

Importance of K.A.C. Creswell's Books in Regards to Early Muslim Architecture Education and Researches in Türkiye*

Araştırma Makalesi

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✉ **Fettah Aykaç**

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi / PhD., Lecturer
Sabahattin Zaim Üniversitesi / Sabahattin Zaim University
İslami İlimler Fakültesi / Faculty of Islamic Sciences
<https://ror.org/00xwvq40>
orcid.org/0000-0002-6459-6160
fettah.aykac@izu.edu.tr

Öz

Türkiye’de 1948’den itibaren başlayan İslâm Sanatları Tarihi bilim dalının lisans ve lisansüstü eğitiminde yardımcı kaynaklar olarak 1948 ve akabinde birkaç Avrupalı yazarın yayınından özet tercüme yoluyla hazırlanan yayınlanan kitaplar okutulmaktadır. Bu kaynaklarda Erken İslâm dönemine ait oldukça az sayıda eserden bahsedilmektedir. İsimleri belirtilen eserler hakkında da bazı Avrupalı yayınlardan çok kısıtlı bilgiler özetlenerek aktarılmakta, farklı (Avrupalı) araştırmacıların yazdıklarıyla karşılaştırılmadan tek ve en doğru bilgiler olarak sunulmaktadır. Bunların tek ve en doğru bilgiler olmadığını K.A.C. Creswell 1969’da metin ve görsel olarak oldukça kapsamlı muhtevada yayınladığı *Early Muslim Architecture* isimli kitapları yoluyla dünyaya ilan etmiştir. Ancak Creswell’in görüşlerine Türkçe kaynaklarda pek yer verilmemektedir. Bu araştırma makalesinde Türkiye’deki Erken İslâm Mimarisi kaynaklarında görülen bu yetersiz bilgiler sorununun K.A.C. Creswell’in *Early Muslim Architecture* isimli kitaplarında ortaya koyduğu zengin bilgi ve görseller yardımıyla üstesinden gelinebileceği izah edilerek, Creswell’in Türkiye’de pek bilinmeyen ve görülmeyen bu önemli yayınının muhtevası detaylı olarak tanıtılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sanat Tarihi, İslâm Sanatları Tarihi Eğitimi, Erken İslâm Mimarisi, Kaynaklar, K.A.C.Creswell.

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Research Article

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Abstract

In Turkey, since 1948, the auxiliary resource books used in teachings of History of Islamic Arts and Architecture studies in higher education are the ones, prepared through summarised translations from certain European authors' publications. The contents of these books provide very little information and visuals on important buildings of Early Muslim Architecture. In addition, the information given from the works of those authors on these buildings are conveyed as the only and the most accurate available in the market, without mentioning anything about the existence of alternative views of other researchers. Although K.A.C. Creswell presented substantial alternative information in his book titled *Early Muslim Architecture* which he revised and published as two volumes (three books) in 1969, but the valuable information he presented were not incorporated in the Turkish supplementary books.

Insufficient information and visual materials in sources of Early Muslim Architecture sources in Türkiye, are analyzed in comparison to K.A.C. Creswell's aforementioned publications in this research article. Further more, it will be demonstrated that Creswell's books contain a substantial amount of information and visual materials, sufficient to address many of the deficiencies present in Turkish educational resources.

Keywords: History of Islamic Arts, Education, Early Islamic Architecture, Resource Books, K.A.C.Creswell.

Summary

Since 1948, Turkish Universities' Art History, Islamic History and Arts Departments of Faculties of Theology/Islamic Sciences faculties have used teaching resources insufficient to cover all significant buildings of early Islamic Architecture in detail. The resource books on Islamic Arts, Islamic Architecture, and History of Islamic Arts have limited information regarding early Islamic architectural structures despite their inclusion in the contents page. However, upon careful examination of these publications, it becomes evident that the resource materials were predominantly compiled through condensed translations of books authored by specific European writers during the late 19th and early 20th century.

During the preparation of this research article, the resource books on Early Islamic Architecture mentioned above were carefully studied. Additionally, we also examine the original foreign publications from which these resource books were translated. When comparing Turkish resource books with their original publications, it becomes apparent that the Turkish versions are significantly shorter in length. Another noticeable shortcoming of Turkish resource books is that they provide a limited list of buildings. Additionally, the texts lack information regarding early mosques such as Masjid al-Juma of Damascus (Syria),¹ which eventually transformed into Damascus Umayyad Mosque, and Masjid al-Juma of al Quds, which later became Masjid al-Aqsa. Again, no information has been provided about past histories of these two very significant early mosques. Famous and significant buildings are often only briefly discussed by authors. For instance, the palaces constructed by the Umayyad Sultan Caliphs in the desert, some of which remain standing, and the new cities and palaces, such as Baghdad, Belkhuvara, Samarra and the Dome of Sulaybiya built from scratch by the Abbasid Sultan Caliphs, are given limited attention. An additional issue with Turkish resource books is the occasional presence of negative and biased attitudes from some European authors towards early Muslim buildings. These attitudes are reflected word-for-word in summarized translations without any objections or explanations in footnotes.

¹ Famous Roman Temple (Temenos) building was in the city center. Masjid al-Jum'a of Damascus was set up in the East part of courtyard of Temenos, on the oppsite side of the Church of St. John the Bapdist which was in west part. See: K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), Vol. I, Part I/41-183.

No mention is made of counter-arguments put forward by other unbiased European authors such as Creswell against these inconsistent claims. After painting a sad Picture above, on insufficient contents of Turkish resource books, fortunately there are few good news about this issue as well. At the dawn of the 21st century, with the widespread adoption of the internet, a comparison of the information contained in Turkish resource books with those of original European publications revealed the striking fact that many details and visual elements in the latter had been omitted by the Turkish translators. As a result, it has become clear and confirmed that the contents of these Turkish summarised books are very insufficient. Because very briefly transferred information can not be helped to contain deficiencies. The presence of biased attitudes among certain European authors, compounded by the absence of opposing views, exacerbates the situation. Also, alternative perspectives and data presented by other scholars such as Max van Berchem, Saladin H., Strzygowski, and K. A. C. Creswell were not referenced. The widespread use of the internet also allowed for the discovery of a wealth of material related to Early Muslim Architecture that exists throughout the world. Thus, researchers began to voice their quest for more information about structures from the early Islamic period through research and studies.² This research paper discusses the problem of the lack of information available in current university resource books on the architectural buildings produced during the early period, in comparison with the vast amount of information available in other publications by other authors. In order to contribute to the solution of the shortcomings that exist in the Turkish resource textbooks, as a good example, we will in detail look into the works of Mr. Creswell who published first version (Vol.I-II) of his book in 1932 & 1942, also updated and published Vol.I, enlarging it into two books in 1969.

² Şevket, Yıldız, *Oryantalizm ve İslâm Tarihine Oryantalist Yaklaşımlar* (Bursa: Uludağ Üniversitesi, İslâm Tarihi ve Sanatları Anabilim Dalı, İslâm Tarihi Bilim Dalı, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, 1991), 91-116; Fatma Kızıl, “Oryantalist Paradigmaya Taraf Olmak”, <http://sonpeygamber.info/oryantalist-paradigmaya-taraf-olmak> (Erişim, 27.09.2021)

Geniş Özet

Türkiye’de Erken İslâm Mimarisi Eğitimi ve Araştırmaları Açısından K.A.C. Creswell’in Kitaplarının Önemi

Üniversitelerin Sanat Tarihi ve İslâm Sanatları Tarihi bölümleri (Alanla yakından ilgili olanların bildiği gibi), geleneksel sanatların yanı sıra başta yapılar olmak üzere tüm İslâm Mimarisi eserlerinin tarihiyle de ilgilenmektedir. Bu ilgi ve inceleme İslâm’ın en erken devrinden başlar. Mimari eserlerin ilk ve en önemlileri Mekke’deki Kâbe ile Medine’deki Mescid-i Nebevî’dir. Yükseköğretimde okutulan İslâm Mimarisi ve İslâm Sanatları Tarihi dersleri için farklı yazarlar tarafından hazırlanan yardımcı ders kitaplarının içeriğine ilişkin (1950’li yıllardan beri süregelen) bazı önemli sorunlar henüz çözüme kavuşturulamamıştır. Temel sorun ders kitaplarının kapsamlarının darlığı ve içeriklerinin yetersiz olmasıdır.

