Appendix: Chronology of the Early Muslim World

This is merely a list of the most salient dates and rulers pertinent to an understanding of the text. For more complete and easily accessible information see Clifford E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh, 1967) and James J. Saunders, *A History of Medieval Islam* (London, 1965).

**A.D. 622** The Hijrah, establishment in Madinah of the first Muslim state; beginning of the Muslim era

632 Death of the Prophet Muhammad

*The Conquest*

633–40 Conquest of Syria and Palestine
640 Completion of conquest of Iraq
642 Alexandria abandoned by Byzantine army, Lower Egypt conquered
651 Death of the last Sassanian king, conquest of western Iran
711 Beginning of conquest of Spain
732 Battle of Poitiers
751 Tashkent reached in Central Asia, symbolizing the completion of the conquest of northeastern Iran

*The Caliphate*

632–61 The so-called Orthodox caliphs
661–750 Umayyad caliphs, among whom the most important ones for the arts were:
661–80 Mu‘awiya
685–705 Abd al-Malik
705–15 al-Walid I
717–20 ‘Umar
724–43 Hisham
743 al-Walid II
749–945 Period during which ‘Abbasid caliphs were in fairly strong control.
The most important rulers were:
754–75 al-Mansur
786–809 Harun al-Rashid
813–33 al-Ma‘mun
833–62 al-Mu’tasim
847–61 al-Mutawakkil
870–92 al-Mu’tamid
906–32 al-Muqtadir

*Early Dynasties in the Provinces*

756–1031 Umayyads in Spain
800–903 Aghlabids in Tunisia and Sicily
868–905 Tarnids in Egypt
909–1171 Fatimids in Tunisia, Egypt, Sicily, Palestine
969 Foundation of Cairo
992–1062 Buyids in Persia and Iraq
821–73 Tahirids in northeastern Iran
819–1005 Samanids in northeastern Iran

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1. The Problem

The text of the chapter has shown that, except for Herzfeld, few scholars have sought to pose in any sort of theoretical fashion the problems raised by the formation of Islamic art. On the contrary, historians have asked themselves more frequently how the new Islamic culture could have come into being. A fascinating oscillation occurs between two main ways of seeing that culture. One way, whether it emphasizes the “Semitic” or the “Iranian” aspects of early Islam, tends to concentrate on those “Oriental” features that make it “different.” The other way, without necessarily denying Muslim uniqueness, conceives of the new culture as a peculiar version of a “Mediterranean” or “medieval” culture. One of the most profound statements of the problem was by Carl H. Becker, “Islam als Problem,” *Der Islam* 1 (1910), reprinted in volume 1 of his *Islamstudien* (Leipzig, 1924). A more recent and rather difficult introduction to the problems can be found in Jörg Kraemer, *Das Problem der islamischen Kulturgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1959). Quite recently Gustav von Grunebaum has made a major contribution to the question in his “The Sources of Islamic Civilization,” *Der Islam* 46 (1970): 1–54. On more specific historical and cultural issues an important group of papers has been published under the aegis of the Centre d’Études Supérieures d’Histoire des Religions at the University of Strasbourg, *L’élaboration de l’Islam* (Paris, 1961). With a few exceptions, however, these papers deal with religious, social, and political questions rather than with cultural ones or with the relationship between Islam and the areas it conquered. For a general introduction to early Islamic times and for suggestions concerning the notion of a “classical” moment, all previous works have been superseded by Dominique and Janine Sourdel, *La civilisation de l’Islam classique* (Paris, 1968) and by Gustav von Grunebaum, *Classical Islam* (Chicago, 1970).

The source of the quotation with which the chapter begins is Georges Marçais, *L’art de l’Islam* (Paris, 1946), p. 5. Although there is a fairly large number of general books introducing Islamic art, some of which are very well illustrated, only two discuss some of the major monuments of early times in detail: Ernst Kühnel, *Islamic Art and Architecture* (Ithaca, 1966) and Katerina Otto-Dorn, *Islamische Kunst* (German edition, Baden-Baden, 1964; French and English editions available as well, English edition, London and New York, 1971). The monuments of architecture are found in K. Archibald C. Creswell and Marguerite van Berchem, *Early Muslim Architecture*, vols. 1 (new edition in two volumes, Oxford, 1969) and 2 (Oxford, 1940). Richard Ettinghausen’s *Arab Painting* (Geneva, 1965) is by far the best introduction not only to a specific technique but also to the problems of early Islamic art. Other works that deal with more specific questions or monuments will be mentioned in appropriate chapters. The most accessible place in which Joseph Schacht discussed the im-
The importance of contemporary evidence for early Islam is “An Unknown Type of Minbar and its Historical Significance,” *Ars Orientalis* 2 (1957): 149–74.


