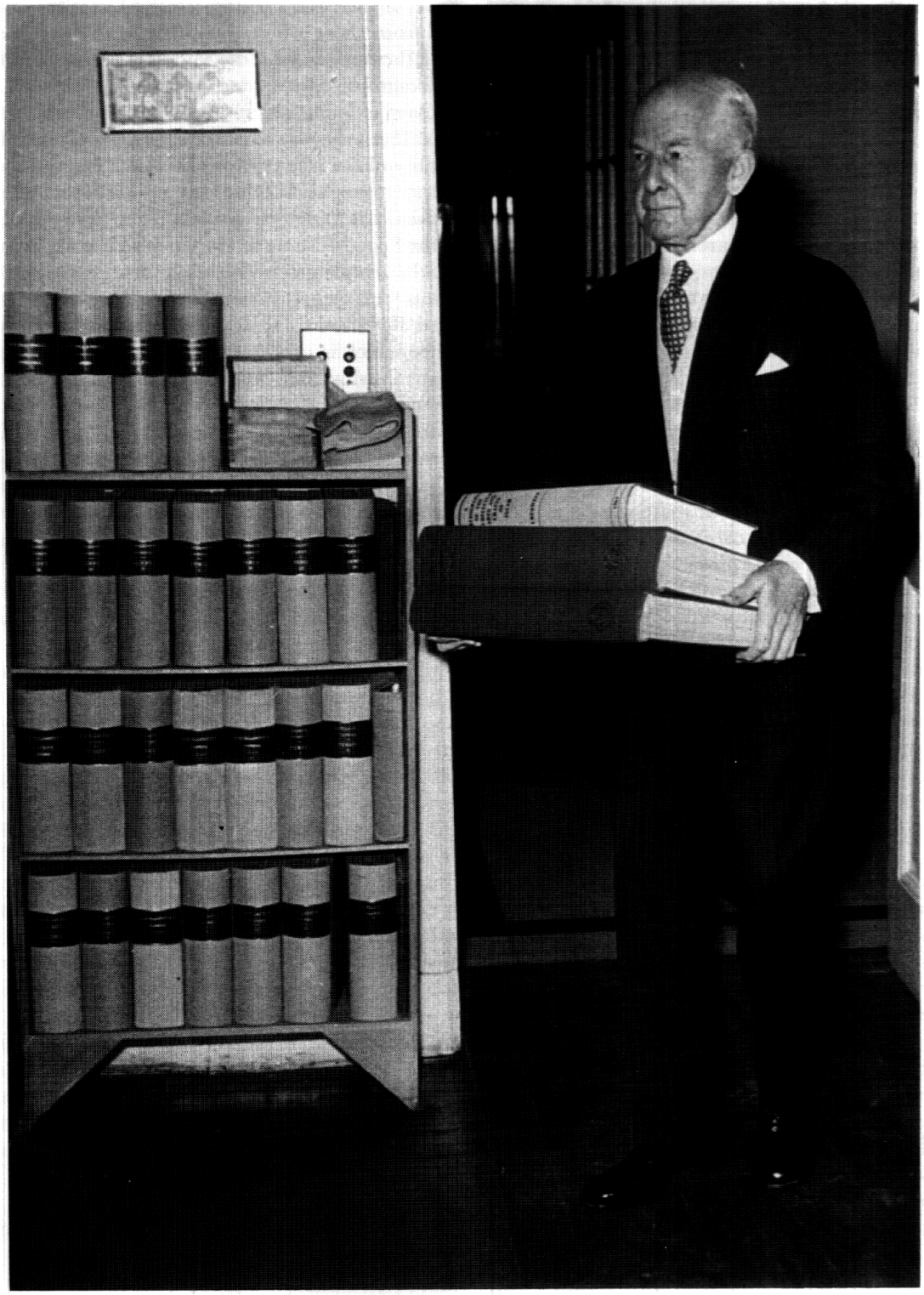

K. A. C. Creswell in his library. (Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; gift of Christel Kessler.)

JULIAN RABY

REVIEWING THE REVIEWERS

> In the field of architectural history Professor Creswell has made a bigger single-handed contribution to knowledge than any man living, and his output rivals that of such past workers as Viollet-le-Duc and Fergusson, whose standards were far less meticulous.
>
> John H. Harvey, 1959.

