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THE BYZANTINE HERITAGE IN THE *DĀR AL-ISLĀM*: CHURCHES AND MOSQUES IN AL-RUHA BETWEEN THE SIXTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES

In the study of the formation of early Islamic art and architecture, the presence and role of late antique Christian religious buildings are elements still largely overlooked. Recent discoveries, mostly due to epigraphic and archaeological studies, have revealed the existence of churches and the foundation of new ones falling chronologically far beyond the traditional boundary of the Islamic conquest.[1] While for various reasons this phenomenon has become particularly evident in rural areas, the analysis of churches located in towns at the time of the Islamic conquest still presents a sort of paradox: while it is well known that the majority of the population was Christian at least until the tenth century,[2] its architecture, art, and material culture, starting with places of worship, appear neither in the common narrative of early Islamic history and art nor in histories of the Christian communities in the *Dār al-Islām*.[3] With the exception of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and its interrelation with the Dome of the Rock, almost none of the churches used by the Christian communities in the cities of Bilad al-Sham are mentioned in discussions of the formation of early Islamic art and architecture.

Starting with the city of Urfa (known as Edessa and al-Ruha in ancient times), this article examines the presence and role of late antique churches in the urban context of the medieval *Dār al-Islām*. In particular, we will attempt to clarify the connection between these churches and the mosques in the cities under investigation. Such a relationship moves from one of simple coexistence to substitution, the latter due to the neglect of late antique churches caused mainly by the diminishing Christian presence and the changing attitudes of Muslim societies towards their religious minorities. Within this framework, the way in which Muslim patrons searched for and reused late antique / Byzantine artifacts for their new mosques represents a faithful mirror of the shifting status of churches over the centuries.

Because of the history and structure of the academic fields involved in this analysis, some periods in Urfa's past have received more attention than others. The recurring reference to Urfa in early twentieth–century academic literature, for instance, was motivated by the significant role the city played in the early stages of Christianity.[4] More recently, because of a new approach to studying early Islamic history, several scholars have successfully worked on a remarkable number of literary sources produced within the local (northern Syria and northwestern Mesopotamia) Christian communities, seeking to further explain the critical period of the seventh century by examining some of the non-Muslim accounts of the Islamic conquest.[5] Finally, the early modern and modern eras of the city have been the subject of intense discussion since the documents of the Turkish archives began to shed new light on the life of this provincial city during the Ottoman period.[6]

The medieval period (seventh to fifteenth centuries)[7] has often been considered an extension of the late antique / Byzantine period, following a pattern of decline culminating in the Crusaders' defeat.[8] In addition, because of the absence of monumental remains and archaeological excavations, the reconstruction of Urfa's pre-Ottoman urban fabric and buildings has been particularly difficult.[9] Hence, the religious art and architecture of the medieval period still lack further interpretation since they appear somehow hemmed in between the memories of the late antique / Byzantine past and the Ottoman monuments still visible in the city today.

In exploring medieval Islamic Urfa, this essay will integrate Christian art and architecture into the discussion, showing how this approach might shed new light

on the general analysis of early Islamic societies and on the specific subject of the formation of Islamic art. If Edessa is the "Christian" name of the city and Urfa the Turkish one, al-Ruha—its Arabic name—will be used to describe the early medieval era of the city, referred to in Eastern Christian sources as "the time of the Arabs."[10]

BEYOND THE SEVENTH-CENTURY ISLAMIC CONQUEST

Edessa / al-Ruha, which fell to the Arabs in 639, was a strategic base during the campaign waged by Heraclius (r. 610–41) against the Persians (621–26), as well as during his withdrawal in the face of Muslim advances a few years later. Probably for this reason, the significant role al-Ruha played in western Mesopotamia appears to have also been recognized by Muslims during their conquest.[11] Unfortunately, the actual process of the Islamic conquest can not be described in detail, since both the Christian and Muslim sources are later reconstructions, often written to support or strengthen certain positions relevant to the social and political situations of the ninth century or later.[12] In these later works, the details of both the conquest and the pact supposedly established between the two sides (known as the Pact of ʿUmar [after the caliph ʿUmar (r. 633–44)]) became powerful argumentative tools used in the negotiation of a *modus vivendi* between the Christian majority and the Muslim ruling minority, instead of being faithful accounts of events that had transpired centuries before. Even if the known versions of the "Pact of ʿUmar" may contain some parts dating to the period of the conquests and the related treaties, it nevertheless represented a later stage in the relations between the *dhimmī* population (non-Muslim communities under Islamic rule) and Muslim rulers.[13] Through this pact, the members of non-Muslim communities negotiated their relationship (both duties and rights) with their Muslim leaders. Taxes, property matters, building and restoration permissions, and behavioral and dress codes were some of the issues addressed in the pact. In the early treaties established during the Islamic conquest only some of these matters were negotiated between the two sides. In fact, the early treaties were mainly concerned with negotiating the submission of a city and establishing the capitation tax for the conquered communities while guaranteeing them the preservation of their private and religious properties.

At the same time, however, the examination of a series of scattered sources composed after the Islamic conquest may help to reconstruct, if not the exact terms of the treaties negotiated during the conquest, then at least the general trends characterizing the transition that the Christian communities underwent from a Byzantine to an Islamic rule. With respect to al-Ruha's cultural life, places of worship were obviously a good indicator of the ongoing process of the transfer of power.

It is clear, for instance, that no church was destroyed during the conquest.[14] As documented by The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle of 1234, "each confession had assigned to it those temples that were found in its possession."[15] Indeed, this passage is consistent with the different versions of the pact governing al-Ruha's conquest transmitted by al-Baladhuri (d. 892),[16] and with some later descriptions of the city. The rapid withdrawal of the army led by Heraclius left the area without defense so that cities like Dara, Amida, and Edessa—three Byzantine strongholds against the Persians that were renovated, strengthened, and embellished in the sixth century[17]—quickly surrendered when confronted with the advancing Arab-Muslim armies.[18] Western Mesopotamia enjoyed a sort of autonomy in the Sufyanid period (up to 685). There were fewer soldiers involved in the "Arab invasion" in this area than elsewhere, and the new Muslim taxation system was implemented at a slower pace in northern Syria and western al-Jazira than in other areas.[19] Hence, Christian communities were supposedly given more latitude in decision-making.

Several sources inform us that after the conquest church repairs were allowed, as recorded after the devastation caused by earthquakes in 678–79 and 718.[20] The first tremor left part of the structure of al-Ruha's Great Church (i.e., cathedral) in ruins. Michael the Syrian recorded the destruction of the ciborium and of two of the church walls, while Theophanes described the extensive damage done to a dome of the cathedral (perhaps the small dome of the ciborium). Both authors mention that the Umayyad caliph Muʿawiya (r. 660–80) was somehow involved in their restoration.[21]

The authorization or endorsement given by the caliph is extremely important to understanding the mechanisms governing the relations between the local elites and the central rulers, especially when compared to later attitudes. In Canon number 3 of the Nestorian synod held in 676 (almost forty years after the conquest), it was explicitly stated that the construction of new churches and monasteries was permissible only if carried out under the supervision of a bishop. No particular Islamic authority or prohibition was cited. Rather, the authority to grant permission for a new construction lay with the local Christian clergy.[22] As Robinson suggests, the main matters of controversy were not construction or renovation in themselves, but the chain of permission and authority behind such decision-making.[23] In the *Life of Gabriel of Qartmin* (Tur ʿAbdin), Mar Gabriel (ca. seventh century) is said to have been received with great joy by the emir, who "gave him a *prostagma* (official document) signed with his own hand, with ordinances on all the points he had asked for: in it he granted all the *suryāyē* (Syrian Orthodox)…[permission for] the building of churches and monasteries."[24] Hence, if it is true that the construction of new churches was a common feature across Christian communities during early Islamic rule, the Mesopotamian area seems to have undergone a particularly intense period of building activity.[25]

Another figure worth mentioning is Athanasius bar Gumayer (ca. late seventh / early eighth century), who was highly involved with the local elites and central government. His biography illustrates both the relations between the different Christian communities and the attitudes of the ruling powers and the Christians toward building activities after the Islamic conquest. The caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 685–705) ordered Athanasius to tutor his brother, ʿAbd al-ʿAziz, the governor of Egypt, where Athanasius probably also held the position of tax collector.[26] A member of a Jacobite family in al-Ruha, Athanasius was identified as a landowner and the patron of church restorations and construction in both al-Fustat and al-Ruha. According to some Christian sources, Athanasius sponsored two churches built *ex novo* in al-Fustat, along with the renovation in al-Ruha of the Church of the Mother of God and of another building as a baptistery. In this last building, he also provided

the canals and a basin covered with brass and decorated with marble, gold, and silver. It is stated that this basin was such a fine-looking piece that it was compared with the one sponsored, under Justinian (r. 527–65), by the bishop Amazonius in the old Great Church of Edessa.[27]

It is probable that the Jacobite Athanasius's authority was respected by both the Umayyad rulers and church officials, the latter either Melkite or Jacobite. Due to changes instituted by Heraclius a few years before the Islamic conquest,[28] Melkite officials, at least in the cities, filled the highest positions of power.[29] In al-Ruha, and probably elsewhere, they were assigned the Great Church,[30] and in al-Fustat and Hulwan (in Egypt), where Athanasius worked side by side with the Umayyad governor, Melkites served as chamberlains.[31] After ʿAbd al-ʿAziz's death, Athanasius went back to Damascus, where his presence and wealth created some discontent among the local Melkite elite. He was so rich that he once offered to pay a tax collector in al-Ruha 5,000 dinars in order to prevent the *mandylion*, al-Ruha's most famous icon, from being taken away.[32]

Indeed, the traditional Byzantine hierarchy within the Melkite and Jacobite communities was challenged by the nature of the new Islamic rule. A certain degree of autonomy and the absence of the Byzantine civil administrator, combined with the capacity of the people of al-Ruha to adapt to a changing world, presented the city's Christian majority with a number of new opportunities.[33] With the transition to Muslim rule, the boundaries between the various Christian communities were no longer lines of exclusion from access to power; what mattered instead were the personal relations that a Christian individual maintained with a Muslim ruler, or the socio-political weight of a family, insofar as it was acknowledged and integrated into the ruling system of the Muslims.[34] A passage by al-Jahiz (ninth century) epitomizes the status of the Christians in this new "world of opportunities": "Among them are to be found government secretaries, attendants of kings, physicians of nobles, perfumers, and bankers."[35] In the first century after the conquest, individuals like these (and Athanasius bar Gumayer was surely among them) helped not only to preserve al-Ruha's Byzantine heritage but also to increase the number of its Christian monuments.

Other evidence of the building activities of the Christians in the early Islamic period is provided by the order given by the local governor in the early ninth century to destroy some basilicas and a monastery that they had erected after the Islamic conquest in the seventh century.[36]

As part of the Umayyad caliphate, al-Ruha can be compared with other urban centers formerly under Byzantine rule (such as those in Egypt or Bilad al-Sham), or with a significant Christian population (e.g., in upper Mesopotamia). If the preservation of extant Christian places of worship and their eventual restoration were shared goals,[37] new building activities sponsored by Christian patrons seem to have been less common, at least in cities such as Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, and al-Raqqa, which did not witness the construction of any new Christian buildings.[38] Al-Ruha, in this sense, shared the fate of smaller towns such as Madaba in the Palestinian region and of villages scattered throughout the provinces, where the Muslim presence was less pronounced.[39] In such villages and towns, local Christian leaders continued to hold a certain authority and therefore the ongoing construction of new churches probably was allowed or at least tolerated.

If the relation between mosques and churches in Muslim-founded urban settlements represents a completely different case (which will not be taken into consideration in this article), in conquered cities where Arab Muslims decided to settle, their search for a symbolic religious space became a crucial issue during the early Islamic period. As will be shown, this search involved existing churches with the result that, as in other cities, the fate of al-Ruha's Christian monuments was connected to early Muslim efforts to step in and change this Christian urban center.

MOSQUES AS ADDITIONS

The Muslim religious buildings visible in Urfa today date from the late medieval and Ottoman periods. The earliest Arabic epigraphic evidence also refers to the post-Crusades era.[40] In the absence of archaeological studies, we can only offer speculations based on literary sources regarding early medieval constructions. At the end of the section in his history dedicated to the conquest of Mesopotamia, al-Baladhuri mentions the foundation of prayer halls (*masjid*) in both al-Raqqa and al-Ruha.[41] The founder is said to have been Sa'id b. ʿAmir b. Hidhiyam, the successor of the conqueror ʿIyad b. Ghanm.

Given the fact that in the entire *Dār al-Islām* no structural foundation pertaining to the pre-Umayyad period has survived, mosques dating to the very early period are still a question mark in the history of Islamic architecture.[42] The *ecclesia incredulorum* in Damascus described by the Christian pilgrim Arculfus (670s) refers to the Muslim place of worship that was adjacent to the Church of St. John before both buildings were destroyed by al-Walid (r. 705–15) in 705—although the precise date and nature of its construction are unknown.[43] The same Arculfus described the first mosque on the area of the Haram in Jerusalem as having been built "in a rough manner" and raised "upon some remains of old ruins."[44] An early mosque in Amida is cited by Theodotus in the seventh century, and it is almost certain that the Muslim community in al-Ruha required a place of worship.[45]

To further complicate the matter of the location and nature of early mosques, when analyzing medieval sources we should consider how, in later periods, accounts describing the existence of a mosque dating to the beginning of Islam were often used to justify certain changes in the contemporary urban fabric. Indeed, the desire to provide a newly established mosque with an "historical background" often led to the fabrication of a narrative depicting the existence of an earlier mosque in that location. For instance, when the Seljuqs took over al-Ruha in 1084, two churches—the Church of St. John and that of the Mother of God—were described as having been transformed into mosques, based on the claim that at the time of ʿUmar's conquest they were used as Muslim places of worship.[46] In this specific case, it is more likely that if any seventh-century mosque had been established in the area where the churches were located, it was done in the area surrounding the churches and not in the precise location of their prayer halls (i.e., sanctuaries). As a matter of fact, no contemporary source says that the two churches, both built before the Islamic conquest, were transformed into a mosque at the time of the conquest. Moreover, they were both also still in use (as Christian places of

worship) after 1084. It is possible that this anecdote was related to the partial destruction of the seventh-century mosque by the Byzantines in the tenth century and to its later reestablishment by the Seljuqs after their conquest in 1084.[47] Indeed, the tradition about ʿUmar was very often readapted in a medieval post-conquest scenario: "'Umar, the mosque-builder" was called back into action as part of the new strategy regarding places of worship.[48] A connection was thus rhetorically established between the "new" medieval conquests and earlier victories over the Byzantines. Hence, in the late middle ages the construction of several mosques was ascribed to ʿUmar.[49]

Unlike many other cities, the new rulers in al-Ruha did not establish a congregational mosque during the Umayyad era. If in Damascus the main reason for enlarging the first mosque—beyond the prominence of the ruling community—was the growth of the Muslim population,[50] the absence of such a mosque in al-Ruha could be related to the scarcity of Muslims in Mesopotamia during the early Islamic period.

