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# TEMPLE, CHURCH AND MOSQUE

BY

P. J. RIIS



København 1965

Kommissionær: Ejnar Munksgaard

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The primeval Christian cult-places were simple assembly rooms in private houses, often of very small dimensions.<sup>1</sup> The first real churches date from the first half of the fourth century: The Lateran Basilica in Rome was begun in 313, and St. Peter's in the same city in 324, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem in 325, Constantine the Great's Basilica at Antioch in 331, and the Church of the Apostles in Constantinople in 337. Among those which succeeded pagan sanctuaries the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is the earliest. In 354 Constantius II commanded that the temples should be closed, and in his reign, thus between 337 and 361, a church was built on the ruins of a Roman temple in the Syrian town of Arethousa, now Ar-Rastān, 33 kilometres south of Ḥama, the ancient Epiphaneia ad Orontem.<sup>2</sup> In 380 Theodosius the Great issued his famous edict, which meant the beginning of a systematic uprooting of paganism, and as his policy did not everywhere have the desired immediate effects, his successors were obliged to issue more decrees to the same end: In 399 the destruction of the ancient sanctuaries was allowed, in 408 they were transferred "ad usum publicum", and in 435

<sup>1</sup> Herculaneum: Archäologischer Anzeiger 1940, pp. 504–510, Römische Mitteilungen LX/LXI 1953/4, pp. 224–233 (although measuring 3×3 metres only, the room may have been used for gatherings by a small number of persons). — Rome: J. LASSUS, Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie, essai sur la genèse, la forme et l'usage liturgique des édifices de culte chrétien, en Syrie, du IIIe siècle à la conquête musulmane (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique XLII) 1947, pp. 19–22. — Dura-Europos: LASSUS, *op. cit.* pp. 5–19 (the dimensions of the free floor-area in the chapel are about 3×5 metres).

<sup>2</sup> Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts LIV 1939 p. 115 No. 5. — Codex Theodosianus XVI 10.4 (ed. TH. MOMMSEN & P. M. MEYER 1905, I 2 p. 898): "Placuit omnibus locis adque urbibus universis claudi protinus templa..." (Imp. Constantius A. ad Taurum P. P.). — THEODORETUS, Ecclesiastica Historia III 3 (7): "τὸ δὲ γε Μάρκου τοῦ Ἀρεθουσίων ἐπισκόπου... ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τοῖς Κωνσταντίου καιροῖς εἰδωλικὸν τινα καταλύσας σηκὸν ἐκκλησίαν ἐδείματο, τὸν Ἰουλιανοῦ μεμαθηκότες Ἀρεθουσιῶσι σκόπον, ἐγύμνωσαν τὴν δυσμένειαν. κτλ."

heathen cult was again forbidden and the demolition of the temples ordained<sup>3</sup>.

The Arab conquest of Syria and Irāq in the years 636 and 637 produced a considerable demand for new places for prayer. As a rule it was deemed enough to expropriate one of the churches in a conquered town, or only part of a church. More than once, and ultimately in 1958, K. A. C. CRESWELL has pointed out that the remains of the "Greatest Church" (Kanīsat al-'Uzmā) in Ḥama show particularly well how the Arabs arranged things in such cases. This very building has been transformed into what is now the principal prayer hall of the town's Great Mosque (Ġāmi' al-Kabīr) (Pls. I–II), a complex which also gives evidence of the existence of a Roman sanctuary on the same spot.<sup>4</sup> On the following pages an attempt will be made to describe the metamorphoses of the cult-place as caused by the changes of creed, and special heed will be paid to the investigations of CRESWELL and JEAN SAUVAGET, both of whom have studied the remains in question with particular attention and interpreted

<sup>3</sup> Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts LIV 1939, pp. 105–106, especially Notes 8–9. — Codex Theodosianus XVI 1.2 (p. 833): "Cunctos populos, quos clementiae nostrae regit temperamentum, in tali volumus religione versari etc." (380. Imppp. Gratianus, Valentinianus et Theodosius AAA. Edictum ad populum urbis constantinopolitanae). — Theodoretus, *op. cit.* V 22: "Ὁ δὲ πιστότατος βασιλεὺς κατὰ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς πλάνης μετέθηκε τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ νόμους ἔγραψε τὰ τῶν εἰδώλων τεμένη καταλυθῆναι κελεύων... ταῦτα πάντα Θεοδόσιος εὐρών ὁ πιστότατος βασιλεὺς, πρόρριζα τε ἀνέσπασε καὶ λήθη παρέδωκε". — Codex Theodosianus XVI 10.10 (p. 899): "Nemo se hostiis polluat, nemo insontem victimam caedat, nemo delubra adeat, templa perlustret et mortali opere formata simulacra suspiciat..." (391. Imppp. Gratianus, Valentinianus et Theodosius AAA. ad Albinum P. P.). — Ibid. XVI 10.12 (p. 900): "Nullus... in nullo penitus loco, in nulla urbe sensu carentibus simulacris vel insontem victimam caedat vel secretiore piaculo larem igne, mero genium, penates odore veneratus accendat lumina, imponat tura, sarta suspendat" (392. Imppp. Theodosius, Arcadius et Honorius AAA. ad Rufinum P. P.). — Ibid. XVI 10.16 (p. 902): "Si qua in agris templa sunt, sine turba ac tumultu diruantur. His enim deiectis atque sublatiis omnis superstitioni materia consumetur" (399. Impp. Arcadius et Honorius AA. ad Eutychianum P. P.). — Ibid. XVI 10.19 (p. 903): "Aedificia ipsa templorum, quae in civitatibus vel oppidis vel extra oppida sunt, ad usum publicum vindicentur. Arae locis omnibus destruantur omniaque templa in possessionibus nostris ad usus adcommodos transferantur; domini destruere cogantur" (408. Imppp. Arcadius, Honorius et Theodosius AAA. Curtio P. P.). — Ibid. XVI 10.25 (p. 905): "... cunctaque eorum fana templa delubra, si qua etiam nunc restant integra, praecepto magistratum destrui conlocationeque venerandae Christianae religionis signi expiari praecipimus..." (435. Impp. Theodosius et Valentinianus AA. Isidoro P. P.).

<sup>4</sup> P. J. RUS, Remains of a Roman Building in Ḥamā, Syria, in Berytus II 1935, pp. 34–39, and *id.*, Note on the Early Christian Basilica in Hama, in Berytus IV 1937, pp. 116–120; cf. Hama, Fouilles et Recherches 1931–1938 IV 2, p. 3 fig. 1: south of No. 1.

them with much acuteness. The hitherto unpublished results of a sounding made by the Danish Carlsberg Expedition working in Ḥama 1931–1938 will fittingly serve as a starting-point.

This sounding was undertaken in February 1937 immediately outside the east wall of the prayer hall at that place in the wall where the upper part of an ancient Roman entrance was visible (Pl. II: C/d, Pl. III: I, a, and Pl. IV A–B).<sup>5</sup> The purpose of the excavation was to uncover the threshold of the doorway and the foundations of the doorjambs, and it was hoped that this work would create an interest in reopening the entrance. In spite of the energetic support of several outstanding local authorities, among them particularly the late Dr. TAWFIQ ŠIŠAKLĪ, then Member of the Syrian Parliament for Ḥama, the investigation could not be brought to an end properly, and for this reason it remained unpublished till the revived discussion of the early history of the mosque tempted the present writer to make the results known to wider circles. An irrational animosity against excavation on the premises of the mosque compelled the Expedition to stop the digging already two days after its beginning on Monday February the 8th, and neither potsherds nor other small objects were found which might help to a precise dating of the masonry. Also measuring and photographing were rendered difficult, partly by purely technical circumstances. Nevertheless it was possible to state that the threshold and several other blocks did not rest in their original positions, and that the foot of the wall did not have the same character north and south of the doorway (Pl. VIII). In the northern jamb the third block from above evidently did not belong to the door, but was a later substitute for a displaced or missing block. The southern jamb footed on a block which was placed at a higher level than the abutment of the northern jamb and which projected 11 centimetres before the face of the wall in such a way that would only seem justified if the lower courses were concealed by earth. The very threshold (Pls. X A–B and XI A) appeared to be antique, but obviously it had been tipped over on one side, and at its south end it had been cut so as to receive and support the above-mentioned projecting block. With the actual position of the threshold, a square hole in its vertical face would have no meaning, nor would the horizontal bevelling

<sup>5</sup> Berytus II 1935, p. 34 f: Ia, Pls. 13–14 and 15.1–3.

over the hole. Moreover, the threshold rested upon a course of worn pavement slabs, the formerly projecting parts of which had been broken off, and the total extension of these slabs from the north to the south was exactly equal to the lower width of the door including the jambs. So, the original level of the doorway was down there, at 3.11 metres below the lintel, and the big threshold block must either have been at the inside or was taken from elsewhere. In the joints between the southernmost four pavement slabs there was a mortar containing particles of charcoal, which, in accordance with the experience of the Expedition gained during its work on the Citadel Mound (Al-Qal'a) of Ḥama,<sup>6</sup> would indicate medieval repairs. Presumably this should be connected with the laying of a water conduit of terracotta pipes which came out from below the pavement slabs a little south of the centre of the doorway, and after turning at a right angle followed the northern part of the wall at a distance of roughly one metre (Pls. XB and XIA). Parts of another pipe line oriented south-north was found at a slightly higher level and a little nearer to the wall (Pl. XIA). North of the threshold the wall had a projecting base, apparently undisturbed and consisting of a simple member, with a straight sloping upper side and a vertical face, on a foundation course. The base and its foundation course project 27 and 64 centimetres, respectively, counting from the front of the wall. A 13 centimetres thick remainder of a lifting boss was found on the base about 50 centimetres from its south end. At the north end of the slabs and of the re-used threshold there was a block projecting 9 centimetres; it hardly lay in its original position as its face was not flush with any part of the base. South of the door the wall had no base; a block, 66 centimetres long and wide, placed up to this part of the wall, clearly was not in situ. As far as the upper courses of the wall are concerned (Pls. IV A–B) it could be stated that, south of the door, the lower joint of the course with the brackets was not level with the same joint north of the entrance, where, moreover, the bracket "d" is too close to the door (see also Pl. III). It would seem that the narrow course under the projection "e" between the brackets "d" and "f" originally was situated under the northern bracket

<sup>6</sup> Hama IV 2, p. 20: "mortier grisâtre carbonifère", cf. p. 21: used in Sultan Malik al-Muzaffar I's fortification of about 1190.



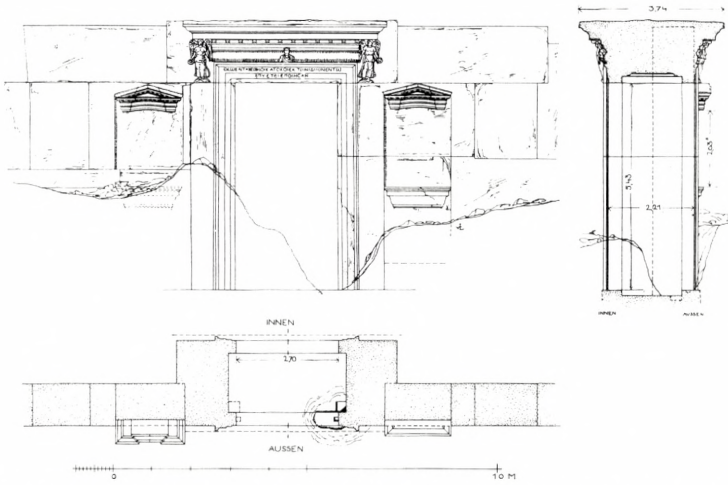


Fig. 1. Ḥṣn Sulaimān, Sanctuary of Zeus Baitokaikes, East Gate. From *Denkmäler antiker Architektur* V. 1:200.

course so that the latter would correspond exactly to that of the south side. The distances from the door to the nearest bracket and between the brackets should presumably be the same on both sides. Finally it may be supposed that the uppermost block but one in the northern doorjamb was placed where the irregular secondary one now is; thus the courses would have a more normal character.

The sketch Pl. IX will show how the doorway may have looked in its original Roman setting: An entrance 1.86 metres wide above and 3.11 metres high, with the jambs standing on a narrow threshold course of pavement slabs,<sup>7</sup> flanked by walls with symmetrically placed brackets supporting aediculae (cf. fig. 1),<sup>8</sup> but with a projecting base north of the door only (cf.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Baalbek, *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905*, I 1921 Pl. 30 (east porch of altar court), Palmyra, *Ergebnisse der Expeditionen von 1902 und 1917*, 1932 Pl. 47 (atrium portals in the so-called Camp of Diocletian, the palace of the Palmyrene princes built after 239/40, cf. *Mélanges de l'Université St.-Joseph* XXXVIII 1962, pp. 79–97). The ratio of the inner and upper width and the inner height of the Ḥama portal is 0.598, i.e. roughly as in the case at Ba'albak (0.607) just quoted and in the pronaos doors flanked by aediculae with niches in the temples at 'Ain Ḥirša and Dair al-Ašair, D. KRENCKER & W. ZSCHJETZSCHMANN, *Römische Tempel in Syrien (Denkmäler antiker Architektur V)* 1938 Pls. 107, 109 below, and 112 (namely 0.606 and 0.583, respectively).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. KRENCKER & ZSCHJETZSCHMANN, *op. cit.* Pl. 34 (our fig. 1) (Ḥṣn Sulaimān, east gate of the sanctuary) and the temples at 'Ain Ḥirša and Dair al-Ašair mentioned on our Note 7.

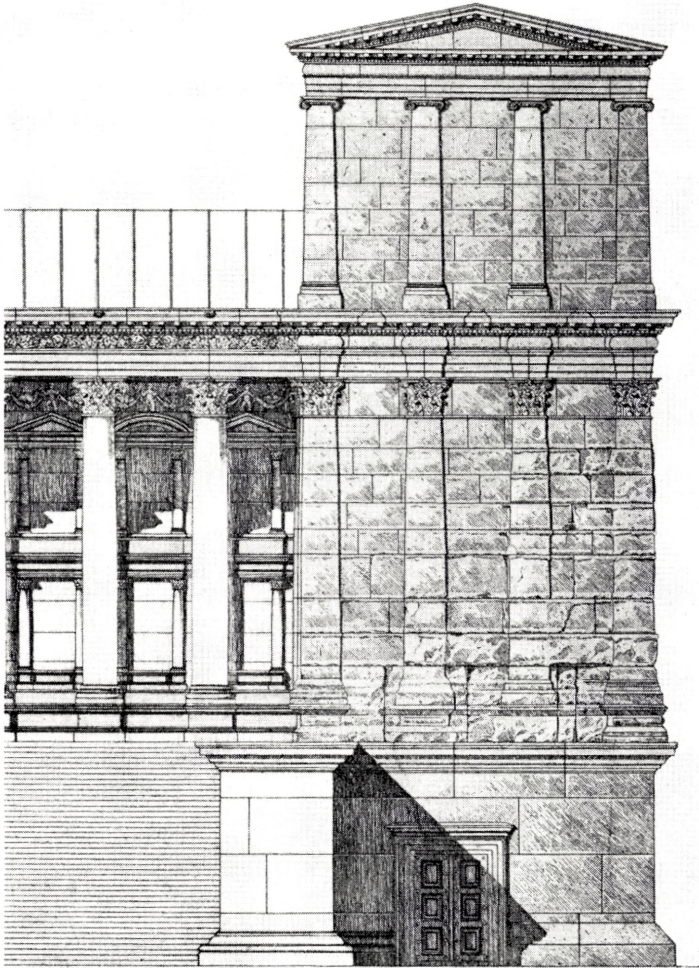


Fig. 2. Ba'albak, Sanctuary of the Heliopolitan Triad, basement of Propylaea, side door. From Baalbek I. 1:250.

fig. 2).<sup>9</sup> The latter difference and the rather small dimensions of the entrance<sup>10</sup> might indicate that we have to do merely with the southern side entrance. The main entrance must have been more

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Syria XVII 1936 Pl. 28 (Palmyra, Iarhai's tomb, built 108 A. D.), Baalbek I Pls. 21–22, 51–53 (base of wall under the so-called trilithon) and Pl. 41 (our fig. 2) (basement of propylaea: similar asymmetry of surroundings).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Baalbek I Pl. 29 (door in north porch of altar court, inner width above 1.83 metres, inner height 3.41 metres) and Pl. 38 (doors in north-west wall of forecourt, corresponding measures 1.82 and 3.42 metres).

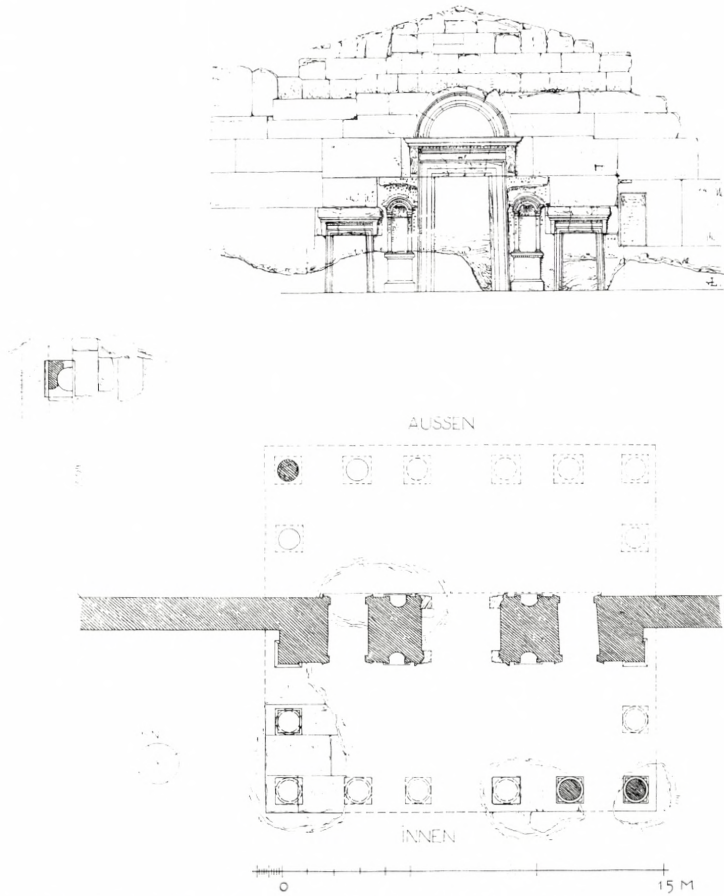


Fig. 3. Ḥuşn Sulaimān, Sanctuary of Zeus Baitokaikes, North Gate. From *Denkmäler antiker Architektur* V. 1:300.

to the north, and beyond it possibly another side door as a counterpart of the preserved one, in other words, the classical type of entrance system for a sanctuary, with an odd number of doors, of which the central one was the highest and the outermost the smallest, as for instance in the well-known sanctuaries of Ḥuşn Sulaimān (fig. 3) and Damascus (fig. 4).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> KRENCKER & ZSCHIEZSCHMANN, *op. cit.* p. 66 fig. 91 Pls. 31 and 33 (our figs. 5 and 3), K. A. C. CRESWELL, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* 1958, p. 47, fig. 8 (our fig. 4), pp. 48–49, fig. 9, pp. 71–72, fig. 10 (our fig. 6; the location of the church is purely hypothetical). In Şayḥ Barakāt only two entrances: G. TCHALENKO, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord, le massif du Bélus à l'époque romaine II* (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique L) 1953 pl. 42.1.

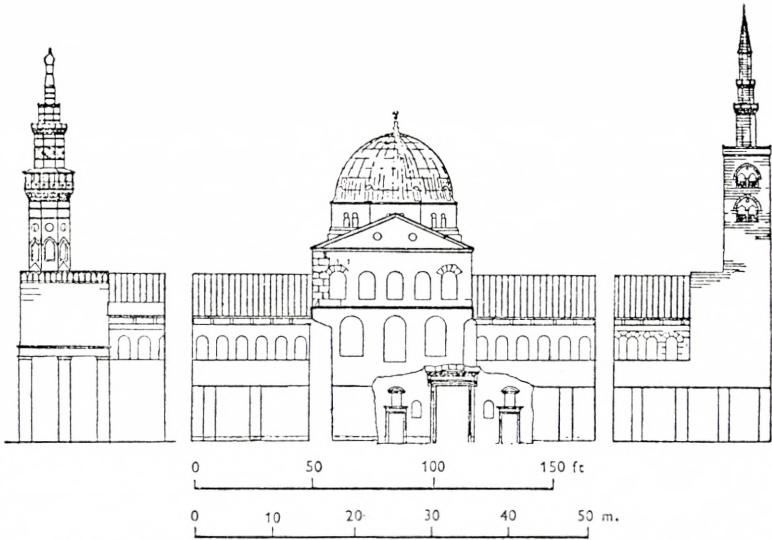


Fig. 4. Damascus, Great Mosque, south side with gate belonging to the Sanctuary of Zeus Damaskenos. From CRESWELL, *Short Account* etc. 1:1000.

