



Re-Thinking Islamic Architecture

A Critique of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture Through the Paradigm of Encounter

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Abstract

This research examines how the Aga Kahn Award for Architecture, established in 1977, manifests a re-thinking of Islamic architecture since the formation of the predominant discourse on that topic in the nineteenth century. It identifies a shift in thinking in recent scholarship from representations of Islamic architecture as ‘other’—that are traced to the formation of an influential discourse about Islamic architecture by European scholars in the nineteenth century—toward a more dynamic confluence of architecture and Islam.

To do so, this research privileges the paradigm of ‘encounter’ to capture an entangled terrain of contemporary architectural practice and coexistent assertions of cultural difference. To address this simultaneous condition of interaction and difference, this thesis turns to an interdisciplinary shift away from essentialist representations of culture. This research draws specific inspiration from the writing of anthropologist James Clifford. Clifford characterises essentialist representations of culture with the metaphor of cultural *roots*. This thesis adopts this metaphor to describe the pervasive tendency to represent architecture as an essential expression of Islam, often represented as a homogeneous religious and cultural entity. Clifford’s alternative metaphor of cultural *routes* enables the conceptualisation of varied experiences of dwelling and travelling amidst global encounters today. Encounters provoke assertions of cultural identity—of ‘self’ and ‘other’. Paradoxically, encounters enable coexistence, interaction and transformation.

The Award manifests this paradox. A collective search for Islamic identity and its potential manifestation in architecture, promoted at the time of the Award’s conception, can be linked to perceptions of escalating encounters between Islam and the West. However, a homogeneous ‘self’ image and its potential manifestation in architecture has been uprooted during the sophisticated evolution of the Award. The Award presents a unique forum for the articulation of plural, often contradictory, perspectives on architecture and Islam (predominantly published in English). This has inspired further reflection in this thesis on the creative possibilities arising from the productive encounter of differences. This thesis complements the merits of a unique Award that has received minor critical attention. It aims to further contribute to global debate on identity and difference, whilst bringing timely insights to contemporary architectural scholarship and practice.

Declaration

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the Barr Smith Library of The University of Adelaide, being available for loan and photocopying.

Signed: Katharine A. R. Bartsch

Date: 13.7.2005

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List of Abbreviations

AKF	The Aga Khan Foundation
AKDN	The Aga Khan Development Network
AKTC	The Aga Khan Trust for Culture
Akaa	The Aga Khan Award for Architecture
AKPIA	The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture
HCSP	The Historic Cities Support Program
TRT	Technical Review Team
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
ASM	Association de Sauvegarde de la Médina
SAHANZ	Society of Architectural Historians, Australia/New Zealand
IASTE	International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments
TDSR	Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review
CAMEA	Centre for Asian and Middle Eastern Architecture

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INTRODUCTION

1 Introduction

1.1 OVERVIEW

This research was motivated by my employment in an international architectural firm based in Adelaide, South Australia. The firm was commissioned to design an office building and adjacent mosque in Dubai, United Arab Emirates. A potential design for the office building did not raise concerns despite the remoteness of the site from Adelaide; however, the mosque precipitated uncertainty amongst the design team. This uncertainty was allayed by the provision of a design solution by the Emirates client. This solution was encapsulated in a catalogue listing prefabricated domes and finials (Type A crescent; Type B star; Type C crescent and star). This reductive formal response was at odds with my perception of the rich architectural heritage in sites where Islam has arisen as the prevailing faith. Acknowledging the expedient measures of corporate development, the recommendations for such predictable forms did not match my impressions of a prosperous and progressive Gulf nation or the complexities of Islam. These circumstances prompted a desire to understand more about how it is possible to acknowledge the differences of Islam *and* to build 'Islamic' architecture amidst the intense cultural intersections in today's global village.¹

This concern inspired reflection and critique on what has been written about architecture and Islam. In what ways has Islamic architecture been represented since the formation of the discourse in the nineteenth century? How has this discourse evolved? What are the historical and intellectual grounds for the representation of Islamic architecture today? And subsequently, what clues does this literature offer to understand today's global context of architectural practice? Despite efforts to understand this context, my work revealed a contrary tendency to represent architecture as an essential expression of Islam, where Islam is frequently represented as a homogeneous religious and cultural entity.

Homogeneous representations of Islam are not limited to architecture. This research is timely given that misconceptions of Islam arise in tandem with the escalation of international architectural practice. The differences of Islam are not in dispute. However, the 'otherness' of Islamic architecture is problematic in the transnational climate of architectural scholarship, education and practice. Complicated regional, continental and global intersections point to the urgent need for sensitive, critical approaches to architecture and Islam. This urgency is exacerbated by the increasing number of commissions to define and design Islamic

¹ In the present thesis, no distinction is made between the adjectives 'Islamic' or 'Muslim' as they are used in the English language.

architecture in Muslim communities in North Africa, the Middle East, the Gulf, Central Asia, South East Asia and beyond. At the same time, the much maligned profile of Islam in the aftermath of September 11, the Bali bombings and Australia's ongoing refugee crisis continues to inspire uncertain attitudes to Islam, a faith that is subject to media representations that promote "unacceptable generalization of the most irresponsible sort, and could never be used for any other religious, cultural, or demographic group on earth."²

This research focuses on contemporary efforts to re-think Islamic architecture amidst escalating encounters between Islam and the West.³ I identify a shift in thinking in recent scholarship from representations of Islamic architecture as 'other'—that are traced to the formation of an influential discourse about Islamic architecture by European scholars in the nineteenth century—toward a more dynamic confluence of architecture and Islam. I propose that the Aga Khan Award for Architecture (henceforth AKAA) exemplifies this shift in thinking. Conceived in 1976 by His Highness Karim Aga Khan, forty-ninth hereditary Imam of the Shia Ismaili Muslims to encourage architectural excellence in Muslim communities, the triennial AKAA programme has played a leading role in the contemporary discourse on Islamic architecture for over a quarter century.

This role is enhanced by the affiliation of the Award with leading research and teaching institutions in the West (most prominently, Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology) and the publication of the majority of Award literature in English.⁴ Given such vehicles of representation, the Award cannot be considered independently of the legacy of European scholarship. Yet, through this profile, the Award complicates the prolific, Eurocentric representation of Islamic architecture as 'other' by promoting Muslim agency and the global diffusion of Islam. With this dual profile, that is simultaneously 'Western' and 'Muslim', this Award has prompted the following, linked questions: How does the AKAA manifest a shift in thinking? How is the AKAA re-thinking Islamic architecture?

² Edward W. Said, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*, rev. ed. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981; London: Vintage, 1997), xvi. Citations are to the Vintage edition. For further discussion of this urgency from an Australian perspective see George Negus, *The World from Islam: Muslims, Mass Destruction and Mutual Ignorance* (Sydney: Harper Collins, 2003). In this thesis the format for footnotes, quotations and bibliographic details adheres to University of Chicago Press, *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

³ The phrase Islamic architecture is used throughout this thesis, recognising at all times that this is a concept that requires re-thinking, without resorting to pedantic typographic distinctions through the use of italics or inverted commas.

⁴ I refer to "the Award" for the purposes of brevity in the text, at all times recognising that this is a complex phenomenon comprising specific individuals who implement the comprehensive programme, activities and publications that will be identified forthwith.

The core research question for this thesis, then, is: *How does the Aga Kahn Award for Architecture manifest a re-thinking of Islamic architecture since the formation of the discourse in the nineteenth century?*

To examine this question, I identify expectations to define Islamic architecture as ‘other’ in the nineteenth century, and concomitant expectations to materialise identity in the design of new ‘Islamic’ buildings. Further, I trace the resonance of these expectations in the twentieth century. The AKAAs are examined in the light of these expectations. Focusing on literature disseminated through the Award programme from the first seminar in 1978 until the eighth Award cycle in 2001, I contend that this programme does sustain a rhetoric of Islamic identity. The programme publishes expectations for material expressions of Islam. However, the Award does not replace representations of Islamic architecture as ‘other’ with projections of a uniform ‘self’ image. These expectations are articulated in different ways through the Award’s “space for freedom,” the title of the publication documenting the third cycle of the Award published in 1989.⁵

“Space for freedom”⁶ comprises an unprecedented forum of debate involving diverse participants ranging from little known architects in remote areas to celebrity architects and renowned international scholars of Islamic architecture.⁷ Aspirations for independent expressions of Islam are juxtaposed with representations of the simultaneous global diffusion of Islam. Furthermore, awards for projects challenge expectations for a predetermined relationship between architectural form and Islam. The Award identifies the limits of prefabrication or catalogue solutions, resonating with my preliminary concerns (Figure 1).⁸ Moreover, early awards for Kuwait’s Water Towers (Figure 2), Sherefudin’s White Mosque in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Figure 3), or the Niono Mosque in Mali (Figure 4), demonstrate innovative responses to technology and function, modernism and the rejuvenation of vernacular building traditions.⁹ These

⁵ Ismaïl Serageldin, ed., *Space for Freedom: The Search for Architectural Excellence in Muslim Societies* (London: Butterworth Architecture, 1989).