A mosque was, however, founded in 825 when, in the absence of the legitimate ruler, ʿAbdallah b. Tahir (d. 844), his brother Muhammad, who was left in charge, ordered its construction and, as mentioned above, the destruction of Christian buildings that he considered to have been built after the seventh-century Islamic conquest. Included among these were the Church of the Forty Martyrs, the western cubicula of the baptistery, the sacristy (*diaconicum*) and treasury of the Great Church, some basilicas, and a Melkite convent.[51] The following description further illustrates Muhammad's building activities: "He built a mosque in the tetrapylon (a Roman building, often built at a crossroads, with monumental gates on each of its four sides) in front of the old church, in a place called Bethschabta in the past, where *primores* (elders, "the most distinguished ones") used to discuss ecclesiastical and philosophical issues after morning services."[52] Michael the Syrian adds that the place demolished to build the mosque was covered by a dome.[53]

Instead of being the personal action of a "foolish" ruler, it seems more likely that the whole or partial destruction of some churches[54] and the construction of a mosque on a portion of a church property were indications of rising tensions within the Muslim community regarding Christian monuments and their visibility in the urban landscape, which began around the end of the eighth century.[55] The metropolitan of al-Ruha traveled with some bishops to Egypt to negotiate with ʿAbdallah b. Tahir an end to the violent acts ordered by his brother Muhammad. According to Syriac sources, in a subsequent edict the official ruler decreed that what had been demolished would have to be rebuilt and that the destruction of churches would have to stop.[56]

In 985, al-Muqaddasi noted the existence of a mosque in al-Ruha when he visited the city after it was set on fire by Nicephorus. After describing its magnificent church, the author mentions a mosque (*jāmiʿ*) located to one side (ʿalā ṭaraf) that was in disrepair (*shaʿitha*).[57] During his visit after the 1144 victory over the Crusaders, Prince Zangi (r. 1127–46), while ordering the restoration of Muslim places of worship in the city, mentioned one mosque and one prayer hall. The former was the mosque dating to 825, while the latter was perhaps the seventh-century mosque mentioned above. Retrieved for Muslim worship in 1084 by the Seljuqs, it was probably used as the palace of the Latin bishop during the period of Latin rule (1099–1144).[58]

Before continuing with this assessment, it is necessary to stress two aspects related to the construction of these two early medieval mosques. The first one is that they were both built without taking over any of the physical space occupied by the Christians. Although the mosque constructed in 825 was built by annexing part of the property of the "old church" (St. Sophia), a passage in the *Chronicon ecclesiasticum* underlines that the building transformed into a mosque was not a consecrated place (i.e., a sanctuary or chapel). It is also certain that the "old church" remained in use long after this date. We should note, too, that the building located on the site where the mosque was later erected served different functions before it was added to the church complex and that the mosque was built when the churches believed to have been constructed after the seventh-century conquest were destroyed. These two facts may be related to the mounting Islamic debate over what was "originally" Christian, namely, that which was or was not Christian since pre-Islamic times.[59]

Fig. 1. The Great Mosque of Aleppo, which was enlarged in the middle ages. In the background is the dome of al-Halawiyya Madrasa, built on the site of the Church of St. Helen, which was in use until 1124. (Photo: Mattia Guidetti)

The second aspect is related to the specific location of the mosque built in 825, namely, its construction in front of a church. This pattern, which we see developing in al-Ruha in 825, should be considered part of a broader trend that began during the early middle ages in formerly Christian areas of the caliphate. Such a pattern, for instance, seems to have been followed in Aleppo, Diyarbakir, Hims, Amman, al-Rusafa, and other cities.[60] The first prayer halls or early congregational mosques were constructed in those areas of a city where a church (often the cathedral or great church) stood. This was sometimes done by taking over part of the church's property—even though its consecrated hall was not displaced by the mosque nor was it destroyed.[61]

Many cities followed this pattern, with the main church remaining in use and the mosque "added" in front of or adjacent to it. While in the south of Bilad al-Sham this pattern was probably followed with some variations,[62] other examples similar to that of al-Ruha can also be provided. In Mardin, an "atrium" was added to a mosque of the Arabs in 1170, causing great anxiety among the local Christian population.[63] Either the Muslims enlarged their mosque with a new courtyard or they took over the "atrium" of an extant church and added it to their mosque. The anxiety of the local Christians would support the second interpretation, and if this was indeed the case, it means that before that date the church and the mosque were situated beside each
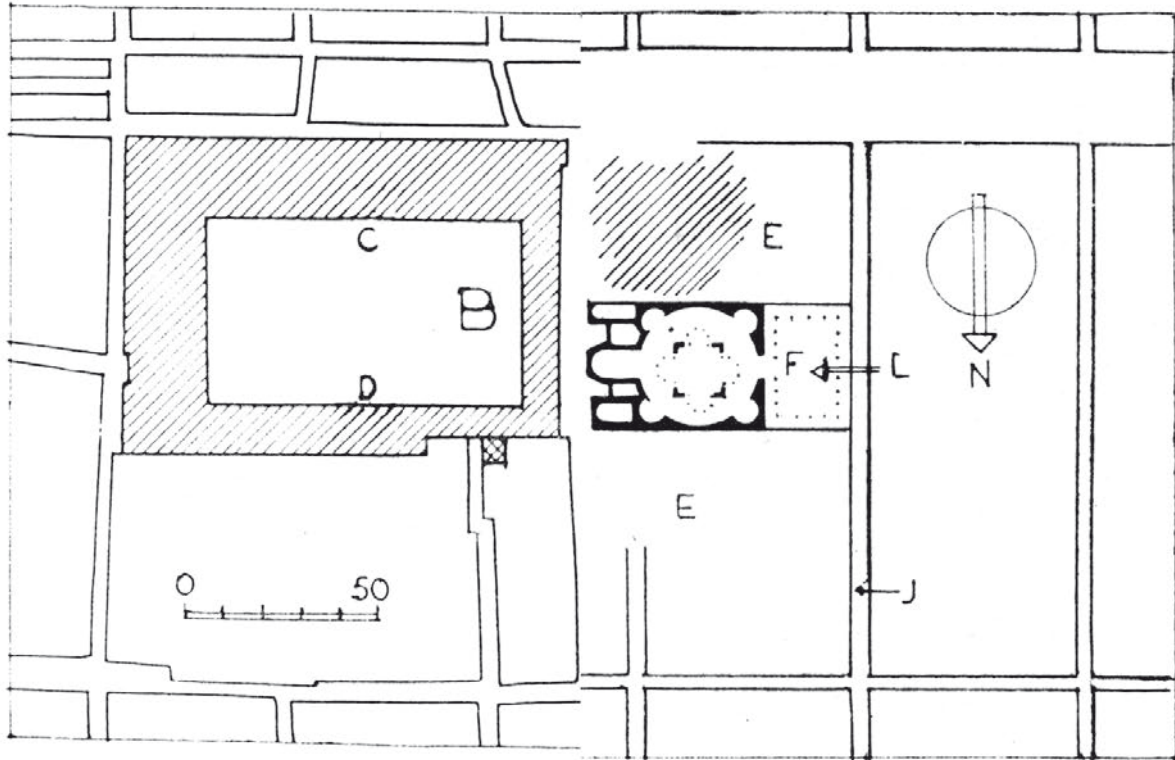
Fig. 2. The Great Mosque of Aleppo and the Church of St. Helen, between 715 and 1124. (After Michel Écochard, "Note sur un édifice chrétien d'Alep," *Syria* 27 [1950]: figs. 3, 4)

other. In Mosul, the proximity between the church and the mosque was even more apparent. While relating the different accounts of the massacre of the year 750, the local historian al-Azdi (early tenth century)[64] refers to a church adjacent to one of the entrances of the mosque: *dukhūl al-nās al-masjid ʿalā bāb al-masjid mimmā yalī al-bīʿa* (the people enter the mosque through the door of the mosque located adjacent to the church).[65] There is a similar passage regarding Aleppo: *hādhā al-haykal kāna fī'l-kanīsa al-ʿuẓmā allatī mawqiʿuhā tijāh bāb al-jāmiʿ al-gharbī* (this altar was in the great church, whose place was beside the western door of the Friday mosque),[66] where the original connection between the two buildings is somehow still discernible even after the architectural alterations that occurred on the site in the medieval period (figs. 1 and 2).[67] Hence, the idea of building a mosque in front of the main church in al-Ruha was not only a provocation by an aggressive ruler, but the manifestation of a very

early Muslim attitude in relation to existing churches.

Early mosques such as the one built in 825 in al-Ruha were thus often additions to the urban fabric. That they were often situated next to churches suggests, on the one hand, the close relationship between local Christian elites and Muslim rulers, and on the other, the ongoing negotiation of urban space that had been taking place since the seventh-century conquest. Nonetheless, with their presence next to mosques, these churches not only fulfilled their role as places of worship for the Christian communities but also, as is easy to imagine, had a role in the shaping of early Islamic religious culture.

Late antique Christian art was not simply a remnant of the Byzantine empire or a useless pile of ruins in the *Dār al-Islām*; rather, it played a vibrant role in almost every conquered city. In view of this evidence, it is logical to suppose that late antique Christian art exerted an influence on the formation of Islamic art in this period.

THE ROLE OF BYZANTINE ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN THE EARLY ISLAMIC PERIOD

Medieval chroniclers and travelers were often confused by the fact that many of al-Ruha's churches were associated with different saints at various points in time. These multiple dedications have also hampered modern efforts to reconstruct the city's sacred topography (see plan 1 in the Appendix).[68] It is, however, clear that especially after the seventh-century conquest one church stands out among others as the symbol of the city. Indeed, throughout the medieval chronicles many churches are cited, but only one church is described at length.[69] This church was the Melkite cathedral, originally dedicated to St. Thomas when his relics were brought to it and later consecrated to St. Sophia after Constantinople's cathedral on the Bosphorus.[70] If, as is largely accepted, the "Church of the Christians," cited by Procopius (d. ca. 565) when describing its restoration by Justinian (r. 527–65), was founded on the site where the first church of the city was established by Abgar according to the Syriac sources,[71] then the famous Great Church of St. Sophia was located "above the water spring, on the western side of the city."[72]

In fact, after the flood of 525, Justinian built a new church on the site of the earliest church of Edessa. It was probably for this reason that St. Sophia was later called either the Great Church or the Old Church. Although the name is not explicitly quoted, this is probably also the church to which a famous Syriac hymn refers.[73]

St. Sophia was reassigned to the diophysite (Melkite) community by Heraclius after having been used for a while by the monophysites (Jacobites) as their own cathedral. Medieval sources were aware of how long it took to build the church:

> We now describe the glorious and great church of St. Sophia, which is located in the city. Its construction was started by Aitallah,[74] bishop of Edessa in the age of the emperor Constantinus, the victorious…Nobody can describe its beauty and its solid structure; it was admired by visitors, [and] its interiors were covered by gold, glass (mosaics), and white marble. Many kings were in charge of its construction.[75]

This church, in front of which the Muslims constructed a mosque, was often noted in Arab-Muslim sources: St. Sophia appears, as do the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, St. George's in Lydda, St. Sergius's in al-Rusafa, St. Helen's in Aleppo, St. Cassianus's in Antioch, St. John's in Hims, and, after 705, Holy Mary's in Damascus, to mention only the most important ones. Indeed, these structures, today either gone or in ruins, represented the Byzantine heritage in the early medieval *Dār al-Islām*, and travelers and geographers were not insensitive to their beauty.[76]

The cathedral of al-Ruha was among the buildings regarded as the world's greatest marvels. Starting with the descriptions of Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadhani (d. 903) and Ibn Khurradadhbih (d. ca. 911),[77] the *kanīsat al-Ruhā* appeared in every list of the "marvels of the world" completed by Arab geographers.[78] Ibn Khurradadhbih, echoing the seventh-century Syriac hymn, added that the stone of which the cathedral was made was renowned, and he praised the structural quality of the church.[79] Other passages are more descriptive. For instance, al-Muqaddasi provided a succinct evaluation of its architectural beauty, noting that "al-Ruha has a magnificent church with arched galleries and covered by mosaics."[80] Al-Istakhri (tenth century) mentioned that the majority of the city's population was Christian, and that there were roughly three hundred Christian altars, monasteries, and cells, adding that its (great) church was the largest in the *Dār al-Islām*.[81]

The admiration for al-Ruha's cathedral went even further. Al-Muqaddasi in a famous passage included this church among those in Bilad al-Sham that represented a sort of challenge for Muslim builders. He also reported that al-Aqsa Mosque and later the Great Mosque of Damascus (after the 746 earthquake, which ruined the former) should be regarded, along with the cathedral in al-Ruha, as the top three existing majestic monuments.[82] The fame of al-Ruha's cathedral extended even beyond its disappearance: in the first half of the fourteenth century, the Persian traveler Hamd Allah Mustawfi described the city and mentioned both what he read in the texts by previous visitors and what he was able to see:

> …[The city] was built with a polished stone and the church that was built there was also made of the same

stone. In its center there was a dome 100 *gaz* (roughly 100 English yards) in width. The author of the *Masālik wa-mamālik* (Ibn Khurradadhbih) writes that it was the most magnificent and solid building ever built; today, however, it is in ruins.[83]

The need to describe a city based on its ruins rather than its extant monuments may suggest that early post-Crusades Muslim architecture was not very impressive. Furthermore, this passage could be used as compelling evidence that the site of the church was not covered by new buildings (i.e., mosques), at least until Mustawfi's visit (figs. 3 and 4; fig. 4 has a view of what the area around the famous Balıklı Göl looked like before a park was constructed there in the 1980s; the Great Church [building 2 in the plans of the city] must have been located in the area down by the citadel).