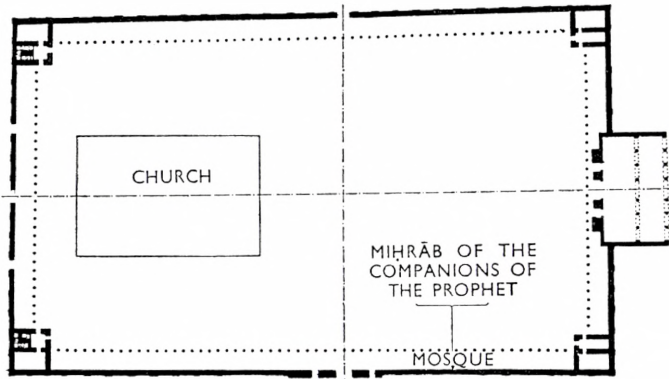


Fig. 6. Damascus, Sanctuary of Zeus Damaskenos. From CRESWELL, *Short Account* etc.

So far things would seem rather simple, but the evidence became more complicated when some time after the cessation of the Danish Expedition's work in Ḥama the south end of the wall was cleaned and the last of the later rooms at the north end was removed. Thereby two more doors came to light. They have

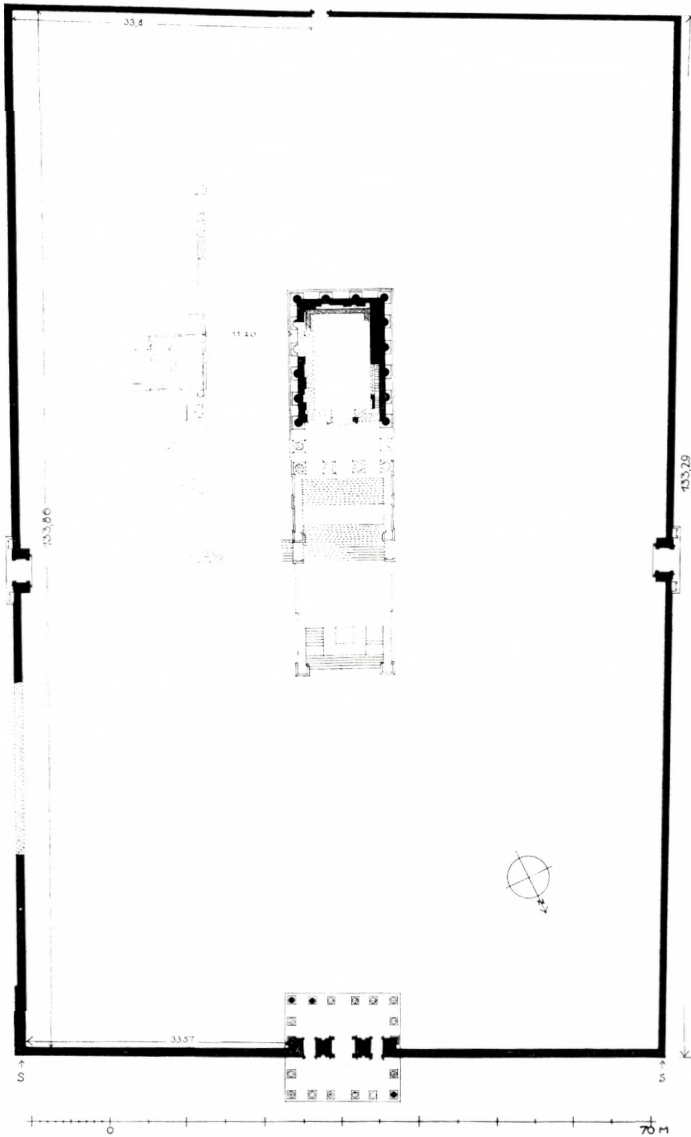


Fig. 5. Hushn Sulaiman, Sanctuary of Zeus Baitokaikes. From Denkmäler antiker Architektur V. 1:1000.

roughly the same height as the entrance “a”, are 1.30 and 1.32 metres wide, have no door frames, and instead of a decorative lintel an ordinary plain ashlar block covers the opening

(Pl. V–VII).<sup>12</sup> According to CRESWELL'S plan of 1923, to which they were added by him on this republishing of it in 1959 (our Pl. II), these small doors correspond to the side entrances of the prayer hall's west wall, which surely has a later character than the east wall. The above-mentioned anomalies in the upper courses of the northern part of the east wall, and other irregularities where the southern part meets the wall between the prayer hall and the south-east minaret, enhance the impression that the two plain openings in the east wall are secondary. Accordingly their existence does not impede the assumption that there was a larger central entrance and a north door corresponding to "a" in a northern, now disappeared prolongation of the east wall.

Towards the south the original complex was delimited by another wall, of which little has been left; but in it there is still a small window (Pls. II and III: II, g, Pl. XXIB).<sup>13</sup> The blocks of both walls have proportions which seem to imply the use of a foot of about 30 centimetres at least, in the Greek way divided into 16 inches; but evidently the actual dimensions of the blocks are the results of the shaping on the building-site, the original measures having been marked out in the quarry.<sup>14</sup> The south wall takes us more than 44 metres from the east wall westwards, and the point where the two walls must have met, did not lie more than about one metre north of the south-east corner of the prayer hall. From the latter there was approximately 11 metres

<sup>12</sup> K. A. C. CRESWELL, *The Great Mosque of Hama*, in *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst*, Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel 1957, 1959, pp. 48–53, especially p. 48, 50f. figs. 2–3. Already in *Berytus IV* 1937, p. 116, the present writer mentioned the possibility that Wall I had been pierced by doors to the aisles of the church when the latter was established. The length of the lintel of the south door was 1.51 metres, the height 0.56 metre; the exact dimensions of the lintel of the north door cannot be ascertained, as the north end is concealed by wall stucco.

<sup>13</sup> *Berytus II* 1935 p. 36: IIg, Pls. 13 and 15.4. The lintel has not preserved its original shape, but has received a secondary cutting to be placed in other secondary cuttings in the abutments. Besides, the upper course of ashlar blocks is of smaller dimensions than the lower ones.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. J. A. BUNDGÅRD, *Mnesicles* 1957, p. 111 and 115, on the Eleusinian proston inscription of the 4th century B.C.: "In order to make the sense fit the context one must assume that the measurements given are gross measurements, to be modified in the course of erection. There is, however, nothing inherently improbable in this, since practically all the measurements are given in whole, half and quarter feet". Accordingly, it would be unwise to try an exact determination of the foot employed from the actual dimensions of the blocks. At Ḥama the heights of the blocks of the south wall are: 0.30, 0.47, 0.61, 0.72, and 0.79 metres, those of the east wall: 0.13, 0.34, 0.36, 0.42, 0.43, 0.44, 0.46, 0.47, 0.50, 0.51, 0.55, and 0.56 metres. In the quarries at Ġabla and at Sukās on the Syrian coast the grooves delimiting the individual blocks were about 5 to 7 centimetres wide.

to the aforementioned framed door "a", and as the preserved part of the east wall is 19 metres long, a larger entrance cannot possibly have been nearer to the south-east corner than 24 metres. If we suppose that the main gate was in the middle of the façade, flanked by two symmetrically placed smaller entrances, of which door "a" is one, the extension from south to north must have exceeded 50 metres. Thus, the preserved pieces of walls did not belong to a temple in the stricter sense of the word. In the temples at 'Ain Ḥirša and at Dair al-Ašair, referred to in the notes above,<sup>7</sup> the cella doors measured  $2.00 \times 3.30$  and  $3.50 \times 6.00$  metres, respectively, in the temple of Ba'alšamīn at Palmyra  $2.80 \times 5.60$  metres,<sup>15</sup> and the ratio of door width and distance from cella door to cella corner is both in these cases and in other temples quite different. More likely is the explanation that the remains at Ḥama belonged to the enclosure walls of a temple court or another sort of sacred precinct. The thickness of the wall need not have been the same towards the east and the south, particularly if only the southern wall was the outer one. The probable existence of three original entrances in the east wall was mentioned above. Theoretically other possibilities come into consideration, e.g. the classical number enlarged to five, or the preserved door may have been in isolated auxiliary entrance, and the main gate in the shape of a tripylon may have been placed rather far to the north, or the eastern entrances may have been only two in number, one bigger and one smaller or both of them small, as in Šayḥ Barakāt.<sup>11</sup> It should be added that the east side of the court of the mosque forms the northern prolongation of the Roman east wall (Pl. II), and that in the arcades there, about 4 and  $11\frac{1}{2}$  metres from the prayer hall, there still are two antique column shafts, one with a Roman capital, and it cannot entirely be precluded that both stand in situ and originally were parts of an elaborate propylon as in Ḥuṣn Sulaimān (figs. 3 and 5) and Damascus (fig. 6).<sup>11</sup>

A remainder of a Roman north entrance, though accessible only with difficulty, is to be seen west of the north minaret on the east side of the actual northern gate of the mosque (Pls. II and XI B).<sup>16</sup> It is a pillar, an anta or a jamb of the west side of a door,

<sup>15</sup> Palmyra Pl. 66.

<sup>16</sup> Berytus II 1935, p. 36: III.

with a cyma recta moulding which may have been part of a lintel or of a bracket.<sup>17</sup> If we measure the distance from this spot to the Roman south wall we get about 67 metres, i. e. 225 Roman feet of about 30 centimetres or 200 Greek feet of about 33 centimetres.

In the residential quarter immediately west of the mosque there were in 1937 still more architectural relics, either of the temple itself or of the enclosure wall; but unfortunately it was not possible to make any detailed notes, nor measurements, nor photographs. So much can be stated, however: On the outer wall of the western arcades of the court of the mosque, about 14 or 15 metres from the north-west angle, three big blocks lay in situ, one upon the other, the top one 88 centimetres high, the middle one 45 centimetres and the one below 60 centimetres, and near to them, but not in their proper places, there were three others, one of which was an architrave block with three fasciae.

In the arrangement of the present streets and in the boundary lines between the premises of the quarter we may trace the ancient town plan, which seems to have been based upon a grid pattern with insulae at least 100 feet wide and 200 feet long (Pl. I; the equidistance of the red lines on the plate is 100 Greek feet of about 33 centimetres).<sup>18</sup> As stated above, the north-south extension of the Roman enclosure was 225 Roman or 200 Greek feet. Normally temples were oriented east-west, and the probable existence of three entrances in the east wall, the central one perhaps adorned with columns, would indicate that the front of the precinct was towards the east. If the proportions of the temenos or temple court was roughly 2:3 (cf. figs. 5-6), the length was presumably 300 Greek feet or more. A likely situation of a temple within the enclosure wall would be immediately west of the Mausoleum of Sultan Malik al-Muzaffar II (Pl. II; cf. fig. 5). To judge from the decorative elements of the east and south walls and the re-used Roman column capitals in the mosque the sanctuary was founded about 250; at any rate all these architectural remains can be dated at the third century A.D.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Cf. KRENCKER & ZSCHIEZSCHMANN, *op. cit.* p. 25, fig. 42a (Temple B at Huşn Sfiri, anta capital), p. 7, fig. 13 (Bziza, bracket) and p. 73, fig. 102 (Huşn Sulaimân, west gate of temenos, bracket).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Acta Congressus Madvigiani IV 1958 pp. 10 ff., especially pp. 14 f.: 70 × 35 metres at Dura-Europos.

<sup>19</sup> Berytus II 1935, p. 39, cf. p. 37 on the capitals.



Some time after the construction of the east wall (I) the entrance "a" was made smaller by placing the big threshold block on top of the pavement slabs,<sup>20</sup> and perhaps simultaneously the two small and simple side doors were opened, the upper courses re-arranged, and a horse-shoe relieving arch built over the lintel of "a". Judging from the profile of its moulding SAUVAGET dated this arch, which spans little more than 180 degrees, at the fifth or the sixth century, and, at all events, it can hardly be earlier than the middle of the fourth.<sup>21</sup> Evidently, the niches of the aediculae (see Pls. IV–VII) have been blocked in post-Roman times. The one supported by bracket "f" has preserved its original concha, but its columns, although looking unfinished, seem secondary, as also both arch and columns of the aedicula of bracket "c". Even less is left of the aediculae over brackets "b", "d" and the one north of the north door. The niches may have been obstructed because there had been heathen figures in them.

The upper parts of the west wall of the prayer hall (Pls. XIX–XXIA)<sup>22</sup> have also been reconstructed, as were those of the east wall. However, the southernmost end of the former seems to rest on an earlier, i.e. Roman piece of masonry tailed into the south wall. Nevertheless, most of the west façade has a homogeneous look, with three semicircular arches crowning entrances, the central one of which is the largest, and the northern side door more elaborate than its southern counterpart. The key-stone of the north door has a typical sixth century ornament,<sup>23</sup> and an arched lintel of a window in the upper southern part of the façade is by a Christian inscription in Greek dated at the year 595 (Pl. XXIIA).<sup>24</sup> Although no longer in its original place, it presumably once belonged to the façade or at least the same building as

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Baalbek I, p. 127, fig. 89.

<sup>21</sup> J. SAUVAGET, *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine, étude sur les origines architecturales de la mosquée et de la basilique* 1947, p. 106. Berytus IV 1937, p. 116 Note 4; cf. II 1935, p. 35: "with rather flat mouldings". 6th century decorative relieving arches: Qalblauza, LASSUS, *op. cit.* Pls. 11 and 33; Qal'a Sim'an, *ibid.* Pl. 40; Ruwaiḥa, *ibid.* Pls. 54.4 and 55.2. Cf. CRESWELL, *Short Account etc.*, pp. 74–75. The earliest dated Christian example is of the year 359: Baptistry of Mar Ya'qūb at Nišibīn, CRESWELL, *Early Muslim Architecture I* 1932, pp. 136, 138, fig. 77.

<sup>22</sup> Berytus IV 1937, p. 117, fig. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900 II*, 1904, p. 33 No. 25.

<sup>24</sup> Berytus IV 1937, pp. 117 f., fig. 2. L. JALABERT, R. MOUTERDE & C. MONDÉ-SERT, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie V* (Bibliothèque Archéologique

the greater part of the façade. The courses framing the upper part of the window are Islamic, the blocks of the lower ones have a Byzantine look, but the possibility exists that the courses between the arches, from the abutments upwards, have been re-set in Umayyad times, as the re-used brackets and the column drums would seem to indicate. Also the secondary cuttings in the arch of the central door may date from an Umayyad or later restoration before the making of the present windows. An arched block of the same year as the aforementioned and similar to it is now in the orthodox cathedral about 150 metres to the east of the mosque (Pl. XXII B).<sup>25</sup> From its inscription we gather that the work was done according to a vow by two persons named MARAS and KOSMAS; their monograms are to be seen in the upper angles on the block in the mosque and show that the two blocks belong together. Finally, in the prayer hall, on the back of the west façade, there is a pilaster (Pl. XIVA), and on the east wall, two engaged columns which indicate that the room between the two walls once had aisles different from the present vaulted ones (Pl. XVA–B). Nowadays the hall is divided into three aisles by eight square pillars in two rows (Pls. II, III, XII and XIII).

According to the historian ABŪ-L-FĪDĀ, who was Sultan of Ḥama in the early fourteenth century, the Arab conquest in 636 did not cause other immediate architectural changes in Ḥama than the conversion of the largest church (Kanīsat al-ʿUẓmā) into a mosque. It was situated in the upper part of the town (Sūq al-Aʿlā), just the quarter around the present Great Mosque.<sup>26</sup> Accordingly there can be no doubt that the latter is the successor of the old Great Church. As mentioned above, it became necessary, in the twelfth or thirteenth century, to raise the threshold of the ancient east door "a", and some of the slabs under it, in order to make the water conduit with the terracotta pipes. During this work, which probably involved a propping-up of the lintel by timber, the jamb blocks nearest to the threshold may have been so badly damaged that they could not be used again. The

et Historique LXVI) 1959, pp. 14–16 No. 2000. To this date corresponds in general the dating based on the style of the Byzantine capitals and other decorative members, *ibid.* pp. 119–120 and our Pls. XXIII–XXV.

<sup>25</sup> Berytus IV 1937, pp. 117 f., fig. 3. JALABERT, MOUTERDE & MONDÉSERT, *op. cit.* pp. 14–16 No. 2001.

<sup>26</sup> Hama IV 2 p. 4 Note 2, p. 302, excerpt No. 1; cf. p. 307, excerpts Nos. 26–27.

issue would be a reconstruction of rather large parts of the wall. Perhaps the wall and the entrance had already been injured by one of the earthquakes in 1157, 1170, 1201, and 1302,<sup>27</sup> and on repairing them the builders may have seized the opportunity to place the pipe line. On that occasion, or even later, all three doors now preserved and the opening of the arch over "a" were probably blocked; for it is not likely that the irregularly projecting block in the right jamb of "a" was placed in an open door.

In the paper entitled "Frühchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtümern" and published in 1939, F. W. DEICHMANN<sup>28</sup> mentioned the remains in Ḥama, on which he, however, did not want to give a final comment; but nevertheless he rejected an idea put forward in 1932 by CRESWELL in the first volume of his "Early Muslim Architecture",<sup>29</sup> namely that the originally Roman east side of the prayer hall also was the entrance wall of the earliest church in the place. The investigations of the Danish Expedition have made it clear, I hope, that probably neither church nor prayer hall stood on the foundations of the ancient temple, but were built into the south-east corner of the temple court. This is in perfect agreement with one of DEICHMANN's assertions: that the temples as dwellings of the cult-images had to be demolished, just as the altars were deliberately profaned; for the temple was not allowed to be taken for the predecessor of the church, but had only to be an object of plundering, a booty. According to DEICHMANN the church did not take over the role of the temple, but supplanted the entire sanctuary or temenos.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, it was less important where within the holy precinct the church was located. In Ḥama it was possible with the least of expenses to place a church in an angle of the court, the walls of which need

<sup>27</sup> Hama IV 2 p. 4 Notes 9–11, p. 5 Note 2, p. 6 Note 4, p. 8 Note 3, p. 303, excerpt No. 7, p. 305, excerpt No. 17, pp. 306 f., excerpts Nos. 23–25.

<sup>28</sup> Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts LIV 1939, pp. 118–119 No. 19.

<sup>29</sup> CRESWELL, Early Muslim Architecture I 1932, p. 14. In the Kühnel Festschrift (see Note 12 above) p. 52 he seems to have abandoned this idea, however, and to have accepted the west wall as the original church façade. In his Short Account etc. (see Note 11 above) p. 69 he enumerates several 4th and 5th century examples of churches with the altar in the west end, first of all the earliest Lateran basilica of 313; the Basilica Ursiana at Ravenna of 370–396 is said to have been the oldest church with an eastern apse, and the latter element did not become usual before the 5th century.

<sup>30</sup> Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts LIV 1939, pp. 108–110 and 114.

not be destroyed, as were the temple itself and the altar, and where perhaps one or more existing colonnades could be utilized for the aisles, and where moreover one of the secondary gates could function as the main entrance to the church.

At the beginning of this paper I referred to the fact that already in the reign of Constantius II (337–361) a church was built at Arethousa to succeed a destroyed temple,<sup>2</sup> and it cannot be regarded as an unnatural suggestion that Ḥama, the Graeco-Roman Epiphaneia, got its church about the same time. The two neighbouring towns seem to have been of equal importance in those days, or at least very near each other in rank, and next to Apameia, which at the end of the fourth century was the capital of Syria Secunda. Of the eight bishoprics of the latter province Apameia, Arethousa, and Epiphaneia were enumerated first.<sup>31</sup> As the Christian west front of the prayer hall in the Ḥama mosque dates from the late sixth century, it is very unlikely that it represents the first church on the site. I find it a little difficult to believe that the temple was not replaced by a Christian sanctuary till after 400, and I cannot see why the change should not have happened as early as about 350.<sup>32</sup> Appropriate opportunities to arrange churches in the old pagan sanctuaries perhaps offered themselves when the vehement earthquakes of the fourth century devastated the Levant. The greatest one and the one with the largest extension was that of 334, which in Syria particularly damaged Antioch. In this city alone there were said to have been 40000 dead and wounded. New seismic destructions in the sixth century may also have necessitated the rebuilding of the church in Ḥama: in 526, 528, 529, and 551 great earthquakes again struck Syria. The last one was so violent that it was felt even in Egypt, Arabia and Mesopotamia.<sup>33</sup>

So, it is not devoid of reason to accept CRESWELL'S idea that

<sup>31</sup> The fourth bishopric was Larissa (Şayzār) between Apameia and Epiphaneia. In the 4th and 5th centuries both Apameia, Arethousa, and Epiphaneia had bishops; at Epiphaneia the earliest bishop known was Mauritius about 325, P. GAMS, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae* 1873 p. 436. There were 17 bishoprics in Syria I and II; but 22 Syrian bishops attended the Council of Nicaea in 325, P. HITT, *History of Syria*<sup>2</sup> 1957, pp. 351, 363 Note 1.