⁶ Sherban Cantacuzino traces this phrase to the journalist Maurice Edelman. Edelman quotes Mohammed Arkoun in a discussion about the AKAAs: Maurice Edelman, “Espace de la Tolérance,” *Le Monde (Paris)* (Sept 10, 1983), quoted in Sherban Cantacuzino, ed., *Architecture in Continuity: Building in the Islamic World Today* (New York: Aperture, 1985), 184.

⁷ Celebrated architects include Charles Moore, Frank O. Gehry, Zaha Hadid, Glenn Murcutt and most recently Jacques Herzog. Influential theorists who have participated include Peter Eisenman, Charles Jencks and Peter Rowe. Arkoun has made repeated contributions and celebrated historians of Islamic architecture Oleg Grabar and Robert Hillenbrand have further enhanced the Award’s prestige.

⁸ Photos of similar building components by Suha Özkan and Ismaïl Serageldin are printed in Hayat Salam, ed., *Expressions of Islam in Buildings*, Proceedings of an International Seminar (Geneva: AKTC, 1990), 17.

⁹ Figures sourced from The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, *Awards, 1980-1998*, Slide Package (Geneva: AKAAs, 1998), are identified as AKAAs, Awards, Slide #. A full list of prize-winners and the triennial Master Jury reports are provided in Appendix 1.

challenge conventional architectural practices in their respective contexts, as well as serving as didactic models for global practice. By bringing together different perspectives on architecture and Islam, I argue that the Award promotes a heterogeneous portrait of architecture and Islam.

Figure 1
Sketch. Roadside Stand
Selling Tin Domes in
Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
François Chaslin.
Salam, ed., *Expressions
of Islam in Buildings*,
frontispiece.

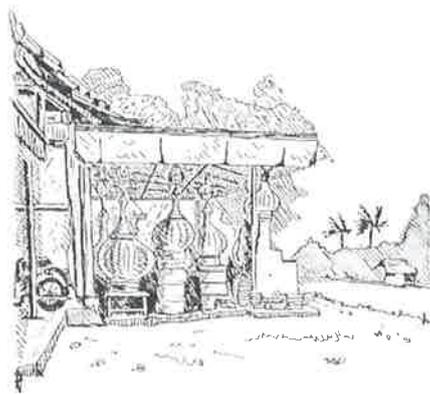


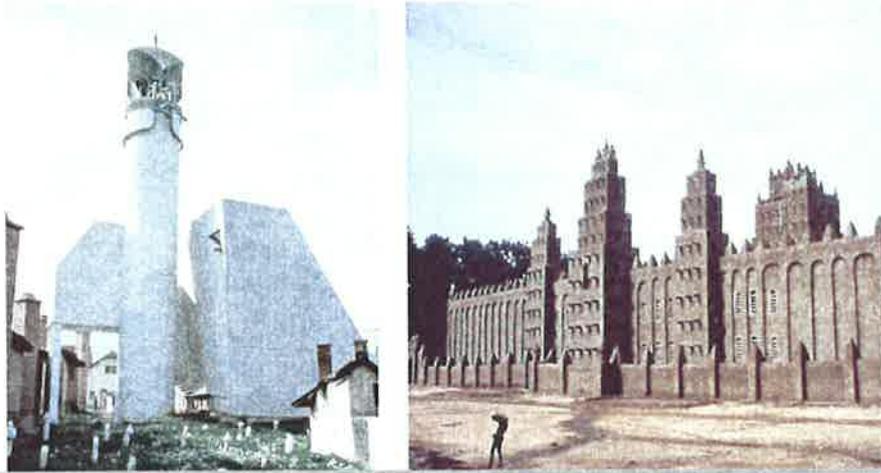
Figure 2
Water Towers, 1976.
Vallenbyynadsbryan.
Kuwait City, Kuwait.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 169.



To pursue this argument, I privilege the paradigm of ‘encounter’ to complicate discursive constructions of ‘self’ and ‘other’. This strategy arises from an interdisciplinary shift in thinking spearheaded by the late cultural critic Edward Said (1935-2003). Said problematised the discursive construction of Islam as ‘other’ in European scholarship in the context of nineteenth century encounters between Islam and the West. I draw further specific inspiration with regard to the alternative paradigm of ‘encounter’ from the writing of James Clifford who builds on Said’s scholarship in the context of anthropology. The phenomenon of encounter does explain motives to represent ‘otherness’ and to articulate ‘selfhood’. Historically, for example, encounters between different cultural groups have given rise to (often violent or oppressive) assertions of identity: Algeria, Sri Lanka, Kashmir or Tibet. Successive encounters compel new representations of ‘self’ and ‘other’. Paradoxically, however, encounters also enable coexistence, interaction and transformation, complicating the feasibility of representing essential difference. In this light, the paradigm of encounter explains motives to write about identity and to materialise identity in architecture, but it also explains the entangled material realities of architectural practice today. I propose that the AKAA manifests this paradoxical condition. While it privileges the needs and aspirations of Muslim communities, it avoids definitive statements about Islamic architecture as a material expression of ‘self’ or ‘other’ through a multi-voiced forum of representation. The aim of this thesis is to examine how this paradox-inducing agency of the AKAA is enabling a re-thinking of Islamic architecture.

Figure 3
Sherefudin's White
Mosque, 1980.
Zlatko Ugljen. Visoko,
Bosnia-Herzegovina.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 161.

Figure 4
The Great Mosque,
1973. Lassiné Minta.
Niono, Mali.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 6.



Inspired by the challenge the AKAA poses to received ideas about architecture and Islam, this thesis attempts to re-think through this case-study, received ideas about architecture and cultural identity more generally. I recognise a dynamic relationship between architecture and identity with a view toward more contingent possibilities arising from the productive encounter of differences, or what I discuss as “building together” in the concluding arguments of this thesis. Writing, not about contemporary Islamic architecture but about the comparable complexities of postmodern urbanism and identity constructions in late twentieth century North America, the architectural theorist, David Kolb, makes the salient claim that “we cannot solve the problem of jumble by returning to some imagined uniform community and a hierarchical set of building types.”¹⁰ Kolb argues instead for “a liberation resulting from the tensions and crossings we find ourselves within. We can care for the whole without a map of the whole.”¹¹ Similarly, I do not presume a destination where identity claims are resolved. Claims for Islamic identity are constantly constructed and re-constructed in a mobile world, not in isolation. A homogeneous notion of the ‘Islamic’ is fractured into plural identities (not least, faith, culture, ethnicity, modernism, progress and nationalism). Recognising the elusive nature of identity, my intention is to re-think architecture, with reference to the activities and contributions of the AKAA, as an activity that coexists with disparate identity claims in today’s context of global encounters.

1.2 AIMS AND METHOD

This thesis aims to examine the way the AKAA is re-thinking Islamic architecture. To do so, it is necessary to reflect on previous thinking about Islamic architecture, specifically the tendency to represent Islamic architecture as ‘other’. This tendency is viewed through the interpretive

¹⁰ David Kolb, “Building Together / Buildings Together,” in *Postmodern Sophistications: Philosophy, Architecture and Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 176.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 183-184.

lens of Edward Said's seminal critique of Orientalism and the discursive construction of the Orient as 'other' in nineteenth century European scholarship.¹² This thesis identifies similar critiques in architectural history and theory that are inspired by Said. In *Empire Building*, for example, architectural historian Mark Crinson identifies a period of "architectural orientalism" with particular emphasis on Victorian scholarship and the representation of Islamic, Saracenic, Moorish or Oriental architecture in the influential writing and activities of Robert Hay (1799-1863), Edward William Lane (1801-76), Edward Freeman (1823-92), James Fergusson (1808-86), John Ruskin (1819-1900) and Owen Jones (1809-74).¹³ Crinson further identifies their expectations to define architecture as an essential expression of Islamic culture conceived of as an ahistorical, homogeneous and voiceless entity. This tendency has received considerable attention in architectural history, art history and urban studies, not least, in the recent writing of architectural historians Zeynep Çelik, Sibel Bozdoğan and Gülşüm Nalbantoğlu; art historians Linda Nochlin and Leila Kinney; and urban historians Janet Abu-Lughod and André Raymond.¹⁴ Moreover, architectural historian Gülru Necipoğlu traces the continuity of this tendency in the postcolonial period by predominantly Muslim scholars, specifically, new discursive efforts to represent architecture as an essential expression of Islamic faith.¹⁵ More generally, parallels can be drawn between this preoccupation with difference and concepts of an intrinsic relationship between architecture, culture and place, the geographic essentialism of architecture, that is often articulated in discourses of regionalism.¹⁶

To conceptualise the shift in thinking manifest in the AKA, I turn to the paradigm of encounter and the broader interdisciplinary shift away from

¹² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1978; London: Penguin Books, 1995), 201. Citations are to the Penguin edition.