Tüm dünyada İslâm mimarisi araştırmacıları arasında tanındığı, bilindiği üzere, erken devir İslâm mimarisi alanının en iyi uzmanlarından olan İngiliz araştırmacı K.A.C. Creswell, 1969 yılında ünlü eseri *Erken Müslüman Mimarisinin* güncellenmiş ikinci baskısını yayınlayarak, kendisinden önceki Avrupalı yayınların birçoğunun erken devir İslâm yapıları hakkında yetersiz ve muğlak bilgiler içerdiğini açıkça ortaya koymuştur. Bu gerçeği F. Sarre, Gabriel, Artur U. Pope, Max V. Berchem, Myron B. Smith, Gerard Clauson, James Dickey / Yağub Zaki gibi birçok ünlü İslâm Mimarisi araştırmacısı da yazılarında belirtmiştir.

Yukarıda bazılarının ismi verilmiş olan meşhur Avrupalı İslâm Mimarisi araştırmacı, yazar ve yayıncılarının bu tür yüksek seviyede övücü yazı ve teyitlerinden yola çıkarak Creswell’in dünyaca ünlü *Erken Müslüman Mimarisi (Early Muslim Architecture)* isimli kitapları üzerinde araştırma ve çalışma yaparken aynı zamanda Türkçe yardımcı ders kitaplarının muhtevalarını da incelemek gerekli olmuştur. Bu çerçevede Türkiye’de 1948’den sonra yayınlanmış beş önemli yayının muhtevalarında bulunan Erken İslâm Mimarisi eserleri ve bunlar hakkında verilmiş olan bilgiler de incelenmişti. Bu incelemenin sonunda muhtevalarında Erken İslâm Mimarisi yapıları hakkında oldukça yeterli derecede bilgi ve görsel sunulduğu düşünülen yardımcı kitaplar yoluyla araştırmacılara takdim edilmiş olan bilgilerde mevcut olan eksik, hata ve olumsuz oryantalist etkisi altındaki tercüme ve bunların bir kısmındaki tutarsız aktarımlar tespit edilmişti.

Bu tespitlerden sonra Türkiye’de erken İslâm Mimarisi alanı için yayınlanmış yardımcı kaynaklarda 634 yılından itibaren Mescid-i Nebevî plan tipi üzere inşa edilmiş olan Basra, Kûfe ve Fustat mescitleri ile 637’deki Şam’ın ikinci defa fethi akabinde Temenos’un avlusuna kurulan, sonraki 65-70 yıl boyunca Şam Cuma Camii olarak bilinen/kullanılan ve I. Velid tarafından 705-715 arasında onun yerine inşa ettirilen Şam Emeviyye Camii’ne dönüşmesi konusunda hiçbir bilgi verilmemektedir. Aynı şekilde Kudüs’ün 637-38’de fethi akabinde Beytü’l-makdis alanının güney ucunda düzenlenen Mescid-i Cuma yapısı hakkında da yeterli bilgi, plan vb. görsellere yer verilmediği iyice netleşmiştir. Bunlara ilave olarak ilk mihrap, ilk maksure, ilk minare unsurlarının İslâm mimarisine giriş şekli ve tarihleri konularıyla ilgili bu yayınlarda yeterli bilgi ve görsel bulunmadığı da kesinlik kazanmıştır. Devamında da yayınlarda mevcut olan bu eksikliklerin telafisi için İslâm Mimarisi ve Erken İslâm Mimarisi derslerinin okutulduğu fakültelerin ilgili bölümlerinde kaynak yetersizliği zorluğu çeken, başka zengin muhtevalı kaynak bulunmadığı için birçok eksik ve yanlışlarla dolu olan bu kaynakları kullanmak zorunda kalan akademisyen ve araştırmacıların istifadesine daha az eksiği ve yanlışı olan kaynakların sunulması için bazı çalışmalar yapılması gerektiğine dikkat çekilmişti. Bu karşılaştırmalı inceleme çalışmaları sırasında Creswell’in birçok yayında referans gösterildiği halde onun kitaplarının baskı/yayın farklılıklarının iyi bilinmediği ve cilt no, baskı yılı ve sayfa no gibi konularda hatalar yapıldığı ortaya çıkmıştı.³

Genel yardımcı kaynak kitapların içeriklerinde mevcut olan sorunları; Mimarlık tarihi ve İslâm Mimarisi tarihi derslerinin eğitiminde kullanılan yardımcı kitapların çoğunun, Avrupalı araştırmacıların yayınlardan özet-tercümeler yoluyla hazırlanmış olduğu, Bu kitaplarda oldukça az sayıda “önemli” erken dönem İslâm yapısına yer verildiği, bahsedilen “önemli” yapılar hakkında verilen bilgiler ve görsellerin çok yetersiz olduğu, Bu yetersizlikler nedeniyle bu alanda yapılacak araştırma ve çalışmaların sınırlı kaldığı, Bu yardımcı ders kitaplarında, farklı Avrupalı yayınlarda erken dönem İslâm mimarisi hakkında mevcut olan alternatif bilgi ve görsellere de yer verilmediği, Bu özetlenmiş yardımcı ders kitaplarında, birçok yanlış plan ve çizimin, bazı önemli erken dönem İslâm yapılarının doğru planlarıymış gibi sunulduğu... şeklinde özetlemek mümkündür.

³ Örneğin; Mustafa S. Küçükaşçı, *Cahiliyeden Emevilerin Sonuna Kadar Haremeyn*, İsar (2003), isimli yayında “Kâbe’nin yeniden inşa işinin (s.44-45) Bakum isimli mimarlık ve marangozluk bilgisine sahip birisi tarafından yapıldığı” konusu, K.A.C. Creswell’in *Early Muslim Architecture*, isimli eseri “Oxford, 1969, s.32” şeklinde hatalı olarak kaynak gösterilmiştir. Doğrusu: c.1, bl.1, 1969, s.2 şeklinde olmalı idi (Bk. Fettah Aykaç, K.A.C. Creswell’e Göre Erken Devir İslâm Mimarisi, İstanbul: MMG Yayınları, 2020, 1/29-30).

Benzer maksatla yapılmış bir başka akademik çalışmada da çoğu yayında tekrarlanan “*Şam’ın fethi akabinde şehrin merkezinde bulunan Aziz Yuhanna Kilisesi’nin çok uzun bir süre Hıristiyanlarla ortaklaşa kullanıldığı*” şeklindeki naklin de doğru olmadığı konusuna Creswell’in Early Muslim Architecture isimli meşhur kitabı yoluyla dikkat çekilmiştir.⁴

Bütün bunların sonunda da Creswell’in kitaplarının zengin içeriklerinin Türkiyeli araştırmacılara detaylı olarak tanıtılması gerektiği kanaati ortaya çıkmıştı. Ayrıca Creswell’in benzer isimli küçük özet kitabının Türkiye’de birçok kütüphanede bulunmasına karşın, ana *Early Muslim Architecture* kitabının 1932 ilk baskı cilt 1 ile 1969/79 baskısı 3 kitaptan oluşan bir takımının (32 sayfalık bir forma/ciltleme hatası ile) tüm İstanbul’da sadece bir kütüphanede mevcut olması, ayrıca kitabın İngilizce olması hasebiyle içeriğinin de tam olarak bilinmediği inancını pekiştirmişti. Az sayıda basılan ve yeni baskısı yapılmayan çok zengin muhtevalı bu nadir eserin Türkçe yardımcı kaynak kitaplarda mevcut olan birçok eksikliği ve yanlışları telafi etmekte faydalı olacağına inanarak bu kitabın muhtevasının erken İslâm mimarisi konusuyla ilgilenen geniş çevrelere ulaşmasına katkıda bulunmak maksadıyla bu araştırma makalesi hazırlanmıştır.⁵

Introduction

As experts in the field will attest, the Department of History of Arts and History of Islamic Arts at Universities is dedicated to researching the history of Islamic architecture, with a particular focus on buildings. They start from earliest times and first and most important ones being the Holy Ka’bah in Mecca and the Prophet’s Masjid in Madina.

Some important problems (which has been around since 1950s) regarding the contents of the supplementary resource books prepared for the History of Islamic Arts lessons at higher education by different authors have not been resolved yet. The main problems being the small capacity and inadequate contents of these resource books.

The problems about the size/contents of the auxiliary source books can be explained in short and in numbers as follow:

a- All of auxiliary text books used in teachings of history of Islamic architecture since early 1948 are produced through summarised translations from the books that were written and published by European researchers.

⁴ Aykaç-Doğanay, 13-36. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/anasay/issue/38619/420379> (Erişim: 02.10.2023).