In the early medieval period, one is able to distinguish other traces of the high regard that Muslim patrons had for al-Ruha's Great Church. In 829, the caliph al-Maʾmun (r. 813–33) visited the city. He entered the Great Church and admired its beauty. He then discussed the church's revenues with the bishop, who listed them while complaining about the taxes. Eventually, the caliph rescinded the taxes levied on the khans, the shops, the baths, and the mills (all properties owned by the church), leaving only the land taxes in place.[84]

Some decades before, the caliph al-Mansur (r. 754–75), builder of Baghdad and al-Rafiqa, led an expedition to Mesopotamia in order to strengthen Abbasid rule in the region. His passage through al-Ruha was recorded, due to the destruction of the city's walls. In his chronicle, Michael the Syrian gives a detailed explanation for this destruction. According to the author, the caliph requested that a few small columns piled up in the Great Church be taken to his new palace in al-Rafiqa. The Christians of al-Ruha refused to give al-Mansur the columns and in revenge the caliph demolished the walls of the city.[85] This account sheds light on the caliph's desire to decorate his palace with columns from that particular church, which had probably been left there to be used for a future restoration project. The account further highlights the option that the Christians had to refuse a request by the caliph. Indeed, al-Mansur's purpose was not to destroy the church or to despoil it, since he did not ask for any structural columns and did not inflict revenge against it because he had been denied.

Instead, it is very probable that the caliph only aspired to exhibit in his palace several columns from one of the world's wonders at that time. Although one may doubt the veracity of this single witness, further analysis of different sources reveals a number of other very similar situations, indicating that the incident with Caliph al-Mansur in al-Ruha was only one expression of a widespread phenomenon.

Indeed, the primacy placed by Muslim rulers and patrons on prominently displaying Byzantine architectural fragments was evident in relation to a number of different Byzantine and Muslim buildings. For instance, three marble columns were transferred from the cathedral of Sanʿaʾ (called al-Qalis or al-Qullays) to Mecca during the restoration of its mosque by Ibn Zubayr (d. 692) in 680.[86] Despite this transfer, Sanʿaʾ's church (for whose construction the builder Abraha was said to have received some material from Byzantine lands in the sixth century[87]) was still in use at least until the age of al-Mansur when it was looted after having been described at the court of the Abbasid al-Saffah.[88] A few years after Ibn Zubayr's restoration, when Mecca was reconquered and the Kaʿba needed to be reconstructed, Sergius, a Christian Melkite and ʿAbd al-Malik's treasurer, persuaded the caliph to take the columns for the reconstruction of the "temple of Mecca" from somewhere else, thereby saving the Holy Gethsemane, which according to the original plan was supposed to have been stripped of its columns.[89] Other accounts also point to this practice. At some point before 715, the Christians of Lydda told the future caliph Sulayman (r. 715–17) to search for columns in a deposit far from the city in order to avoid having him despoil the Church of St. George. From this Christian site, highly esteemed in Islamic eschatology, the Palestinian governor (and later caliph) had originally intended to loot columns for his new mosque in al-Ramla.[90] Although al-Walid transferred some marble columns by sea from the Church of St. Mary in Antioch to the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus, the Christian house of worship was still in use in the tenth century, as witnessed by al-Masʿudi.[91] Finally, the Church of Cyrrhus was also said to have been stripped of some furnishings (*ālāt al-kanīsa*), in order to embellish the Umayyad mosque in Aleppo (under either al-Walid or Sulayman, at the beginning of the eighth century).[92]

Fig. 3. Urfa, view from the citadel, 1920s. Collection of Professor A. Kingsley Porter. (Photo: K. A. C. Creswell. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library); © Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford neg. EA.CA. 6593.

Fig. 4. Urfa, view from the citadel. Postcard from the 1970s. (Photo: courtesy of Dr. Ian Wilson)

These accounts narrate both successful and unsuccessful attempts by the caliph (the most prominent authority in Islamic lands) to seize property from his Christian subjects. On the one hand, there were clear requests by Muslim rulers to reclaim parts of Christian churches for their new mosques (with the exception of the example of al-Ruha, where the final destination was a palace); on the other hand, these rulers clearly acknowledged the validity of prior agreements that protected such churches, which were considered Christian properties. For this reason, the Christians often chose to refuse to allow the reutilization of church artifacts, or persuaded the claimant not to loot or despoil a particular building. It is noteworthy that whenever a transfer of material did take place, this did not mean the end of the use of the despoiled church.

The Muslims needed these architectural fragments because, at the structural level, the elements of early Islamic architecture were, at least in the Syrian area (including the Umayyad patronage of Medina and Mecca), basically the same as those of Byzantine churches: columns (in the prayer hall and often in the courtyard), marble panels (for pavements and lower parts of walls), and glass and stone tesserae (for the mosaics in the upper parts of the walls). The Muslims made use of scattered materials, sometimes recycling the ruins of churches that had been abandoned or destroyed by earthquakes,[93] and at other times prodding the Christian communities to "share" their precious architectural heritage. Early Islamic religious architecture in Bilad al-Sham took shape within the aesthetical horizon of the late antique world: the idea of luxury and decoration of a sacred space descended directly from monumental Byzantine architecture.[94] And, as mentioned above, the point of reference for these artifacts was not only the Byzantine empire but also Byzantine churches within the caliphate.[95]

Al-Ruha's cathedral of St. Sophia was, like other churches of the early *Dār al-Islām*, a monument desired and admired by the Islamic elites. The church became part of the marvels of the *Dār al-Islām*, and the beauty of its structure was recorded by Muslim geographers as a source of pride for the caliphate, along with other non-Muslim structures of antiquity. However, ancient temples were for the most part not connected to a living community, while engineering projects such as the Lighthouse of Alexandria or the bridge of Sanjar were perceived as part of the infrastructure. The cathedral of St. Sophia, too, was one of the *āthār* (antiquities) and *ʿajāʾib* (marvels) inherited by the Muslims, but it was also the place of worship of one of the main religious communities protected within the society of the *Dār al-Islām*. Indeed, Christians were not only a defeated community, but a living and productive cultural entity within medieval Islam, sharing with Muslims a mutual feeling of admiration, rivalry, and even common sacred figures and places.[96] These were all active elements within the sociopolitical framework wherein the Christian population formed a numerical majority although holding lesser rights (due to their *dhimmī* status), while the ruling minority was Muslim.[97] Hence, beyond the idea of *āthār* and *ʿajāʾib*, churches became the logical mirror for early Islamic art and architecture, acknowledged as masterworks of technical skill and opulence and utilized by a community considered to be a competitor of the monotheistic faith.

Nevertheless, some of these precious artifacts and architectural fragments remained unavailable to Islamic construction projects until the eleventh to twelfth centuries. Only then would a second major change, after that of the appearance of the early mosques, transform the landscape of al-Ruha and the other cities of Bilad al-Sham.

NARSES' COMPLAINT AND THE DISAPPEARANCE OF LATE ANTIQUE ARCHITECTURE

Around the mid-twelfth century, the Armenian patriarch Narses lamented that the Christian world had abandoned one of the cradles of Christianity to Muslim rule. In a poem, he impersonates al-Ruha and after having addressed Rome, turns his attention to Constantinople:

> Listen to my desperate weeping;
> because I was part
> of your domain with the title of metropolis.
> Within my walls stood a temple built by you
> and consecrated with the same name as yours…[98]

The two churches of St. Sophia connected the second Rome to Edessa / al-Ruha. However, Narses' complaint

met with no success: in the Byzantine as well as in the Latin world, al-Ruha started to be associated with its Christian past (often erroneously regarded as exclusively pre-Islamic). In that same period, a great number of Christian structures, most dating back to the Byzantine era—including St. Sophia, described as a missing monument by Narses—collapsed or were destroyed (compare plan 2 with plan 3 in the Appendix).

It is, however, misleading to consider the conquest by Zangi in 1146 and the period of early Ayyubid rule as the only causes of this major urban change. It is perhaps better to say that the apex and the end of the conflict against the Crusaders rendered irreversible a process that had already started around the first half of the eleventh century.

The chronology of the Melkite cathedral of St. Sophia is paradigmatic. Already partially destroyed in 1032 during the conflict between the Seljuq Salman and the Byzantine Maniaces,[99] the church was then restored for worship when it received an assembly of Christian citizens in 1083–84.[100] For unknown reasons, the church partially collapsed in 1105–6 and it seems to have remained in precarious condition until 1174 or 1184, when it was finally demolished.[101]

By the eleventh century, the continuous state of warfare was affecting the integrity of a building that in previous centuries had withstood change, even when confronted with the Abbasid caliph al-Mansur's request for its columns.[102] Most importantly, when during the period of Latin rule (1099–1144) the Church of St. John became the Latin cathedral of the city,[103] the restoration of places of worship belonging to local Christians was no longer guaranteed, as the chronology of the cathedral of St. Sophia makes clear. It continued to be difficult to make restorations after 1146 as well. This could be considered one among several causes for the decision to demolish some churches, e.g., the Church of the Apostles, which was destroyed by the Muslims once the northern part of the building collapsed.[104]

One should also note that following Zangi's conquest in 1146 most of the confiscated churches of al-Ruha were not transformed into mosques but used for different functions: the Church of St. John became a wool deposit, St. Stephen's a granary, and St. Thomas's a stable.[105] Only in a later period were they destroyed;

eventually on some sites new buildings were erected, including some mosques. It was in the midst of this transformation that Hamd Allah Mustawfi, in the first half of the fourteenth century, was still able to see the ruins of the cathedral of St. Sophia.[106]

One reason for the confiscation of church properties had to do with the state of war at the time. When a city was conquered by force (*'anwatan*), the properties of the ruling elites, who normally escaped into exile or were jailed, became spoils of war and the property of the new ruler. Places of worship were included among such spoils. By contrast, to surrender acknowledging the enemy's superiority—as al-Ruha had in the seventh century—meant the implementation of a pact (as a consequence of surrendering peacefully to the enemy [*ṣulḥ*]) that would normally guarantee the soundness of the properties belonging to the defeated.

After the Byzantine conquest in 1031–32, the mosque in al-Ruha was destroyed,[107] to be reestablished later on under the Seljuqs in 1084.[108] A few years afterward, the Crusaders transformed it into the residence of their Latin bishop.[109] Finally, under the rule of Zangi and Nur al-Din (r. 1146–74), it was reestablished as a mosque, while at the same time a certain number of churches were shut down and eventually destroyed.[110] One should note that in this last case, churches not belonging directly to the Latins were also confiscated since the new rulers believed that some Latins had worshipped in them.[111]

In analyzing the transformation of al-Ruha's sacred landscape after the Islamic conquest in the seventh century, it is also worth taking into account factors related to the city's confessional demography. Even if divided into different communities, the population of Edessa / al-Ruha on the eve of the 639 conquest was entirely Christian and remained largely so until the tenth century.[112] Starting in the eleventh century—probably with the rise of the Seljuqs—the number of Muslims increased with the result that: "[The city] was then populated by numerous Christians and Muslims, and was frequented by innumerable crowds of all kinds of artisans."[113] Indeed, during the period of Latin rule, the local population experienced firsthand the conflict between the Crusaders and the Muslims. Matthew of Edessa described the transfer of the local population

to Samosata ordered by the Latins in 1113–14, which left the city "deserted like a widowed woman."[114] It is probable that after Zangi's conquest, as the Muslims replaced the Latins as rulers, their numbers increased.[115] In 1146, Zangi had a community of Jews transferred to al-Ruha, thereby reestablishing a Jewish presence in the city almost six centuries after they had been banned by Heraclius.[116]

The shift in the confessional demography perceptibly affected the existence of places of worship in al-Ruha between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries (compare plan 2 with plan 3 in the Appendix). Furthermore, each time a ruler of a different faith assumed control, places of worship became the first arena in which the nature of the new power could be displayed. The 1099 Crusade and the conquests of Zangi in 1146 stand out for their symbolic magnitude among such changes of rule.[117] Although alterations to the urban fabric had been ongoing since the beginning of the eleventh century, they accelerated at the end of the conflict between Latin and Muslim forces.

It is easy to observe how places of worship belonging to other cities in the *Dār al-Islām* followed a similar pattern. In Antioch, for instance, the Church of St. Cassianus was transformed into a mosque by Sulayman b. Qutlumish in 1084, the same year that the mosque in al-Ruha was reestablished after having perhaps been annexed to a Christian building.[118] In Aleppo, a church was first transformed into a mosque under Mirdasid rule at the beginning of the eleventh century.[119] After this date, the city would also undergo other major changes. By comparing the depictions of Aleppo offered by Ibn Butlan in 1051 and Ibn Jubayr in 1185, we can perceive the change in the nature of places of worship. The first author mentions one mosque and two churches on the citadel and one mosque and six churches in the walled city, whereas the second counts one Muslim sanctuary on the citadel and one mosque and five or six madrasas in the downtown area.[120] As the clash between Crusaders and Muslims intensified, further decisions to convert four churches into mosques (later transformed into madrasas) point to irreversible changes to the city's urban panorama.[121]

Hence, Narses' unheard and desperate lament could be taken as a symbolic farewell to the entirety of late antique architecture, marking the end of the five hundred-year Byzantine presence in the Muslim-ruled cities of Bilad al-Sham. In the context of this transformation in the urban fabric, one should ask if and how the availability of numerous Byzantine architectural *spolia* affected Islamic architectural patronage, which had begun to reshape the major urban centers of the *Dār al-Islām* since the time of the Muslim drive against the Byzantines in the eleventh century and later against the Crusaders.

