

# ARCHITECTURE *of the* ISLAMIC WEST

North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula, 700–1800

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# INTRODUCTION & ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Some of the most famous examples of world architecture—the Mosque of Córdoba, the *muqarnas* (“stalactite”) ceiling of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo, the Giralda tower in Seville, and the Alhambra palace in Granada—belong to a great architectural tradition that flourished along the southern and western shores of the Mediterranean between Tunisia and Spain for over a thousand years between the eighth century and the nineteenth. While part of the wider story of architecture in the lands of Islam, developments in this region became, as we shall see, largely independent from the traditions of the eastern Mediterranean (Egypt, Syria, Turkey) and in west and south Asia (Iran, central Asia, India), although they shared several basic forms and techniques, such as the hypostyle mosque and the use of *muqarnas* and tile decoration, and occasionally new ideas were introduced from abroad. At the same time, Islamic buildings in Sicily and Spain also belong to the story of European architecture, but surveys frequently ignore them because they are outside the mainstream of European (i.e., Christian) architecture. The majority of surveys of Islamic art and architecture mention a few famous buildings from the western regions, such as the mosques of Kairouan or Córdoba and the Alhambra, but give short shrift to the vibrant tradition of which they formed part, focusing instead on more familiar developments in the central and eastern lands of Islam. For example, the Alhambra is often cited as a prime

example of Islamic architecture, but it hardly makes sense in the context of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem or the Taj Mahal in Agra. This book seeks to redress the balance and treat Islamic architecture in the western lands of Islam not as a provincial offshoot but as a distinct tradition in its own right.

For the purposes of this book, the western lands of Islam include northwest Africa, known in Arabic as the *Maghrib* (“the place where the sun sets”), and *al-Andalus*, referring to the Muslim-controlled parts of the Iberian Peninsula. Sicily, ruled by Muslims from the ninth century to the end of the eleventh, briefly enters the picture, as does Libya in the east and Portugal in the west of the region (map 1). This book begins with the coming of Islam to the region in the seventh century CE and ends with European colonialism in the nineteenth, although in an attempt to at least sketch out the whole story, I have included a few twentieth- and twenty-first-century mosques. Covering architecture in six modern countries—principally Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Spain, but also Italy (Sicily) and Libya (and an occasional mention of Portugal)—over the course of more than a millennium, this book could have been a doorstop, as the subject has never really been covered before in English.<sup>1</sup> I have tried to keep within a given remit, but this has meant that not every significant building could be included, and some readers will find that some personal favorites are missing.

I have been mulling the idea of such a book for about 45 years, inspired by my own experiences. I first went to Tunisia in 1973 to spend six months working with a Smithsonian-sponsored project studying the ancient Roman mosaics there. For most of the time we lived in a

(facing page) Detail of figure 5.16



**Map 1** General map of northwest Africa and adjoining regions of Europe

traditional open-courtyard house in Tunis's medina, enjoying the watery "delights" of a Mediterranean winter, but on weekends the team visited many classical and Islamic sites in Tunisia and eastern Algeria under the guidance of Prof. Margaret Alexander of the University of Iowa. Having decided to pursue graduate studies in Islamic art and architecture, I returned to Tunisia and Algeria (and first visited Morocco) with my fellow graduate student Sheila Blair (who would later become my wife and colleague) in the spring of 1978 during a year-long trip around the Mediterranean doing research for my dissertation. The trip was sponsored by a Fulbright-Hayes Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad grant and provided me with some wonderful opportunities. For example, arriving "cold" in Algiers, we were welcomed at the American Embassy by Christopher Ross, then the cultural attaché, who not only found us temporary accommodation in Algiers but also proposed organizing an embassy trip to visit the remote Qal'a of the Bani Hammad. We all

set out, along with the ambassador and his wife, in a convoy of American station wagons that swayed ominously as we drove through the Tell Atlas mountains. In those carefree days we imagined that we would revisit these places soon enough with more time to spend, so we did not take many pictures, especially since we, as graduate students, considered film expensive. But world events intervened, such as the Algerian civil war in the 1990s and the Arab Spring in 2011, so we never got back to some places. Nevertheless, I was able to return several times to Morocco, as well as to Sicily, Tunisia, Spain, and Portugal.