2. The Land of Early Islam

There is no overall account of the Muslim conquest that takes into consideration both political events and the cultural or other changes that may have taken place. Most immediate information on this particular topic can easily be found in Philip K. Hitti, *A History of the Arabs* (London, 1937; several editions since then). While dozens of chronicles and accounts deal with the conquest, the most important and one of the earliest sources are the works of Baladhuri, especially his *Fusus al-Buldan*, ed. Michael de Goeje (Leiden, 1866), translated under the title *The Origins of the Islamic State* by Philip K. Hitti (New York, 1916) and by Francis C. Murgotten (New York, 1924). When entirely published, Baladhuri’s *Ansab al-Ashraf*, a book on lineage, parts of which were

Bibliography

edited by Shlomo D. Goitein (Jerusalem, 1938), Muhammad Hamidullah (Cairo, 1959), Max Schloesinger (Jerusalem, 1938), will be even more important. Among specific studies dealing with individual provinces, a few may be singled out as having more than local interest. Such are Georges Marçais, *La Berbérie et l’Orient* (Paris, 1946); Albert J. Butler, *The Arab Conquests of Egypt* (Oxford, 1902); and Hamilton A. R. Gibb, *Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (London, 1923). More general interpretations, often exciting in their implications, occur in several articles by Hamilton A. R. Gibb conveniently available in *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, ed. Stanford Shaw and William Polk (Boston, 1962), and, from a totally different point of view, in Xavier de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques de l’histoire de l’Islam* (Paris, 1966). The *Encyclopedia of Islam*, edited by an international board of scholars and published in Leiden (2nd ed. since 1954), provides convenient, correct, and at times even interesting information on individual cities and provinces. Of further importance is a good acquaintance with the traditional Arab geographies; for a rapid survey one should consult Guy Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1930).

Since the later chapters will contain the information pertinent to individual monuments, I will limit myself here to those studies that can most easily be considered as introductions to any one region. More specific discussions are cited only when they pertain to some particular point in the text of the chapter.

For Spain the most convenient introductions are volumes 3 and 4 of the series *Ars Hispaniae* (Madrid, 1951); Henri Terrasse, *L’Art Hispano-Mauresque* (Paris, 1932); and especially Georges Marçais, *L’architecture musulmane d’Occident* (Paris, 1954), in which the monuments are woven into history. Furthermore, the student will constantly need the journal *al-Andalus*, whose archaeological chronicle by the late Leopoldo Torres Balbas is indispensable, and now the *Mañrider Mitteilungen* of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.


For Libya one may see Richard Goodchild, “A Byzantine Palace in Apollonia,” *Antiquity* 34 (1960): 246–58. Several recent excavations and surveys in Libya have uncovered new early Islamic monuments, but none has been published to my knowledge.

Egyptian architecture is quite well known from K. Archibald C. Creswell’s large volumes with extensive bibliographies. Fustat is being excavated by George T. Scanlon whose reports appear in the *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*; for a general introduction and for the luster-painted glass see his “Fustat and the Islamic Art of Egypt,” *Archaeology* 21 (1968): 188–95; for other aspects of the medieval culture of Fustat, one should consult
Bibliography

early Islamic culture in Iran. For the arts one should consult the uneven Survey of Persian Art, ed. by Arthur U. Pope and Phyllis Ackerman (London, 1939). The most important recent excavations are those of Siraf by David Whitehouse, whose preliminary reports are published in Iran, especially beginning with volume 6 (1966). Further information occurs occasionally in the Bastan Cheshmi Na Honor-e Iran published by the Ministry of Culture and of Arts in Tehran since 1968.