¹³ Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996), 16.

¹⁴ Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Sibel Bozdoğan, "Journeys to the East: Ways of Looking at the Orient and the Question of Representation," *Journal of Architectural Education* 41, no. 4 (Summer 1988): 38-45; Gülşüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, "Toward Postcolonial Openings: Rereading Sir Banister Fletcher's *History of Architecture*," *Assemblage* 35 (1998): 7-17; Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," *Art in America* (1983): 118-31, 187-91; Zeynep Çelik and Leila Kinney, "Ethnography and Exhibitionism at the *Expositions Universelles*," *Assemblage* 13 (1990): 34-59; Janet Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City—Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19, no. 2 (May 1987): 155-176; André Raymond, "Islamic City, Arab City: Orientalist Myths and Recent Views," *British Journal of Middle East Studies* 21, no. 1 (1994): 3-18.

¹⁵ Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Discourse on the Geometric 'Arabesque'," in *The Topkapi Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (Santa Monica: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995), part 2, 61-89.

¹⁶ Kenneth Frampton, "Critical Regionalism: Modern Architecture and Cultural Identity," in *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson 1985), 313-327; Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Meaning in Western Architecture*, rev. ed. (London: Studio Vista, 1980); Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Architecture: Presence, Language, Place* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000); Juhani Pallasmaa, "Six Themes for the Next Millennium," *Architectural Review* 194, no. 1169 (1994): 74-79.

essentialist representations of ‘otherness’ that this serves to articulate. In *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* James Clifford characterises discursive constructions such as Orientalism with the commonplace metaphor of cultural *roots*.¹⁷ Clifford’s alternative metaphor of cultural *routes* offers a strategy to transcend such essentialist representations inspiring recognition of dynamic processes of contact and exchange that continue to shape and reshape cultures. Further, Clifford’s emphasis on the experience of encounter and the material realities of interaction draws attention to the shortcomings of the ethnographic text where the writer seeks to abstract a culture from its context and to represent it within clearly defined textual limits.

In *Routes* Clifford explores an entangled terrain of modernity. He highlights cultural encounters in a world interconnected by migration, tourism, communication and trade. This is further shaped by the disruptive global consequences of imperialism, two world wars and industrial capitalism. In this context, Clifford identifies new challenges for the anthropologist who, in the past, expected to represent culture as ‘other’. These challenges are further complicated by disparate assertions of cultural identity in the context of global encounters today. Clifford articulates this dilemma.

In the twentieth century, cultures and identities reckon with both local and transnational powers to an unprecedented degree. Indeed, the currency of culture and identity as performative acts can be traced to their articulation of homelands, safe spaces where the traffic across borders can be controlled. Such acts of control, maintaining coherent insides and outsides, are always tactical. Cultural action, the making and remaking of identities, takes place in the contact zones, along the policed and transgressive intercultural frontiers of nations, peoples, locales. Stasis and purity are asserted—creatively and violently—*against* historical forces of movement and contamination.”¹⁸

In the case of the AKA, the currency of culture and identity as performative acts are tangible. At the time of the AKA’s foundation, the Aga Khan articulated a search for Islamic identity “*against* historical forces of movement and contamination.” In the first Award seminar in 1978, he stated that many Muslim nations “have emerged from a colonial era and are searching for an identity of their own.”¹⁹ The AKA was conceived as an enterprise to extend this search for identity to

¹⁷ This tendency is treated more fully in James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

¹⁸ James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 7.

¹⁹ Aga Khan IV, “Opening Remarks,” in *Toward an Architecture in the Spirit of Islam*.

Proceedings of Seminar 1, ed. Renata Holod (Philadelphia: Smith-Edwards-Dunlap, 1978), viii.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, viii.

architecture, conceived of as a material expression of identity. The Award is inspired by the Aga Khan's perception of deterioration in the built environment of Muslim communities that is further attributed to encounters between Islam and the West. In a presentation to the National Council of Culture and Arts in Pakistan in 1976, the Aga Khan proposed that the visual heritage of Islam had "suffered the insidious influence of alien cultures."²⁰ In different ways, this encounter between Islam and an alien 'other' has been represented in the subsequent Award literature as a "rupture" with tradition, a term attributed to the influential and continued contributions to the Award programme of the eminent historian of Islamic thought Mohammed Arkoun.²¹ In this context, the AKAA might be perceived as a "tactical" initiative to remake identity.

This preoccupation with 'selfhood', distinguished from an alien 'other' resonates with the metaphor of cultural *roots* and a concomitant notion of architectural *rootedness* that, while prevalent at the time of the Award's conception in discourses of regionalism, heritage and conservation, and architectural identity debates, has a longer history that is traced to the nineteenth century in this thesis. In the Award context, this pervasive attitude is articulated through a sophisticated infrastructure of project identification, research and debate, the AKAA continues to reward exemplary practice in Muslim communities. Further the Award, convened at the outset by Professor Renata Holod and Hasan-Uddin Khan, has always brought together individual architects, architectural historians, planners and policy-makers who are linked by their interest in architecture and Islam.²² In addition to the wide range of projects recognised in both affluent and impoverished communities, the AKAA has elevated the profile of individual architects like Hassan Fathy in Egypt and Rifat Chadirji in Iraq for their commitment to architecture in Muslim communities.

However, the articulation of this search for identity has become increasingly sophisticated. While the concept of encounter presents insights into the Award's incipient search for identity, a homogeneous 'self' image and its potential materialisation in architecture has been

²⁰ Mildred F. Schmertz, "Design in the Spirit of Islam: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture," *Architectural Record* 165, no. 3 (Mar 1979): 119.

²¹ Mohammed Arkoun, "Muslim Character: the Essential and the Changeable," in *Space for Freedom*, 210; See also Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "The Contemporary Muslim and the Architectural Transformation of the Islamic Urban Environment," in *Toward an Architecture in the Spirit of Islam*, 1; Serageldin, ed. *Space for Freedom*, 238; Doğan Kuban, "Conservation of the Historical Environment for Cultural Survival," in *Conservation as Cultural Survival*. Proceedings of Seminar 2, ed. Renata Holod (Philadelphia: Smith-Edwards-Dunlap, 1978), 1.

²² A full list of the triennial Steering Committee and Master Jury participants, as well as their provenance, academic and professional qualifications, and, where appropriate, their publications, is provided in Appendix 2. Not only does this reveal the multi-disciplinary profile of the Award participants, but it is also indicative of the high percentage of Western trained scholars and architects involved in the Award programme.

uprooted during the evolution of the Award. The Award differs from prevalent Eurocentric representations of Islamic architecture as 'other'. The Award does not assert a "static" or "pure" relationship between architecture and identity. While the Award was initially informed by notions of architectural *rootedness*, it has evolved to articulate a multi-faceted production of architecture that transcends previous dichotomies. Instead, it brings together plural perspectives on architecture and Islam in addition to the exposure of disparate architectural practices.

