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Power and Money on the Ḥajj

Connections between Caliphate and Pilgrimage in Early Islam

Peter Webb

Against the backdrop of the rich tradition of studies on the religious rites and origins of the Ḥajj, scholars are now probing the political functions of the pilgrimage, and particularly its role in legitimizing claims of leadership over the Muslim community.¹ Traditions stipulate that pilgrims gather for a sermon on the Mount of Mercy (Jabal al-Raḥma) at ‘Arafāt on the second day of ceremonies (9 Dhū al-Ḥijja), and it was here that Muhammad gave his Farewell Sermon to the community in 10/632. Accordingly, there is inherent logic that the leader at ‘Arafāt in subsequent pilgrimages could project himself as a successor to the Prophet at the apex of the Muslim community, and over the ensuing generations, Caliphs and their appointed successors did lead pilgrimages in early Islam, while some rivals during communal crises led their own supporters at ‘Arafāt too, implying that early Muslims indeed recognized some symbolic connection between leadership of the Ḥajj and legitimate leadership of the Muslim community. Further research into the political aspects of pilgrimage in early Islam therefore promises to be illuminating.

The thrust of research to date on the politics of Ḥajj in early Islam emphasizes (i) how Caliphs viewed leadership of the pilgrimage as an opportunity to physically manifest their authority; (ii) that the Ḥajj was symbolically paired with the *ṣāʾifa* (the annual military campaigns waged beyond the boundaries of the Caliphate) as

¹ See Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy: Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire* (2009); McMillan *The Meaning of Mecca: The Politics of Pilgrimage in Early Islam* (2011); van Steenberg, *Caliphate and Kingship in a Fifteenth-Century Literary History of Muslim Leadership and Pilgrimage* (2016); Kennedy, ‘Journey to Mecca: A History’, in *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam*, ed. Porter (2012), 68–135; Munt, ‘The Official Announcement of an Umayyad Caliph’s Successful Pilgrimage to Mecca’, in *The Hajj: Collected Essays*, ed. Porter and Saif (2013) 15–20; Sijpesteijn, ‘An Early Umayyad Papyrus Invitation for the Hajj’ (2014); and Zadeh, ‘The Early Hajj: Seventh–Eighth Centuries CE’, in *The Hajj: Pilgrimage in Islam*, ed. Tagliacozzo and Toorawa (2016), 42–64. These studies build on the earlier Hawting, ‘The Hajj in the Second Civil War’, in *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Mediaeval and Modern Islam*, ed. Netton (1993), 31–42 and Hawting, G. ‘Pilgrimage’, in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, ed. McAuliffe, vol. 4, 91–9; Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (1987).

two primary ritual prerogatives of the Caliphal office;² and (iii) that there was an ‘ever-increasing association of the Ḥajj and its leadership with the issue of Caliphal legitimacy’ over Islam’s first 125 years.³ The Ḥajj and Jihad are thus seen as the ‘poles of the religio-political calendar’,⁴ and modern scholars cite approvingly the statement of the third-/ninth-century al-Ya‘qūbī (d.c. 284–292/897–905) that ‘the rightful Caliph is he who controls the Two Sanctuaries [Mecca and Medina], and leads the Ḥajj’.⁵ Such views emanate from an array of texts pertaining to the Umayyad Caliphate and the first fifty years of the Abbasids, yet the precise evidence is quite uneven, and these rough edges now call for nuanced interpretation.

First, al-Ya‘qūbī’s statement is a unicum: I have not yet found another pre-modern writer so clearly pinning the right to be Caliph together with control over and leadership of the Ḥajj.⁶ Books on the political organization of authority, such as al-Māwardī’s (d. 450/1058) *al-Aḥkām al-sultāniyya*, describe the Ḥajj in terms of a delegated responsibility that is to be organized and led by appointed officials, and reference to the Ḥajj is absent in al-Māwardī’s lists of the normative duties of the Caliphate.⁷ While Caliphs could lead the Ḥajj in person, or appoint a leader for it, it also appears that the governor of Mecca and Medina was capable of acting without direct Caliphal involvement,⁸ and hence al-Ya‘qūbī’s statement seems to reflect an opinion more than it tallies with actual political structures in early Islam. Second, and in a related vein, the last Caliph to ever make the Ḥajj in person was al-Rashīd in 188/804, and numerically almost half of the Caliphs who preceded him did not make the pilgrimage as Caliphs.⁹ The Ḥajj, therefore, was

² Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy: Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire* (2009), 138.

³ Munt, *The Holy City of Medina* (2014), 19.

⁴ Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy* (2009), 124–5.

⁵ Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Tārīkh* ed. Houtsma (1882), vol. 2, 188; for modern endorsements of the opinion, see McMillan, *The Meaning of Mecca: The Politics of Pilgrimage in Early Islam* (2011), 71–2; Sijpesteijn, ‘An Early Umayyad Papyrus Invitation for the Ḥajj’ (2014), 186; Munt, *The Holy City of Medina* (2014), 16.

⁶ In this regard, it is noteworthy that al-Maqrīzī’s *al-Dhahab al-masbūk* which details each Ḥajj led by a Caliph, never makes a normative claim that the Caliph should ideally lead the Ḥajj.

⁷ Al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām*, ed. al-‘Alīmī (1994), 195–201 details the roles of officials who led Ḥajj caravans and who led the Ḥajj itself. Among the attributes of the Caliph (51–2), defence of the Caliphate’s borders (*thughūr*) and Jihad expansionist campaigns are expressly counted as duties of the Caliph. Mecca is discussed as a special sacrosanct territory within the Caliphate (278–82), but this section also lacks reference to the necessity of the Caliph participating in the Ḥajj. Al-Māwardī wrote in a period when Caliphs were no longer leading the Ḥajj, but equally so, Caliphs were not performing the Ḥajj during al-Ya‘qūbī’s lifetime, and furthermore, Caliphs were no longer leading Jihad in al-Māwardī’s day, yet he nonetheless stresses the importance of caliphal Jihad activity; hence the strict difference in time between the two writers does not itself explain the discrepancy vis-à-vis Ḥajj leadership.

⁸ See the lists of Ḥajj leaders in McMillan, *The Meaning of Mecca: The Politics of Pilgrimage in Early Islam* (2011), and the extensive biographies of governors of Mecca in al-Qurashī’s *Ghāyat al-marām*, where their autonomy to lead the pilgrimage is apparent throughout.

⁹ Between the death of the Prophet and the Caliphate of al-Rashīd, there were nineteen Caliphs (not counting Alid claimants), and only ten of them led the pilgrimage when in office. We might also wish to count ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr as a Caliph, and he led the Ḥajj every year of his rule. Thus, out of twenty, nine Caliphs did not lead the Ḥajj during their reigns. For lists of Caliphal ḥajjes, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Dhahab al-masbūk*, ed. van Steenberghe (2016), 200–94, and McMillan, *The Meaning of Mecca: The Politics of Pilgrimage in Early Islam* (2011).

demonstrably not an act that Caliphs necessarily needed to perform upon assumption of office or during their reigns, and Caliphs both before and after al-Rashid could enjoy widely accepted sovereignty without ever leading the Ḥajj. Furthermore, most Caliphs who performed the Hajj did so only on rare occasion: of the twelve Umayyad Caliphs over the ninety years from Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān (r. 40–60/661–680) to Marwān ibn Muḥammad (r. 127–132/745–750), only two (Mu'āwiya and al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik (r. 86–96/705–715)) may have performed the Ḥajj more than once, and even these details are unclear, as in both cases the sources only agree on one Ḥajj for each of them.¹⁰ Third, it is instructive that while the regular references to the Ḥajj and its annual leaders in early chronicles indicate that pre-modern Arabic historians ascribed political significance to the pilgrimage, there is nonetheless considerable disagreement over precisely which leader led which Ḥajj, and, as such, it seems that despite the fact that third/ninth-century and subsequent historians considered Ḥajj leadership as an essential element of a given year's events, in earlier times the leadership was not fastidiously recorded in a regime-approved archive. This may entail that Ḥajj leadership was not a matter the Marwanid Caliphs deemed vital to record, which tallies with the small number of Caliph-led Hajjes of that period, all of which calls into question the assumed nexus of Ḥajj leadership and Caliphal legitimacy. And fourth, the hypothesis that the Ḥajj's importance vis-à-vis Caliphal legitimacy grew progressively greater over time would entail that the Ḥajj must have somewhat lacked importance and/or cohesion as a ritual at first,¹¹ and then gathered weight towards a climax in the late Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd eras. The putative progression, however, would need to be demonstrated through a discernible escalation of the ideological importance of the Ḥajj over successive data points, but, as will be discussed herein, the evidence does not align with that model, either.

The most prudent starting point, therefore, seems to be that the Ḥajj in Islam's first two centuries had connections to Caliphate, but they were not definitive. Al-Ya'qūbī and the other chroniclers cited on the issue wrote one century and more after the last Caliph-led Ḥajj, and these writers may have looked back into history with a more dogmatic association of Caliphal authority and Ḥajj than the earlier Caliphs themselves might have beheld.

Given the Arabic textual indicators, it seems helpful to reframe analysis by shifting from the search for a progressive codification of Ḥajj and escalation of its

¹⁰ Al-Maqrīzī considers only one Umayyad, Mu'āwiya, led the Ḥajj more than once, ascribing two to him, in 44/776 and 50/670–1 (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Dhahab al-masbūk*, ed. van Steenberghe (2016), 224–6), though al-Maqrīzī notes the latter Ḥajj is contested. McMillan details the evidence from earlier sources in *The Meaning of Mecca* (2011), 46–7; McMillan identifies three hajjes for al-Walīd (95–7), though al-Maqrīzī only counts one (240–2).

¹¹ The undertone that the Ḥajj lacked importance because, as a ritual, it was not yet fixed is rather visible in the historiographical analysis of Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (1897), 83–4, and Hawting, 'Pilgrimage', in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, ed. McAuliffe, vol. 4 (2004), 91–9, reservedly repeated in Munt, *The Holy City of Medina* (2014), 18–19. Though debates over many aspects of individual Hajj rites are legion in Islamic legal sources, there is wide acceptance that Muhammad's 'Farewell Pilgrimage' (*ḥijjat al-wadā'*) set the basic framework for subsequent Muslim pilgrimages.

political function, to a less linear and less teleological view that anticipates that the relationship between Caliphal power and Ḥajj was variable. Some Caliphs paid close attention to the Ḥajj, several never went on Ḥajj during their reign but did lead the pilgrimage when they were crown-princes, while some Umayyad and the majority of 'Abbāsid Caliphs never partook in the ceremony. The irregularity suggests flexibility in the manifold conceptual relationships between power, ritual and the wider constituency of early Muslims and their opinions about the meaning of the Ḥajj. Having demonstrated the political facets of Ḥajj in outline, therefore, scholarship will now want to pursue the evident and uneven contours in the history of the ritual, and this chapter broaches such enquiry via a diachronic exploration of the exercises of power and economic expenditure on the Ḥajj during the first two centuries of Islam.

The economic approach invited by this volume should be fruitful: Mecca is a shrine that naturally attracts patronage, and roads which lead pilgrims from the centres of Muslim population in the Fertile Crescent into Arabia also needed infrastructural support. The Ḥajj, as a ritual, therefore, necessarily has an economic footprint: it cost money, and the levels of expenditure and numbers of projects recorded in association with Caliphal expansion, maintenance and commemoration of Meccan pilgrimage offer a meaningful window through which we can view the Ḥajj's importance in the eyes of the Caliphal political leadership with some precision. Our analysis will also be augmented by poetry of the first/seventh and second/eighth centuries since this source has been almost entirely untapped, yet it also brings us close to the actual Caliph-led hajjes and provides insight into the role of the Ḥajj as a concept in how Caliphs required poets to praise them. In what follows, we trace the variable frequency of Caliphal hajjes alongside a reconstruction of the economics of government patronage of the Ḥajj and the Caliphal relationship to pilgrimage in order to venture new explanations for the Ḥajj's role in defining Caliphal legitimacy. Our emphasis is upon the Umayyad period, since research has already well established the lavishness of 'Abbāsid pilgrimage,¹² whereas more work is needed on the Umayyads to contextualize the antecedent traditions to the 'Abbāsid rites.

The Umayyads and the Ḥajj

Politics of the Umayyad Era intersected with the Ḥajj across multiple nodes. During the three major communal conflicts (*fitan*, sing. *fitna*) that pitted the

¹² See the pioneering work of al-Rāshid (see *Darb Zubaydah: The Pilgrim Road from Kufa to Mecca* (1980) and *Darb Zubaydah: ṭariq al-ḥajj min al-Kūfa ilā Makka al-mukarrama* (1993)), whose archaeological surveys uncovered physical evidence of the extensive descriptions of 'Abbāsid infrastructure projects in narrative sources. See also Kennedy, 'Journey to Mecca: A History', in *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam*, ed. Porter (2012), 68–135; Zadeh, 'The Early Hajj: Seventh–Eighth Centuries CE', in *The Hajj: Pilgrimage in Islam*, ed. Tagliacozzo and Toorawa (2016), 42–64.

Umayyad clan against rival claimants for the Caliphate, factional divisions found expression on the Ḥajj. In 38/659 and 39/660, partisans of the Caliph 'Alī and the then Caliphal-aspirant Mu'āwiya competed over Ḥajj leadership; during the Second *fitna*, three (and sometimes four) different leaders took charge of their respective camps on the pilgrimage's Day of 'Arafa in years 62/682, 66/686 and 68/688; and during the Third *fitna*, Kharijite rebels appeared at the end of the Ḥajj in 129/747, and while they allowed the Umayyad governor to complete the pilgrimage, an Umayyad military intervention was necessary to re-take Mecca in 130/748.¹³ Moreover, the most successful non-Umayyad claimant to the Caliphate in the first/seventh century, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, ruled as Caliph from Mecca and Medina between 61–73/680–692 and personally led the Ḥajj each successive year. During this period, the Umayyads lost physical control of Mecca, and it is suggested that they attempted to resituate pilgrimage rituals from Mecca into territory they controlled in Syria and Egypt.¹⁴ The opinion that 'Abd al-Malik's Dome of the Rock was built to divert pilgrims from Zubayrid Mecca to Marwanid Jerusalem is primarily derived from another unicum opinion expressed by al-Ya'qūbī, and while scholarship has been critical of this for some time,¹⁵ Ibn al-Zubayr's concerted Ḥajj leadership nonetheless indicates that early Muslim rulers perceived potential intersections between pilgrimage-control and power.