It is standard practice for a book review to state the number of pages and plates, and the size of a volume. How many, though, give the weight as well? Schroeder, in evident admiration, tells us that volume 2 of Creswell's *Early Muslim Architecture* weighs 20 pounds; Wilber that volume 1 of *Muslim Architecture of Egypt* weighs 18 pounds! As Runciman remarked, "No one can lightly move it from his shelves, and anyone who wishes to refer frequently from one volume to another must be in a good state of physical training."[1]

It has been fifty-five years since the publication of the first volume of *Early Muslim Architecture*, and in that time the tiny world of Islamic art history has grown so accustomed to drawing on its information and conclusions, so familiar with the excellence of its illustrations, plans, and tables, that we run the danger of being blasé about its achievement. To realize the impact of Creswell's book in the 1930's, there is no better way than to quote Myron B. Smith, who wrote in 1941: "Without implying that all that has been written before this work belongs to a djahiliya, this reader is convinced that *Early Muslim Architecture* will be known to future students as the *Zeitenwende* from which the past and future studies will be dated."[2] Creswell's work attracted admiration among reviewers on numerous counts, notably its comprehensiveness, its presentation, and the certitude of its conclusions.

To start, as it were, at the end, Creswell's conclusions are almost startlingly decisive. How many of us would now give serious considerations to the idea, for example, that Mshatta was pre-Islamic, or that the Dome of the Rock was originally a Byzantine structure?[3] Yet our sense of conviction is due almost entirely to the arguments of Creswell. In Pope's words, "There are a number of controversial issues familiar to the professionals in the field which are finished off by the author with a decisive finality, burying them deep under economical verbal epitaphs well calculated to keep them permanently quiescent."[4] The Gordian-knot effect which many of Creswell's conclusions had when they were first published can be judged from Watzinger's review. Watzinger accepted, I must say in the most gracious fashion, that the conclusion he and Wulzinger had reached only a few years before the publication of *Early Muslim Architecture* that the Great Mosque of Damascus had a Byzantine, Heraclian core had been disproved by Creswell. Such public recantation deserves credit, but the scholarly credit was Creswell's.[5]

As to the comprehensiveness of Creswell's survey, it is evident not only in the sheer number of monuments he discusses but in the whole apparatus of investigation, down to the footnotes. Pope pointed out:

> Few books have been so fortified by footnotes. Sometimes minor points have been pressed with a luxurious, not to say, desperate, completeness.... At some points, however, the lavishness of detail may seem overdone. One reaches occasionally a point of diminishing returns, the time and effort involved for both author and reader being disproportionate to the results. Yet this very inclusiveness does give a feeling of confidence that nothing essential has been omitted and imparts to the work something of a character of an encyclopaedia or dictionary.[6]

Schapiro evidently regarded it as "luxurious" — his phrase is "a little exaggerated" — and he cites as an example how Creswell in a footnote gives "sixteen references to the history of the invention and use of gunpowder *à propos* of the possibility that the Kaaba might have been destroyed by this familiar substance."[7] Details often obstructed the clarity of the text: Creswell "ignore, en tout cas, l'art des sacrifices nécessaires."[8]

A glance at the bibliography appended to each monument makes clear Creswell's encyclopedic ambitions. Once again I quote from Smith:

> Some idea of the relative completeness of these bibliographies, including material in at least eight languages — Russian being the only notable omission — can be conveyed by noting that the Great Mosque of Cordoba has 196 entries, Ukhaidir has 45; the Mosque of ʿAmr at

> Fustat, 190; the Great Mosque at Kairouan, 105; the Nilometer, 125; and the Mosque of Ahmed ibn Tulun, 204![9]

Pope was also justly admiring of Creswell's meticulous presentation of data:

> Every device that the author could contrive to add lucidity to the presentation and to make it available for use and study has been employed. The scale of the drawings is in a simple decimal multiple, permitting them to be taken off instantly with a centimetre measure, and even the photographs, when presenting a flat view, have been reproduced to a measured scale so that they can often be used almost as a measured drawing, a precision for which students will be constantly grateful.[10]

Almost all the plans were specially drawn; Creswell took such pains that Gabriel was understandably incredulous that some measurements in the Dome of the Rock were to an exactitude of one millimeter.[11]

Creswell's consideration for the reader is evident even in such a detail as the running heads. He wrote in his preface: "I hold that the space at the top of every page should be employed not, as is so frequently the case, to tell the reader the name of the book he is reading, *which he presumably knows* [my italics], but to tell him what the page in question is about." Thus, the left-hand running head gives the chapter or the name of the monument, the right "the particular part of that discussion."