Sheila and I had dealt briefly with some of the buildings discussed in this book in our 1994 publication, *The Art and Architecture of Islam: 1250-1800*, for the Pelican History of Art series (also published by Yale University Press), and it has been interesting to go back and see what we wrote about them then. The present book was first proposed in the mid-1990s, when Sheila and I were writing *Islamic*

*Arts* (1997) for Phaidon Press in London. Marc Jordan, then the acquisitions editor at Phaidon, first mentioned the possibility of publishing a more substantial scholarly book. About a decade later, having finished *Arts of the City Victorious* (2008), which dealt with the art and architecture of the Fatimid dynasty (909–1171) in North Africa and Egypt, I began thinking again about the North Africa book. Robert Hillenbrand encouraged me to draft a proposal and Gillian Malpass at Yale University Press in London eventually accepted it on Robert's recommendation, and offered me a contract. After Gillian's departure from Yale, Mark Eastment inherited the project, and he and Julie Hrischeva have carefully seen it through publication. Linda Schofield has gently and meticulously copy-edited the text, and Catherine Bankhurst has sensitively designed the lovely book you see before you.

My biggest problem in writing this book has been difficulty of access: because of the Maliki school of law followed in the region, non-Muslims are generally prevented from entering mosques in Tunisia and Morocco, although at least in the 1970s we could enter mosques in Algeria in the mornings. The courtyard, but not the more interesting prayer hall, of the Mosque of Kairouan is normally open to tourists, but in 1987, with special permission as a fellow of the American Institute of Maghribi Studies, I was able to enter the prayer hall briefly (but not take any photographs). In the 1990s, while working on a project studying the minbar from the Kutubiya mosque in Marrakesh, my colleague Stefano Carboni and I were able to enter the Kutubiya and Qasba mosques, but not the Qarawiyn mosque in Fez or the Mosque of Taza to see the minbars there. Apart from the Hassan II mosque in Casablanca, which is open at specific times to non-Muslims, the only mosque non-Muslims can enter in Morocco is the ruined Almohad mosque at Tinmal, high in the Atlas mountains above Marrakesh. In the early 1980s, when I was the guest lecturer accompanying a Harvard Alumni tour to Morocco, Sheila and I "escaped" from the group in Marrakesh and rented a Citroën 2CV to drive up into the High Atlas to see the mosque at Tinmal. When we got there, three or four hours later, we found the village empty and the mosque locked because there was a *mawlid* (local festival) going on in the neighboring town. Undeterred, we managed to sneak in under one of the doors and see the mosque long before its recent renovation.

The inaccessibility of mosques creates a serious problem for a non-Muslim writer who cannot see things with his own eyes and has to rely on previously published material. Even K. A. C. Creswell (1879–1974), the great historian of Islamic architecture, had to rely on associates to plan Tunisian mosques of the Aghlabid period, and their plans were not nearly as accurate as he would have made himself.<sup>2</sup> I do not pretend that this will be the last word on the subject; rather, my purpose in writing this book was to stimulate interest about an unfamiliar and relatively inaccessible subject. In addition to what I myself have seen and photographed, I have relied on the extensive specialist literature, largely in French and Spanish. Like all good research, this book rests on the works of others, particularly such pioneers as Henri Terrasse, Georges Marçais, Manuel Gómez-Moreno, Leopoldo Torres Balbás, Marianne Barrucand, Christian Ewert, Antonio Vallejo Triano, Antonio Almagro Gorbea, and Julio Navarro Palazón, to name only a few. I am very conscious of standing on the shoulders of those who were able to spend more time, see more and write in much more detail than I possibly could. To give just one example, I continue to be astounded by Marçais's extensive and eloquent descriptions and analysis of decoration.

Access to published resources has increased exponentially in the twenty-first century, thanks to the wonders of the internet. I well remember how thrilled I was in the early 1980s to find a copy of Marçais's classic book, *L'Architecture musulmane d'occident* (1954), displayed for sale in a bank window, and over the years I have been fortunate to be able to consult many rare and out-of-print books, whether through the efforts of helpful librarians or eager book dealers. When I began working on the subject years ago, I could spend hours in the depths of Harvard's Widener Library trying to find specific volumes of dusty periodicals from the colonial era, but in recent years these resources have increasingly been made available digitally and often freely on the web. In addition to such databases as JStor, I am delighted to discover rare books and back runs of journals on such sites as Persée and Gallica, as well as other sites hosting such national journals as *Cahiers de Tunisie* and *Revue Africaine*. It is always illuminating and often thrilling to read the original publications of buildings discussed in this book and to see how much our predecessors saw and knew.