During the Zubayrid-era wars, the Ka'ba was damaged twice: once in an unsuccessful attempt to oust Ibn al-Zubayr in 63/683, and again during the siege of 72–73/692 during which the Umayyad army could only lead the Ḥajj rites situated outside the city proper.¹⁶ Both times, the ruling authority repaired the damage, and the reconstructions reflected religious symbolism. In 64/684 Ibn al-Zubayr increased the height of the Ka'ba by 50 per cent, added to it a second

¹³ The contested pilgrimages during the first three *fitnas* are widely cited across Arabic literature, for references in the Arabic annalistic histories, see McMillan, *The Meaning of Mecca* (2011); see also al-Isfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, ed. Muḥannā and Jābir (1992), vol. 23, 107–19 for an alternative narrative to that of the usual suspects of Arabic historiography.

¹⁴ Sijpesteijn, 'An Early Umayyad Papyrus Invitation for the Ḥajj' (2014), 186, references the indications regarding Egypt; the reasons behind the Dome of the Rock's construction are widely discussed and debated: see Rabbat, 'The Meaning of the Umayyad Dome of the Rock' (1989); Johns, 'Archaeology and the History of Early Islam: The First Seventy Years' (2003), 424–6.

¹⁵ Goitein first voiced reservations in 'The Historical Background of the Erection of the Dome of the Rock' (1950), over the opinion that 'Abd al-Malik intended to 'divert' pilgrims to Jerusalem.

¹⁶ The impression that the Ḥajj revolved around sites outside of Mecca, whereas the 'Umra involved pilgrimage to the urban sanctum itself, stems from interpretation of pre-Islamic evidence (for recent discussions, see Wheeler, *Mecca and Eden: Ritual, Relics and Territory in Islam* (2006), 345–6 and Munt, 'Pilgrimage in Pre-Islamic Arabia and Late Antiquity', in *The Ḥajj: Pilgrimage in Islam*, ed. Tagliacozzo and Toorawa (2016), 13–30). The fact that al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf only conducted his Ḥajj outside of Mecca has led some to venture that the conflation of Ḥajj and 'Umra had not occurred even by the later first/seventh century: see Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (1897) 84; Hawting, 'Pilgrimage', in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, ed. McAuliffe, vol. 4 (2004), 91–9; Munt, 'The Official Announcement of an Umayyad Caliph's Successful Pilgrimage to Mecca', in *The Ḥajj: Collected Essays*, ed. Porter and Saif (2013), 15–20. The simpler proposal that al-Ḥajjāj only led the rites outside of Mecca because the Sanctum was at the time occupied by Ibn al-Zubayr's hostile army, would permit the alternative view that the Ḥajj had already embraced the inside/outside rituals together.

door (to allow pilgrims to enter from one and exit from another), and aligned the foundations of the sanctum to what he called the original ‘foundations of Abraham’ (*asās Ibrāhīm*).¹⁷ By implication, Ibn al-Zubayr’s works asserted that the pre-Zubayrid sanctum—built by the Quraysh before Muhammad’s prophecy—was physically deviant from its original prophet-constructed plan, just as the pagan Quraysh leaders before Muhammad’s mission were memorialized as having conceptually deviated from Abraham’s message. Although Ibn al-Zubayr was Qurashī himself, and his clan, the Banū Asad were connected with the early history of the pagan Kaaba, Ibn al-Zubayr was separate from the Umayyad clan and their Ḥajj leadership institutions, and hence Ibn al-Zubayr seems to have capitalized on the opportunity of rebuilding the Ka’ba to assert an air of righteous-minded authority, and his nine successive ḥajjes (63–71/683–691) underline an evident vision of connection between the Caliphal office and pilgrimage leadership.

After Ibn al-Zubayr’s defeat, the Umayyads rebuilt the Ka’ba as it had been before Ibn al-Zubayr, an example of erasing architectural legacy to manifest the absolute end of a political regime. The Umayyad rebuilding returned the structure to the *asās Quraysh* (foundations of the Quraysh),¹⁸ for which we might read the ‘foundations according to Umayyad tradition’; this move has an ideological ring to it as well, as the rebuilding ostensibly lays claim to the more immediate, contemporary sense of what constituted legitimate authority, underlining the Umayyads’ prominence as the Quraysh’s leading group which restored the tribe’s sanctum. The work was completed in 74/694, and in the following Ḥajj season (75/695), the pilgrimage was led by the Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik himself. Other embellishments to the sanctum are ascribed to ‘Abd al-Malik and his successors: ‘Abd al-Malik’s restoration was reportedly planned in consultation with elders of the Quraysh in Mecca, ‘Abd al-Malik gifted ornaments to the shrine, and his successor al-Walid embellished the Sanctum as well as commissioning lavish reconstruction of the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina and the nearby Qubā’ mosque.¹⁹ The building efforts show how buildings associated with pilgrimage were deemed worthy of Caliphal attention, and that patronage of the Ḥajj was a fiscal priority for the two Caliphs after the defeat of Ibn al-Zubayr. On this basis, it has been proposed that the Umayyad reoccupation of Mecca in 73/692 triggered a new significance of the Ḥajj

¹⁷ There is no archaeological evidence from the Sanctum itself, and almost all information derives from later narrative sources, however a recently discovered inscription (for an image, see www.islamic-awareness.org/history/islam/inscriptions/haram1.html, accessed 11 November 2018) seems to offer uniquely incontrovertible proof that Ibn al-Zubayr did indeed reconstruct the Sanctum. For details on Muslim debates over the origins of the sanctum’s construction and the role of Abraham, see Webb, ‘The Hajj before Muhammad: Journeys to Mecca in Muslim Narratives of Pre-Islamic History’, in *The Hajj: Collected Essays*, ed. Porter and Saif (2013), 6–14.

¹⁸ Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, ed. Malhas (1983), vol. 2, 130.

¹⁹ Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, ed. Malhas (1983) vol. 1, 211, 229; Waki’, *al-Tariq*, ed. al-Wuhaybi (1999–2000), 152, 247–8. For detailed discussion of al-Walid’s construction in Medina, see Munt, *The Holy City of Medina* (2014).

in Umayyad Caliphal ideology.²⁰ Because their antagonist Ibn al-Zubayr had continuously led the Hajj, it seems logical that the Umayyads would seek to show themselves as equally pious in the wake of eliminating al-Zubayr, and ‘Abd al-Malik and the two following Caliphs, al-Walid and Sulaymān (r. 96–99/715–717) indeed spent resources on the Sanctum, but evidence for an escalating Umayyad involvement in the Hajj following the toppling of Ibn al-Zubayr is challenged on several salient counts.

To begin with, significant Umayyad involvement in Mecca predates the Zubayrid period. If we are to consider ‘Uthmān (r. 24–35/645–656) as the true first Caliph from the Umayyad clan, then the Hajj enjoyed central importance long before Ibn al-Zubayr, since ‘Uthmān is reported to have led the Hajj in at least ten of the eleven pilgrimage seasons of his rule,²¹ meaning his pilgrimages were as consistent as Ibn al-Zubayr’s. Because the historicity of such an early period remains debated, we may not grasp the whole story of the early Hajj, but details about ‘Uthmān’s Umayyad successor, Mu‘āwiya ibn Abi Sufyān, are noteworthy. Mu‘āwiya is accorded various building projects in Mecca, including the takeover of the Dār al-Nadwa dwelling adjacent to the Ka’ba, which reportedly had been used as the council house of the Quraysh before Islam. By converting the Dār al-Nadwa into a Caliphal residence, Mu‘āwiya both took control over the heart of Quraysh space, and replicated the pattern of placing the residence of the political leader adjacent to the principal mosque (the Dār al-Imāra and Friday Mosque were built next to each other in the Muslim garrison towns). He was said to have stayed there ‘when he performed the Hajj’, and it continued to be used by subsequent Umayyad rulers.²² ‘Abd al-Malik and al-Walid’s works on the Sanctum itself incorporated part of the house within the Holy Mosque.²³ Mu‘āwiya also reportedly enlarged the minbar of the Meccan mosque, where he gave speeches as leader of the community;²⁴ he is memorialized, too, as the first leader to perfume the Ka’ba’s covering and to install oil lamps within the mosque, funded from the public treasury,²⁵ and he constructed a series of other large and prominent houses in Mecca,²⁶ alongside ordering the digging of wells in Mecca

²⁰ Sijpesteijn, ‘An Early Umayyad Papyrus Invitation for the Hajj’ (2014), 188; Munt, *The Holy City of Medina* (2014), 16, 18–19.

²¹ See McMillan, *The Meaning of Mecca: The Politics of Pilgrimage in Early Islam* (2011) 31 for a list of chronicles that enumerate ‘Uthmān’s hajjes. Al-Maqrīzī outlines the debate in further detail (*al-Dhahab al-masbūk*, ed. van Steenbergen (2016), 218).

²² Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, ed. Malhas (1983), vol 2, 110.

²³ Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, ed. Malhas (1983), vol 2, 110.

²⁴ Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, ed. Malhas (1983), vol 2, 99–100.

²⁵ Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, ed. Malhas (1983), vol 1, 254.

²⁶ Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, ed. Malhas (1983), vol 2, 237–8; the construction of these houses is described in a completely different context, but with the same information as to their construction techniques in al-Ṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, ed. Muḥannā and Jābir (1992), vol. 3, 278, suggesting a relatively firm degree of historical basis for this memory.

and near Medina.²⁷ References to Mu'āwiya's building appear in varied sources, including a still extant inscription commemorating a dam he constructed near Ṭā'if—part of what seems to have been an elaborate network of regional water-infrastructure, and so at least some of these anecdotes reflect memories of real engagement of Mu'āwiya in and around Mecca.²⁸ We have also noted that Mu'āwiya was one of only two Umayyad Caliphs (excluding 'Uthmān) who appears to have led the pilgrimage more than once, and he also appointed his son and successor to lead the Ḥajj in 50/670 or 51/671.

Umayyad physical presence on the Ḥajj was therefore established before Ibn al-Zubayr, and, in contrast, the subsequent Marwanid Umayyads actually left little indication of wilful intention to increase that presence. During the fifty pilgrimage seasons, following 'Abd al-Malik's Ḥajj in 75/695 and the death of Hishām in 125/743, the Ḥajj was only led by the reigning Caliph three (perhaps four) times. Memory of Ibn al-Zubayr's consecutive ḥajjes evidently did not cause the Umayyads concern to make repeated pilgrimage to Mecca themselves.

Furthermore, and in contrast to the energies directed towards Mecca by 'Abd al-Malik, al-Walīd and Sulaymān, it is remarkable that Hishām (r. 105–125/724–743) led only one Ḥajj during his twenty-year reign and is not ascribed any significant building works in the Sanctum.²⁹ Hishām's reign suffered from fiscal shortfalls, but he was in power for a long period, he did construct estates in Syria, he ordered the expansion of principal mosques in Ifrīqiyya, and Mecca was peaceful during his reign and he was active in promoting markets in Medina;³⁰ hence Hishām's economic activity had an Arabian aspect and he was involved in building projects, and, as such, if the Ḥajj was a central priority, Hishām could have made more pilgrimages and spared some funds for construction projects. The absence of attestation for such energy suggests that he did not behold the Ḥajj as an event needing repeated/continuous attention from his person. More direct evidence of Hishām's stance vis-à-vis the Ḥajj can be gleaned from a letter written by one of his secretaries, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (d.c. 132/750), which evidences that Hishām's one Ḥajj was publicly announced,³¹ but the letter makes no reference that the pilgrimage was intended to establish Hishām's legitimacy, and just as

²⁷ Wakī, *al-Ṭarīq*, ed. al-Wuhaybī (1999–2000), 163 n.2, 171; al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, ed. Malhas (1983), vol. 2, 227–8.

²⁸ See Munt's chapter in this volume for details of Mu'āwiya's non-Ḥajj-related economic activity in the Ḥijāz.

²⁹ According to my reading, he is only mentioned once in al-Azraqī's *Akhbār Makkah* (1983), in connection with ownership of an Umayyad clan-owned dwelling near al-Marwa (vol. 2, 249); he is not connected to any constructions along the Ḥajj roads enumerated by Wakī; further consideration of his infrastructure works is considered in the next section.

³⁰ The market construction, which Hishām ordered his governor in Medina to oversee, is noted in Munt's chapter in this volume.

³¹ 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's letter on behalf of Hishām has been discussed at length in al-Qadi, 'Early Islamic State Letters: The Question of Authenticity', in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, vol. 1, ed. Cameron and Conrad (1993), 215–75, and again in Munt, 'The Official Announcement of an Umayyad Caliph's Successful Pilgrimage to Mecca', in *The Hajj: Collected Essays*, ed. Porter and Saif (2013), 15–20, where the context is well set out, and arguments for the letter's authenticity are made.

most juridical opinions only mandate that a Muslim undertake one Ḥajj, Hishām seems to have left it at that too.

Moreover, none of Hishām's successors would lead the pilgrimage. Instability and conflicts were clearly a major problem during the Umayyads' last decade,³² but while it is interesting to note that al-Walid b. Yazid (r. 125–126/743–744) may have attempted a Ḥajj as soon as he became Caliph, and was prevented by security concerns,³³ we have found no evidence that Marwān b. Muḥammad (r. 127–132/745–750) ever considered it,³⁴ and likewise, the Ḥajj and its importance for demonstrating caliphal authority is not noted in the preserved letters which Marwān's secretary, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, wrote on the Caliph's behalf.³⁵ On the evidence of the Caliphs' personal presence in Mecca, therefore, it is difficult to sustain that the last three generations of Umayyads were involved in a progressive increase of Mecca's footprint in Caliphal identity.