⁵ Table of Contents of Creswell’s books presented in this article are taken from the publication called *K.A.C.Creswell’e Göre Erken Devir İslâm Mimarisi* (2020) which was reproduced from the doctoral theses submitted in 2018 at History of Islamic Arts’ Department at Faculty of Divinity, Marmara University, İstanbul, Türkiye.

b- In these summarised text books very small quantity of “important” early period islamic buildings are discussed.

c- In those resource books a small numbers of “important” early islamic buildings are mentioned and information and visuals given about them are insufficient and inadequate.

d- As a result of these shortcomings, researches and studies to be carried out in this field remain in limited.

e- These Turkish textbooks do not give enough space to alternative informations and images that exist in the market on the early Islamic architecture.

f- The other major problem with these summarised axhillary textbooks are that many incorrect plans and drawings are presented as the only correct ones.

g- The inadequacy of these these axhillary text books also has several negative consequences on researchers so much so that it causes a circulation of same limited information in every study and publication produced since 1950s, thus discouraging the researches.

British researcher K.A.C. Creswell, published first editions of the his famous work titled Early Muslim Architecture in 1932 and 1940. He published the second edition in 1969, expanding Volume I into two parts. In his books Creswell made it clear worldwide that many of Eupean materials published on Early Muslim Architecture published before him contained inadequate and doubtful information about important buildings of the early Islamic period. This fact, after Creswell’s publications was also been put forward by the many famous researchers of the field such as F.Sarre, Gabriel, Artur U. Pope, Max V. Berchem, Myron B. Smith, Gerard Clauson, in their writings. I myself have also found so many insufficiencies and shortcomings in Turkish resource books after comparing them with Creswell’s works.

When I started working on Creswell’s main “Early Muslim Architecure” books few years ago, after realising the very rich contents of them, I’d come to belief that a detailed information and importance of the huge valuable information, technical plans, drawings and photographs belonging to Creswell himself, in his books must be coveyed to wider audiences in the Early Islamic Architecture circles. The vast contents of these books are not known in details as there are few obsctackles along the way. For example, only one original copy of the Vol.1 printed in 1932 and one set of 1969/79 print exist (with 32 pages missing due to duplicate binding of the previous 32 pages) exist in of Istanbul, where there are many famous univeristies. Another major obstcle is the language barrier as it is in English. I believed

that if I could study these very valuable books in depths and make the result available to a wider audience of readers and researcher, many problem issues with existing resource books would be solved. I have done my in depth study on them and now it s time to spread the good news, as they say. This article is a step in that direction to introduce Creswell's Early Muslim Architecture books in depth, to all those involved in Early Islamic Architecture. This is especially true of academics who refere to Creswell's EMA books often in their publications without even having seen them.

1. The Importance of K.A.C. Creswell's Books In Regards To Early Muslim Architecture Education And Researches In Türkiye

1.1. Problems With Resources Books on Early Islamic Architecture Education In Higher Education In Türkiye

Courses on Early Islamic Architecture in history of Islamic Arts have been taught at the Faculty of Theology in Türkiye within the framework of Turkish Islamic Arts departments since the time they were established at Ankara University in 1948. Later, art history departments at other universities also included the Islamic Architecture lessons in their curricula.

It is a sad fact that the subjects of 'Early Islamic Architecture', which are covered in the first parts of all History of Islamic Architecture courses, have had serious resource problems (e.g: not enoguh updated and richly prepared resource books etc.) from the very beginning. Although it is a secret that is well known to everyone involved in the teaching of the subject, there is little mention of it in academic platforms and publications. Because of this, unfourtunately, not much has been done in all these previous years to overcome this serious and damaging problem, and I believe the time has come to make this secret public. The inadequacy of informations and lack of visual materials exist in resource materials especially in the teaching of early Islamic architecture courses (in graduate and post graduate levels), is quite serious problem. To overcome this, it is taught through with additional private notes prepared and organized by the academic members (lecturers) of each Islamic Arts and History Department or other related faculties.⁶ Some of the shortcomings that exist in all current auxiliary books and materials could be one of the important reasons/consequences for the fact that for a very long time, very few doctoral studies have been conducted in this field. An article has been written on this subject, pointing out the shortcomings of the five main auxiliary resource books (see note 12, this article) published in Turkish since 1948.⁷

⁶ See: Hicabi Gülgen, *Ana Hatlarıyla Türk İslam Sanatları Tarihi*, (Bursa: Emin Yayınevi, 2011).

⁷ Aykaç, 2019, (<https://www.sosyalbilimler.com.tr/index.php/disosbilder/article/view/37>) (Accessed: 25.05.2023).

1.2. Publications On Early Islamic Architecture In Europe And Türkiye

Since the beginning of the 18th century, there has been a great interest in publications on all aspects of Islamic arts and crafts, as well as early Islamic architecture, stimulated by the publications of private and amateur travellers, painters, antiques dealers and researchers.⁸ But real interest began at the turn of 18th century when the professional European archaeologists, art historians and architects began to publish detailed informations, supported by professional drawings from their travels to different parts of the Middle East. But the real boom came when the eagerness and interest of almost the entire rich elite of England, France, Holland, Germany etc. of Europe were turn to Middle East. At that time, the quality publications produced by commercial printers were enriched with exciting drawings containing many true or untrue accounts of certain encounters while searching for gold and silver artefacts mentioned in ancient books as well as the results of rich discoveries made from certain archeological sites.

During these periods many individuals and groups of people were sent to Middle East by the Art & Archeological Societies (with financial support/sponsorship) as well as academic archeological missions. Even the staff and diplomats who worked for embassies of England, France, Holland etc. in Istanbul were all nvolved in archeological research taking so many rich archeological artifacts with them every time they went home.⁹ This began to change with the use of photographic cameras in archeological sites and in excavations which had been taking place in many parts of the world since the early 1800s. These changes and developments made the field more exciting, and many new edvanturers and researchers entered the field. Many contributions that have been made to ensure the success of the excavations, the recordings, the studies and the results in these have also inspired many individuals to turn their interest to archaeology.

The establishment of departments of architecture and archeology as new branches of science at universities led to the publication of books with a more serious and academic approach than the previous commercial and amatour publications, which also helped these publications to sell in

⁸ Ali Bey Abâsî, (Badia y Leblich), *Voyages, III* (Translated by W. H. Bartlett, Jerusalem Revisited), 1814; (Eng.) *Travels of Ali bey in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, Syria and Turkey between years 1803-1807 Voyages, III*, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown: 1816); Comte de Bertou, *La Mosquee d'Omar* (Bulletin de L'Ceuvre d. P'elerinasges: 1857); Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Mekka, Nicebuhr* (1870),; *Voyages en Arabie*, II:1858); *Max van Berchem, Notes d'archeologie arabe* (Journal Asiatique:1891), 8 ser. t. XVII, 487.

⁹ Sir Henry Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains* (2 vols., 1848–1849); Sir G. Wilkinson, *On Saracenic Architecture* (Paper Read at the R. I. B. A. XI: 1861).

large numbers. These publications, written in French, German and English, included ancient Latin sources and were followed closely by researchers interested in archaeology, art history and architecture, as well as by the general public. This was because scientists usually knew at least two other European languages and were able to follow all publications in the rest of Europe. However, there were European scholars such as historians, architects, art historians, archaeologists etc. who had a 'holistic/collective views' on Islamic architecture and early periods (from its beginning to the end of the Umayyad and Abbasid periods) of Islam and who could also communicate in any of these three European languages. In addition, a small number of works have been published that deal comprehensively and in detail with architectural works from a historical and geographical perspective.

Publications with more beautifully drawn plans and accompanied by photographs continued to cover almost every aspect of Islamic architecture for very long time, and were closely followed in Europe. Majority of the publications were co-authored by two or more authors. Some of those authors who were heavily involved in research publications could be named as people like Max V. Berchem, Ernest Diez, L. Caetani, G.T. Rivoira, E.T. Richmond, E. Kühnel, Strzигowsky, K.A.C. Creswell, Gertrude L. Bell, Arthur Pope, Claremont & Ganneau and G. Marçais.

Many of the academic researchers who have produced such extensive and serious publications have also tried to approach the subject in the scientific and very serious manner required by their profession. But there was one researcher who, although had no university education in the field, became very famous, respected and highly esteemed amongst all other researchers and academics. This was due to his hard work with the seriousness of an academic within his own standards and paying utmost, meticulous attention to acting honestly, who published many articles and books as good as an academic work in this field. This person was the Islamic architecture specialist K.A.C. Creswell. In his comprehensive books, Creswell, a British citizen, deciphers one by one the historical and scientific shortcomings/errors that scientists/academics make in their publications. It is perhaps for this reason that Creswell was considered worthy of the title of "Honorary Professor" by Oxford University in 1946 and Princeton University in 1947, in recognition of his important research and publications in the field of Islamic architecture.