This is a deliberately old-fashioned type of book, written for the widest possible audience, ranging from curious

general readers and travelers to students and specialists in other fields of architectural history, art history, Islamic studies, or Mediterranean studies. I have tried to keep abreast of current specialist scholarship and refer to it in many of the notes, but it would be inappropriate in a survey like this one to get involved in abstruse arguments or cite every published article. With these constraints, I have tried to present a fair and balanced summary of the evidence and previous scholarship. Some of the buildings discussed in the following pages, such as the Mosque of Córdoba or the Alhambra, deserve—and have received—monographic treatments, not only of the entire building but even of their particular parts, such as a façade, a portal, or even the window grilles.<sup>3</sup> A different publishing market might once have allowed authors to delve deeply into individual problems (such as the nature and development of particular ornamental motifs), but this is simply not feasible—or appropriate to my intended audience—today, and I encourage all interested readers to go back to the sources referenced in the notes for more information and detailed discussion.

Many recent studies of Islamic architecture have tended to interpret everything in iconographic or symbolic terms, as scholars attempt to reveal hidden meanings lurking behind what were once considered to be merely decorative façades and typical plans. At the start of my academic career I may also have been guilty of such feats of intellectual legerdemain, but forty-odd years later I find myself taking a more prosaic approach, focusing on such practical questions as what was built and how, what did builders know, how did they know it, what were they able to construct, what materials did they have, and where did they get them? Certainly, patrons wanted to express something by spending a lot of money and effort on building, but in order to justify the iconographic interpretation, one must first demonstrate that the people in question knew of the referent, not just that it existed somewhere. One must demonstrate, moreover, that the society had mechanisms for preserving and transmitting such meanings over time and space.

For example, several previous writers have stated that the plan of the Córdoba mosque is a copy of a mosque in Jerusalem or Damascus, but they have offered no explanation about how people in Córdoba would have known about those mosques.<sup>4</sup> In an era long before the proliferation of images and the media of mass communication, few

people had more than the vaguest ideas of what the rest of the world might have looked like. How would they have articulated and conveyed this knowledge if they had it? The relative paucity of graphic representations (i.e., plans and drawings) in this period meant that verbal representations were more important, particularly in a society such as medieval Islam, which consistently valued the word over the image. Furthermore, Muslim writers of the classical age rarely spent much time describing the built environment, and even when they did we must use surviving descriptions with due caution.

In the course of writing this book and looking through medieval texts, I have been struck by how often writers mention buildings but how rarely they *describe* them. Such descriptions as do exist usually use an extremely limited vocabulary and concentrate on aspects that can be quantified and enumerated, such as the materials employed and the number of columns or entrances. We rarely find any real *description* of spaces or ornament, suggesting that the contemporary viewer had little or no means of articulating such concepts. A partial exception may be made for poetry, but the demands of meter and rhyme often trump what we today might call accuracy of description, especially when a wealthy patron might offer a fat purse to a poor poet. All these considerations suggest that symbolic interpretations, however clever they may appear to us today, probably tell us more about ourselves than about how people in times past thought about their buildings.

Another issue that I have noticed repeatedly is that modern architectural history is rooted in the comparison of plans. For example, several authors have suggested that the so-called T-plan found in many Maghribi mosques—where the prayer hall's central aisle meets an equally wide aisle running along the qibla, or Mecca-facing wall—was “influenced” (their word, not mine) by the plan of such structures as the al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> Or they think that the direction of the arcades—lengthwise or crosswise—in a hypostyle prayer hall makes much of a difference. Such differences, which are readily visible on a plan, are hardly important when one experiences the building as a three-dimensional space. Furthermore, there is little evidence that medieval builders used or thought about their buildings in terms of plans, since paper came to this region relatively late and was employed primarily for books.<sup>6</sup> Occasionally a medieval author might mention that a

mosque had or was extended by so many *balāt* or bays, but would never specify whether such bays ran longitudinally or transversally. Plans are a useful, but relatively modern, graphic tool for analyzing and discussing buildings, but I do not believe that many of the buildings discussed in the following pages—particularly the earlier ones—were designed using graphic notation.

