



Universidad Nacional de Catamarca - Facultad de Humanidades
Instituto de Investigación en Teorías del Arte y Estética
Revista Rigel – ISSN 2525-1945.

Aesthetic Expressions of Islamic Architecture in al-Andalus: A Comparative Historical Analysis of the Great Mosque of Córdoba and Madīnat al-Zahrā'

Yahia Ben Messaoud^{1*} and Said Reggab²

¹ Ph.D. in History, History and Civilization of the Islamic East, Department of History, Amar Telidji University of Laghouat, Algeria;
Historical Studies of the Arab World Throughout the Ages Laboratory

Email: y.benmessaoud@lagh-univ.dz

ORCID: [0009-0007-1849-4378](https://orcid.org/0009-0007-1849-4378)

² Ph.D. in History, Modern and Contemporary History of the Maghreb, Department of History, Amar Telidji University of Laghouat, Algeria; Social Empowerment and Sustainable Development in Arid Environments Laboratory

Email: sai.reggab@lagh-univ.dz

ORCID: [0009-0004-7568-212X](https://orcid.org/0009-0004-7568-212X)

*Correspondent author

Abstract

Islamic architecture in al-Andalus represents one of the most sophisticated architectural traditions of the medieval Islamic world, distinguished by its integration of spatial organization, structural innovation, geometric order, and ornamental refinement. This study examines the aesthetic and architectural characteristics of two emblematic monuments of Umayyad al-Andalus: the Great Mosque of Córdoba and the palace-city of Madīnat al-Zahrā'. Employing a comparative historical and analytical approach, the study investigates their spatial configurations, construction techniques, decorative systems, symbolic functions, and relationships with the political and cultural contexts in which they emerged. The analysis demonstrates that both monuments embody a coherent Umayyad architectural vocabulary expressed through geometric balance, rhythmic repetition, hierarchical spatial organization, vegetal and epigraphic ornamentation, and the strategic use of light and material. Nevertheless, their differing functions produced distinct architectural expressions: the Great Mosque articulated religious authority and communal identity, whereas Madīnat al-Zahrā' projected caliphal



sovereignty, ceremonial power, and courtly prestige. The findings further indicate that these monuments did not merely reproduce earlier Islamic models but transformed diverse Mediterranean and regional traditions into a distinctive Andalusian architectural language. By clarifying the relationship between aesthetic form, institutional function, and political symbolism, this study contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the historical development and enduring influence of Andalusian Islamic architecture.

Keywords: al-Andalus; Great Mosque of Córdoba; Madīnat al-Zahrā'; Islamic architecture; Umayyad heritage; architectural aesthetics

1. Introduction

Following the completion of the Islamic conquest of the Iberian Peninsula (al-Andalus) in 92 AH / 711 CE and the demise of King Roderic's Visigothic rule, the Muslims promptly engaged in widespread architectural development and urban construction (Ibn Khaldūn, 2000; Ibn 'Idhārī, 2013). They established and revitalized cities to serve as permanent administrative settlements and luminous centers of cultural enlightenment. Throughout their reign in al-Andalus, the Umayyad rulers prioritized the transfer of diverse Islamic architectural styles from the Levant (al-Mashriq) to the Iberian Peninsula. In their view, erecting monumental edifices served to immortalize their names and monumental achievements in the annals of history (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, 1956; Al-Maqqarī, 1969).

Urban construction flourished as Muslim master builders perfected city planning, newly founding urban centers while skillfully restoring and retrofitting pre-existing settlements. This urban flourishing was substantially facilitated by the peninsula's strategic geographic location and the abundance of natural building resources. Consequently, these Andalusian cities evolved into vibrant hubs of civilizational interaction among disparate intellectual and cultural traditions, producing a uniquely distinct architectural identity ('Alīlī, 2019). The brilliance of this style manifested across diverse urban typologies—most notably in mosques and palatial complexes that endure today as living testimonies to the antiquity and sublime beauty of Andalusian craftsmanship. Among these, the Great Mosque of Córdoba (Jāmi' Qurṭubah) and the Palace-City of Madīnat al-Zahrā' represent two of the most exquisite artistic archetypes, each architectural facet narrating an exceptional tale of engineering ingenuity achieved by Andalusian Muslims (Al-Bāshā, 1999; Sālim, 1977).