It is quite difficult to orient one’s self in the enormous literature on Central Asia that has appeared in the Soviet Union over the past twenty years. For history and historical geography, nothing has yet superseded Vladimir V. Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion (London, 1928), to be considered along with a number of geographical text studies by Vladimir Minorski, such as the Hudud al-’Alam (London, 1937). Alexandre Belenitsky, Central Asia (Geneva, 1968) is a good introduction to pre-Islamic Central Asia, while the numerous works of Galina A. Pugachenkova are the best introduction to both pre-Islamic and Islamic monuments in Khorasan and Transoxiana. The most useful is Galina A. Pugachenkova and Leonid I. Rempel, Istoriia Iskusstva Uzbekistana (Moscow, 1965). The most important excavations were those of Nishapur, unfortunately never published in their entirety; see Charles Wilkinson, “The Iranian Expedition,” Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art 32 (1937): 3–36, 33 (1938): 3–25, 37 (1942): 83–104, n.s. 6 (1947): 76–98, and n.s. 20 (1961): 85–135. See now Charles Wilkinson, Nishapur, Pottery of the Early Islamic Period (New York, 1975).

3. The Symbolic Appropriation of the Land


Almost all my remarks on Baghdad are based on the evidence provided by Jacob Lassner, The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages (Detroit, 1970). It contains a full bibliography of earlier studies, especially a number of important articles published by Professor Lassner before the appearance of his book, and an earlier essay of my own on the subject. I am most grateful to Professor Lassner for having shown me his manuscript before its publication.
4. Islamic Attitudes toward the Arts

Out of the huge bibliography on Islamic attitudes toward the arts, the following selection seems to me to include the most informative and thoughtful works as well as those which cover in their own apparatus most earlier studies. For a traditional Muslim view one might read Ahmad Muhammad Isa, “Muslims and Tasvir,” The Muslim World 45 (1955):250-68. The most convenient general statement is found in T. W. Arnold, Painting in Islam (Oxford, 1928). A discussion of dates occurs in K. Archibald C. Creswell, “The Lawfulness of Painting in Early Islam,” Ars Islamica 11–12 (1946):159–66; and a little-used but particularly thoughtful essay is that of Georges Marçais, “La question des images dans l’art musulman,” Byzantium 7 (1952):161–83. Rudi Paret, “Textbelege zum islamischen Bilderverbot,” in Das Werk des Künstlers Studien H. Schrade dargebracht (Stuttgart, 1960), pp. 36–48, has brought out legal documents. Particularly original views were developed by Bishr Faris in Essai sur l’esprit de la décoration islamique (Cairo, 1952) and in “Philosophie et jurisprudence illustrées par les Arabes,” Mélanges Louis Massonson (Damascus, 1957), pp. 77–109. Almost all the general works on Islamic art have commented on the problem. For a somewhat modified view, see O. Grabar, “Islam and Iconoclasm,” in Anthony Bryer and Judith Herrin, editors, Iconoclasm (Birmingham, 1977), pp. 45–52.


5. Islamic Religious Art: The Mosque


There are no specialized studies devoted exclusively to problems of construction or decoration. Practically all the pertinent documents can be found in the works already cited for this chapter or in the general books mentioned for previous chapters. There is little doubt that studies similar to the ones Christian Ewert has devoted to the domes of Cordoba are much needed.

It is equally important to encourage studies on writing and on calligraphy. The fundamental work on this topic has been carried out by Nadia Abbott in Rise of the North Arabic Script (Chicago, 1939), and in a long review in Ars Islamica 8 (1938): 65–104. Parallel studies were published by V. Krztofek in Epigraphia Vostoka (cf. Oleg Grabar's review in Ars Orientalis 2, 1959: 547–60). For the growth of artistic calligraphy and the art of the book one should consult D. S. Rice, The Unique Ibn al-Bawwab Manuscript (Dublin, 1953). For a fascinating general interpretation, see Erica Dodd, "The Image of the World," Bergius 18 (1969): 35–61.

6. Islamic Secular Art: Palace and City

It is particularly difficult to organize the bibliographical companion to this chapter in the exact order in which monuments or problems are discussed, for many of them are repeated several times in a variety of contexts. Furthermore, many appropriate works have already been listed, especially for chapter 2. The bibliography has therefore been arranged by categories of monuments, and interpretative studies have been included where they seemed most pertinent.

A. COUNTRY ESTABLISHMENTS

B. CITY ESTABLISHMENTS


The text of al-Khitib was first translated by Guy Le Strange, A Greek Embassy, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1897); see now Jacob Lassner's work, with copious notes, cited for chapter 3. A very important study is that of Dominique Sourdel, "Questions de cérémonial abasside," Revue des Etudes Islamiques 38 (1960): 121-48.