When it came to discussion, Creswell's prose style was terse and occasionally pointed. Schroeder, a master of purple prose, saw its virtues:

> These laborious observations, syntheses, and analytic researches are set down in good plain English. To the beauty of the monuments the illustrations bear sufficient witness; and there are no effusions of pictorial language. A certain quiet humour, slightly acid in taste, occasionally recalls that other master of minute observation — Sherlock Holmes: after citing a notion of De Vogüé's concerning the origin of the stalactite pendentive, for example, Creswell's pawky 'there are two objections against this theory, one serious, the other fatal' immediately transforms De Vogüé into Dr. Watson. It is quite just: De Vogüé's ingenuity was too ingenuous.[12]

The single-mindedness that distinguishes all aspects of his presentation was one reflection of Creswell's singular purpose. He pursued the collection of data with physical stamina and mental resolve, achieving on his own what teams have rarely achieved. Harvey regarded *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, vol. 2,

> as an authoritative inventory comparable only with the work of such official bodies as our own Royal Commissions on Historical Monuments, provided with a large staff, public funds, and *special facilities for access*. The last is a factor of immense importance, as will be realized by anyone who has to deal with the custodians of religious monuments and private buildings in this or any country, but more especially outside north-western Europe, in countries where the possibilities of procrastination and courteous evasion are unlimited.[13]

Smith described his activities in terms befitting Indiana Jones: "Creswell's enterprise in penetrating the French archaeological preserve of Tunisia to record for the first time the Great Mosque of Susa deserves high commendation. The spirit of Britain's explorers lives on in such endeavor."[14]

Praise of Creswell attains unsurpassed hyperbole with Schroeder: Creswell

> has no peers; and all who enjoy his acquaintance know that his supremacy is the fruit of an entire devotion, notable energy, and a generous passion for truth and justice which ranges his subject as a Forest Perilous, smiting down Rivoira, Strzygowski, and all other strong monomaniacs who cross his path, and chastising the mean in the ignominy of footnotes.

But it is not my purpose here merely to record admiration and debt. The reviews of Creswell's major works certainly contained criticisms, though it is worth pointing out that few were critical of Creswell's methodology. Perhaps, as Schroeder observed, "To write shortly upon the achievement of a friend is so comfortable a task as to relax almost all sense of critical duty."[15]

Wilber, for one, stated that he was "in perfect agreement" with Creswell's "concept and method."[16] In fact, criticisms were often trivial, perhaps none more so than Littmann's lament that *Early Muslim Architecture*, all 414 pages of volume 1, contained a few typographical errors. It is difficult to be sure whether Littmann was more upset because he had himself proofread the galleys or because, despite his proofreading, his own name was spelt with only one *t* and one *n*.[17]

Only three reviews temper their praise with reservations about Creswell's approach — Schroeder's of 1941, Meyer Schapiro's, and Hamilton's of 1958 — while only one is dismissive: Sauvaget, for reasons we shall see shortly.

Creswell was, first and foremost, concerned to resolve a monument's absolute and relative chronology, and

where its plan and constituent forms stood in the genealogy of architectural evolution. These questions dictated his procedure and presentation.

He laid such importance on chronological order that when he visited a city in the Middle East for the first time he insisted on visiting the monuments in strict order of date, never deviating to make his day's work lighter.

In order to produce his intended history of the *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, Creswell was obliged by his methodology to establish a chronological framework, which explains why one of his first publications was a catalogue of Egyptian monuments, entitled *A Brief Chronology of the Muhammedan Monuments of Egypt to A.D. 1517*.[18] But Creswell took the principle still further: *Early Muslim Architecture* was conceived as a prolegomenon to *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*. It was one of the ironies of his life that he produced a revised edition of the prolegomenon, this time in three volumes, and never completed *Muslim Architecture of Egypt* itself, which was his first ambition.

The presentation of *Early Muslim Architecture* consists of a series of monographs on individual monuments. "The arrangement of this Work is strictly chronological, for chronology is the spinal column of history," Creswell states in his introduction.