In the limited scholarly criticism levelled at the AKAA, this plural image of architecture and the participation of international scholars, combined with the Aga Khan's reputation as a European socialite, is identified as a contradiction that belies the Award's repeated rhetoric of identity.²³ In addition, emphasis on Islamic identity is criticised for reinventing the oppositions of Orientalist discourse.²⁴ Commenting on the first three cycles of the AKAA, architectural historian and theorist Sibel Bozdoğan, who describes herself "as an 'inner critic' of the AKAA,"²⁵ identifies a persistent politics of opposition between Islam and the West that "obscures the complex heterogeneity of that world today."²⁶ The shortcomings of this message are further acknowledged from within the Award. For example, in the role of Master Juror in 1998 Arkoun states, "the Technical Reviewers almost all integrated the idea that the Award is illustrating an Islamic identity. This means that we have not delivered a very clear message for almost twenty years."²⁷

These contradictions underpin the present study that is inspired by Clifford's thesis of cultural *routes*. The paradigm of encounter offers a conceptual strategy to recognise the messy material realities of cultural action and architectural practice and the limits of transcribing these in text. To further understand the possibilities of the concept of cultural *routes* in architectural terms, this critique of the AKAA is aligned with recent studies that reflect on historical encounters between Islam and the West as a means to explore architectural production as an activity that is contingent not only on cultural interactions but on disparate political, socio-economic and practical considerations. While Crinson, Çelik,

²³ Samer Akkach, "Identity in Exile: The Aga Khan's Search for Excellence in Islamic Architecture," in *On What Ground(s)?* Proceedings of SAHANZ, University of South Australia Adelaide, July 17-20, 1997, edited by Sean Pickersgill and Peter Scriver, 1-8 (Adelaide: SAHANZ, 1997).

²⁴ Fatima A. Hirji, "Reconstructing 'Self' and 'Place': The Aga Khan Award for Islamic Architecture," in *Self, Place and Imagination: Cross-Cultural Thinking in Architecture*, 2nd Symposium for CAMEA, eds. Samer Akkach, Stanislaus Fung, and Peter Scriver (Adelaide: University of Adelaide, 1999), 26.

²⁵ Sibel Bozdoğan, "The Aga Khan Award for Architecture: A Philosophy of Reconciliation," *Journal of Architectural Education* 45, no. 3 (May 1992), 188.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 188.

²⁷ Cynthia C. Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future: Contemporary Architecture in Islamic Societies* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 148.

Bozdoğan and Abu-Lughod identify reductive representations of Islamic architecture in the nineteenth century, their writing also locates architecture amidst such contingencies. However, their work focuses on the context of European colonialism. The intent of the present thesis is to consider the production of architecture today through this case study of the AKAA. I propose that the AKAA displaces a singular image of Islamic architecture not only by identifying the complexities of architectural production in different contexts, but also through the increasing promotion of plural perspectives on architecture and Islam that differs from an isolationist position of ‘selfhood.’

The Award does not manifest a shift in thinking in recent scholarship by replacing representations of Islamic architecture as ‘other’ with an Islamic perspective that privileges the concept of architecture as a material expression of ‘self’. The Award is treated as a forum of representation that is very much a part of the legacy of European scholarship on Islamic architecture. Further, the Award’s affiliation with Western scholars and institutions can be compared to the advantages of Said’s positionality as a Western intellectual. Quoting Said in *Culture and Imperialism*, Bill Ashcroft and Pal Ahluwalia state “this conscious effort to ‘enter into the discourse of Europe and the West, to mix with it, transform it, to make it acknowledge marginalized or suppressed or forgotten histories’ is a powerful transformative movement of resistance that he terms ‘the *voyage in*’.”²⁸ In the Award literature, this movement of resistance is not merely a result of a plural image of architecture and Islam. The Award brings together differing, often conflicting, perspectives on architecture and Islam. The strength of the Award, “the powerful transformative movement of resistance,” lies in this tension.

To articulate this movement of resistance, this thesis brings additional perspectives on identity and difference in architecture to bear on this discussion of the AKAA. It is my aim to tease out the contradictions that are not always transparent in the Award literature. This is not to dismiss altogether the notion of Islamic architecture as ‘selfhood’. Such notions resonate with specific socio-political movements of nationalism, Arabism or Islamism. Such a study would require a review of accounts of Islamic identities (Muslim, Arab, Sufi or otherwise) by intellectuals, spiritual leaders or politicians from ‘within’ what is considered to be the Islamic world to determine how the notion of Islamic architecture as ‘selfhood’ has developed historically from ‘within’ the Islamic world. Such a study would trace the historically emerging view of how Islamic architecture as ‘other’ is received by Muslims themselves. However, this would require

²⁸ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993), 261, quoted in Bill Ashcroft and Pal Ahluwalia, *Edward Said: The Paradox of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1999), 107.

different methods and resources that are beyond the scope of the present study which treats the AKAA as a unique forum that manifests a shift in thinking since the (European) formation of the discourse in the nineteenth century. The Award is not exclusively European or Muslim, it targets disparate audiences, its primary medium of representation is English, and it plays a leading role in the contemporary discourse on Islamic architecture *and* a focus on Muslim communities is sustained.

This double-folded hegemony presents an ideal entry point to reflect on the entanglements beyond the Award's plural image of Islamic architecture. The Award does not present an absolute vision. It is my intention to explore the possibilities of togetherness, a further dimension of the paradigm of encounter, to complicate the boundaries of 'self' and 'other, and to further consider the role of architects engaging with disparate identities today.

1.3 STRUCTURE

To pursue this argument, the thesis begins with an extended discussion of the paradigm of encounter that articulates the distinction between cultural *roots* and *routes* and considers the implications for an examination of the confluence of architecture, Islam and encounter in the present thesis. The thesis is thence divided into two parts. Part I acknowledges historical encounters of Islam with other cultures and their architectural traces. Against this backdrop, I identify conventional discursive tendencies to represent Islamic architecture as 'other' in the context of European travel and recent critics that problematise this tendency. Part II comprises an analysis and critique of the AKAA to show how the Award departs from such conventional discourses of Islamic architecture with a view toward "building together."

The thesis is specifically structured as follows. Chapter 2, focusing on the paradigm of encounter, comprises a critical review of pertinent theoretical and area scholarship. I identify a tendency to represent architecture as an essential expression of Islam. I propose that parallels can be drawn between this still pervasive tendency, and what Clifford has characterised with the metaphor of cultural *roots*. Acknowledging an interdisciplinary shift that is attributed to the influence of Said, Clifford's alternative metaphor of cultural *routes* is identified as a strategy to counter such essentialist representations. The chapter concludes with an overview of exceptional recent architectural studies that reveal architecture as an activity that is contingent on disparate forces that coexist with different ideologies of identity.

With the paradigm of encounter as its cue, Part I (Chapters 3 and 4) examines nineteenth century European travel and its role in the formation

of the dominant contemporary discourses of Islamic architecture. Chapter 3 examines expectations to represent Islamic architecture as ‘other’ in image and text in relation to travel in Andalusia, North Africa, the Near East, Asia Minor and Arabia. In Chapter 4, recent studies of new building projects are examined in the context of expectations to materialise identity in architecture, at the International Exhibitions and beyond.

Without dismissing the momentum of expectations to write and build Islamic architecture, the intent of Chapters 3 and 4 is to show that identity is an elusive phenomenon that resists crystallisation in text or materialisation in architecture. The Grand Tour, scholarly expeditions and the International Exhibitions comprised a variety of modes of travel. While artists, architects, scholars and writers expected to represent ‘otherness’, this was constantly revised. In the case of the Grand Tour, the elusive nature of ‘otherness’ becomes evident through an overview of the expanding horizons of travel. Comparative surveys of world architecture were abstracted from a travelling context of research and image-making. In the case of the International Exhibitions, pavilions representing ‘otherness’ were ephemeral. ‘Otherness’ was re-invented at successive exhibitions. While travel does not play an exclusive role in formative studies of Islamic architecture, it offers a useful framework to show that the relationship between architecture and Islam was not fixed.

In Part II, I identify the Aga Khan’s mission as it is promoted in the Award literature. Chapter 5 introduces the challenges and goals that prompted the foundation of the AKAA. Further, I examine the unique infrastructure of research, documentation, debate and promotion conceived to address these challenges and goals, not least, the unique “space for freedom.” Chapter 6 explores different perspectives on architecture and Islam, including debates on continuity, religious symbolism and agency. Essential ideologies of identity are articulated in these debates. However, identity is not singular, nor is it fixed in the Award’s “space for freedom.” Coexistent, plural identity claims are voiced in a forum that is enhanced by the representation of images, texts and projects. This synthesis indicates the difficulty of representing/writing Islamic architecture as a homogeneous entity. This contradicts a potentially uniform message of architecture for Muslim communities.

