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NUHA N.N. KHOURY

THE MEANING OF THE GREAT MOSQUE OF CORDOBA IN THE TENTH CENTURY

The Great Mosque of Cordoba is universally recognized as one of the most singular monuments of medieval architecture. Celebrated for its harmony, balance, dramatic use of light and decoration, and its overall unity and aesthetic sensitivity, the monument belongs to an established functional type, the hypostyle mosque, but amounts to more than a mere variant of this type. Its amalgamation of old, reused, and original architectural elements in new inventive combinations, its system of double tiered arcades with superimposed horseshoe arches supported by slender pilasters on marble columns, and the originality of its overall compositional effect are all factors that enhance its value to the history of western Islamic architecture in particular and Mediterranean architecture in general. The mosque's architectural importance is matched by its historical significance. As the premier monument of al-Andalus, the Cordoba mosque embodies the history of the Iberian peninsula from its Islamic takeover in 711 through successive stages of Umayyad and post-Umayyad dominion and beyond. Following the fall of Cordoba in 1236, the mosque was preserved as the repository of Castillian Spain's signs of victory, and became a source of aesthetic and architectural inspiration that was eventually transported to the New World. In Islamic medieval writings of the same era and later, the Great Mosque of Cordoba was transformed from an Umayyad monument into the primary cultural and religious relic of al-Andalus, an Islamic land lost to Islam. While the mosque's Muslim historians made it the concrete visual representation of a distinct creative culture, its geo-political position in the history of medieval Spain made it the symbol of a national personality forged out of the interaction of two at times ideologically opposed worlds.[1]

A similar plurality of identity informs the Cordoba mosque's creative and material culture. As the primary artifact of an Umayyad dynasty that had fled from Syria to Spain in 756,[2] the monument belongs to at least two architectural and cultural traditions, and its architectural vocabulary at once points to local Spanish and Syrian Umayyad sources.[3] The totality of its final composition, however, is morphologically and aesthetically distinct: a unique reformulation of preexisting architectural details (horseshoe arches, double-tiered arcades, alternating stone and brick voussoirs) within a novel arrangement of universal forms (hypostyle halls, axial naves, domed spaces).[4] The Cordoba mosque can therefore be situated at different junctures within a larger architectural history. Its connections to the past make it the culmination of an older Umayyad tradition, while its particular creative location in al-Andalus makes it the point of inception for a new tradition with different subsequent histories in Spain and North Africa.[5]

Within its specifically Andalusian architectural context, the Cordoba mosque represents a process of synthesis that reached its apogee under al-Hakam II al-Mustansir (961–976). Al-Hakam's tenth-century expansion is a visually and morphologically complex configuration of forms that lies at a crossroad between past and future. It exhibits an architectural vocabulary developed over a period of almost two hundred years of Andalusian Umayyad architecture, but reformulates this vocabulary into a new idiom that, though often cited, will never be replicated in its entirety.

Beyond its aesthetic value, this specific moment in the Cordoba mosque's history will be shown to exhibit an iconographic charge that is born out of a subtle interweaving of historical, cultural, and mythical paradigms. Arising from the context of the recently reestablished Umayyad caliphate, this charge aligned the mosque's dynastic identity with its new caliphal one by rewriting the past from the vantage point of the present. The story of this historical revision, a critical aspect of the mosque's tenth-century meaning, culminated in the Cordoba mosque's rededication as a monument of Umayyad victory. The Great Mosque of Cordoba thus both absorbed and reflected various aspects of the Umayyad past, transcending association with any individual monument from this past. At the same time, the mosque reflected the universality of the Andalusian Umayyad *da*ʿ*wa* through a second level of meaning that re-created it as an iconographic image of a monument

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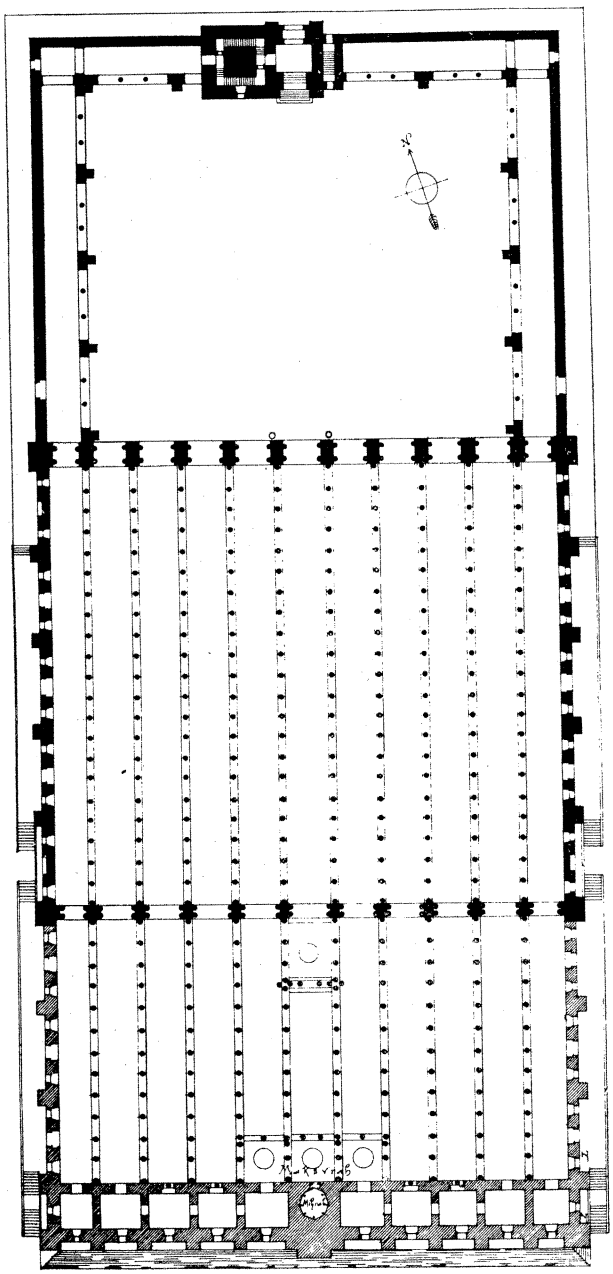

Fig. 1. Cordoba mosque. Plan in 965. (After C. Nizet, *La Mosquée de Cordoue*, p. 3)

whose value transcends temporal boundaries: the Prophet's Mosque at Medina. This ideological construction aligned the Umayyads with the original source of caliphal authority and represented them as the true caliphs of the Umayyad-Abbasid-Fatimid triumvirate.

Following the 929 restoration of the Umayyad caliphate by ᶜAbd al-Rahman III al-Nasir (912–961), the Cordoba mosque's expansion is historically positioned as a completion of an integrated program meant to enhance the image of the Andalusian Umayyad caliphate and fulfill caliphal prerogative. ᶜAbd al-Rahman III had in 952 already refurbished the mosque's courtyard and endowed it with its monumental minaret, when, immediately upon his accession in 961, al-Hakam II ordered the expansion that transformed the mosque's interior (fig. 1).[6] The speed with which al-Hakam is reported to have initiated this expansion, the ceremony in which he publicly endowed it with a large portion of the private funds he inherited from ᶜAbd al-Rahman III, and reports that attribute an extensive enlargement to the earlier caliph are testaments to the unity of the architectural statement and its importance to the overall ideological program of the Andalusian caliphate.[7] Echoes of this program are preserved in the extant portions of the mosque's tenth-

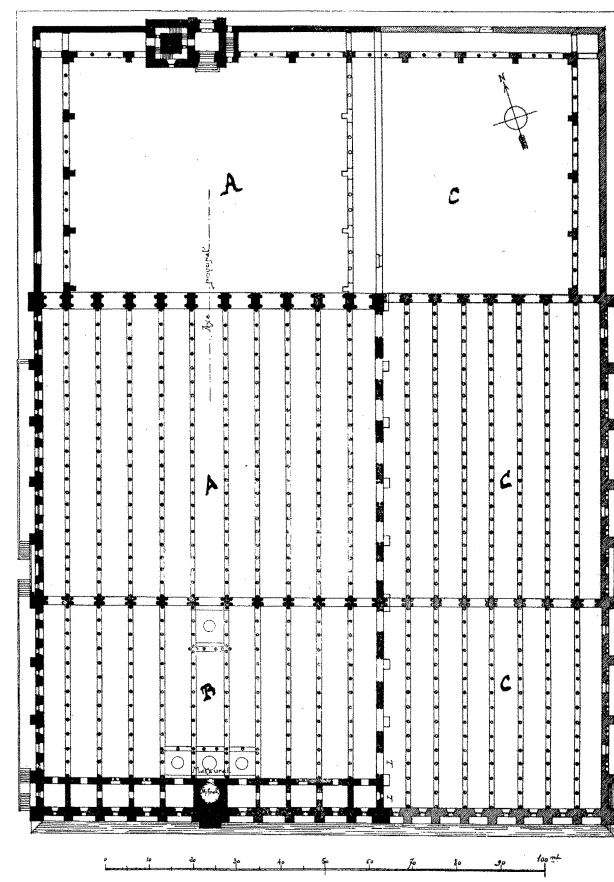

Fig. 2. Cordoba mosque. Plan in 1236. (After C. Nizet, *La Mosquée de Cordoue*, no. 2)

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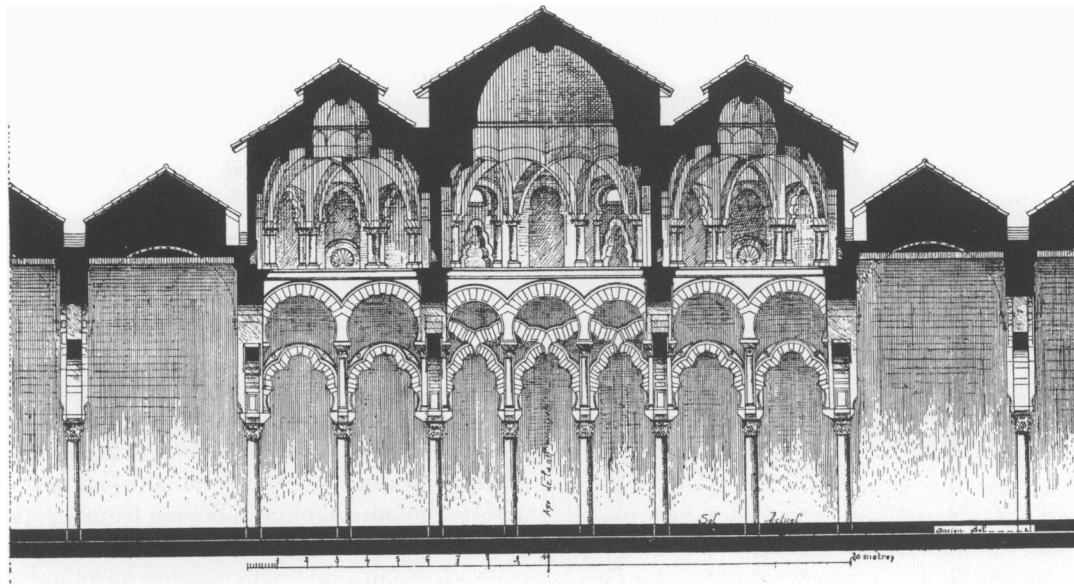

Fig. 3. Cordoba mosque. Cross-section of maqsura. (After C. Nizet, *La Mosquée de Cordoue*, p. 25)

Fig. 4. Cordoba mosque. View down central aisle to al-Hakam's mihrab.

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century epigraphic program, in related historiographical accounts, and in allusions to the Umayyad past realized in special myths and ceremonies that were primary tools in the process of transforming the mosque into an eloquent expression of the caliphs' pretensions and intentions.