When it came to the treatment of individual monuments, Schroeder provides a useful summary:

> His method is to collect and translate the texts bearing upon the construction, history, and form of a building, to collate them with his own measurements and observations, to identify repairs, changes and additions, and so to arrive at the original plan and appearance.[19]

However, Creswell's own description of his method is more revealing: "In dealing with each monument I have adopted the following system: (1) a description of the original structure, (2) an analysis (where necessary), and (3) architectural origins." The word "origin" occurs twice here, and indicates how Creswell's concern with chronology affected not only the structure of his volume but the questions he posed of the building itself.

What Creswell meant by "analysis" bore no relation to the system of analysis advocated by Strzygowski. Strzygowski's analytical system divided into what he called "five values." The first three were deemed objective categories: (1) material and technique; (2) subject, which in the case of architecture referred to function; (3) elements, such as walls, roofs, windows, and the like. The last two "values" were the subjective counterparts of the two preceding: (4) form, meaning artistic expression, and finally, (5) psychological expression.[20] Creswell's approach was both less structured and more rigidly materialist, as we can appreciate if we look at the minor headings of his "Architectural origins" of the Dome of the Rock: "The plan — Architect's plans — Columns bedded on lead — The arches of the intermediate octagon — The wooden tie-beams — The four doorways — The windows — Domes set on drums pierced with windows — The wooden dome — Gilt domes — The decoration of the tie-beams — The decoration of the cornices of the dome piers — The external coating of mosaic — Result of analysis."[21]

Creswell's analysis was, as the very word demands, a resolution of the complex whole into its simple elements, but reviewers were far from convinced about either Creswell's method or his deductions. Wilber wrote:

> Creswell's method of tracing architectural origins is to pursue, with incredible zeal, prior examples of resemblances in plan, form, structure, and ornament with the method applied in such a restricted and mechanical fashion that the resulting prototypes are not always equally convincing.[22]

As for his conclusions, Gabriel noted that Creswell's desire to establish origins often led him to "a sort of deduction which recalls the formulae of quantitative chemical analysis rather than the modest conclusions to which the history of art can pretend."

In this instance, the "Result of analysis" was Creswell's famous formulation that the varied influences evident in the Dome of the Rock divided into 22 percent Roman, 22 percent Byzantine, and 55 percent Syrian. "One will observe," Gabriel concluded, "that a hundredth part of influence has stayed at the bottom of the test-tube."[23]

Schapiro likewise dismissed the method as

> not only crude in analysis, but... illogically applied; it is inferred that a given element is Roman on the strength of a single Roman example. Yet Captain Creswell could say of the building in question [the Dome of the Rock] that "it is a thoroughly Syrian building with Byzantine mosaic decoration."[24]

Pope voiced similar criticism:

> Occasionally the arguments seem to imply too great confidence in the statistical and analytic approach to solve the problem of architectural character, and at times Pro-

> fessor Creswell seems to be siding with the mechanists, for example, in seeking to express accurately the sources or cultural origins of some very complex and individual structures.[25]

Creswell's analysis of monuments did not follow a consistent pattern: his own caveat "analysis (*where necessary*)" suggests that his choice of topics for analysis was empirical and not determined by a conceptual framework. To take a single example, in his discussion of the Dome of the Rock in the first edition of *Early Muslim Architecture* Creswell devoted almost all his energies to the plan and to Mauss's explanation of the way it was laid out. It was only logical to devote comparable effort to the elevation, but Creswell failed to do so. When he came to the second edition he rectified the omission by adding Richmond's analysis of the elevation. However, as Doron Chen has recently shown, Creswell's plan and Richmond's elevation are imperfectly related.[26]

This illustrates two problems: one is the danger of the additive system of presentation Creswell adopted. The other touches on aesthetic characterization. The relationship of ground plan and elevation was not a purely geometrical problem. Their relationship in the Dome of the Rock produces a numinous space, which in Schapiro's eyes has a sense of lighting and volume quite different from the Christian buildings to which the Dome of the Rock is so closely related in ground plan:

> The interior space is complicated to the eye and subtly irregular, rather dark and picturesquely colored, with changing vistas and perspectives between the varied intervals of the supports. An earlier writer, Mr. Richmond, provided evidence of the conscious will to achieve such effects in his accurate measurements of the intercolumniations. He found that a slight twist was given to the central ring of supports so that two opposed columns are visible to an observer at the door. Captain Creswell, who quotes this fine observation, has made no effort to investigate the aesthetic effect or rôle of this refinement or to distinguish it from the irregularities in Greek buildings.
>
> If he had been more interested in such aspects of the building, he would not have been satisfied then simply to derive the Dome of the Rock from Early Christian and Syrian rotundas or to declare it a Syrian work. The corresponding elements in the earlier buildings had another effect and belonged to wholes of quite different character. . . .[27]

Meyer Schapiro, the most astute of the reviewers, and incidentally not a scholar primarily associated with Islamic art, argues that Creswell's reliance on

> purely analytic, statistical methods is responsible for a serious defect of this solid volume. Captain Creswell imagines that a building is simply the sum of certain easily isolated elements — walls, piers, vaults and the applied decoration — and that it has been adequately described when its parts have been correctly enumerated and measured. But the building as an architectural, aesthetic object is constituted also by its formal relations, the qualities of its massing, silhouettes, spaces, surfaces, internal ordering and rhythms; and no description can be considered adequate which fails to indicate the relation of the character of the parts to the perceptible qualities of the whole.

Pope's version is more pithy: "Organization is not an additive process, and a superb aesthetic unity like the Dome of the Rock is not like a poem pronounced in three languages, even though it does owe elements to several sources. No inventory of its structural factors reveals the source of its psychological power."[28]

Schapiro's and Pope's criticisms of Creswell's additive approach to architectural description are extended by Sauvaget to Creswell's conclusions about Umayyad architecture in general. For Sauvaget, the "General Conclusion" to *Early Muslim Architecture*, volume 1, with its staccato listing of descriptive characteristics,

> révèle la faiblesse profonde de l'ouvrage, dont la contribution à l'enrichissement de nos connaissances est tout à prendre médiocre, disproportionée en tout cas avec le travail considérable — et particulièrement consciencieux — qu'il a exigé de son auteur: des précisions intéressantes, et utiles, sur chacun des monuments considérés, mais *aucune perspective* [my italics].

Obsession with chronological sequence as the dominant structure led to a serial — if I can coin a word, monolinear — approach. If there is a single criticism which emerges from the reviewers, it is that Creswell lacked "perspective," what we might call "spatial vision," from the most literal to most extended sense.

In its extended sense it can be applied to the manner in which Creswell lists his sources for the history of the mosque of Medina. He lists them simply in date order — in linear sequence — in contrast to Sauvaget's complex stemma, which is intended to reveal relationships that cut across pure chronology. Chronological precedence alone does not ensure the value of a source, and Creswell's methodology is naive compared to Sauvaget's developed *Quellenkritik*. The contrast can be likened to thinking in two dimensions as against three.

Serial presentation presents organizational advantages for both author and reader, but it can be prejudicial to synthesis. As Reuther pointed out, chronolog-

ical sequence can have the merit of showing the relationship between two buildings widely separated in space, such as the Aqsa Mosque and the mosque in Cordoba, but the disadvantage of obscuring regional connections.[29] The example he took was the division of buildings erected within a "forty-five" year period in Samarra into four distinct chapters, separated by discussions of buildings in North Africa and Syria. Or, as Crowfoot put it, "The monuments are described after the fashion of an Arabic annalist, the author skipping from place to place to preserve chronological sequence."[30]

Creswell's historical concerns, like those of most Arab historians, were largely dynastic and political. The issue of a broader historical scope was not raised by most reviewers, even Sauvaget.[31] Surprisingly, Sauvaget directs his invective against the scope of Creswell's architectural history, criticizing him for restricting himself to Islamic buildings, whereas

> en bonne méthode, il aurait fallu replacer résolument les constructions omeyyades dans leur véritable milieu artistique, par une étude d'*ensemble* de toute l'architecture du Proche-Orient dans les siècles qui ont précédé la conquête arabe, architecture dont l'absence d'une dénomination adéquate nous masque l'homogénéité profonde. La tâche était ardue, et ingrate, mais il n'était pas d'autre moyen de dégager la part d'originalité que peuvent comporter les premières constructions islamiques, et, partant, de fixer la place exacte de l'art omeyyade dans l'art de l'Orient. Pour avoir négligé ce point de vue, l'auteur laisse entier le problème des origines de l'art islamique, dont la solution seule permettra à l'archéologie musulmane de s'ouvrir des voies nouvelles, et de progresser.[32]

We may commend Sauvaget's demand for a more synoptic discussion of Umayyad buildings, but if Creswell had attempted a review of "all the architecture of the Near East preceding the Arab conquest," at the same time maintaining his rigorous concern for substantive data, we can be sure that he would have devoted his life to writing a proeisis to a prolegomenon.