Those who are closely involved in Islamic Architecture in Türkiye and in rest of the world are well aware of K.A.C. Creswell's world famous books on Early Muslim Architecture. He expanded and printed them second time in 1969 (two volumes that comes as three books) containing around

1500 pages with additional countless photographs, plans and diagrams all done by himself. In addition to his main large format books, he is also better known for his small pocket-sized book of the same name “A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture”, which is an abbreviated version of his major works.

Before Creswell published the first volume of these very important books on Early Muslim Architecture in 1932 and the second volume in 1940, there were many books published in Europe by other authors and researchers in French, English and German from the beginning of the 19th century.¹⁰ Most of those books published by others on Early Muslim Architecture were written to cover narrow geographical area such as Cairo (Egypt), Damascus (Syria), Jerusalem (Palestine-Jordan), Kairavan (Tunisia) by famous authors such as A. Mosil, *Kusejir Amra* (2 Volumes), Vienna, 1907; E. Herzfeld, *Samarra*, Berlin 1907; F. Sarre-E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat-und Tigris-Gebiet*, 4 Vols.1911-1920 or on individual Islamic buildings, such as E.T. Richmond, *The Dome of the Rock in Jarusalem*, Oxford, 1924; Jean Sauvaget, *Les Monuments historiques des Damas*, Beyrouth, 1932; J. Sauvaget, *Les Mosquee Omeyyade de Medina*, Paris MCMXLVII, H. Lammens, *Etudes sur Le siecle des Omeyyades*, Beyrouth, 1930; G. Lowthian Bell, *Palace and Mosque at Ukhaïdir*, Oxford, 1914 etc. Many copyrighted works, published several times and continue to be made available to all European readers.

The following list of copyrighted publications given as example of the extensive (often printed) works produced on the history, geography, archeology and early Early Islamic Architecture of the Middle East; Cahrls Texier, *Asia Minor, History and Archeology*, 3 vols, 1872.

Clermont-Ganneau, *Archeological Researches in Palestine During The Years 1873-89*.

Francoi Benoit, *L'architecture, L'orient*, 1912.

E. Diez, *Die Kunst der İslamischen Völker*, Berlin, 1915.

G.T. Rivoira: *Muslim Architecture, Its Origins and Developments*, Oxford,1918.

M.S. Briggs, *Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, Oxford,1924.

Leone Caetani, *Annali dell'İslam* (1905-1926, 10 vols).

E.T. Richmond, *Muslim Architecture*, London,1926.

Ernst Kühnel, *Kunst des Orients*, Abb.40, 1940.

M.S. Briggs, (in Arnold and Guillaume) *The Legacy of Islam*, 1931.

¹⁰ See: Aykaç, 2020, pp.721-728.

R. Grousset, *Les Civilisations de L'Orient., I*, English Transl. 1931.

K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, Oxford, Vol I, 1932.

J. Sauvaget-E. Combe-G.Wiet. *Rep. chronolo. d'epigrpahie arabe (I-XII)*, Cairo, 1930-

K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, Oxford Vol II, 1940.

Georges Marçais, *L'Art de L'Islam*, 1947/48.

Georges Marçais, *L'Architecture Musulmane d'Occident*, Paris, 1954 & 955.

2. How Creswell's Books Differ From Those Published Before and After Him

If one looks closely at Creswell's world-famous expanded version Vol. 1, Part 1 and Vol. 1 Part 2 and Volume 2 books titled *Early Muslim Architecture*, one can see in these three books that from the beginning of Islamic period 623 AD, (including the rebuilding of the holly Ka'ba in 608 by idol-worshipping Meccans) to the middle of Abbasid period 907 AD, it had expanded to cover around 300 architectural activities with name and exact location of the building together with ruler who ordered it to be built (patron). He mentioned not only actual buildings but also other Islamic items related to early Islamic architecture such pulpits, mihrabs, minarets etc. So they made the book more valuable. It can also be seen that he also discussed the development and origins of topics such as the minarets, maksurah, pointed arches, domes, prohibition of painting in Islam etc. in great detail.

He personally visited and examined more muslim architectural works and archeological sites than any previous researcher did before and during his time did. This is why he has included more buildings in his book than any of his predecessors or contemporaries. The fact that his books deal with the structure/subject and presents a more holistic and comprehensive approach/attitude about building structures. The claims, plans, measurements and information presented in almost all of these books, including information conveyed from ancient Jewish, Christian and Islamic sources in relation to Jewish, Christian and Islamic architectural works as and when necessary.

He gives various hints and warnings in the text where appropriate, as well as further explanations in the footnotes, about all the correct or incorrect, beautiful or incomplete information he sees in the way he handles these works.

The other admirable side of Creswell is that he closely followed what had been published in English, French and German (including Latin and Greek) almost everywhere in the World since the beginning of the 19th century. With this advantage, he was able to list and refere to almost

every publication on Islamic architecture in the world published before him including non-English publications such as French, German, Spanish and Latin because he was able to read, write and understand them at fairly high level. He obtained and perused nearly all of these in foreign language publications, incorporating them into his extensive collections and creating a chronological inventory of each one. When it was finished, he published it in the form of 3 volumes under the title “Bibliography of the Architecture, Arts and Crafts of Islam to 1961” and to update it, he also published additions for this set in 1973.

While Creswell was preparing his books on early Muslim architecture, he also read and analysed works of muslim historians such as Ezraki, Ibn Hisham, Yakubi, Ibn Sa’ad (a rarity in other European authors) and as well as of many non-Muslim authors likes of Utychius, Daniel (Russian Abbaot), Fetellus, John of Wurzburg, Benjamin Tudela, Theodorich, John of Phokas, Breydenbach, Suriano, Harrf, Baumgarten etc.

He always had at hand almost all books translated into European languages, including information on Islamic history, politics and architecture. He did not simply copy a piece of information that was supposedly found in other books, for example a quotation from the book of an early Muslim, Greek or Latin author, without checking it against the books he had at his disposal. Another striking feature of his work is the contents of his books, because he points out any mistranslation/transference in other books when he sees it and after double or triple checking it from French, German or Spanish editions.

Further more, his good knowledge of previous and contemporary publications on early muslim architecture and their contents, and the fact that he has studied many Islamic buildings on site, have given him a ‘difference of broad-framed mastery’ of the subject he worked on, which is a very rare thing to find in other European researchers. It is this difference that gives Creswell the depth and breadth of knowledge when drawings or photographing an early Islamic site that he accumulated over many years of personal sacrifice and effort. He has completed the deficiencies in other publications, replaced the mistakes with correct information, and given the ability to publish/present it in a more more comprehensive way to the service of humanity than his peers. In addition, he personally visited many buildings on site, checked the dimensions of the building given in previous publications, often re-measured them, and pointed out the deficiencies and errors (or the changes that ocured over times) in the previously drawn and published plans-schemes. This work of his, may be due to his attitude of trying to get the latest and most accurate information in his book, he was admired, appreciaed and his publications were quoted more than anyone

else by all researchers and academics on early Islamic architecture field all over the World including Türkiye. In particular, the expanded edition, published in 1969 has been regarded by circles closely interested in Early Muslim Architecture as one of the best publications ever made in this field.¹¹ Even though his main books did not receive the attention it deserves in Türkiye due to the language problem and not widely being available in specialised libraries except one or two. Nonetheless, there is not a single article or book published on early Muslim architecture in Türkiye since 1948 that does not include one edition or the other of Creswell's Early Muslim Architecture publications dated from 1932 to 1969. It is like an indispensable custom not to cite Creswell's EMA book in any publication relating to early Muslim architecture even if the citation line contains a few mistakes regarding page number, edition number, or even the date of publication.¹²

2.1. A Life Devoted to Early Muslim Architecture¹³

“...Keppel Archibald Cameron CRESWELL (1879-1974); Art historian known for his research on Early Muslim architecture. He was born in London on September 13, 1879. By the time he turned 35 in 1914, he had already changed jobs several times and was bored of his job at the Deutsche Bank in London. In May 1914, after seeing an advert, he applied to join the Archeological Survey of India, a British colony, hoping to work in a field where he could see Eastern architecture at first hand. Because he had read thousands of pages since his secondary school days as well and had a very rich collection of magazines, books etc, on the subject. In this application letter he wrote; *I don't know much about Indian architecture, but I have read*

¹¹ Geddes, C. L. et al. *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honour of Professor K. A. C. Creswell*, Cairo: Publi. for the Center for Arabic Studies by the American University in Cairo Press, 1965); Grabar, Oleg (ed.), *K. A. C. Creswell and His Legacy, Muqarnas, an Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture* (Leiden: E. J. Brill:1991) Vol. 8, 1-4.