In this context, the primary research question this study addresses is: What is the aesthetic and structural framework of Andalusian architecture as manifested through the Great Mosque of Córdoba and the Palace-City of Madīnat al-Zahrā'?

This central question branches into several fundamental sub-questions:

1. What are the key manifestations of artistic creativity and innovation in Andalusian architecture?
2. What qualitative structural and aesthetic contributions did Andalusian master builders introduce to Islamic architectural traditions?

To answer these research questions, this study employs a descriptive-analytical historical methodology, detailing the construction history of both the Great Mosque of Córdoba and the Palace of Madīnat al-Zahrā', examining the nature of the materials employed, and analyzing their unique structural systems. Furthermore, a comparative approach is utilized to highlight the morphological similarities and functional divergences between these two monumental landmarks. The scholarly significance of this study lies in articulating the historical, structural, and aesthetic value of Andalusian architecture, thereby inviting contemporary architectural researchers to draw upon this rich historical legacy and re-evaluate Islamic architectural identity within modern structural scholarship (Dodds, 1998; Marçais & Gómez-Moreno, 1968).

2. The Great Mosque of Córdoba (Jāmi' Qurṭubah)

Throughout the history of Islamic territorial expansion across the East, the Maghreb, and al-Andalus, Muslims consistently established new urban centers to serve as military and administrative hubs from which subsequent regional campaigns were launched. They were exceptionally keen on endowing these cities with a distinct Islamic identity, wherein the construction of congregational mosques constituted an indispensable foundation (Sālim, n.d.). The Friday Mosque (al-Jāmi') served as the vital civic core and beating heart of the Islamic metropolis, from which major arterial thoroughfares radiated outward to the city gates. It represented the cornerstone of Islamic urbanism by virtue of its multifaceted social, economic, and political significance. On this premise, the Umayyads erected numerous mosques throughout al-Andalus, infusing them with Eastern Syrian-Umayyad stylistic characteristics, the most celebrated of which was the Great Mosque of Córdoba (Al-Maqqarī, 1969; Ibn 'Idhārī, 2013).

2.1 Historical Origins and Foundation

Upon the initial conquest of Córdoba, the Muslims partitioned the indigenous Visigothic church known as the Church of Saint Vincent (Shant Binsant), mirroring the peaceful settlement protocol previously implemented by Muslims in Greater Syria regarding Byzantine churches, such as the Cathedral of Saint John in Damascus (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, 1956). The Muslims utilized one section as a congregational prayer hall while leaving the remaining portion in the hands of the Christian community. However, as the Muslim population of Córdoba expanded rapidly, the shared space became insufficient to accommodate the congregation. When the Umayyad Emir 'Abd al-Raḥmān I (al-Dākhil, r. 138–172 AH

/ 756–788 CE) consolidated his authority, he summoned the Christian dignitaries to purchase the remaining half of the church. Although they initially refused, they subsequently agreed to cede their portion on the condition that they be permitted to rebuild their dilapidated churches outside the city walls. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I consented, finalizing the agreement in 168 AH / 785 CE; historical sources record that he compensated them with 100,000 dinars (Al-Maqqarī, 1969; Ibn ‘Idhārī, 2013).

‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil commenced construction on the site of the demolished church in 170 AH / 787 CE, investing a substantial sum estimated at 80,000 dinars (Al-Maqqarī, 1969). The original prayer hall measured 100 cubits in length by 80 cubits in width (though variant figures appear in alternative chronicles). The architectural layout conformed to the hypostyle hall tradition of Eastern Umayyad mosques—particularly evoking the spatial layout of al-Aqṣā Mosque in Jerusalem (Al-Bāshā, 1999; Sālim, 1977). The original sanctuary comprised eleven aisles running perpendicular to the Qibla wall in a rhythmic, repeating sequence that demonstrated refined aesthetic spatial organization. The aisles were defined by two-tiered double-arcade superstructures supported by reused Roman and Visigothic stone and marble columns. The upper tiers featured semicircular round arches while the lower tiers featured horseshoe arches, constructed with alternating voussoirs of red brick and white limestone. This vibrant bichrome ornamentation directly reflected Levant-Umayyad decorative traditions, most notably reminiscent of the Great Mosque of Damascus and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (Dodds, 1998; Gómez-Moreno, 1968).