THE USE OF LATE ANTIQUE ARCHITECTURE IN THE MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC PERIOD

After Zangi's conquest (following two military incursions, in 1144 and 1146), large sections of al-Ruha's ramparts needed to be rebuilt. Fragments from the Church of the Confessors, the Church of St. Theodore, and the Church of St. Michael the Archangel were thus used to restore and strengthen the walls of the city.[122] Masonry and architectural pieces from the latter two churches were also used to fortify the citadel, as were materials from the Church of the Apostles and later (probably around or after 1174) from the Churches of St. Stephen and St. Sophia (figs. 5, 6, and 7).

No particular attention was paid to the Byzantine materials that were reused in the city walls—they became part of the structure of the masonry, just as any other element. The practice was common at that time. However, al-Ruha's walls lack the regular insertion of column shafts found in the medieval walls of Afamiyya or Bosra, where more ancient / classical buildings were probably available.[123]

Additional sources also point out that some architectural fragments from the cathedral of St. Sophia were reused in the mosque of Harran, which was extended during the reigns of Nur al-Din and Salah al-Din (r. 1174–93).[124] Unfortunately, the lack of extensive excavations prevents us from knowing the exact nature of this practice in the expansion of the mosque.[125] From the surveys, it seems that it mainly involved the reuse of decorative pieces with no structural function. The new courtyard entrance to the prayer hall of the mosque (which is today partially ruined) was a veritable miniature museum of late antique sculpture (fig. 8): two

Fig. 5. Urfa, Byzantine material reused in the masonry of a tower of the citadel. (Photo: Mattia Guidetti)

Fig. 6. Urfa, detail of a Byzantine artifact reused in the masonry of a tower of the citadel. (Photo: Mattia Guidetti)

Fig. 7. Urfa, detail of a Byzantine artifact reused in the masonry of a tower of the citadel. (Photo: Mattia Guidetti)

Fig. 8. The Great Mosque of Harran, portal of the medieval courtyard. (Photo: Mattia Guidetti)

Fig. 9. Left) Byzantine capital decorated with acanthus leaves and wreath. Reused in the enlargement of the Great Mosque of Harran. (Photo: Mattia Guidetti)
Right) Capital decorated with acanthus leaves and wreath. Open-air section of the Museum of Antiquities in Urfa. (Photo: Mattia Guidetti)

columns were inserted in the masonry flanking the door, while some capitals and head pillars were set symmetrically to the gate. A richly decorated stone column, nowadays in pieces, was reused as a molded cornice at the time of the mosque's enlargement. A comparison with some Byzantine remains found in Urfa today should also be made. The capital, still visible in the courtyard entrance of the mosque of Harran, is sculpted with acanthus leaves and wreaths, similar to one presently on display in the open-air section of the Museum of Urfa (fig. 9). Furthermore, the scattered fragments of the Harran mosque's stone columns decorated with grapes and vine leaves—some of which have fallen from the cornice of the entrance door of the mosque—could also easily have belonged to a fifth- to sixth-century Byzantine building (fig. 10).[126] One should not, however, exclude the local late antique / Byzantine church of Harran (called *kanīsat al-Rūm*) as a possible source of recycled artifacts, as it seems to have been destroyed by an earthquake in the medieval period.[127]

According to Michael the Syrian, Nur al-Din stole some marble columns from a church, probably in Amida, and had them transferred to one of his own residences.[128] At first glance, the sultan's actions, when considered in conjunction with the columns flanking the entrance of Harran's mosque, recall al-Mansur's efforts with respect to the columns of the Great Church of al-Ruha. Upon closer inspection, however, there are three significant differences with the early medieval period. First of all, in the later middle ages, older Christian artifacts were generally taken from defunct churches that would not have been reopened for Christian worship. Second, there was usually no mention of any possibility for or effort by the Christians to stop their buildings from being plundered. Third, as the evidence indicates, Byzantine architecture and artifacts, when reused as *spolia*, were recontextualized through their insertion into a (new) Islamic artistic framework.

It is plausible to assume that an aesthetic change had reshaped the overall "taste" for this sort of religious architecture.[129] When thirty-two of its marble columns burned in the fire of 1181, the Church of St. John, a Byzantine church in al-Ruha embellished by the Latins, who had used it as their cathedral, was left abandoned. After the Muslim conquest in 1146, the church was seized as booty of war, its sacristy later transformed into a depot for cotton, which accidentally caught fire.[130] Between 1146 and 1181, the church and its "wondrous red marble columns"[131] were available to its new masters. In spite of this, after years of neglect, the archi-

Fig. 10. Left) Fragment of a Byzantine drum column decorated with grapes and wine leaves. Reused as a decoration in the enlargement of the Great Mosque of Harran. (After David S. Rice, "From Sîn to Saladin: Excavations in Harran's Great Mosque, with New Light on the Babylonian King Nabonidus and His 104-Year-Old Mother," *Illustrated London News* 231 [Sept. 1957]: fig. 16)
Right) Shaft of a carved column decorated with grapes and vine leaves. Open-air section of the Museum of Antiquities in Urfa. (Photo: Mattia Guidetti)

Fig. 11. Urfa, Ulu Cami, interior of the prayer hall. Collection of Professor A. Kingsley Porter. (Photo: K. A. C. Creswell. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library); © Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford neg. EA.CA. 6599.

tectural wonder that Zangi had admired when he conquered the city less than fifty years before vanished in a fire together with its renowned decoration.[132]

The Great Mosque (Ulu Cami) of al-Ruha is notable for the absence of Byzantine artifacts or any other reference to the pre-Islamic period in its prayer hall (fig. 11). Built between 1146 and 1191, when the adjacent madrasa was added to the mosque[133]—or between 1146 and 1174, if one accepts Ibn Khallikan's statement about a mosque (*jāmiʿ*) built in al-Ruha by Nur al-Din[134]—the mosque incorporated the remains of a church in the northern wall of the courtyard (figs. 12 and 13). Beyond the evidence of some integration of this older material into the walls and portals of the courtyard (figs. 14 and 15), however, the mosque's structure and architectural details were not in any way affected by the presence of these church remains—or by the fact that in this same period a number of other examples of late antique architecture were available in the city.[135]

A brief overview of the religious patronage of Nur al-Din and the early Ayyubids shows how a new aesthetic language—one completely independent from that of the late antique churches—had developed. Whereas marble was used in new and distinct ways,[136] columns appear mostly in high hierarchical points, such as entrances and

Fig. 12. Urfa, Ulu Cami, reuse of late antique materials in the northern section of the courtyard, door of the hexagonal minaret. (Photo: Mattia Guidetti)

Fig. 13. Urfa, Ulu Cami, reuse of late antique materials in the northern section of the courtyard, northern door of the courtyard. (Photo: Mattia Guidetti)

Fig. 14. Urfa, Ulu Cami, ancient architrave (probably late antique) reused in the eastern portal. (Photo: Mattia Guidetti)

Fig. 15. Urfa, Ulu Cami, two late antique capitals in the courtyard. (Photo: Mattia Guidetti)

Fig. 16. Urfa, Ulu Cami, detail of the hexagonal minaret. (Photo: Mattia Guidetti)

Fig. 17. The Great Mosque of Aleppo, detail of the minaret. (Photo: Mattia Guidetti)

mihrabs. Their use in the post-Crusades period diminished extensively and they lost the central role they had held in the early middle ages.[137] Despite some revivals, new patterns of decoration inform the interior of the mosques.[138] Indeed, it seems that in medieval times, vanishing late antique Christian architecture derived its value more from its reuse as a deliberate accent (or detail) in Islamic religious buildings rather than as their main source of inspiration, as had been the case in the earlier period.

In the wake of the construction of the minaret for Aleppo's Great Mosque in 1090, the hexagonal minaret of al-Ruha's Great Mosque, which dates back to the century after the 1146 conquest, featured along its squared shaft fluted stripes inspired by late antique Christian architecture (figs. 16 and 17).[139] Although the decoration of al-Ruha's minaret is more sober than that of

the one in Aleppo, both examples show how pieces of late antique architecture were used as accents, inserted and more or less successfully integrated in new Islamic buildings. This reference to an ancient style hints at the nature of the reuse of Christian artifacts in the extension of the Great Mosque of Harran during the second half of the twelfth century. One may further note that in this case not only were late antique / Christian architectural pieces reused, but some reliefs with a pagan iconography and cuneiform scripts were set inverted as pavement stones. An Assyrian column base was also placed in the middle of a twelfth-century ablution basin as an ornament (fig. 18).[140] Such practices were connected to the disappearance of non-Muslim places of worship in the city. For example, pagan temples in use until the beginning of the Crusades but no longer tolerated by Muslim rulers or the Byzantine church were

Fig. 18. The Great Mosque of Harran. The medieval basin in the courtyard, with an Assyrian column base in the middle. (Photo: Mattia Guidetti)

not restored by the Christian community after they were destroyed by an earthquake in the eleventh century.

Without artificially postulating any symbolic representation of the "victory of Islam," at first glance, the recycling of these pieces of late antique / Christian architecture speaks to the general homogenization of places of worship in areas that had formerly had a Christian majority, such as Bilad al-Sham, Egypt, and northern Mesopotamia.[141]

If the homogenization of places of worship was a substantially new process for the area, at the same time the nature of the reuse of ancient fragments and artifacts was different in comparison with their use in the early middle ages. Take, for instance, the case of al-Halawiyya Madrasa in Aleppo, where three out of four original Byzantine *exedrae* were used in new Muslim buildings constructed on the site of the Church of St. Helen (sixth century), which remained in use until

1124.[142] Here, the original Byzantine structure was recontextualized into a madrasa, which apart from its Byzantine core in the prayer hall was a product completely distinct from the original late antique building. The carved wooden mihrab added to the southern wall of the prayer hall is a perfect example of the new aesthetic that now ruled Islamic religious art.

Something similar could be said about the Christian marble tables reused in a third context in the sixteenth-century madrasa of Sibay in Damascus. These high-quality marble artifacts were probably first recycled for a madrasa or mosque built by Abu Saʿid Tutush, the Seljuq ruler of southern Syria between 1078 and 1095, whose name appears inscribed in one of them.[143] At this point, it would not be mere conjecture to suggest that these artifacts were used as altars in an active late antique Byzantine church until they were removed.[144] We may even speculate that they originally belonged

to the magnificent Church of St. Cassianus of Antioch, plundered in 1084 by Sulayman b. Qutlumish, who at one time was an ally of Abu Saʿid Tutush:

> He opened the great church of Kawsyana [i.e., Mar Cassianus, the Martyr], and took from it the furniture and curtains, the vessels of gold and silver, and the rest of the objects that had been deposited therein by the citizens, a vast quantity, and he made the church into a mosque.[145]

In general, it is easier to imagine that the altars were plundered from a church located in the area reconquered from Byzantium rather than from one that had been under Muslim rule since the seventh-century conquest. Keeping in mind these examples, one should also think of earlier mosques, such as al-Aqsa Mosque or the Great Mosque of Damascus, where late antique marble slabs, columns, and capitals were reused with great frequency, contributing to the creation of the very essence of the early Islamic religious aesthetic. With respect to the enlargement of al-Aqsa Mosque during the Umayyad period, for instance, Wilkinson has shown how capitals with a visible Christian iconography were consciously chosen to be reused in the *maqṣūra* (private enclosure) area, in the center of the Great Mosque of Jerusalem.[146]

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the alteration of late antique marble fragments with Qurʾanic quotations and the transformation of their original function in a new Muslim setting (altars were often inserted vertically in the walls, perhaps to be used, as Flood has observed, as two-dimensional mihrabs)[147] demonstrate that a new approach toward late antique art and architecture had been established.

CONCLUSION

By studying al-Ruha between the seventh and thirteenth centuries and comparing it with other cities in the *Dār al-Islām*, we have sought to establish a connection between the existence of Christian places of worship and the reuse of late antique / Byzantine artifacts in Islamic architecture in two different chronological periods: the early medieval (seventh to tenth centuries) and the medieval (eleventh to thirteenth centuries). We have

furthermore suggested that this connection should be integrated into the analysis of the formation and development of Islamic art in the area of Bilad al-Sham.

In summary, while in the early medieval era Christian / Byzantine artifacts were borrowed and reused in a way that corresponded to their original settings and maintained the coherence of their aesthetic value, this was no longer the case during the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, when such artifacts were considered in new contexts and sometimes even for new functions. Moreover, this new attitude coincides with the disappearance of late antique churches from many urban contexts, while in the previous period they were still important elements of the sacred landscape. Indeed, changing political and social circumstances, such as military conquests, transfers of rule, and variations in confessional demography, suggested different uses for late antique Christian buildings and architectural fragments. When compared to the early Islamic period, late antique churches in the twelfth century were neither essential elements of Bilad al-Sham's urban sacred landscape nor were they necessary as basic references for Islamic religious art and architecture.

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APPENDIX

Introduction to the Plans

While only an archaeological survey could provide a definitive topographical plan of the city of Urfa during the middle ages, these three plans are intended to show only the transformations of individual sites of worship within the walls of the city during three chronological periods between the fourth and fifteenth centuries. Only religious buildings are indicated. One should remember that the exact architectural plan and structure of most of these buildings are unknown. The Christian buildings may have had one of a number of plans and typologies, e.g., martyria, churches, monasteries, or cathedral complexes. Because of the complex history of the city during late antiquity and the middle ages, it is also probable that several places are missing in this

list. With respect to the Muslim buildings, the options were limited to mosques or prayer halls, although it is still unknown with which type one is dealing in each particular case. The positions of the buildings in the plans of the city proposed here are hypothetical and based directly on the written sources used in the accompanying article and on the works on these sources by Kirsten, Segal, and Sinclair (see notes 4 and 40). Where more than one location is indicated for a particular building, it signifies that there is contradictory evidence regarding its position. The following common symbols are used: Greek Pi for the temples, the Star of David for the synagogues, the cross for Christian places of worship, and the crescent for Muslim ones.