¹² For more info. on this issue see: Prof. Dr. Suut Kemal Yetkin, *İslam Mimarisi* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, Türk ve İslam Sanatları Tarihi Enstitüsü, No;61, 1965), Prof. Dr. Suut Kemal Yetkin, *İslam Ülkelerinde Sanat* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınları,1984), Yılmaz Can- Recep Gün, *Türk İslam Sanatları ve Estetiği* (İstanbul: Kayihan Yay., 2006); İlhan Özkeçeci, *Doğu Işığı, VII.-XII. Yüzyıllarda İslam Sanatı* (İstanbul: Grraphis matbaası, 2006, Mustafa S. Küçükbaşçı, *Cahiliye'den Emeviler'in Sonuna Kadar Haremeyn* (İstanbul: 2003); Prof. Dr. Haluk Sezgin, *Türk ve İslam Ülkeleri Mimarisine Toplu Bakış* (İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, Mimarlık Fakültesi No 5, 1979).

¹³ More information on Creswell can be found via: [Creswell photographic negative archive, digitised, at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford](#); [Creswell photographic print archive and library at The American University, Cairo](#); [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/K.A.C. Creswell](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/K.A.C._Creswell); [Bibliography of Creswell's works, http://archnet.org/library/images/sites.jsp?select=collection&key=963](http://archnet.org/library/images/sites.jsp?select=collection&key=963) (Accessed: 05.11.2023).

*140 travel books on Middle East and 40 articles published by J.R.G.S and J.R.A.S on Muhammadan architecture, and I have read information about every architectural structure in Persia, Mesopotamia and Central Asia. I took notes on every single monument and recorded them on separate cards. The number of cards in my hand is 1100, there are 30 pages of information on some important structures in these cards.*¹⁴ After his application for this job in August, World War I started, he was called up to military service, so, he could not start. 7 years later, in 1920-21, he broke off his military service. Later on settled in Cairo. He presented a project focusing on Egypt, to the King Fuad I, and received the promise from him that he would support Creswell in every matter including financial, so, he committed his life/future entirely in this direction, devoting to research, study and publications on Early Muslim Architecture subject. He published the 1st volume of The Early Muslim Architecture (EMA) book, which is larger (50x40cm) than normal size and has extensive content on early muslim architectural structures, in 1932. Also published the 2nd. volume in 1940 (Pic. 2,8,9). After this, published the first volume of his “The Muslim Architecture of Egypt” book (large size again) in 1952 and the second volume in 1959 (Pic.10,11). Using the information in the publications on Islamic Architecture that he has been following closely since 1912, he produced “The Bibliography of The Architecture, Arts and Crafts” book (3 volumes, large size) in 1961. (about 12,300 books and the similar number of periodicals containing information in 8 languages). He published a supplementary volume containing additional information as a follow up for this publication in 1973 as well.

After General Nasser’s revolution in Egypt in 1952, his work as a foreigner entered a difficult period. When he received news (during the 1956 Suez Canal crisis), that Nasser government would confiscate his books by a special agreement with help of the University, he donated his books to the American University in Cairo. He was also assigned to work with his books [with an assistant: Gloria Karnouk] and continued his research and writings at the University Library until time he left Egypt towards end of 1973.¹⁵ Soon before his death, he transferred around 3,000 priceless books and 11,000 photographs to this university and the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. He donated an archive of some 2,500 black-and-white photographs of Early Islamic Architecture some of which were published on the Archnet.org website, together with his own archive of black and white photographs (Pic. 1-3).

¹⁴ R. W. Hamilton, *Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell 1879-1974* (London: Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. LX, 1974: 1-20).

¹⁵ Gloria Karnouk, *The Creswell Library: A Legacy* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, *Muqarnas, an Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture*, 1991), Vol. 8, 117-124.

2.2. Comment By Other Authors About Creswell's Islamic Architecture Publications

"After Creswell wrote and decided the issues, how many people can now think / claim that the Mshatta is pre-Islamic or that the dome of the Dome of the Rock is a Byzantine work!", F. Sarre (1932).

"There are many controversial issues that are well known to those who are engaged in this field, many of which Creswell brought to conclusion and decided with his persistent and meticulous studies and has buried them so deep that they will never come to the surface again. Creswell's research, which deals with a wide range of works, down to their footnotes, reveals the integrity of his work. There are few books reinforced with footnotes as well as Creswell's work. In this book, nothing of importance seems to be left out, with the work having the character of an Encyclopedia or dictionary", Artur Upham Pope, (1937).

"Although we do not want to call the works done and written in this field before him as belonging to the 'Ignorance' period, it seems that EMA books will describe them as 'before Creswell' and 'after Creswell' from now on. For those who think that Creswell's bibliographies are a bit incomplete due to the lack of Russian sources, we can cite as examples his 196 bibliographies on Cordoba Great Mosque, 45 on Uhaydir, 190 on Fustat Amr Mosque, 105 on Kairavan Great Mosque, and 125 bibliographies on Nilometer (in 8 languages)", Myron B. Smith (1941).

"He has no peer, those who like and appreciate his work know that this result/fruit comes from his dedication to this work, his remarkable energy and his love of revealing the truth fairly", Eric Schroder, An appreciation (of EMA, 2 Vols.), Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, 35 (1948).

Pope and Gabriel also acknowledge and confirm how meticulous and perfectionist he was in his plan drawings: *"An error of at most Imm could be encountered in the measurements of his Dome of the Rock"*, Gabriel (in review of Early Muslim Architecture, pt.1 in Syria 14,1933).

"Many articles have been published about Creswell's book, but only three of them contain minor criticisms. One of them is Schoreder's writings in 1941, Meyer Schapire's and Hamilton's writings in 1958. Only one person who had a completely negative view was the Frenchman J. Sauvaget", Raby Julian, (1991).¹⁶

3. The Emergence Of Creswell's Books

It was mentioned above that Creswell followed almost all publications on Islamic Architecture very closely. Infact he had started from young

¹⁶ Julian Raby, *Reviewing the Reviewers* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, Muqarnas, an Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture: 1991), Vol.8, 4-5.

age (via his local library) reading/following about muslim architecture publications made by archaeological researches which had been carried out by hundreds of European individuals or teams (professional or amateur) in Muslim lands of the Middle East since the beginning 19th century. As a result of this close follow-up, he realised that there were few publications dealt with the works of Islamic architecture in collective way, arranged in wholesome way, and to fill this gap, he decided in his own way that there was a need for a serious publication in this field. Before the war he had been drafted in to the Air Force, and for this he had been ordered to to meet with General Sykes at the place known the ‘Arab House’ on the top floor of the Savoy Hotel in Cairo, Egypt. Arab House was used by the British Middle East Service under Sykes’s administration as a meeting place, for the collection of information and intelligence and for the training and assignment of its staff. After World War I, during 1920-21¹⁷, he spent 2-3 years in Aleppo, Syria and Palestine working for British Government preparing the list of historical monuments and works of art in these regions which he described as “very fulfilling and working with great love and enthusiasm”.

At the end of this mission, with luck or perhaps as a reward for his previous sincere works in Syria, Aleppo, at the age of 42, with experience he gained in Syria his life was turned to Cairo, Egypt which he was familiar with. Shortly after his arrival in Cairo, Creswell had the full support from King Fuad I for his project on Early Muslim Architecture. With King’s support and reference he opened many doors and was to easily able easily overcome all the obstacles that would arise to stop him from his researches and studies which continued until 1973.¹⁸

Creswell had collected rich information and visual materials necessary for both his works on Egyptian Islamic architecture and early Muslim architecture books as well as the book of Islamic arts bibliographies. He made good use of this blessing from King Fuad I in the favorable time and environment he used for many years. Feeling the support behind him, he started putting together all the visual and written information he had been collecting for a long time, sorting, collecting and completing the missing pieces wherever he found them, in museums, libraries etc. without any obstacle. He had the chance and access to all ancient manuscript in Library

¹⁷ Sir Mark Sykes, 1879-1919; The Specialist on Middle East table of Great Britain in 1916, who also drew up the Sykes-Picot agreement. (Accessed: 01.10.2023).