Occupying the southwest rectangle of the present mosque, al-Hakam's twelve-bay expansion constitutes an autonomous functional space, but one that is emphatically linked to the mosque's larger architectural and historical fabric (fig. 2). The expansion continues the mosque's preestablished architectural vocabulary, but carries this vocabulary to new levels of elaboration; horseshoe arches are broken up into complex intersecting and polylobed designs, and constituent elements are rearranged into a discrete, hierarchically ordered composition (fig. 3).[8] This composition provides the mosque with its southern boundary; a domed space at the northern end of a wide central aisle attaches it to the older section and provides it with an entrance. The aisle itself, with its painted and gilded ceiling, defines an axial approach to the mosque's new maqsura enclosure where a series of three domes announces the qibla (fig. 4). The domes correspond in size and placement to the deeply recessed, shell-hooded mihrab niche and its two smaller flanking openings, one of which leads to a series of chambers that once constituted the mosque's treasury and the other to a passage (*sabāṭ*) that linked the mosque with the caliphal palace — most likely by means of a covered bridge that spanned Cordoba's main processional thoroughfare (*al-mashraʿa al-kubrā*).[9] The expansion, and especially the maqsura-qibla ensemble, is further distinguished by a rich decorative program executed in carved marble, stucco, and mosaic that includes an epigraphic program whose archaizing Kufic inscriptions comprise both Qurʾanic verses and historical statements. In its totality, al-Hakam's expansion acts as an independent "mosque within a mosque" that provides visual focus for its larger architectural frame while deriving added significance from the dynastic and historical content of this frame.

Typologically, the Cordoba mosque's tenth-century expansion belongs to the category of urban mosques built by the Syrian Caliph al-Walid between 705 and 715. Distributed in major cities of the older Umayyad caliphate, including Damascus, Medina, and Jerusalem among others, these mosques exhibit individual differences but form a single group that plays an important role in the dynamics of their Andalusian descendant. This architectural heritage is apparent in the Cordoba mosque's minaret, in the composition of its court façades, the lateral disposition of its aisles, the hierarchical arrangement of its architectonic elements, and the use of mosaics as the primary decorative medium of its most important areas, features that occur at one or the other, and in some cases all, of its predecessors, but that are best preserved at the Great Mosque of Damascus.[10] The cultural heritage of the Cordoba mosque is equally evident in historical and mythical accounts that act as reminders of the Umayyad past and, more specifically, of the mosque's own past as it was written in the tenth century. These accounts distinguish certain features of the tenth-century mosque as particularly articulate carriers of meaning. Elaborations upon the mosque's (erroneous) due-south qibla orientation, its site, its mosaics, and the special rituals revolving around relics of the Caliph ʿUthman preserved in the mosque's treasury — four bloodied leaves of the *muṣḥaf* he was reading at the time of his assassination in Medina in 656 — are intertwined in creating the mosque's tenth-century identity.

This identity is defined partly through the Andalusian capital's own association with *ʿilm* and with Maliki principles of *ittibāʿ*, thereby providing a primary link with Medinese practices and underlining the Andalusian Umayyads' preservation of established Islamic ideals.[11] Later compilations of the merits (*faḍāʾil*) of al-Andalus make it a desirable location for the acquisition of knowledge (*dār hijra li-al-ʿilm*) and a land whose Islamization was prophesied by the Prophet.[12] Throughout its various stages, the mosque is presented as the physical embodiment of these qualities and a fulfillment of the prophetic message. The character of the mosque's dynastic founder, ʿAbd al-Rahman I, was extolled by Imam Malik.[13] The mosque's second expansion, undertaken by ʿAbd al-Rahman II in 836, is attributed to the patron's strict adherence to Malikism and his consequent refusal to allow more than one congregational Friday assembly in Cordoba despite a rise in its population.[14] Al-Hakam's own expansion is attributed to identical considerations, and his refusal to correct the mosque's qibla is articulated succinctly in the words, "we are a people of precedent" (*madhhabunā al-ittibāʿ*), to express a similar sentiment.[15] The debate surrounding this issue positions the qibla as a major memento of the mosque's history from the time of its foundation by Musa ibn Nusayr and Hanash al-Sanʿani in 711 through its later adoption by "the choice members of this people, and by [al-Hakam's] ancestors the imams."[16] Unlike ʿAbd al-Rahman III's new royal mosque at Madinat al-Zahra, the Cordoba mosque's qibla comes to signify historical and

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dynastic continuity. In maintaining it, al-Hakam at once preserves a legacy safeguarded throughout more than two centuries of Islamic and Umayyad presence in Cordoba and reinforces a historical link between the mosque founded during the original conquest and the "new" mosque built after the reestablishment of the Umayyad caliphate of al-Andalus.

A myth that associates the mosque's site with the church of Saint Vincent acts as an intermediary step in the transformation of the mosque into a monument of dynastic conquest whose history begins with ᶜAbd al-Rahman I. On the authority of the tenth-century al-Razi, later medieval historians assert that the original founders of the Cordoba mosque shared the church of Saint Vincent with the city's Christian population, "following the example of Abu ᶜUbayda and Khalid [ibn al-Walid], and the judgment of Caliph ᶜUmar in partitioning Christian churches like that of Damascus and other [cities] that were taken by peaceful accord."[17] In 785, thirty years after his arrival in Cordoba as a refugee of the Abbasid takeover of the caliphate, ᶜAbd al-Rahman I, later dubbed al-Dakhil, purchased the great church (*al-kanīsa al-ᶜuẓmā*) of Saint Vincent, demolished it, and constructed Cordoba's main Friday mosque.[18] The account posits a parallel with two earlier Islamic paradigms, one established during the first caliphal period and the other by the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid's reported purchase and demolition of the church of Saint John in Damascus. However, the church of Saint Vincent is neither archaeologically attested as the major edifice mentioned by the historians and designated *al-kanīsa al-ᶜuẓma* nor specified by name in accounts of the events following ᶜAbd al-Rahman I's initial arrival in al-Andalus.[19] Rather, the anonymous tenth-century *Akhbār Majmūᶜa* on the history of al-Andalus mentions *a* church, "the site of the present-day Friday mosque," as the place where seventy Muslims were killed by the Mudarite al-Sumayl ibn Harith — a contestant for control of al-Andalus during the clan war that followed the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate and culminated in ᶜAbd al-Rahman I's establishment of the Umayyad amirate of Cordoba in 756.[20] The enhancement of the church's identity furnishes two interpretive strands, of which one commemorates ᶜAbd al-Rahman I's survival and victory against Muslim opponents and the other amplifies this victory by translating it into one against Muslims and non-Muslims alike. The double victory signals a new conquest that reinitiates the Cordoba mosque's history and endows it with a new identity as an Andalusian Umayyad commemorative monument.

Tenth- and post-tenth-century histories of the Cordoba mosque express the symbolic appropriation of the history of Islam in al-Andalus by constructing a mythical identity for the monument that parallels that of earlier Umayyad architectural artifacts. The intent of the myth of the church of Saint Vincent is most clearly revealed through its predecessor, that of the church of Saint John of Damascus, and through the image of the Umayyads as upholders of Islam that is implied by this myth. Contemporary Abbasid histories recognize al-Walid's demolition of the church of Saint John as an expression of power, and follow with the dialogue between al-Walid and the Byzantine emperor that culminated in al-Farazdaq's famous response to the Byzantine monarch, likening the wisdom of al-Walid's actions vis-à-vis those of his predecessors (who had let the church stand) to that of Solomon and David.[21] The discovery of a Solomonic tablet on the site is further recorded as the impetus behind the inscription in which al-Walid records, in gold characters, the demolition of the church and the construction of a mosque dedicated to the worship of one God.[22] ᶜAbd al-Rahman I's definitive transformation of church into mosque similarly purifies the Cordoba mosque's site and consecrates it as an Islamic sanctuary. Thus, despite the presence of an earlier mosque, the definite Islamization of Cordoba, as also of Damascus,[23] is realized unequivocally through Umayyad intervention.

The twelfth-century Ibn Bashkuwal provides yet another symbolic dimension to this act of purification by interpolating a Solomonic prophecy into the mosque's history. The mosque's site had been the great garbage (*qumāma*) pit of Cordoba until Solomon ordered his *jinn* to clear and level it for, he observed, "here will be constructed a house in which God is worshiped" (*baytun yuᶜbadu allahu fīhi*).[24] Ibn Bashkuwal reflects the mosque's identity by placing it squarely within the established Umayyad cultural *koiné* through his adaptation of a mythical account pertinent to the Dome of the Rock. He also makes it the subject of a prophecy that is fulfilled by the Umayyad arrival in al-Andalus. The element of predestination, which is also an important feature of the Abbasid and Fatimid *daᶜwa*s, is realized in Umayyad historiography through ᶜAbd al-Rahman I, who is recognized by his grandfather as the one with whom "the matter is at hand." ᶜAbd al-Rahman's special destiny is also the subject of a Jewish prophecy.[25] His escape and conquest of al-Andalus are portrayed as part of a larger cosmic design that left its imprint on the mosque's history. This design was completed in 929 when ᶜAbd al- Rahman III, in the words of his court poet Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih (d. 940), "conquered al-Andalus anew as his namesake had

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conquered it at the beginning," and caused disbelievers "to enter the faith in droves."[26] The second victory commands the reconsecration and rededication of the Cordoba mosque and its site, needs that are fulfilled by the appropriation of earlier conquest paradigms into Andalusian Umayyad history.

The two stages of the Umayyad conquest and Islamization of al-Andalus are represented by the adaptation of the myth of the church of Saint Vincent/Saint John to two phases of the Cordoba mosque's history. At the conclusion of al-Walid's transformation of the church into the Damascus mosque, he "commands" the Byzantine emperor to supply the mosaics and mosaicists required for the decoration of this mosque. Al-Hakam is said to have issued a similar order described by the fourteenth-century Ibn ʿIdhari as "in emulation of what al-Walid had done when constructing the mosque of Damascus."[27] The application of this second power paradigm to the Cordoba mosque's caliphal phase signals a thematic continuity between two moments in the monument's history.[28] As reflections of the tenth-century form and identity of the Cordoba mosque, the adapted power paradigms — whether absorbed as myths or transformed into reality[29] — commemorate the Umayyad role in establishing and reestablishing Islam in the Iberian peninsula by framing the Andalusian Umayyad *daʿwa* in the familiar mythical and architectural language of the older Umayyad caliphate. Accordingly, the tenth-century expansion of the Cordoba mosque is the physical embodiment of the continuation of Umayyad history, an act of reconsecration that echoes ʿAbd al-Rahman III's reinstatement of caliphal status as the reappropriation of an "immutable designation" and a divinely ordained heritage.[30]

Although the Cordoba mosque's mythical identity signals specific meanings that are derived from Syrian Umayyad history, in the *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, the mosque's site is identified as the location where seventy Muslims were martyred before ʿAbd al-Rahman I took control of Cordoba, and his battle is compared to the 657 battle of Siffin between Muʿawiya and ʿAli.[31] This comparison takes Andalusian Umayyad historical associations further back in time by recalling an earlier civil war of major importance to Umayyad history. Siffin is famed as the battle in which Muʿawiya's troops raised copies of the Qurʾan on their spears demanding justice for Caliph ʿUthman's murder; it resulted in arbitration (*taḥkīm*) and eventually in the establishment of the Umayyad caliphate in 661.[32] The comparison evokes an earlier injustice and an earlier victory that began the cycle of Umayyad caliphal history. The Abbasid massacre of the Umayyad Caliph Marwan and of eighty-two members of the Umayyad family, reported in detail in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's *al-ʿIqd*, provides the theme and impetus for ʿAbd al-Rahman I's escape to al-Andalus, beginning a second cycle of injustices against the Umayyads that had begun with ʿUthman's murder.[33] Consequently, the symbol of ʿUthman's murder — the *muṣḥaf* he was reading at the time of his assassination in Medina and through which he sought protection against his would-be murderers[34] — reappears at the Cordoba mosque in the tenth century, where it acts as a reminder of a series of wrongs visited upon the Umayyads while at the same time underlining the justice of their *daʿwa*.