The key for each plan describes the buildings in use within the specific time period to which the plan refers. Ordinal numbers in parentheses have been used to distinguish various churches dedicated to the same saint, as well as mosques whose names are not known. A slash between centuries or years (e.g., 4th/6th centuries, 489/504) refers to the period during which the structure in question was built. The mathematical symbols < and > indicate the time before or after which a building was in use. A dash at the end of the line indicates that the building continued to be used beyond the chronological period being described. The three symbols in close succession (>>>) signal a change in the religion of worship in the building or on the site.

KEY FOR PLAN 1

1. Temple, 3rd century B.C. – 4th/5th centuries A.D. (?) >>> Church of St. John, 457 –

2. Temple, 3rd century B.C. – <201 A.D. >>> Old Church <201–201. Rebuilt in 312; dedicated to St. Thomas (2) after the transfer of his relics in 442; destroyed by a flood in 525; dedicated to St. Sophia after its reconstruction by Justinian, 525 –

3. Synagogue, 4th/6th centuries A.D. (?) >>> Site annexed to the complex of St. Sophia under Heraclius (?) –

4. Synagogue, 412 A.D. >>> Church of St. Stephen, 412 –

5. Church of the Martyrs (or of the Confessors), 345 –

6. Church of St. Sergius (1), 4th/6th centuries (?) –

7. Church of St. Thomas (1), 394 –

8. Church of St. Barlaha, 408 –

9. Church of the Apostles (or Great Church), 435 –

10. Church of St. Sergius (2), 4th/6th centuries (?)–

11. Church of the Mother of God (1) (or Martyrium), 489/504 –

12. Church of St. Theodore (1), 4th/7th centuries (?) –

13. Church of St. Cyriacus, 4th/7th centuries (?) –

14. Church of St. Theodore (2) / Church of the Cross, 4th/7th centuries (?) –

15. Church of the Mother of God (2), 4th/7th centuries (?) –

16. Church of St. George, 4th/7th centuries (?) –

17. Church of St. Michael, 4th/7th centuries (?) –
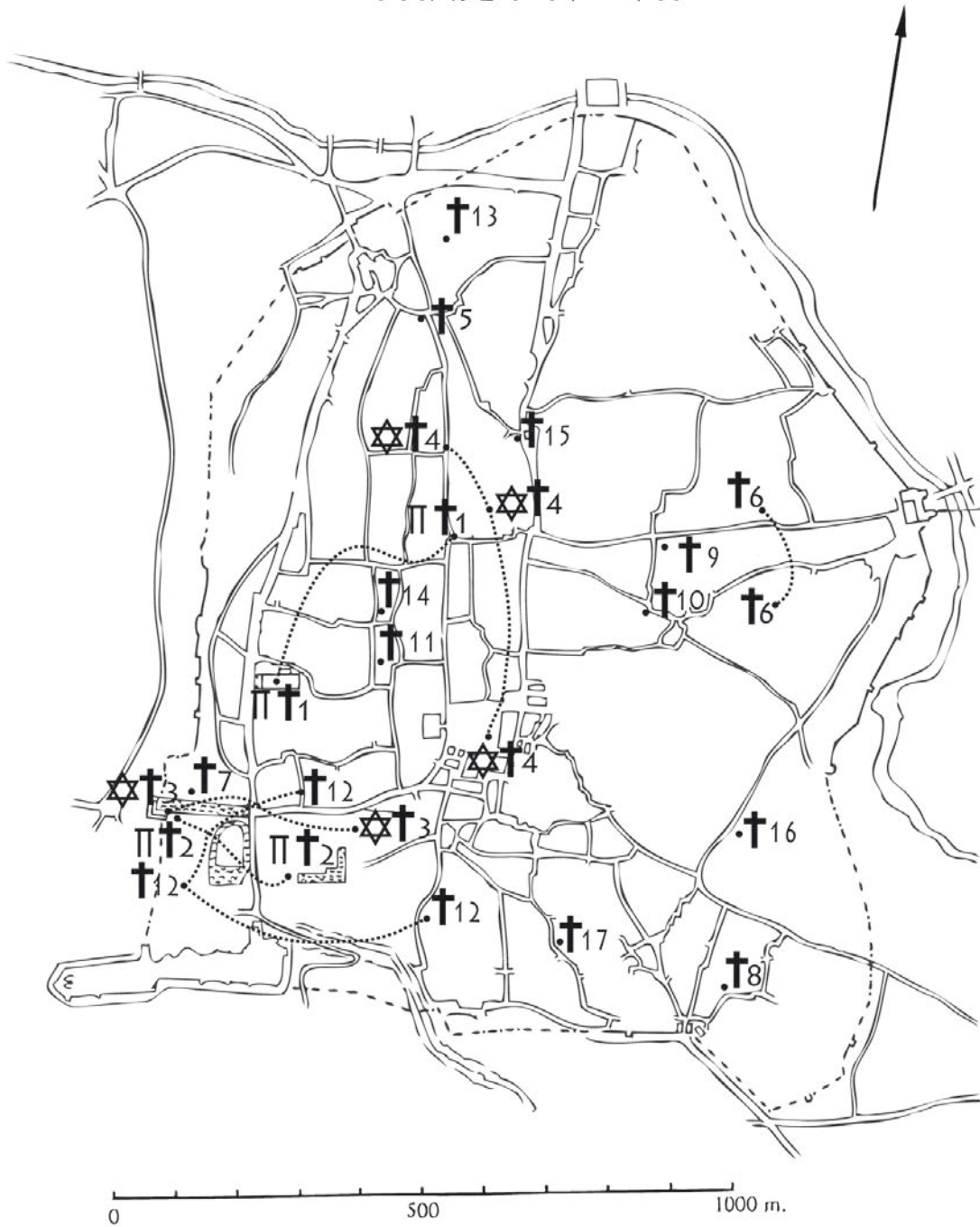
Plan 1. Phase I of Urfa, 4th–7th centuries

KEY FOR PLAN 2

1. Church of St. John, 457; transformed and embellished by the Latins as a cathedral >1099 >>> residence of Zangi in 1146; later abandoned >>> transformed into a wool deposit, and burned in an accidental fire in 1181.

2. Old Church, <201; rebuilt in 312, dedicated to St. Thomas after the transfer of his relics in 442; destroyed by a flood in 525; dedicated to St. Sophia after its reconstruction by Justinian in 525; restored after an earthquake in 678–79; sacristy and treasury possibly destroyed in 825 (see no. 9 below); partially destroyed in 1032, but still in use in 1083; partially collapsed in 1105–6; completely destroyed in 1174 or 1184.

3. Building annexed to the surrounding area of St. Sophia under Heraclius (?) >>> Mosque (2) 825; restored in 1146 –

4. Church of St. Stephen, 412; probably used by the Latins >1099 >>> used as a granary and then destroyed between 1146 and 1174.

5. Church of the Martyrs (or the Confessors), 345; destroyed between 1146 and 1174.

6. Church of St. Sergius (1), 4th/6th centuries (?) –

7. Church of St. Thomas, 394 >>> used as a stable > 1146; destroyed between 1146 and 1174.

8. Church of St. Barlaha, 408 –

9. Church of the Apostles (or Great Church), 435; sacristy and treasury possibly destroyed in 825 (see 2 above); partially collapsed and then destroyed between 1146 and 1174.

10. Church of St. Sergius (2), 4th/6th centuries (?); destroyed between 1146 and 1174.

11. Church of the Mother of God (1) (or Martyrium), 489/504; destroyed between 1146 and 1174.

12. Church of St. Theodore (1), 4th/7th centuries (?); destroyed between 1146 and 1174.

13. Church of St. Cyriacus, 4th/7th centuries (?) –

14. Church of St. Theodore (2) / Church of the Cross, 4th/7th centuries (?); partially damaged by arson in 1032 and then restored –

15. Church of the Mother of God (2), 4th/7th centuries; destroyed between 1146 and 1174.

16. Church of St. George, 4th/7th centuries (?); destroyed between 1146 and 1174.

17. Church of St. Michael, 4th/7th centuries (?); destroyed between 1146 and 1174.

18. Mosque (1), >639 >>> partially destroyed and perhaps annexed to the buildings surrounding the Church of St. John and the Church of the Mother of God in 1032 (?) >>> restored in 1084 with the construction of a minaret >>> probably transformed into the residence of the Latin bishop between 1099 and 1144–46 >>> restored by Zangi in 1146; enlarged as the Ulu Camii (?) <1191 (probably between 1146 and 1174) –

19. Church of the Mother of God (3) and baptistery, 700; partially damaged by arson in 1032 and then restored –

20. Church of the Forty Martyrs, <825; partially destroyed in 825 and then rebuilt; destroyed between 1146 and 1174.

21. Church of St. Theodore (on the citadel), 10th/11th centuries (?) >>> transformed into a mosque (3) >1146 –
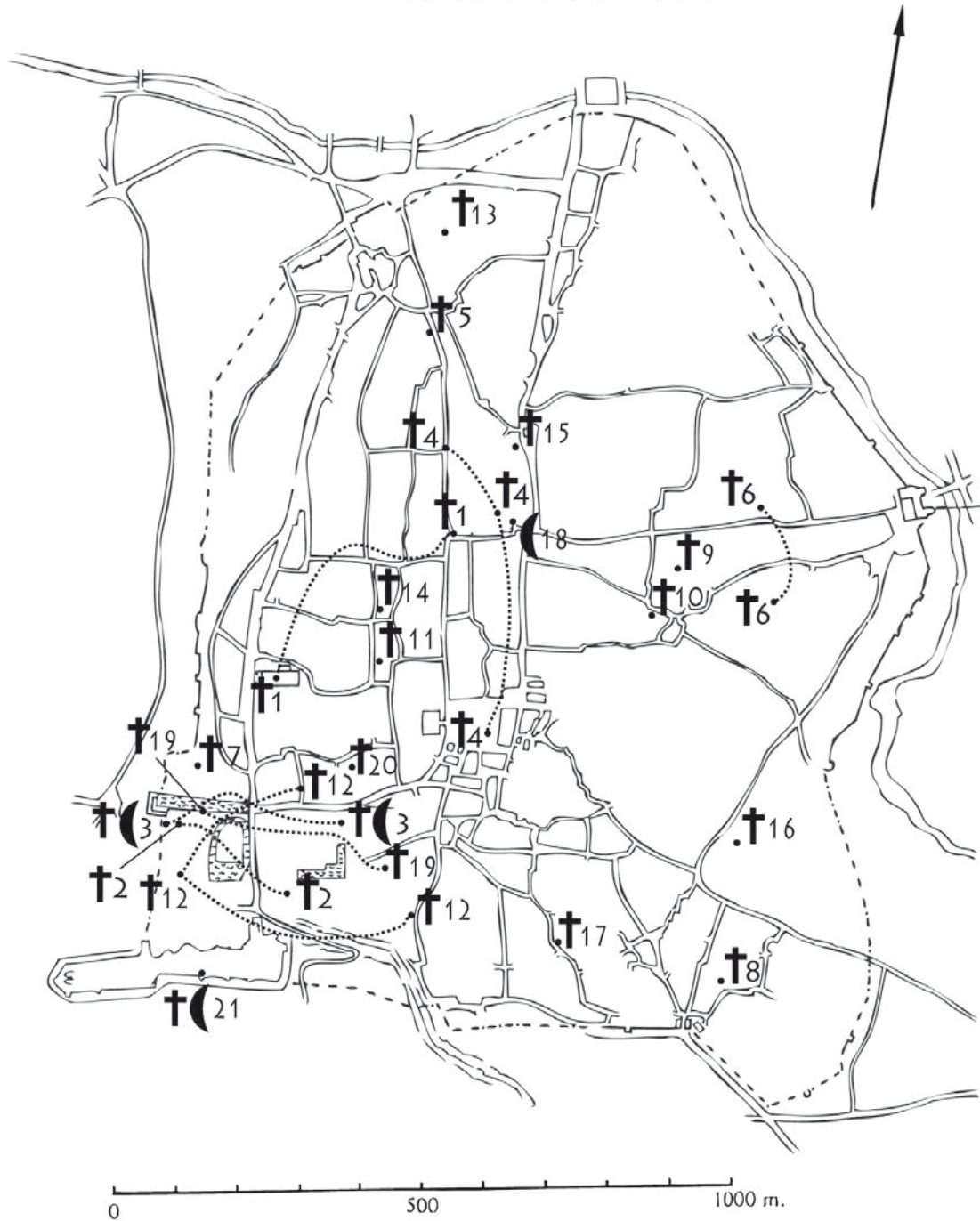
Plan 2. Phase II of Urfa, 7th–12th centuries

KEY FOR PLAN 3

3. Building annexed to the surrounding area of St. Sophia under Heraclius (?) >>> Mosque (2) 825; restored in 1146; transformed into the Hasan Paşa Camii (?), 14th century –

6. Church of St. Sergius (1), 4th/6th centuries (?) – destroyed (?).

8. Church of St. Barlaha, 408 – destroyed (?).

13. Church of St. Cyriacus, 4th/7th centuries (?) – destroyed (?).

14. Church of St. Theodore (2) / Church of the Cross, 4th/7th centuries (?); partially damaged by arson in 1032 and then restored; in use in the 13th century – destroyed (?).

18. Mosque (1) >639 >>> partially destroyed and then perhaps annexed to the buildings surrounding the Church of St. John and the Church of the Mother of God in 1032 (?) >>> restored in 1084 with the construction of a minaret >>> probably transformed into the residence of the Latin bishop between 1099 and 1144–46 >>> restored by Zangi in 1146; enlarged as the Ulu Cami (?) <1191 (probably between 1146 and 1174) –

19. Church of the Mother of God (3) and baptistery, 700; partially damaged by arson in 1032; in use in the 13th century – destroyed (?).

21. Church of St. Theodore (on the citadel), 10th/11th centuries (?) >>> transformed into a Mosque (3) >1146 – destroyed (?).

22. Madrasa, 1191 –

23. Minaret and probable prayer hall or mosque, 1211–22 –

24. 'Umariyya Mosque, according to an inscription dated to 1213–14 (position unknown) – destroyed (?).