<sup>32</sup> The Emperor's name in a fragmentary Greek inscription, which was formerly to be seen in the mosque (JALABERT, MOUTERDE & MONDÉSERT, *op. cit.* p. 18 No. 2003) and which is read ὁ εὐσεβέστατος βασιλεὺς ...στ..., may just as well be (Κων)στ(άντιος) as (Κων)στ(αντεῖνος), and then presumably Constantius II.

<sup>33</sup> *Handbuch der Geophysik* hrsg. von B. GUTENBERG IV 1932, p. 801, *Israel Exploration Journal* I 1950 1, p. 224 Note 3, pp. 225–226, HITT, *op. cit.* p. 373.

just the east wall was the original church façade, and that the interior of the building lay west of it. Of course, this implies that the altar was in the west end, but CRESWELL has, in fact, been able to list nothing less than ten fourth century churches with a similar scheme, among them several prominent ones.<sup>34</sup> I am inclined to believe that the abovementioned diminishing of the Roman entrance, the construction of the relieving arch over it, the opening of the two plain doors flanking it, and the ensuing first re-arrangement of the upper courses should be connected with the foundation of a church in the pagan temenos, and that the existing ancient colonnades were partly re-used.

When writing his book of 1947 on the Umayyad mosque at Al-Madīna SAUVAGET made quite different reflections on the earlier stages of the Ḥama mosque.<sup>35</sup> He rejected both CRESWELL's and the present writer's attempts at dating the remains and took the upper parts of the east and west walls of the prayer hall, the interior colonnades implied by the pilaster and the engaged columns in the prayer hall, and the original elements of the east side of the courtyard, to have been constructed under the Umayyad khalifas, i.e. about 700. Besides, he asserted that the Roman remains in the east wall could not be in situ, that their re-employment did not take place before the making of the relieving arch in the fifth or rather the sixth century, and that consequently even the lower parts of the east wall must be regarded as Byzantine. Several of SAUVAGET's arguments have been annihilated by CRESWELL in 1957,<sup>36</sup> others will hardly be valid after the publication of the 1937 sounding, and finally SAUVAGET could not know a Greek inscription discovered in 1954, on the front of a block which forms the lower part of the pilaster on the inner side of the west wall (Pl. XIVA-B). The mouldings of the pilaster capital have counterparts in dated Syrian buildings of the later fifth and the sixth centuries; the latest elements in the language of the inscription can be dated by reference to fifth century texts, and the letters are of fifth and sixth century types.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Short Account etc. pp. 69-70 (see Note 29 above).

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 103-107 and 188; cf. the plan p. 104, fig. 8, where also the treasury in the courtyard is ascribed to the Umayyad period.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* p. 50.

<sup>37</sup> Syria XXXIV 1957 pp. 284-287 Pl. 20. JALABERT, MOUTERDE & MONDÉ-SERT, *op. cit.* pp. 13-14 No. 1999. For the mouldings of the pilaster capital, see Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904-1905 II B, 1920, pp. 80 f., fig. 89 E, pp. 202 f., figs. 207 and 208 (473/4 and

With an introductory phrase borrowed from the *Odyssey* and composed in the epic style and metre the inscription puts the question:

Child, oh, do tell me the name of this man! Say, who was he, the noble?  
 Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, κόῦρε. τίς ἔπλετο οὗτος ἄριστος;

and then, the answer is given: "A donor named ELIAS, who had been honoured by the Imperial House (ἄννακτες), and who had both paid a necessary enlargement of a bath and helped the industrious poor of the town." The Jesuit Fathers MOUTERDE and MONDÉSERT, who published the text, took the block to be a re-used base for a statue. Though the tall and rather narrow shape of the block makes this explanation less probable, it is nevertheless evident that the initial words imply a sculptural or pictorial representation of the man mentioned. As the rest of the pilaster has the same width (64 centimetres), and as the horizontal measures and position of the block make it a counterpart of the base of the northern engaged column on the east wall (see below p. 22) there is, it seems to me, no actual reason to assume that it was re-employed. But then the representation must have been either a relief, a statuette or bust supported by a bracket, or a painting above the inscription. If ever there was a sculptured portrait, the slab or bracket must have been broken off or the whole block with it removed and the hole after it filled out. That this is what actually happened cannot be excluded, especially as the middle of the pilaster appears to have undergone some repair (see Pl. XIVA). A painting, on the other hand, may more easily have peeled off, have been scraped away or concealed by a layer of whitewash or stucco; a more vehement obliteration, for instance by means of a pickaxe, would necessitate a restoration of the surface, even if the picture had to disappear. Contrary to what was formerly the common view it has now been ascertained that the interior of the early Syrian churches could have a coating which not only might be regarded as fit for painting, but the very occurrence of which makes it likely that the walls had a

474/5), Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900 II, 1904, p. 39 figs. 13 f. (501, 537 and 567). I thank Monsieur K. CHÉHADÉ, Inspecteur des Monuments, and Monsieur A. MIŞRI, Directeur du Musée de Ḥama, for kind help particularly during my visits to Ḥama in 1955 and 1963, when I was allowed to have photographs taken in the mosque.

painted decoration, and remnants of fresco paintings have proved that such existed in the church into which the Bēl Temple at Palmyra was converted. Still, if it is a question of the character of the pictures, only assumptions based upon related material are possible.<sup>38</sup> From the fifth century onwards several full-length portraits of living men occur in Byzantine two-dimensional art, mosaic or painting; but as a rule these persons are imperial or otherwise highly distinguished people, such as generals or bishops, and also the Islamic palace frescoes in Qusaïr 'Amra of the years 711–715 only include portraits of the mightiest in this world.<sup>39</sup> No doubt such Umayyad paintings—as indeed the whole palatial complex—and the Byzantine representations had late antique prototypes, and in this connection it is particularly reasonable to remind of the funerary frescoes of the second and third centuries in Palmyra, discoveries, by the way, of two Danish explorers: JOHANNES ØSTRUP and HARALD INGHOLT.<sup>40</sup> The pictures, some of them full-length, others only busts in medaillons, all represent local men or women. The entire figures are placed on side walls in exedrae and on pilasters; in those cases in which the portrait medaillons are painted on piers separating the loculi of a tomb, they are incorporated in larger compositions, being supported by goddesses of victory.

So it would seem that we are right in supposing that, in the Hama church, there once was a painted portrait of the donor Elias, over the inscription commemorating his deeds. That he was honoured in such a way is less astonishing when we remember the role which the baths played in the late antique Syria. Already in pagan times no private person could be the owner of

<sup>38</sup> TCHALENKO, *op. cit.* I 1953, p. 53 with Note 1, III 1958, pp. 34–35. D. SCHLUMBERGER, in *Berytus* II 1935, p. 161 Note 57. LASSUS, *op. cit.* pp. 299–302; in Note 4 on p. 302 it is assumed that the paintings were historical representations with subjects taken from the Old and New Testaments as well as pictures of saints.

<sup>39</sup> O. M. DALTON, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* 1911, pp. 249, 261–262, 278, 418, 646. J. PEDERSEN, *Islams Kultur* 1928, pp. 154–155. CRESWELL, *Early Muslim Architecture* I 1932, pp. 262–264.

<sup>40</sup> Tomb of Hairan: H. INGHOLT, *Quelques fresques récemment découvertes à Palmyre*, in *Acta Archaeologica* III 1932 pp. 1–20, particularly pp. 3–7 Pls. 2–3, p. 7 fig. 2. — Tomb of the Three Brothers: J. ØSTRUP, *Historisk-topografiske Bidrag til Kendskabet til den syriske Orken*, in *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs historisk-filosofiske Skrifter* 6 Rk. IV 2, 1895, pp. 63–65, J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Orient oder Rom* 1901, pp. 11–19, C. H. KRAELING, *Color Photographs of the Paintings in the Tomb of the Three Brothers at Palmyra*, in *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie* XI 1961, pp. 13–18, particularly pp. 15–16 Pls. 2–9 and 14.

a bath, except when he possessed a temple,<sup>41</sup> and in the North Syrian town of Sirğilla we have a counterpart of Elias' donation (fig. 7): There an outstanding man built a bath at the crossways in a depression in the middle of the town and close to the church, as a social centre not only of the local community, but of the whole region.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore it should be mentioned that in the years between 1938 and 1955 street repairs in Ḥama brought to light remains of a late antique bath no more than a hundred metres west of the Great Mosque, in the Šāri' Abū Muslim al-Ḥurasānī, at the foot of the western plateau, where the main roads from the latter meet the north-south going ones (Pl. I).<sup>43</sup> Today the two streets oriented east-west, on either side of the mosque, still connect the old principal bridge over the Orontes (Ġisr al-Šayḥ) with the ruins of the medieval south-west gate of the town (Bāb al-Qublī), and until recently the main artery of the north-going traffic directly west of the mosque led to the western bridge called the River Gate (Bāb al-Nahr).

Now, if the inscription of Elias can be regarded as being in situ, the colonnade, the west end of which is determined by the pilaster, and which in the days of its construction separated the nave of the church from its northern aisle, must date from the fifth or sixth century at the latest, i. e. probably built at the same time as the west façade, whose arched window lintels were placed in 595. As mentioned above, the pilaster corresponds to an engaged column on the inner side of the east wall (Pls. III and XV B), and 7.20 metres south of it there is another engaged column (Pls. III: 6, XII and XVA), the eastern end of the original colonnade between the nave and the southern aisle. The height of the pilaster is about 4.70 metres, that of the southern engaged column, which still retains its Corinthian capital, roughly the same. The bases of the engaged columns are not identical, the northern one being about 0.45 metre high, the southern one about 0.70 metre. The diameter of the northern column is 0.73 metre, that of the southern one 0.68 metre. It will be seen from the plan (Pl. III) that the main axis of the basilica indicated by these

<sup>41</sup> Berytus III 1936, pp. 111–112.

<sup>42</sup> TCHALENKO, *op. cit.* I pp. 26, 28, II Pls. 19.2, 20.2 and 140.35 (our fig. 7).

<sup>43</sup> Information kindly provided and confirmed by Monsieur K. CHÉHADÉ, Inspecteur des Monuments; cf. Hama IV 2 p. 3 fig. 1 (the date given on p. 2 is probably too high).



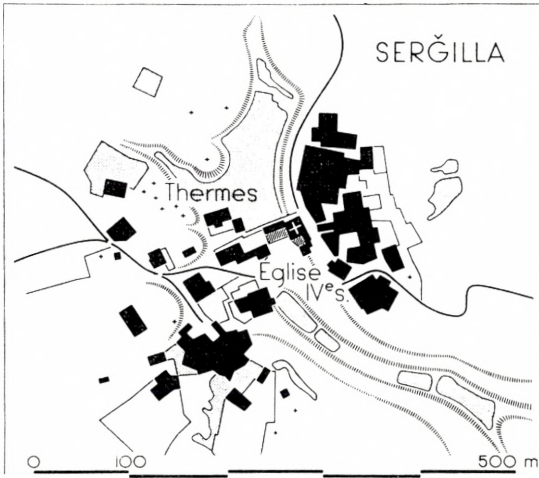


Fig. 7. Sirgilla, centre of town. From TCHALENKO, Villages antiques etc. II. 1:8000.

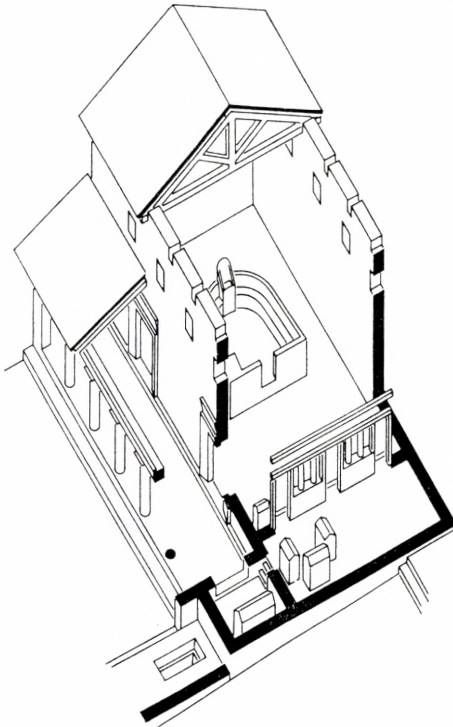


Fig. 8. Qirqbiza, church. From TCHALENKO, Villages antiques etc. II.

remains does not pass through the centre of the old east entrance "a"; but the principal door of the west wall would be in the middle of a stretch of wall of the same length as the distance between the engaged east columns, measured from the west pilaster towards the south, i.e. with 2.05 metres of wall on either side of the door. Although there is no longer any southern pilaster or engaged column at this distance from the central west entrance, there is in the upper part of the wall and roughly level with the top of the arch, an irregularity in the masonry which may have been caused by the construction or removal of a pilaster (Pl. XIII).

CRESWELL thought that inside the east wall, whose doors had been blocked at an early time—namely when it ceased to be the façade—an apse was built which was flanked by two rooms as so often in Syrian churches.<sup>44</sup> If, on the other hand, SAUVAGET was right in taking the relieving arch over the entrance "a" for a work of the fifth or sixth century,<sup>21</sup> this gate cannot have been closed then, and the blocking of arch and doors is, in fact, of a much later character. Besides, the engaged columns on the inner side of the east wall show that the colonnades of the basilica reached the east wall so that there was no room for an apse and two side chambers immediately west of it. But could perhaps the east entrance and the two secondary doors have led from the basilica to a corresponding tripartite complex added to the building on its east side? Or, in other words, was there a sanctuary with a presbyterion outside gate "a" and a sacristy outside each of the smaller entrances? If sanctuary walls oriented from west to east ever existed, they have certainly not left any very distinct traces on the preserved door wall; but it should be pointed out that the Roman brackets "b" and "e" may have been utilized for a bonding of the walls in a tripartite sanctuary. This would explain why they have been more damaged than e.g. the bracket "c".<sup>45</sup> At any rate a possible sanctuary must have been removed already when the church was converted into a mosque, since none of its rooms was incorporated in the building proper and thus

<sup>44</sup> Festschrift Kühnel p. 52, where it is also said that "the uneven inner face of the east wall, visible under the whitewash, may be the result of demolishing two such rooms when the conversion to a mosque took place". I rather take the unevenness for the result of repairs after the earthquakes.

<sup>45</sup> Berytus II 1935, p. 35 and Pl. 13: b, c and e. The aediculae supported by the undamaged brackets may have served for keeping holy objects.

still preserved. On the contrary, its place has been taken by the passage connecting the courtyard with the southern street (Sūq al-Madīna) and separating the south-east minaret from the prayer hall.

In the Syrian churches of the fourth century the presbyterion usually had an apse, and doors led from the aisles to the two sacristies. Sometimes there was also a door between one of the sacristies and the presbyterion. At the beginning of the fifth century the southern sacristy, which nearly always was completely isolated from the presbyterion, got a large arched opening facing the aisle, and was henceforth used as a chapel of the martyrs (martyrion); but the northern sacristy (diakonikon) retained its private character.<sup>46</sup> The presbyterion had a still larger arch (the triumphal arch), in front of which there was a chancel in the nave, delimited by a bar not rarely decorated with figures. In addition the triumphal arch had a curtain (parapetasma) which made it possible to conceal entirely what was behind the arch.<sup>47</sup> Once, about the middle of the fifth century, at Qirqbīza (fig. 8) diakonikon, presbyterion and martyrion were separated from the church house by a wall with three doors connecting the nave and the aisles with a tripartite sanctuary the interior division of which seems to have been produced only by means of two curtains.<sup>48</sup>

The presbyterion of certain North Syrian sixth century churches had no apse, but was rectangular and of the same depth as the flanking rooms, and often the tripartition of the east end did not involve any receding of the outer sanctuary walls; but also in these cases there was a triumphal arch and generally a smaller arch leading to the martyrion.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, in the southern church of the sixth century at Kirrātin

<sup>46</sup> LASSUS, *op. cit.* pp. 194–195.

<sup>47</sup> LASSUS, *op. cit.* pp. 203–204, 206–207. TCHALENKO, *op. cit.* I p. 232 Note 2, pp. 333–334 Note 2, II Pl. 9.1. Whereas the chancel bar is known to have existed at the middle of the 4th century, the curtain did not occur before the 5th century.

<sup>48</sup> TCHALENKO, *op. cit.* I pp. 330, 338, II Pls. 10.1 (our fig. 8) and 106.4; the church dates from about 300–350 according to this author. Cf. the Nestorian tradition, which also reaches back to the 5th century, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 1949, pp. 54–55.

<sup>49</sup> LASSUS, *op. cit.* p. 57 fig. 29 (Dār Qīta, St. Sergius' Church of 537), pp. 61–62 fig. 31 Nos. 9–10 ('Umm al-Gamāl, Citadel Chapel and East Church), p. 63 fig. 32 Nos. 11–12 (Hirba Taizīn, church of 585, and Baqirha, East Church of 546).

in North East Syria (fig. 9) the "chancel" is cut off from the nave and the aisles by a wall with rather a narrow central opening, not more than two metres wide, and the very sanctuary is peculiar; for the wide open martyrion is placed on the north side,

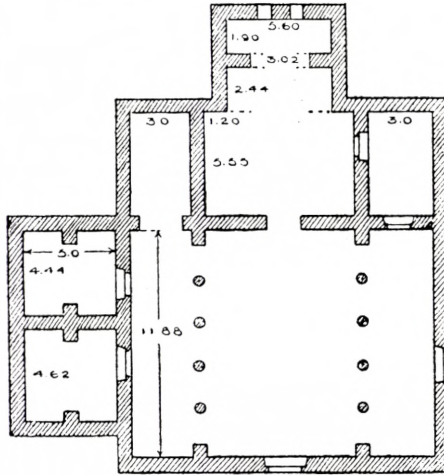


Fig. 9. Kirratin, South Church. From LASSUS, *Sanctuaires chrétiens* etc.

the diakonikon to the south, and the presbyterion is enlarged with a minor room at the east end.<sup>50</sup> Perhaps it will be justifiable to compare this with a Christian relief of the sixth(?) century in Sant'Apollinare in Classe near Ravenna, on the front of the Sarcophagus of St. Felix (Pl. XVIII).<sup>51</sup> A similar sanctuary wall with three openings embellished with columns and pilasters seems

<sup>50</sup> LASSUS, *op. cit.* p. 204 No. 1 fig. 87 (our fig. 9).

<sup>51</sup> M. LAWRENCE, *The Sarcophagi of Ravenna* (Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts II) 1945, pp. 3, 40, 41, 48, 49 fig. 73 (our Pl. XVIII), DALTON, *op. cit.* pp. 142, 681 fig. 431, K. GOLDMANN, *Die ravennatischen Sarkophage* 1906, p. 7. Miss LAWRENCE dates the sarcophagus at the early 8th century, mainly because the inscription on the lid refers to St. Felix, who was Archbishop of Ravenna 708-724; but formerly the sarcophagus itself was held to be earlier, of the 6th century. As to type, the nearest parallels are a 3rd century sarcophagus recut in the 6th century and one of the latter century, LAWRENCE, *op. cit.* pp. 35-36 fig. 62 and pp. 33-37, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46-48 fig. 61. A detail which may betray re-use is the cutting-away of the lower border forming the stylobate or podium of the façade represented (removal of an earlier inscription?). Just as in Ḥama the engaged columns (Pl. XV A-B) are different we find here several indications of irregularity (cf. our Note 63): the support at the right end differs from its counterpart at the left end in being a pilaster, not a column, and in having another kind of base, a fluted, perhaps a little thicker shaft, and a bigger, quite different capital, the right column of the left arch has no torus under the capital, and its lower part is that of a pilaster, but the right arch has a complete pilaster left and a column right.