References to the four leaves from ʿUthman's *muṣḥaf*, which were carried out of the treasury in a candle-lit ceremonial procession, project these relics as physical objects that are essential to the mosque's consecration to the Umayyad cause.[35] Their symbolic value operates on two distinct but related levels of meaning. ʿUthman's religious authority, embodied in his collecting of the Qurʾan, is manipulated as an Umayyad legacy that allows his heirs to act as guides for the Muslim community. Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (685–705) provides an early illustration of the Marwanid Umayyad exploitation of ʿUthman's act in a *khuṭba* to the Medinese in which he rejects the "*aḥādīth* that have trickled to us from [your] region," recognizes the Qurʾan as sole source of authority, and exhorts the Medinese to "keep fast to your *muṣḥaf*, which the unjustly slain (*maẓlūm*) Imam [ʿUthman] gathered for you, and follow the rules [*farāʾiḍ*] that the unjustly slain Imam ordained for you."[36] ʿUthman's memory, embodied in the blood-stained leaves of his *muṣḥaf*, also provides the Umayyads with certain divinely sanctioned rights. As ʿUthman's heir, Muʿawiya rallied Syrian support by quoting from the Revelations, "If anyone is slain wrongfully, we have given his heirs authority" (*wa man qutila maẓlūman fa qad jaʿalnā liwaliyyihi sulṭānan*), a statement emphasizing the *ḥaqq* (justice/truth) of Muʿawiya's cause and one which Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih attributes to Ibn ʿAbbas, who was thus able to foretell Muʿawiya's success against ʿAli.[37] This cause is also sanctioned by the Prophet who predicted that ʿUthman, well guided (*ʿala al-hudā*) during the future schisms,[38] will be killed while reading *sūrat al-baqara*, so that his blood would drip on the words, *fasaykfīkuhumu allāhu, wa huwa al-samīʿu al-ʿalīm* ("God will suffice thee as against them, and he is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing").[39] Subsequently, the caliph's cause will be taken up in both the east and the west, and he will become an intercessor on Judgment Day.[40] ʿUthman's historic act, the collecting of

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the Qurʾan, transfers authority to his family; the justice of their cause and their "well-guided" caliphate are sanctioned by the Prophet and sanctified by the leaves washed in their forefather's blood. The Prophetic message thus asserts Umayyad rights and authority, whether at the battle of Siffin, the comparable 756 battle of Cordoba, or the 929 competition for the caliphate. Accompanied by ʿAbd al-Rahman III's revival of an old practice, cursing the ʿAlids,[41] ʿUthman's *muṣḥaf* is once again raised as the instrument of *taḥkīm* in the blood feud against the Abbasids who had usurped the caliphate and the Fatimids who had declared their own in 910, both unjustly.

As the architectural reliquary of ʿUthman's *muṣḥaf*, the Cordoba mosque reflects concepts of the doctrinal debates that arose after his murder. The schisms within the community that divided support between two competing caliphs were paralleled in the tenth century by the unprecedented reign of three caliphs. Accordingly, the mosque's extant tenth-century inscriptions issue a call for a unified caliphate through a combination of an unusual series of Qurʾanic verses and an unusually large number of historical texts that result in a meaningful iconographic program.[42] This program incorporates statements that appear to be significantly related to ideological formulations developed by al-Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyya late in the seventh century and originally espoused by Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik as a means of unifying the community.[43] The inscriptions reflect the earlier dogmas by defining believer status through a minimum of requirements while continuously emphasizing God's choice (*tawfīq*) in supplying the *hudā* (divine guidance) required for the righteous and truthful (*ḥaqq*) foundations of the expansion and its accompanying *mulk* (power, dominion), thus providing the necessary ideological basis for the mosque's historical and mythical associations.[44]

Inscriptions above al-Hakam's entrance (*al-mashraʿ ilā muṣallāh*) begin with verses that enumerate spiritual obligations, promising paradise to those who profess belief, accept the Prophetic message and reject trinitarian *shirk*, and are steady in their faith. Verses 41:30–32 in the framing arch of the composition state, "Those who say 'our Lord is God', and further stand straight and steadfast, the angels descend on them, 'fear ye not nor grieve, but receive glad tidings of the garden which you were promised. We are your protectors (*awliyāʾukum*) in this life and the hereafter, therein shall you have all that your souls desire, therein shall you have what you ask for; a gift from One Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful'."[45] The inscriptions surrounding the grilled window within the arch quote verses 6:101–102, "To Him is due the primal origins of the heavens and the earth, how can He have a son when He has no consort? He created all things and He has full knowledge of all things. That is God your Lord, there is no God but He, the Creator of all things; then worship Him, He has power to dispose of all affairs." These quotations are followed by invocations (*duʿāʾ*) for divine mercy spoken by the believers in part of 2:286, inscribed in the mosaic band framing the horseshoe arch, "Our Lord condemn us not if we forget or fall into error; our Lord lay not on us a burden like that which You laid on those before us; our Lord lay not on us a burden greater than we have strength to bear, blot out our sins and grant us forgiveness, have mercy on us, You are our Protector, help us against those against faith." The quotations emphasize faith (as opposed to actions, *aʿmāl*) as the primary definition of belief (*īmān*) and God's mercy as the predicate of salvation while literally extracting the element of human choice (in committing good or evil acts, the essence of the subtracted part of the verse) as a factor in judgment.[46] They are followed by additional statements on predestination that stress the Umayyads' own predilection for success in verse 3:8, "Our Lord, let not our hearts deviate now that You have guided us (*idh hadaytanā*), but grant us mercy from Your presence for You are the Grantor (of bounties without measure)."[47] In asking for constancy in guidance the verse defines a preexisting and consistent condition whose applicability to the Umayyad caliphate is emphatically underscored in the final, non-Qurʾanic formula, "The Dominion is God's upon guidance (*al-mulku lillāhi ʿalā al-hudā*), God's praises upon Muhammad the seal of Prophets." This formula introduces two historical texts that commemorate the construction of the *mashraʿ* and the mosaic decoration of "this venerable house."

The emphasis on predestination that appears around al-Hakam's entrance is reiterated in the inscriptions in the maqsura area, which include statements on God's omnipotence and omniscience and list a minimum of obligations, primarily prayer, as the means for fulfilling religious requirements. In the dome (fig. 5), verse 22:77 and part of 78[48] issue a universal call, "O you who believe, bow down and prostrate yourselves, and adore your Lord, and do good, that you may prosper. And strive in His cause as you ought to strive, He has chosen you and has imposed no difficulties on you in religion, it is the cult of your father Abraham; it is He who has named you Muslims, both before and in this (Revelation), that the Apostle may be a witness for you."[49] In the mihrab niche (fig. 6), verse 2:238 exhorts believers to

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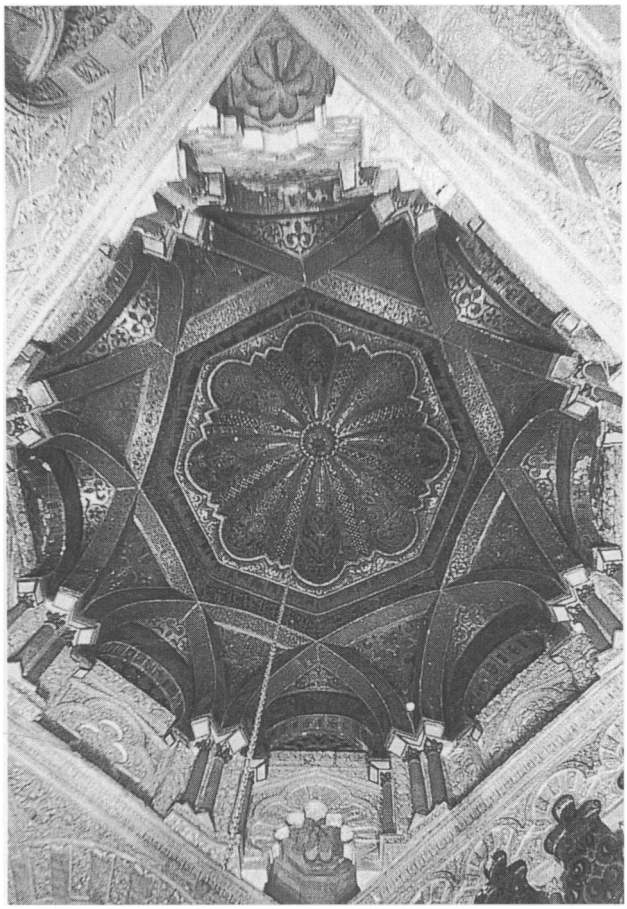

Fig. 5. Cordoba mosque. Central dome.

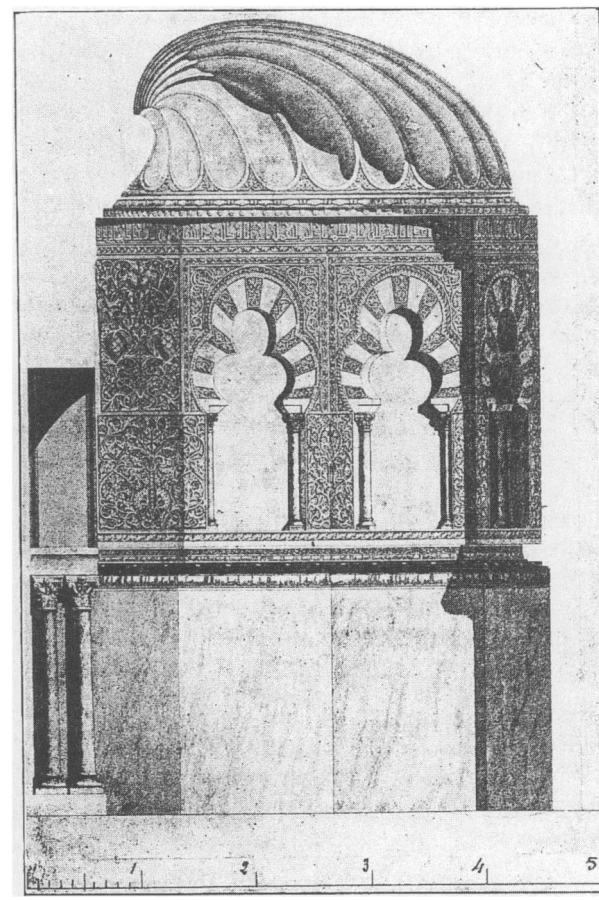

Fig. 6. Cordoba mosque. Cross-section of al-Hakam's mihrab. (After C. Nizet, *La Mosquée de Cordoue*, p. 29)

"guard strictly your prayers, especially the middle prayer, and stand before God in a devout frame of mind." This verse is followed by a historical inscription commemorating al-Hakam's order to sheathe the mihrab with marble, "after having constructed it with God's aid," and, finally, by verse 31:22, "Whosoever submits his whole self to God, and is a doer of good, has grasped indeed the most trustworthy handhold, and with God rests the end and decision of all affairs."[50]

The mosaic inscription bands that frame the niche (fig. 7), executed in gold Kufic characters on a blue ground, begin with statements on God's omniscience, and on the believers' duty of total submission to Him, in verses 32:6 and 40:65, "Such is He, the Knower of all things, hidden and open, the Exalted, the Merciful. He is the Living, there is no God but He; call upon Him, giving Him sincere devotion, praise be to God the Lord of the worlds."[51] These quotations are followed by al-Hakam's foundation inscription and a text commemorating the mosque's *tashbīk*, possibly a reference to the segmented and reticulated vaults.[52] The main foundation text makes al-Hakam's expansion a pious response to the needs of the Islamic community with the words,[53] "Thanks be to God Lord of the worlds who chose (*muwaffiq*) the Imam al-Mustansir Billah, *ʿabd allāh* al-Hakam *amīr al-muʾminīn*, may God preserve him in righteousness (*aṣlaḥahu allāhu*), for this venerable construction (*al-bunya al-mukarrama*) and who was his aid (*muʿīn*) in [effecting] his [His?] eternal structure (*bunyāh al-khālida*), for the goal of making it more spacious for his followers (*al-tawsiʿa li raʿiyyatihi*). . .in fulfillment of his and their wishes, and as an expression of his grace toward them." The horizontal frieze directly within this frame, inscribed in blue mosaic characters over a gold ground,

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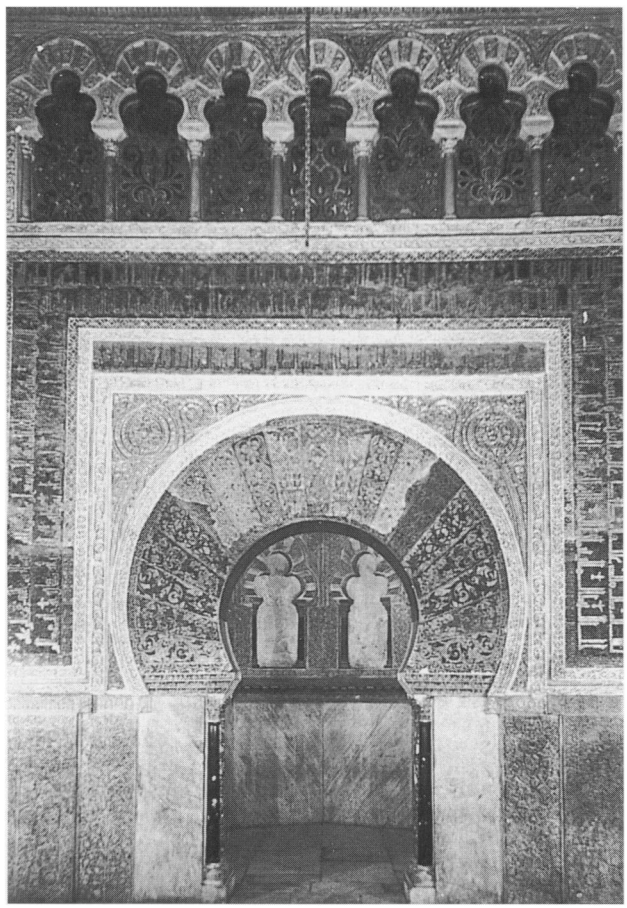