Marwanid Patronage of the Ḥajj

As Harry Munt's contribution in this volume details, the Umayyad Caliphs did have various economic interests in Western Arabia and attended to their development during both the Sufyanid and Marwanid periods; however, when focusing on the Ḥajj, we shall see that this economic activity did not accompany specific Caliphal involvement with Meccan pilgrimage. Aligned with the limited physical presence of the Umayyad Caliphs in Mecca, source literature also reveals rather limited indications of specific Umayyad efforts to promote their cause via economic means on the Ḥajj.

On the one hand, references to charitable largesse bestowed upon the Meccans and pilgrims by the Caliph Sulaymān during his Ḥajj in 97/716, and Hishām's

³² For an analysis of the pilgrimages during the difficulties faced by the Caliphs during the third *fitna*, see McMillan, *The Meaning of Mecca: The Politics of Pilgrimage in Early Islam* (2011), 145–58; for detailed collection of the sources pertaining to the governorship of Mecca and Ḥajj leadership, see al-Qurashī, *Ghāyat al-marām*, ed. Shaltūth (1986), vol. 1, 275–300.

³³ The biography of Khālīd al-Qasrī in Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī tārikh Ḥalab*, ed. al-Rawḍiyya vol. 7, 106–7 and al-Ṭabari's account of 125/743 (*Tārikh*, ed. Ibrāhīm (1960–69), vol. 7, 233) contain two recensions of a story which intimates that al-Walid was preparing to depart for Ḥajj when Khālīd was informed that members of the Yamāniyya faction intended to murder al-Walid in Mecca (or on the way). Khālīd warned the Caliph, though he refused to disclose the names of the plotters, and was thus tortured to death. A reference in Ibn Qutayba *Uyūn al-akhbār*, vol. 2, 120–1 indicates that al-Walid did make the Ḥajj when Caliph, but the anecdote is of questionable historicity, and/or it may refer to the Ḥajj al-Walid performed as a crown prince in 116/735.

³⁴ McMillan's opinion that Marwān ibn Muḥammad could not have led the Ḥajj because he was born of an *umm walad* slave mother (*The Meaning of Mecca* (2011), 155) seems too dogmatic: the Ḥajj was led by sons of slave mothers in the Umayyad period; for example, Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik led the pilgrimage in 94/713, and possibly in 119/735 (Ibn Khayyāt, *Tārikh*, ed. Zakkār (1993), vol. 1, 310, 316; al-Ya'qūbi, *Tārikh* ed. Houtsma (1882), vol. 2, 215). The latter Ḥajj is only attested to in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. Pellat (1966–79), §3639.

³⁵ In *Ghāyat al-marām*, ed. Shaltūth (1986), vol. 1, 297, al-Qurashī finds several references that Marwān may have appointed his son as governor of Mecca, Medina, and al-Ṭā'if in 130/748, though al-Qurashī notes that not all sources agree on this.

crown prince Maslama in 119/737,³⁶ and the lavish, perfumed, and embroidered decorations al-Walīd brought for display in the Sanctum during his Ḥajj of 91/710,³⁷ appear to demonstrate that the pilgrimage was a kind of procession for advertising the Caliph's authority. But, on the other hand, the very small number of ḥajjes led by Umayyad Caliphs, combined with the singular nature of the above anecdotes, suggest that the Caliphs did not treat the Ḥajj as a procession in the fully politicized sense: that is, a regularly occurring event which, via Caliphal participation, served to renew and reaffirm their authority. Such repeating processional rituals dependent on the physical presence of the ruler are attested to across history—for example, today's British Parliament cannot open without the annual ritual appearance of the Monarch, but the Ḥajj is of a different order, since it continues regardless of whether it is led by a Caliph or not. The pilgrimage rites are thus not automatically enmeshed with the trappings of political authority, and it would require sustained efforts on behalf of political figures to convert the ceremonies into a politicized procession. Herein, the dispatch of the *kiswa* covering for the Ka'ba is an example of an annual gift to the shrine that connects with the impact of a procession, and it appears that Hishām sent more than one *kiswa*, and may have done so regularly,³⁸ but we shall see that evidence for larger and more sustained efforts are not manifest in the Umayyad period.

One approach to gauge Caliphal patronage is to consider Umayyad-sponsored building in Mecca and on the pilgrim roads, that is, the routes enabling Muslims in the larger urban centres in Syria and Iraq to reach Mecca. Allocation of resources for such infrastructure projects constitutes an effective means to show caliphal sponsorship of the pilgrimage without the personal presence of Caliphs every year. For pre-modern sources, we possess large numbers of narrative histories and geographies alongside specialized histories of Mecca and descriptions of the Ḥajj routes, and these works yield remarkably little regarding Umayyad pilgrimage expenditure, outside of the reconstructions of the Sanctum noted above. The references are limited enough to list individually:

- a. Mu'āwiya: improvements to the Sanctum; construction of dwellings in Mecca;³⁹
- b. Mu'āwiya: construction of a dam on the road between al-Rabadha and Medina;⁴⁰

³⁶ Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, ed. Malhas (1983), vol. 2, 240–1; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* ed. Ibrāhīm (1960–69).

³⁷ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm (1960–69), vol. 6, 466–7.

³⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Dhahab al-masbūk*, ed. van Steenbergen (2016), 268–70 refers to one *kiswa* of Hishām. The anecdote notes that a large number of *kiswas* had been draped on top of each other over the shrine such that by the time of al-Mahdī's Ḥajj in 160/777, concerns were raised over the excessive weight of the coverings, hence there is a suggestion of a regular (if not annual) arrival of new coverings for each of the thirty to forty years between Hishām's rule and al-Mahdī's Ḥajj.

³⁹ Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār*, ed. Malhas (1983), vol. 1, 286, vol. 2, 100, 110.

⁴⁰ Waki', *al-Ṭariq*, ed. al-Wuhaybi (1999–2000), 84.

- c. Mu'āwiya: construction of waterworks in Medina, and qanats supplying Medina;⁴¹
- d. 'Abd al-Malik: reconstruction of the Sanctum;
- e. 'Abd al-Malik: restoration of the way-station at al-Tha'labiyya;⁴²
- f. al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik: further construction/embellishment of the Sanctum;⁴³
- g. al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik: construction of wells in Mecca and Medina;⁴⁴
- h. al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik: construction of wells on Syria–Mecca route;⁴⁵
- i. Sulaymān (or al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik): well in Mecca;⁴⁶
- j. Hishām: canals and wells on the road to Mecca;⁴⁷
- k. al-Walid ibn Yazid: distribution of food from Zizā' estate;⁴⁸
- l. Marwān ibn Muḥammad: repairs in Medina in 130/748.⁴⁹

Before venturing conclusions from these twelve attestations of activity, some circumspection is in order. Work (l) was very minor: it consisted of repairing an inscription in Medina which a Kharijite group had damaged when they captured the city, and it does not relate to pilgrimage per se. The Ḥajj-connections of work (e), 'Abd al-Malik's renovation of al-Tha'labiyya, are suspect, too. Al-Tha'labiyya is a key way station on the route from al-Kūfa to Mecca, and while al-Rāshid marshals this anecdote to prove Umayyad constructions of Ḥajj routes to connect Mecca with Iraq,⁵⁰ no geographical or narrative historiographical sources mention it, and the anecdote only appears in Waki's *Kitāb al-Ṭarīq* in laconic and vague terms.⁵¹ It reads simply that Tha'labiyya was 'restored [*uḥdithat*] in the time of 'Abd al-Malik'. Thus, there is no express sense that 'Abd al-Malik ordered the building himself, and there is likewise no mention of Ḥajj or the intention for the works to benefit pilgrim traffic. Al-Tha'labiyya occupies a strategic position in the Arabian Desert outside al-Kūfa, so if the building work was indeed undertaken, the wording of the anecdote lends more to the possibility that the work was

⁴¹ Waki', *al-Ṭarīq*, ed. al-Wuhaybī (1999–2000), 163, 177–8.

⁴² Waki', *al-Ṭarīq*, ed. al-Wuhaybī (1999–2000), 50.

⁴³ Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, ed. Malhas (1983), vol. 1, 229, vol. 2, 71–2; Ibn al-Faqīh, *al-Buldān* ed. de Goeje (1885), 106; Waki', *al-Ṭarīq*, ed. al-Wuhaybī (1999–2000), 247–8, only refers to gold-plating of Ka'ba doors and the construction of a fountain in Mecca.

⁴⁴ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm (1960–69), vol. 6, 437; Waki', *al-Ṭarīq*, ed. al-Wuhaybī (1999–2000), 196, 201.

⁴⁵ Ibn al-Faqīh, *al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje (1885), 106.

⁴⁶ Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, ed. Malhas (1983), vol. 2, 107–8; al-Fākihī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. Ibn Duḥaysh (1994), vol. 3, 149–52; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm (1960–69), vol. 6, 440–1; al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, ed. Muḥannā and Jābir (1992), vol. 22, 24; Ibn 'Adīm, *Bughyat*, ed. al-Rawḍiyya, vol. 7, 104. See also discussion in Zadeh, 'The Early Hajj: Seventh–Eighth Centuries CE', in *The Hajj: Pilgrimage in Islam*, ed. Tagliacozzo and Toorawa (2016), 59–60.

⁴⁷ Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. Pellat (1966–79), §2219.

⁴⁸ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm (1960–69), vol. 7, 217–18.

⁴⁹ Waki', *al-Ṭarīq*, ed. al-Wuhaybī (1999–2000), 140.

⁵⁰ Al-Rāshid, *Darb Zubaydah: ṭarīq al-ḥajj min al-Kūfa ilā Makka al-mukarrama* (1993), 38.

⁵¹ Waki', *al-Ṭarīq*, ed. al-Wuhaybī (1999–2000), 50.

commissioned by Umayyad officials, who would have been concerned for the security of al-Kūfa in the wake of its recapture from allies of Ibn al-Zubayr. To base the assumption of an Umayyad Caliphal project to construct an Iraqi–Mecca Ḥajj road upon this single anecdote, without other supporting evidence (textual or archaeological), therefore seems tenuous.

Similarly, work (j), al-Masʿūdī's claim that Hishām 'built canals and wells on the road to Mecca', which he states were later destroyed by the 'Abbāsid general Dāwūd ibn 'Alī after he wrested Arabia from the Umayyads, is also dubious. The text has been variously cited to prove that the Umayyads were involved in Ḥajj infrastructure, and an inscription found in southern Syria is marshalled as physical evidence of this activity,⁵² but the inscription lies much nearer Damascus than Mecca, and it was likely associated with Hishām's projects to stimulate agricultural estates which he was expanding in that region. This tallies with Munt's note in his chapter in this volume of Hishām's interests in expanding markets in Medina: the Caliph had plans to develop the productivity of al-Ḥijāz, but the sources indicate general infrastructural activity for revenue growth, not pilgrimage facilitation specifically. Given that Hishām only undertook one Ḥajj during his reign tallies with such inferences, and in terms of the waterworks anecdote itself, it is uncorroborated elsewhere: geographical texts about Arabia and Waki's detailed list of Ḥajj roads contain no mention of Hishām as a benefactor of Ḥajj infrastructure, and other accounts of Dāwūd ibn 'Alī's demolition of Umayyad edifices in Mecca and Medina do not mention any Hishām-built works, either.⁵³ I suspect that al-Masʿūdī's purpose was to relate a laudatory expression of Hishām's efforts for the welfare of the realm, and hence he asserted that Hishām built Ḥajj roads alongside strengthening the Caliphate's borders: this is what a good Caliph, from al-Masʿūdī's fourth-/tenth-century perspective, was expected to do, and he confused the tale of Dāwūd's demolition of al-Walīd's well (discussed below) for Hishām's. Until further evidence arises, the claim for Hishām's construction of a Syrian Ḥajj caravan road rests on one unsubstantiated statement of a historian writing in a considerably later period.

In a similar vein, it is also difficult to substantiate how much energy al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik expended on the construction of Syrian Ḥajj roads (works (g) and (h)). Al-Rāshid and McMillan are bullish that the references in al-Ṭabarī indicate substantial work from Syria to Mecca, but al-Ṭabarī's anecdote upon

⁵² See al-Rāshid, *Darb Zubaydah* (1993), 39; Zadeh, 'The Early Hajj: Seventh–Eighth Centuries CE', in *The Hajj: Pilgrimage in Islam*, ed. Tagliacozzo and Toorawa (2016), 58–9.

⁵³ For Dāwūd ibn 'Alī's demolitions, see al-Qurashī, *Ghāyat al-marām*, ed. Shaltūth (1986), vol. 1, 300–2 and Waki', *al-Tariq*, ed. al-Wuhaybī (1999–2000), 140. It is noteworthy that despite the impression that the Abbasids destroyed every trace of the Umayyads, the demolitions were in reality not so complete: for example, al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik's gold plating on the Ka'ba survived until the caliphate of al-Amin, some fifty years after the Umayyad downfall (attested to in al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, ed. Malhas (1983), vol. 2, 111; al-Fākihi, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. Ibn Duwaysh (1994) vol. 4, 59).

which they rely only offers specifics around Medina.⁵⁴ A Medina-specific focus for al-Walid's building energy is eminently logical, since al-Walid expended major resources on reconstructing the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, and it is reasonable to imagine that he would want infrastructure improved there to provide for greater anticipated pilgrim traffic. Interpreting the anecdote to mean that al-Walid undertook a wholesale construction of the roads from Syria to Arabia seems an overextension: we know, and shall visit at the end of this chapter, that the Abbasids spent over a generation constructing pilgrim roads from Iraq to Mecca, and copious details, both textual and archaeological, are available attesting to the manifold works involved. For al-Walid, on the other hand, we merely have generalizations in al-Ṭabarī that he 'sent word across the realm' to build roads, and, significantly, Waki's detailed text on the pilgrim roads is silent on any roadworks by al-Walid (whereas Waki does mention al-Walid's mosque constructions and waterworks around Medina).⁵⁵ If al-Walid mobilized a major project beyond Medina, it is curious that we hear nothing about it, and while Ibn al-Faqīh offers another generalized comment on al-Walid's wells,⁵⁶ all other geographers are silent, and we suspect that the later writers took memories of al-Walid's improvements in the environs of Medina and expanded outwards with some hyperbole to develop the trope of 'al-Walid the builder'.⁵⁷ If we take such generalized anecdotes (which are yet to find archaeological corroboration indicative of Umayyad works on Syria-Mecca tracks) maximally to imagine a bustling Umayyad Hajj project, we may risk overstating the case dramatically.