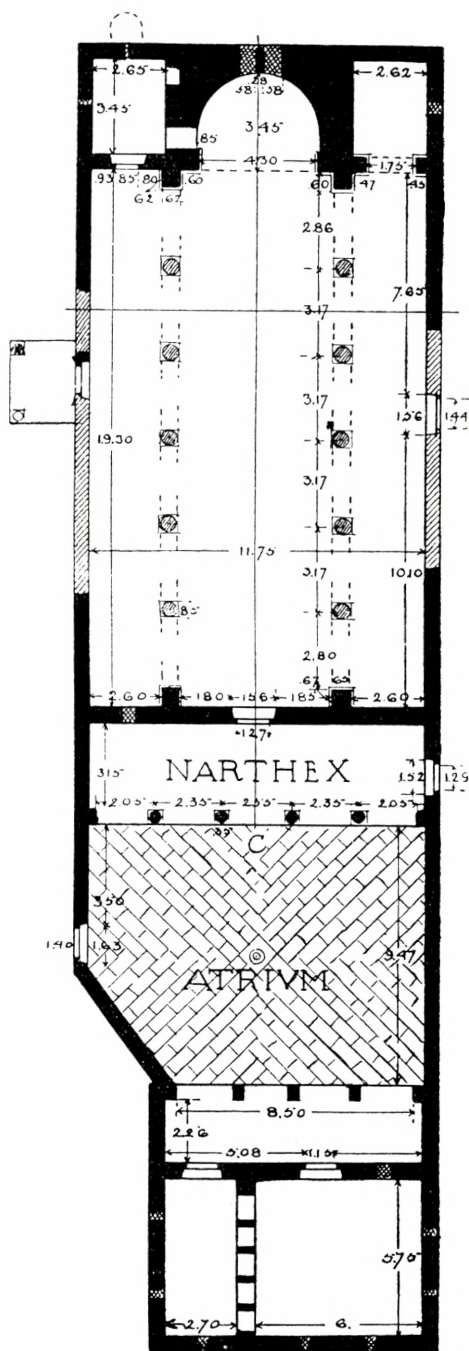


Fig. 10. Šayḥ Sulaimān, Our Lady's Church. From Lassus, Sanctuaires chrétiens etc.

to be represented, but it is a wall that forms part of the celestial palace. The opening in the middle apparently leads to the Holy of Holies, as indicated by the monogram of Christ; in or behind the other two, lamps are suspended, and at the ends of the relief there are candlesticks next to higher supports that frame the whole and might stand for the colonnades of the nave.

On this background, and if we consider the later development of Greek Orthodox Church with its iconostasis, it is not at all impossible that at Ḥama the Roman wall I was used in a similar way, separating nave and aisles from a tripartite sanctuary when, at the end of the sixth century, the church was rebuilt with its main façade towards the west and consequently with the altar in the east end. The entrance "a", then, would correspond to the triumphal arch, the smaller openings to the sacristy doors in the normal type of church, and we should imagine that the relieving arch was open, and that there were chancel bars in the nave before the portal crowned by this arch. Part of a limestone panel from such a bar or parapet was discovered in 1937 in a heap of stones in the arcades of the mosque's court (Pl. XXIII A; length 65 centimetres, width 38 centimetres),<sup>52</sup> and a basalt panel is still re-used as a pavement slab in the prayer hall, in the floor between the easternmost four piers (Pl. XXV B; 70 centimetres high and 52 centimetres wide). In the former case the relief shows remains of four acanthus scrolls and between them a cross; originally there may have been four, six, or eight scrolls, which would imply a width of roughly 62, 79, or 97 centimetres, the highest of these measures equalling three Greek feet and being in harmony with the two Greek feet in the other dimension of the slab. The height approximately corresponds to that of the basalt panel, where the relief represents a lamp or rather a censer hanging in the opening of an arch.<sup>53</sup> The present position of the basalt slab might indicate that it really belonged to a chancel bar, whereas it cannot be precluded that the limestone fragment came from a parapet on the exterior

<sup>52</sup> Berytus IV 1937, p. 118 Pl. 22.1, cf. E. DYGGVE, *Fra evangeliekirke til magtkirke*, in *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 1958, p. 34.

<sup>53</sup> Cp. one of two censers hanging from the branches of a cross represented on a lintel from Al-ʿUḡa east of Maʿarat al-Nuʿmān, Princeton Expedition II B p. 68 fig. 71. For the shape, cp. DALTON, *op. cit.* pp. 620–622 figs. 393 and 394, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Exhibition Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore 1947, p. 69 No. 281 Pl. 41 (6th or 7th century).

of the church or its dependencies, perhaps in a gallery over a narthex or the like.<sup>54</sup> That the northern side door of the west façade is more elaborate than its southern counterpart might suggest that the procession of the clergy coming from the diakonikon through the northern aisle went out into a narthex or atrium before turning into the nave and approaching the altar. Such a detour through the west porch would be practicable if special regard had to be paid to the katechoumenes.<sup>55</sup>

The iconostasis, the screening-off of the sanctuary and the tripartition of the latter—sometimes only produced by means of curtains as at Qirqbīza<sup>48</sup>—have, in fact, late antique antecedents. In a paper entitled “Die Entstehung der Bilderwand in der griechischen Kirche”<sup>56</sup> KARL HOLL, mainly drawing his conclusions from the liturgies, argued that the sixth century was the time when the sanctuary first was shut off from the nave and aisles by means of a sort of wall. Originally the latter was simply called κικκλίς (grate) or κάγκελλοι (bar), and it was not till a very late period that the name εἰκονόσταισις (iconostasis) was employed, as the icons upon it were a secondary feature. According to HOLL the literary tradition apparently indicated that the prototype was the wall of silver-coated columns and panels with one big central door and two smaller flanking ones which was put up in the Hagia Sophia Church at Constantinople in the later part of Justinian’s reign, presumably between 557 and 563, and which existed until 1204. On the other hand, we have seen that at Qirqbīza there was a similar wall already in the middle of the fifth century, and HOLL himself supposed that the iconostasis derived from the proscenium of the ancient theatre; but a much nearer model is to be found in Late Roman palatial architecture. EJNAR DYGGVE has pointed out that in Constantine the Great’s audience hall

<sup>54</sup> Cp. Princeton Expedition II B pp. 339 f. figs. 388 and 389 (our fig. 10) (Šayḥ Sulaimān, Our Lady’s Church, 5th century).

<sup>55</sup> Presumably, this would be possible at the first procession, that with the Gospel (ἡ πρώτη — οἱ μικροὶ — εἴσοδος), which in the 7th century entered the nave from the narthex, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft IX 1906 p. 376. For other views on the placing of the katechoumenes, see LASSUS, *op. cit.* pp. 193, 212–213, 216. The Testamentum Domini of the 5th century seems to put them in the narthex, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 1949, pp. 52–53. In early churches an apse was sometimes added to the north end of the narthex, according to C. DELVOYE “sans doute avant tout pour abriter l’évêque trônant au cours du déroulement de certains rites”, Byzantion XXXII 1962, pp. 522 fig. 46, 523 Note 2.

<sup>56</sup> Archiv für Religionswissenschaft IX 1906, pp. 365–384.

“Magnaura”, in the Imperial Palace at Constantinople, the throne was placed behind a sort of temple façade which might be shut by curtains, and that the throne room was flanked by other rooms having the character of sacristies, the left one, the “Metatorion”, being the dressing-room of the Emperor, where he put on his ceremonial vestments, and finally that just this architectural complex, including the basilica in front of it, and other palatial structures, were to exercise a decisive influence upon the Christian cult-building, by virtue of the relationship between the ceremonies taking place in both palace and church.<sup>57</sup> The original “Magnaura” was destroyed as early as 532.

Now, if we venture to go one step further and, on the basis of what has been maintained above, to try a graphic reconstruction of the great sixth century church in Ḥama, then there

<sup>57</sup> E. DYGGVE, *Ravennatum Palatium Sacrum, la basilica ipetrale per cerimonie, studii sul architettura dei palazzi della tarda antichità* (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs archæologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser III 2, 1941) p. 54 Pl. 19.45, cf. p. 63 and *passim*. See also the same author's booklet *Dødekult, kejserkult og basilica* (Studier fra Sprog- og Oldtidsforskning 192) 1943, pp. 36–39, fig. 48, and *Fra evangeliekirke til magtkirke* (Note 52 above) p. 26 Pl. 5 C. Interesting is DYGGVE's accepting the interpretation by ALFÖLDI of the situation in Constantine the Great's Lateran Basilica in Rome, which seems to have had the earliest “iconostasis”—with an arch, *Ravennatum Palatium Sacrum* pp. 38–39 Note 3. The arch spanning the central bay of columns in the monuments dealt with by DYGGVE, the “Arch of Glorification”, is the prototype of the “Triumphal Arch” in the Medieval churches; compare the representations on Theodosius the Great's missorium of 388 in Madrid (*ibid.* Pls. 14.32 and 15.34 A) and the patena from Riḥa in Syria, of the 5th century or the first half of the 6th, now in Cambridge, Mass. (*ibid.* Pl. 15.34 D, LASSUS, *op. cit.* pp. 214–215 Pl. 59.1, L. JALABERT & R. MOUTERDE, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie II* (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique XXXII) 1939, p. 378 No. 695). A screen partitioned by columns as in the palace was already found in the assembly room of the Christian community of about 300 at Salona (DYGGVE, *Dødekult* etc. p. 10 fig. 3, *Fra evangeliekirke til magtkirke* pp. 32–33 Pl. 7 A and H); DYGGVE rightly ranged this building with the church at Qirq̄biza, which TCHALENKO (*op. cit.* I p. 338) takes to be one of the earliest Christian monuments in Syria. Contrary to DYGGVE, LASSUS is sceptical about the possibility to conclude from the background architecture of the patena, how the churches looked; nevertheless, he compares it with a 5th century one-room church, the chapel at Banakfūr, where columns and pilasters with architraves, and bars, separate nave and sanctuary (*op. cit.* p. 205 fig. 89). The tripartition of the sanctuary and its placing behind a porch or a courtyard have early antecedents in the Near East, see *Acta Archaeologica* IV 1933, pp. 223–236; only in so far as the classical Roman house with its tablinum, alae, and atrium springs from the same sources, the iconostasis and the screen of the Casa del Tramezzo di Legno at Herculaneum may be directly compared, as does B. PACE, *Nuova ipotesi sull' origine dell' iconostasio*, in *Byzantion* XIX 1949, pp. 195–205. With full right PACE, *ibid.* p. 204, points out that the correspondence of ἡ βασιλικὴ πύλη in the iconostasis to the Porta Regia in the Roman theatre (cf. VITRUVIUS, *De architectura* V 6.3: *valvas regias*, and 8: *mediae valvae ornatus habeant aulae regiae*) does not prove anything, as βασιλική could be taken as derived from the use of this door in the liturgy and not as a translation of the Latin adjective.



are principally two possibilities depending upon the interpretation of the wall between the south-east minaret and the prayer hall. In Pl. XVI it is presupposed that the said wall is Islamic (Proposition A). The south wall of the basilica should in this case probably be drawn in continuation of the western piece of ancient Wall II, i.e. at a distance of 6.71 metres from the southern colonnade, and presumably the northern aisle had roughly the same width; at least it was so wide that the side entrances were clear of the side walls. Accordingly the aisles were but little narrower than the nave with its 7.20 metres, which figure, by the way, corresponds very nearly to the distance of 7.22 metres between the brackets "b" and "e", the possible width of a presbyterion. If the sanctuary had dividing walls, and not curtains like the fourth or fifth century church at Qirqbiza, whose sanctuary was one single, architecturally undivided room,<sup>48</sup> these walls may have begun where the damaged brackets "b" and "e" still are to be seen. The depth of the sanctuary is, of course, more difficult to estimate. Presumably it was identical with the width of the present passage east of the prayer hall, i.e. about 6.75 metres; for there has always been a tendency to re-use remainders of earlier walls as foundations for later ones. In fact, the lower parts of the actual east wall of the passage consist of pre-Islamic blocks, although not all of them are in their original positions; some evidently had had another function. Nevertheless these courses may have been laid in Byzantine times. A depth of the sanctuary like that suggested by the east wall of the passage would correspond to the widths of the aisles, and therefore the two sacristies would be roughly square in plan.

The length of the nave is 31.40 metres,<sup>58</sup> and it results from the above that the width of the basilica will be 21.90 metres, i.e. the width of the nave plus the widths of the two aisles plus the widths of two pilasters. On the other hand, if we take the internal width of the building to be two thirds of the length, which was the normal ratio in the Syrian churches of those days, we get 20.93 metres, and then there is only 6.23 metres left for each aisle; but it is unlikely that we shall have to count with complete

<sup>58</sup> CRESWELL, in *Festschrift Kühnel* p. 52, gives the figure 31.17 metres for the length of the room, which must be the length of the south wall. The present width of the room he gives as 20.68 metres, probably at the east wall, which I measured to be 20.65 metres long. The west wall is 20.90 metres.

exactitude and symmetry all over the building. Even the smaller width of aisle would not be too small to cover also the side entrances of the east wall, but if it is presupposed for the west wall, too, the south wall cannot have been flush with the Roman wall II. Still, it is quite possible that the length of the east wall was taken to be two thirds of the length of the basilica, and that the latter nevertheless was broader at the west end; for the two ancient walls I and II are not placed at right angles to one another.

The engaged columns on the east wall and the width of the pilaster on the west wall put it beyond doubt that columns, and not pillars, separated the nave from the aisles, as already made probable by the occurrence of re-used Byzantine capitals in the court of the mosque, e.g. Pls. XXIII B–XXV A. In addition to the six Roman and nine Byzantine capitals already published or mentioned in the articles quoted in Note 4 above, there are four more, and at least three of them of basalt: One re-used in the western arcade of the courtyard, in its third pier from the south (Pl. XXV A),<sup>59</sup> and two related ones, at the west side of the water basin (birka) and at the south side of the prayer terrace (saḥn), and what is now to be seen on top of the engaged column Pl. XV B may be a similar capital under a coating of mortar and white-wash.<sup>60</sup> Roughly speaking, these nineteen capitals are of two, perhaps three different sizes, the biggest one probably once used in the colonnades of the church, the second in the front porch. The question then arises of the number of columns in each colonnade. The late fourth century cathedral at Gerasa, modern Ġirāš, measured internally about 35.00 metres in length and about 20.50 metres in width, and it had twelve columns in each colonnade and thicker columns in the porch (narthex) making five bays before the door front; but the cathedral at Brād, dating from the years 395–402, with its internal measures of about 37.00 and 22.25 metres, had only eight columns in each colonnade and the same number in the narthex.<sup>61</sup> When the colonnades of the

<sup>59</sup> As to the vase which embellishes the front, we may compare the capital with one of roughly the same type, but more crude, from Church I at 'Umm al-Ḥalāḥīl, J. LASSUS, *Inventaire archéologique de la région au nord-est de Hama* 1935, pp. 59f., fig. 65.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. LASSUS, *Sanctuaires etc.* p. 36, fig. 15 (Kirratin, Cathedral, 6th century).

<sup>61</sup> LASSUS, *op. cit.* p. 41, fig. 18.5, p. 169, fig. 77. C. H. KRAELING, *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis* 1938, pp. 212–214, Pl. 31.

Syrian churches supported architraces, the distance between the column axes was usually about 2.25–2.75 metres; but in arcades (colonnades with archivolts instead of architraves) the distance might vary from 2.13 to 6.60 metres, still rarely more than 3.50 metres.<sup>62</sup> If in Ḥama we estimate an intercolumnium (reckoned from centre to centre) at about 2.75 metres, the result will be eleven bays and ten columns plus the engaged column and the pilaster. If we assume an intercolumnium of about 3.50 metres, which implies that there were arcades and not plain colonnades, we get nine bays and eight columns. On the other hand, narrow intercolumnia do occur in connection with archivolts and with columns of the same size as in Ḥama, where the height, as stated above, p. 22, is 4.70 metres.<sup>63</sup> If the colonnades were taken over from the first church without any alterations, they had probably architraves, as was normal in early times; but if also the colonnades were rebuilt about 595, the nave was presumably made higher with archivolts over the intercolumnia. As the longitudinal axis of the basilica passes exactly through the middle of the central west door and not through that of the eastern one, the latest pre-Islamic colonnades are likely to have been contemporary with the west façade, and as architraves upon the whole are rare in North Syrian churches, but arches normal,<sup>64</sup> we must regard the arcade as the most plausible reconstruction. No doubt, there was a row of windows over the archivolts, and as large intercolumnia would give a greater height of the nave, not too large a number of columns may have been preferred, rather eight or nine than ten.<sup>65</sup> We must suppose that the nave

<sup>62</sup> LASSUS, *op. cit.* pp. 73–74, TCHALENKO, *op. cit.* I p. 315.

<sup>63</sup> H. HOLTZINGER, *Die altchristliche und byzantinische Baukunst*<sup>2</sup> 1899, p. 117, fig. 158: Muğlayya, Basilica (about 2.15 metres), p. 106, fig. 132: Thessalonica, St. Demetrius's Church (about 2.40 metres). In the latter building, founded in 412 and restored about 650 (P. SCHWEINFURTH, *Die byzantinische Form* 1943, p. 39 Pl. 3, DYGGVE, *Ravennatum Palatium Sacrum*, p. 26 Pl. 9.24), in San Giorgio in Velabro, founded in the 4th century and restored in 682 (F. W. DEICHMANN, *Säule und Ordnung in der frühchristlichen Architectur*, in *Römische Mitteilungen* LV 1940, p. 129, Beilage 2.7), in Santa Maria in Cosmedin and Santo Stefano Rotondo in Rome, we also find column bases of unequal height as at Ḥama, where likewise the capitals of the engaged columns are different. According to DEICHMANN, the lack of symmetry and of other regular disposition does not come up till the end of the 7th or the 8th century (*loc. cit.* pp. 121, 129, and the text of the illustration quoted). The Ḥama evidence suggests an earlier date. See also Note 51.

<sup>64</sup> LASSUS, *op. cit.* p. 54.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. HOLTZINGER, *op. cit.* pp. 111–113, fig. 140, 142, 143 and 145–152, pp. 126–127, fig. 189 and 191.

was covered by a saddle roof with its timber construction visible, the aisles, which were lower, by hip roofs.<sup>66</sup> Remarkable is the comparatively insignificant difference in width between nave and aisle, an old-fashioned feature. It is from the late fifth century onwards that the church type with a large, high and well-lit nave becomes common in Syria; but there are a few South-Syrian fifth and sixth century basilicas where nave and aisle are nearly of the same width.<sup>67</sup> According to LASSUS this is due to the special architectural traditions in the Ḥaurān, where stone to a great extent replaced timber as building material for the roofs; but it should not be overlooked that the subterranean basilica at the Porta Maggiore in Rome, which dates from the first century A.D., and one of whose aisles tapers, and also the Mithraeum at Dura-Europos, of the third century A.D., both have rather broad aisles.<sup>68</sup>

The reconstruction given in Pl. XVI has the great advantage of presenting the plan of the basilica inscribed in one large rectangle, as was that of many contemporary Syrian churches. Whether there was a simple porch (narthex) or a colonnaded cloister (peristylus or aithrion = atrium) before the west front, we cannot decide; but the length of Wall II seems to imply an atrium. Churches with basilica and atrium of equal width are rare in Syria (fig. 10), but not outside, witness above all the Church of Nativity at Bethlehem and the cathedral at Gerasa (Ġirāš), both of the fourth century.<sup>69</sup> The atrium suggested in Pl. XVI is drawn with an intercolumnium like that of the nave, which, however, is but one of several possibilities.

So much for Proposition A. Now, if we, as CRESWELL did, take the wall between the prayer hall and the south-east minaret to be Early Christian, we must presume either a sanctuary of

<sup>66</sup> The earliest dated instance of this North Syrian type of basilica is the church at Fafartīn, of 372, LASSUS, *loc. cit.*

<sup>67</sup> TCHALENKO, *op. cit.* I p. 17. 'Umm al-Ġamāl, the Klaudianos and South-West Churches, LASSUS, *op. cit.* pp. 51, 26–27, fig. 9, pp. 61–62, fig. 31.3, Princeton Expedition II A, 1919, p. 189, fig. 167. The figures for nave and aisles are in these two localities: 3.54 and 2.80 metres, 3.54 and 3.17 metres. One might also refer to the church at 'Uyūn, Princeton Expedition II A p. 331, fig. 300 right.

<sup>68</sup> LASSUS, *op. cit.* pp. 89–90, fig. 41–42.

<sup>69</sup> Byzantium XXXII 1962, pp. 261 ff., particularly 271 Note 4, 264, fig. 1. LASSUS *op. cit.* pp. 105, fig. 44, p. 41, fig. 18.5 and 7, KRAELING, Gerasa, plan 31 ("Rhodian peristyle"), cf. TCHALENKO, *op. cit.* Pl. 12.3 (Al-Bāra, Third Church, 6th century), p. 35, fig. 14, Princeton Expedition II B p. 340, fig. 389 (our fig. 10) (Šayḥ Sulaimān, Our Lady's Church, 5th century).