To further articulate these contradictions, I explore the possibilities of “building together” in Chapter 7. I reflect on the writing and practices of several Award participants and prize-winners who are distinguished by their ambivalent attitudes to identity and its potential manifestation in architecture. These include Arkoun and Charles Correa who have participated in the AKAA since its foundation, as well as a newcomer to

the Award, Mona Hatoum, a Palestinian artist in exile. I reach beyond the Award to discuss their contributions as well as three ambiguous prizes: the Institut du Monde Arabe by Jean Nouvel; Vidhan Bhavan by Charles Correa; and the 2001 Chairman's Award presented to Geoffrey Bawa. The Muslim audiences of projects by these architects are difficult to pinpoint. These projects cannot be limited to a singular Muslim 'self' image. Instead, these projects coexist with assertions of different ideologies of identity, beyond Islamic architecture. While they enhance the process of re-thinking Islamic architecture as a heterogeneous activity in the context of the ACAA, they further exemplify Clifford's case for new paradigms of "historical contact, with entanglement at intersecting regional, national and transnational levels."²⁹

This thesis complements this process of re-thinking. The ACAA is identified as a progressive enterprise that is simultaneously manifested, both conceptually and physically, in the 'Islamic world' and in the 'West'. The significance of this thesis, articulated in the concluding comments and recommendations in Chapter 8, lies beyond a critique of the ACAA. By reflecting on assertions of identity—of 'self' and 'other'—that are inextricable from the transformative possibilities of 'encounter', this thesis avoids a definitive outlook on the relationship between architecture and Islam. In this critique of the Award, through the paradigm of encounter, I address what Kolb describes as the "liberation resulting from the tensions and crossings we find ourselves within".³⁰ Thus, this thesis captures the contradictions of identity formation in the context of architectural ideas and practices that have travelled globally, in the past as in the present.

²⁹ Clifford, *Routes*, 7.

³⁰ Kolb, *Postmodern Sophistications*, 183.

2 The Paradigm of Encounter

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis argues that the AKAA challenges an essentialist relationship between architecture and Islam. To understand this challenge, it is necessary to reflect on the formation of the discourse on Islamic architecture in the nineteenth century and its legacy. In the critical review of pertinent theoretical and area scholarship that follows, I identify a tendency in that earlier literature to represent architecture as an essential expression of Islam, and particularly Islamic culture. I propose that parallels can be drawn between this still pervasive tendency to represent Islamic architecture as 'other', and what the anthropologist James Clifford has characterised with the metaphor of cultural *roots*, as the problematic tendency in previous ethnographic writing to make essentialist representations of culture as 'other'. Acknowledging an interdisciplinary shift that is attributed to the intellectual routes of Edward Said's scholarship, Clifford's alternative metaphor of cultural *routes* offers a strategy to counter such essentialist representations. The experience of 'encounter', typically through 'travel', does compel representations of the cultural 'other'—as well as representations of 'self'—in text. However, the activity of travel is dynamic. It enables new encounters and new representations of 'otherness', as well as enabling cultural engagements, interactions and potential transformations. Thus, the paradigm of encounter presents insights into both the motives to represent culture as 'other' and the limits of representation. The aim is to show that culture and its articulation as cultural identity is an elusive, multi-faceted phenomenon that resists crystallisation in text or materialisation in architecture. Acknowledging the limited existing architectural scholarship that has addressed the confluence of encounter, Islam and architecture, I argue that the paradigm of encounter presents insights into the dynamic relationship between identity and architecture, pointing to the merits of both the AKAA and the concept of "building together."

2.2 CULTURAL ROOTS AND CULTURAL ROUTES

In *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* Clifford maintains "in much traditional ethnography, the ethnographer has localized what is actually a regional/national/global nexus, relegating to the margins the external relations and displacements of a 'culture'."¹ This nexus extends to the practice of the ethnographer. Clifford argues that the imperatives of fieldwork demand encounter with a particular cultural group. This encounter is just one example of the potential interactions of a group beyond a specific territory that also includes trade, migration,

¹ James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 24.

warfare, diaspora or pilgrimage. Yet, Clifford explores a tendency to represent different cultures as discrete entities in text.² He identifies a disparity. The text that inscribes culture(s) does not always match the interactive aspects of the culture(s) represented, including the practices of the visiting ethnographer who can be immersed in a study area.³ These aspects are often lost in “translation.”

The shortcomings of localised representations of culture are not limited to anthropology. ‘Travel’ and ‘encounter’, perceived as catalysts for the representation of culture and assertions of cultural identity, are receiving increasing attention in many disciplines, including critical anthropology, literary criticism, cultural studies, sociology and world history.⁴ In “Who Needs ‘Identity’?” influential sociologist Stuart Hall outlines this multi-disciplinary critique of essentialist representations of culture, where culture is perceived to be originary, unified, natural and/or timeless. By extension, Hall challenges the concept of cultural identity as a static, collective notion of belonging (for example, nationalism, ethnicity, race) that underpins “superficial differences.”⁵ This challenge is aligned with a multi-disciplinary deconstructive critique (that owes no small debt to structuralist, semiotic and poststructuralist work) that locates identity formation in historically specific circumstances. From this perspective, culture and cultural identity are not accepted as given. Rather, they are constructed relationally, through encounters, cultural identity is always in a condition of flux that is heightened in the context of postcolonialism and globalisation.

Above all, and directly contrary to the form in which they are constantly invoked, identities are constructed through, not outside, difference. This entails the radically disturbing recognition that it is only through the relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks, to what has been called its *constitutive outside* that the ‘positive’ meaning of any term—and thus its ‘identity’—can be constructed.⁶

² James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

³ For further reflections on writing and fieldwork, see Paul Rabinow, “Discourse and Power: On the Limits of Ethnographic Texts,” *Dialectical Anthropology* 10 (1985): 1-13; Mary Louise Pratt, “Conventions of Representation: Where Discourse and Ideology Meet,” in *Contemporary Perceptions of Language: Interdisciplinary Dimensions*, ed. Heidi Byrnes, 139-155 (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1982); James Clifford, “On Ethnographic Authority,” *Representations* 1, no. 2 (1983): 118-46.

⁴ Gupta and Ferguson identify a similar emphasis on local culture represented in opposition to the perceptions of external or artificial forces of global culture. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, “Beyond ‘Culture’: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference,” in *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, ed. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, 33-51 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

⁵ Stuart Hall, “Introduction: Who Needs ‘Identity’?” in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, 1-17 (London: Sage Publications, 1996). This concept of collective cultural identity is examined in Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage, in association with the Open University, 1997).

⁶ Hall, “Introduction: Who Needs ‘Identity’?” 4-5.

Recognising Hall's valuable work on representation and cultural studies as part of a broader theoretical shift in thinking, this thesis is more specifically concerned with representations amidst the act of travel and encounter; European travellers and their construction of an Oriental or Islamic 'other'.⁷ In an overview of travel writing from Marco Polo to Kafka, critic of English literature Syed Manzural Islam reflects on the tendency to represent 'otherness' despite encounters.⁸ While the activity of travel enables the crossing of physical borders, conceptually, travellers may not travel at all. S.M. Islam identifies this phenomenon as "sedentary travel," proposing that boundaries distinguishing 'self' and 'other' can be rigid in the act of travel, "sedentary travellers, burdened as they are by the need to establish essential difference on a binary frame and to capture otherness in knowledge, obsessively bring into existence a rigid boundary which separates them from the other."⁹

Referring to the phenomenon of the Grand Tour in Europe, historian Jeremy Black also identifies this paradox of travel. He claims that by the eighteenth century "travel and discussion about travel were both a focus for and an aspect of the relationship between cosmopolitanism and xenophobia."¹⁰ Chloe Chard, a historian of English literature, identifies a similar tendency in literature by British Grand Tourists to Italy. She reveals two prominent trends after 1830. On the one hand, she argues that travel inspired a concern for identity and self-knowledge. On the other, she demonstrates that travel motivated increasingly detached representations of 'otherness'. Chard further identifies British literary efforts to mitigate Italy's 'otherness'. Her research reveals "attempts to keep the more dangerous and destabilising aspects of the encounter with the foreign at bay."¹¹ In this light, British conceptions of Italy's 'otherness' are both complicated by the act of travel, and mediated in the act of writing.

While these scholars predominantly refer to the representation of 'otherness' by Western Europeans, anthropologist Mary Louise Pratt identifies the reciprocity of encounter in the context of Spanish exploration and settlement in Central and South America since 1750. In

⁷ Stuart Hall reflects on the origins and impact of cultural studies in, "Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies," in *Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Simon During, 98-107 (London: Routledge, 1999).

⁸ Conversely, travel writing is examined for evidence of cross-cultural encounters in Steve Clark, *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit* (London: Zed Books, 1999).

⁹ Syed Manzural Islam, *The Ethics of Travel: From Marco Polo to Kafka* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), viii. For a discussion of the multiple facets of modern identity formation as a consequence of European encounters since the Renaissance, see Jas Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubies, eds., *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999).