Several years ago, the British art historian Michael Baxandall wrote that the idea of influence, so popular among art historians, was wrongly construed, for it put the emphasis on the patient rather than the agent.<sup>7</sup> Over the years I have tried to take his advice to heart and focus on the culture that did the adopting rather than on the one from which something was adopted. Furthermore, such an approach forces us to think about what people could have known at a particular time and place and how they might have known it. Armed with modern surveys of art and architectural history, it is far too easy to write that a particular feature shows ‘Abbasid “influence” from Baghdad; it is far more difficult to demonstrate exactly how such ‘Abbasid ideas might have been known and why they might have been adopted.

Finally, this is a book about architectural history. It is not about political and social history as illustrated by architecture. As an art historian, I certainly consider it important to consult the historical record, but my principal source here will be the surviving buildings, which I believe have much to tell us that texts may ignore. For me, the primary documents are *things*, and we should use texts to help explain them, not the other way around. Nevertheless, as a great deal of the historical context for the buildings to be discussed will not be known to most readers, there is a lot of history in this book, as well as numerous unfamiliar names and places. To help out, I have provided several maps and a Glossary. North Africa may be closer to southern Europe than any other region of the Islamic lands, and as early as 1786 the United States of America signed a treaty of peace and friendship with Morocco, but North African history has largely been neglected by many American and European scholars of Islam. French scholars, because of the colonial past, have been more interested than others in the subject, while Spanish scholars have mostly, though not exclusively, concerned themselves with Islam in the Iberian Peninsula. Recently, several younger scholars have begun to address various aspects of the region’s history and art, but only a few have written about the monuments.<sup>8</sup>

The buildings presented in this book represent a rather conservative architectural tradition. In contrast to other regions of the lands of Islam, such as Iran or Ottoman Turkey, where builders exploited the possibilities of arches, vaults, and domes to create some of the most majestic spaces ever known, the buildings discussed here are structurally restrained: there is very little vaulting, and when it is found it covers rather small (or narrow) spaces. Patrons and builders were challenged, therefore, with the problem of how to create large and imposing spaces when they wanted them. Recently Felix Arnold has written about the persistence of the “long hall,” a transverse long and narrow room, in western Islamic palaces.<sup>9</sup> But the “long hall” with its walls is structurally no different from the “aisle” (i.e., a *balat*) of the typical hypostyle mosque, for both are long and narrow spaces usually covered by wooden ceilings. In contrast to other areas of the Islamic lands, the western parts always had ready access to timber, so vaulting was never as essential as it was in a place like Iran, or as symbolically important as the dome became in the Ottoman Empire. When necessary or desired, these long and narrow spaces could be opened up with columns, piers, porticos, and projecting alcoves.<sup>10</sup> When big uninterrupted spaces are found, they are unusual, significant, and normally covered with wood or wood and plaster structures.

Furthermore, most of these buildings maintain an early Islamic tradition of interiority, where the relatively plain and dull exteriors may conceal exuberant and colorful interiors. In the central and eastern Islamic lands, particularly after c. 1000, exteriors became increasingly important, as prominent domes, minarets, and carefully composed façades, sometimes heightened with colorful tiles or carved or inlaid stone, characterized buildings from Cairo to Delhi. In the Maghrib, however, the articulation and decoration of the exterior was usually restricted to portals and minarets, which serve to call attention to buildings with otherwise undistinguished exteriors. Roofs are often flat or pitched and covered with green glazed tiles. But the real decorative emphasis was always inside, whether in the courtyard or under cover in the rooms surrounding it.