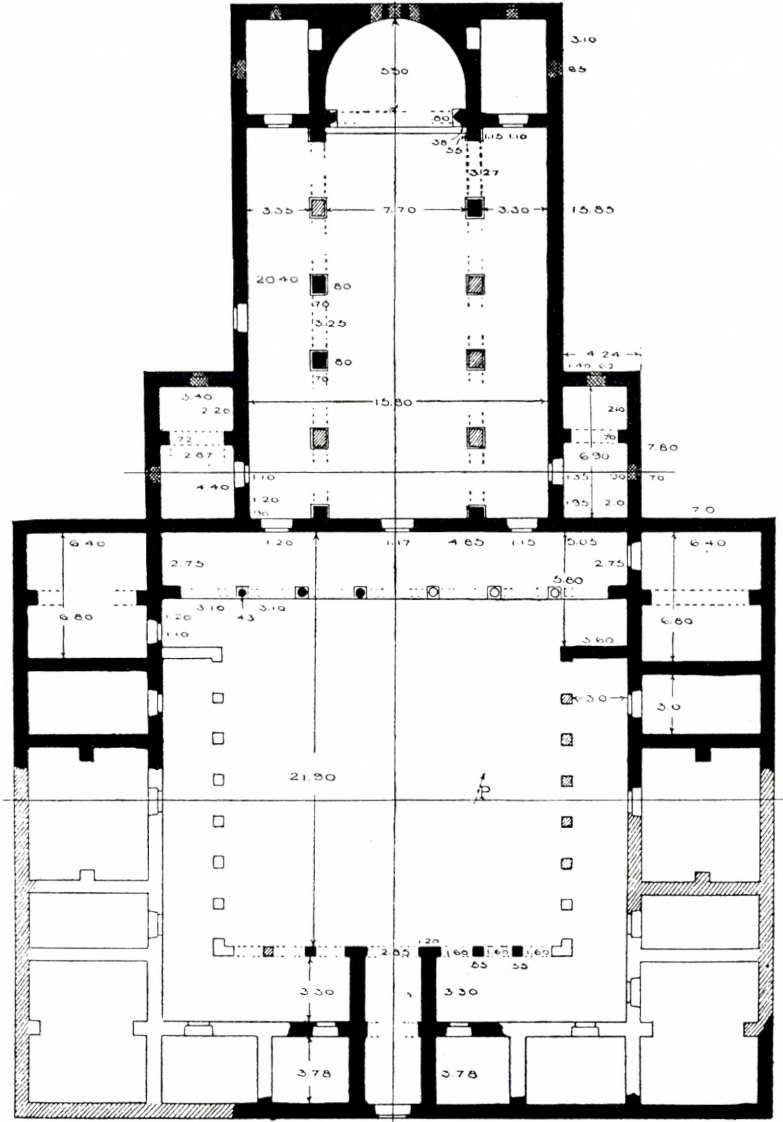


Fig. 11. Al-Dair, monastery church. From LASSUS, Sanctuaires chrétiens etc.

smaller width than the basilica, which would be quite extraordinary in Syria,<sup>70</sup> or, as suggested in Pl. XVII (Proposition B), sanctuary and basilica all in one, but narrower than the narthex

<sup>70</sup> Cf. LASSUS, *op. cit.*, *passim*, and TCHALENKO, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

or atrium (cf. fig. 11).<sup>71</sup> In the latter case it is the external width of the basilica which will equal two thirds of the length, and the transversal measures of the aisles will be reduced to 4.85–5.10 metres. A front building broader than the basilica would by itself suggest an atrium rather than a simple narthex, if the entire complex was not asymmetrical as, e.g., in monastery churches.<sup>72</sup> In order to indicate that also an atrium could be conceived in different ways I have, in this case, used a smaller intercolumnium, of about 2.50 metres, made the window “g” and the southern west door indicate the longitudinal axes in the eastern and southern porches, and kept one and the same distance from side door to side wall. In this way the northern porch becomes somewhat narrower, but the north wall of the atrium is located where we now see Islamic walls. The assumption of different intercolumnia in nave and porch would be in good agreement with the occurrence of two sizes of capitals (see p. 32).

Even if, as will be understood, some details are rather uncertain, several other features are beyond doubt because both the western and the eastern walls of the basilica are intact. Systematic research will hardly be possible, as the holiness of the building must be respected; but casual finds when repairs are taking place may afford new material for the reconstruction of the predecessors of the mosque and for the early history of this venerable monument. Whichever of our reconstructions is chosen, the general character of the church is even now sufficiently clear. By its dimensions and by its doubly tripartite plan: (1) atrium, (2) basilica or “house”,<sup>73</sup> and (3) sanctuary, with (2) and (3)

<sup>71</sup> LASSUS, *op. cit.* p. 104, fig. 43 (Jerusalem, Holy Sepulchre), p. 270, fig. 101, Princeton Expedition II A p. 103, fig. 81 (our fig. 11) (Ad-Dair, monastery, 4th–6th centuries), LASSUS, *op. cit.* p. 41, fig. 18.11 and 15, KRAELING, Gerasa, plan 33 (Girāš, St. Theodore’s Church, of 494–496), Princeton Expedition II B p. 15, fig. 12 (Dair Nawa, monastery with inscription of 599), TCHALENKO, *op. cit.* Pl. 12.1 (Al-Huṣn, 5th century).

<sup>72</sup> Cf. TCHALENKO, *op. cit.* Pls. 11.5 and 11.2 (Bihyū, East Basilica, mid-6th century), LASSUS, *op. cit.* p. 37, fig. 16 (‘Umm al-Ḥalāḥil, Church I), p. 32, fig. 12 (Sirǧilla, 4th or 5th century basilica), Princeton Expedition II B p. 291, fig. 314 (Burǧ Ḥaidar, East Church), *ibid.* Pl. 23 (Qal‘a Sim‘ān, North Church), Princeton Expedition II A p. 97, fig. 78 (‘Umm al-Surāb, Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, of 489).

<sup>73</sup> Οἶκος may designate both the church and part of the church, but also, as in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, more specifically the nave; composed with βασιλείος it means “basilica” in the modern archaeological sense, and the colonnades or the aisles could be described as δρόμοι, see *Mélanges de l’Université St.-Joseph XXXVIII 1962 pp. 192–194.*

divided into nave and aisles, presbyterion and sacristies, respectively, it should be classed among the more important Syrian churches of the age. Moreover, the importance of the building is betrayed not only by its Arabic name of Kanīsat al-‘Uzmā, “the Greatest Church”, but also by the existence of a wall screening off the sanctuary and pierced by a central door (αἱ ἅγια πύλαι or ἡ βασιλικὴ πύλη) where — when the curtain was drawn aside — the great procession (ἡ μεγάλη εἴσοδος or ἡ εἴσοδος τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων) carrying the holy objects representing Christ as βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης (or τῶν ὄλων) could appear and re-enter under an “arch of glorification” as formerly the divine emperor in his audience hall. Apparently, we have to do with the first church and cathedral of ancient Epiphaneia.<sup>74</sup>

With his starting-point in the investigations of H. C. BUTLER in different regions of Syria at the beginning of this century, CRESWELL supposed that the church-builders at Ḥama used the cubit of 0.555 metre, which was held to be current in the fourth and fifth centuries, and not the Roman cubit of 0.444 metre.<sup>75</sup> According to his views the internal length of the nave should be 70 Roman cubits (theoretically 31.08 metres), the widths of the east doors 9 and 3 Roman cubits (theoretically 3.996 and 1.332 metres), but those of the west doors 4½ and 2 cubits of 0.555 metre (theoretically 2.497 and 1.110 metres). But the entrance “a” is in fact only 1.86–1.89 metre wide, which gives the rather odd measure of 4¼ cubit, not immediately indicating a unit of 0.444 metre, rather 6 Greek feet of 0.3135 metre, and it seems to me that we had better take as our metrological starting-point one of the more important measures, as for instance that from

<sup>74</sup> Compare the remarks by DΥΓΓΥΕ, *Fra evangeliekirke til magtkirke* p. 19. Besides to the above-mentioned cathedrals at Ġirās and Brād, reference might be made to the cathedral at Ruṣāfa (Sergiopolis), of the 6th century; its internal length was 38.50 metres, the width 27.80 metres, the widths of nave and aisles 11.60 and 6.90 metres. — ‘Uzmā is the feminine of a‘zam, “greater”, “more important”, with the article al- “greatest”, “most important”, cf. ‘azim, feminine ‘uzamā “great”, “immense”, “important”, “splendid”, “sublime”. — Nowadays Our Lady’s Church about 200 metres east of the Great Mosque is the seat of Ḥama’s orthodox metropolitan. — In the 7th century the Great Procession first moved from the room with the altar towards the nave; the expression βασιλεὺς τῶν ὄλων occurs in the Cherubic Hymn introduced at the μεγάλη εἴσοδος in 573/4, and a corresponding hymn used in 615 at the same procession had the words: “Ἰδοὺ γὰρ εἰσπορεύεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης Ἰδοὺ θυσία μυστικὴ τετελειωμένη δορυφορεῖται”, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* IX 1906 pp. 376–379.

<sup>75</sup> *Festschrift Kühnel* p. 52.

the outside of the west wall to the inner (western) side of Wall I, i.e. from the façade of the church to its sanctuary. Of this figure the width of the basilica makes two thirds; in Proposition A it is the internal width, in B the external. Or to put it differently: The sanctuary wall (I) was divided into two equal parts in the middle of the Roman door, the division marking the longitudinal axis of the church along which three parts (i.e. one time and a half the length of Wall I) were set off in the direction towards the west, where the façade was to be. Now this principal length: façade-to-sanctuary, roughly corresponds to 100 normal Greek feet of 0.329–0.330 metre or to 105 smaller Greek feet of 0.3135 metre. The clearest figure is obtained if we reckon with the former unit, in which case the nave would be an οἶκος ἑκατόμπεδος, a ‘‘House of 100 Feet’’. Such a classical measure would not be astonishing in a building in which a contemporary inscription begins with an allusion to the Odyssey. The tables on pp. 40–41 demonstrate the application of the different possibilities, in addition to those above an alleged sixth century foot of 0.370 metre.<sup>75</sup> A natural consequence of employing a hundred-foot measure for the nave would be the division of the colonnade into ten bays of 10 feet each, measured from column axis to column axis, thus giving nine columns as in the principal church at Qal‘a Sim‘ān.<sup>76</sup>

SAUVAGET’S previously quoted book on the building activities of the Umayyad khalifa Al-Walid in Al-Madīna, where this ruler had a new mosque constructed in the years 706–710, contains the assumption—apparently inspired by DYGGVE and others working on the same line—that the latter mosque (fig. 12.2) was a compromise between two architectural types: One of them is represented by the primeval mosque, strictly speaking Muḥammad’s own house of 622, the most important elements of which were the central courtyard and the open porch or prayer hall with the roof supported by palm trunks. The other type is the audience hall of a basilical plan, which the Syrian khalīfas had inherited from Byzantium and Rome. From it the mosque borrowed both the prayer niche (miḥrāb), originally the apse of the basilica, and the emphasizing of the axis through the miḥrāb by a heightening of the nave in front of the niche (cf. fig. 4).<sup>77</sup>

<sup>76</sup> HOLTZINGER, *op. cit.* p. 126, fig. 189.

<sup>77</sup> SAUVAGET, *op. cit.* pp. 149–157, 184–185, 108, fig. 10 (our fig. 12).



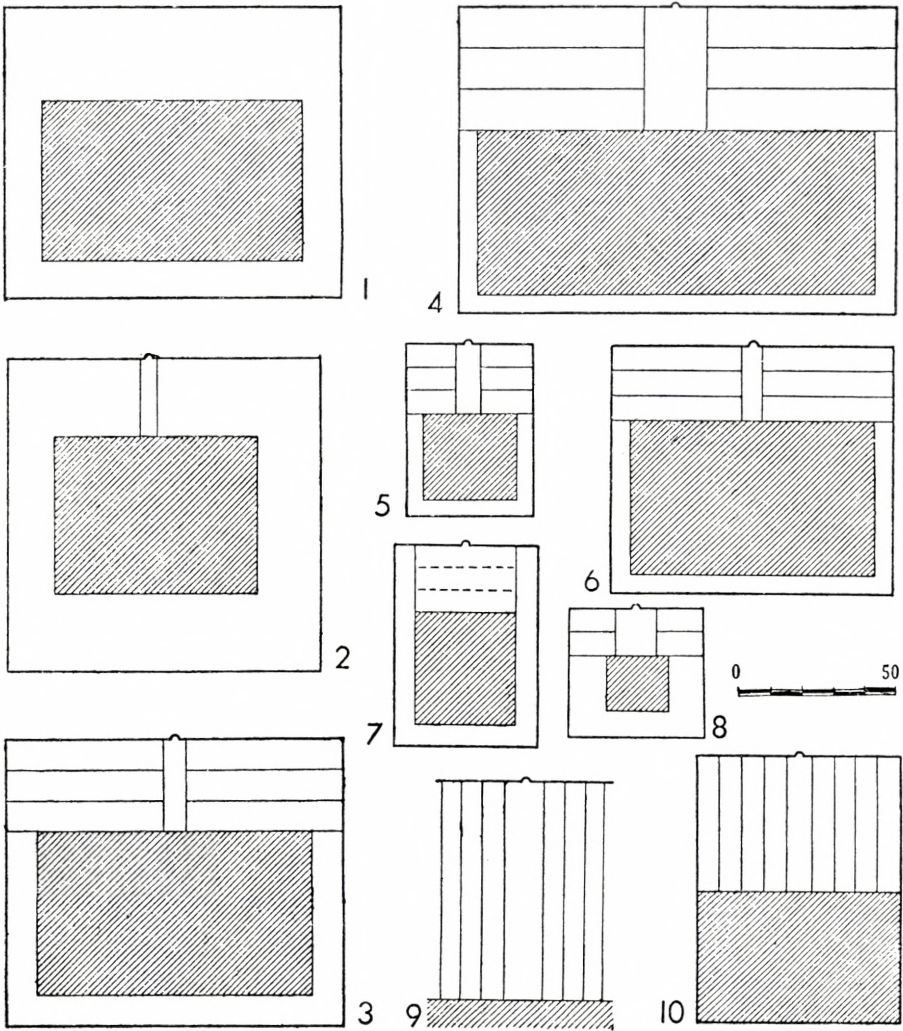


Fig. 12. Ground plans of mosques of the Umayyad period. From SAUVAGET, *Mosquée omeyyade etc.*, 1:2500.

The first mosque had no mihrāb, and even if at the beginning there was nothing in the architecture that reminded of the basilica, and although the original pulpit (minbar) was a simple chair, the seat had a back support, was placed on a podium with two steps, and stood in the axis of the hall at the back wall.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>78</sup> SAUVAGET, *op. cit.* pp. 86–89, 138–144.

Measure taken	Metres measured	Feet of 0.3135 m	
		number	metres theoretically
Length from west façade to inner side of Wall I . . . . .	32.95 32.86	105	32.9175
Internal length of basilica . . . . .	31.40 31.31	100	31.35
Width of basilica including side walls (B) . . . . .	21.90	70	21.945
Internal width of basilica (A) at west end . . . . .	21.90	70	21.945
at east end . . . . .	20.93	$66\frac{3}{4}$	20.926125
(B) at east end . . . . .	18.80	60	18.81
at west end . . . . .	18.35	$58\frac{1}{2}$	18.33975
Width of presbyterion . . . . .	7.27	$23\frac{1}{4}$	7.288875
Width of nave . . . . .	7.20	23	7.2105
Depth of sanctuary . . . . .	6.71	$21\frac{1}{2}$	6.74025
Widths of aisles (A) 1 . . . . .	6.71	$21\frac{1}{2}$	6.74025
2 . . . . .	6.23	20	6.27
(B) 1 . . . . .	5.10	$16\frac{3}{4}$	5.094375
2 . . . . .	4.85	$15\frac{1}{2}$	4.85925
Intercolumnium (A-B) nave } (from axis to axis)         and } . . . . .	(3.50)	$11\frac{1}{4}$ 11	3.526875 3.4485
(A) atrium } (B) atrium . . . . .	(2.50)	8	2.508
Original width of central west door . . . . .	2.80	9	2.8215
Width of central east door . . . . .	1.89 1.86	6	1.881
Thickness of west wall . . . . .	1.64 1.54	$5\frac{1}{4}$ 5	1.645875 1.5675
Original widths of western side doors . . . . .	1.60	$5\frac{1}{4}$ 5	1.645875 1.5675
Widths of eastern side doors . . . . .	1.32 1.30	$4\frac{1}{4}$	1.332375
Thickness of east wall . . . . .	1.10	$3\frac{1}{2}$	1.09725
Width of column base . . . . .	0.73 0.72	$2\frac{1}{4}$	0.705375
Width of pilaster . . . . .	0.64	2	0.627

Feet of 0.329 m		Feet of 0.330 m		Feet of 0.370 m		Cubits of 0.555 m	
number	metres theoretically	number	metres theoretically	number	metres theoretically	number	metres theoretically
100	32.9	100 99 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	33.0 32.9175	89 88 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	32.93 32.8375	59 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 59 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	33.0225 32.88375
95 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 95 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	31.4195 31.33725	95	31.35	85 84 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	31.45 31.3575	56 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	31.3575
66 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	21.8785	66 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	21.945	59 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	21.9225	39 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	21.9225
66 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 63 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 57	21.8785 20.8915 18.753	66 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 63 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 57	21.945 20.955 18.81	59 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> 56 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 51	21.9225 20.905 18.87	39 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 37 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> 34	21.9225 20.95125 18.87
55 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	18.34175	55 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	18.315	49 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	18.315	33 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> 33	18.73125 18.315
22	7.238	22	7.26	19 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	7.3075	13 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> 13	7.35375 7.215
22	7.238	21 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	7.1775	19 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	7.215	13	7.215
20 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	6.7445	20 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 20 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	6.765 6.6825	18	6.66	12 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> 12	6.79875 6.66
20 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 19	6.7445 6.251	20 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 20 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> 19	6.765 6.6825 6.27	18 17	6.66 6.29	12 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> 12 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	6.79875 6.66 6.24375
15 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 14 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	5.0995 4.85275	15 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 14 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	5.115 4.8675	13 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> 13	5.0875 4.81	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> 8 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	5.13375 4.85625
10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	3.4545 2.4675	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	3.465 2.475	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 6 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	3.515 2.4975	6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	3.46875 2.4975
8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	2.7965	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	2.805	7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	2.775	5	2.775
5 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	1.89175 1.8095	5 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1.8975	5	1.85	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1.9425 1.80375
5 4 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1.645 1.56275	5 4 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1.65 1.5675	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1.665 1.5725	3 2 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1.665 1.52625
5 4 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1.645 1.56275	5 4 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1.65 1.5675	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1.665 1.5725	3 2 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1.665 1.52625
4	1.316	4	1.32	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	1.295	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1.3875 1.24875
3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	1.1515	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	1.155	3	1.11	2	1.11
2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	0.74025	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	0.7425	2	0.74	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	0.8325 0.69375
2	0.658	2	0.66	1 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	0.6475	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	0.69375

Thus, its character of a throne was evident. In Syria no mosque expressly built for the purpose is earlier than the end of the seventh century, and very few of the mosques of Umayyad times lack the said basilical features (e.g. fig. 12.1, the mosque at Kūfa, of 638). According to SAUVAGET all the others (fig. 12.3–10) are more or less influenced by the basilica. To be sure, in spite of variations the majority of them at least embody one and the same architectural idea, that of a *broad* building, but with a heightened nave in the shorter axis, and with a forecourt (fig. 13).<sup>79</sup>

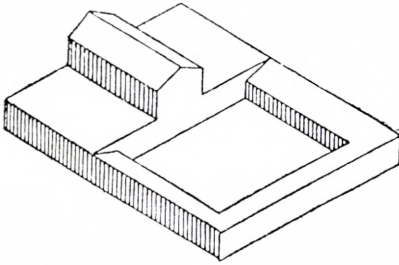


Fig. 13. The Umayyad type of mosque. From SAUVAGET, *Mosquée omeyyade* etc.