¹⁸ To thank King Fuad I of Egypt for all kind of support for him and his works, Creswell printed a special message inside covers of all his EMA books which read: *His Majesty Fuad I, King of Egypt, whose enlightened encouragement has given new life to the arts in Egypt and whose generous support is assured for all intellectuals and scientific research.*

of Cairo to check and correct the missing/wrong translations/expressions and information he saw in the previous and current publications he had in his files by comparing the earliest and nearest of the original manuscripts. In 1932, after ten years of preparation, he was able to publish the first volume of his *Early Muslim Architecture*, with 500 copies printed in England via the Oxford Clarendon Press (Pic.8,9).

3.1. Printed Versions of Creswell's '*Early Muslim Architecture*' Books

Having provided some information about Creswell's works on early Islamic architecture, let us take a closer look at the contents of his famous books titled '*Early Muslim Architecture*', of which few different versions still available on the (used) book markets.

3.2. '*A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*', London 1958

After publishing the first editions of the main book in 1932 (Vol. I) and 1940 (Vol. II) as limited edition, Creswell felt obliged to offer an alternative to the difficulties that had arisen due to main books being heavy and expensive which made it difficult to use and purchase by everyone. To ensure that the book reaches a wider audience, it had to be smaller and affordable. This led to the creation of a new version. He prepared a pocket sized book through summarising his main books and named it "A Short Account of EMA", foreword by M.E.L Mallowan.¹⁹ It was slightly smaller than A5 size (with 330 pages + 72 pgs of BW photos), measuring 18x10.5x2.5 cm. The new, short version was published in 1958 as hard back (HB) copy by Penguin Books Publishing House in Harmondworth, Middlesex (UK).

3.2.1. Table Of Contents of *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, Pelican Edition, London, 1958 (1st Edition) (Pic.4, 5).

TABEL OF CONTENTS	
LIST OF PLATES,	p. vii,
LIST OF TEXT FIGURES,	p.x,
EDITORIAL FOREWORD,	p.xiii,
Part One, THE Umayyad Dynasty,	
I- PRIMITIVE ISLAM,	p. 1,
II- THE DOME OF THE ROCK,	p. 17,
III- THE WORKS OF AL-WALID,	P. 43,
IV- THE WORKS OF AL-WALID (continued),	p. 82,

¹⁹ Max E. L. Mallowan (Professor of Western Asiatic Archeology, University of London, also second husband of famous Agatha Christy).

V- THE WORKS OF KHALIFS SULAYMAN AND HISHAM,	p,108
VI- MSHATTA, QASR AT TUBA AND HARRAN,	p,124
VII- CONCLUSIONS TO PART ONE,	p,156-8 ²⁰
Part Two , THE ABBASID DYNASTY,	s.160
VIII-THE FOUNDATION OF BAGDAD,	p,161
IX- RAQQA,	p,183
X- UKHAYDIR AND ATSHAN,	p,192
XI- THE AQSA MOSQUE AND THE GREAT MOSQUE OF CORDOVA,	p,204
XII- THE MOSQUE OF AMR IN 212 H. 827,	p,234
XIII- QAIRAWAN-I,	p,249
XIV- SAMARRA-I,	p,259
XV- SUSAN,	p,267
XVI- SAMARRA-II,	p,274
XVII- QAIRAWAN-II,	p,291
XVIII THE WORKS OF AHMAD IBN TULUN,	p,301
XIX- CONCLUSION TO PART TWO,	p,318
BIBLIOGRAPHY,	p,323
INDEX,	p,325-330.

2.2.2. How Much Was *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture, 1958* Shortened?

1. In the comparison made through the indexes, the large size print of 1st Edition dated 1932 / volume I of the main book, available between pages 42-96, is found in Chapter VI, can be seen that the title of the main section of THE WORKS OF ABD AL-MALIK, in *A Short Account of EMA*, has been changed and its content is given under different headings.

2. Also in the large size 1st Edition / main book volume I, dated 1932; Part X, which were given under the headings; X. THE MOSAICS OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK AT JERUSALEM AND OF THE GREAT MOSQUE AT DAMASCUS,

CHRONOLOGY, p.149-252
p.373-390 = 17s

have completely been removed.

3. In large size books; While the subject of Al-Aqsa Mosque is discussed on its own in volume II, between p.119-137 (:18p), and the Great Mosque

²⁰ Part One ends at p.158. Next, *Part Two: Abbasid Dynasty* heading is shown on an empty page. After this a new section of BW photos printed on glossy paper starts with pages numbered 1-72. After this, Chapter 8 starts from p.161 till p.330.

of Cordoba is also discussed on its own, again in volume II, between p.138-166 (: 28p).

4. In the abbreviated book 'A Short Account of EMA...', it is seen that Aksa Mosque and Cordoba Mosque are discussed together in between p. 204-232 (: 28p).

5. So, in the Contents of A Short Account of EMA book, total of 19 main chapter names are shown with few subheading, whereas the first editions of main EMA prints (Vol.I in 1932 and Vol. II 1940: Pics.8-9), a total of 40 main architectural works/topics are listed. On the other hand, extended main EMA books printed in 1969 contains about 70 architectural topics.

3.2.3. 1979 and 1989 Prints of *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture Books*

This pocket size book of 1958 was printed 1968 by Creswell second time (Pic.4,5). L.E.M Mallowen who wrote the "Foreweord" to it, printed a facsimile copy (with Creswell's approval) in 1969 and 1979 (under a private company name) in Beirut in paperback (Pic.6).

Then in 1989, a new paperback (PB) version with few added topics was published. When the content of 89 print is examined, we can see that it consists of 425 pages and printed by Scolar Press, Essex, England, with two authors: K.A.C. Creswell and James W. Allan.²¹ It appears that James W Allan, designed a new cover (Pic.7) adding his own name below Creswell's on the outer cover. It is also noticable that new topcis have been added (which were not in 1958 prints) and some old topics have been updated by James. W. Allan with some phisical differences from cover to contents in a positive way which adds value to the book. In addition, the size of book of 1989 edition was considered to be slightly larger and wider than the 1958 edition, and the page typography was changed from one column to two.

4. Contents Of Creswell's Main *Early Musium Architecture Books*

Over the next 30-40 years after Creswell published first volume of his major work on early Muslim architecture, many more structures were unearthed in new excavations by European researchers in Middle East, and few more publications appeared about them, For Creswell, who followed the fields of Islamic arts and architecture very closely, this meant that he had to update his major books. For this reason, with help of his two assistants Dr. Christel Kessler and James W. Allan he expanded and rearranged the contents of volume I of his books and published the second editions as two volumes again but as 3 books in 1969, (Expanding the first volume, into

²¹ James W. Allan was one of the assistant alonside Dr. Kessler, both of whom helped Creswell in updating/expanding of Vol.I of his main books which was published in 1969 via Oxford Clarendon Press.

two books and named them as: Vol.I part I, Vol.I part II and Vol. II) again through Oxford Clarendon Press.

When compared the two-volumes (the first edition with the expanded second edition of 1969), it is easy to see that the 1969 edition has been greatly expanded/enriched with the addition of around 400 pages. When his friend James Dicky (Yağub Zaki) met him in London after he published the second edition in early 970s and asked him If he was to update the second volume of his EMA book, Creswell replied to him: “It took me 20 years to update Vol.I and I’m in my 90s, I do not know if I would have time to update the Vol.II.”²²

After printing the second edition, following Creswell’s death in 1974, it looks the publishing rights were transferred to Hacker Art Books, New York, and a replica of the second edition was published via re-printing from scanned pages, as the loss of neatness on the pages shows this in all of the 3 books printed in 1979 by Hacker, with same contents of the 1969 books untouched, even minor technical errors were not corrected!

4.1. Table of Contents of Main *Early Muslim Architecture* (Firts Ed. 1932-1940)

TABLE OF CONTENTS, *PART ONE – Umayyads*, (Pic. 8,9)

[*Main Headings only*²³]

I. PRIMITIVE ISLAM,	p.1
II. PRIMITIVE ISLAM cont.,	p.21-41
III. THE WORKS OF ABD AL-MALIK,	p.42-96
IV. THE WORKS OF AL-WALID,	p.97-146
V. THE MOSAICS OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK AT JERUSALEM AND OF THE GREAT MOSQUE AT DAMASCUS,	p.149-228
<i>Part I: THE MOSAICS OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK AT JERUSALEM,</i>	p.149-228
<i>Part II: THE MOSAICS OF THE DOME OF THE GREAT MOSQUE AT DAMASCUS,</i>	p.229-252
VI. QUSAYR AMRA, HAMMAM AŞ-ŞARRAKH, AND THE MOSQUE AT QUASYR AL HALLABAT,	p.253-303
VII. THE EVOLUTION OF THE PENDENTIVE,	p.304-323

²² Aykaç, 2020, 2/677.