¹⁰ Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1992), 1.

¹¹ Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 11.

Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation, Pratt argues that hybrid colonial literature constructing Europe as ‘other’ emerged in tandem with European constructions of ‘self’; “borders and all, the entity called Europe was constructed from the outside in as much as from the inside out.”¹² Constructions of non-European ‘self’ are also receiving increasing attention. Research in cultural studies and postcolonial discourses, for example, draws attention to ideologies of identity that cannot be separated from the interactive contexts of colonisation, postcolonial independence and the homogenising forces of independence.¹³ Commenting on the impact of globalisation and the global migration of Muslims today, particularly in Europe, Nezar AlSayyad and Manuel Castells locate identity claims amidst encounters; “when one’s identity becomes blurred, it is more difficult to accept the other. And one’s identity feels hardened in nonnegotiable ways.”¹⁴

Travel, as a paradigm of encounter, has opened up a theoretical framework to reflect on the complicated nature of identity. Identity claims are exacerbated through travel. Encounters with the ‘other’ precipitate both the construction of ‘self’ and the representation of ‘other’. To counter this tendency in ethnography, Clifford juxtaposes the essentialism inherent in the notion of cultural *roots* with the alternative metaphor of cultural *routes*. Thus, he articulates an alternative critical focus not only upon the dynamic processes of exchange that continue to shape and reshape cultures but upon the complicity of scholarship itself in the act of “writing” culture. Through the paradigm of encounter, Clifford exposes the elusive nature of ‘otherness’ where encounters complicate the feasibility of representing essential difference.¹⁵

The new paradigms begin with historical contact, with entanglement at intersecting regional, national and transnational levels. Contact approaches presuppose not sociocultural wholes subsequently brought into relationship, but rather systems already constituted relationally entering new relations through historical processes of displacement.¹⁶

¹² Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 6.

¹³ See, for example, Zygmunt Bauman, “The Making and Unmaking of Strangers,” in *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*, ed. Pnina Werbner and Tariq Madood, 46-57 (London: Zed Books, 1997); Jonathan Friedman, *Cultural Identity and Global Process* (London: Sage, 1994); Zdravko Mlinar, ed., *Globalization and Territorial Identities* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1992).

¹⁴ Nezar AlSayyad and Manuel Castells, eds., *Muslim Europe or Euro-Islam: Politics, Culture and Citizenship in the Age of Globalization* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2002), 4.

¹⁵ For a critique of Clifford’s thesis of travel as a framework to understand culture, with its emphasis on hybridity, pluralism and interaction, at the expense of essentialist or absolutist positions, see Michael Roberts, “Nomadic Intellectuals: Asian Stars in Atlantiland,” *Social Analysis* 47, no.1 (Spring 2003), http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_go1688/is_200303/ai_n5986690 (accessed Apr 9, 2004).

¹⁶ Clifford, *Routes*, 7. For further discussion of the reciprocity of local and global forces, see Arjun Appadurai, “The Production of Locality,” in *Counterwork: Managing the Diversity of Knowledge*, ed. Richard Fardon, 204-223 (London: Routledge, 1995).

Similarly, Pratt forwards the concept of “contact-zones” in an effort to move beyond representations that inscribe cultural ‘otherness’. “Contact-zones” are defined as “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination—like colonialism, slavery or their aftermaths, as they are lived out across the globe today.”¹⁷ Pratt argues that colonial encounters precipitated “transculturation,” a term that refers to the exposure of the colonised subject to European cultural imperialism and the subsequent assimilation, selection and re-invention of aspects of the dominating culture in local sites. For Pratt, hybrid literature by the colonised ‘other’ presents insights into this context. She identifies the combination of colonial themes and language with indigenous topics and dialects. Thus, she complicates European representations of ‘self’ and ‘other’, prompted by travel and written in travel writing.

2.2.1 Islamic Roots

While by no means exhaustive, these studies are indicative of an interdisciplinary shift away from polarised representations of ‘self’ and ‘other’, that can be further traced to the influential scholarship of Edward Said. They draw attention to the complexity of representing identity in the context of encounter. The conceptual openings presented in Clifford’s writing, and recent studies in critical anthropology and literary criticism, are significant for re-thinking representations of Islam and specifically Islamic architecture. To do so, one must necessarily return to Said’s influential and wide-ranging scholarship, particularly his analyses of European representations of Islam as a construction of ‘other’. In *Orientalism* Said examines the reductive representation of Islam, conflated with the Orient, as a discrete entity:

The boundary notion of East and West, the varying degrees of projected inferiority and strength, the range of work done, the kinds of characteristic features ascribed to the Orient: all these testify to a willed imaginative and geographic division made between East and West, and lived through during many centuries.¹⁸

Said extends Foucault’s critiques of the systematic acquisition of knowledge as a vehicle for power and dominance to the context of European imperialism. The very “idea” of the Orient—as passionately cultivated through both scholarship and popular cultural imagination—was complicit, Said argues, in the colonial mastery of the non-Western territory, resources, and peoples this “idea” ostensibly represented.¹⁹

¹⁷ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 4.

¹⁸ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 201.

¹⁹ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972). The differences between *Orientalism* and Foucault’s methodology are analysed in Michael Dutton and Peter Williams, “Translating Theories: Edward Said on Orientalism, Imperialism and Alterity,” *Southern Review* 26, no. 3 (1993): 314-57.

Moreover, the conflation of the “Oriental” with the specific geographical territory of the “Orient,” east and south of the Mediterranean, carries with it the assumption of cultural *roots* in place. While clearly building on Said’s paradigmatic thesis, Clifford’s work has further illuminated the role of ethnography in discursive constructions such as “Orientalism”; its geographic essentialism in particular. The metaphor of cultural *roots* emphasises the authentic bond to a specific geographic site, where culture is “centered on circumscribed places—like the gardens where the word ‘culture’ derived its European meanings. Dwelling was understood to be the local ground of collective life, travel a supplement; roots always precede routes.”²⁰

Said identifies the tendency to represent Muslims (rooted in place) as a homogeneous people without the capacity for progress—static, inferior, potentially threatening, awaiting the civilising ministrations of Europe—as a blind for territorial expansion and exploitation. In *Culture and Imperialism* Said further argues that such ministrations were initiated, legitimised and sustained through the assumption of cultural superiority. He identifies this assumption in popular ideas and contemporary literature after the eighteenth century. In both *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism* (Said’s best known texts) Said further reveals the inter-relationship between European representations of Islam and the political realities of imperialism.²¹

It is beyond the scope of the present thesis to dwell on the seminal significance of Said’s general *oeuvre*. However, it is pertinent to consider the criticisms levelled at Said and his responses to them, in order to further consider the strategic possibilities of ‘encounter’ in the present study. Said is widely criticised for his tendency to represent Europe and Islam as monolithic entities, further polarising ‘self’ and ‘other’.²² Said is also challenged for overstating the hegemony of European texts that represent Islam.²³ In addition, *Orientalism* attracted criticism for its emphasis on discourse, its tendency to undermine the contributions of Orientalist scholarship and the enabling impact of imperialism on

²⁰ Clifford, *Routes*, 3.

²¹ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993; London: Vintage, 1994). Citations are to the Vintage edition. Said himself reflects on *Orientalism* in Edward W. Said, “Orientalism Reconsidered,” *Race and Class* 27, no. 2 (Autumn 1985): 1-15.

²² For a review of *Orientalism*, see Malcolm Kerr, “Edward Said: Orientalism,” *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 12 (Dec 1980): 544-547. For an astute appraisal of anti-Orientalism that includes Said’s study see Bryan S. Turner, *Orientalism, Postmodernism and Globalism* (London: Routledge, 1994), Part 1, 3-52. Mona Abaza and Georg Stauth argue that Orientalism results from cross-cultural exchange in “Occidental Reason, Orientalism, Islamic Fundamentalism: A Critique,” *International Sociology* 3, no. 4 (Dec 1993): 343-364.