25. Synagogue (position unknown) >1146 – destroyed (?).
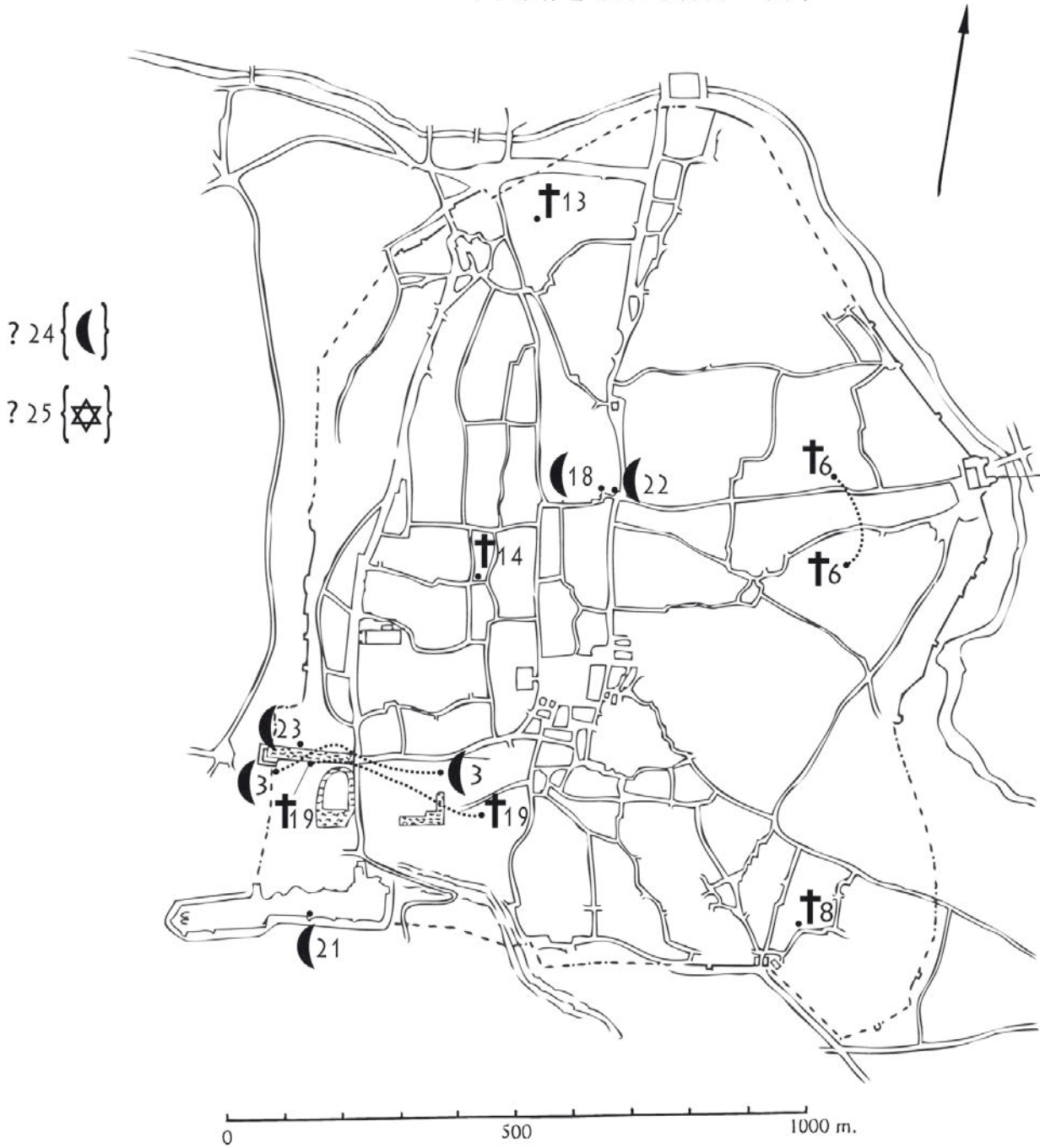
Plan 3. Phase III of Urfa, 13th–15th centuries

NOTES

1. Leah Di Segni, "Christian Epigraphy in the Holy Land: New Discoveries," *ARAM* 15 (2003): 247–67; Alan Walmsley, *Early Islamic Syria: An Archaeological Assessment* (London, 2006), 120–26.

2. It is generally agreed that Bilad al-Sham passed from a Christian to a Muslim majority between the tenth and twelfth centuries: see, for example, Bruno Heyberg, "Les chrétiens," in *États, sociétés et cultures du monde musulman médiéval (Xe–Xve siècle)*, ed. J. C. Garcin, 3 vols. (Paris, 2000), 3:147–56; Nehemia Levtzion, "Conversion to Islam in Syria and Palestine and the Survival of Christian Communities," in *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi (Toronto, 1990), 289–311; Richard W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 104–13.

3. Modern historiographies obviously reflect the different paths taken in the medieval period by the lands formerly belonging to the Byzantine empire. Due to their disappearance in the middle ages, the late antique churches of Bilad al-Sham lack the sort of independent study carried out, for instance, on the Coptic churches in Egypt.

4. Rubens Duval, *Histoire politique, religieuse et littéraire d'Édesse jusqu'à la Première Croisade* (Paris, 1892) (orig. pub. in *Journal Asiatique* 18–19 [1891–92]; repr. Philo Press: Amsterdam, 1975); Ernst Kirsten, "Edessa, eine römische Grenzstadt des 4. bis 6. Jh. im Orient," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 6 (1963): 144–72; Judah B. Segal, *Edessa: The Blessed City* (Oxford, 1970).

5. Witold Witakopski, "Chronicles of Edessa," *Orientalia Suecana* 33–35 (1984–86): 487–98; Sebastian Brock, "North Mesopotamia in the Late Seventh Century: Book XV of John Bar Penkāyê's *Rīs Mellê*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9 (1987): 51–75; Andrew Palmer, *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles* (Liverpool, 1993); Andrew Palmer, "Āmīd in the Seventh-Century Syriac Life of Theodūṭē," in *The Encounter of Eastern Christianity with Early Islam*, ed. Emmanouela Grypeou, Mark Swanson, and David Thomas (Leiden, 2006), 111–38.

6. Mehdi M. İlhan, "Urfa and Its Environs in the 1560s," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 19 (2001): 5–67; Ahmet N. Turan, "XVI. Asırda Ruha (Urfa) Sancağı" (PhD diss., Ankara University, 1993).

7. I use the following periodization: fourth to seventh centuries, late antique period (Byzantine and Persian rules); seventh to tenth centuries, early medieval period (Umayyad, Abbasid, and Byzantine rules); eleventh to mid-thirteenth centuries, medieval period (Byzantine, Seljuq, and Latin rules); thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, late medieval period (Zangid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk rules); sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, early modern period (brief Safavid and then Ottoman rules).

8. Cf. Duval, *Histoire politique*, and Segal, *Edessa*.

9. Very recently, a Byzantine bath and villa were discovered in an *extra-muros* quarter on the southeastern side of the city. Conservation work is being completed before the site is incorporated into the city's new museum. High-quality mosaic panels were uncovered in the villa and are currently being restored and published by Urfa's Directorate of Antiquity.

10. *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (II), Fr. trans. Albert Abouna (Louvain, 1974), 129–30.

11. Hugh Kennedy, *The Great Arab Conquests: How the Spread of Islam Changed the World We Live In* (London, 2007), 94–95; Fred M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton, N.J., 1981), 138; Leone Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, 11 vols. (Milan and Rome, 1905–26), 4:36–48.

12. Chase F. Robinson, *Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquest: The Transformation of Northern Mesopotamia* (Cambridge, 2000), 1–32.

13. In recent years it has been proposed that the Pact of ʿUmar might have been the result of an earlier version of the pact to which new regulations were added as long as they were sanctioned by the ulema: Albert Noth, "Problems of Differentiation between Muslims and Non-Muslims: Re-Reading the 'Ordinances of ʿUmar' (*al-shurut al-ʿumariyya*)," in *Muslims and Others in Early Islamic Society*, ed. R. Hoyland (Aldershot, 2004) (orig. pub. in German in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9 [1987]: 103–24); Mark R. Cohen, "What Was the Pact of ʿUmar? A Literary-Historical Study," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 23 (1999): 100–157. For a general overview of the concept of *dhimma*, see Clifford E. Bosworth, "The Concept of *Dhimma* in Early Islam," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, 2 vols. (New York and London, 1982), 1:37–51.

14. For a description of the city in the Byzantine period, see Kirsten, "Edessa, eine römische Grenzstadt," 144–72. The presence of Jews in the area has been studied by Judah B. Segal, "The Jews of North Mesopotamia," in *Studies in the Bible Presented to Professor M. H. Segal*, ed. J. M. Grintz and J. Liver (Jerusalem, 1964), 32–63. The Jews seem to have been forced out of Edessa at the time of Heraclius' reconquest (Segal, *Edessa*, 101–4). The reference to a Jewish presence in al-Ruha in the 1216 work of Judah al-Harizi (*Jewish Travellers*, ed. E. N. Adler [London, 1930], 112) is perhaps related to the transfer of 300 Jewish families to the city ordered by Zangi in 1146: *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (II), 102.

15. *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (I), ed. I.-B. Chabot (Paris, 1937), 186. The city has had the following names through the centuries: Edessa (Greek),

Urha (Syriac), al-Ruha (Arabic), Ruha (Ottoman Turkish), and Urfa or Şanlıurfa (Turkish).

16. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Jābir al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1968), 172–76.

17. Procopius, *De Aedificiis = Of the Buildings of Justinian*, trans. Aubrey Stewart, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, vol. 2, pt. 3 (London, 1886), 42–61; Fernanda De'Maffei, *Edifici di Giustiniano nell'ambito dell'impero* (Spoleto, 1988), 51–62. The Church of St. Thomas was founded in Amida by Heraclius a few years before the Arab conquest: Dionysius I, of Tel-Maḥrē, *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahré: Quatrième partie*, trans. J.-B. Chabot (Paris, 1895), 5.

18. Kennedy, *Great Arab Conquests*, 94–95.

19. Robinson, *Empire and Elites*, 44–62, in particular 54–59. "The pattern may not be unique to the north, but here, where the Muslim presence was so thin, autonomy was real." Ibid., 32.

20. Dionysius I, of Tel-Maḥrē, *Chronique*, 9.

21. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. and trans. J.-B. Chabot, 4 vols. (Brussels, 1963), 2:457, "Baṭna de Saroug s'écroula, et aussi le ciborium de l'église d'Édesse et ses deux côtés: Moʿavia ordonna de la rebâtir"; *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284–813*, trans. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott (Oxford, 1997), 497: "Mauias rebuilt the latter—the dome—by the zeal of the Christians" (A.M. 6170; A.D. 677–78).

22. *Synodicon orientale, ou recueil de synodes nestoriens*, ed. and trans. J.-B. Chabot (Paris, 1902), 483.

23. Robinson, *Empire and Elites*, 14–15.

24. Sebastian Brock, "North Mesopotamia," 57 note b.

25. See the "Preliminary List of Dated Monuments Built by Christians in Northern Mesopotamia, A.D. 200–1500," in Gertrude Bell, *The Churches and Monasteries of the Ṭur ʿAbdin*, ed. M. M. Mango (London, 1982), iv–vii, 161–64.

26. Umberto Rizzitano, "ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwān, il governatore omayyade dell'Egitto, 685–704 d.C.," *Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei* 2 (1947): 325–29; Kosei Morimoto, *The Fiscal Administration of Egypt in the Early Islamic Period* (Kyoto, 1981), 114.

27. *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (I), 229–30; Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l-Faraj*, ed. and trans. Ernest W. Budge, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1932), 1:104–5; *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 2:476–77.

28. Walter E. Kaegi, *Heraclius: Emperor of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2003), 192–219.

29. Ahmad Shboul and Alan Walmsley, "Identity and Self-Image in Syria and Palestine in the Transition from Byzantine to Early Islamic Rule: Arab Christians and Muslims," *Mediterranean Archaeology* 11 (1998): 269, 273.

30. *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (I), 186; Bar Hebraeus, *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, ed. and trans. Jean Baptiste Abbeloos and Thomas J. Lamy, 3 vols. (Paris, 1872–77), 1:272. In her introduction to Bell's studies, Mango argues that the assignment of the cathedral to the Melkites prompted the Jacobite bishops to sponsor the construction of new houses of worship: Bell, *Churches and Monasteries*, iv.

31. Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries*, trans. B. T. A. Evetts and Alfred J. Butler (Oxford, 1969), 154–57; Kosei Morimoto, "The Dīwāns as Registers of the Arabic Stipendiaries in Early Islamic Egypt," in *Itinéraires d'Orient: Hommages à Claude Cahen*, ed. R. Curiel and R. Gyselen, Res Orientales 6 (Bures-sur Yvette, 1994), 363–65. Athanasius appears in the list of the Egyptian *dīwān* as "illustrious chartularios" (accountant).

32. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 2:476–77; *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (I), 230. Some decades later, in the same challenging environment, another al-Ruha native, Theodore Abu Qurra, a Melkite clergyman, would write in Arabic on Christian theology, both in response to the threat posed by the conversion of Christians to Islam and as a contribution to the ongoing discussion within Christianity on theological issues. The members of the urban Christian elites were not only administrators but also scholars at the center of cultural and theological intercommunal debates: Sidney H. Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton, N.J., 2008), 59–64.

33. Walmsley, *Early Islamic Syria*, 111, 124. See also Walmsley's proposal to apply the "resilience theory" as an approach to studying the capacity of the local Syrian communities to adapt themselves to a new rule in the seventh and eighth centuries: Walmsley, *Early Islamic Syria*, 146–47; cf. Robinson, *Empire and Elites*, 168–69.

34. Shboul and Walmsley, "Identity and Self-Image," 269–74; Robert Hoyland, "Introduction," in Hoyland, *Muslims and Others*, xvii–xviii.