How does the Ḥama mosque (fig. 12.7) fit into this pattern? Established in 636 already, two years before the mosque of Kūfa and not more than four years after Muḥammad's death, it can claim a distinguished place in the architectural history of Islam. Therefore and justly CRESWELL has several times stressed its importance. As mentioned above, he has also pointed out that

SAUVAGET was mistaken when he referred the oldest existing parts of the building to an Umayyad reconstruction of the mosque, and I hope that it will be clear from the preceding pages how much has been taken over without alteration from the pre-Islamic structures. Still, it would be extremely useful to have it ascertained if any remains really could be ascribed to the Muslim conquerors. CRESWELL himself supposed that what happened in 636 was only the breaking-open of one or more doors in the north wall of the church, and possibly the closing of the west doors, too.<sup>80</sup> At all events it is absolutely certain that the miḥrāb does not stand on the transversal axis of the Byzantine church. Its own axis is about 30 centimetres east of the point

<sup>79</sup> SAUVAGET, *op. cit.* pp. 122–124, fig. 11 (our fig. 13).

<sup>80</sup> Festschrift Kühnel p. 53, Short Account etc. p. 7. If CRESWELL's interpretation of the remains is the right one, i.e. if the building was not submitted to any radical alteration before the 17th century – as in fact everything seems to indicate – then the Hama mosque did never have any heightened north-south-going nave and therefore cannot belong to SAUVAGET's group 'b', *op. cit.* p. 108, fig. 10.7 (our fig. 12.7). Nor was the original Damascus mosque any building of this sub-type, cf. CRESWELL, Short Account etc. pp. 71–72, fig. 10 (our fig. 6).

where the Byzantine one meets the south wall, and much greater (45 centimetres) is the deviation from a perpendicular line through the middle of the present north door; but the miḥrāb corresponds very well to the central bays of the two rows of piers, the difference of the axes being only 10 centimetres (Pl. III). So, it might rather be contemporary with these, which CRESWELL takes for even later than the north and south walls of the 17th century (Pl. II). However this may be explained, it would seem that both miḥrāb, piers, and the said walls date from Turkish times, the pulpit (minbar) is not earlier than 1302,<sup>81</sup> and there is no evidence at all that the original mosque had a miḥrāb or a heightened nave; but, of course, we must admit that nothing proves that these features did *not* exist. Most likely CRESWELL is right, and it is highly probable that the first Muslims at Ḥama prayed without a miḥrāb; for in Syria the south wall of a converted church would certainly suffice to indicate the direction of prayer, the qibla. Besides, Muḥammad's own mosque had no miḥrāb. It is then the most reasonable to class the Ḥama mosque with the more primitive and simple group to which also the one at Kūfa (fig. 12.1) belongs. As long as the Byzantine walls and columns were standing, it was not necessary to do anything particular concerning the prayer hall proper, especially if there were doors in the north and south walls of the church, as in other places in Syria. Moreover, an existing south door, if placed approximately in the middle of the wall, might easily be transformed into a miḥrāb, should such a one be needed, just as a flat miḥrāb of wood or other material could be put up before the wall; but of all this, of course, we know nothing.

SAUVAGET explained the great width of the Umayyad mosque from the need of large or many aisles to give room to the multitude of believers;<sup>82</sup> but this does not suffice as a motive for keeping the broad ground-plan. For have we not seen that the Church could manage the same problem with an elongation of nave and aisles? SAUVAGET, who held the Aqṣā Mosque at Je-

<sup>81</sup> Hama IV 2, p. 8, Note 2, p. 9, figs. 6–7. The pulpit is a signed work of 'ALĪ IBN 'UMAR 'ABDALLAH AḤMAD. The scanty remains of a mosaic of glass cubes in the vault of the miḥrāb do not compel us to assign it to the Umayyad period, for glass mosaics have also been found in a 13th century context on the Citadel Mound, Hama IV 2, pp. 45, 47–48, to quote only one later local example.

<sup>82</sup> SAUVAGET, *op. cit.* p. 157.

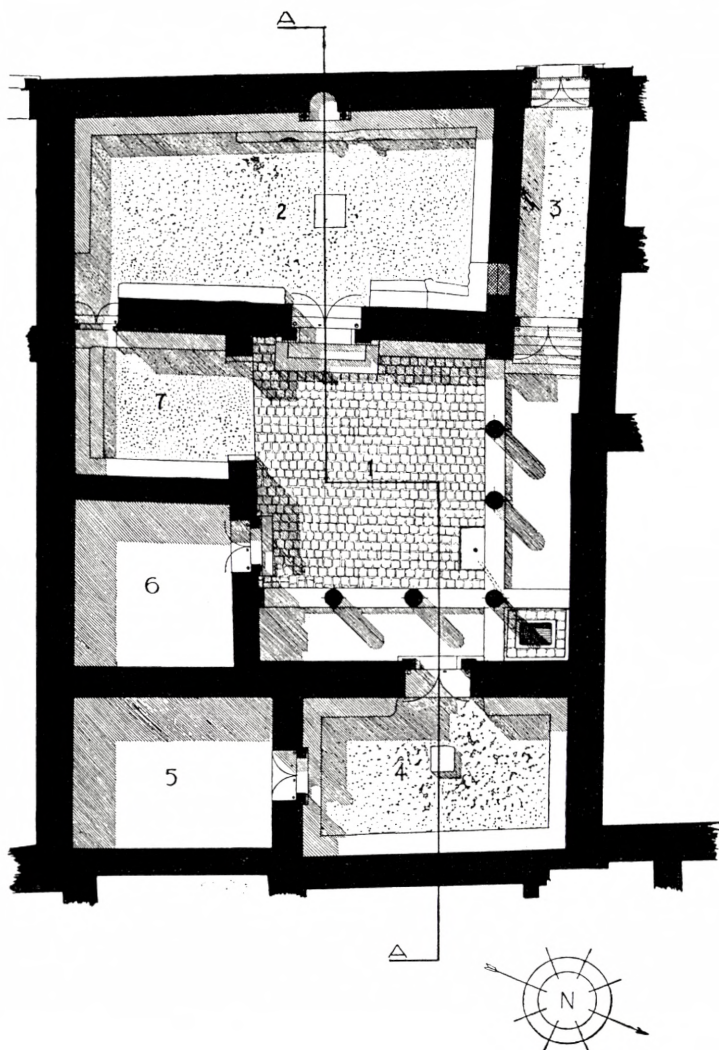


Fig. 14 A.

Fig. 14 A-B. Dura-Europos, synagogue, rebuilt 245 A.D. A: Earlier plan. B: Later plan. From *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report VIII 1*. 1:200.

rusalem (fig. 12.9) to be an Umayyad building, had therefore to admit that this solution was sometimes chosen, as for instance also in Córdoba's Great Mosque, "La Mezquita" (fig. 12.10). On the other hand CRESWELL, who in the writings quoted strangely

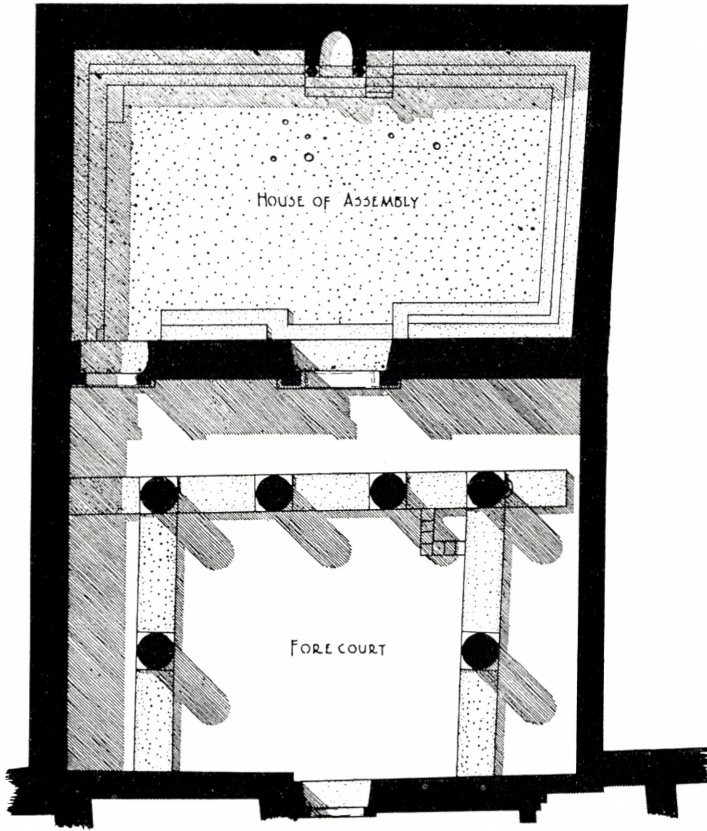


Fig. 14 B.

enough does not mention SAUVAGET's theory, takes the Umayyad type of mosque to continue the type created by a simple conversion of churches.<sup>83</sup> It is true that if we look at SAUVAGET's axonometric representation of the Umayyad type (fig. 13), we must confess that it is somehow related to palatial architecture. SAUVAGET himself referred to the basilical audience hall, but already HERMANN THIERSCH stressed the palatial elements in the Great Mosque at Damascus (cf. figs. 4 and 6), and CRESWELL has—apparently independently of DYGGVE—compared the court façade of this building with the famous Palatium mosaic in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, which represents Theoderich's palace

<sup>83</sup> CRESWELL, *Short Account* etc., pp. 73–74.

of about 500 in the same town.<sup>84</sup> Nevertheless, facing a diagram like that of fig. 13, one cannot help thinking of the numerous North Syrian churches with their lofty nave, their cloister in front of the entrance, and their apse (the Islamic counterpart of which, however, is not visible in fig. 13). Only, these elements have been turned ninety degrees as compared with the main hall, i. e. exactly in conformity with the direction of prayer in Syria; but as in the Ḥama mosque there is nothing which corresponds to the Byzantine sanctuary at the east end. The Christian presbyterion with its altar and the two sacristies, on one side the diakonikon, where the officiating priests, like the Emperor in the palace metatorion, were clad in liturgical clothes, on the other side the martyrion with the reliquaries,—all these were things not needed by the conquerors. As the mosque was a House of Prayer, not a cult room, the altar, the pictures of God and the saints, and everything of that kind, had to be removed. So, the conversion could not consist alone in making a north door and praying towards the south. Just as the taking-over of the pagan sanctuary by the Christian church implied the profanation of the cult-place, so a corresponding act had to be performed when the church became a mosque. According, the Umayyad type is a monumentalisation of the triumph of the mosque over the church, although with an obvious attachment to the primeval house-mosque at Al-Madīna, and just as formerly some pagan ideas were admitted by the Church, and the Christian assembly rooms of the earliest times were superseded by buildings related to those of the Imperial ruler cult, thus also the Umayyad mosques got the imprint of ideas figuring the khalīfa, or the governor representing him, as a secular ruler when on Fridays he ascended the pulpit.

That the supporters of the new religion did not desist from using the churches and copying their plan may in the first place be due to practical, partly locally conditioned reasons, and then also to a desire of marking Islam's victory over Christianity, as well as to the architectural tradition from Ancient Rome; but we should not forget Muḥammad's personal attitude towards the

<sup>84</sup> H. THIERSCH, *Pharos, Antike, Islam und Occident* 1909, pp. 214–217; the plan of the Ḥama mosque *ibid.* p. 236, fig. 423; cf. p. 234: "nach genauen Aufnahmen von E. Fatio hier nur ungefähr skizziert", is evidently misleading. — CRESWELL, *loc. cit.* with Pl. 20c.



Christian belief and the Christian clergy. One of the legends telling of his childhood and youth asserted that he visited Buṣra in South Syria and there was announced as a coming prophet by the monk Baḥīra; at any rate, the Qur'ān has the following words in the 85th verse of the 5th sūra: "You will find that the most implacable of men in their enmity to the faithful are the Jews and the pagans, and that the nearest in affection to them are those who say: 'We are Christians'. That is because there are priests and monks among them; and because they are free from pride".<sup>85</sup> This verdict and others similar would render any adaptation from the Synagogue rather improbable. At Ḥama, where according to local tradition there never were any Jews, nothing whatever indicates a connection between Synagogue and Mosque, and in fact in very few cases the synagogues offer a certain superficial resemblance to the Umayyad type of mosque (fig. 14, particularly B).<sup>86</sup> No doubt, the likenesses result from the dependence of both on palatial and ecclesiastical architecture.

<sup>85</sup> The Koran translated by N. J. DAWOOD<sup>3</sup> 1961, p. 383, cf. E. HAMMERSHAIMB, The Religious and Political Development of Muḥammad, in *The Muslim World* XXXIX 1949, pp. 130–132, 197–200.

<sup>86</sup> SAUVAGET, *op. cit.* pp. 174–176, LASSUS, *op. cit.* p. 8, fig. 3. Originally, the synagogue at Dura-Europos had another appearance, Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report VIII 1, 1956 Pls. 8.2 and 6 (our fig. 14). KRAELING, *ibid.* pp. 22–23, justly emphasizes the possibility that the aedicula was taken over from palace architecture; for the chair, see *ibid.* p. 260.

## Appendix

Chronological table of the building events implied by the discoveries in the Great Mosque at Ḥama

According to CRESWELL 1959 and earlier.<sup>87</sup>

1. Construction of a Roman temple. 3rd century A.D. (the present east front).
2. Temple transformed to church. 5th or 6th century (the west front and the south-west wall, the wall between sanctuary and south-east minaret, the blocking of Roman portal).

According to the present writer 1964.

1. Construction of a temenos with peribolos and temple about 250 A.D.
2. Transformation to a church of the south-east corner of the temenos about 350, not later than about 400: a basilica with the ancient south-eastern peribolos gate as the principal entrance crowned by a relieving arch, its threshold turned on an edge (i.e. the floor level heightened), and one small door broken open on either side of the gate in correspondence with the aisles. The altar presumably in the west end.
3. Destruction of this church by earthquake in 526, 528, 529 or 551.
4. Construction, probably at the expense of MARAS and KOSMAS, of a new basilica with the ancient entrance wall re-used to separate a (tripartite?) sanctuary from the main part of the building, altar in the east end, chancel in the nave in front of the arched gate, two colonnades with archivolt separating nave and aisles, engaged columns on east wall, pilasters on inner side of new entrance wall in the west, with three doors, windows dated 595, porch and perhaps gallery. On one of the pilasters inscription and portrait in honour of ELIAS, who built an adjacent bath.

<sup>87</sup> Early Muslim Architecture I 1932, p. 13, fig. 2, and p. 14, Short Account etc. pp. 7, 80–81, Festschrift Kühnel, *loc. cit.*

3. Conversion of church into mosque in 636 (breaking-open of doors in north wall, transformation of west entrances to windows).
4. Erection of the south-east minaret in 1135, four east piers in the courtyard and part of west wall of courtyard.
5. Construction of Sultan Malik al-Muzaffar II's mausoleum with portal of 1299 and portal to small western garden with fountain (birka).
6. Erection of north minaret, some east piers in courtyard, and small south-eastern prayer niche. 14th or 15th century.
7. Construction of north and south walls of sanctuary. 17th century.
8. Construction of pillars and vaults of sanctuary, arcades of courtyard and adjacent buildings. 18th century and later.
5. Conversion of church into mosque in 636, probably through removal of Christian sanctuary at east end, opening of door(s) in north wall, if such did not exist already, and perhaps, but not necessarily, establishment of a prayer niche in or at south wall.
6. Umayyad restorations and construction of treasury (Bait al-Māl) in the courtyard, presumably on the model of the Great Mosque in Damascus.<sup>88</sup>
7. Restorations by the 'Abbasid khalifa Al-Mahdī between 775 and 785.<sup>89</sup>
8. = CRESWELL No. 4.
9. Repairs of east wall, threshold of central door in this wall and ancient pavement slabs under door taken up and put back after laying-down of a water conduit. 12th or 13th century (after earthquake in 1157, 1170 or 1201?).
10. = CRESWELL No. 5. Erection of the mausoleum and its wooden cenotaph for the Sultans Malik al-Muzaffar II and Malik al-Manšūr between 1280 and 1299.<sup>90</sup>
11. Repairs after earthquake of 1302. The present pulpit erected in the same year.<sup>91</sup>
12. Water supply secured by construction of aqueduct from the water-wheel (nā'ūra) called Al-Muḥam-madiyya in 1362.<sup>92</sup>
13. = CRESWELL No. 6.
14. = CRESWELL No. 7. Blocking of the east doors, if not earlier (see No. 9 above).
15. = CRESWELL No. 8.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. SAUVAGET, *op. cit.* pp. 103–104.

<sup>89</sup> Hama IV 2, p. 302, excerpt No. 1.

<sup>90</sup> Hama IV 2, p. 6, Note 6, p. 7 Note 2, p. 8, fig. 5.

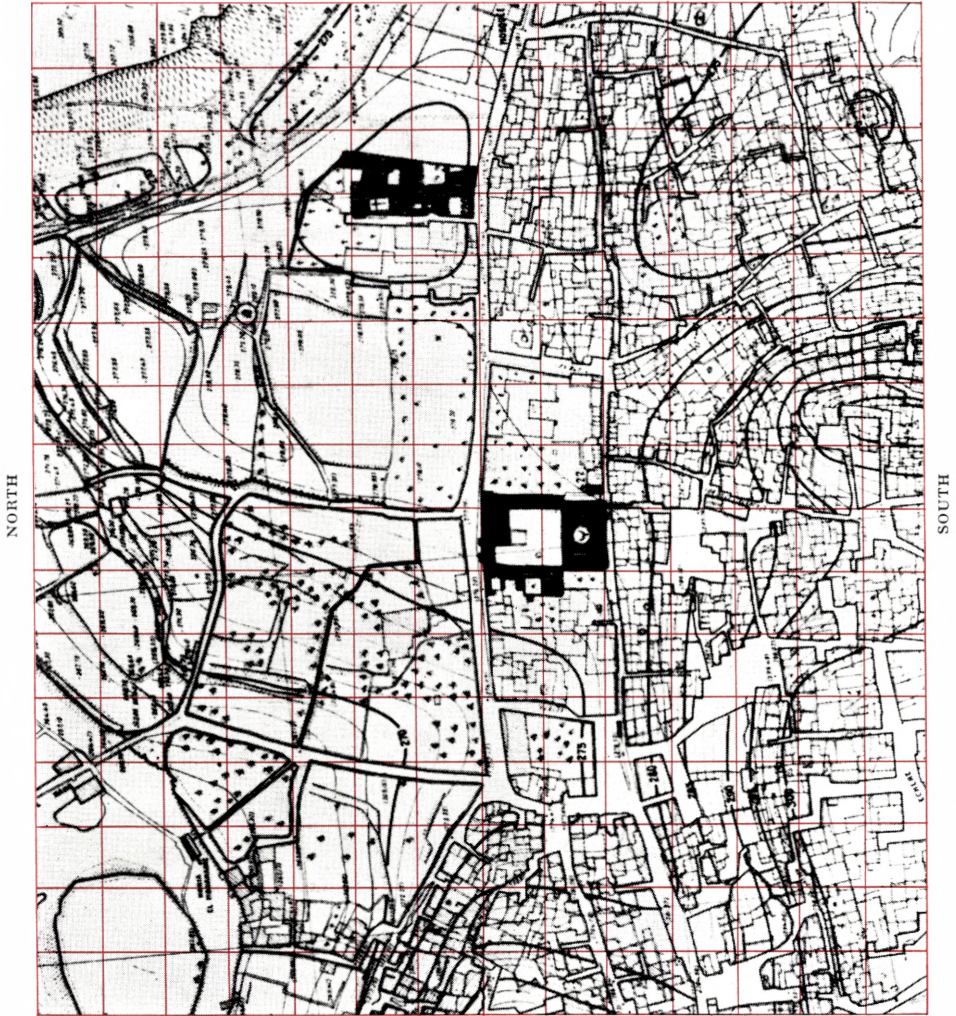
<sup>91</sup> Hama IV 2, p. 305, excerpt No. 17. See also Note 81 above.

<sup>92</sup> L. A. MAYER, *Saracenic Heraldry* 1933, p. 224.