Fig. 7. Cordoba mosque. Al-Hakam's mihrab.

repeats the theme of God's unity and omniscience with verse 59:23, "God is He, [other] than whom there is no other god, who knows (all things), both secret and open; He, most Gracious, most Merciful."[54]

The last inscription in this area is located on the imposts of the niche mihrab's horseshoe arch (fig. 8). It introduces a text commemorating al-Hakam's order to "set up these two supports of what he has founded upon purity and with sanction from God" (*naṣb hadhayn al-minkabayn fīmā assasahu ʿalā taqwā min allāhi wa riḍwān*),[55] with the middle portion of verse 7:43, "Praise be to God, who has guided us to this (*hadāna li hadhā*), never could we have found guidance (*wa mā kunnā linahtadī*) had it not been for God's guidance (*lawlā ʾan hadānā*); indeed it was the truth (*al-ḥaqq*) that the apostles of our Lord brought to us."[56] The verse accordingly transforms the *minkabayn*, usually understood as a reference to the two pairs of marble columns flanking the mihrab niche,[57] into the metaphorical supports — the *ḥaqq* and *hudā* — of an "eternal house" whose foundations are piety and divine sanction (*taqwā wa riḍwān*). Together, these foundations uphold a single statement, the universal *daʿwa* inscribed as a call to the Abrahamic *milla* in the mosque's central dome, the *qubbat al-Islām* to which ʿAbd al-Rahman III led unbelievers by "adjusting the course of the faith."[58] The "venerated house", "venerable" and "eternal" construction facilitated by God's aid, thus amounts to more than the physical structure of the mosque. It implies the caliphate itself, a necessity for the unification of a Muslim community torn apart by the schisms instigated by false caliphs.

The metaphorical meaning and iconographic identity of the caliphal phase of the Cordoba mosque are accentuated by the phraseology and terminology of its epigraphic program. Nowhere do the inscriptions refer to a mosque, but rather to a house of worship that fulfills a series of prophecies and completes the final cycle of Umayyad history. Al-Hakam's historical inscriptions, which express gratitude for being chosen as the instrument through which the structure was built and completed, follow a protocol that belongs to the language of shrines, evident in inscriptions at Mecca and Medina.[59] This protocol provides the Umayyad caliphate with an essential, yet inaccessible, prerogative by presenting the dynastic mosque as a universal Islamic shrine.[60] The insistence on the detailed historical record for this shrine, repeatedly listing the names of patron, supervisor, designers, and scribes, follows from the identification and serves to sanctify the enterprise while at the same time providing various constituent elements (the *tashbīk* of the domes or maqsura, the mihrab and its marble revetment, the *mashraʿ*, the inscriptions and mosaics) with an additional charge. The totality borrows the phraseology of verses 9:108–109 which state in part, "There is a mosque whose foundation was laid from the first day upon piety" and "God's sanction" to transmit a single message: the reinitiation of true Islam whose fundamental architectural symbol is the "first house of worship" or, in Umayyad terms, the Prophet's Mosque at Medina.[61]

The epigraphic program of the Cordoba mosque combines with its mythical and historical dimensions to project the monument yet another step back in time, making it a counterpart of the mosque-shrine founded by the Prophet. Like its prototype, the Cordoba mosque is constructed after exile and hijra. It is a mosque of conquest and renewal that abrogates what came before it, and one that proclaims the ascendancy of a new world order and the establishment of God's caliphate on earth. While the

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Fig. 8. Cordoba mosque. Al-Hakam's mihrab. Detail of horseshoe arch.

prophecies pertaining to the orphaned ᶜAbd al-Rahman I, acknowledged as the Falcon of Quraysh by the Abbasid caliph al-Mansur (754–75), borrow from the established paradigms of the Prophetic *Sīra*,[62] Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih provides ᶜAbd al-Rahman III, another orphan, with a portrait that makes him "God's caliph, whom He chose (*iṣṭafāhu*) above all others," and likens his battles against heretics and schismatics to the Prophet's battles at Badr and Hunayn.[63] In the continuing discourse that branded the Umayyads as proselytizers of hell (*duᶜāt al-nār*),[64] the Umayyad response was a *daᶜwa* to the pure Islam of the original *ahl al-bayt* symbolized by a mosque with a purified site, a sanctifying relic, and an iconographic identity that reinvented it as the "first" Islamic house of worship. This identity is imprinted in the tenth-century description of the Prophet's mosque provided by Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih's *al-ᶜIqd*.

Al-ᶜIqd, compiled by ᶜAbd al-Rahman III's court poet, includes two sections that are considered original to the author: an *ʾurjūza* in praise of the caliph that constituted the work's earlier conclusion, and a section on the three holy shrines.[65] Of these three descriptions, that of the Medinese structure stands out as a highly detailed eyewitness account of the Prophet's Mosque as reconstructed by al-Walid in 707–9. Significantly, though elsewhere in *al-ᶜIqd* Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih mentions the mosques of Medina and Damascus as representative of al-Walid's work, the description itself is devoid of any names or dates. *Al-ᶜIqd* then presents a portrait of a shrine that is unrestricted by temporal boundaries but one with an unmistakable Umayyad stamp.

This description was instrumental to Sauvaget's theoretical reconstruction of the Umayyad phase of the Prophet's Mosque, which survived largely intact through the thirteenth and fourteenth century and into the fifteenth, and which resembled al-Walid's other urban mosques but accommodated an important hallowed site. However, the description exhibits inconsistencies with its subject and correspondences with the caliphal expansion of the Cor-

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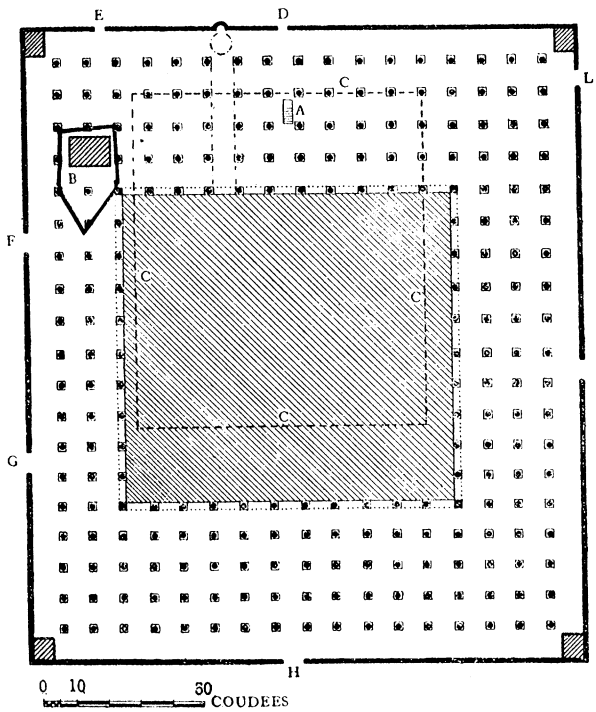

Fig. 9. Prophet's Mosque, Medina. Sauvaget's reconstruction of 707–9 plan. (After Jean Sauvaget, *La Mosquée omeyyade de Medine*, fig. 5)

doba mosque that question its documentary value and raise doubts about its authorship and the significance of its larger narrative section to the work as a whole. These correspondences and inconsistencies indicate that the description was a critical instrument of iconographic transfer that conflated two monuments in order to re-create one as an image of the other. Unlike the descriptions of the Meccan and Jerusalemite *ḥarams*, Medina's begins with the interior, specifically with an account of the sanctuary area that in more than one way corresponds to al-Hakam's own expansion at Cordoba. It begins:

> On the qibla side, the [mosque's] aisles (*balāṭāt*) run across from east to west.[66] Each row of its aisles has seventeen columns, the space between the columns being large and wide. The columns of the southern [qibla] aisle are plastered white and very lofty. The remaining columns are of marble. The plastered columns have large square bases and gilded capitals. Above these are [wood] beams that are also painted and gilded, with the ceiling above these beams painted and gilded as well. Opposite the mihrab, *in the middle of the [transverse] aisles* [emphasis added], is an aisle (*balāṭ*) that is gilded all over. [This aisle] cuts through the [transverse] aisles [all the way] from the courtyard as far as the [niche] mihrab's aisle (*al-balāṭ al-ladhī bi[hi] al-miḥrāb*), which it does not cross.[67] And in the aisle adjacent to the [niche] mihrab (*al-balāṭ al-ladhī yalī al-miḥrāb*) there is much gilding.[68] In its center is a dome (*samāʾ*) that is round like a large shield (*ka al-tirs al-muqaddar*), concave like a mother of pearl shell (*mujawwaf ka al-maḥār*), and gilded.

The description presents a T-plan arrangement, with a central aisle cutting through transverse ones as far as the one opposite the niche mihrab. Both arms of the T are marked by heavy gilding; their crossing is accented by a dome that is both like a "shield" or "disk" and like a "mother of pearl shell." This fundamental design of the sanctuary area is distinctly at odds with the mosque's reconstructions, where the niche mihrab (which marks the final point of the central aisle in the description) is shifted to the west so as to maintain alignment with the Prophet's original place of prayer (*muṣalla/miḥrāb*), a critical aspect of the mosque's dual identity and commemorative functions (fig. 9).[69] Sauvaget resolved the discrepancy by interpreting the gilded *balāṭ* perpendicular to the niche mihrab as a reference to the arrangement of the wooden beams beneath the flat ceiling. The absence of arcades in the sanctuary indicated that these beams are arranged transversally elsewhere in the mosque (in conformity with the east to west specification), but those in the aisle facing the niche (located off the mosque's central axis) are arranged longitudinally "following a line perpendicular to the qibla wall."[70] Accordingly, the aisle facing the niche mihrab marks a direct path from the Prophet's original *muṣalla/miḥrāb* to the niche at ceiling level, but it is neither expressed in the ground plan nor positioned along the mosque's central axis.