Early accounts indicate that the mosque contained 365 window bays corresponding to the days of the solar year, a magnificent brass chandelier bearing a thousand lamps, and three central red marble columns. Although ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I oversaw the construction for seven years until his death, he infused every structural corner and decorative detail with Syrian-Umayyad influences, particularly in the polychrome vaulting systems, horseshoe arch typology, and axial orientation (Ibn Ghālib, 1955).

2.2 Subsequent Expansions and Dynastic Enhancements

Following the death of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I, his son and successor Hishām I (al-Riḍā, r. 172–180 AH / 788–796 CE) completed the structural works, adding external porticoes, raising the original minaret (40 cubits in height), and constructing a monumental ablution pavilion (al-Mīḍa’ah) along with dedicated covered galleries for female worshippers in 177 AH / 793 CE (Ibn ‘Idhārī, 2013). Later, Emir ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II (al-Awsaṭ, r. 206–238 AH / 822–852 CE) executed a major southward extension in 218 AH / 833 CE due to urban population growth. He dismantled the original southern Qibla wall, added two comprehensive nave bays (extending each aisle by eight column bays to the south), and relocated the Mihrab. Celebrating this magnificent expansion, the poet al-Muthannā composed verses in the Ṭawīl poetic meter: *“You have built for God the finest house, whose description leaves mankind*

utterly speechless; Pilgrims journey to it from every distant horizon, as though it were the Sacred Sanctuary itself; As if its Mihrab, when surrounded by worshippers, were the Black Stone and the Station of Abraham."

— Al-Muthannā

Another classical poet commemorated the sublime sanctuary:

"He constructed a mosque for God unparalleled across the earth, no equal has ever been built; Save for what the All-Merciful Himself raised, and the sanctuary built by Muhammad, the Prophet of Muslims;

It possesses columns of deep red and radiant green, gleaming as if carved of rubies and emeralds."

Under the Caliphate, Caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III (al-Nāṣir, r. 300–350 AH / 912–961 CE) reinforced the structural integrity of the mosque. In 334 AH / 946 CE, fearing the collapse of the north wall, he rebuilt the northern façade with monumental horseshoe arches and engaged columns. In 340 AH / 951 CE, he ordered the demolition of the old minaret and erected a magnificent new minaret. This minaret featured two completely separate spiral staircases within a single tower—allowing ascendants and descendants to traverse the tower without crossing paths until reaching the summit. Built from meticulously dressed ashlar stone, the minaret was crowned with three gilded spheres (two of pure gold and one of elixir silver), topped by a hexagonal golden lily and a golden pomegranate at the apex. Al-Nāṣir also installed an expansive courtyard portico canopy to shade worshippers from the Andalusian summer sun (Al-Maqqarī, 1969; Ibn ‘Idhārī, 2013).

The golden age of Córdoba's architecture reached its zenith under Caliph al-Ḥakam II (al-Mustanṣir, r. 350–366 AH / 961–976 CE). In 355 AH / 966 CE, al-Ḥakam II executed the grandest expansion in the mosque's history, extending the prayer hall eleven bays further south across an area of 95 cubits, reaching the banks of the Guadalquivir River (Wādī al-Kabīr). He erected the world-renowned Maqṣūrah and the octagonal shell-domed Mihrab lined with dazzling gold mosaics (fusaifisā’) gifted by the Byzantine Emperor of Constantinople. This monumental work cost precisely 261,534 gold dinars and 2.5 silver dirhams (Al-Maqqarī, 1969). Al-Ḥakam II also introduced four ribbed, skylit ribbed-vault domes above the central axial aisle, most notably the Capilla de Villaviciosa and the cupola fronting the Mihrab.

Finally, the de facto ruler, the Chamberlain al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ‘Āmir, executed the final major expansion in 377 AH / 987 CE. Because the southern expansion was impeded by the riverbank, al-Manṣūr extended the entire eastern flank of the mosque from north to south by adding eight full longitudinal aisles, connecting the eastern sector directly to the western boundary of the Caliphal

Palace and constructing a massive subterranean water reservoir (al-Jubb al-‘Aẓīm) in the courtyard (Ibn ‘Idhārī, 2013).