The record of al-Walid ibn Yazīd's provision of food and fodder to Hajj caravans passing his estate at Zizā', which has led commentators to suggest that the Umayyad estates in the Syrian Desert were part of a Syrian Hajj route,⁵⁸ also seems to overstate the pilgrimage intentions of al-Walid ibn Yazīd, just as the road-building claim above has for al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik. The Umayyad

⁵⁴ Al-Ṭabarī's statement concerning al-Walid's well is corroborated in Waki's *al-Ṭarīq*, ed. al-Wuhaybi (1999–2000), 196, 201, and al-Ṭabarī is also specific about the order to make mountain tracks near Medina more passable (*tashīl al-ṭhanāyā*).

⁵⁵ Waki, *al-Ṭarīq*, ed. al-Wuhaybi (1999–2000), 117–26, 152, 247.

⁵⁶ Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje (1885), 106.

⁵⁷ Ibn al-Faqīh's comment occurs in the context of praise of al-Walid's mosque construction. Another example of this assumption at work is in al-Qalqashandī's *Ma'āthir al-Ināqa*, ed. Farrāj (n.d.), vol. 1, 136, where al-Qalqashandī claims that al-Walid was the first Caliph to construct milestones. Actual milestones bearing the name of his father, 'Abd al-Malik, have been found across Greater Syria, and thus al-Qalqashandī's statement is incorrect, but because of the fame of al-Walid's construction of the Great Mosque of Damascus and the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, al-Qalqashandī states (vol. 1, 135) that al-Walid was 'enamoured with building' (*mughram bi'l-binā*), and hence he effectively assumed that al-Walid must have been the first to build roads. Notably, also, al-Qalqashandī does not specify Hajj roads. Milestones which have been uncovered on the roads to Mecca date from the Abbasid era; I am unaware of any Umayyad-era finds that suggest earlier Caliphal involvement in building road-infrastructure for Hajj pilgrims.

⁵⁸ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm (1960–69), vol. 7, 217–18. For discussion of the Umayyad 'desert castles' as Hajj infrastructure support, see McMillan, *The Meaning of Mecca* (2011), 146. Proponents of the pilgrim caravan function of the castles include King, 'Settlement Patterns in Islamic Jordan: The Umayyads and Their Use of Land' (1992) and Bacharach, 'Marwanid Umayyad Building Activities: Speculations on Patronage' (1996), 31.

estates are now persuasively argued as a combination of agricultural development in the Umayyads' Syrian heartland and seats for exercising mobile power in the steppe surrounding Damascus, and they were not built with the primary aim of facilitating long-distance caravans to Mecca.⁵⁹ Moreover, al-Walīd celebrated his acts of charity in a poem, which is devoid of Ḥajj references: it expresses that his largesse was intended to win supporters who were not being paid what they expected from the official *'aṭā'*.⁶⁰ It is reasonable to imagine that pilgrims passing estates like al-Walīd's would receive provisions too, but to assume that the service of pilgrimage was the estate's purpose imposes our own a priori assumption that Umayyad caliphal building must have been designed to facilitate Ḥajj. Since we have seen that the Umayyad Caliphs did not repeatedly perform the pilgrimage, the presumptive axiomatic link of Ḥajj with the caliphal institution is hasty, and the very limited evidence for Umayyad-era construction projects on Ḥajj routes instead prompts a hypothesis that facilitating Ḥajj caravans was simply not considered an important undertaking, just as the Ḥajj itself was not an escalating priority of personal caliphal attention in the Marwanid period meriting continual fiscal allocation.

From the twelve pilgrimage-related construction projects, therefore, the century of Umayyad rule furnishes only some seven well-attested to projects devoted to Mecca, Medina, and pilgrim routes, almost half of which were undertaken by Mu'āwīya prior to the Zubayrid period, and other than the reconstruction of the Sanctum by 'Abd al-Malik, al-Walīd emerges as the only other Umayyad Caliph who directed repeated attention to pilgrimage infrastructure. These findings tally well with the indications that of all the Umayyad Caliphs, only Mu'āwīya and al-Walīd are reported to have undertaken the Ḥajj more than once, and in the context of the theory of the Ḥajj's increased importance to the Marwanids as a result of Ibn al-Zubayr's challenge, the evidence shows that two peaks of Umayyad-era expenses allocated to the Ḥajj both pre-date and post-date Ibn al-Zubayr's reign by a decade. Following Ibn al-Zubayr, there was no concerted or sustained increase in Caliphal attention to the Ḥajj, and consequently it would seem pertinent to question whether we need to shift our assumptions of an escalating importance of the Ḥajj in Umayyad ideology to a more idiosyncratic reality that Mecca's significance to the caliphal leadership was variable, with amplification only in particular periods.

Further investigation into the significance of Umayyad building for pilgrimage would constitute a lengthy source-critical discussion deserving a chapter to itself; for present purposes, salient indicators suggest that the Umayyad Caliphs

⁵⁹ Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir. L'espace syrien sous les derniers Omeyyades et les premiers Abbassides* (2011), 383–402; Genequand, *Les établissements des élites omeyyades en Palmyrène et au Proche-Orient* (2012).

⁶⁰ Al-Walīd, *Diwān*, ed. al-Ṣamad (1998), 54–5.

do not seem to have capitalized on Ḥajj construction projects to promote their personal image as rulers of the Muslim community. Indeed, ‘Abd al-Malik led the Ḥajj upon the completion of the Sanctum’s reconstruction, and al-Walid led a lavish Ḥajj after his works were completed too, but the sources do not remember the post-Zubayrid Sanctum as a personal legacy of the Caliphs. More commonly, the rebuilding is attributed to ‘Abd al-Malik’s famous general and governor in Mecca, al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, and al-Walid’s embellishments in Mecca are hardly remembered in later literature, unlike the close association of his name with the building of mosques in Damascus and Medina.

Similarly, the other extensive and widely attested to Umayyad-era work in Mecca, the construction of an aqueduct and well for pilgrims noted at (i) in the list above, is also distanced from caliphal associations. The various sources in which the story is reported do not agree on the Caliph who ruled at the time of the construction (they range between al-Walid, Sulaymān, and Hishām), yet they are unanimous that the project was undertaken by the governor of Mecca/Medina, Khālid al-Qasrī. Khālid’s well constitutes a complex story, since several versions intimate that he built it intending to glorify the Caliph and prove the superiority of the Caliph’s water over the Zamzam Well of the Prophets. The anecdote is accordingly cited as an example of Khālid’s blasphemy in *al-Aghānī*, but the specific point of alleging Caliphal superiority over the Prophets is doubted in other sources (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, al-Fākihī). Notwithstanding the discrepancies, the story is widely reported enough to suggest the historicity of the construction project, all sources concur that the construction occurred under the direction of Mecca’s governor, it was unpopular, and that pilgrims preferred Zamzam. What then emerges is that we can connect only one major waterwork in Mecca to the Umayyads, yet even that effort to stamp a caliphal identity on Mecca’s space met resistance. Taken together with the general absence of the Caliph’s person leading the Ḥajj across the Umayyad period, it appears that the Ḥajj was not straightforwardly amenable to politicized co-opting. The Ḥajj, conceptually bound with deep pre-Islamic history and prophetic origins via Abraham, may have been ‘bigger’ than the Caliphs, and while Caliphs were entitled to lead the Ḥajj in person, and to have their name invoked in supplication during the rituals, the Ḥajj was not an event that the Umayyads could readily convert into a celebration of their own legitimacy, and, with the possible exception of al-Walid, they did not seek to turn it into such either.

In fiscal terms, the relative paucity of reference to major works in Mecca’s sanctum indicates *prima facie* a prevailing Caliphal reluctance to allocate noteworthy resources to Ḥajj infrastructure. To pursue an economic argument, logic dictates that resources are spent, at least in part, in order to secure returns, and hence, had financial patronage of the Ḥajj repaid dividends to the Caliphs in terms of bolstering their legitimacy, we can assume that they would have undertaken works to show their commitment to sponsoring the pilgrimage. The fact that they

did not make the Ḥajj a fiscal priority, and the fact that most Caliphs ignored spending on the Ḥajj cannot simply be attributed to Caliphal impecuniosity: the state had money, and hence we are invited to consider that the Caliphs viewed the Ḥajj as an investment yielding too limited returns. From this juncture, the modern presumptions that the Marwanids were keen supporters of the Ḥajj as part of advertising their symbolic legitimacy need correction.

It is of course possible that the muted memories of Umayyad-era involvement with the Ḥajj are a function of ‘Abbāsīd-era forgetting, but there are enough surviving anecdotes to indicate that Muslims did remember (roughly) (i) how many times the Umayyad Caliphs led the Ḥajj; and (ii) what kinds of works they undertook for pilgrim infrastructure, and both were patently limited. If we borrow the sage advice to ‘follow the money’, we see that expenditures of the Umayyad treasury do not often lead us to Mecca, and we would therefore propose that during the Umayyad period, the Ḥajj was more separable from discourses of Caliphal legitimacy than has hitherto been assumed. To further develop the hypothesis, we shall turn to other sources—letters, law, and poetry—which we shall see present pertinently consistent corroboration of our findings so far.

Umayyad Caliphal Impact on Ḥajj Rituals

If the paucity of construction projects was indeed a corollary of the generally limited efforts of Umayyad Caliphs to stamp their identity on the Ḥajj rituals, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s letter about Hishām’s Ḥajj is further revealing. It projects the Caliph as a grateful participant in the Ḥajj, not as the pilgrimage’s facilitator, let alone explicitly its leader.⁶¹ Emphasis is placed on the Caliph’s obedience to God and the Prophet, and the letter celebrates the multitude of gathered pilgrims, while it makes no reference to the Caliph’s charitable largesse, building activities, other facilitation of the pilgrimage, nor even his sermon on the Day of ‘Arafa. Importantly, the letter is also devoid of indication that the Caliph’s presence in Mecca was central to the successful completion of the Ḥajj. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s letters are elsewhere replete with references to Caliphal power and demands for obedience, but here, in the context of pilgrimage, the Caliph is praised for his pious act with neither expression of political function nor reference suggestive of using the Ḥajj for political grandstanding. The letter depicts the Caliph on the Ḥajj as *primus inter pares*, the leading Muslim at the ceremony, but not sovereign over the ceremony. Such an impression strikes harmony with broader indications from Islamic legal texts concerning the Ḥajj.

From the perspective of nascent Islamic law, there has been a scholarly trend to project the Umayyads as ‘God’s Caliphs’ (*khalīfat Allāh*) who enjoyed religious

⁶¹ ‘Abbās, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Yaḥyā al-Kātib: *wa mā tabaqqā min rasā’ilih wa-rasā’il Sālim ibn al-‘Alā* (1988), 205–6.

authority relatively unsubordinated to Prophetic legacies, and this has led some to investigate the extent to which the Umayyads implemented their own version of Ḥajj rituals and changed pilgrimage practice, which has informed opinions of the escalating importance of the Ḥajj in Caliphal legitimacy projects.⁶² The crux of the argument is twofold: (i) there is a statement by the Caliph Sulaymān, who, upon finding jurists at odds over the precise order of Ḥajj rituals, opted to follow the precedent of his father, ‘Abd al-Malik; and (ii) Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds note ‘Abd al-Malik’s innovation of Ḥajj rituals in their *God’s Caliph*.⁶³ On its face, the Sulaymān anecdote tallies with the sense that ‘Abd al-Malik innovated and created a ruling family tradition for the pilgrimage, but the conclusion rests on remarkably poor source interpretation. Crone and Hinds do not report their source’s full details: they cite Ibn Sa‘d’s biography of ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, where anecdotes refer to seven interactions between the Caliph and jurists on his Ḥajj, and in four of the cases, ‘Abd al-Malik is actually shown to have followed the example of jurists.⁶⁴ Where the Caliph does innovate, two cases provide details that concern niche aspects of ritual: for example, he recited the *talbiyya* fewer times than is normal, and he gave more sermons (four) than was expected. The extra sermons imply a caliphal intention to demonstrate leadership, but the changes do not signify substantial alteration to the ritual, nor that ‘Abd al-Malik believed he could reorganize the Ḥajj as is implied in the arguments about God’s Caliph’s authority over the pilgrimage. Moreover, such modern opinions are derived from lone anecdotes in historiographical sources, without recourse to juridical literature on the Ḥajj.

Digging deeper, we find attestations that ‘Abd al-Malik enquired with jurists as to the rituals, and that he ordered his governor, al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf to follow ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar’s example, a major figure in the first layers of Sunni hadith. These anecdotes portray the Umayyad Caliphs as grounding their Ḥajj practice in juridical opinion and not performing the Ḥajj according to their own interpretation,⁶⁵ and while the impression could have been shaped by later jurists’ desires to project the Umayyad-era Ḥajj in this way, our inference is supported by the earliest recorded legal texts about the Ḥajj. The *Kitāb al-Manāsik* by Sa‘īd ibn Abi

⁶² Crone and Hinds, *God’s Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam* (1986) opened the debate, see also Rubin, ‘Prophets and Caliphs: The Biblical Foundations of the Umayyad Authority’, in *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins*, ed. Berg, 73–88; arguments against such claims for the Caliph’s especially exalted status are also aired: see Qasim Zaman, ‘The Caliphs, the ‘Ulamā’, and the Law: Defining the Role and Function of the Caliph in the Early ‘Abbāsīd Period’ (1997); Alajmi, ‘Ulama and Caliphs New Understanding of the “God’s Caliph” Term’ (2011); Marsham, ‘“God’s Caliph” Revisited: Umayyad Political Thought in its Late Antique Context’, in *Power, Patronage and Memory in Early Islam: Perspectives from Umayyad History*, ed. Marsham and George (2018), 3–37.