Sauvaget's interpretation of this passage coerces it into conformity with other information pertinent to the Prophet's mosque and especially to the location of the shifted niche mihrab. However, while the description imposes the difficulty of leaving the term *balāṭ* open to interpretation, it is clear in its emphasis on the centrality of both the gilded aisle, which is "in the middle of the aisles," and of the niche mihrab before which it ends. A later passage that concentrates on the niche underscores the point:

> *The [niche] mihrab is in the middle of the qibla wall* [emphasis added].[71] At [the summit of?] its arch (*ʿala qawsihi*) is a thick, protruding gold frame (*quṣṣa*) in which is inset ʿAʾisha's mirror, may God be pleased with her.[72] *The vault (qabū) of the mihrab is of very large size* [emphasis added], with compartments (*dārāt*) of which some are gold, some dark

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red, and some black. Within the vault there is a carved and gilded band, with [a row of] gilded octagonal plaques (*ṣafāʾiḥ*) below it, within which is inset an agate like the skull of a small boy. Below that [row] is a marble revetment as far as the floor, painted with unguent. In it is inset the stick (*watad*) that the Prophet, peace upon him, used to lean on when getting up from his prostrations in the first mihrab (*al-miḥrāb al-awwal*), as has been said, and God knows best.[73] On the right of the [niche] mihrab is a door for the imam to come in and go out. To the left of the [niche] mihrab is another small door with a grating. Connecting these doors and the [niche] mihrab is a fine level walk.[74]

In insisting on the centrality of the niche mihrab, the description presents an odd divergence from a major identifying feature of the Prophet's Mosque. This discrepancy raises the possibility of a faulty transfer of information from observer to redactor or from visual conception to verbal description, depending on whether or not the passages from *al-ʿIqd* are a true eye-witness account. Alternatively, it can be understood as a normative feature of medieval mechanisms of iconographic transfer in which elements of a shrine are reinterpreted and/or rearranged to reproduce the essential value and content of the original without re-creating its exact architectural form, a question whose resolution rests in the architecture of the Cordoba mosque itself.[75]

While the design provided in the description is inconsistent with the Prophet's Mosque, it corresponds to the expansion in the Cordoba mosque in which an emphatic central aisle, distinguished by gilding and by a hierarchical arrangement of supports, cuts through the arcades to end at the bay in front of the niche mihrab, where it is marked by a large central dome (fig. 4). As is the case in the description, the Cordoba mosque's niche — whose size and depth have made "room-like" its most common designation — is part of a larger ensemble that includes two doors, one of which is the *bāb al-imām* (al-Hakam's *mashraʿ*) and both of which are signaled by subsidiary domes. The large central dome that marks the crossing, described in *al-ʿIqd* as both shield-like and shell-like, finds its dual formal expression in the Cordoba mosque's segmented central dome and its niche mihrab's "mother of pearl shell" hood (figs. 5, 10, 11). Further, a glance at the decorative scheme of the Cordoba mosque's mihrab also evinces resemblances with the specifications in the description, whether in the red, black, and gold "compartments" of the horseshoe arch or in the decorative bands and marble revetment of the niche itself (fig. 8).[76] Additional correspondences with Cordoba's mosque appear in *al-ʿIqd*'s description of the qibla wall and its decoration:

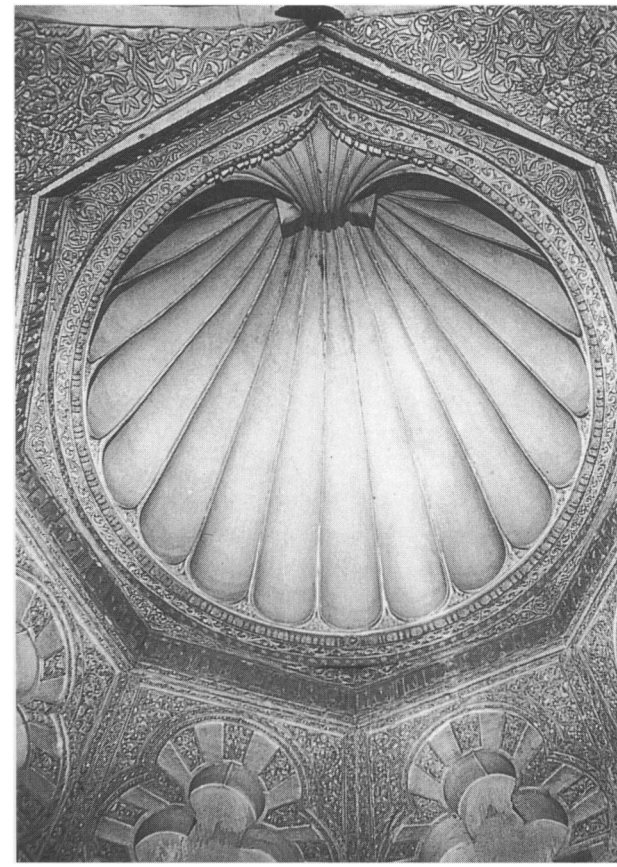

Fig. 10. Cordoba mosque. Al-Hakam's mihrab. Detail of mother-of-pearl shell hood.

The façade of the qibla wall is sheathed with a marble dado (*ʾizār*) from the floor to about a man's height. This revetment is delineated by a marble frieze (*ṭawq*) of the width of a finger. Above this is a narrower frieze that is anointed with unguent. Then there is another band like the first one, in which there are fourteen openings (*bāb*) [arranged] in a line from east to west, similar in size to the window openings (*kuwa*) of the Friday Mosque of Cordoba, and all carved and gilded. Above there is another marble band, then a blue frieze inscribed with five lines of gold letters as thick as a finger, containing the suras of *qiṣār al-mufaṣṣal*.[77] Above this is another marble band like the first, lowest, one, with round golden shields (*tirasa*).[78] Between each pair of shields is a green column (*ʿamūd*) with golden bars (*quḍbān*) on each of its ends. Above this is another band, as wide [high] as an arm, decorated with scrolls and leaves.[79] Then there is a wide band decorated with mosaic, with the ceiling above it.

Decorative elements concentrated in and around the Cordoba mosque's niche mihrab replicate details of the decorative scheme of the qibla wall at the Prophet's Mos-

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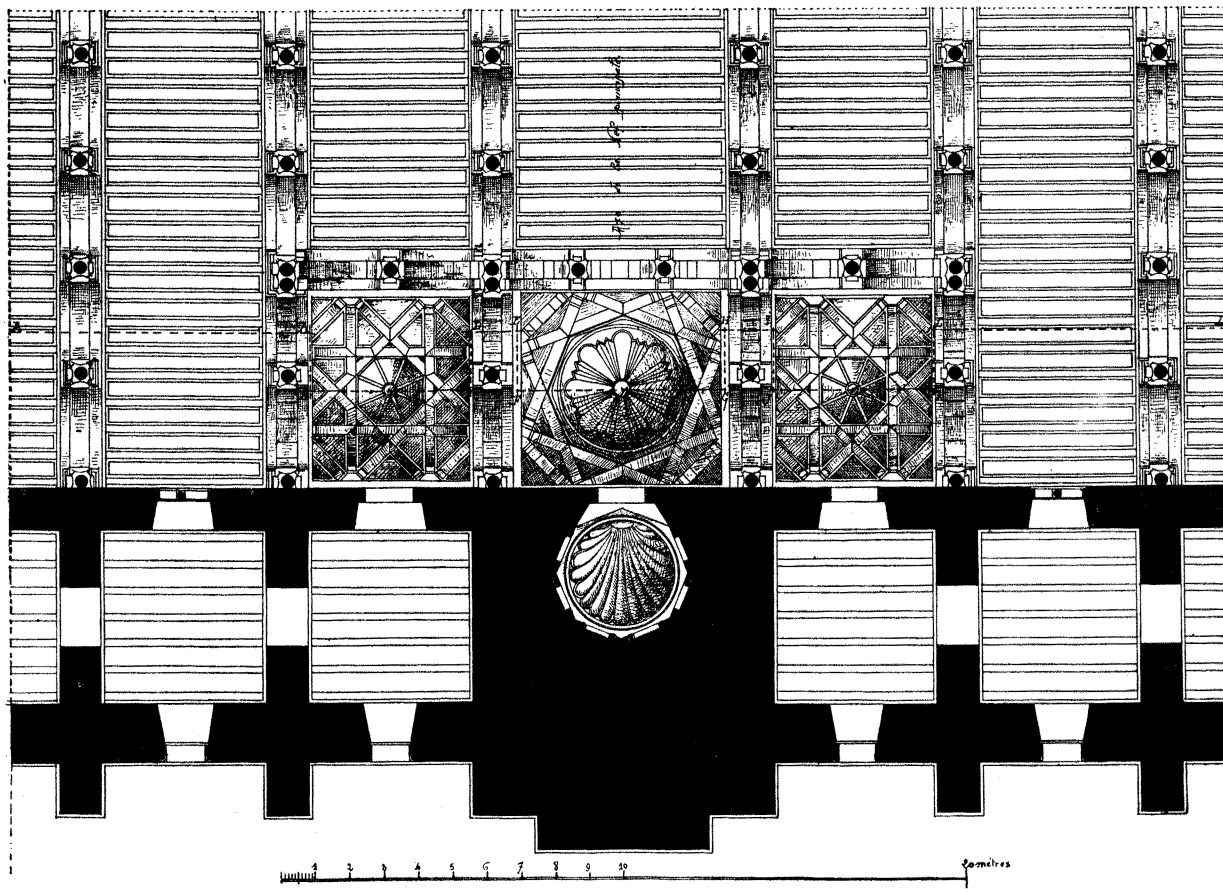

Fig. 11. Cordoba mosque. Plan of mihrab and maqsura. (After C. Nizet, *La Mosquée de Cordoue*, p. 24)

que. The fourteen windows mentioned in the description are represented in two groups at the Cordoba mosque, with seven blind trefoil arches enclosing mosaic scrolls and branches arranged in a line above the large horseshoe arch and seven more (counting the niche mihrab's arched opening) within the niche itself (figs. 6, 7). The medium and Kufic style of the Cordoban inscriptions, distinctive in their thickness and considered to be deliberately archaizing, again conform to the account.[80] In its totality, the organization of the Cordoba mosque's decorative program, with its alternating marble friezes, mosaic bands, carvings, and inscriptions, is a condensed representation of the decoration of the entire qibla wall described for Medina. This "summary" of the hallowed sanctuary and its qibla wall sharpens the meaning of al-Hakam's expansion and especially of the area around the niche mihrab, amplifying its iconographic charge and providing another explanation for the insistence on commemorating specific architectural features and decorative techniques — mosaics, inscriptions, mihrab niche, and marble revetments, the *bāb al-imām*, and the maqsura area in general — of the caliphal expansion.

The detailed description in *al-ʿIqd* allowed Sauvaget to reconstruct the qibla wall of the Prophet's Mosque in a manner that corresponds to the organization and vocabulary of decorative motifs known from other Umayyad monuments (fig. 12).[81] As is the case with the shifted niche and aisle, however, this section exhibits another inconsistency with its subject: the omission of the subject matter of the mosaic program of the qibla wall, which is known to have included representations of gardens and palaces that have counterparts in extant portions of the mosaic program at Damascus (fig. 13). Sauvaget rationalized this incongruity in what is an otherwise highly detailed account of the qibla wall as a result of the author's Cordoban origins, implying a familiarity with mosaics that led to his blasé attitude about those at the Prophet's Mosque. Though the author exhibits familiar-

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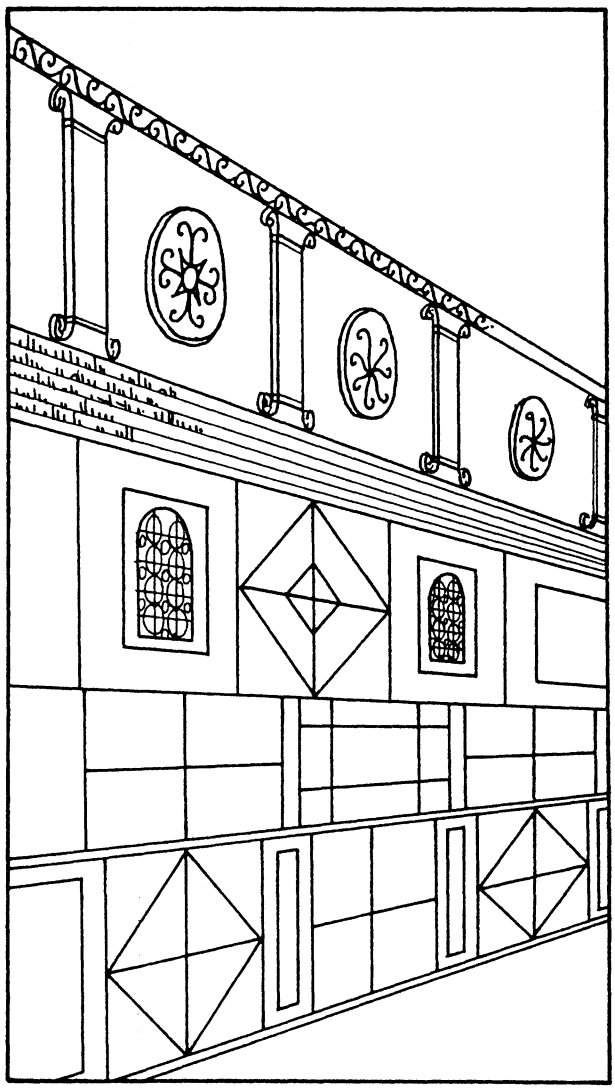

Fig. 12. Prophet's Mosque, Medina. Sauvaget's reconstruction of decorative scheme of the qibla wall. (After Jean Sauvaget, *La Mosquée omeyyade de Medine*, fig. 3)

ity with Cordoba's Friday mosque (as evident in the comparison with its windows), and though Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih may have been familiar with mosaics from Madinat al-Zahra (which was begun in 936), the Cordoba mosque itself is not known to have had any mosaic decoration prior to the expansion initiated by al-Hakam a quarter of a century after Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih's death. Further, the Cordoba mosque is the only Umayyad monument known not to have included representational subject matter in its mosaic program,[82] leaving only two possible explanations for the omission: as an oversight that is irreconcilable with the spirit and detail of the account yet repeated further on in the description and followed faithfully at the Cordoba mosque,[83] or as a conflation of the caliphal phase of Cordoba's mosque with the mosque of the Prophet. This conflation suggests that the description was written after al-Hakam had undertaken his expansion, but possibly before the last elements, the wood minbar and maqsura (which are mentioned in the description as old and simple), were in place.[84]

The possibility of a later date for the description of the Prophet's Mosque is supported by internal evidence from *al-ᶜIqd*. Shafiᶜ, who believed Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih to have been in Medina sometime before 929, also noted that the descriptions of the holy shrines differ in style from the remainder of the work, which also includes information about the Abbasid caliph al-Mutiᶜ (946–974) — indicating that the work was updated by a later hand.[85] Further, Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih is absent from medieval lists of travelers to the east and is not known ever to have made the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina.[86] As an addition to a work of *adab* that was much maligned by medieval readers for not presenting information about al-Andalus,[87] the description of the three holy shrines heightens the work's historiographical value by appropriating necessary caliphal responsibilities and prerogatives into the Umayyad domain.