2.3 Architectural Magnitude and Historiographical Descriptions

Historical chroniclers recorded astonishing statistics regarding the completed mosque. Chronicler Abū Marwān Ibn Ḥayyān and later al-Maqqarī noted that the prayer hall contained 1,417 columns (and up to 1,350 preserved columns in aggregate), 280 ornate chandeliers, and 7,425 individual oil cups. The religious staff administering the mosque—including imams, muezzins, Qur’anic reciters, and trustees—numbered 159 officials (Al-Maqqarī, 1969). Quoting the earlier geographer Aḥmad al-Rāzī, al-Maqqarī affirmed that no mosque across the Islamic world rivaled Córdoba in spatial grandeur. The sanctuary featured an intricately inlaid wooden minbar carved from precious aromatic woods (boxwood, ebony, and ivory) over seven years, alongside twenty copper-plated doors fitted with pierced filigree and elaborate bronze knockers (Al-Maqqarī, 1969).

The celebrated geographer al-Idrīsī described the mosque stating: “In it stands the great congregational mosque that has no equal among all the mosques of the Muslims in structure, harmonious layout, length, or width” (Al-Idrīsī, 2002). Similarly, Ibn ‘Abd al-Mun‘im al-Ḥimyarī wrote: “It is the renowned mosque, among the most magnificent monuments on earth in expanse, structural perfection, aesthetic grace, and masterly engineering” (Al-Ḥimyarī, 1975). Beyond its liturgical function, the Great Mosque functioned as a premier international university, attracting students from across the Islamic world and medieval Europe long before formal universities were established elsewhere in Europe (‘Alīlī, 2019).

3. The Palace-City of Madīnat al-Zahrā’ (Qaṣr al-Zahrā’)

The Palace-City of Madīnat al-Zahrā’ represents the pinnacle of civil architectural luxury and palatial grandeur in Islamic history. Medieval travelers, foreign ambassadors, monarchs, and seasoned merchants unanimously attested that no royal residence across the known world equaled its sheer magnificence (Al-Maqqarī, 1969). Journeying to al-Andalus specifically to gaze upon Madīnat al-Zahrā’ became the ultimate ambition of international travelers. The complex was renowned for its tiered terraced esplanades overlooking sprawling botanical gardens, polished marble halls, gold-leaf domed pavilions, perfectly sculpted columns, and magnificent hydraulic water basins (Ibn Khaldūn, 2000).

3.1 Urban Layout and Principal Reception Halls

Madīnat al-Zahrā’ was founded by the first Andalusian Caliph, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III (al-Nāṣir), on the 1st of Muḥarram 325 AH / 936 CE on the stepped slopes of Sierra Morena (Jabal al-‘Arūs), serving as the new seat of the Caliphate (Qaṣr al-Khilāfah). The royal residence comprised two principal

ceremonial halls (Al-Maqqarī, 1969): 1. The Eastern Palace (Qaṣr al-Muʿnis / The Caliphal Private Quarters): Centered around an exquisite green marble basin adorned with sculpted, jewel-encrusted zoomorphic figures crafted in Córdoba. These included twelve red gold statues—a lion, gazelle, crocodile, eagle, elephant, dove, falcon, peacock, hen, rooster, hawk, and vulture—all discharging crystalline water from their beaks and mouths.

2. The Western Reception Complex (Majlis al-Dhahab / The Golden Hall, also known as Majlis al-Badīʿ or the Hall of the Caliphal Court): This throne room was constructed from solid blocks of translucent polished marble and gold. In its center stood a gilded basin filled with liquid mercury (quicksilver), presented to Caliph al-Nāṣir by the Byzantine Emperor Leo VI. The hall featured eight monumental doors set into multifaceted horseshoe arches composed of alternating ivory, ebony, gold, and precious gemstones, supported by crystal and colored marble shafts. When sunlight entered these portals, it reflected off the vibrating mercury basin and illuminated the gilded stucco walls with dazzling, kinetic lightning-like brilliance, inspiring profound awe and astonishment among visiting envoys (Al-Maqqarī, 1969).

Structurally, the palatial architecture echoed Levantine Syrian palace design through its interlocking horseshoe arches, floral arabesques (al-Tawrīq), and rich poly-chromatic stonework. White marble was quarried from Almería, veined jasper from Rayya (Málaga), and rare pink and green marble imported directly from Sousse (Sūsah), Sfax (Iṣfāqus), and Carthage (Qarṭājannah) in Ifrīqiyyā (North Africa) (Al-Maqqarī, 1969; Sālim, 1977).