Sauvaget's criticism reveals, above all, a difference in aims: his quest was for the *originality* in Umayyad art, while Creswell's was for its *origins*.[33]

By 1958, when *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* appeared, there was a growing sense that a broader range of issues needed to be addressed in dealing with Islamic architecture. As Hamilton observed,

> The account of the buildings is severely archaeological. Materials, plans, and the chronological sequence of parts receive more attention, on the whole, than the social and religious factors which influenced their form and aesthetic qualities. Readers . . . may wish, for example, that some of the 4+ pages devoted to exploding the exploded theory of a Christian origin for the Damascus mosque had been given instead to explaining why a mosque should have a different shape from a church.[34]

Hamilton was taking issue, in the most delicate of terms, with a certain inflexibility which prevented Creswell from abandoning "now moribound issues" in favor of wider inquiry. There were two other characteristics which drew the attention of reviewers. One was Creswell's preconceptions, not to say prejudices. The other was his lack of human curiosity.

The prejudices — Wilber describes Creswell as "fervently attached to his own beliefs"[35] — were written on a large scale, and were influential in determining Creswell's view of the development of early Muslim architecture as an essentially Syro-Palestinian affair. They determined his conviction that Arabia contributed nothing in the architectural sphere, and Iran less than many believed.

In the context of what he pejoratively termed "Primitive Islam," Creswell had a subheading entitled "Architecture non-existent in Arabia at this time." Although, as Gabriel pointed out, Creswell admitted in a footnote to the first edition of *Early Muslim Architecture* that this axiom called for reservation — an admission prompted by a comment from Herzfeld — Creswell made no attempt to incorporate this reservation into the main text of his later work.[36] By 1969, when the second edition of *Early Muslim Architecture* appeared, this axiom was beginning to look increasingly suspect, and it is no surprise that one of the only reviews of this second edition was a review article by Barbara Finster intended to refute the claim.[37]

Early Muslim Architecture first appeared too early to take advantage of the archaeological discoveries being made at Kish, Ctesiphon, and Damghan, as Schmidt observed.[38] Pope even predicted, "When the full history of Sasanian architecture and ornament are written there is reason to think that it may well prove to have had more effect even on Syria than Professor Creswell has indicated.[39] Certainly Creswell's omission of Kharana and Amman from detailed discussion helped skew the image of Umayyad architecture.

Creswell's polemic has to be seen, however, in the context of often sweeping claims which had been made for Iranian precedence. Myron B. Smith remarked with evident relish, "In the first volume of this work Creswell served the 'Persian origins' partisans a dish of rather

cold crow in his assertion of the Syrian origin of the pointed arch." He concludes that Creswell's "withering statement concerning the simple, two-centered arch should spoil the appetites of Persian Gothicists for all time, but to make doubly sure, Creswell adds, as *ad nauseam* sauce, the non-Persian origin of the four-centered arch, the arch whose classic profile we have heard extolled in Ruskinian rhapsody as the supreme expression of Persia's artistic genius."[40]

However justified Creswell may have been in details — and here recent research on the Baghdad Gate in Raqqa casts doubts on his history of the four-centered arch — Creswell's bias carried through into his evaluation of Fatimid architecture.[41] It emerged not only in his *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, but most succinctly in a lecture he delivered in 1947 entitled "Problems in Islamic Architecture." The fourth section was concerned to deal a blow to "the popular theory of the Persian origin of Fatimid architecture." His argument reveals not only his concern with often spurious issues, but his penchant for quantitative deductions which Gabriel had so criticized. The theory that Fatimid architecture "was marked by a preponderance of Persian influence" had been "roundly asserted" because the Fatimid dynasty "owing to its Shiʿite heresy, was closely connected with Persia," but, Creswell argued, the Seljuqs were in power in Iran from 1038 onwards, "so that during the 202 years that the Fatimid rule lasted in Egypt, Persia was under Sunni rule for 133 years, or 67 percent of the period. I, therefore, regard the alleged Persian influence on Fatimid architecture as based on a misconception."[42]