35. al-Jāḥiẓ, "Risāla fī al-Radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā," in *Three Essays of Abu ʿOthman ʿAmr ibn Bahr al-Jahiz*, ed. J. Finkel (Cairo, 1926), 17–18. The passage continues by underlining that in fact a Jew could only be a "dyer, tanner, cupper, butcher, or tinker." This comment reflects the heritage of the Byzantine organization of society. See also Norman A. Stillman, "The Jew in the Medieval Islamic City," in *The Jews of Medieval Islam: Community, Society, and Identity*, ed. D. Frankel (Leiden, 1995), 12.

36. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, 1:360. See 360 n. 11 regarding the "Pact of the Conquest."

37. Michael the Syrian dates the first destruction of a monastery under the Arabs (that of Qinnasrin) to the year 810 (*Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 3:23); in the early Islamic period, Agapius of Manbij mentions only the destruction of the Church of St. John in Damascus—an anomaly in the Muslim policy of preserving the Byzantine heritage—as a hostile act by the new rulers toward the Christians: Agapius of Manbij, *Kitāb al-ʿUnwān = Histoire universelle*, ed. and trans. A. A. Vasiliev (Paris, 1912), 498.

38. At least until now, neither the literary sources nor the scanty archaeological data available have revealed any new important Christian buildings constructed in these major cities.

However, "it is never safe to argue from negative evidence in archaeology" (Walmsley, *Early Islamic Syria*, 87), and indeed in cities such as Jerusalem, for example, Christian foundations dating to the early Islamic period would not be unexpected.

39. For the Madaba region in particular, see Michele Piccirillo, *L'Arabia Cristiana: Dalla provincia imperiale al primo periodo islamico* (Milan, 2002).

40. Albert Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques en Turquie orientale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1940), 1:277–86, 356 (inscriptions); Thomas A. Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey*, 4 vols. (London, 1975), 4:20–21. See also *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, ed. É. Combé, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet (Cairo, 1931–), vol. 9, no. 3450; vol. 10, nos. 3691–92, 3740; for non-religious buildings, see vol. 10, no. 3862. Cf. Lorenz Korn, "Ayyubidische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien: Bautätigkeit im Kontext von Politik und Gesellschaft 564–658/1169–1260," 3 vols. (PhD diss., University of Tübingen, 1999), 2:314–15.

41. al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-buldān*, 178.

42. K. A. C. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Islamic Architecture*, rev. and suppl. J. W. Allen (Aldershot, 1989), 4–10; Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning* (Edinburgh, 1994), 34–35, 66–68. See the important revision of the issue of the origin of the Muslim mosque in Jeremy Johns, "The 'House of the Prophet' and the Concept of the Mosque," in *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part Two: Jerusalem and Early Islam*, ed. Jeremy Johns (Oxford, 1999), 59–112. A different interpretation is offered by Rafi Grafman and Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, "The Two Great Syrian Umayyad Mosques: Jerusalem and Damascus," *Muqarnas* 16 (1999): 1–15.

43. Adamnanus, "Adamnani de locis sanctis libri tres," in *Itinera hierosolymitana, saeculi IV–VIII*, ed. Paul Geyer (Prague, 1898), 276; see the translation by Th. Wright, "The Travels of Bishop Arculf in the Holy Land," in *Early Travels in Palestine*, ed. Th. Wright (New York, 1969), 10.

44. Wright, "Travels of Bishop Arculf," 1–2; for a possible early Muslim prayer hall in the area of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, see Heribert Busse, "Die ʿUmar-Moschee im östlichen Atrium der Grabeskirche," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 109 (1993): 73–82. The first reference to an Islamic construction in *al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf* appears in an anonymous Georgian tale published by Bernard Flusin: "L'Esplanade du Temple à l'arrivée des Arabes, d'après deux récits byzantins," in *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part One: ʿAbd al-Malik's Jerusalem*, ed. Julian Raby and Jeremy Johns (Oxford, 1992), 21.

45. Andrew Palmer, *Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier: The Early History of Tur ʿAbdin* (Cambridge, 1990), 167; Palmer, "Āmīd in the Seventh-Century Syriac Life of Theodūṭē," 124 n. 32; Robinson, *Empire and Elites*, 41.

46. *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (II), 35–36. The same author mentions a minaret built on this occasion, which was still extant in his time (thirteenth century). The Christian source probably reflects the widespread common *vulgata* about Seljuq claims on the places of worship in the city. On this matter, there is a well-known anecdote concerning ʿUmar's refusal to pray in the Holy Sepulchre so as to avoid any claim by the Muslims to that church: see Busse, "Die ʿUmar-Moschee," 72–83.

47. For the year 1031 Bar Hebraeus says, "Some of them went down to the city and destroyed the Mosque of the Arabs": Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 1:192.

48. Johns, "House of the Prophet," 109–10.

49. In al-Ruha, this is the case of the inscription of the year 1213 (*Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, vol. 10, no. 3740), which has been attributed to a "Moschee ʿUmariyya": Max von Oppenheim, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft 7 (1913), 61, no. 83. Korn underlined the fact that the Mosque of ʿUmar is not among the known buildings of Urfa: Korn, "Ayyubidische Architektur," 2:314.

50. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. J. al-D. al-Munajjid, 2 vols. (Damascus, 1954), 2:23, 17–32.

51. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, 1:360.

52. Ibid.

53. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 3:61–62.

54. When a source mentions the destruction of a church, this does not mean *sic et simpliciter* the destruction of the whole structure of the church. It is possible that only one particular area was damaged or that a fire burned only a section of the building; this would explain the apparent ease with which buildings were reconstructed and repaired, often within a few years after the damage had been incurred.

55. Around 770, al-Ruha's Seleucid walls were partially destroyed by the caliph al-Mansur because the local Christian community had not obeyed his orders: *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 3:279. In 797, Harun al-Rashid (r. 786–809) visited the city to arbitrate a dispute between local Muslims and Christians: *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 3:10; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon syriacum*, ed. and trans. P. I. Brims and G. G. Kirsch, 2 vols. (Lipsiae, 1789), 2:137. In nearby Harran, churches—as well as synagogues—built after the conquest were either partially or totally destroyed a few years before 825 by the local Muslim governor who, then, however, allowed them to be repaired: *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 3:47–48. On early Muslim attitudes toward the public display of Christian religious symbols, see Sidney H. Griffith, "Images, Islam and Christian Icons: A Moment in the Christian / Muslim Encounter in Early Islamic Times," in *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam, VIIe–VIIIe siècles*, ed. Pierre Canivet and Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais (Damascus, 1992), 121–38. The corpus of early Muslim eschatology, which expresses fear of a Byzantine *reconquista*, may have played a role in raising cultural tensions. The corpus specifically mentions Edessa / al-Ruha: Michael A. Cook, "The Heraclian Dynasty in Muslim Eschatology," *Al-Qanṭara* 13 (1992): 3–23.

56. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, 1:360; *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 3:62–64.

57. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1967), 141.

58. *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (II), 100–101.

59. A fruitful comparison could be made with contemporary al-Andalus. Here it is enough to stress the regulations of Muhammad I, emir of Córdoba (r. 852–86), regarding the architectural additions by the Mozarabs to the extant Visigoth churches and their new construction projects, as reported by Eulogius' *Memoriale Sanctorum*: Jerrilynn D. Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* (University Park, Pa., and London, 1990), 63–64.

60. Mattia Guidetti, "Churches and Mosques in the Cities of Bilād al-Shām: Coexistence and Transformation of the Urban Fabric," in *Islamic Cities in the Classical Age*, ed. Nasser Rabbat (Boston, forthcoming 2010). To this list should be added the case of Subeyta in the Negev area, where a small mosque was added in the compound of one of the local churches, without causing any interruption to Christian worship: Avraham Negev, *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. Ephraim Stern (New York, 1993–), s.v. "Sobata." Similar to al-Rusafa is al-Bakhraʾ, although in the latter the nature of the relation between the church and the mosque is still not clear: Denis Genequand, "Châteaux omeyyades de la Palmyrène," *Annales Islamologiques* 38, 1 (2004): 13–18; Denis Genequand, "Al-Bakhraʾ (Avatha), from the Tetrarchic Fort to the Umayyad Castle," *Levant* 36 (2004): 225–42.

61. The consecrated halls in late antique urban cathedral complexes were but a portion of such church properties. This is why in Aleppo, for instance, the Friday mosque was built in the large garden/cemetery located to the east of the city's cathedral, thereby preserving its prayer hall. In this regard, Damascus and Hama are exceptions: in the former, the described pattern was followed only before al-Walid's reconstruction of the first mosque in 705, while in the latter the church was probably turned into a mosque after the conquest: Mattia Guidetti, "Churches and Mosques in the Cities of Bilād al-Shām."

62. See, for instance, Bosra, Jerash, and Palmyra, where early mosques were built in the centers of those cities, though not exactly in the vicinity of extant churches, which remained in use long after the seventh-century Islamic conquest: Michael Meinecke, Flemming Aalund, Lorenz Korn, and Stefan Heidemann, *Bosra: Islamische Architektur und Archäologie* (Rahden, 2005); Alan Walmsley and Kristoffer Damgaard, "The Umayyad Congregational Mosque of Jarash in Jordan and Its Relationship to Early Mosques," *Antiquity* 79 (June 2005): 362–78; Denis Genequand, "An Early Islamic Mosque at Palmyra," *Levant* 40, 1 (2008): 3–15.

63. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, 1:560.

64. Robinson, *Empire and Elites*, 131–41.

65. Yazīd b. Muḥammad al-Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, ed. ʿA. Ḥabība (Cairo, 1967), 147. The *masjid* mentioned by al-Azdi seems to refer to the congregational mosque of al-Mawsil: Robinson, *Empire and Elites*, 74.

66. Muḥibb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Shiḥna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab fī taʾrīkh mamlakat Ḥalab*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh al-Darwīsh (Damascus, 1984), 82.

67. Mattia Guidetti, "L'antico in due edifici siriani medievali: La formazione dell'arte musulmana e il suo rapporto con l'antico, la Siria del XII secolo," in *Medioevo Mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam dal tardoantico al secolo XII*, ed. C. A. Quintavalle (Milan, 2007), 381–89.

68. One should also consider the confusion caused by some travelers who saw in each minaret a Byzantine bell tower and in each mosque a former church: George Badger, *The Nestorians and Their Rituals: With the Narrative of a Mission to Mesopotamia and Coordistan in 1842–1844, and of a Late Visit to Those Countries in 1850*, 2 vols. (London, 1852), 1:323; Charles Texier, "La ville et les monuments d'Édesse," *Revue orientale et américaine* 1 (1859): 333–34. See the Appendix for plans 1–3, which were made with the help of Scott Walker of the Harvard Map Collection at Harvard University and are based on the plan of Urfa published by Thomas A. Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archeological Survey*, 4 vols. (London: The Pindar Press, 1975), vol. 4, *Urfa: The Walled Area*.

69. See, for instance, *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (I), 141–44.

70. Kirsten, "Edessa, eine römische Grenzstadt," 166–72.

71. The embellishment of the church is connected to the patronage of the bishop Amazonius. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, 1:220: "The Chalcedonians from Edessa had Bishop Amazonius, who built and decorated their grand urban church." He was probably bishop when Justinian decided to restore the buildings damaged by the flood: "The Emperor Justinian not only at once restored all the buildings of the city that were damaged, among which were the church of the Christians and a building called Antiphorus...": Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, 58–59.

72. *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (I), 97.

73. Heinrich Goussen, "Über eine 'Sughitha' auf die Kathedrale von Edessa," *Le Muséon* 38 (1925): 117–36; André Grabar, "Le temoignage d'une hymn syriaque sur l'architecture de la cathédrale d'Edesse au VIe siècle et sur la symbolique de l'édifice chrétien," *Cahier Archéologique* 2 (1947): 41–67; Kathleen E. McVey, "The Domed Church as Microcosm: Literary Roots of an Architectural Symbol," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983): 91–121; Andrew Palmer and Lyn Rodley, "The Inauguration Hymn of Haghia Sophia in Edessa: A New Edition and Translation with Historical and Architectural Notes and a Comparison with a Contemporary Constantinopolitan Kontakion," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988): 117–67. Cf. the different interpretation by De'Maffei (unfortunately never developed in detail): Fernanda De'Maffei, "Il problema della cupola su vano quadrato e la Santa Sofia di Costantinopoli," in *Convegno internazionale: La Persia e Bisanzio* (Rome, 2004), 719 n. 48. She argues that the hymn refers to a church other than the cathedral: the church had to be located by the pool, the cathedral in the place later occupied by the Ulu Cami. The possibility that the cathedral stood on the site where the medieval mosque was later built was also suggested by Eduard Sachau in *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien* (Leipzig, 1883), 194.

74. In the previous paragraph, the Chronicle mentions Bishop Aitallah as the last builder of the first phase of the construction of the cathedral of St. Sophia: "…the foundations of the Great Church were built by Bishop Cyrus; the building was continued by Bishop Shaʿdu and later completed by Bishop Aitallah": *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (I), 143.

75. Ibid.

76. For an overview of Byzantine churches in medieval Islamic cities, see Mattia Guidetti, "Bisanzio dopo Bisanzio: Le chiese bizantine nel medioevo arabo-musulmano," *Porphyra* 10 (2007), 28–51 (www.porphyra.it).

77. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Hamadhānī (Ibn al-Faqīh), *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1967), 50; ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khurradādhbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1967), 161–62.

78. See also al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 147; Abūʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1967), 144.

79. Cf. the Syriac hymn (known as Soghita), which says in verse 10, "There is no wood at all in its ceiling, which was entirely cast from stone": McVey, "Domed Church as Microcosm," 95.

80. al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 141.

81. Abū Isḥāq al-Fārisī al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Kitāb Masālik al-mamālik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1967), 76; the same passage is in Muḥammad b. Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. J. H. Kramers (Leiden, 1967), 227, and Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, ed. E. Cerulli (Naples-Rome, 1974), 663–64.

82. al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 147, 159.

83. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-qulūb*, ed. Guy Le Strange (Leiden, 1915), 104–5 (passage translated with the help of Dr. Stefano Pellò of the University of Venice).