²³ Feminist critics, for example, draw attention to Said’s limited representation of female authors whose writing unsettles his case for hegemonic representations of the Orient. See Lata Mani and Ruth Frankenberg, “The Challenge of Orientalism,” *Economy and Society* 14 (1985): 174-92; Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representations* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

modernity, as well as the omission of notable Orientalists, especially continental scholars.²⁴ Moreover, Said is criticised for seemingly denying the existence of a ‘real’ Orient and his failure to forward alternative strategies to represent the material conditions of people living in the “Orient.”²⁵

However, for Said, the path to alternative strategies that might move away from essentialist discourses lies in his critique of the construction of ‘otherness’. Moreover, his critique is predicated on ‘encounter’ to reveal the disparity between discursive constructions of ‘other’ and “fluid and extraordinarily rich actualities.”²⁶

The construction of identity—for identity, whether of Orient or Occident, France or Britain, while obviously a repository of distinct collective experiences, *is* finally a construction—involves establishing opposites and ‘others’ whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of their differences from ‘us’. Each age and society re-creates its ‘Others’. Far from a static thing then, identity of self or of ‘other’ is a much worked-over historical, social, intellectual, and political process that takes place as a contest involving individuals and institutions in all societies.²⁷

It is necessary, then, to consider how ‘otherness’ is constructed in representations of Islamic architecture in order to explore alternative strategies to represent architecture that address, to reiterate Said’s insight, the “fluid and extraordinarily rich actualities” of Muslim communities.²⁸

2.2.2 Islamic Roots and Architecture

Said’s work has necessarily inspired critical studies of the discourse of Islamic architecture, as it has compelled critical cultural inquiry more generally. Mark Crinson identifies a period of “architectural orientalism” as a corollary of Orientalist scholarship.²⁹ His observations resonate with recent criticisms of the tendency to represent architecture as an essential expression of Islam since the nineteenth century. This is evident in the writing of, among others, architectural historians André Raymond,

²⁴ These limitations are pronounced in Said’s prolonged sparring match with Ernest Gellner published in the *Times Literary Supplement* in the 1990s. Ernest Gellner, “The Mightier Pen?” *Times Literary Supplement* 4690 (Feb 19, 1993): 3-4. Hourani draws attention to contributions by Orientalists in a thoughtful review, Albert Hourani, “The Road to Morocco,” *New York Review of Books* 26, no. 3 (Mar 8, 1979): 29-30.

²⁵ See Dennis Porter, “Orientalism and its Problems,” in *The Politics of Theory*, ed. Francis Barker and others (Colchester: University of Essex, 1983); Robert J.C. Young, “Disorienting Orientalism,” in *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (London: Routledge, 1990), chap. 7, 119-140.

²⁶ Said, “Afterword,” in *Orientalism*, 332.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 332.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 332.

²⁹ Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London; New York: Routledge, 1996), 16.

Zeynep Çelik, Sibel Bozdoğan and Gülru Necipoğlu,³⁰ and art historians Leila Kinney and Linda Nochlin.³¹ They identify a tendency (which will be considered further in the next chapter) to privilege the ostensible *roots* of culture and race as determinants of architectural form. These scholars trace this tendency to the second half of the nineteenth century. In this period, European studies of Islamic architecture gained momentum. Formative studies emerged in the context of territorial expansion, administration and settlement. Representations of Islamic, Saracenic, Moorish or Oriental architecture were included in surveys of world architecture by renowned architectural historians, including Edward Freeman, James Fergusson and Sir Banister Fletcher (1866-1953). The compulsion to define Islamic architecture as ‘other’ in text paralleled efforts to build Islamic architecture, particularly after Owen Jones’ Alhambra Court at Sydenham’s Crystal Palace (1854). Architects expected to define and build Islamic architecture.

In *Orientalism* Said argues that the Orient was constructed in text, stating “people, places and experiences can always be described by a book, so much so that the book (or text) acquires a greater authority, and use, even than the actuality it describes.”³² Similarly, Crinson identifies increasingly detached representations of Islamic architecture in text and image from the context within which architecture was built.³³ Further, Crinson links the tendency to represent architecture as a manifestation of culture to prevailing theories of culture and language expounded in linguistics and the incipient disciplines of natural history, anthropology and ethnography. These disciplines prioritised cultural difference infusing the scholarly climate with a predilection for classification in terms of race and culture.³⁴ In this context, architectural historians emphasised the notion of cultural *roots* to explain architecture. This is exemplified in the writing of the prominent and influential Victorian critic John Ruskin. Ruskin divided the world into five regions corresponding to climate and art; “the ideal circumstances were those of

³⁰ André Raymond, “Islamic City, Arab City: Orientalist Myths and Recent Views,” *British Journal of Middle East Studies* 21, no. 1 (1994): 3-18; Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World’s Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Sibel Bozdoğan, “Journeys to the East: Ways of Looking at the Orient and the Question of Representation,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 41, no. 4 (Summer 1988): 38-45; Gülru Necipoğlu, “The Discourse on the Geometric ‘Arabesque,’” in *The Topkapi Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (Santa Monica: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995), part 2, 61-90.

³¹ Zeynep Çelik and Leila Kinney, “Ethnography and Exhibitionism at the *Expositions Universelles*,” *Assemblage*, no. 13 (1990): 34-59; Linda Nochlin, “The Imaginary Orient,” *Art in America* (1983): 118-31, 187-89.

³² Said, *Orientalism*, 93.

³³ Crinson, *Empire Building*, 16.

³⁴ The influence of race and culture as constructs that shaped the organisation of nineteenth century academic knowledge is discussed in Robert J.C. Young, “Sex and Inequality: The Cultural Construction of Race,” in *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), chap. 4, 90-117.

the 'grape and wheat lands' such as Italy, where the highest intellect and the most perfect art were to be found."³⁵

At the turn of the century, the early surveys of Freeman, Fergusson and Jones were complemented by new archaeological research by French, German and British scholars. This is demonstrated in the works of Max van Berchem (1863-1921), *Notes d'archéologie arabe* (1891); Ernst Herzfeld (1879-1948), *Die Genesis der islamischen Kunst und das Mshattā Problem* (1910), *Samarra: Der Wandschmuck* (1923), *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra* (1948); and Ernst Kühnel (1882-1964) *Die 'Abbasidischen Lüstrefayencen* (1934).³⁶ Focusing primarily on Umayyad and Abbasid architecture, these studies considered the distinctive formal aspects of classical Islamic architecture, perceived to embody racial and cultural difference, in relation to pre-Islamic Roman, Byzantine and Sassanian precedents.³⁷

Each of these individuals is significant for unique contributions to formative scholarship of architecture and Islam. The institutionalisation of Islamic architecture as a discrete field of inquiry can be further attributed to the lifetime work of Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell (1879-1974). Although Creswell intended to pursue studies in India, a posting in Egypt during World War I precipitated his unprecedented survey of Islamic monuments in Cairo. Creswell is one of the earliest professional scholars of Islamic architecture due to his roles as Inspector of Monuments (1919) and Professor of Islamic Art and Archaeology at the University of Cairo (1934-51). In addition to his comprehensive surveys *Early Muslim Architecture* (Vol. 1, 1932; Vol. 2, 1940), and *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (Vol. 1, 1952; Vol. 2, 1959), and their revisions (*A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, 1958; *Early Muslim Architecture*, 1969), Creswell amassed an unprecedented library that included surveys, prints and photographs that continue to inform scholarship today.³⁸ Together, these scholars contributed to the formation of the discourse of Islamic architecture and its evolution as a discrete field of inquiry.

³⁵ Kristine Ottesen Garrigan, *Ruskin on Architecture: His Thought and Influence* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), 54.

³⁶ Bloom traces the writing, appointments and influence of each of these scholars in his introduction to translations of these formative texts in Jonathan M. Bloom, ed., *Early Islamic Art and Architecture* (Aldershot: Variorum, 2002), xi-xxxii.

³⁷ This is identified in Vernoit's chronological overview of archaeology in which he identifies correspondences with imperial and national interests, Stephen Vernoit, "The Rise of Islamic Archaeology," *Muqarnas* XIV (1997): 1-10.

³⁸ In 1991, *Muqarnas* dedicated a special issue to reflection on Creswell's legacy. See, for example, R.W. Hamilton, "Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell, 1879-1974," 128-136; Alistair Northedge, "Creswell, Herzfeld, and Samarra," 74-93; and Robert Hillenbrand, "Creswell and Contemporary Central European Scholarship," 23-35, *Muqarnas*, VIII (1991).