²³ As there are so many secondary headings in all of 3 books of EMA which would require countless number of pages to mention all of them, so due to space shortage, only the main/first headings have been shown here.

VIII. THE WORKS OF KHALIFS SULAYMAN

AND HISHAM, p.324-349

IX. MSHATTA, QASR AT TUBA ETC., p.350-411

APPENDIX. p.412-414

4.2. Fisrt Print of Volume II (1940) (Pic.9)

[As shown & listed inside cover of the book]

TABLE OF CONTENTS, *PART TWO*- EARLY ABBASIDS & c.

[*Main Headings only*]

I. BAGDAD, p.1-38

II. RAQQA, p.39-49

III. UKHAYDIR, p.50-100

IV. THE SQUINCH BEFORE A.D.700, p.101-118

V. THE AQSA MOSQUE AT JERUSALEM, p.119-137

VI. A. THE GREAT MOSQUE OF CORDOVA, p.138-166

VI. B. THE RIBAT AT SUSAN AND THE MOSQUE OF
AMRAT FUSTAT, p.167-196

VII. THE ALCAZABA OF MERIDA, p.197-207

VIII. THE GREAT MOSQUE OF QAIRAWAN,-I p.208-226

IX. SAMARRA-I, p.227-245

X. THE MOSQUE AT BU FATATA AND THE GREAT
MOSQUE AT SUSAN, p.246-253

XI. SAMARRA-II, p.254-270

XII. THE WALLA AND MANAR OF SUSAN, p.271-266

XIII. SAMARRA-III, p.277-288

XIV. THE CISTERN OF QAIRAWAN AND THE
NILOMETER ON RODA ISLAND, p.289-307

XV. THE GREAT MOSQUE OF QAIRAWAN –II, p.308-320

XVI. THE GREAT MOSQUE OF TUNUS ETC., p.321-326

XVII. THE WORKS OF AHMAD IBN TULUN,
p.327-360

XVIII. SAMARRA-IV ETC., p.361-369

SUMMARY,
p.370-372

CHRONOLOGY, p.373-390

AGNEDA AND CORRIGENDA, p.391

INDEX, p.393-415

5. Second and Third Editions of Early Muslim Architecture Books

5.1. Table of Contents of Second & Third Prints of *Early Muslim Architecture 1969/79 Books: (Pics.14,15,16,17,18)*

Information given inside cover of Vol. I, Part I, Printed 1969 (Fig.16).

EARLY MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE,

UMAYYADS, EARLY ABBASIDS & TULUNIDS

By K.A. C. Creswell, F.S.A. Hon. A.R.I.B.A.

Second Edition,

VOLUME I, PART I

Part One, Umayyads, A.D.622-750

With a Contribution on The Mosaics of the Dome of the Rock and of The Great Mosque at Damascus. By Marguerite Gauter-Van Berchem

5.1.1. Table of Contents of Vol. I, Part I (Covering till p.372)

TABLE OF CONTENTS,

[Main Headings only]

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EARLY MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE

UMAYYADS, EARLY ABBASIDS & TULUNIDS

By K A C Creswell, F.S.A. Hon. A.R.I.B.A.

Second Edition,

VOLUME I, PART II

Part Two, Umayyads, A.D.622-750

With a Contribution on The Mosaics of the Dome of the Rock and of The Great Mosque at Damascus. By Marguerite Gauter-Van Berchem

SECOND EDITION IN TWO PARTS, VOLUME I, PART II

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EARLY MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE,

UMAYYADS, EARLY ABBASIDS & TULUNIDS

By K.A.C. Creswell, F.S.A. Hon. A.R.I.B. SECOND EDITION
VOLUME II

EARLY ABBASIDS, UMAYYADS OF CORDOBA, AGHLABIDS,
TULUNIDS, AND SAMANIDS, A.D 751-905,

*With Contributions By; Felix Hernandez, Georges Marçais, Abd al-Fattah
Hilmı and Hasan Abd Al Wahhab*

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5.1.4. Differences Between The 1932 First Edition of The Main EMA Book And The 1969 Enlarged Second Edition

a- 1932 edition, Volume I; The subject of PRIMITIVE ISLAM, which was given in two separate chapters (I – II) and a total of 42 pages, was expanded in 1969 in three separate chapters (I-II-III) for a total of 65 pages.

b- In the 1932 edition; Even though it is not shown under the main heading in the Index;

III. In the chapter, under the title THE WORKS OF ABD AL-MALIK, the subject of The Dome of The Rock is given in a total of 54 pages between pp.42-96;

c- In the 1969 edition, Volume I; A total of 65 pages have been expanded in Chapters IV and V. However, the subject of the Works of Abd al-Malik is also given in 9 pages in Chapter VI. In the 1932 edition; IV. While the subject of THE WORKS OF AL-WALID was given in a total of 49 pages between pages 97-146 in the chapter, it was expanded and discussed in two separate chapters (VII and VIII) in a total of 53 pages in the 1969 edition.

d- The subject of ARCHITECTURAL ORIGINS, which was not included in the 1932 edition, was covered in 13 pages as chapter IX in the 1969 edition.

e- In the 1932 edition, the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock and the Damascus Umayyad mosque were processed in 153 pages. In the 1969 edition, this subject was given as 159 pages without much change, with only a slight difference.

f- The subject of Al-Aqsa Mosque, which was covered in 18 pages in one chapter (V) in the 1932 edition, It is discussed in Vol.I, Part II, ch.V, in 18 pages between pp.119-137 in 1969.

g- Apart from these, it can be seen that the other sections in the 1932 and 1940 editions are reproduced in the 1969 edition (without any changes, with the same minor technical errors).

h- Due to these updates/expansions made to the 1969 edition, it can be seen that the number of unnumbered pages in these sections has increased, with the addition of photographs of the subjects during this expansion to the black and white photographs section, which contains unnumbered plate(s) at the end of the volumes.

i- As a result, the 2nd edition of the 1969 edition was expanded and published in 3 books, mostly single pages consisting of unnumbered black and white photographs, some of which are also unnumbered and can be

opened to two pages (just like the 1st. edition), sometimes folded inwards to the size of 2 or 3 pages. There are more than 1500 pages, including the unnumbered plan-scheme appendices.

j- If we look at the parts of the three very large books called Volume I, Chapter I and Volume 2, which are listed in the second and third subheadings of the Index listings (which cannot be given here due to lack of space), we see that Chapter I of Volume I, which is mainly devoted to the Umayyad period, in Part 2 books, around 40 architectural works / topics are discussed under a total of 24 main headings/chapters.

k- In Volume II, which is mainly devoted to the Abbasid Dynasty period, some 40 architectural works/topics are discussed under a total of 16 main headings/chapters.

5.1.5. Studies Made in Turkey About K.A.C.Creswell's *Early Islamic Architecture Books*

A two-volumes set of books titled titled “K.A.C. Creswell’e Göre Erekn devir İslâm Mimarisi/Early Muslim Architecture According to K.A.C. Creswell” was published in 2020 in Turkish (Pic.19). Contents of the book consists of summarised translation of EMA books with added comments and footnotes to explain some issues that came out to light after Creswell passed away in 1974, as well as when and where Mr. Creswell leaned more towards the views of Gertrude L. Bell, Henry Lammens and Leone Caetani kind of famous orientalist on certain issues.

Above book was printed by MMG of Istanbul, as 500 copies (Limited Edition) only due to high cost of copyright payment for the several hundred pictures, plans and drawings owned by the Estate of K.A.C. Creswell namely the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, UK. Creswell also had trusted the copywrite of texts of his books to Dr. Cristine Kessler. After contacting her via help of Dr. James W. Allan, he passed on the message from her that she was happy to waive the copywright fee for the text due to the reason that it was one of Creswell’s unfulfilled wishes that he wanted his work to be known in Türkiye. Over 200 copies of the book which was sent free of charge to main Public Libraries and main Libraries of all Universities in Turkey. Another 100 copies were forwarded to academics at various universities who are directly involved in Early Islamic Architecture (again free of charge). Some were given as present to researchers, journalist and important people in burocracy by the sponsor/publisher and auther himself.