84. *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (II), 16. Agapius connects the restoration of the cathedral of Edessa by Muʿawiya with his visit to the city during the civil war against ʿAli's partisans: Agapius of Manbij, *Kitāb al-ʿUnwān*, 493.

85. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 3:279; cf. *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (I), 261–62.

86. al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb Murūj al-dhahab wa-maʿādin al-jawhar*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyīʾl-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1938), 3:282, no. 1956.

87. Geoffrey R. D. King, "Some Christian Wall-Mosaics in Pre-Islamic Arabia," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 10 (1980): 37–42.

88. Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, 14 vols. (Beirut, s.d), 2:170, 176; Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. R. al-Ṣ. Malḥas, 2 vols. (Mecca, 1965), 1:141. The church is also described in detail in the early thirteenth-century work by Abūʾl-Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī: Bell, *Churches and Monasteries*, 300–301.

89. *Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 510 (A.M. 6183; A.D. 690–91).

90. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdūs al-Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ wa-l-kuttāb*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqā, Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī, and ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ Shalabī (Cairo, 1980), 48–49; al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 165. On the eschatological traditions, see Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage* (Leiden, 1995), 134–38.

91. al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb Murūj al-dhahab*, 3:339, no. 1292.

92. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāq al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarāʾ al-Shām wa-l-Jazīra*, ed. D. Sourdel (Damascus, 1953), 31. The fate of Cyrrhus' church (defined by Ibn Shaddad as "one of the wonders of the world," probably as a rhetorical tool in the endless rivalry between Aleppo and Damascus) is unknown. Rebuilt and embellished by Justinian, the city still had a bishop in the eleventh century, but the lack of excavations does not allow us to speculate further: Edmond Frézouls, "Recherches historiques et archéologiques sur la ville de Cyrrhus," *Les annales archéologiques de Syrie* 4–5 (1954–55): 89–128. It has to be mentioned that these columns were later part of the material (i.e., marble and ornaments) transferred to al-Anbar by the Abbasids after the looting of the Umayyad "heritage" (*athār*) in Aleppo: Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāq al-khaṭīra*, 31. For a recent description of Cyrrhus' early Islamic period, see Ian B. Straughn, "Materializing Islam: An Archaeology of Landscape in Early Islamic Period Syria (c. 600–1000 CE)," 2 vols. (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2006), 1:207–18.

93. See, for instance, the possible reuse in al-Aqsa Mosque of material from the Nea Church of Jerusalem, which was founded by Justinian and destroyed by an earthquake, probably before 808: Louis-Hugues Vincent, *Jérusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1912–26), 2:918.

94. The use of marble columns, variegated marble panels, and colored mosaics was governed by the chromatic or coloristic quality of the material within the place of worship. This is a clear expression of late antique aesthetics, of which the Carolingians in the West and the Umayyads in the East were the best early medieval interpreters: Michelangelo Cagiano de Azevedo, "Policromia e polimateria nelle opere d'arte della tarda antichità e dell'alto medioevo," *Felix Ravenna* 4, 1 (1970): 239–41, 251–55, 258–59. As Mango pointed out, north-Syrian and Mesopotamian Christian art could provide instructive terms of comparison for Umayyad art and architecture: Bell, *Churches and Monasteries*, vii–x. For instance, the monastic church of Mar Gabriel in the area of Tur ʿAbdin, founded under Anastasios in 512, presents in its sanctuary marble opus-sectile pavements, marble panels on the lower walls (now gone), and mosaics depicting non-figurative compositions on the upper walls. The parallel with the decorative elements of Umayyad congregational mosques is palpable.

95. In this sense, Van Berchem's criticism of the literary passages describing an exchange of material between the Byzantine empire and the caliphate seems entirely justified: Marguerite Gautier–Van Berchem, "The Mosaics of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and of the Great Mosque in Damascus,"

in K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1969), 1:231–45, particularly, 242. By contrast, El Cheikh's assertion that "the impact that these impressive vestiges of Byzantine culture made on the Arabs is evident in the sources" sets the reference to any of the surviving—and still vibrant—traces of Byzantine culture outside the boundaries of the caliphate (and not within as is here suggested), including the provenance of the exchanged material: Nadia Maria El Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004), 54–60.

96. A perfect example of the sharing of some *loca sancta* between Muslims and Christians is the recently discovered Church of the Kathisma, near Jerusalem on the road to Bethlehem. In the octagonal sanctuary built on the site where the Virgin Mary was thought to have rested on her way to Bethlehem, a mihrab was added in the early Islamic period for Muslim worshippers. The church was neither transformed into a mosque nor partitioned, but was used for a while by both Christian and Muslim pilgrims: Rina Avner, "The Kathisma: A Christian and Muslim Pilgrimage Site," *ARAM* 18–19 (2006–7): 541–57.

97. For a complete and updated overview of Arab-Christian culture within early medieval Islam, with a special emphasis on the use of the Arabic language, see Griffith, *Church in the Shadow of the Mosque*.

98. Édouard Dulaurier, ed., *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Documents arméniens*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1858), 1:229.

99. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon syriacum*, 2:231; Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. A. E. Dostourian (Lanham, 1993), 53.

100. *Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, 147.

101. *Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, 198; *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (II), 128; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 227.

102. For a general view on this period, see Joseph Laurent, "Des Grecs aux Croisés: Étude sur l'histoire d'Édesse entre 1071 et 1098," *Byzantion* 1 (1924): 367–449; idem, "Byzance et Antioche sous le Curopalate Philarète," *Revue des Études Armeniennes* 9 (1929): 61–72.

103. Reinhold Röhricht, "Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geographie und Topographie Syriens," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins* 10 (1887): 295–97; Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), 111–15.

104. *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (II), 128.

105. Ibid., 100.

106. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 104–5.

107. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon syriacum*, 2:231.

108. *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (II), 35–36.

109. Ibid., 100–101. Cf. the situation in Jerusalem, where al-Aqsa became the seat of the Latin bishop, while the Dome of the Rock was transformed into the *Templum Domini*.

110. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 3:397–98.

111. *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (II), 100.

112. al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*, 76.

113. *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (II), 31.

114. *Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, 212–13.

115. Around 1570, Muslims accounted for two-thirds of the total population of the city, now under Ottoman rule: İlhan, "Urfa and Its Environs," 9–10.

116. For more information on non-Muslims under Islamic rule, see n. 13 above.

117. Even if in the final balance there was a decisive decline in the number of Christian places of worship, it is worthwhile to keep in mind that some Jacobites saw the 1146 Muslim conquest as presenting an opportunity for their community to recover its primary role among the Christian confessions. This was one of the reasons for presenting Zangi in a positive light: *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (II), 99–102. Note his gift of two bells to the two Jacobite churches in al-Ruha (p. 102), the ringing of which was later prohibited by al-Malik al-ʿAdil in the thirteenth century: *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 3:413. It is also worth mentioning that not all Christian sites in the area were subject to the deterioration that beset late antique cathedrals in the cities. In the monastery of Mar Musa al-Habashi, located on the road between Damascus and Hims, for instance, three layers of wall paintings were commissioned between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, highlighting the vitality of an important Christian site at the apex of the Crusader-Muslim clash: Erica C. Dodd, *The Frescoes of Mar Musa al-Habashi: A Study in Medieval Painting in Syria* (Toronto, 2001).

118. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 1:229. However, the Church of St. Cassianus in Antioch (or at least its southern sanctuary) had to have been in use again during the period of Latin rule: *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (II), 43, 230.

119. Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāq al-khaṭīra*, 39. Before the eleventh century there is only the report by Michael the Syrian (not confirmed by any other source) of the destruction of the Chalcedonian church of Aleppo under al-Mahdi (r. 775–85): *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 3:3. If he was referring to the cathedral, the building may have been only partially ruined, since it remained in use until 1124.

120. Ibn Butlān, in Yāqūt b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rūmī al-Ḥamawī, *Kitāb Muʿjam al-buldān*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, 6 vols. (Liepzig, 1866–73), s.v. "Ḥalab"; Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, ed. W. Wright (Leiden, 1907), 251–52.

121. Ibn al-Shiḥna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab fī taʾrīkh mamlakat Ḥalab*, 82–83. Cf. the Syriac account of the same event: *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (II), 69–70.

122. *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (II), 99–101. Before the twelfth century we have only a literary reference to *spolia* from churches being reused in the walls of a city. During the reign of Harun al-Rashid,

when tensions were rising between Byzantines and Muslims in the border area in the Taurus Mountains, some churches west of Sanja were demolished and their material used to renovate a wall: *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 3:8.

123. Philippe Dangles, "La refortification d'Afamiyya—Qalʿat al-Mudiq sous le sultanat ayyoubide d'Alep (fin de XIIe–mi XIIIe siècle)," in *La fortification au temps des Croisades*, ed. Nicolas Faucherre, Jean Mesqui, and Nicolas Prouteau (Rennes, 2004), 189–204; Cyril Yovitchitch, "La citadelle de Bosra," in Faucherre, Mesqui, and Prouteau, *La fortification au temps des Croisades*, 205–17.

124. *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (II), 128.

125. Seton Lloyd and William Brice, "Harran," *Anatolian Studies* 1 (1951): 77–111; David S. Rice, "Medieval Harran: Studies on Its Topography and Buildings," *Anatolian Studies* 2 (1952): 36–84; David S. Rice, "From Sîn to Saladin: Excavations in Harran's Great Mosque, with New Light on the Babylonian King Nabonidus and His 104-Year-Old Mother," *Illustrated London News* 231 (Sept. 1957): 466–69.

126. See also Fernanda De'Maffei, *Edifici di Giustiniano*, 53–56, 59–62; pls. LX–LXX.

127. Lloyd and Brice, "Harran," 79, 91, 105–8. Unfortunately, the two columns are no longer *in situ*.

128. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 3:396 (the author adds that Nur al-Din's death was caused by this crime). Compare this reuse of marble from a Christian place of worship with the way in which some marble was reused by a certain Usama, a customer in early thirteenth-century Damascus of the Venetian merchants who were selling what they had just pillaged in Constantinople. He is said to have reused the marble in his own residence, which was later transformed into a Shafiʿi madrasa: "Muntakhabāt Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn al-nuriyya wa-l-ṣalāḥiyya," in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Historiens orientaux*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1872–1906), 5:154; cf. Michael Greenhalgh, *Islam and Marble: From the Origins to Saddam Hussein* (Canberra, 2005), 24.

129. Nikita Elisséeff, "Les Monuments de Nūr ad-Dīn: Inventaire, notes archéologiques et bibliographiques," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 13 (1949–51): 5–43; Yasser al-Tabbaa, "The Architectural Patronage of Nur al-Din (1146–1174)," 3 vols. (PhD diss., New York University, 1982), 1:34–138.

130. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, 2:596.

131. *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (I), 142.

132. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 3:397–98.

133. *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, vol. 9, no. 3450.

134. Abū'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān wa-anbāʾ abnāʾ al-zamān*, ed. Yūsuf ʿAlī Ṭawīl and Maryam Qāsim Ṭawīl, 6 vols. (Beirut, 1998), 4:410 (no. 715: al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn).

135. Albert Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques en Turquie orientale*, 1:280–83; Fernanda De'Maffei, *Edifici di Giustiniano*, 61–62, pls. LXIV, LXV, LXIXa, LXXa.

136. Yasser al-Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival* (Seattle and London, 2001), 137–62, in particular 155–60.

137. al-Tabbaa, "Architectural Patronage," 1:34–138; Korn, "Ayyubidische Architektur," 1:58–93; 3: figs. 71–253.

138. As shown by Flood, the use of mosaics in some Mamluk buildings was more an allusion to the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus than a conscious reference to late antique aesthetics: Finbarr B. Flood, "Umayyad Survivals and Mamluk Revivals: Qalawunid Architecture and the Great Mosque of Damascus," *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 57–79.

139. Yasser al-Tabbaa, "Survivals and Archaism in the Architecture of Northern Syria, ca. 1080–ca. 1150," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 33–34; Julian Raby, "Nur al-Din, the Qastal al-Shuʿaybiyya and the 'Classical Revival,'" *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 292–93.

140. Rice, "From Sîn to Saladin," 466–69.

141. As Flood has convincingly shown, the reuse of Christian *spolia* did not *de facto* mean a symbolization of the victory of Islam over (eastern and western) Christianity: Finbarr B. Flood, "The Medieval Trophy as an Art Historical Trope: Coptic and Byzantine 'Altars' in Islamic Contexts," *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): 41–72. With a "highly speculative" reading, Raby suggested that the late antique material reused in the extension of the Great Mosque of Harran was intended to evoke an ancient past with a specific reference to Abraham: Raby, "Nur al-Din, the Qastal al-Shuʿaybiyya and the 'Classical Revival,'" 303–4.

142. Terry Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture* (Wiesbaden, 1986), 1–23; Mattia Guidetti, "L'antico in due edifici siriani medievali."

143. Finbarr B. Flood, "A Group of Reused Byzantine Tables as Evidence for Seljuq Architectural Patronage in Damascus," *Iran* 39 (2001): 145–54; idem, "Medieval Trophy," 46–48.

144. The presence in almost every city of Bilad al-Sham of a late antique church still in use in the eleventh century suggests that at the moment of their reuse the marble tables were specifically identified as Christian altars. See, for example, a passage by Ibn al-ʿAdim regarding a marble table reused in the al-Halawiyya Madrasa in Aleppo: Ernst Herzfeld, "Damascus: Studies in Architecture—I," *Ars Islamica* 9 (1942): 4. For the original context of these architectural fragments, one has to look to examples of "vanishing" late antique architecture still in use until being recycled by the Muslims. See also the case of the marble tables in Nur al-Din's *bīmāristān* in Damascus; cf. Flood, "Medieval Trophy," 48–60.

145. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 229.

146. The images on the capitals were scraped off only in a later period: John Wilkinson, *Column Capitals in al Haram al Sharif (from 138 A.D. to 1118 A.D.)* (Jerusalem, 1987), 205–14; idem, "Column Capitals in the Ḥaram al-Sharīf," in Raby and Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part One*, 134–39.

147. Flood, "A Group of Reused Byzantine Tables," 147.