⁶³ Crone and Hinds, *God’s Caliph* (1986), 53.

⁶⁴ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. al-Qādir ‘Aṭā (1997), vol. 5, 177–8.

⁶⁵ There are other examples of Umayyad Caliphs consulting jurists, consider, for example, Hishām in al-Fākihī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. Ibn Duḥaysh (1994), vol. 5, 13; Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, ed. al-Qādir ‘Aṭā (1997), vol. 5, 350–1; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Dhahab al-masbūk*, ed. van Steenberg (2016), 250–2.

‘Urūba (d. 156/772–773) is extant, yet not cited in modern studies of the Umayyad Ḥajj: its author lived during the Umayyad Era, and the text is formed from narrations of his teacher, Qatāda ibn Di‘āma (d. 117/735), and in this text, the same ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar is one of the major authorities cited for pilgrimage rites.⁶⁶ Likewise, ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar is a key authority on Ḥajj practice in Ibn Abī Shayba’s (d. 235/849) *al-Muṣannaḥ*. Notably too, Ibn Abī ‘Urūba’s collection is devoid of traditions of Umayyad Caliphs, and Ibn Abī Shayba makes only extremely limited mention of them (and, according to my reading, never cites ‘Abd al-Malik as an authority). Naturally, we can expect jurists to promote their own number as the authorities for Ḥajj ritual, but if there was conflict between juridical opinions and Caliphal instructions, we could also expect subsequent generations of jurists, especially early ‘Abbāsīd-era jurists, to record such wrangling in detail, as it would serve to show the jurists’ righteousness over ‘impious’ and ‘innovating’ Umayyads.

Early sources do refer to substantial innovations in Ḥajj rituals during the Umayyad period, but ironically these are ascribed to the governor Khālīd al-Qasrī, who was not a member of the Umayyad family.⁶⁷ The survival of memories of al-Qasrī’s traditions also suggests that had Caliphs been involved in similar innovation, we would see some evidence for it, yet the only well-documented points of discord regards the Umayyad Caliphs’ manner of delivering sermons, since the Caliphs would sit, contrary to the expectation that the sermonizer stand, and this rankled the pious-minded jurists.⁶⁸ Memories of jurist-Caliph disagreement therefore did survive, but the fact that they do not concern material rituals of the Ḥajj suggests rather strongly that the Umayyad Caliphs did not innovate material rites, and to this point, Hishām’s letter about the Ḥajj expressly notes the centrality of the Prophet’s precedent in guiding the Caliph.⁶⁹ Arguments, therefore, that the Caliphs were drivers of change for Ḥajj ritual practice are speculative, whereas extant textual evidence on various levels expresses that interpretations (and extrapolations) by jurists of Prophetic practice formed the basis of Ḥajj ritual from a very early period, and that the Caliphs participated both rarely and in accordance to rules given to them.⁷⁰ The findings again portray the early Ḥajj as a

⁶⁶ ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar is cited thirteen times, making him the second most important authority for Qatāda, behind only ‘Aṭā’ ibn Abī Rabbāh.

⁶⁷ Khālīd’s innovations are widely cited: jurists approved of some, though disliked others: see al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, ed. Malhas (1983), vol. 2, 20; al-Qurashī, *Ghāyat al-marām*, ed. Shaltūth (1986), vol. 1, 196–7.

⁶⁸ See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm (1960–69), vol. 6, 466–7.

⁶⁹ There is express reference to the *sunnat nabī* [Allāh] (the Prophet’s way) alongside *ṭā‘at Allāh* (obedience to God) as the guiding principles of Hishām’s Ḥajj (‘Abbās, *‘Abd al-Ḥamid ibn Yahyā al-Kātib* (1988), 205).

⁷⁰ Umayyad Caliphs may have enjoyed greater freedom of legislative innovation in other fields; Crone and Hinds provide more productive examples in juridical matters, see *God’s Caliph* (1986) 44–5, but the Ḥajj does not emerge as a good example of Caliphal intervention in ritual practice, and it should be noted that Crone and Hinds only found the one anecdote, whereas elsewhere in their work, the Ḥajj is not expressly mentioned.

ritual connected to memories of a community and a history separate from (and perhaps more venerable than) the caliphal office, and the lack of major caliphal innovations was thus not a function of the ritual's unimportance or incoherence in nascent Islam, but rather that the pilgrimage was already developed and capable of running independently of the Caliph's personal attention.

Thanks to a preserved papyrus letter in Egypt, we know that Umayyad Caliphs were exhorting Muslims to make the Ḥajj,⁷¹ and 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's letter on behalf of Hishām likewise celebrates the great numbers of participating pilgrims; the Caliphs were thus aware of the importance of the Ḥajj for the community, but the Umayyad Caliphs themselves were absent during most pilgrimages during their reigns. From Mu'āwiya to Hishām, a number of crown princes did lead the Ḥajj; this practice seems already in place by Mu'āwiya's rule, but even not all Caliphs performed the Ḥajj as crown princes, and given that Caliphal marks on the landscape of Mecca and their inputs into the ritual practice of the Ḥajj were limited too, the markedly subdued Caliphal presence subsisting for most of the Umayyad Era suggests that the Ḥajj was not a ritual of ascending importance in Umayyad ideologies of legitimacy.

At this juncture, we should like to hypothesize what else the Ḥajj might have meant to Umayyad Caliphs in order to explain why the pilgrimage merited periodic, but not sustained caliphal attention. Herein, Umayyad-era poetry is helpful, as poets, both those attached to the court and otherwise, make frequent references to Mecca and the pilgrimage in their verses. Analysis of the whole range of reference Ḥajj in early Arabic poetry is the subject of an ongoing project;⁷² for present purposes, several observations from the poetic corpus are relevant to raise here.

The Ḥajj, Caliphate and Community in Umayyad-era Poetry

First, poets who invoke imagery of the Ḥajj in contexts resonant with politicized discourses usually do so in order to articulate boundaries of the Muslim community. For example, Jarīr ibn 'Aṭiyya (d.c. 110/728–729), one of the most celebrated poets of the Umayyad Era, frequently references the Ḥajj in lampoons of his opponents (chiefly, but not limited to al-Farazdaq (d. 110/728 or 112/730) and the Christian al-Akḥṭal (d.c. 92/710)). Jarīr summons the pilgrimage instrumentally to disparage his foes by noting their kin's non-participation in the Ḥajj. In particular, his poetry reveals how Christian Arabic-speaking tribes were being shunted to the outside of what was then being articulated as the Muslim-Arab community, as Jarīr chose to identify religious-cum-communal difference by repeated stress on Christians' inability to perform the Ḥajj. Jarīr chides al-Akḥṭal's people:

⁷¹ The letter is reproduced and translated in Sijpesteijn, 'An Early Umayyad Papyrus Invitation for the Ḥajj' (2014).

⁷² References to the Ḥajj in pre-Islamic poetry and in poetry from the rise of Islam are analysed in Webb 'The Ḥajj before Muhammad' (2023).

They make their Ḥajj to St. Sergius
While the Meccan pilgrims exult praise of God.⁷³

And similarly,

Their hands never touch the Sovereign House [*al-Bayt al-ʿAtīq*]⁷⁴
No, they stroke the Cross at Mass.⁷⁵

In order to contrast his own kin from al-Akḥṭal's Christians, Jarīr refers to his people as the 'group always camped in the plains at Minā', and there are several variations on Jarīr's definition of his people via Hajj participation metaphors.⁷⁶ The salience of the Ḥajj as a means to exclude Christians from the Muslim-Arab 'inside' in Jarīr's poetry matches hadith reported in juridical sources that: 'He who dies without having made the Hajj... might as well die as a Christian or Jew';⁷⁷ a hadith ascribed to 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb elaborates the same theme:

I seriously considered [*hamamtu*] sending emissaries to the garrison towns [*al-amṣār*] with the order to impose the poll tax [*jizya*] on anyone they found who had the means but who had not made the Ḥajj. By God such people aren't Muslims! They aren't Muslims!⁷⁸

In distinctly different textual and narrative contexts, both poet and jurist corroborate the same significance of Hajj in terms of identifying the 'inside' of the community. Jarīr also alleged that his bitter poet-rival al-Farazdaq was a non-Muslim from Christian roots, and hence chastised him via a Ḥajj metaphor too:

May he never approach al-Ṣafā or al-Marwa
Nor the pure mosque of God's Sanctum.⁷⁹

In Jarīr's conception, entrance to Mecca for the Ḥajj is emblematic of an exclusively Muslim belonging, such that the term 'Ḥajj-goer' stands as synonymous with 'Muslim'. The sentiment reappears in verses where Jarīr metaphorically marshals Meccan topography as the land common to all Muslims, and the label 'the pilgrims of the holy rites' is summoned rhetorically to signify 'everyone/all members of our community'.⁸⁰ Elsewhere, Jarīr sought to lampoon a group of

⁷³ Jarīr, *Dīwān* ed. Ṭāhā (1969), vol 1, 231.

⁷⁴ *Al-Bayt al-ʿAtīq*—the 'house controlled by no authority other than God'—is a common sobriquet for the Ka'ba.

⁷⁵ Jarīr, *Dīwān*, ed. Ṭāhā (1969), vol 2, 84. For other examples, see vol 1, 67, 158, 237.

⁷⁶ Jarīr, *Dīwān* ed. Ṭāhā (1969), vol 2, 676, that is, his people continuously practice the Ḥajj and are represented there. See also vol 1, 248, 390.

⁷⁷ See the variations on this hadith recorded in Ibn Abī Shayba *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. ʿAwwāma (2006), 14665–71 and cross-references in the notes to other versions elsewhere.

⁷⁸ Ibn Abī ʿArūba, *Kitāb al-Manāsik*, ed. Ṣabṛī (2000), 3, 4. See also al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, *al-Manāsik*, 812.

⁷⁹ Jarīr, *Dīwān*, ed. Ṭāhā (1969), vol 2, 481.

⁸⁰ Jarīr, *Dīwān*, ed. Ṭāhā (1969), vol 1, 305, vol 2, 516, 540.

Muslims by suggesting that they also should not be allowed into Mecca for pilgrimage:

If Ibn Shayba⁸¹ knew of Taym's ignominy,
They would never be allowed to circumambulate Zamzam and
al-Ḥaṭīm.⁸²

Such verses and their congruence with hadith indicate that by the Marwanid period at the latest, the Ḥajj had been established as a physical act, participation in which conceptually drew the boundaries of the Muslim community. Ḥajj participation is a lynchpin of the poet's expression of self-identity, while non-participation, by extension, symbolizes outsidership. The sense of communal belonging invoked in these Ḥajj references, however, is not articulated in Marwanid terms: the poetic tropes do not mention the Caliph—instead the matter of significance is collective participation in a ritual prescribed by the Qur'an. This rhetorical feature so evident in the poetry is in neat harmony with 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's and the papyrus letters noted above: there was a Marwanid-era celebration of the Ḥajj as a symbol of Muslim-ness accompanied by exhortations to the community to participate as efforts to promulgate and enforce the communal boundaries of Muslim identity, but, notably, neither the person of the Caliph, nor the identity of the Ḥajj leader plays a role: the essence of the literary device projects Ḥajj itself as an institution proprietary to Muslims in general.

The marginal aspect of the Caliph within the universe of ideas associated with Ḥajj is also a feature of praise poetry directed to Umayyad Caliphs themselves. Al-Akḥṭal, al-Farazdaq and Jarīr each praised Marwanid Caliphs, and while, for example, al-Akḥṭal references Mecca and the Ḥajj in oaths in several verses, the basis upon which he praises Caliphs is not articulated in terms of their participation in the Ḥajj nor their facilitation of pilgrim travellers.⁸³ Likewise, panegyrics by the Muslim Jarīr are largely silent on the Ḥajj: his praise, in the main, speaks of Caliphs' bravery, generosity, equanimity, success in war, the honour of their office as *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* or *Khalīfat Allāh*, and their genealogy, and in the rare cases where the Ḥajj is mentioned in such poetry, one of its functions is a device to articulate how all Muslims make supplication for the Caliph, for example in praise of Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik (r. 101–105/720–724) Jarīr composed:

⁸¹ The reference is to Shayba ibn 'Uthmān, one of the Quraysh aristocrats of Mecca from the 'Abd al-Dār clan.

⁸² Jarīr, *Dīwān*, ed. Tāhā (1969), vol 2, 587. Al-Ḥaṭīm refers to the area around the Ka'ba, the precise parameters of which were debated (Wakī', *al-Tarīq*, ed. al-Wuhaybī (1999–2000), 249; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, vol. 2, 273); poetry uses the word as a flowery sobriquet for the Holy Shrine.

⁸³ See al-Akḥṭal, *Dīwān*, ed. Qabāwah (1996), 129, 163, 177, 231, 285.

Each and every tribe of the Quraysh
And the Anṣār praise you in the two pilgrimages.⁸⁴

Likewise, Jarīr exclaims:

The pilgrims' entreaties to God for mercy upon the Caliph
Nearly shake the earth at the Gathering Place.⁸⁵

These expressions imply that pilgrims were enjoined to make supplication for the Caliph during the ritual, but this is separate from reference to the institution of leading the Ḥajj. The Caliph was not present at the pilgrimages to which Jarīr refers,⁸⁶ and the poet's intention is a rhetorical device, an exaggerated statement articulating that *all* Muslims pray for the Caliph's wellbeing. The image is successful since, as the other verses considered herein show, poets treated the Ḥajj as an event at which all Muslims were (theoretically) in attendance, and thus prayers offered at the Ḥajj symbolically represent the largest-scale praise for the Caliph at the centre of a religious ritual. As such, the supplication does not bequeath the Ḥajj a unique role in establishing Caliphal legitimacy, and the trope is, in any event, quite uncommon in Umayyad-era poetry: Caliphs evidently did not demand Ḥajj-related imagery in poems of praise about them, further hinting that the Umayyads were not fully capitalizing on the Ḥajj as a ritual to affirm their personal authority.