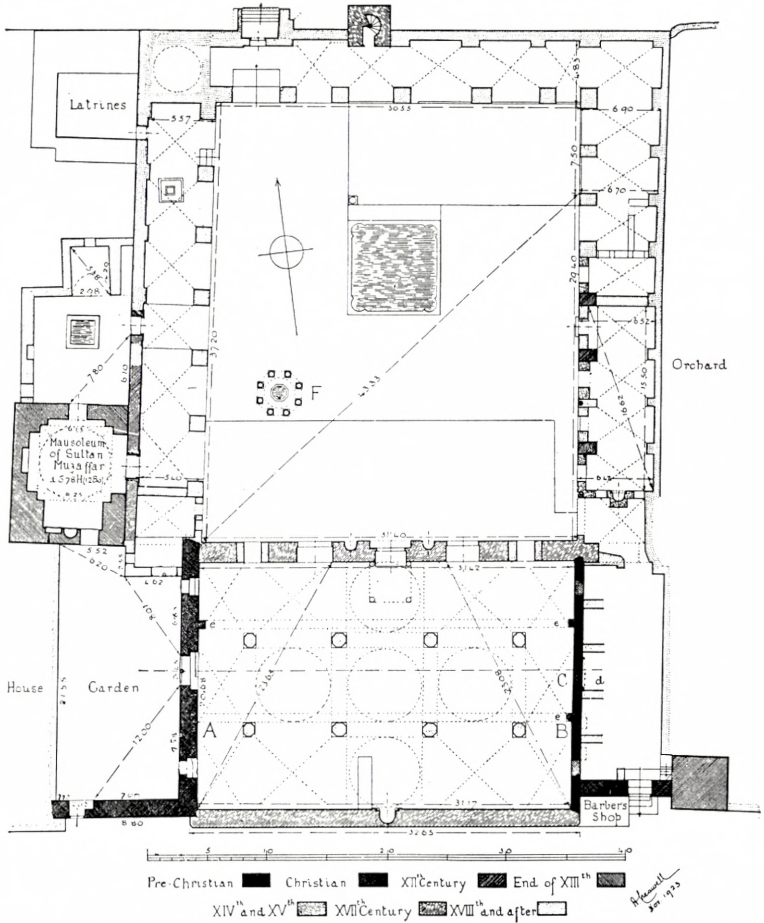
## **Plates**





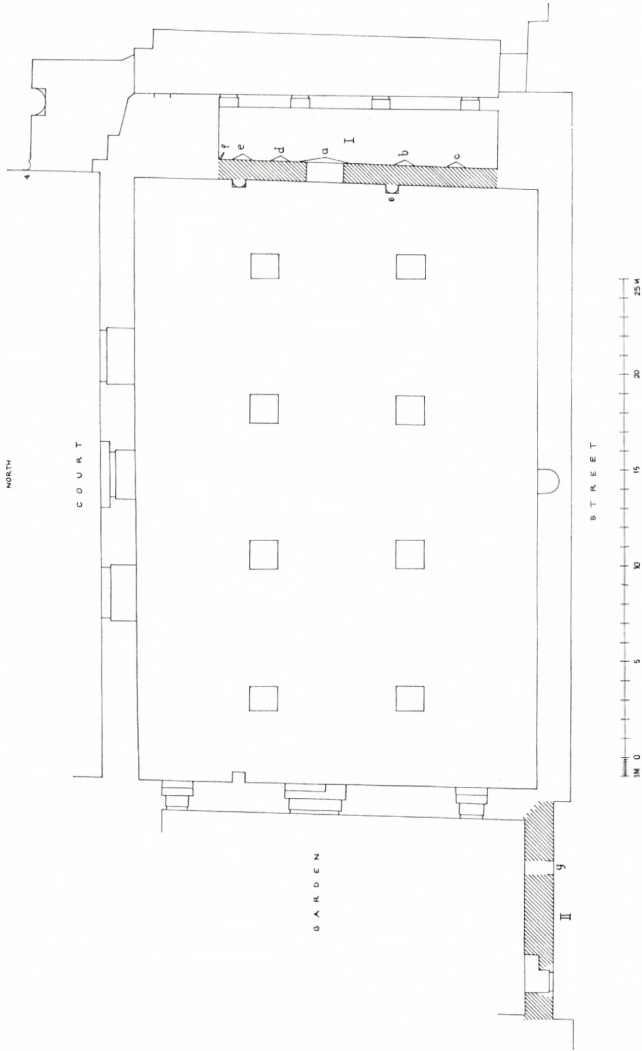
Hama, the quarter called Al-Madīna, the Sūq al-Aḡā of the Middle Ages. – Below on the left the river Orontes with the water-wheel Al-Muḥammadiyya and the bridge Bāb al-Nahr. – Above on the left the west slope of the citadel mound Al-Qal'a. – Black with crescent mark: Great Mosque. – Black with cross mark: Our Lady's Church, the present Orthodox Cathedral. – Red: grid of equidistant lines, oriented according to the quarters of the globe, and with the side of each square measuring 100 Greek feet. – 1 centimetre = 40 metres. Section of cadastral map measured 1931/2. 1:2000.

PLATE II



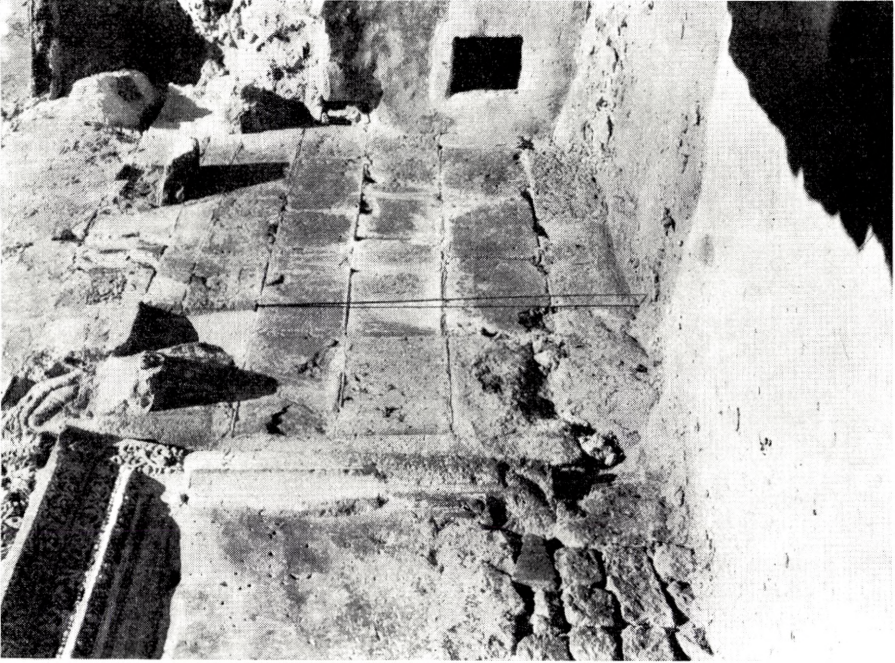
Hama, Great Mosque. Plan. — After CRESWELL, Festschrift Kühnel 1959. 1:625.



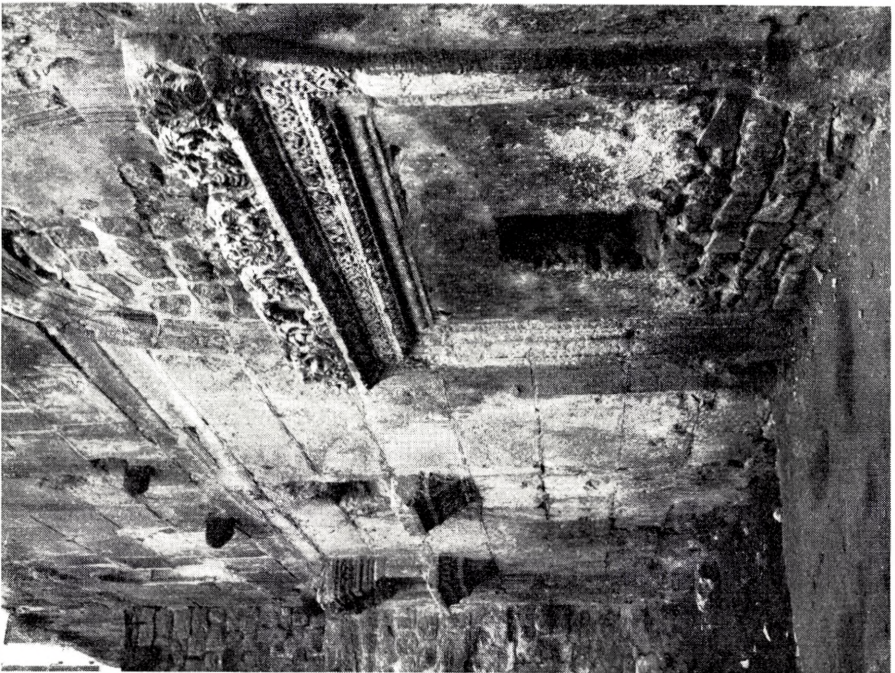


Hama, Great Mosque. Plan of prayer hall with remains of Roman sanctuary hatched. — I: east wall. — II: south wall. — a: portal. — b, c, d, e and f: brackets. — g: window. — 4 and 6: engaged columns with capitals. — Measurement by P. J. Riis 1933. Redrawn by A. BAYER. 1:400.

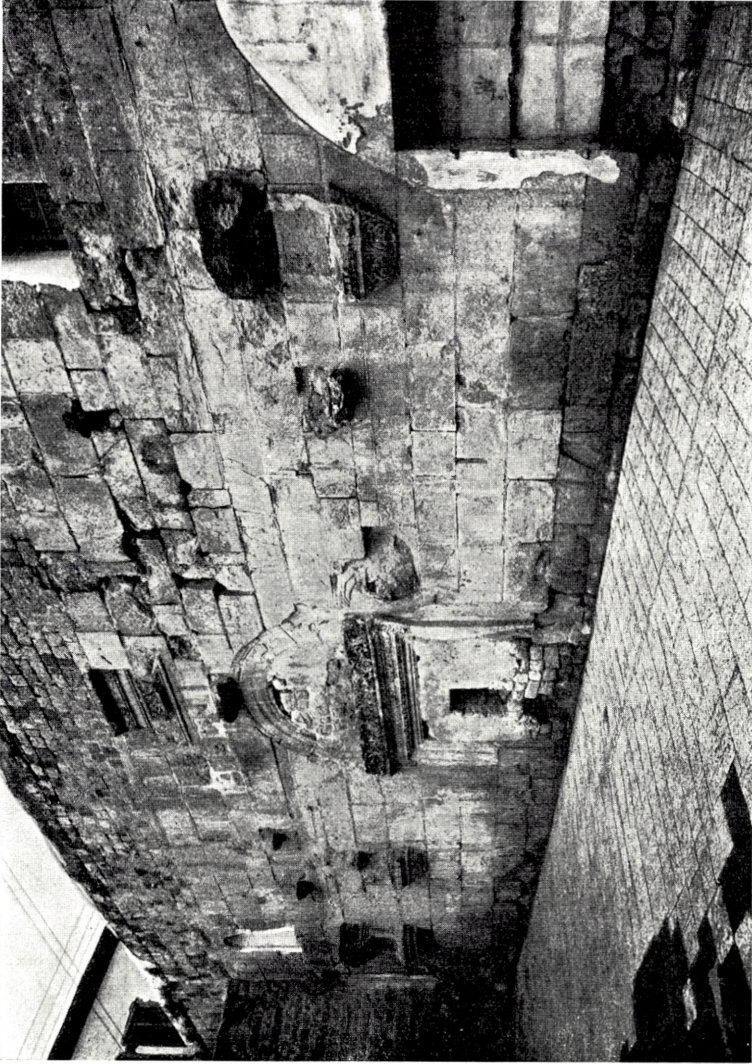
PLATE IV



B. Hama, Great Mosque. East façade of prayer hall. Wall I, portal "a" and adjacent parts towards the north, as seen from the south-east, before excavation. — Phot. B. HORNE-MANN 1933.



A. Hama, Great Mosque. East façade of prayer hall. Wall I, portal "a" and adjacent parts towards the south, as seen from the north-east, before excavation. — Phot. B. HORNE-MANN 1933.



Hama, Great Mosque. East façade of prayer hall. Wall I in its present state, as seen from the north-east. — From GRESWELL, *Festschrift Kühnel* 1957.

PLATE VI

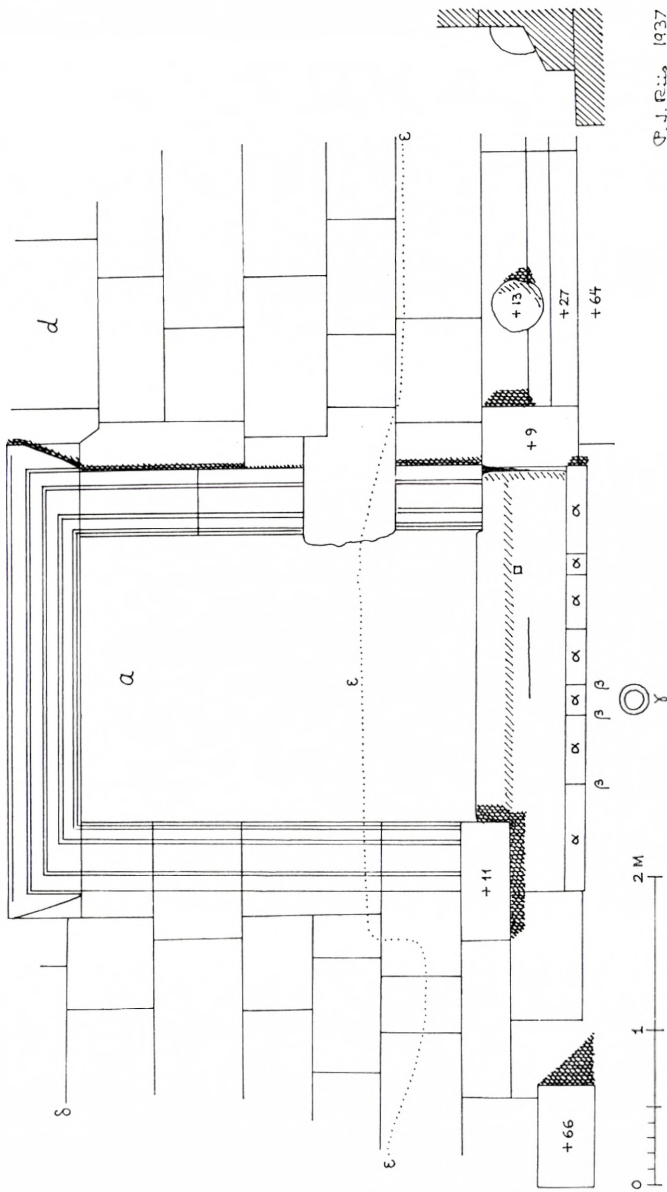


Ḥama, Great Mosque. East façade of prayer hall. Wall I, southern side door.  
Phot. P. J. RUS 1963.



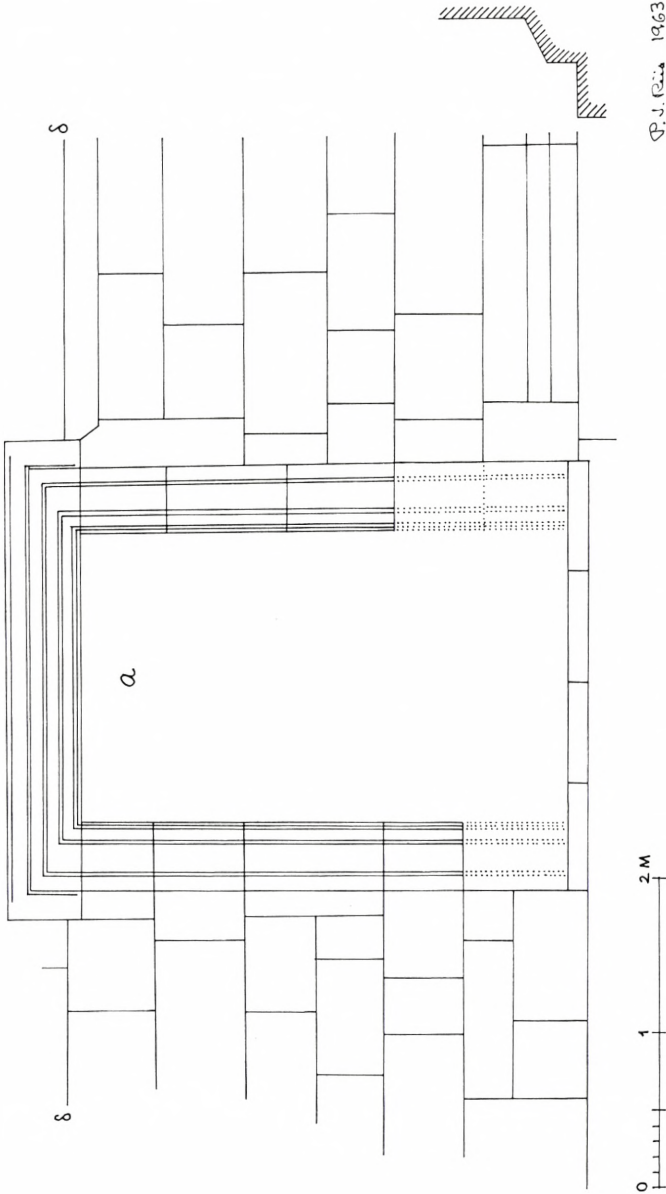
Hama, Great Mosque. East façade of prayer hall. Wall I, northern side door.  
Phot. P. J. Riis 1963.

PLATE VIII



С. Я. Рейс, 1937

Hama, Great Mosque. East façade of prayer hall. Lower central parts of Wall I uncovered by excavation. — a: portal.  
 — d: bracket. — α: broken pavement slabs. — β: joints with mortar containing charcoal. — γ: terracotta pipe. —  
 δ: lower edge of course with brackets. — ε: level before excavation. — Sketch. 1:50.



Hama, Great Mosque. East façade of prayer hall. Wall I, reconstruction of central parts. — a: portal. — δ: lower edge of course with brackets. — Sketch . 1:50.

С. Я. Соколов 1963

PLATE X

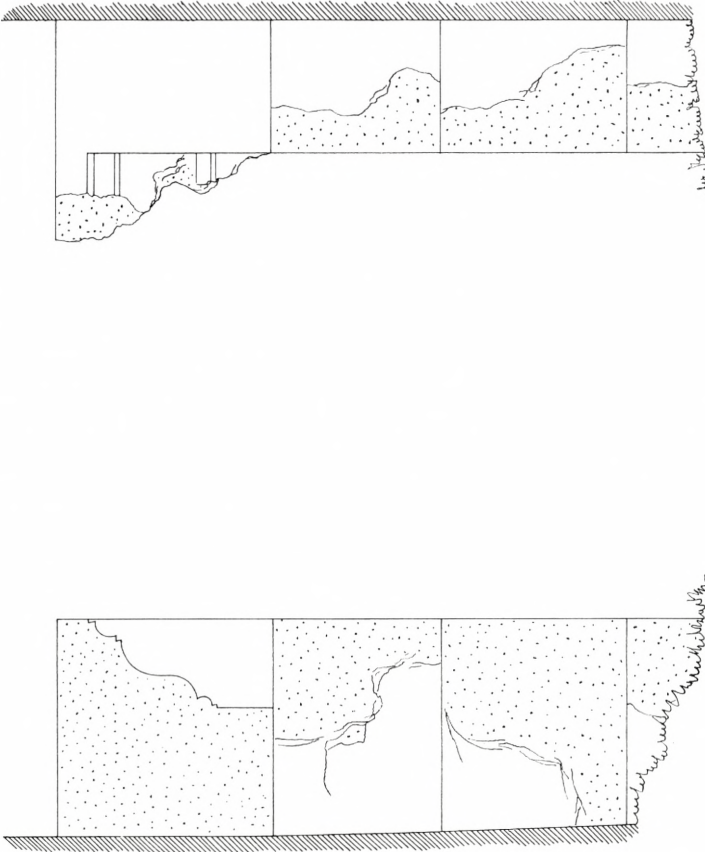


A. Hama, Great Mosque. East façade of prayer hall, Wall I, Portal "a", south end of threshold uncovered by excavation, as seen from the north-east. — Phot. B. HORNE MANN 1937.

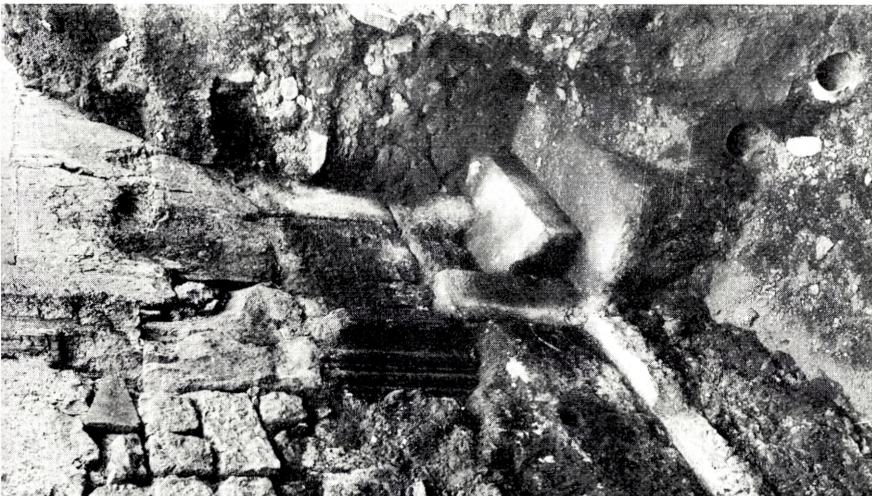


B. Hama, Great Mosque. East façade of prayer hall, Wall I, Portal "a", central part of threshold uncovered by excavation, as seen from the east. — Phot. B. HORNE MANN 1937.