3.2 Structural Scale and the Mosque of al-Zahrāʾ

Ibn Ḥayyān recorded that the buildings of the palatial city incorporated approximately 4,300 columns of diverse dimensions, many sent as diplomatic gifts by the Byzantine Emperor in Constantinople or imported from Rome, while the city and palace gates totaled approximately 15,000 portals plated in wrought iron, gilded copper, and silver sheeting (Al-Maqqarī, 1969). The complex housed its own congregational mosque (Masjid al-Zahrāʾ), constructed as a harmonious miniature of the Great Mosque of Córdoba. Measuring 97 cubits in length by 59 cubits in width, the mosque comprised five graceful naves, paved in deep wine-red marble, featuring an exquisite minbar, a decorated royal Maqṣūrah, an interior bubbling fountain, and a soaring minaret rising 40 cubits into the air with a 10×10 cubit base (Al-Maqqarī, 1969).

3.3 The Caliph and the Exhortation of Qādī Mundhir ibn Saʿīd

A profound historical episode encapsulates the spiritual ethos and moral governance surrounding the palace's construction. Caliph al-Nāṣir had roofed the pavilion overlooking the terrace with dazzling tiles layered in pure gold, silver, and radiant white ceramic, expending vast public wealth. Sitting

proudly in his finished hall, the Caliph rejoiced in the extravagant praises of his ministers and courtiers. However, Chief Justice (Qāḍī) Mundhir ibn Saʿīd al-Ballūṭī remained silent, tears streaming down his beard. When the Caliph inquired, the Qāḍī boldly rebuked him: “By God, O Commander of the Faithful, I never imagined Satan would lead you to such excess, nor that you would allow him such dominion over your soul—despite all the bounties and superiority God has bestowed upon you—as to descend to the dwelling styles of the disbelievers!” When the Caliph demanded proof, the Qāḍī recited the Qur'anic verse: “And were it not that all people would become one community [of disbelievers], We would have made for those who disbelieve in the Most Merciful—for their houses—ceilings of silver and stairs upon which they mount” (Surah al-Zukhruf 43:33). Deeply humbled and weeping, Caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir sought God’s forgiveness and immediately ordered the opulent golden roof to be dismantled and replaced with modest earthen clay tiles (Al-Maqqarī, 1969; Ibn ʿIdhārī, 2013).

4. Conclusion and Key Findings

Based on this comparative historical and architectural analysis, the study reaches the following key conclusions:

- **Umayyad Architectural Continuity and Political Legitimacy:** Andalusian Umayyad rulers—beginning with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I and culminating with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III—deliberately patronized both religious and civil architecture to recreate the imperial grandeur of their Syrian ancestors. Monuments such as the Great Mosque of Córdoba and Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ served as potent visual emblems of dynastic prestige and civilizational sovereignty.
- **Synthesis and Transference of Levantine-Syrian Techniques:** Master builders systematically adapted Eastern Syrian-Umayyad structural systems—most notably from Damascus and Jerusalem—introducing them into the Iberian context while synthesizing them with local Roman and Visigothic elements.
- **Structural Innovation of the Two-Tiered Bicolor Arch System:** The development of superposed, interlocking double-tiered horseshoe and semicircular arches with alternating red brick and white limestone voussoirs provided both earthquake-resistant structural elasticity and unmatched aesthetic rhythm.
- **Sacred-Civil Morphological Harmony:** Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ’s palatial mosque was conceptualized as a precise, refined microcosm of Córdoba's Great Mosque, demonstrating a unified artistic language bridging religious and civil domains.
- **Mastery of Stone Masonry and Monolithic Marble Columns:** Both monuments relied heavily on thousands of meticulously carved marble, porphyry, and jasper columns, combining spolia with sophisticated local quarrying and international diplomatic imports.

- **Evolution of Distinctive Andalusian Decorative Grammar:** The integration of vegetal arabesques (al-Tawrīq), geometric interlace, Byzantine gold glass mosaics, Kufic epigraphy, and dynamic hydraulic/quicksilver engineering created a distinct Andalusian aesthetic canon that fundamentally enriched universal Islamic art.