Further survey of Umayyad-era praise poems unearths other Ḥajj references to add more contour to our findings. Al-Aḥwaṣ al-Anṣārī (d. 110/728–729) praised al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik in expressive Ḥajj terms:

Don't you see him gift to the pilgrims ? [*al-ḥajj*]⁸⁷

Al-Akḥṭal also praises al-Walīd via an elaborate oath with Ḥajj-related imagery.⁸⁸ To contextualize these references, we have seen that al-Walīd was the most active Umayyad Caliph in constructing pilgrimage infrastructure, and the only Marwanid Caliph who may have led more than one pilgrimage. The specific reference to Ḥajj in poetry praising al-Walīd thus mirrors the narrative historiographical and geographical texts, and points to al-Walīd as a Caliph exceptionally concerned to patronize the Ḥajj. Herein, it is instructive that praise poems for those Umayyad Caliphs who did not undertake construction projects in Mecca also do not, according to my readings, contain allusions to their identity as Ḥajj

⁸⁴ Jarīr, *Dīwān*, ed. Ṭāhā (1969), vol 2, 640–8.

⁸⁵ Jarīr, *Dīwān*, ed. Ṭāhā (1969), poems 14 and 17.

⁸⁶ No narrative sources contain reference to the Ḥajj undertaken by Yazīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik as Caliph.

⁸⁷ al-Aḥwaṣ al-Anṣārī, *Dīwān* ed. Jamāl (1990), 247.

⁸⁸ al-Akḥṭal, *Dīwān*, ed. Qabāwah (1996), 177.

benefactors. Thus, the Ḥajj could feature in Caliphal activity in a positive fashion, but poetry reveals that the Ḥajj was not a standard part of the repertoire which Umayyad-era court poets were expected to employ when praising the Caliph.

One of Jarīr's paeans for al-Walid praises the Caliph by hearkening back to memory of his father's elimination of Ibn al-Zubayr, yet these verses intriguingly eschew reference to the Ḥajj. Jarīr extols the Umayyad warriors for violating the 'Sanctum of Tihāma' (*Ḥimā Tihāma*, i.e. Mecca, where they besieged Ibn al-Zubayr), an express celebration of fighting in the otherwise sacrosanct Mecca. It is perhaps key to note how Jarīr marshals an abstruse term to describe Mecca here, and while Ibn al-Zubayr is referred to as an 'apostate' (*mulḥid*) two lines later, there is no reference to the Sanctum being restored to proper worship, or the Ḥajj returning to legitimate leadership, and no reference to al-Walid's or other Umayyad repairs and adornments. The achievement is worded in terms of the Marwanids' bold daring-do when attacking a holy sanctum, and thus, once again, even in a poem praising al-Walid, the Ḥajj appears as but a minority trope in the repertoire of poets attending Caliphal courts.

I have found two other praise poems in Jarīr's oeuvre that celebrate Ḥajj participation. One addresses Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik (d. 121/738):

You are the friend of the Right [*walī al-ḥaqq*] when you lead the Ḥajj
Standing in front of the ranks between Zamzam and al-Ḥaṭīm⁸⁹

The other occurs in a praise of Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī (d. 126/743), where Jarīr proclaims that Khālid's lineage is esteemed by those gathered at the Ḥajj (*Ayyām al-Muḥaṣṣab*).⁹⁰ This latter poem may simply invoke the image of 'ranks of pilgrims' in the same vein encountered above as a metaphor meaning the 'whole Muslim community', that is, Jarīr claims that 'everyone' knows the excellence of Khālid's lineage, but the praise of Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik does address something new. Maslama reportedly led the Ḥajj in 94/713, and possibly in 119/735,⁹¹ but he was never in line to become Caliph (he was born of a non-free, non-Arab mother). Accordingly, poetic praise for leading the Ḥajj was not strictly reserved for the Caliph and crown princes, mirroring our findings hitherto that pilgrimage was not a lynchpin of specifically Caliphal identity, but rather a praiseworthy enterprise for any of the elite connected with it, or members of the ruling families entrusted with its leadership.

⁸⁹ Jarīr, *Diwān*, ed. Ṭāhā (1969), vol. 1, 219.

⁹⁰ Jarīr, *Diwān*, ed. Ṭāhā (1969), 607. Al-Muḥaṣṣab refers to the days in which the pilgrims camp at Minā: 8–10 Dhū al-Ḥijja.

⁹¹ Ibn Khayyāt *Tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār (1993), vol. 1, 310, 316; al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh* ed. Houtsma (1882), vol. 2, 215. The later Ḥajj is only attested to in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ed. Pellat (1966–79), §3639; the chronicles identify Khālid ibn 'Abd al-Malik as the leader (Ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār (1993), vol. 2, 363; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm (1960–69), vol. 7, 586).

Poetry also evidences that governors appointed to lead the Ḥajj could be criticized by the Ḥijāzī locals in sharp terms related to the pilgrimage. In one case, al-Aḥwaṣ al-Anṣārī levelled the following critique against Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Amr ibn Ḥāzim, a reputedly severe governor of Medina during the caliphate of Sulaymān:

Sulaymān! Since your God has empowered you over us
Give good orders and be just!
The Muslim pilgrims are led by the son of a slave-girl,
This is a Ḥajj which God will not accept!⁹²

During the caliphate of Hishām, al-‘Arjī composed several similar poems disparaging Muḥammad ibn Hishām, the Caliph’s cousin who governed al-Ḥijāz and led the Ḥajj several times between c.114/733 and 124/742, for examples:⁹³

It’s as if this year there was no Ḥajj
The pilgrimage times and ways are changed!⁹⁴

And:

Tell those who were dwelling in Mecca
And those who came from ‘Amq and the Mushallal pass:
Forget about the pilgrimage, and save your money,
God will not be accepting this year’s Ḥajj.
How can the Ḥajj be pure when it’s led
By an Imam whose nothing but a porcupine?⁹⁵

The sense of these poems seems to arise from a population of Ḥijāzīs who feel a certain proprietary right over the pilgrimage, and while the Ḥajj leaders were appointed from afar, the locals perceived a degree of independence to disapprove of appointees. The precise historicity of the poems through the narrative twists and flourish of poetic biographies invite further scrutiny, but for present purposes, the verses accord with all other poems encountered so far, inasmuch as the pilgrimage and office of Caliph emerge as separable entities. The Umayyad Caliph does not seem to have enjoyed personal hegemony over the Ḥajj, the pilgrimage rites were (and were believed to have been) established long before the rise of the

⁹² Al-Aḥwaṣ al-Anṣārī, *Dīwān* ed. Jamāl (1990), 223.

⁹³ Reports for the years in which he led the Ḥajj differ substantially, see the collected accounts in al-Qurashī, *Ghāyat al-marām*, ed. Shaltūth (1986), vol. 1, 268–74.

⁹⁴ It is not clear what al-‘Arjī intends by the ‘changes’ (*taghayyarat al-mawāsim wa-l-shukūl*); we suspect he is chiding Muḥammad ibn Hishām as an incompetent leader for the Ḥajj.

⁹⁵ Al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, ed. Muḥannā and Jābir (1992), vol. 1, 393. The porcupine (*duldul*) reference is intended to lampoon the governor—the *duldul* is nocturnal, and al-‘Arjī thereby implies that the governor is of loose morals and can only be found out on the town at night!

Umayyad clan, and the Umayyad-era Ḥajj thus stands as an institution independent of the rulers in Syria, and seems to have been beheld locally, among some at least, as the continued property of the Meccans.

The impression of the Ḥajj as a Meccan, and not a caliphal institution is supported in yet another salient feature of Umayyad-era poetry about the Ḥajj, where there is a repeated coupling of Meccan toponyms, references to Ḥajj rituals, and the Quraysh tribe. The rhetorical effect of these allusions melds the identity of the Quraysh with the performance of the Ḥajj. For instance, al-Akhṭal makes oaths such as: 'For so long as the Quraysh offer sacrificial offerings' (*mā ahdāt Quraysh*), and he refers to the Ḥajj as the ritual of the Quraysh, and he names subgroups of the Quraysh as synonymous with Mecca's ritual spaces.⁹⁶ Likewise, al-Aḥwaṣ al-Anṣārī swears an oath to God phrased as 'By He to whose house the Quraysh make pilgrimage';⁹⁷ Jarīr also refers to the Quraysh tribe metaphorically via toponyms associated with Ḥajj rites;⁹⁸ and even a Kharijite poet—despite the Kharijites' fierce political independence from other Muslims groups—treats Mecca as synonymous with Quraysh.⁹⁹ Across these poems, the figure of the Caliph is again absent: the poets acknowledge the Quraysh qua social group as the collective proprietors of Mecca and the pilgrimage. This habit in Umayyad-era poetry would appear to be a carryover from pre-Islam when the Ḥajj was organized by the Quraysh: the Quraysh feature similarly in pre-Islamic poetry about the Ḥajj,¹⁰⁰ and Muhammad's incorporation of the Ḥajj into Islamic practice entailed the preservation of the Quraysh's privilege, which deeply coloured the power structures of Umayyad-era Islam. No serious contenders over the Caliphate hailed from non-Qurashī clans, prayer was expected to be led by the Quraysh,¹⁰¹ and from the evidence of poetry, the Ḥajj in early Islam was envisaged as a participation in the rites of the Quraysh, too. Accordingly, there seems a logic in judging that Umayyad Caliphs on the Ḥajj found themselves in a pre-established Quraysh-dominated ritual with limited space left for the Caliphs to celebrate their own personal legitimacy. The Umayyads were from the Quraysh, but were merely one of its clans, and thus while Caliphs were entitled to facilitate the Ḥajj, they would need to negotiate their position within the broader constituency of the Quraysh. Under such circumstances, it is pertinent to wonder how often Umayyad Caliphs pondered the merits of lavishing money on Mecca. If the Ḥajj was most strongly associated with the Quraysh as a whole, then the Caliphs would earn only limited returns on their investment and it begins to make sense that Umayyad Caliphs opted only to lead the Ḥajj once in their lives in satisfaction of the Qur'anic injunction, and then left the ritual to other members of their clan.

⁹⁶ Al-Akhṭal, *Dīwān*, ed. Qabāwah (1996), 231, 237, 314.

⁹⁷ Al-Aḥwaṣ al-Anṣārī, *Dīwān*, ed. Jamāl (1990), 88.

⁹⁸ See, for example, Jarīr, *Dīwān*, ed. Ṭahā (1969), 2:858.

⁹⁹ *Dīwān al-Khawārīj*, 223.

¹⁰⁰ The Quraysh-Ḥajj nexus appears to be a poetic convention already established in pre-Islam (see Webb (2023) 42–3, 51).

¹⁰¹ See, for example, the intriguing reference to a non-Quraysh-led prayer in Khalifa ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār (1993), 402.

Given that the presence of the Umayyad Caliphs was felt in other spheres of economic development in the al-Ḥijāz, as described in Munt's chapter in this volume, the observation of their limited Ḥajj patronage must be directly relevant to evaluating the position of the pilgrimage within the symbolic trappings of Caliphal authority. The Marwanids were present in the region and they were wealthy, and so their low-key presence in Mecca's sanctum makes it tempting to propose that Umayyad-era Ḥajj pilgrims envisaged themselves in the dual process of (i) responding to the Qur'anic injunction to perform a pilgrimage and (ii) acknowledging that God's command must be realized by following the rituals of the Quraysh at the Quraysh's shrine. As such, the political aspect of the Ḥajj for most Muslims was less an act of fealty to the Caliph than it was an obligatory demonstration of their belonging within a Muslim community, achieved via the acceptance of the Quraysh at the top of Muslim society as collective custodians of that vital ritual. For so long as the Quraysh were unchallenged as Islam's pre-eminent clan, the primary concern for the Umayyad Caliphs was to ensure their primacy among the Quraysh—as almost no one else, it seems, could legitimately hope to replace them. And herein poetry in praise of the Caliphs again provides support, since the majority of praise poems in Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's oeuvre make explicit reference to the Umayyads' impeccable lineage, articulated as the clan of al-ʿĀṣ (or al-Aʿyās), the best people of the Baṭāʾih (the plains of Mecca), indicative that the articulation of Umayyad pre-eminence within the hierarchy of Quraysh was a real and functional lynchpin of their legitimacy.

The Umayyad Ḥajj: Concluding Inferences

To draw the strands of the foregoing evidence together, the varied array of Arabic sources are in accord that from the earliest period Umayyad Caliphs were involved in the Ḥajj and in building at Mecca, but their presence was neither sustained nor escalated during the century of their rule. The narrative historiographical testimony that the Caliphs made infrequent personal appearances on the Ḥajj is mirrored in poetry, where the Ḥajj is usually invoked independently of the caliphal institution, and only very infrequently in praise poems composed for the Caliphs. The evidence for significant changes in Ḥajj ritual, especially caliphal interventions, is likewise slim, and this seems rather well explained by engaging the 'traditional' narrative that the Ḥajj was a pre-Islamic ritual, proprietary to the Quraysh, and was incorporated into nascent Islam with sufficient certainty as to its ritual components, such that Caliphs could not turn it into a procession celebrating their person.¹⁰² The Quraysh must also have retained a

¹⁰² There was certainly flexibility and disagreement on the minutiae of ritual practice during the various stages of the pilgrimage, and hadith texts amply attest to this, but claims of grand-scale reorganization of the ritual and a gradual codification seem, in my view, to take a sceptical approach

proprietary sense that Ḥajj was their ritual; Umayyad-era poets express as much, and hence the Caliphs faced further obstacles in transforming Meccan pilgrimage into an annual exercise specifically legitimizing caliphal authority. Mecca emerges as a kind of 'thirdspace' within the Caliphate: it was within the caliphal realm, as Caliphs appointed governors over it, but the locals perceived a degree of independence as collective custodians of the Ḥajj, keepers of the ritual which defined the 'inside' of the Muslim community, and which the Caliphs were entitled to lead, following the customs of the Quraysh.