Whether or not the description of the three holy shrines was added to *al-ᶜIqd*, its value to the iconography of the Cordoba mosque remains undiminished. The description of the Prophet's Mosque presents a first, and so far unique, instance of documented iconographic transfer that elucidates the means through which a major monument was invested with meaning. Re-created as an image of the Medinese shrine, the authority of al-Hakam's mosque was enhanced through its prototype, and particularly through association with the "mosque within a mosque" that incorporates memories and relics of the Prophet. As is the case at Medina, al-Hakam's expansion acts as a historical and architectural focusing device and instrument of commemoration. The emphatic central aisle at the Cordoba mosque inscribes a direct line from the new, charged, qibla wall and the niche mihrab supported by *ḥaqq* and *hudā* to ᶜAbd al-Rahman II's mihrab (whose four marble columns presumably flank al-Hakam II's niche mihrab), and, in turn, to ᶜAbd al-Rahman I and to the mosque's oldest memories and foundations, the reasons that precluded al-Hakam's correction of the mosque's orientation. This line is then extended beyond local Umayyad history to recall and commemorate critical moments and events in

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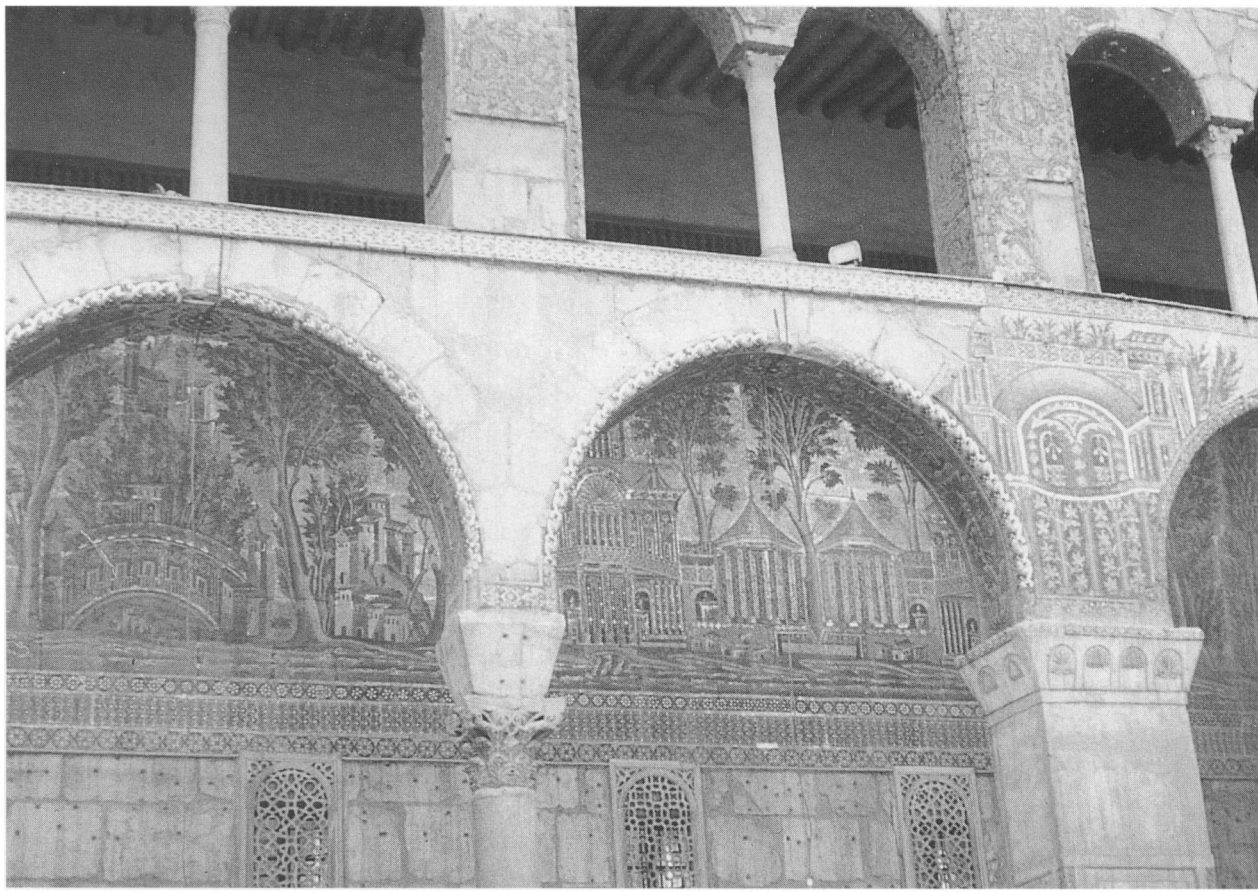

Fig. 13. Damascus mosque. Detail of mosaics on sanctuary courtyard façade.

Umayyad and Islamic history, thereby transcending geographical and temporal boundaries to participate in inter-Islamic discourses on leadership and caliphal authority. By creating a translucent, multifaceted monument charged with the symbolism of authority, the Andalusian Umayyads left a legacy whose multiple layers of meaning were of value to both Spanish and Islamic cultural history. They also left us a legacy of great informative value; one that defines new issues and directions in the investigation of medieval Islamic mechanisms of architectural iconography, of the documentary value of descriptions of the primary paradigmatic and iconographic model inherent in the Prophet's Mosque at Medina, and of the ways in which the Cordoba mosque itself was transformed into an authoritative source of architectural iconography.

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NOTES

1. For a discussion and a collection of texts pertinent to the mosque's Islamic identity, see Taha al-Wali, *al-Masājid fī al-Islām* (Beirut, 1988), pp. 602–81. A discussion of creative and cultural identities and of the national identity of forms suggested by the mosque of Cordoba is in Oleg Grabar, "Two Paradoxes in the Arts of the Spanish Peninsula," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden, 1992): 583–91; on the mosque's transformations, Rafael Monco, "The Mosque and the Cathedral," *FMR: The Magazine of Franco Maria Ricci* (1988): 98–117; analyses of medieval historical and archaeological information on the mosque in E. Levi-Provençal, "Les Citations du Muqtabis d'Ibn Hayyan relatives aux agrandissements de la grande-mosquée de Cordoue au IX^{e} siècle," *Arabica* 1 (1954): 89–92; Élie Lambert, "L'histoire de la grande-mosquée de Cordoue aux VIII et IX^{e} siècle d'après des textes inédits," *Annales d'Institut d'Études Orientales d'Alger* 2 (1936): 165–79.
2. Though ʿAbd al-Rahman disembarked at al-Mankab in September 755, he did not begin to consolidate his position until the battle of Cordoba in May of 756, an event of importance to the mosque's identity. For these events see *Akhbār Majmūʿa fī*

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Fatḥ al-Andalus wa Dhikri Umarāʾiha, ed. Emilio Lafuente y Alcántara (Madrid, 1867), pp. 75 f.

3. The architectural inspirations that have been suggested for Cordoba also include Byzantine, Hellenistic Syrian, Mesopotamian Abbasid, and local Spanish and Visigothic sources: Henri Terrasse, *L'Art Hispano-Mauresque des origines au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1932), pp. 126–51; Georges Marçais, *L'Architecture Musulmane d'Occident* (Paris, 1954), 135–82; Jerrilyn Dodds, "The Great Mosque of Cordoba," *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, ed. Jerrilyn D. Dodds (New York, 1992), pp. 11–25.
4. This is not to imply, as has often been stated, that the Cordoba mosque was the first to transform previously amorphous mosque spaces into spatially and architecturally ordered ones. Rather, Cordoba exhibits an individual sense of order that is somewhat different from, yet still related to, its chronological predecessors.
5. Marçais, *L'Architecture*, pp. 183 f.; Christian Ewert and J.P. Wisshak, *Forschungen zur almohadischen Moschee, Madrider Beitrage* 10 (Mainz am Rhein, 1984); Robert Hillenbrand, "'The Ornament of the World': Medieval Cordoba as a Cultural Center," *Legacy of Muslim Spain*, pp. 112–35, esp. 129–34.
6. All drawings of the Cordoba mosque are from C. Nizet, *La Mosquée de Cordoue* (Paris, 1905).
7. Ibn ʿIdhari al-Marrakushi, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib fī Tārīkh al-Maghrib*, 2 vols. (Beirut, 1950), vol. 2, *Akhbār al-Andalus*, pp. 348 f., esp. 348–49, where al-Nasir makes the mosque the subject of his first caliphal command.
8. Christian Ewert, *Spanische-Islamische Systeme* (Berlin, 1968).
9. For the *sabāṭ* and *al-mashraʿa al-kubra*, also called *al-maḥajja*, cf. Abu ʿAbdallah al-Himyari, *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār fī Khabar al-Aqtār: Ṣifat Jazīrat al-Andalus*, ed. E. Levi-Provençal (Cairo, 1937), p. 156; cf. Ibn ʿIdhari, *al-Bayān*, 2: 229, on ʿAbd al-Rahman II's construction and use of the *sabāṭ*.
10. For a discussion of the similarities between early Umayyad structures and the Cordoba mosque, see Hillenbrand, "The Ornament of the World," in *Legacy of Muslim Spain*, pp. 130–31; K.A.C. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, rev. ed. James W. Allan (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), pp. 43–88; 300–301; for interpretations of the Cordoba mosque as a reflection of the mosque of Damascus, see Jonathan M. Bloom, "The Revival of Early Islamic Architecture by the Umayyads of Spain," *The Medieval Mediterranean: Cross-Cultural Contacts*, ed. M. Chiat and K. Reyerson (St. Cloud, Minn., 1988), pp. 35–41; Dodds, "Great Mosque of Cordoba," *Al-Andalus*, pp. 22–23.
11. On the nature of Andalusian Malikism, Ibn Hayyan, *al-Muqtabas*, ed. Ahmad Ali al-Makki (Cairo, 1971), esp. the listing of Andalusian divergences and correspondences to Medinese Malikism p. 340, n. 318; Manuela Marin, "Muslim Religious Practices in al-Andalus," in *Legacy of Muslim Spain*, pp. 878–94.
12. Significantly, Imam Malik is the source for the hadith produced in Ibn Hazm's treatise on *fadāʾil al-Andalus*, see *Faḍāʾil al-Andalus wa Ahlihā, (li Ibn Ḥazm wa Ibn Saʿīd wa al-Shiqandi)*, ed. Salah al-Din al-Munajjid (Beirut, 1968), pp. 6–7.
13. Ahmad al-Maqarri, *Nafḥ al-Ṭib min Ghusn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb*, 4 vols. (Cairo, A.H. 1302), 3: 230.
14. Ibn Hayyan (997–1076), *al-Muqtabas fī Akhbār Bilād al-Andalus*, ed. ʿAbd al-Rahman ʿAli al-Hajji (Beirut, 1965), appendix, p. 245; Levi-Provençal, "Les Citations du Muqtabis," p. 91.
15. Al-Maqarri, *Nafḥ al-Ṭib*, 1: 263; cf. the foundation inscription at the mosque in E. Levi-Provençal, *Inscriptions Arabes d'Espagne* (Leiden and Paris, 1931), p. 15.
16. Al-Maqarri, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, 1: 263.
17. Al-Razi's information is derived from members of his own family, ʿIsa and Ahmad. Ibn ʿIdhari, *al-Bayān*, 2: 341; al-Maqqari, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, 1: 262, where the church is mentioned by name.
18. Ibid., Ibn ʿIdhari, *al-Bayān*, 2: 342.
19. The controversy surrounding the church is discussed in detail in Alsayyid ʿAbd al-Aziz Salem, *Qurṭuba: Ḥāḍirat al-Khilāfa fī al-Andalus*, 2 vols. (Beirut, 1971), 1: 269 f.; cf. Ocaña Jiménez, "La basilica de San Vicente y la Gran Mezquita de Cordoba: Nuevo Examen de los Textos," *Al-Andalus* 4 (1942): 348–66.
20. *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, p. 61.
21. For example, Abu al-Hasan ʿAli ibn al-Husayn ibn ʿAli al-Masʿūdi, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa Maʿādin al-Jawhar*, 4 vols. (Beirut, n.d.), 3: 166. In al-Andalus, this charged act continued to be a reality into the days of ʿAbd al-Rahman III and al-Hakam II; for example, Ibn ʿIdhari, *al-Bayan*, 2: 281. This act is also a topos that appears in the anti-Islamic poem by Nicephorus Phocas as well as its eastern and western responses; see Salah al-Din al-Munajjid, *Qaṣīdat Imberāṭōr al-Rūm Niqfūr Fōqās fī Hijāʾ al-Islām wa al-Muslimīm wa Qasīdatā al-Imāmayn al-Qaffāl al-Shāshi wa Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī fī al-Raddi ʿAlayh* (Beirut, 1982).
22. Al-Masʿudi, *Murūj*, 3: 158; *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* (Cairo, 1933), vol. 1, no. 18.
23. The major difference being that Cordoba's mosque had in fact been founded under the Syrian Umayyad caliphate.
24. Quoted in al-Maqarri, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, 1: 263.
25. ʿAbd al-Rahman's destiny is recognized after his father's death, when he is taken to al-Rusafa and received by his uncle and grandfather; the latter identifies him with words that approximate Abbasid expressions of the onset of a messianic age, *tadāna al-ʾamr, huwa hadhā . . . wa allahi qad ʿarafatu al-ʿalāmata wa al-ʾamārāta bi wajhihi wa ʿunqihi* ("the matter is close at hand, it is he . . . by God, I recognize the signs on his face and neck"). Later on, ʿAbd al-Rahman *dhī al-ẓafīratayn* (of the two braids) is recognized as the true "son of kings" by a Jewish seer, a prophecy that results in saving his life, since he is to fulfill a manifest destiny, *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, pp. 51–52; 54–55. Cf. the accounts of the future Abbasid caliphs analyzed in Jacob Lassner, *Islamic Revolution and Historical Memory: An Inquiry into the Arts of Abbasid Apologetics* (New Haven, 1986); E. Kohlberg, "Some Imami Shiʿi Interpretations of Umayyad History," *Studies on the First Century of Islam*, ed. G.H.A. Juynboll (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill., 1982), pp. 145–59, for Shiʿi "books of destiny."
26. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd*, 4: 498.
27. Ibn ʿIdhari, *al-Bayān*, 2: 354.
28. That this portion of the account is detached from a specific narrative context is indicated by the existence of a number of early variants that apply to both the Damascus and the Medina mosques. A Byzantine variant by Theophanes provides a different perspective on the account and applies it to ʿAbd al-Malik and the Meccan *ḥaram*. Three important variants, al-Tabari's in relation to Medina, al-Maqdisi's in relation to Damascus, and the one by Theophanes are in Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), p. 132.
29. For the Byzantine master mosaicist at Cordoba, George Marçais, "Sur les mosaïques de la Grande Mosquée de Cordoue," *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honour of K.A.C. Creswell*