References

Primary Sources (Historical Manuscripts & Chronicles)

- Al-Ḥimyarī, M. ibn ‘A. (1975). *Al-Rawḍ al-mi‘ṭār fī khabar al-aqṭār* [The fragrant garden of regional accounts] (I. ‘Abbās, Ed.; 1st ed.). Maktabat Lubnān.
- Al-Idrīsī, A. ‘A. M. ibn M. (2002). *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq* [The excursion of one eager to traverse the horizons]. Maktabat al-Thaqāfah al-Dīniyyah.
- Al-Maqqarī al-Tilimsānī, A. ibn M. (1969). *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb* [The breath of perfume from the tender branch of al-Andalus] (I. ‘Abbās, Ed., Vols. 1–8). Dār Ṣādir.
- Ibn al-Khaṭīb, L. al-D. M. ibn ‘A. (1956). *A‘māl al-a‘lām fī-man būyi‘a qabla al-iḥtilām min mulūk al-Islām* [The deeds of notables among Islamic kings pledged allegiance before puberty] (É. Lévi-Provençal, Ed.; 2nd ed.). Dār al-Makshūf.
- Ibn ‘Idhārī al-Marrākushī, A. ibn M. (2013). *Al-Bayān al-mughrib fī ikhtīṣār akhbār mulūk al-Andalus wa-al-Maghrib* [The marvelous exposition of the histories of the kings of al-Andalus and the Maghreb] (B. ‘A. Ma‘rūf & M. B. Ma‘rūf, Eds.). Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī.
- Ibn Ghālib, M. ibn A. (1955). *Qit‘ah min kitāb farḥat al-anfus fī tārikh al-Andalus* [A fragment from the joy of souls in the history of al-Andalus] (L. ‘Abd al-Badī‘, Ed.). *Majallat Ma‘had al-Makhtūṭāt al-‘Arabiyyah*, 1(2), 273–312.
- Ibn Khaldūn, ‘A. al-R. ibn M. (2000). *Tārikh Ibn Khaldūn: Kitāb al-‘Ibar wa-dīwān al-mubtada’ wa-al-khabar fī ayyām al-‘Arab wa-al-Barbar* [The history of Ibn Khaldūn: Book of lessons and archive of early and subsequent history] (K. Shehadeh & S. Zakkār, Eds.). Dār al-Fikr.

Secondary Sources (Modern Scholarship)

- ‘Alīlī, M. (2019). *‘Umrān al-Andalus fī al-‘aṣr al-Islāmī al-wasīṭ bayna al-iḥā’āt al-ṭabī‘iyyah wa-al-ibdā’āt al-fanniyyah al-mi‘māriyyah: Al-‘Aṣr al-Umawī unmūdhan* [Andalusian urbanism in the medieval Islamic era between natural inspirations and architectural innovations: The Umayyad era as a model]. *Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, University of Nouakchott, (40), 115–138.

- Al-Bāshā, H. (1999). Mawsū'at al-'imārah wa-al-āthār wa-al-funūn al-Islāmiyyah [Encyclopedia of Islamic architecture, archaeology, and arts]. Maktabat al-Dār al-'Arabiyyah lil-Kitāb.
- Dodds, J. D. (1998). The arts of al-Andalus (J. Abū Ṣafiyyah, Trans.). In S. K. Jayyusi (Ed.), The legacy of Muslim Spain / Al-Ḥaḍārah al-'Arabiyyah al-Islāmiyyah fī al-Andalus (1st ed., pp. 785–812). Center for Arab Unity Studies.
- Gómez-Moreno, M. (1968). Al-Fann al-Islāmī fī Isbāniyā [Islamic art in Spain] (L. 'Abd al-Badī' & S. M. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Trans.). Al-Mu'assasah al-Miṣriyyah al-'Āmmah lil-Ta'līf wa-al-Tarjamah.
- Sālim, S. 'A. al-'A. (1977). Al-'Imārah al-Islāmiyyah fī al-Andalus wa-taṭawwuruhā [Islamic architecture in al-Andalus and its evolution]. Al-Fikr Journal, 8(1), 45–72.
- Sālim, S. 'A. al-'A. (n.d.). Tārīkh al-Muslimīn wa-āthāruhum fī al-Andalus [History and archaeological monuments of Muslims in al-Andalus]. Dār al-Ma'ārif.