When the Caliphs appeared in Mecca, they did nonetheless flex the muscles of their authority: Mu'āwiyā occupied the Quraysh's communal centre adjacent to the Sanctum, the Umayyads attacked Mecca twice, they made sure to show their authority when giving sermons, and al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik made a spectacle when he led the pilgrimage, and expended uniquely substantial sums to decorate Mecca (and Medina). Hence the Umayyads cannot be said to have overlooked Mecca: most Caliphs did lead the Ḥajj once in their lives, either as Caliphs or as crown princes, and we can reason that their activities on the Ḥajj, especially al-Walīd's, were intended to glorify their position, but it is significant that almost no Umayyad rulers led the Ḥajj more than once, whereas their governors frequently did and governors' influence on the Ḥajj is in fact memorialized in greater detail, especially in the cases of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf and Khālīd al-Qasrī.¹⁰³ In short, therefore, with only a small group of exceptions, the sources give us considerable grounds to doubt that Umayyad Caliphs conceptualized the Ḥajj as a necessary lynchpin of their authority. Had it been essential, we should expect Caliphs to have led it whenever practicable, or at least on multiple occasions, and we would expect their poets to sing about it, and their governors to build infrastructure to support pilgrims, but none are attested to with either quantity or frequency.

Later Arabic historiographers, under the influence of the 'Abbāsīd ḥajjes (considered presently), did imagine the Ḥajj as a signature caliphal institution, and hence they included a salient footprint for the ritual in their accounts of Umayyad history, but this is an anachronism and is out of proportion with the Umayyads' own position. We are thus left wondering why the Umayyads treated the Ḥajj in this way, and here we suspect practical considerations about the constituency to which they appealed for support and legitimacy may furnish answers.

From the beginning of the First *fitna*, the Umayyads identified their most effective powerbase in Syria, not al-Ḥijāz, and thus, if they planned expenditures for political gain, it is logical for them to focus on Syria. The concentration of settlement development in greater Syria—their agricultural estates in the Syrian

too far. Whatever the case, however, there is certainly scant empirical grounds to prove that the Caliphs themselves drove changes, and the more noteworthy innovations, as noted above, were ascribed to Umayyad governors.

¹⁰³ A helpful collection of anecdotes about Umayyad governors of Mecca and Medina who led the Ḥajj is collected in al-Qurashī, *Ghāyat al-marām*, ed. Shaltūth (1986), vol. 1, 91–300.

Desert, the development of Syrian cities such as al-Ramla, ‘Ammān, and their infrastructural constructions of roads and milestones in the region—compared to the limited Ḥajj infrastructure, suggests that a Syrian constituency was precisely where more of their energy was directed. The Umayyads were a sub-clan of the Quraysh, and hence they did not ‘forget’ their ancestral lands around Mecca and Medina, but ferrying large numbers of people to a territory in which they merely shared status with the rest of the Quraysh would not have been immediately efficacious, hence explaining their scant engagement with Ḥajj processions. Coupled with this, we sense that the Ḥajj was primarily envisioned as a gathering of the Muslim community, and not a ritual designed for the Caliph’s personal benefit. The Qur’an’s unambiguous Ḥajj exhortations are devoid of reference to communal leadership, the ritual is instead a Qur’anic approach to monopolize Abrahamic legitimacy on the basis of Muhammad’s precedent, and thus Caliphs could participate out of piety, but the Ḥajj was infused with a mythology more ancient than the Umayyad clan, and hence once Caliphs had discharged the obligation of making one pilgrimage, it was sufficient to delegate responsibility to other family members, as the Caliphs remained closer to their Syrian constituency.

Another practical factor that likely mitigated attention to Ḥajj roads in the Umayyad Era may stem from the identity of Umayyad-era pilgrims themselves. Muslims in this early period hailed predominantly from Arabian tribes, and hence when they were required to make the Ḥajj, they would have been returning to rather familiar ground where some of their kin still resided. These only recently ex-Arabians, who had resettled in the garrison towns of the Fertile Crescent, would have had the means to travel in Arabia without the need of complex infrastructure systems to show them the way and provide them with water and victuals. In sum, therefore, the Umayyad Caliphs had less to gain from leading the Ḥajj in person than is often supposed today, and given the likelihood that the majority of pilgrims were able to reach Mecca with the help of their own kinsmen, both the political advantages and the practical demand for sophisticated roads for the Ḥajj were limited, and the Umayyads consequently could direct their expenditure elsewhere.

Infrastructural Novelty and Fiscal Extravagance: The Early ‘Abbāsīd Ḥajj

Textual and archaeological records for the works of the early ‘Abbāsīd both in the pilgrimage centres of Mecca and Medina, and along the pilgrim route from Iraq to al-Ḥijāz attest to a wholesale contrast to Umayyad Ḥajj involvement. Previous studies have amply detailed the prominence of the Ḥajj in the ‘Abbāsīd political calendar, the ‘Abbāsīd court’s unprecedented efforts to construct Ḥajj

roads from Iraq,¹⁰⁴ the continual maintenance of wells, cisterns, food supply stations, fire beacons and other amenities for pilgrim transit, and the ostentatious wealth displayed when the 'Abbāsīd court decamped to Mecca during the pilgrimage season.¹⁰⁵ These need no repetition here, but previous studies have not focused on reading the 'Abbāsīd Hajj in the light of the Umayyad-era situation, and this has fuelled assumptions the Abbasids effectively continued processes that the Umayyads had initiated.¹⁰⁶ From the foregoing, a brief outline of key aspects of the early 'Abbāsīd Hajj can highlight the true extent of the changes, which accordingly require more nuanced explanation.

In terms of the physical presence of the Caliphs in Mecca, and in striking contrast to the Umayyads, the early 'Abbāsīd were the only Caliphs in history to consistently lead multiple pilgrimages. Al-Manṣūr led five and died en route to lead a sixth,¹⁰⁷ al-Mahdī led one in 160/777, sent his son Mūsā (the future al-Hādī) in 161/778, and planned a second for himself in 164/781 which failed due to lack of adequate provision on the road, and al-Raṣhīd led the Hajj at least nine times.¹⁰⁸ The claim that the 'Abbāsīd Hajj policy was 'almost identical' to the Umayyads¹⁰⁹ is therefore misleading as a matter of arithmetic and fails to take into account the very different magnitude of 'Abbāsīd hajjes: textual indicators note that 'Abbāsīd pilgrim caravans often brought much of the court with them, definitively transforming the Hajj into a politicized procession of an order not attested to in the Umayyad cases, and while al-Walid and Hishām are accorded rich processions, it is crucial to recall that for the Umayyads, one such journey was clearly enough, whereas the 'Abbāsīd transformed it into a recurring phenomenon, manifesting something new.

¹⁰⁴ Two distinct Hajj roads were constructed: the more elaborate led from al-Kūfa (the *Darb Zubayda*), and this was the most direct route from Baghdad too; considerable efforts were also expended to construct a road from al-Baṣra. Archaeological evidence of both is readily attested to (see al-Raṣhīd, *Darb Zubaydah* (1993) for the Darb Zubayda, and Blair and Ulrich, 'From Iraq to the Hijaz in the Early Islamic Period', in *The Hajj: Collected Essays*, ed. Porter and Sai (2013), 44–51, for the Basran).

¹⁰⁵ The archaeological work of al-Raṣhīd (1980, *Darb Zubaydah*) and updated (1993) revealed the many physical traces of the infrastructural works attested to in literature. For recent discussion of the literary evidence, see, in particular, Kennedy, 'Journey to Mecca: A History', in *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam*, ed. Porter (2012), 68–135 and Zadeh, 'The Early Hajj: Seventh–Eighth Centuries CE', in *The Hajj: Pilgrimage in Islam*, ed. Tagliacozzo and Toorawa (2016), 42–64.

¹⁰⁶ Al-Raṣhīd, *Darb Zubaydah* (1993), 35–40, details a speculative argument for Umayyad-era road construction; McMillan, *The Meaning of Mecca* (2011), 158–9, considers that the Abbasids simply continued Umayyad-era policies on Hajj leadership.

¹⁰⁷ McMillan counts four pilgrimages led by al-Manṣūr and two planned (*The Meaning of Mecca*, 2011) 158, though al-Maqrīzī's *Dhahab al-masbūk* (254–8) enumerates five and relates the portentous events leading to al-Manṣūr's death at Bi'r Maymūn, on the Hajj road near Mecca.

¹⁰⁸ Sources agree on pilgrimages in 170/787, 173/790, 174/791, 175/792, 177/794, 179/796, 181/798, 186/802 and 188/804 (for a list of the historiographical sources, see McMillan, *The Meaning of Mecca* (2011), 159); al-Maqrīzī, *al-Dhahab al-masbūk*, ed. van Steenberg (2016), 276–94, gives further details. Al-Raṣhīd's many pilgrimages led later commentators to assert that he performed the pilgrimage in alternating years (see Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar* (1999), vol. 1, 27), this seems inaccurate, however.

¹⁰⁹ McMillan, *The Meaning of Mecca* (2011), 158. McMillan notes that the number of 'Abbāsīd Hajjes is greater, but curiously does not consider this significant.

From a more quantitative perspective of cash expenditure, al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh* notes five Ḥajjes during which Caliphs bestowed particularly lavish gifts, and only one—that of al-Walīd—is Umayyad-era.¹¹⁰ The other four, which are, additionally, reported as more lavish are early 'Abbāsīd, and three were organized by al-Rashīd. As a fiscal matter, therefore, the grander scale of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphal ḥajjes matched their increased frequency, with particular climax during the reign of al-Rashīd, and this aligns with the greater number of Ḥajjes performed by the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs in person. Caliphal sponsored infrastructural development increased both exponentially, and immediately upon the 'Abbāsīd ascension to power. In contrast to the Umayyads, whose efforts to facilitate pilgrim caravans are slight and only appear with any possibility of empirical probability during al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik's caliphate, the very first 'Abbāsīd Caliph, al-Saffāḥ, appears to have ordered the laying of milestones and fire-signals on the Iraq–Mecca track, as well as the construction of rest-houses/forts (*quṣūr*) for pilgrims in 133/751.¹¹¹ Al-Saffāḥ's caliphate was short-lived, and by the time of his death in 136/754, it appears that the construction had only reached Zubāla, that is, a quarter of the 800-mile road to Mecca,¹¹² but building continued apace under his successor al-Manṣūr, and reached a palpable peak with al-Mahdī and al-Rashīd whose efforts render the Kūfa–Mecca road as one of biggest infrastructure projects undertaken anywhere in the medieval world. Narrative historical sources attest to the building efforts, as well as geographical texts, including Wakī's *Kitāb al-Ṭarīq* which enumerates wells, watering holes, settlements, roads and other constructions for pilgrim caravans along the road, and many of which he ascribes to their constructors/benefactors. Wakī's lists ascribe many of these amenities to the Caliphs al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī and al-Rashīd, alongside extensive patronage of court women, notably al-Khayzurān (al-Madhī's wife), Khālīṣa (al-Khayzurān's handmaid) and Zubayda (wife of al-Rashīd), and works of notable courtiers, particularly the Barmakids. For reference, Wakī's list of constructions and their patrons is set out in the Appendix table, where the ascription of works to patrons reveals the widescale works and the distinct climax of construction during the early 'Abbāsīd Caliphate. Wakī's text betrays no anti-Umayyad sentiment, and the almost complete silence on any road constructions sponsored in the Umayyad Era¹¹³ is thus most likely a function of the fact that they did not actually expend efforts

¹¹⁰ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm (1960–69), vol. 6, 465–7, vol. 8, 133, 239, 275–6, 313.

¹¹¹ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm (1960–69), vol. 7, 465. In a different context, al-Maqrīzī also alludes to constructions on the Ḥajj road by al-Saffāḥ (*al-Dhahab al-masbūk*, ed. van Steenberghe (2016), 270).

¹¹² This can be inferred from the details of the subsequent Caliph al-Mahdī's work on the road (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm (1960–69), vol. 8, 136). See also the Appendix to this chapter.

¹¹³ Wakī' (*al-Ṭarīq*, ed. al-Wuhaybī (1999–2000)), mentions two wells constructed by Ibn al-Zubayr (94) and a location near al-Khuzaymiyya where 'people used to stay during the Umayyad times' (54), however this does not specify any particular Caliphal patronage, nor is the name of the Caliph remembered.

on Ḥajj road infrastructure, and that, from a third-/ninth-century pilgrim's perspective, the amenities found on their way were intimately associated with the early 'Abbāsids who evidently realized that there was a need to create a continuous road linking Iraq with Arabia's pilgrimage centres.

Because the Abbasids so regularly travelled from their Iraqi capital to Mecca, they also developed a 'postal route' (*barīd*), separate in places from the normal pilgrim tracks, to enable affairs of state to continue while the leadership was travelling in Arabia.¹¹⁴ There is no evidence of analogous Umayyad efforts, nor would there have been any need since their political leadership was almost never in Arabia in the first place.

In step with the transformation of the Ḥajj into a priority of Caliphal energy and expenditure, poetry also begins to afford the Ḥajj a more salient role in praise of the 'Abbāsids. The presentation of the Caliph as a dual warrior and pilgrim of Islam on perpetual Jihad and Ḥajj first becomes express, according to my readings, in 'Abbāsīd-era poetry, for example Abū Shīṣ al-Khuẓā'ī's praise of al-Rashīd:

He divides time between pilgrimage and war,
A pilgrim for half, and a raider for the other.¹¹⁵

The impression that the Caliph devotes himself equally to Ḥajj and Jihad is a recurring trope in 'Abbāsīd praise poetry: Dāwūd ibn Razīn sung

Light shines in every land with Hārūn,
The straight path is his just method.
He is an Imam: his work directed to God,
His concerns are for Jihad and Ḥajj.
Men's eyes are blinded by his light
When graced by his serene appearance.
In God's protection, Hārūn the Generous
Gives the hopeful more than they ever hoped.¹¹⁶

Dāwūd's poem was composed in the very first year of al-Rashīd's caliphate, hence it cannot be a genuine description of deeds al-Rashīd actually undertook, instead it represents a poetic trope that encapsulates the normative sense of what the Caliph should be doing, and crucially, for our purposes, we can see that the Ḥajj has

¹¹⁴ Textual sources identify Yaqtīn ibn Mūsā as tasked with building a postal route for the Caliph al-Mahdī, and a milestone found in an archaeological survey between Sumayrā and al-Hājir names both of them, and that the road led to the postal station of al-'Ushāriyy[āt] (see al-Rāshid, *Darb Zubaydah* (1993), 138–40, for the milestone and discussion of the postal route, with references to narrative sources). An additional reference to al-Mahdī's *barīd* system is narrated in al-Maqrīzī, *al-Dhahab al-masbūk*, ed. van Steenberghe (2016), 272.