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(Cairo, 1965), pp.147–56; Henri Stern, *Les mosaïques de la Grande Mosquée de Cordoue* (Berlin, 1976), pp.6–47.

30. This declaration is reproduced in Ibn ʿIdhari, *al-Bayān* 2: 297–98.
31. *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, 59, the comparison is made at two levels, the bloodiness of the battle and its aftermath, and the fact that it constituted a war between two Muslim groups.
32. The battle and its aftermath are presented in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd*, 4: 337 f.; a detailed account from an earlier source is Nasr ibn Muzahim al-Minqari, *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salam Muhammad Harun (Cairo, 1365); A.G.R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate* A.D., 661–750 (London and Sydney, 1986), pp.28 f.
33. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd*, 4: 285–310, for Uthman's murder, 4: 475–87, for the Umayyad massacre. Abbasid historiography, whose strategy of excluding the Umayyads from the status of the Prophet's *ahl al-bayt* included discrediting the Umayyad progenitor ʿAbd Shams, provides material for projecting the injustices even further back in time; on this subject, see Moshe Sharon, "The Umayyads as *Ahl al-Bayt*," *Jerusalem Studies on Arabic and Islam* 14 (1991): 115–52.
34. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd*, 4: 292, where ʿUthman forestalls, but does not avert, his death, by telling Muhammad ibn Abī Bakr, "God's Book stands between us." Al-Walid ibn Yazid replays this move, seeking protection in the Qurʾan and emphasizing the injustice of his own imminent assassination, by picking up a *muṣḥaf* and declaring that his death will be "like that of my cousin ʿUthman" (ibid., 4: 462).
35. Al-Sharif al-Idrisi, *al-Maghrib wa al-Sūdān wa Miṣr wa al-Andalus* (extracted from *Kitāb Nuzḥat al-Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq*), ed. R. Dozy and M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1968), pp.210–11; al-Himyari, *Ṣifat al-Maghrib*, p.155; al-Maqarri, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, 4: 283 f. on the *muṣḥaf* and its removal to Tlemsen and Fez; A. Dessus-Lamare, "Le mushaf de la Mosquée de Cordoue et son mobilier mécanique," *Journal Asiatique* 23 (1938): 552–75; Oleg Grabar, "Notes sur le mihrab de la Grande Mosquée de Cordoue," *Le Mihrab*, ed. Alexandre Papadopoulo (Leiden, 1990), pp.115–22.
36. Muhammad Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, ed. Ihsan ʿAbbas, 9 vols. (Beirut, 1985), 5: 233, "*wa qad sālat ʿalaynā aḥāditha min qibali hadhā al-mashriqi la naʿrifuhā wa la naʿrifu ʿanhā illā qirāʾati al-qurʾān*," follows by mentioning the redaction and rules collected by ʿUthman with the help of Zayd ibn Thabit. This report is to be compared to the Abbasid caliph al-Mansur's reported desire to publish and disseminate Malik's *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* in various parts of the empire, similarly using it as the authoritative collection of Islamic regulations; see Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra, al-qism al-mutammim li tābiʿī ahl al-Madīna*, ed. Ziad Muhammad Mansur (Medina, 1987), p.440.
37. The quotation is from verse 17:33, which defines *ẓulm* as the taking of life sanctified by God, a condition of absence of *ḥaqq*. For the first instance of use, Ibn Muzahim al-Minqari, *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, p.91; the second, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd*, 4: 299. The instrument used for the rallying cry was in fact ʿUthman's bloodied shirt, sent to Damascus by his wife Nāʾila along with a letter urging revenge; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd*, 4: 300–301; cf. al-Tabari, *Tārīkh*, 13 vols. (Beirut, 1987), 4: 432, where a Damascene messenger reports to ʿAli that he had left "sixty thousand shaykhs crying under ʿUthman's shirt, which they have hung on the minbar of Damascus."
38. Al-Minqari, *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, pp.91–92.
39. The quotation is from verse 2:137, which speaks of schisms and abrogation of belief, and is commonly seen in Shiʿi writings and inscriptions.
40. This information, which again originates from Ibn ʿAbbas, is also included in pro-Abbasid compilations such as the anonymous eleventh-century *Akhbār al-Khulafāʿ*, ed. Peter Greyaznovich and Michael Piotrovsky (Moscow, 1967), pp.38–39.
41. Ibn ʿIdhari, *al-Bayān*, 2: 330. A summary of the historical and political situation in al-Andalus, in terms both of internal affairs and of relations with the other two Islamic caliphates, is Mahmoud Makki, "The Political History of al-Andalus," *Legacy of Muslim Spain*, esp. pp.34–40.
42. Despite the fragmentary nature of the program, the survival of inscriptions in the most important areas of the mosque allows a reconstruction of its message. For a general interpretation, see Grabar, "Le mihrab," pp.116–17. The inscriptions are recorded in two main sources: Manuel Ocaña Jiménez, "Las inscripciones en mosaicos del mihrab de la Gran Mezquita de Córdoba y la incógnita de su data," in Henri Stern, *Les mosaïques de la Grande Mosquée de Cordoue* (Berlin, 1976), pp.48–52, especially for al-Hakam's western entrance and for the later reconstruction of those around the eastern doorway by Amados de los Rios, considered authentic in E. Levi-Provençal, *Inscriptions Arabes d'Espagne*, 2 vols. (Leiden and Paris, 1931).
43. That is, concepts of *irjaʾ* and *murjiʾa* ideology as developed in the later part of the seventh century, J. van Ess, "The Early Development of Kalam," *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society*, ed. G.H.A. Juynboll (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill., 1982) pp.109–23; cf. Wilferd Madelung, "Murjiʾa," *EI*, 2nd ed. on the paradox between *irjāʾ* (deferring judgment to God, particularly in the matter of ʿUthman and ʿAli) and the later Umayyad tradition of cursing ʿAli. On al-Hasan's non-partisan position in the war between ʿAbd al-Malik and Ibn al-Zubayr, Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5: 92 f., 107–11. This ideology cannot be applied wholesale to al-Andalus where the situation is complicated further by the adoption of Maliki law, on the one hand, and the suppression of the Qadariyya, on the other. In this context, the mosque's inscriptions provide important documentation for further necessary investigation into Andalusian Umayyad ideologies. Points raised by the inscriptions are discussed, with varying perspectives, in Ibn Ḥazm al-Ẓahiri al-Andalusi (994–1064), *al-Faṣl fī al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, 5 vols. (Cairo, 1964), 4: 106 f., on *faḍl* and *taklīf*; pp.139 f. on *hudā*.
44. On faith versus actions in the Umayyad definition of believer status, see van Ess, "The Early Development of Kalam," p.117; on *mulk*, and the opposing argument of predestination toward tyranny, p.115.
45. Levi-Provençal, *Inscriptions*, no. 13; Jiménez, "Las Inscripciones," p.49.
46. While the quoted portion of the verse reproduces the speech of the new believers, it begins with "on no soul does God place a burden greater than it can bear, it gets every good that it earns and it suffers every ill that it earns," thereby literally extracting a statement through which the Qadariyya defined the Umayyads as *jabābira*; cf. Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr (aw Mafātīh al-Ghayb)*, ed. Ibrahim Shams al-Din and Ahmad Shams al-Din, 32 vols. (Beirut, 1992), 7: 148.
47. Jiménez, "Las Inscripciones," p.49; Levi-Provençal, *Inscriptions*, no. 13.
48. Jiménez, "Las Inscripciones," p.48. Note, however, that Jimé-

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nez gives 22:76–78, and that his verse numbering system diverges in several cases. The verses have here been checked against the inscriptions and provided with numbers and translations in accordance with Yusuf Ali's *The Glorious Koran*, whose numbering corresponds to Levi-Provençal's in *Inscriptions*.