As elsewhere in the Islamic lands, surface decoration becomes increasingly important, and many of the techniques—carved stucco and tile mosaic—are similar to those employed elsewhere, but they are realized differently. The nature of the medieval Muslim world encouraged people

to travel, whether to perform the rites of the pilgrimage to Mecca, to study with an important teacher, trade goods, or seek employment. Consequently, craftsmen appear to have carried some artistic ideas from the central and eastern Islamic lands, such as muqarnas and tile revetments, to the west. Yet there is no way of confusing a muqarnas dome from al-Andalus with one from Iran,<sup>11</sup> or Moroccan *ziliġ* with Iranian tile mosaic. At the same time other characteristic features of Islamic architecture, such as vaulting, the use of *iwāns*, and the construction of domes, did not travel west. What does this tell us about the nature of transmission? Was it due to the varied availability of materials?

A relatively constant theme in the regions and periods covered by this book is the reuse of materials, particularly marbles. In pre-modern times, labor was cheap and materials were expensive. Most, if not all, of the region bordering the Mediterranean Sea had once been part of the Roman Empire, and after its collapse, innumerable columns, capitals, paving stones, statues, sarcophagi, etc. were available for reuse, initially by Byzantine and Visigothic builders but then by Muslims for mosques and other buildings.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, however, many of the North African and Iberian quarries that had once supplied the Romans' voracious appetite for special colored marbles were closed, making the extant stock all the more precious. Some buildings, such as the congregational mosques of Córdoba and Kairouan, were supported by scores of spoliated columns and capitals, often carefully arranged in pairs. The supply was apparently inexhaustible, although the decreasing quality of the available stock encouraged builders to seek further afield or eventually commission new pieces inspired by the old ones. Some pieces, such as unusually colored columns, were treated almost like relics of earlier dynasties, particularly in areas, such as southern Morocco, which had been beyond the reach of the Roman Empire. For example, several Moroccan mosques have some marble fittings in prominent locations that appear to have been made centuries earlier in Umayyad al-Andalus. Where available, sarcophagi could be repurposed as basins, while statues—largely frowned upon in Islamic societies—could always be turned into lime for mortar, although occasionally one reads of an ancient statue being discovered and displayed prominently.

This is also a book about architecture, not buildings. As the Roman author Vitruvius stated over two thousand

years ago, architecture has three qualities: *utilitas*, *firmitas*, and *venustas*—roughly utility, stability, and beauty. In other words, architecture had to be useful, stay up, and look nice; buildings, on the other hand, could be useful or just stay up. The structures discussed in the following pages belong to a tradition largely located in the cities of northwest Africa and the southeastern half of the Iberian Peninsula. Architectural activity was principally due to the patronage of elites and was tied to the prosperity of dynasties, some of which lasted for centuries while others were extremely short-lived.<sup>13</sup> Mosques and palaces were the most important buildings erected and they dominated the built environment both physically and symbolically, but other types of structures, such as *madrasas* (schools), *zāwiyas* (hospices) and fancy houses, have survived as well. In the majority of cases little if any of the original urban context remains so we have scant idea of how these buildings once fitted into their surroundings, and in certain places, such as colonial Algiers, the urban context was willfully destroyed in the nineteenth century.

Mosques, of course, are the most common and important building type I will discuss. They have been built continually and were constantly maintained, although recently some scholars have questioned whether it was actually *necessary* to build a mosque or whether it reflected a conscious choice by the patron.<sup>14</sup> In contrast, palaces have often been remodeled, destroyed by subsequent rulers, or abandoned to fall into ruin, so—with some exceptions, notably the Alhambra—they are known largely through archaeology. I am very conscious that this decision to focus on the metropolitan tradition excludes the vernacular architecture of the northern fringes and oases of the Sahara, which, since its discovery by Europeans in the nineteenth century, has generated its own appreciative and specialist literature.<sup>15</sup>

As the historian Jill Lepore recently reminded us,

History is the study of what remains, what's left behind, which can be almost anything, so long as it survives the ravages of time and war . . . Some of these things are saved by chance or accident . . . [b]ut most of what historians study survives because it was purposely kept . . . All of it . . . is called the historical record, and it is maddeningly uneven, asymmetrical, and unfair.<sup>16</sup>





I.1 Granada, Alhambra, Court of the Lions in 1977, with plants growing between the paths. Compare figure 5.13

Thus there are enormous gaps in our knowledge: we know a lot about certain places and times, but only a small amount about others. So, while we believe that we are fairly well informed about the early congregational mosques in both Kairouan and Córdoba, we have hardly any information about contemporary mosques elsewhere or contemporary palaces. We know relatively little about later congregational mosques in Spain, with the exception of the great mosques of Córdoba and Seville, although we do have the finest surviving example of a medieval Islamic palace, namely the Alhambra. Close study of the Alhambra, however, shows that

what survives is not always quite as “medieval” as we might like to think. My own visits to the Court of the Lions at the Alhambra over the past 40 years, for instance, have revealed at least three different systems of covering the ground: grass in the 1970s (fig. I.1), gravel by the 1990s, and white marble slabs in the 2000s. Which is “authentic?”