There are no comprehensive studies on the physical aspect of the Islamic city, and recent symposia such as The Islamic City or Middle Eastern Cities, whose publications were cited several times, provide the available bibliography but deal primarily with society and institutions.

C. OBJECTS

On treasuries, one should see Paul Kahle, "Die Schätze der Fatimiden," Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenlandesgesellschaft 89 (1935): 329-61. For Fatimid

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For ivories the best summary is John Beckwith, Caskets from Cordoba (London, 1967), but a complete corpus has recently been published, Ernst Kühnel, Die islamische Elfenbeinskulpturen (Berlin, 1971). For a more controversial work on Umayyad ivories, see Henri Stern, "The Ivories on the Ambo of the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle," The Connoisseur, July 1963, pp. 166-72. On silver, the latest statement is Oleg Grabar, Sassanian Silver (Ann Arbor, 1967), whose bibliography should be consulted with some care since many opinions in it diverge from his.

For ceramics the fundamental introductory work is by Arthur Lane, Early Islamic Pottery (London, 1947). For Samarra pottery, it is Friedrich Sarre, Die Keramik von Samarra (Berlin, 1925). The Nishapur ceramics have now been published by Charles Wilkinson (New York, 1975). For an attempted chronology see Sh. Tashhodjaev, Khudojestroennia Keramika Samaranda (Tashkent, 1967). An iconographic and stylistic essay with many implications is that of Lisa Volov (now Golombok), "Plaited Kufic," Ars Orientalis 6 (1966): 107-34. Particularly important are the inscriptions read by Oleg Boiehakov in a series of articles found in Epigraphica Vostoka 12-18 (1958-67). The archaeological evidence of ceramic finds in Iraq, Syria, and Egypt has never been put together. For an example of a report on an individual site, see Robert M. Adams in Ars Orientalis 8 (1971): 87-130. A complete reconstruction of a Samanid building and its decoration is now available in I. Aharoni and Lazar Rempel, Rezolut Shtieh Afrasiaba (Tashkent, 1971). On broader theories I have modified some of my own positions in "Das Ornament in der islamischen Kunst," to appear in the Proceedings of the 1975 meeting of German Orientalists, and in "Islamic Art, the Art of a Culture or the Art of a Faith," forthcoming in AARP.

The Impact of early Islamic art outside of the Muslim world has been studied by André Grabar, L'Art de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age, vol. 3, no. 2 (Paris, 1968). On Akhtamar, the most comprehensive publication is by Sirrinne Der Nersessian (Cambridge, 1965). For Palermo the main publication is by Ugo Moneferet de Villard, Le pitture musulmane al soffitto della Cappella Palatina in Palermo (Rome, 1990).

7. Early Islamic Decoration: The Idea of an Arabesque

Most of the monuments discussed in this chapter have been mentioned from other points of view in previous chapters, and the main references to them are already provided.
The only attempt at defining the arabesque is by Ernst Kühnel, Die Arabeske (Wiesbaden, 1949), based in part on the theoretical work of Alois Riegl, Stilfragen (Berlin, 1893). Some interesting remarks by Georges Marçais are found in his Mélanges (Alger, 1957). The basic work on Samarra is by Ernst Herzfeld, Der Wandenschmuck der Bauten von Samarra (Berlin, 1923). Essential discussions of specific early motifs were carried out by Maurice Dimand, "Studies in Islamic Ornament," Ars Islamica 4 (1937): 293–336 and in Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld, ed. George C. Miles (Locust Valley, 1952). A unique example of the study of a single floral element was done by Fouad Shalî, Simple Callyx Ornament in Islamic Art (Cairo, 1956). The most scientific treatment of ornament, unfortunately limited to Central Asia, is by Lazar I. Rempel, Arkitekturnyi Ornament Uzbekistan (Tashkent, 1961). On the spread of the "beveled" style, there is a major summary article by Richard Ettinghausen in the volume in memory of Ernst Herzfeld.

Theoretical views were developed by Bishr Farès in a number of works cited for chapter 4. Massignon's fascinating article, "Les méthodes de réalisation artistique des peuples de l'islam," was published in Syria 2 (1921): 47–53, 149–60.

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