¹¹⁵ Abū al-Shīh al-Khuẓā'ī, *Dīwān Abī Shīṣ*, ed. Shākir al-'Āshūr (2013), 24.

¹¹⁶ Al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm (1960–69), vol. 8, 243.

transformed from a minority trope in Umayyad-era praise poetry to one of the expected duties of the Caliph by the third ‘Abbāsīd generation. The origins of the Caliph qua Ḥajj-leader poetic image can be traced to at least the generation before al-Rashīd, as the panegyrist Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣa relates similar expressions for al-Mahdī.¹¹⁷

A fuller survey of Ḥajj imagery in ‘Abbāsīd-era poetry would require more space than this chapter will allow, as the amount is greater than what we encountered in the Umayyad case, but one particularly important ‘Abbāsīd-era innovation is pertinent to note here. The collection of Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣa’s poetry in praise of both al-Mahdī and al-Rashīd makes three references to an unusual sobriquet connoting the ‘Abbāsīd clan: *Banū sāqī al-ḥajjī*—‘The Clan of the Pilgrims’ Water Supplier’.¹¹⁸ One of the lines reads (*Dīwān* 37)

The Clan of the Pilgrims’ Water Supplier is adorned
By a Caliph, the Light of Truth glowing upon his face.

And a second (*Dīwān* 54):

I follow the Clan of the Pilgrims Water Supplier,
All their goodness, from beginning to end.

The reference summons memory of ‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the ancestor from whom the ‘Abbāsīds claimed their namesake and descent, and who, as the ‘Abbāsīd-era stories stressed, assumed the honour of providing water for pilgrims in Mecca before Islam. Abbasid literature also stresses ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib’s rediscovery of the Zamzam well, thus firmly establishing prophetic water and the provision of water to pilgrims within the family pedigree. It is fascinating that Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣa would alight upon this aspect of ‘Abbāsīd legitimacy-making and coin a phrase to praise the clan in explicitly Ḥajj-specific terminology. Such marshalling of pilgrimage imagery within the very name of the dynasty is entirely lacking in the Umayyad Era, and demonstrates further how the Ḥajj was promoted to a visible aspect of the ‘Abbāsīd claims over the caliphate.

Chronologically, the new emphasis on the Ḥajj and Ḥajj-imagery in praise poetry composed for al-Mahdī and al-Rashīd matches the clear climax of Ḥajj-road infrastructure noted above. It was during the Caliphates of al-Mahdī and al-Rashīd that efforts were made to create a veritable road connecting Iraq and Mecca/Medina, and the emergence of Ḥajj-themed praise poetry in precisely this period demonstrates that something novel and something concrete was

¹¹⁷ Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣa, *Shi’r Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣa*, ed. ‘Aṭwān (1982), 104. For another example, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ibrāhīm (1960–69), vol. 8, 321.

¹¹⁸ Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣa, *Dīwān*, ed. ‘Aṭwān (1982), 37, 54, 104.

happening to the conceptual link of pilgrimage and caliphal authority in the latter half of the second/eighth century.

With poetic, historiographical and archaeological indicators pointing in unison to the centrality of pilgrimage in 'Abbāsīd ideology and state expenditure, the important question emerges as to why the 'Abbāsīds differed so patently from the Umayyads. It is illegitimate to claim that the 'Abbāsīds 'discovered' the Ḥajj, or that only by the second/eighth century did the Meccan Ḥajj establish a coherence that enabled it to enter the centre-stage of political projects, since the Umayyads had demonstrated engagement with the Ḥajj from the outset of their dynasty. The difference is in degree: the Umayyads seem to have been content to lead the Ḥajj of the Quraysh, whereas the 'Abbāsīds seemed intent on projecting the Ḥajj as their own institution. In this, the 'Abbāsīds were largely successful, inasmuch as later historians such as al-Ya'qūbī (noted at the outset of this chapter) came to equate the Ḥajj with Caliphate, and modern commentators were persuaded too, and some have back-tracked the centrality of the Ḥajj onto the post-Zubayrid Umayyads. We have seen, however, that this is not tenable, and there must be specifically 'Abbāsīd reasons for increasing the pilgrimage's footprint in state ideology.

Perhaps the Umayyads' relatively hands-off approach to the Ḥajj presented the 'Abbāsīds with the opportunity they needed. The 'Abbāsīd clan hailed from the Quraysh, but the origins of their movement and many of the populist leaders behind the first stirrings of the uprising were not Qurashī, and their power base was located in the far east of the Caliphate. As such, the 'Abbāsīds needed to ground their movement in language that showed them as more legitimate than the Umayyads, and by making a great show of their patronage of the Ḥajj, their credentials as pious rulers would be bolstered and their difference from the Umayyads could be made apparent. The 'Abbāsīds' efforts to define their lineage via 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib also sought a ring of piety to undercut the Umayyads, and by celebrating the memory of the pre-Islamic 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib as a monotheist before Muhammad who rediscovered Ishmael's Zamzam well in Mecca, the 'Abbāsīds tapped into a cachet of legitimacy which could be fostered by presenting the provision of water for pilgrims as their family's unique tradition.

It may have been the case that by the middle of the second/eighth century the old pre-Islamic hold of the Quraysh as a corporate entity over the Ḥajj was also in decline. Various clans of the Quraysh continued to reside in Mecca, but the sociopolitical changes wrought by the rise of Islam and centralization of caliphal power perhaps enabled the 'Abbāsīds and their messiah-named Caliphs to dispense with delicate intra-Quraysh relationships, and assert more personal authority than the Umayyads could have ventured. Further work on the power of Quraysh clans in the early 'Abbāsīd period can help substantiate the extent to which non-'Abbāsīd clans were slipping from centres of real power, but we suspect that the combination of a weakening of Meccan groups in tandem with a new assertiveness of 'Abbāsīd authority both

promoted and facilitated the 'Abbāsid Caliphs to assume the mantle of the Ḥajj more certainly and effectively than would have been possible for the Umayyads.

As in the case of the Umayyads, the 'Abbāsid emphasis on the Ḥajj roads might also be best explained via practical considerations of their constituency. The 'Abbāsids derived their strength from Eastern Iranians and Arab groups settled in Eastern Iran, as well as the growing Iraqi urban centres which included Arabs several generations removed from Arabian domicile and new converts from the indigenous Iraqi towns and countryside. The 'Abbāsids, most important subjects, therefore, were not people with close connections to or with kin relations living in Arabia. If such people were to perform the Ḥajj, their journey would take them through unfamiliar territory populated by unfamiliar peoples, and if the state had an intention of encouraging pilgrimage, it would necessarily need to assist caravans by building roads and providing water and food for urbanites unaccustomed to living off the land. As a result of Islam's transformation towards an urbanites' religion, and practical considerations concerning the 'Abbāsids' powerbase, therefore, the 'Abbāsid Caliphs found themselves confronting a new necessity for infrastructure which the Umayyads never encountered.

Close consideration of the Ḥajj as an object of investment and Caliphal attention, and as a subject of poetry and official rhetoric of power shows that the pilgrimage's importance was variable in early Islam. There was no one single teleological and linear progression of the Ḥajj's salience, and the flurry of attention during the Caliphates of al-Mahdī and al-Rashīd is, taken in the round, something of an anomaly. It is hoped, therefore, that this chapter has shed light on what appear to be real differences between the nature of Ḥajj, political authority, and public expenditure in the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid eras, and it is also this chapter's contention that we might benefit from shying away from attempts to explain the differences in attention to the Ḥajj as functions of underlying developments and/or inventions to the Ḥajj ritual in early Islam. The relationships between power and pilgrimage certainly fluctuated, but this does not logically necessitate concomitant change in the underlying religious ritual. Claims that the Meccan origins of the Ḥajj are effectively a myth of Muslim historiography, and that early Muslims did not practice the Ḥajj in a form recognizable today continue to circulate,¹¹⁹ but the sources, material and textual, do not point towards significant alternatives to the traditional narrative. To offer a resolution, therefore, this chapter has resorted to a political-economic lens to argue that the Umayyads,

¹¹⁹ Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (1987) and Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* (1994); Holland, *In the Shadow of the Sword: The Birth of Islam and the Rise of the Global Arab Empire* (2012) repeats the same sentiments in a more recent popularizing history which gained considerable attention; in more niche studies, Morris, 'Mecca and Macoraba' (2018) examines the lack of pre-Islamic attestation for the toponym 'Mecca'; he does not suggest that Mecca did not exist, but a considerable trend of doubt over the pre-Islamic Mecca-Ḥajj connection, unambiguously accepted in Muslim texts, continues.

from at least Mu‘āwiya, were aware of Mecca’s importance as a pilgrimage centre, but for reasons of their political constituency, the nature of their legitimacy and the traditions associated with pilgrimage, they did not find that Mecca provided suitable returns on investment to merit placing the Ḥajj at the centre of their ideology. When a new regime with different forms of legitimacy based on a different constituency emerged in the different sociopolitical circumstances of the later second/eighth century, however, Mecca did become an attractive investment. But only for a brief moment, as al-Rashīd was the last Caliph ever to lead the pilgrimage. The reasons behind this abrupt change hardly can relate to further changes in the rituals of Ḥajj or the theological importance of Mecca, rather we need to look again into the politics of power and resources, but that story must be for another forum.

Appendix: ‘Abbāsīd Patronage of the Ḥajj Roads

Elite Patrons and their Works cited in al-Qāḍī Wakī’s *Kitāb al-Ṭariq*

Patron	Location	Type of Construction	Page
Al-Manṣūr	Al-Raḍm	Well, cistern, buildings	39
	Al-Jawfā	Well	48
	‘Usayla	Wells	49
	Near al-Tha‘labiyya	Well	51
	Near al-Khuzaymiyya	Palace/enclosure (<i>qaṣr</i>)	54
	Near Fayd	Road construction	58
	Al-‘Umaq	Palace enclosure and mosque	86
	Al-Ba‘th	Watering pool	97
	Al-Maslaḥ	Watering pool and Well	98
‘Īsā ibn ‘Alī	Al-Maslaḥ	Well and palace/enclosure	98
Mūsā ibn ‘Īsā (d.182/799)	Near Fayd	Cistern	58
Al-Mahdī	Road to al-Tha‘labiyya	Watering pool	45
	Al-Tha‘labiyya	Wells	48
	Al-Tha‘labiyya	Watering pool	51
	Near al-Ajfar	Major wells, sided with rock	57
	Between Fayd and Tūz	Well	63
	Tūz	Well	66
	Samirā’	Well	69
	Al-Ḥājir	2 wells	72
	Al-Rabadha	2 wells	82
	Bustān Umm Ṣāliḥ	2 wells	87
Al-Khayzurān (wife of al-Mahdī)	Near Zubāla	Road markers	39
	Near Zubāla	Road construction	40
	Al-Ajfar	Watering pool	55

Khālīṣa (servant of al-Khayzurān)	Al-Qāʿ	Shelters (<i>qubāb</i>)	36
	Al-Ṭalīḥ	Shelters	44
	Biṭān	2 watering pools	47
	Wādī Ramtha	Shelters, storehouse	47
	Near Baṭn al-Agharr	Paved road	55
	Near al-Ajfar	Vault over watering place	57
	Near al-Ajfar	Paved road	59
	Near Fayd	Shelters	64
	Al-Qāṭina	Shelters, storehouse	73
	Al-Musharraf	Shelters, storehouse	75
	Near al-Nuqra	Wells	77
	Maʿdin al-Māwān	Shelters, storehouse	79
Abū Mūsā (brother of Yaqtīn ibn Mūsā)	Al-Biṭān	Well	45
Yaqtīn ibn Mūsā	Al-ʿUmaq	Well	86
Al-Rashīd	Rayyān	Palace/enclosure	87
	Birayh?	2 watering pools	100
Zubayda Umm Jaʿfar	Near al-Qāʿ	Watering pool	36
	Near al-Shuqūq	Watering pool and palace/	42
	Near al-Shuqūq	enclosure	43
	Near Biṭān	Watering pool	46
	Near Biṭān	Palace/enclosure	47
	Al-Khuzaymiyya	Watering pool?	52
	Near al-Ajfar	Palace/enclosure	57
	Tūz	Watering pool	66
	Samirāʾ	Watering pool	70
	Qarūrā	Watering pool	74
	Maʿdin Banī Sulaym	Watering pool	87
	Al-Ghumayr	Watering pool	106
Barmakids	Al-Khuzaymiyya	Well	52
	Al-Ajfar	Well	57
	Near Fay	Road and watering pool	58
	Al-ʿUmaq	Well	86
Masrūr (servant of al-Rashīd)	Al-Maslaḥ	Well	98
Al-Wāthiq	Al-Khuzaymiyya	Well	54
ʿUmar ibn al-Faraj (Official during the reing of al-Wāthiq)	Dhāt al-Tanānīr	3 wells, cistern and watering pool	40
			41
	Near al-Thaʿlabiyya	Cisterns, wells and way-markers	45
			63
	Near al-Thaʿlabiyya	Water tank	77
	Fayd	Well	
Al-Mutawakkil	Maʿdin al-Qurashī	Rest-stop	
	Al-Ḥājir	Well	73
	Near al-Maslaḥ	Palace/Enclosure	90
	Al-Maslaḥ	Well	98

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