Unlike some previous publications, this book investigates the architecture of North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula together because the Straits of Gibraltar were less of a barrier and more of a bridge than commonly thought, and at many times one side was deeply involved in the affairs of

the other. Furthermore, they complement each other: for example, more mosques are preserved in North Africa, which remains predominantly Muslim, while few still exist in Spain, where mosques were converted into or rebuilt as churches. Madrasas—theological schools—barely survive in Spain but are present in relatively significant numbers in Morocco or Tunisia, while palaces survive in Spain and Sicily, but are largely archaeological sites in Morocco and Tunisia. There are no contemporaneous palaces extant in Morocco, but mosques persist. Mausolea are generally quite rare, particularly in contrast to other regions of the Islamic lands.<sup>17</sup> I have endeavored to present a coherent narrative using what we know from one region covered in this study to supplement what appears to be missing elsewhere. In this case, I believe, the whole is far more than simply the sum of its parts.

I have organized my presentation roughly, but not absolutely, chronologically, in order to keep the discussion of certain types of buildings, whether mosques or palaces, together, despite some slight gaps in time. I have relied on a rather traditional division into periods and regions based on the dynasties that ruled in particular times and places, although I am well aware that scholars are developing new periodizations and regional divisions for the study of Islamic history.<sup>18</sup> Where appropriate, I have tried to avoid using modern political entities, such as “Spain,” or “Tunisia” in favor of al-Andalus and Ifriqiya, respectively, for the boundaries of the current political entities did not emerge until c. 1500.

Not only will many of the places and dynasties be unfamiliar to most readers, but names are frequently spelled in a variety of ways. In general, I have tried to take a simple and user-friendly approach, but it has been a challenge, especially since the Arabic spoken in the Maghrib is often not the same as that used in the central Arab lands, particularly in the dropping of short vowels. Thus a common word like madrasa, or school, may be pronounced (and written in English transcription) in Morocco as *medersa*, and the uninitiated (like the present author when he was an undergraduate) might think they were two different words. Furthermore, Maghribi Arabic words have been further altered through transcription into French or Spanish, which have their own rules (or lack of them) for transcribing Arabic, before being transcribed once again into English. Thus, the city in Tunisia known as *al-Qayrawān* in classical Arabic (and pronounced *qairwān* in Tunisia) is

usually rendered as Kairouan in French (and English), while the Algerian city referred to as *al-Tilimsān* in classical Arabic (and pronounced *tlimsān* in Algeria) is Tlemcen in French and Tremcen (!) in Spanish. The romantically beautiful site outside of Rabat, Morocco, is variously called Chella, Chellah, Sāla, Šālla, Shallah, and Sla. The reception court in front of a palace is a *mashwar* in Arabic, but it is a *mexuar* in Spanish, a *méchouar* in French, and a recent book in English calls it a *mishwār*.<sup>19</sup> Whereas English transcribes the Arabic letter *jīm* as a j, French transcribes it as dj, and Spanish as a y! Thus the name Ja‘far, with or without the character ‘ayn (a voiced pharyngeal fricative unknown in English) in the middle, can be transcribed as Djafar and Yafar. All of this makes it terribly confusing for readers who are simply trying to make some sense out of unfamiliar names of people, places, and times.

