Egypt, the earliest monument having this type of arch is the tomb of Qalāwūn

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- (1) Marçais, *op.cit.*, pp.105,164; Creswell, *M.A.E.*, II, pp.152, 227, fig. 13 opposite p.230, and plate 30c; Salim, art. "Ba'd al-ta'thirat al-Andalusiyah fi al-'imarah al-Misriyah al-Islamiyah", *al-Majallah*, No.12 (1957), p.97.
- (2) Shafi'i, *op.cit.*, p.177; cf. Creswell, *E.M.A.*, II, p.354.
- (3) Shafi'i, *op.cit.*, p.177; cf. Creswell, *E.M.A.*, II, p.354.
- (4) Creswell, *E.M.A.*, I, pp.139, 410.

(683-4/1284-5), but not in the amplex of Ibn Ṭūlūn's (1).

These Andalusian and N. African influences seem to have started in Egypt early, approximately by the Fatimid conquest (2). This is shown as follows:

A section of Cordova rebels who were exiled by al-Ḥakam b. Hishām from al-Andalus migrated to Alexandria. Their artistic influence is doubtful because they stayed there only a short time and were finally exiled from the country. Some of them settled in the city of Fez, and there they established their mosque, known as "the mosque of the Andalusians", which was no doubt greatly influenced by Andalusian architecture (3). In describing Cairo, Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī says:

"Its buildings are quite different from what I have seen, for it is a city built by al-Mu'izz, the greatest caliph of al-ʿUbaydiyyīn who has seen the buildings of his father in the city of Mansurah besides al-Qayrawan. He has also seen al-Mahdiyyah, the city of his grandfather ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī" (4).

Moreover, Nāṣir-i Khusrau records:

"On that day (the day of the opening of the <sup>canal</sup> Gulf), the entire army of the Sultan will appear regiment by regiment, and brigade by brigade. Every group has a name and metonymy. A regiment called "al-Kitāmiyyīn" from al-Qayrawan, who came in the service of al-Mu'izz, and it was said that they were twenty thousand knights. And a regiment called "al-Baṭiliyyīn"

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- (1) Shāfi'ī, op.cit., p.176. Creswell records that the first example in the Madrasa - Mausoleum of Salār and Sanjar al-Gawli (703/1303), E.M.A., II, p.354.
- (2) Cf. Shāfi'ī, op.cit., p.176; Marçais, Manuel, I, pp. 145f., 149.
- (3) Salim, op.cit., pp.88f, quoting Ibn al-Qawṭīyah, al-Qurtubī, Tārīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus (Madrid 1868)p.51.
- (4) Maqq., III, p.108.

- men from al-Maghrib. They entered Egypt before the Sultan came to it, and it was said that they were fifteen thousand knights" (1).

General observations:

1. This minaret, except for its octagonal storeys was built of blocks of different sizes, generally large blocks alternating with small ones.

2. The stone blocks of the octagonal storeys are of smoother surface than of the other storeys, and the coating between its layers is very thin. The stucco cover on it is hardly recognizable. Moreover, the alteration is not seen here. Only in this storey, is wood used for the lintels of the openings of the lower octagon, and as an internal belt separating the upper octagon from the lower one. It is also used as a floor for the second octagon, and as an internal belt between the second octagon and the cupola.

3. On the south side, the bridge of the minaret cuts across the middle of two windows of the mosque's wall. This phenomenon gives decisive evidence that this bridge was of a later time than the mosque building.

4. Part of the wall which joins the eastern arch of the bridge with the minaret is not an original part of the wall of the minaret.

5. The northern wall of the socle is rough as compared with the other sides. This may be due to its being con-

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(1) Op.cit., p.66; See Dawādārī, op.cit., pp.140, 143, 256f; cf. p.298.

structed later than the ziyādah.

6. The whole minaret, except for the octagonal part has unified masonry internally and externally. To ensure this uniformity, Singor Patricolo examined the minaret by cutting a horizontal shaft through the western coupled horse-shoe arches (Fig.113). This shaft ~~has well~~ reached the core under the cylindrical part. According to this examination, it appeared that all the shaft was of one kind of masonry with no break between the inside and the outside; no sign of any earlier building was found (1).

7. The square and the cylindrical storeys are covered with two layers of stucco one above the other, the lower of which is thicker. This may suggest two periods of work. The lowest very probably belongs to al-Ḥākīm, while the second might belong to Lāchīn.

8. The coupled arches on the eastern side of the base have scooping covered with stucco. Parts of this scooping is visible at the present day. This shows that this cover is of later time than the scooping.

9. Resemblance in various aspects exists between Ibn Ṭūlūn's mosque and that of al-Ḥākīm. The building materials are the same. The piers, arches, and stucco decoration all bear a great resemblance. As to the minarets of the two

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(1) Hautecoeur and Wiet, op.cit., I, p.215; Comité de Coservation, C.R. des exercices (1915-1919), p.21 as quoted by Creswell, E.M.A., II, p.354.

mosques, they are all built of stone while the mosque itself is built of brick. The archways at the second landing of the staircase of Ibn Tūlūn's minaret very much resemble that of the doorway of the bridge which connects the minaret with the mosque of al-Ḥākim. Moreover, the method of building - i.e. the alteration, is also similar. Four openings have been built in the second octagonal storey of the western minaret of al-Ḥākim's mosque. This style has also been used in Ibn Tūlūn's.