B. Hama, Great Mosque. North façade of northern arcade between main entrance and north minaret. Wall III, anta or doorjamb. — Sketch 1933. 1:20.



A. Hama, Great Mosque. East façade of prayer hall. Wall I, Portal "a", north end of threshold uncovered by excavation, as seen from the south-east. — Phot. B. HORNEMANN 1937.

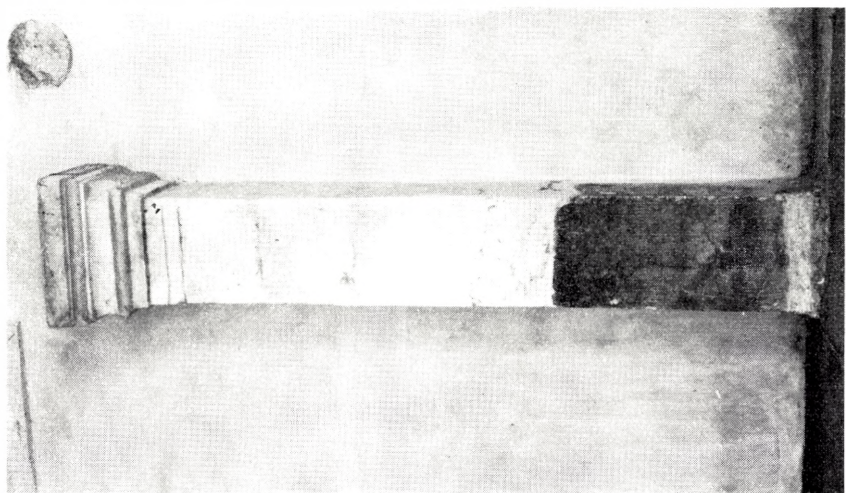
PLATE XII



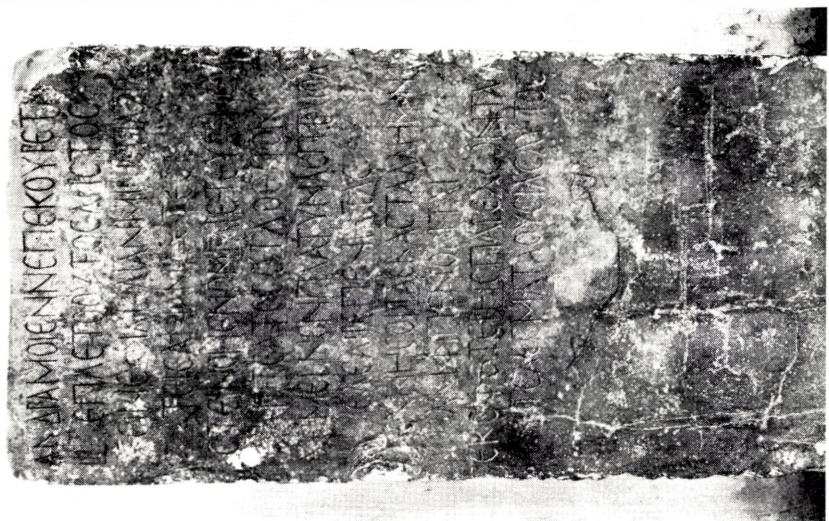
Hama, Great Mosque. Interior of prayer hall as seen towards the east. — On back wall right the southern engaged column with re-used Roman capital No. 6. — Phot. B. HORNE MANN 1933.



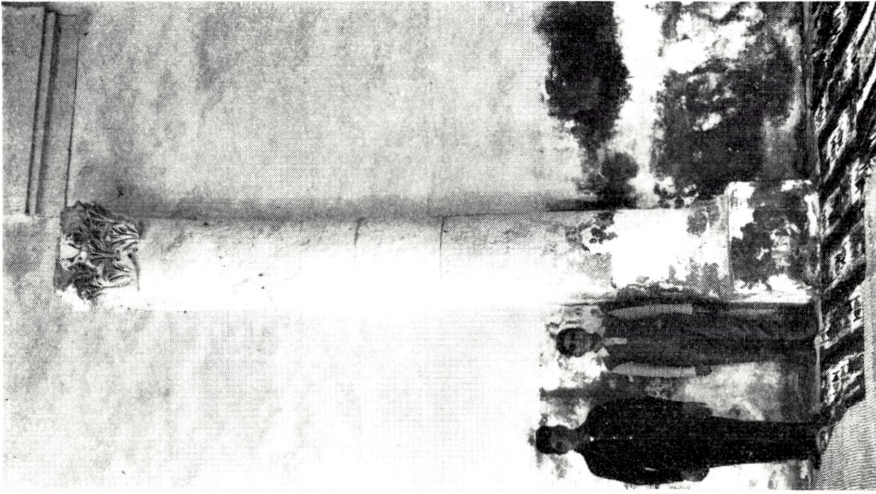
Ḥama, Great Mosque. Interior of prayer hall as seen towards the west. — In back wall the central door of the Byzantine church and above left at abutment of vault an irregular projection. — Phot. B. HORNEMANN 1933.



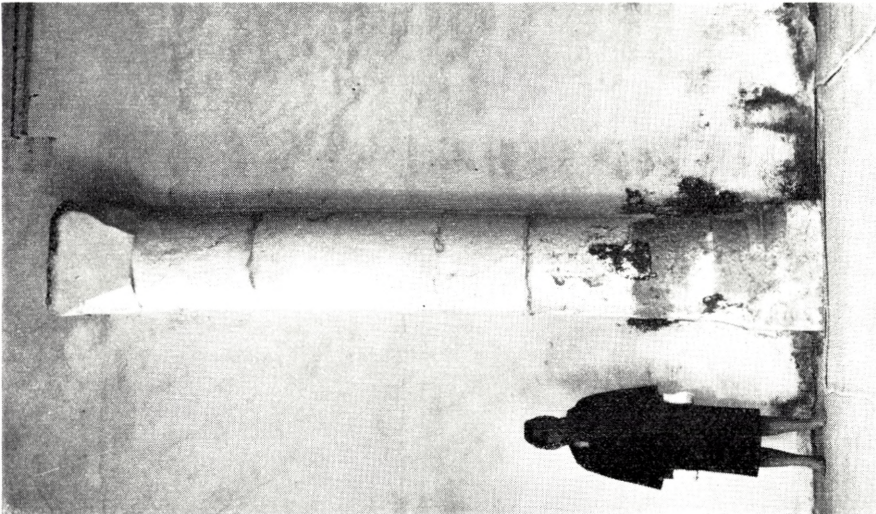
A. Hama, Great Mosque. Inner side of the west wall of the prayer hall, pilaster. — Phot. P. J. Rus 1963.



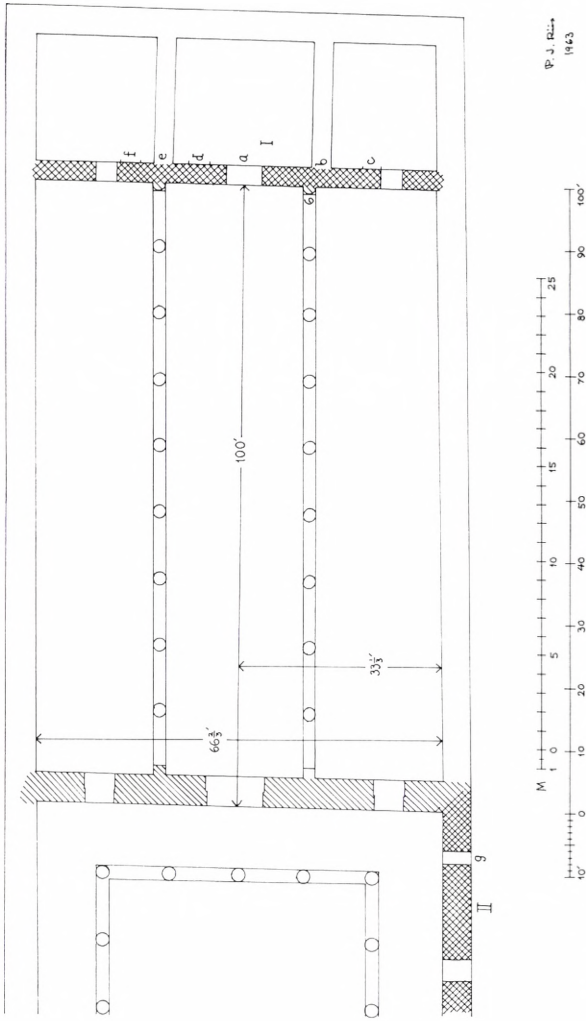
B. Hama, Great Mosque. Inner side of the west wall of the prayer hall. Greek inscription on pilaster. — Phot. P. J. Rus 1963.



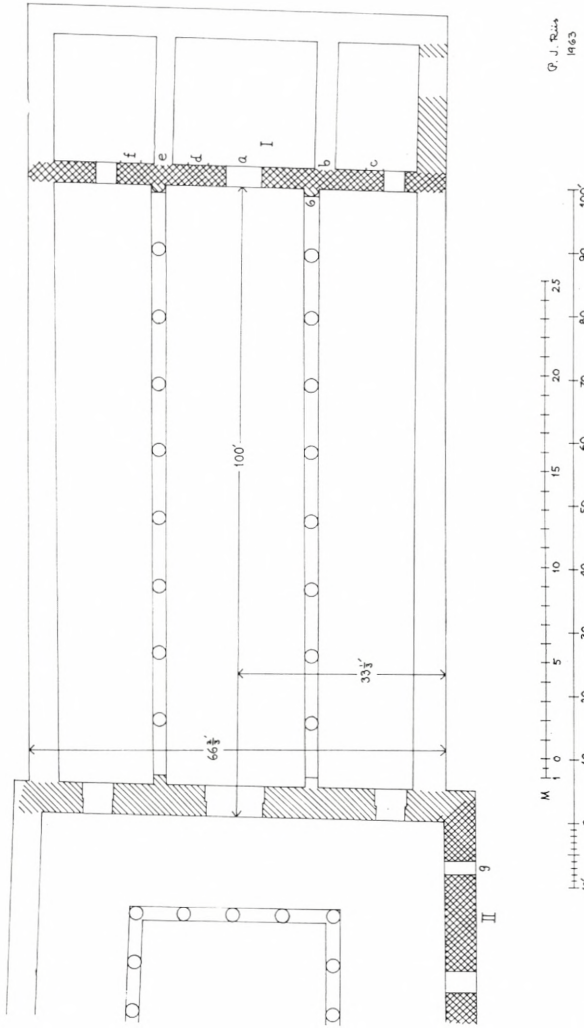
A. Hama, Great Mosque. Inner side of the east wall of the prayer hall, southern engaged column with re-used Roman capital No.6. — Phot. P. J. Rus 1963.



B. Hama, Great Mosque. Inner side of the east wall of the prayer hall, northern engaged column. — Phot. P. J. Rus 1963.



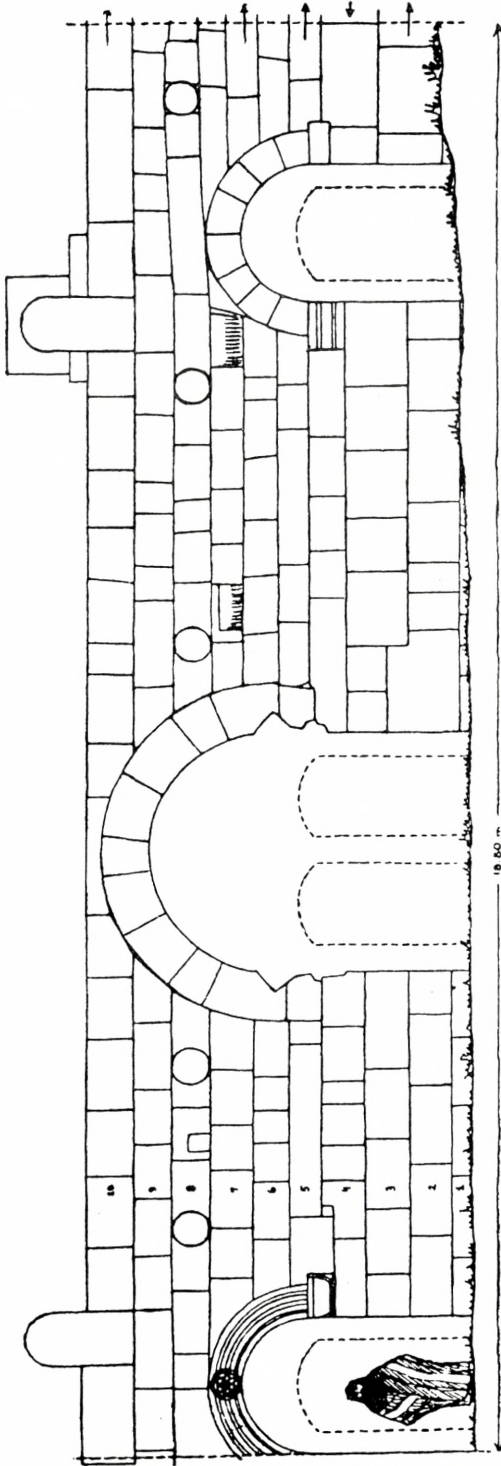
Hama, Great Mosque. Hypothetical plan of Byzantine church (Proposition A). — Byzantine remains hatched, Roman ones cross-hatched. — I: east wall of nave and aisles. — II: south wall of atrium. — a: triumphal arch. — b: bracket tailed into course of dividing wall between presbyterion and diakonikon. — c, d and f: visible brackets. — g: window. — 6: engaged column marking the south colonnade of the nave and crowned by re-used Roman capital. — Sketch. 1:400.



Hama, Great Mosque. Hypothetical plan of Byzantine church (Proposition B). — Explanation of signs as for Pl. XVI. — Sketch. 1:400.







Hama, Great Mosque. West façade of prayer hall. Sketch P. J. Rus 1937. 1:100.

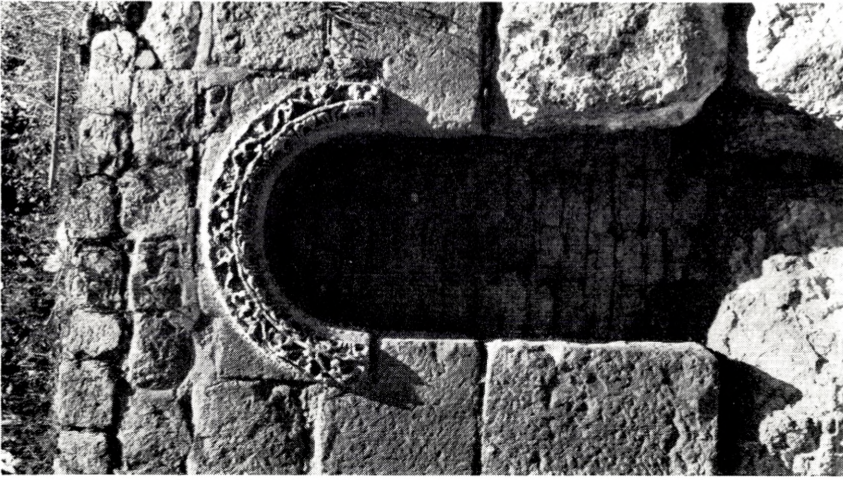
PLATE XX



B. Hama, Great Mosque. West façade of prayer hall. Central door. — Phot. P. J. Rius 1936.



A. Hama, Great Mosque. West façade of prayer hall. North door. — Phot. P. J. Rius 1936.



B. Hama, Great Mosque. South facade west of prayer hall. Wall II with Window g. — Phot. B. HORNE MANN 1933.



A. Hama, Great Mosque. West facade of prayer hall. South door. — Phot. P. J. RUS 1936.

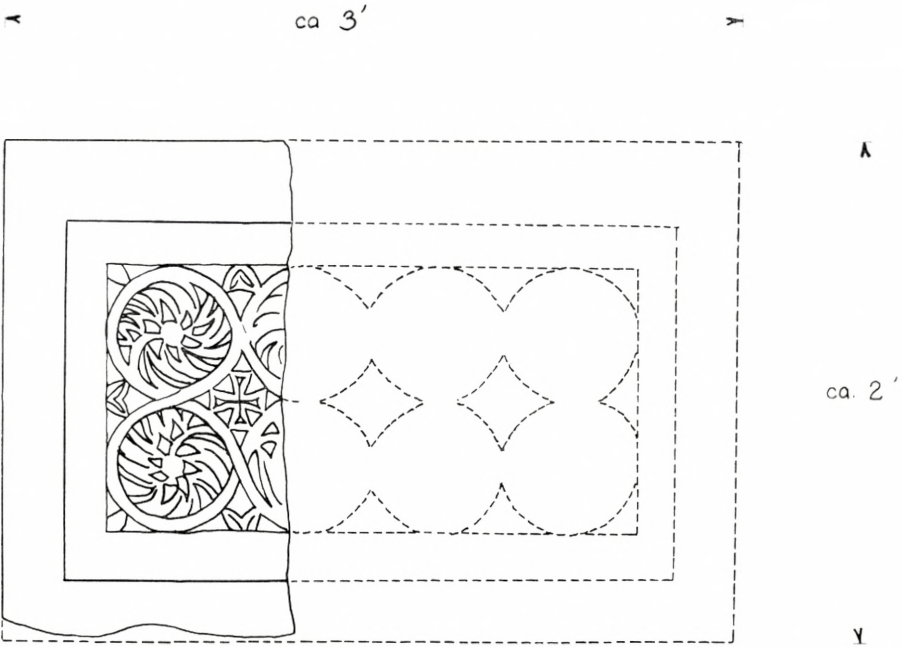
PLATE XXII



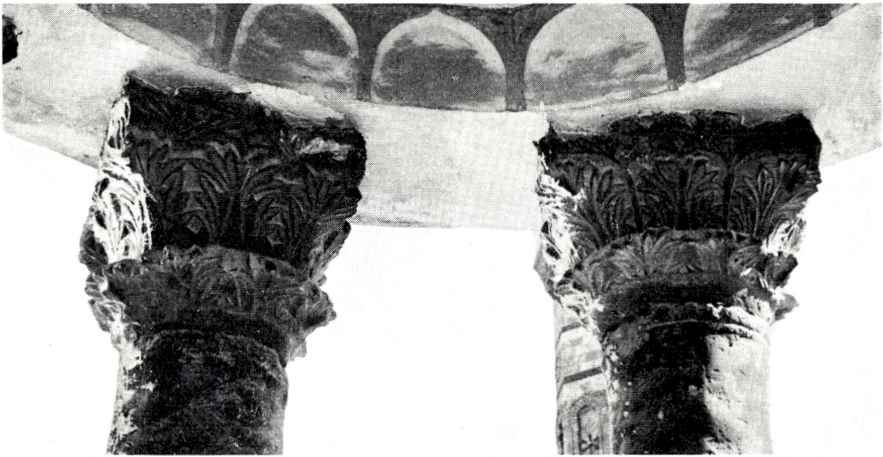
A. Ḥama, Great Mosque. West façade of prayer hall. Arched lintel with Greek inscription. Cast. – Phot. B. HORNEMANN 1936.



B. Ḥama, Our Lady's Church (Orthodox Cathedral). St. Michael's altar. Re-used arched lintel with Greek inscription. – Phot. ḤALID ŠUKRĪ 1937.



A. Ḥama, Great Mosque. Court arcade. Fragment of panel of bar or parapet from Byzantine church. Sketch P. J. Riis 1964. Redrawn by A. Bayer, 1:10.



B. Ḥama, Great Mosque. Treasury. Re-used capitals Nos. 3 and 4 from Byzantine church. — Phot. B. Hornemann 1936.

PLATE XXIV



A. Hama, Great Mosque. Prayer platform in courtyard. Re-used capital No. 6 from Byzantine church. — Phot. B. HORNE-MANN 1936.



B. Hama, Great Mosque. Prayer platform in courtyard. Re-used capital No. 7 from Byzantine church. — Phot. B. HORNE-MANN 1936.



A. Ḥama, Great Mosque. Court arcade. Re-used capital from Byzantine church. — Phot. P. J. Riis 1963.



B. Ḥama, Great Mosque. Floor of prayer hall. Re-used panel of bar or parapet from Byzantine church. — Phot. P. J. Riis 1963.

Indleveret til Selskabet den 28. august 1964.  
Færdig fra trykkeriet den 12. marts 1965.



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