49. The verse continues, "and that you may be witnesses to mankind, so establish regular prayers, give regular charity, and hold fast to God, He is your protector, the best to protect and the best to help." For interpretations of these verses and the designation *muslimūn*, see al-Razi, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr*, 23: 69 f., esp. pp. 72 f. for *jihād* as spiritual strife.
50. Levi-Provençal, *Inscriptions*, no. 10.
51. Ibid., no. 12.
52. The problematic term *tashbīk* is discussed in Levi-Provençal, *Inscriptions*, p. 16, where the author rejects its interpretation as decoration and argues that it is a reference to the intersecting arches in the maqsura area. However, in his twelfth-century description of the Cordoba mosque, al-Idrisi uses the term *tashbīk* in reference to the niche mihrab's hood, which he describes as "a single piece of marble that is *mashbūka*, carved, and decorated." The term may then refer to either the ribbing or the segmentation and reticulation of the domes; see al-Idrisi, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq*, p. 210 (Arabic text), p. 260 (French translation, *dentelé*); al-Himyari, *Sifat*, pp. 154–55.
53. The pious dimensions of the act are expanded in reports of the mosque's funding, as witnessed by Cordoba's religious establishment, from al-Hakam's private inheritance; see Ibn ʿIdhari, *al-Bayān*, 2: 349–50.
54. Jiménez, "Las Inscripciones," p. 49.
55. Levi-Provençal, *Inscriptions*, pp. 13–14, again discusses this problematic term and suggests that it refers to the two pairs of columns flanking the mihrab.
56. Levi-Provençal, *Inscriptions*, no. 11. The quotation omits the first and last parts of the verse, removing the speakers, whose hearts are cleared of *ghill* and who dwell in paradise, and the final statement, "and they shall hear thee cry, 'Behold, the garden before you'." Al-Razi, *Tafsīr*, 14: 78 f., esp. p. 80, records ʿAli's wish that he, ʿUthman, Talha, and al-Zubayr are meant by the verse, that is, that they will be among the "people of paradise" whose hearts are cleared of all sedition, indicating specific interpretations of the whole of verse 7:43 in relation to the Umayyads, ʿAlids, and Khawarij, and the *fitna* in general. Especially important is the balance between *qudra* and *dāʿiya* as the underlying determinants of action, and the subtle difference in the phraseology of this verse in *maṣaḥif ahl al-shām*, though the Cordoban inscriptions follow standard wording, pp. 80–81.
57. While al-Maqarri, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, 1: 243, reports that the Prophet's name was miraculously inscribed on a number of objects in the mosque, he is skeptical of a report about three red columns, one of which was inscribed with the name "Muhammad", another had a figure of Moses's staff, and the last a figure of Noah's crow, "all created by God, and not by human hands." While these columns may not be the same as the four next to the mihrab (which are green and red) they reflect the ways in which the mosque was regarded at later times.
58. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd*, 4: 499, *qad awḍaḥa allahu l'il Islāmi minhājan wa al-nāsu qad dakhalū fī al-dīni afwājan*, implying that ʿAbd al-Rahman III was the instrument through which God effected this adjustment.
59. Despite the paucity of comparable inscriptions, this correspondence is evident in Umayyad and Abbasid inscriptions at Mecca and Medina; compare Abbasid inscriptions at Mecca, *Répertoire chronologique*, vol. 1, no. 40 and at Medina, no. 38, and the Umayyad inscriptions at Medina, nos. 46, 47, usurped by the Abbasid al-Mahdi. The Cordoba mosque's denominations further recall verse 24:36, "in houses (*buyūt*) that God has allowed to be raised for the celebration of His name therein," quoted in ʿAbd al-Rahman III's own commemorative inscription, Levi-Provençal, *Inscriptions*, no. 9.
60. Thus the mosque seems to have raised speculations, similar to those directed to ʿAbd al-Malik and the Dome of the Rock, that it was meant to divert pilgrimage; see Taha al-Wali's objections, *al-Masājid*, pp. 605–8.
61. The entire section that includes verses 9:108–110 contrasts two masjids, of *taqwa* and *ḍirār*, which have a variety of later interpretations. The most significant sections include 108, "There is a mosque whose foundation was laid from the first day upon piety; it is more worthy of your standing forth (for prayer) therein; in it are men who love to be purified, and God loves those who make themselves pure"; 109, "Which then is best? He that lays his foundation upon piety to God and his Good Pleasure [sanction]? Or he that lays his foundation on an undermined sandcliff ready to crumble to pieces? And it does crumble to pieces with him, into the fire of hell. And God guides not (*lā yahdī*) people that do wrong." The identity of the first mosque and the mosque of *taqwa* was the subject of much debate, and is often considered to have been the mosque of Quba, an identification that, however, was not supported by the Umayyads. For traditions on the mosque, see M.J. Kister, "You Shall Only Set out for Three Mosques: A Study of an Early Tradition," *Le Museon* 82 (1969): 173–87. On the Prophet's foundation of the first mosque, Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1: 239–41, and on *masjid al-taqwa*, 1: 244–46.
62. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd*, 4: 488; *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, p. 51, on ʿAbd al-Rahman I as orphan; pp. 54–55, on *dhū al-ẓafīratayn* (of the two braids); and pp. 118–19 on *Ṣaqr Quraysh*; Ibn ʿIdhari, *al-Bayān*, 2: 182–85, on ʿAbd al-Rahman III and his father ʿAbdallah.
63. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd*, 4: 500; cf. al-Farazdaq's verses after ʿUthman's murder, chastising the Medinese for following a path lacking in *hudā* (ibid., 4: 301–2) and, similarly, Hassan ibn Thabit's verses, where the poet applies the Umayyad title *khalīfatu-allah* (ibid., 4: 297). For ʿUthman's murder as a consistent theme of Umayyad poetry, W. ʿArafat, "The Historical Background to the Elegies on ʿUthman b. Affan Attributed to Hassan b. Thabit," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 33 (1970): 276–82.
64. Memories of earlier Abbasid propaganda against the Umayyads are preserved in *al-ʿIqd*; the specific designation is from the verses recited on the eve of the massacre (4:484) beginning "*ammā al-duʿātu ila al-jināni fahāshimun wa banū umayyata min duʿāti al-nāri.*"
65. In the edition used throughout this article, the *ʾurjūza* or narrative poem appears at the end of volume 4. The description of the three holy shrines, part of *kitāb al-zabarjada al-thāniya*, is in 6: 255–65, and correctly describes the Abbasid maqsura with which al-Mahdi (775–85) replaced the Umayyad one. The following analysis of the description of the Prophet's mosque refers to 6: 260–63, but uses all available editions of *al-ʿIqd* (which show minor differences), as well as translations in Muhammad Shafiʿ, "A Description of the Two Sanctuaries of

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Islam by Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih," *A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Edward G. Browne*, ed. T.W. Arnold and A. Nicholson (Cambridge, 1922), 416–38; and various locations in Jean Sauvaget, *La Mosquée omeyyade de Medine* (Paris, 1947). On Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih as belle-lettrist and poet, and on *al-ᶜIqd*, C. Brockelmann, "Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih," *EI*, 2nd ed.; Pierre Cachia, "Andalusi Belles Lettres," *Legacy of Muslim Spain*, pp. 307–15, esp. p. 310.

66. The description uses the term *balāṭ* to refer to aisles, bays, and arcades. Since the Prophet's Mosque is not known to have had arches beyond those facing the courtyard, the term aisle is used to distinguish transversal or perpendicular disposition in relation to the qibla wall in accordance with the description.
67. *Al-ᶜIqd*, 6: 260, "*Qubālat al-miḥrāb fī mūsatatī al-balāṭāt, balāṭāun mudhahhabun kullahu shuqqat bihi al-balāṭāt min al-ṣaḥn ila al-balāt al-ladhī yantahī bi al-miḥrāb wa lā yashuqqahu.*"
68. Ibid.; "*Fī al-balāṭ al-ladhī yalī al-miḥrāb*" can also be understood as "in the bay facing the mihrab."
69. Sauvaget, *La Mosquée*, fig. 5; G.I. Bisheh, "The Mosque of the Prophet in Medina," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1979, fig. 9; Saleh Lamiᶜ Mustafa, *al-Madīna al-Munawwara* (Beirut, 1981), fig. 52, and the studies accompanying these reconstructions. It is important to note, however, that while the mosque survived into the fifteenth century, the shifted niche mihrab is not mentioned in accounts pre-dating the eleventh.
70. Sauvaget, *La Mosquée*, p. 81.
71. *Al-ᶜIqd*, 6: 261, "*wa al-miḥrābu fī mūsatati al-sūri al-qiblī.*" Cf. Sauvaget, *La Mosquée*, p. 83.
72. This "mirror" is described with much skepticism by Ibn Jubayr, who mentions both a polished, reflective, yellow stone named *mirᵓāt Khuṣraw*, and a Chosroe's "goblet" above the arch; translated in Sauvaget, *La Mosquée*, p. 84, and understood as a visual marker for the Prophet's *muṣalla*.
73. Sauvaget, *La Mosquée*, p. 84, n. 1, rejects the terms "original mihrab" as an "erreur d'interprétation de l'auteur"; however, mihrab here designates the space (*muṣalla*) occupied by the Prophet in prayer, which is why the term has been rendered as "niche" or "*muṣalla*" elsewhere in this analysis. For the etymology of the term and its application to spaces, see Nuha N.N. Khoury, "The Mihrab: From Text to Form," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (forthcoming).
74. *Al-ᶜIqd*, 6: 261, "*bayna hadhayn al-bābayn wa al-miḥrāb mamshan musaṭṭahin laṭīf.*" A literal understanding of the sentence is architecturally impossible, and it must be taken to mean that there is a walkway or wider space in front of the mihrab and its flanking doors that acts as a connective.
75. Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture'," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 1–33. For a slightly later description of the Medina mosque, see Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn al-Najjar, *al-Durra al-Thamīna fī Tārīkh al-Madīna* (Mecca, 1956), pp. 372–74.
76. For a detailed medieval description of the mosque, al-Idrisi, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq*, pp. 208–12; al-Himyari, *Ṣifat*, pp. 153–58.
77. The last five chapters of the Qurᵓan; cf. Ibn al-Najjar, *al-Durra*, p. 375, who mentions inscriptions added by al-Mahdi, but many of which are in fact Umayyad and have fragmentary counterparts at Cordoba.
78. *Tarasa*, can be rendered as "disks," as per Sauvaget, *La Mosquée*, p. 78, which would provide a similar meaning. The translation "round shield" is used here to maintain consistency with the description of the dome as also shaped like a disk or round shield.
79. The description uses *quḍbān* again in this location, specifying "*quḍbānun wa awrāqun min dhahab.*" The translation "scroll" is in line with the floral decoration indicated for this frieze, resulting in a "golden vine" motif that agrees with Sauvaget, *La Mosquée*, p. 79, where this second occurrence of the term is rendered "*tiges.*"
80. Antonio Fernández-Puertas, "Calligraphy in al-Andalus," *Legacy of Muslim Spain*, pp. 639–75, esp. pp. 643–47.
81. Sauvaget, *La Mosquée*, pp. 78–81, fig. 3; cf. the original marble plaques in the western vestibule of the Damascus mosque, Creswell, *A Short Account*, fig. 34.
82. Though no palaces or gardens are portrayed in the surviving mosaics of the Dome of the Rock, the program includes crowns and trees. At the Cordoba mosque, the motifs most closely resembling representational elements are the crolls and branches in the blind trefoil arches above the niche mihrab, reflections of new tastes and ornamental formulations.
83. For the second omission, *al-ᶜIqd*, 6: 262, *wa ḥīṭānu al-masjidi kulluhā min dākhilihi muzakhrafatun bi al-rukhāmi wa al-dhahabi wa al-fusayfisāᵓ awwaluhā wa ᵓākhiruhā* ("the mosque's inner walls are decorated with marble, gilding, and mosaics from beginning to end"). Sauvaget, *La Mosquée*, p. 80, n. 3, understands the walls as those of the sanctuary, though the passage indicates that they comprise the courtyard façades. The mosaics at Medina are often described; for example, Ibn al-Najjar, *al-Durra*, pp. 272–73.
84. *Al-ᶜIqd*, 6: 261, correctly describes the Abbasid maqsura that replaced al-Walid's, "the maqsura screen extends from the western wall, where it abuts the portal, to the vestibule adjoining the eastern wall. From this vestibule one can ascend to the mosque's roof. The [screen] is an old and simple one, with crenellations and four doors." This is followed by the mention of the Prophet's *rawḍa*, minbar, and tomb and further on by the courtyard and three minarets, ending with the conduct proper for visiting the Prophet's mosque-shrine. The description again provides points of correspondance with the Cordoba mosque, particularly the upper galleries of the qibla side.
85. Shafiᶜ, "A Description of Two Sanctuaries," pp. 421–22.
86. Al-Maqarri, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, 2: 326 f., and p. 378 for a grandson of his; cf. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, "Andalusi Poetry: The Golden Period," *Legacy of Muslim Spain*, pp. 317–66, esp. pp. 328–30; and n. 25.
87. This is in fact a primary reason for Ibn Hazm's and al-Shiqandi's defense of al-Andalus and its scholars, see n. 12 above.

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