I have therefore arbitrarily adopted the more formal, if not always common, transliteration of Arabic words rather than a transcription of Maghribi Arabic, and hope that the Glossary and Index will take care of some of the problems that will invariably arise. For the sake of simplicity, I have eliminated diacriticals from the names of authors in the notes and the author-date headings in the Bibliography, but have retained full transcription for the authors’ names and titles in the bibliographic entries themselves. I have also sacrificed absolute consistency and used the most common English equivalents in the text. Even so, there will be exceptions, particularly after c. 1500 when Turkish, with its own set of rules for transcription, began to appear in the Maghrib. The corsair Darghut Pasha, for example, who was based in sixteenth-century Tripoli, is variously known as Darghud, Dorghut, Draghut ‘Alī, Torghud Re’is, etc. I have followed a simplified system of transcribing Arabic, omitting most macrons and subscript dots beloved of Orientalists (except in the first use of an unfamiliar word when it is italicized): those who know will know; those who do not know will not care. In any case, full transcriptions and variant spellings, along with definitions, can be found in the Glossary. In most cases I have provided only Common Era (CE) dates, but where it seems appropriate, I have given the AH (*Anno Hegirae*) date, according to the Muslim lunar calendar beginning in 622, along with its CE equivalent, which sometimes spans two adjacent years.

No book of this type could be written without a lot of help from others. Nicholas Warner has beautifully redrawn the majority of the plans scattered in these pages, but they

should be understood as illustrations to a book, not as archaeological records. We have used the best sources we could find, but we have not measured anything first-hand. Most of the photographs are my own, taken over the past 40 years. The reader will see that I have sometimes chosen to include older photographs rather than newer ones because they show the state of a building before recent restorations. I have also found some wonderful historic photographs and other visual resources through the Internet, particularly in the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress. As always, Anne Kenney and the interlibrary loan staff at the Boston College Library have helped retrieve obscure articles and books with amazing speed. Nourane Ben Azzouna assisted by supplying contemporary bibliography in Arabic.

Glaire Anderson, Amira Bennison, Mariam Rosser-Owen, and Jessica Streit all generously shared with me chapters they had prepared for the unpublished *Cambridge World History of Religious Architecture*, now to be published by Brepols in 2021. Caroline Goodson supplied information about early Islamic sites in North Africa. ‘Abdallah Fili and Ron Messier facilitated a visit to Aghmat, and Nadia Erzini helped me find some photos. Ramzi Rouighi tried to help me identify a quote dealing with the Hafsids, and Raouda and Zaher Mahjoub were generous hosts in the medina of Tunis. Pedro Marfil guided me in, around, and under the Mosque of Córdoba, and Antonio Vallejo shepherded a group of Boston College students and me through Madinat al-Zahra’. After a wonderful visit to Granada, Antonio Almagro Gorbea, Pedro Jiménez Castillo, and Julio Navarro Palazón loaded me down with books, DVDs, offprints and other treasures from the

Escuela de Estudios Arabes de Granada (CSIC). Sheila Blair, Robert Hillenbrand, Simon O’Meara, and D. Fairchild Ruggles read all or parts of the manuscript and provided extraordinarily helpful comments.

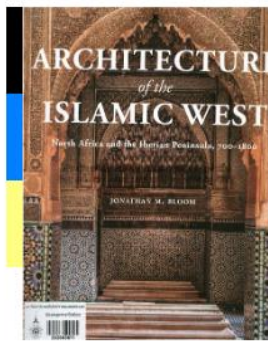
Just as the first draft of this book was nearly complete, Xavier Salmon of the Musée du Louvre, Paris, came to the rescue and generously offered to let me publish some of his beautiful recent photos of Moroccan mosques. And Ahmed Saadaoui and Lamia Hadda have helped me find photographs of Tunisian monuments I was unable to enter. Julio Navarro Palazón provided the photos of the Murcia muqarnas fragments (see fig. 3.17) and the plan of Siyasa (see fig. 4.31). The Escorial library graciously supplied a photograph of figure 8.17, and Zinedine Zebar provided his wonderful photo of the Djamaa El Djazaïr (see fig. 9.10).

Most authors who try to write books of this type require outside support, and go hat in hand to foundations and scholarly organizations to fund their research. Over the past 18 years, however, I have been unbelievably fortunate to have had access to extraordinarily generous research funding from both the Norma Jean Calderwood University Professorship of Islamic and Asian Art at Boston College and the Hamad bin Khalifa Endowed Chair of Islamic Art at Virginia Commonwealth University, two positions that I have shared with my beloved wife and colleague, Sheila Blair. It goes without saying that without her constant support, lively interest, sage counsel, and hard work this book would never have been written.

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June 30, 2019

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