10. The mīda'ah (a fountain for ritual ablution) in the middle of the courtyard of Ibn Tūlūn's mosque was built by Lāchīn with blocks of stone bigger than those of the minaret. The alteration is hardly observable here.

As a result of these architectural and historical investigations it appears, as Corbet says, that:

"We have thus a minaret which by its inorganic connection with the mosque, by its materials, by the form of its arches - by every particular which we can note - seems to proclaim itself as foreign to the building and certainly not the work of the same age" (1).

It certainly does not belong to the age of Ibn Tūlūn since the elements which we have discussed appear to have entered Egypt not before the Fatimids.

The horse-shoe arches were very probably carried out of Spain by those Cordoviens who were expelled to Morocco after a short stay in Alexandria. They built in Fez their mosque

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(1) Op.cit., p.546.

which was very probably a copy of the Cordova Mosque where such elements were used extensively. Several examples of horse-shoe arches are known in the Mosque of Qayrawān (Fig. 114) as well as on the monuments of Mahdīyah (Fig. 115) which was built by the Fatimids before invading Egypt. Al-Mu'izz who fully observed these buildings very probably applied such elements in Cairo. Moreover, thousands of knights who entered Egypt had certainly influenced the architecture there.

In view of the above discussion, it seems reasonable to attribute this minaret to the Fatimid period - i.e. Al-Ḥākim's age. Nāṣir-i Khusrau's story gives every reason to suggest that al-Ḥākim has joined it to the mosque. The excellent condition of the minaret up to the top during the activities of 461 H, may also confirm this suggestion. The new elements in it may suggest that architects of Moroccan or Andalusian origins were employed in this reconstruction.

The octagonal storeys, however, are of different characteristics from the rest of the minaret and it is very probably that they were built at a later date. Lāchīn who did considerable work in this mosque may have reconstructed it. The second stucco covering on this minaret is also likely to be attributed to this builder. Moreover, the rebuilding in the wall which joins the eastern arch of the bridge with the minaret seems likely to have been done by him.

Two other small minarets used to stand at the southern corners of the mosque. The southern minaret survived until

1933 (1). Their builder is not known. Corbet suggests that they were built around the time of Lāchīn(2). This seems unlikely since al-Maqrizī records that Karīm al-Dīn al-Kabīr renewed the two minarets in the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (1293-1343) (3). Neither of them stands there at the present time.

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(1) ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, op.cit., I, p.45.

(2) Op.cit., pp.553f.

(3) Khitāṭ, II, p.269; Mubārak, op.cit., IV, p.47; ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, (Op.cit., I, p.45) misunderstood the text of Maqrizī and suggested that their builder was Karīm al-Dīn.

CONCLUSION

In the early days of Islam, adhān was called from any suitable place - from an open place on the ground, from the roof of the highest house in the neighbourhood of the mosque, from the fortifications of Medina, from the Zawra' or from the top of the Ka'bah.

The custom of selecting a high place gradually developed. The most likely sources for the idea of the minaret would have been the towers that stood in various parts of the world which had been converted to Islam, the most important being those of Syria.

There is no record proving the existence of the minaret before the Umayyad period. The first known minarets were those of Baṣra, Fuṣṭāṭ, and the Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem.

The minaret gradually became associated with the mosques, but at the same time adhān was called from places other than the minaret.

While calling adhān was the main purpose in building the minaret, the latter also played important other religious, political, social, and educational roles.

Al-Walīd I was an innovator in the building of the minaret. The minarets of his Mosque of Damascus, especially that of al-Arūs, served as examples for many other minarets.

Al-Walīd's successor's emphasized the square type of minaret. In N. Africa, the oldest still standing minaret is that of Sīdī 'Uqbah mosque in Qayrawān which should be attributed to Ziyādat Allāh (221/835/6), rather than to Hishām as has generally been suggested. When the Umayyads

established their new state in al-Andalus, they introduced the Syrian style of minaret, as represented by that of al-*Arūs*. The most famous minaret in al-Andalus is that of the Cordova mosque, a minaret of which nothing now remains except relics incorporated in a Christian tower.

The Syrian square form was dominant in N.Africa and Spain. Documents, proving the existence of minarets of a different shape, are known. This square type had been preserved by successive governments, and its continuous use gave it the sanction of custom which remained unviolated by rulers irrespective of their policy.

The Abbasids who replaced the Umayyads created an independent style which had no relationship with the Syrian style whatsoever. The Malwīyah of Samarra, those of Abū Dulaf and Ibn Tūlūn seem to have been unique in their form in the whole of the Islamic world. Their type was probably influenced by the Tīrbāl of Gūr near Fīrūzābād. The minarets of Samarra and Abū Dulaf are original ones recently restored, while that of Ibn Tūlūn seems to have been rebuilt by al-*Hākīm*, except for the upper octagonal storeys, which might have been built by Lāchīn (1296 A.D.)

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