Conclusion

Many of the auxillary books used in higher education to teach the history of Islamic arts and history of early Islamic architecture do not name or cover all of the important buildings of the early period of Islam. The ones they cover do not give enough information and visuals about them as they

give very short/summarised informations. Ka'ba, Masjid al-Nabawi, the Dome of Rock, the Masjid al Aqsa, the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus, the Great Mosque of Qairawan, the Great Mosque of Cordoba are some of the buildings that are recognised worldwide as belonging to the early period of Islamic architecture. The information provided on these buildings is not comprehensive and does not deal with many aspects of them.

Most of the informations on these buildings in these books is taken from European publications. Similarly many issues about and around these early Islamic buildings have been discussed by the European researchers since from the beginning of 20th century, when European authors began to publish books about these buildings. They had discussed (or argued) among themselves about certain issues, such as whether the Dome of Rock, the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus and Cordoba were churches before they were converted into mosques (!) etc.

In those Turkish books many topics (from brief summaries) give the impression of being taken from first edition of Creswell's Early Muslim Architecture books. Because there are some plans from Creswell's book and some summarised texts which sound like as if they were taken from Creswell, (as Creswell's name and his 1932 & 1940 books were shown on the bibliography page). However nowhere in the books is there a clear note or footnote indicating which text or plan come from which book authored by Creswell or any other European authors.

On the other hand, certain issues, arguments, questions and answers presented in these books for the benefit of the readers regarding Kaaba, Masjid al-Nabawi, Mosque of Amr of Fustat, Grand Mosque of Qairawan Masjid al-Aqsa, Dome of the Rock, Umayyad Mosque of Damascus, Grand Mosque of Cordoba are similar to what Creswell and other European authors have been arguing amongst themselves since 1950s onwards. If the source of the questions and answers in these Turkish books is not shown, it will mean that all new generations of students and researchers who will read these books will never know which argument and answers come from which book or the author.

It can be argued that one of the reasons since 1950s, that there has been no discussion on scientific/academic platforms on the subjects of early muslim architecture issues as the Europeans argued and discussed amongst themselves. And not many academic research (e.g. doctoral thesis) have been prepared and not many articles or books have been published on these Islamic buildings and early Islamic architecture topics. Also as a result of this deadlock, academics from Türkiye could not attend seminars/congresses, etc. held abroad on these issues because they did not have much to say about those arguments.

Similarly, some of the issues put forward in Creswell's books such as

the origins of mihrab, maksurah, minarets as to when and how they first appeared in Muslim architecture or if taken from others where were they taken from? These questions are discussed thoroughly in Creswell's books, as well as "The Ban on Painting in Islam", "Were the Great Mosque of Damascus and the Great Mosque of Diyarbakir Churches before?", "Was the Great Mosque of Cordoba formerly a church buildings and later on converted into Mosques?", "Were the church buildings of Damascus really shared by Muslims and Christians for a number of years as some European authors claim?"

Perhaps as a result of this complacency, serious errors of information and mistakes continue to be published without objection in the resource/guide type publications or Encyclopedia articles published in Türkiye on the subjects of early Muslim architecture.

After carefully comparing Creswell's books and Turkish books, it is easy to see that none of the Turkish auxiliary textbooks published in Türkiye since 1948 (details of which are given above) are compatible with Creswell's books on early Muslim architecture. After checking the contents of the other books published by other European authors, they are also far from being compatible with Creswell's books. The books published by other European authors, which Turkish books took and showed as a reference in their bibliographies also did not give much detailed information about each of the Ka'ba, Masjid al-Nabawi, Mosque of Amr in Fustat (Cairo), Grand Mosque of Qairawan, Masjid al-Juma of Damascus, The Great Mosque of Damascus, Masjid al Umar/Masjid al-Juma of al-Quds, Masjid al-Aqsa, Dome of the Rock, The Great Mosque of Cordoba and The Great Mosque of Diyarbakir etc.

An important question one must ask about this issue is this: How much information and visuals are given in those other European publications about the emergence of the first mihrab, maksurah, minarets etc.? (not to mention the cities, palaces and military buildings built during the periods of Umayyads and Abbasids) etc.? To be honest, not much, when compared to Creswell's books. They give very little information and visuals on many aspects of early Islamic buildings, comparing what Creswell gave space to all of these in his *EMA* books.

For the reasons mentioned listed above, Creswell's last print, which was expanded and published in 1969/79 in 2 volumes / 3 books, has been translated into Turkish (by summarising with adding commentary) so that everyone working in this field can benefit from his books. Fortunately the Turkish work on Creswell's books was published in two volumes by a sponsoring non-governmental architectural organisation and delivered to the central libraries of all Universities in Türkiye that have departments of Islamic art, Islamic architecture and art history.

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PICTURES:



Picture 1



Pic.2

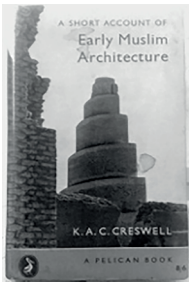


Pic.3

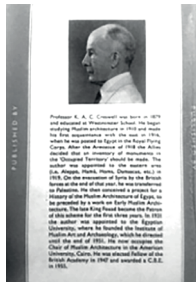
Picture 1, K.A.C. Creswell, preparing his old style Camera to go out in his Cairo room, 1930s.

Picture 2, Creswell carrying with his first print of EMA books (2 vols) (in 1955).

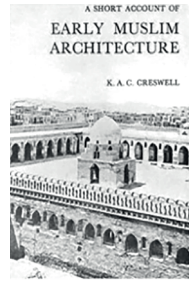
Picture 3; Creswell in in his Library.



Pic. 4



Pic. 5



Pic. 6

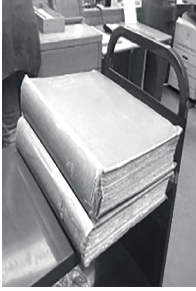


Pic.7

Pic. 4,5, Front and back covers of Creswell's A Short Account of EMA, Penguin Edition London, 1958.

Pic. 6, Front cover of A Short Acc of EMA, Beirut, 1969 and 1979.

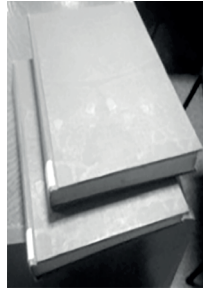
Pic 7, Front Cover of A Short Acc. Of EMA 1989, book, by James. W. Allan.



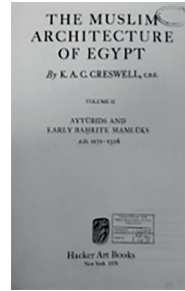
Pic.8



Pic.9



Pic.10



Pic.11

Pic.8, Creswell's main *Early Muslim Architecture* book, Vol.I & II, (1932 & 1940).

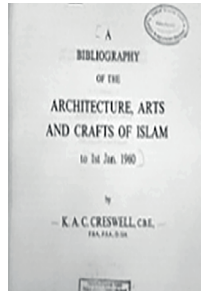
Pic.9, Inside cover of Creswell's main *Early Muslim Architecture* book, Vol. I (1932).

Pic.10, Creswell's *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, Vol, I and Vol.2 (1956).

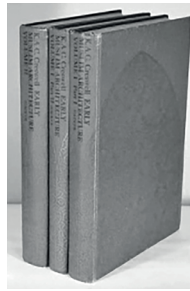
Pic.11, Inside cover of Creswell's *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, Vol.I (1956).



Pic. 12



Pic. 13



Pic. 14



Pic.15

Pic.12, Creswell's *Bibliography of the Architecture, Arts and Crafts of Islam*, Vol.I-III, 1960.

Pic.13, Inside Cover of *Creswell's Bibliography of the Architecture, Arts and Crafts of Islam*, Vol,1960.

Pic. 14-15, Creswell's main *Early Muslim Architecture* book, Vol.I –II, 1979 (as 3 Books) Ircica Library, İst.



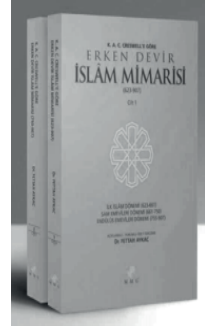
Pic. 16



Pic.17



Pic.18



Pic. 19

Pic.16, Inside Covers of Creswell's main *Early Muslim Architecture* book, Vol.I, Part I, 1979.

Pic.17, Inside Covers of Creswell's main *Early Muslim Architecture* book, Vol.I, Part II, 1979.

Pic.18, Inside Covers of Creswell's main *Early Muslim Architecture* book, Vol. II, 1979.

Pic.19, Turkish work on Creswell's EAM books, printed in 2020, named: *K.A.C. Creswell'e Göre Erken Devir İslâm Mimarisi*, (Early Period Muslim Architecture According To K.A.C. Creswell).