A corollary of this statistical manner was a failure to view buildings in their human context, from commission to construction, to use. No reviewer fully states this criticism, but Creswell's lack of human curiosity disappointed Schroeder:

> There is moreover an apparent lack of curiosity, amounting almost to indifference, in Creswell's determination of the uses of the parts of buildings. It is apparent rather than real and is the result of his contempt for speculation. He detects a kitchen or a stable, and has a fine nose for a latrine, but even in such extraordinary cases as those of the Balkuwara and Jawsaq al-Khaqani, he fails to call attention to the enormous number of subsidiary state-chambers. To assign particular rooms to particular purposes may often be impossible; but the palaces *as a whole* [my italics] would be more intelligible than they are if a judicious selection had been made of the more pictorial descriptions of them and comparable buildings.

What Schroeder wanted was a discussion of caliphal ceremony, as well as more "picturesque detail." "To put it harshly, one can read this book without gaining an informed conception of the development of early Muslim architecture. The lack of picturesque detail is felt, and in some cases this amounts to a deficiency in description."[43]

Schroeder's final conclusion was that "a book can only be a classic if it possesses, among other qualities, great human interest. *Early Muslim Architecture* is not a classic in that sense. . . ."[44] In *that* sense, Schroeder may be right, but by most definitions Creswell's work achieved an enduring monumentality, for it represents, in Wilber's words, "a perfect model of scholarly devotion, research, persistence, and acumen."[45]

Oriental Institute
Oxford, England

NOTES

1. Steven Runciman, review of *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, vol. 1 in *Burlington Magazine* 94 (1952): 270–71.
2. Myron B. Smith, review of *Early Muslim Architecture*, pt. 2, in *Ars Islamica* 13–14 (1941): 180–93.
3. Cf. Fr. Sarre, review of *Early Muslim Architecture*, pt. 1, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 51 (18 Dec. 1932), cols. 2426–27, on accepting Creswell's dating of Mshatta. Almost half a century after Creswell's advocacy of a Umayyad origin for the Dome of the Rock, Peeters's recent proposal of a (part) Byzantine foundation appears, as it should, provocative rather than partisan: F. Peeters, "Who Built the Dome of the Rock?" *Graeco-Arabica* 2 (1983): 119–38.
4. Arthur Upham Pope, review of *Early Muslim Architecture*, pt. 1, *Asiatic Review* 33 (Jan.-Oct. 1937): 669–76.
5. C. Watzinger, Review of *Early Muslim Architecture*, pt. 1, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 10 (1934), col. 618–23.
6. Pope, review of *EMA*, cited in n. 4.
7. Meyer Schapiro, review of *Early Muslim Architecture*, pt. 1, *Art Bulletin* 17 (1935): 109–14.
8. A. Gabriel, review of *Early Muslim Architecture*, pt. 1 in *Syria* 14 (1933): 215.
9. Smith review of *EMA*, cited above, n. 2; cf. Gabriel review, cited above n. 8, p. 210, who described *EMA*, vol. 1 as "en quelque sorte le *corpus* de nos connaissances sur les monuments des premiers siècles de l'Hégire."
10. Pope, review of *EMA*, pt. 1, cited above, n. 4.
11. Gabriel, review of *EMA*, cited above n. 8, p. 212. Gabriel could have added that Creswell himself commented on the difficulties of taking accurate measurements in the Dome of the Rock (Creswell, *EMA* 1: 412–14).
12. Eric Schroeder, "An Appreciation [of *EMA*, 2 vols.]," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 35 (1948): 282–84.
13. J. H. Harvey, review of *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, vol. 2 in *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 47 (1960): 314–16.
14. Smith, review of *EMA*, cited above, n. 2.
15. Schroeder, "Appreciation," cited above, n. 12.

16. Donald Wilber, review of *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, vol. 1 in *Art Bulletin* 36 (1954): 304–6.
17. E. Littmann, review of *Early Muslim Architecture*, pt. 1 in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 88 (1934): 341–49.
18. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 16 (1919).
19. Schroeder, "Appreciation," cited above, n. 12.
20. H. Zaloscer, "Strzygowski, sa méthode et ses recherches sur l'art copte," *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 6 (1940): 1–17.
21. *EMA* 1: 70–90.
22. Wilber review of *MAE*, cited above, n. 16.
23. Gabriel, review of *EMA*, cited above, n. 8.
24. Cf. H. Rau, review of *EMA*, pt. 1, *Artibus Asiae* 4 (1930–32): 281–82, on Santa Costanza.
25. Pope, review of *EMA*, cited above, n. 4, pp. 674–75.
26. C. Chen, "The Design of the Dome of the Rock," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 112 (1980): 41–50; idem, "Sir Archibald Creswell's Setting Out of the Plan of the Dome of the Rock Reconsidered," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 117 (1985): 128–32; and Gabriel in the review of *EMA* cited above, n. 8, p. 212, also took issue with Creswell's purely geometrical analysis of the plan of the Dome of the Rock, for he pointed out that architects were obliged to modify irrational factors such as $\sqrt{2}$ or $\sqrt{3}$ in favor of rational numbers based on units, or fractions, of standard measures. Gabriel's prescience was such that the issue of theoretical versus practical plans, of metrology and architectural procedures, in the Dome of the Rock has been the cause of lively debate some fifty years later (see, in addition to Chen, J. Wilkinson, "Architectural Procedures in Byzantine Palestine," *Levant* 13 (1981): 156–72; and D. Jacobson, "The Golden Section and the Design of the Dome of the Rock," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 115 (1983): 145–47.
27. Schapiro review of *EMA* cited above, n. 7.
28. Pope review of *EMA* cited above, p. 675, n. 4.
29. O. Reuther, review of *EMA*, pt. 2, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 3/4 (1953), cols. 109–20.
30. J. W. Crowfoot, review of *EMA*, pt. 2, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1942): 255–258.
31. Cf. J. Heinrich Schmidt, review of *EMA*, pt. 1, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1933, pp. 976–81; Schmidt felt that, although it was not one of Creswell's principal intentions to treat architecture as a "living expression" of "sozialen, politischen und religiösen Gemeinschaft," such a picture nevertheless emerges from his work.
32. J. Sauvaget, review of *EMA*, pt. 1, *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 12 (1938): 10–12.
33. Cf. Gabriel, review of *EMA* cited above, n. 8, p. 211.
34. R. Hamilton, review of *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* in *Oriental Art* 4 (1958): 122–23.
35. Wilber, review of *MAE* cited above, n. 16, p. 305.
36. Gabriel, review of *EMA*, cited above, n. 8, p. 211, referring to *Early Muslim Architecture*, p. 7 n. ; cf. *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2d ed., vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 10, n. 7.
37. B. Finster, "Zu der Neuauflage von K. A. C. Creswells 'Early Muslim Architecture,'" *Kunst des Orients* 9 (1973–74): 89–98; O Reuther, review of *EMA*, pt. 1, in *Der Islam* 24 (1937): 94–98, esp. p. 95.
38. Schmidt, review of *EMA*, cited above, n. 31.
39. Pope, review of *EMA* cited above, n. 4, p. 672.
40. Smith, review of *EMA*, cited above, n. 2, p. 180.
41. Cf. Robert Hillenbrand, "Eastern Islamic Influences in Syria: Raqqa and Qalʿat Jaʿbar in the Later 12th Century," *The Art of Syria and the Jazira,* Oxford Studies in Islamic Art 1 (Oxford, 1985), pp. 21–48.
42. K. A. C. Creswell, "Problems in Islamic Architecture," *Art Bulletin* 35 (1953): 1–7, esp. pp. 4–5.
43. Eric Schroeder, review of *EMA*, pt. 2, *Art Bulletin* 23 (1941): 233–37, takes as an example the use of curtains in the palaces of Samarra. "There can be no doubt that many state apartments must have been designed for the display of curtains as deliberately as some western structures have been designed for the exhibition of statuary. Curtains were of the essence of the whole Abbasid style; and in the architecture of the period perhaps no other element can be singled out which so significantly reveals the condition and destiny of Muslim art."
44. Ibid.
45. Wilber, review of *MAE*, cited above. n. 16.