In nineteenth century art, the Orient was also constructed as ‘other’. Art historian Linda Nochlin identifies this tendency. She highlights “strategies of concealment,” including the absence of time, progress or change, and the absence of labour.³⁹ The latter is viewed as a moral comment on the idleness of the subject. These images were augmented by the representation of decayed building fragments. Western figures were absent despite a significant colonial presence in this period. Further, like Clifford’s ethnographer, the artist is absent. ‘Otherness’ is further established through gender. The Orient was constructed as ‘other’ through images of female sexuality, provoking readings of submissiveness, weakness or mystery and the linked responses of attraction and potential subjugation by the Western (male) viewer.⁴⁰

Nochlin is also critical of art history studies that celebrate the aesthetic qualities of Orientalist painting over and above the historical-political context.⁴¹ Focusing on Gerome’s work between 1860 and 1895, Nochlin proposes that the realism of these images offers a construction of the Orient that is clearly differentiated from the Western spectator:

Indeed, taxidermy rather than ethnography seems to be the informing discipline here: These images have something of the sense of specimens stuffed and mounted within settings of irreproachable accuracy and displayed in airless cases. And like the exhibits displayed behind glass in the natural-history museum, these paintings include everything within their boundaries—everything, that is, except a sense of life, the vivifying breath of shared human experience.⁴²

However, Said has also inspired more nuanced critiques of creativity and experimentation in Orientalist painting. This is exemplified in the writing of art historians John Mackenzie, Andrew Gerstle and Anthony Milner.⁴³ For example, although Mackenzie praises the polemical nature of Said’s study, he laments the pall cast over Oriental studies, arguing that art

³⁹ Nochlin, “The Imaginary Orient,” 189. For further discussion, see Roger Benjamin, ed., *Orientalism: Delacroix to Klee* (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1997); Holly Edwards, ed., *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); James Thompson, ed., *The East: Imagined, Experienced, Remembered* (Dublin: National Gallery Ireland, 1988).

⁴⁰ For new insights into the inversion of this dichotomy of power and gender, see Mary Roberts, “Mirroring the Self / Challenging the Other: Ottoman Women as Patrons in Nineteenth Century Constantinople,” in *Studio, Space and Sociality: New Narratives of Nineteenth-Century Women Artists*, ed. Deborah Cherry and Janice Helland (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

⁴¹ See, for example, John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture, 1500-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Michael Jacobs, *The Painted Voyage: Art, Travel and Exploration, 1564-1875* (London: British Museum Press, 1995); Philippe Jullian, *The Orientalists: European Painters of Eastern Scenes*, trans. Helga Harrison and Dinah Harrison (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977); Christine Peltre, *Orientalism in Art*, trans. John Goodman, 1st ed. (New York: Abbeville Press, 1998).

⁴² Nochlin, “The Imaginary Orient,” 126.

⁴³ John M. Mackenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); Andrew Gerstle and Anthony Milner, eds., “Recovering the Exotic: Debating Said,” in *Recovering the Orient: Artists, Scholars, Appropriations*, ed. Andrew Gerstle and Anthony Milner, 1-6 (Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1994).

historians adopting Said's thesis "have narrowed and restricted the possible readings of paintings and other visual forms in extraordinarily limiting ways."⁴⁴

In urban history, similar criticisms are directed at representations of the Islamic city as 'other' since the nineteenth century. Janet Abu-Lughod, André Raymond and Zeynep Çelik identify the limitations of efforts to define urban form as a material expression of Islam.⁴⁵ In three insightful essays they trace this tendency to French Orientalist scholarship, particularly the work of William Marçais (1872-1956), Georges Marçais (1876-1956) and Jean Sauvaget (1901-50).⁴⁶ The attitudes represented in this body of Orientalist scholarship are celebrated and summarised by architectural historian Gustave von Grunebaum (1909-1972).⁴⁷ Commenting on the tendency to represent the "Islamic city," with reference to French scholarship on North Africa, Çelik identifies "the fallacies of orientalist scholarship."⁴⁸

Similarly, André Raymond identifies the shortcomings of prominent Orientalist studies that define the city in terms of cultural stereotypes or faith, challenging "efforts to define an urban 'doctrine' from the fundamental texts of Islam."⁴⁹ Raymond contends that cities with significant Muslim communities rarely correspond to representations that assume a homogeneous Islamic culture. He argues that these representations present the Islamic city as timeless and incapable of development. Four Orientalist themes are summarised. Firstly, Islam is posed as a structuring element shaping institutions and social, political and economic activity. Secondly, the labyrinthine Islamic *medina* is characterised as a city in decline, a deterioration of the planned cities of antiquity. Thirdly, Orientalist studies decry the fragmentation or dislocation of urban settlements into closed, inward-looking quarters. Lastly, Islamic cities are characterised as parasitic developments exploiting their hinterland without generating production. Raymond

⁴⁴ Mackenzie, *Orientalism*, xiii.

⁴⁵ Janet Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City: Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19, no. 2 (May 1987): 155-176; André Raymond, "Islamic City, Arab City: Orientalist Myths and Recent Views," *British Journal of Middle East Studies* 21, no. 1 (1994): 3-18; Zeynep Çelik, "New Approaches to the Non-Western City," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (Sept 1999): 374-81.

⁴⁶ William Marçais, "L'Islamisme et la Vie Urbaine," in *Articles et Conférences* (Paris: Editions Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1961); Georges Marçais, "L'Urbanisme Musulman," in *Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de l'Occident Musulman*, 2 vols. (Algiers: Imprint Officielle, 1957), *L'Architecture Musulmane d'Occident* (Paris: Arts et Metiers Graphiques, 1954); Jean Sauvaget, "Esquisse d'Une Histoire de la Ville de Damas," *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 4 (1934).

⁴⁷ Gustave von Grunebaum, "The Structure of the Muslim Town," in *Islam: Essays on the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), chap. 7, 141-58.

⁴⁸ Çelik, "New Approaches," 375.

⁴⁹ Raymond, "Islamic City," 16. For further discussion of this tendency to represent Muslim cities as an expression of a discrete Islamic culture and society, see the introduction to Nezar AlSayyad, *Cities and Caliphs: On the Genesis of Arab Muslim Urbanism* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991).

extends his criticism to studies that emphasise the formal hierarchy of the city consisting of central religious institutions (the mosque and *madrassa*) attached to the bazaar, distinct from residential quarters.⁵⁰

Necipoğlu further identifies the problem of representing architecture as ‘other’ in a trenchant critique of ornament, particularly the proliferation of surface decoration in architecture. This has been widely represented as an essential expression of Islam since the nineteenth century.⁵¹ Moreover, while studies of the city have become increasingly diversified, this tendency has endured in discussions of architecture and ornament until the end of the twentieth century. The breadth of scholarship examined, including studies by scholars in Britain, continental Europe, the former Soviet republic, Central Asia, and an increasing number of Muslim authors today, distinguish her review. Despite the rich variety of abstract geometric, vegetal and calligraphic ornament identified in these works, and the infinite permutations of the arabesque, Necipoğlu highlights sustained interest in the unity of visual expression that is traced to essential principles. These include climate and race;⁵² faith and the Koran;⁵³ or a Hegelian *geist* (spirit).⁵⁴

In the nineteenth century, this preoccupation with unity is identified in two prominent discourses; the ahistorical discourse of Orientalism, and didactic studies of ornament aimed at a Western professional audience. In both cases, the visual ‘otherness’ of ornament is attributed to abstract pattern making and the proliferation of surface decoration (where figural representation and three dimensionality are purposefully suppressed to emphasise ‘otherness’). Perceptions of the timeless character of ornament determined by culture are forcefully stated by Jules Bourgoïn, and identified by Necipoğlu.

In *Les arts arabes*, where he used such categories as *race arabe* and *racés sémitiques* or *sémitisées*, he wrote, ‘One should not expect to recover in the history of the Orient the equivalent of that rigorous chain of different phases characteristic of the art of the Occident.’ By casting the art of the Islamic East as a relatively static native tradition untouched by the historical processes so central to the complex

⁵⁰ The limits of representing an Islamic city typology, especially in the Mediterranean region and the Indian subcontinent, are further identified in A.H. Hourani and S.M. Stern, eds., *The Islamic City: A Colloquium* (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1970).

⁵¹ Necipoğlu’s review contextualises the contributions of her examination of the c.16C Topkapi Scroll, a pattern book for geometric ornament that presents insights into premodern practice. She argues that ornament is not timeless, rather it offers a multi-layered sign system adaptable to a wide variety of contexts.

⁵² Pascal Xavier Coste, *Architecture Arabe, ou Monuments du Kaire, Dessinés et Mesurés, de 1819 à 1826* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1839); Albert Gayet, *L’Art Arabe* (Paris: Ancienne Maison Quantin, 1893).

⁵³ Émile Prisse d’Avennes, *Arab Art* (Paris: Le Sycomore, 1877); Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: Day and Son, 1856).

⁵⁴ Aloïs Riegl, *Stilfragen* (Berlin: G. Siemens, 1893).

evolution of European artistic culture, Bourgoïn highlighted its essential otherness. In doing so he repeated a topos of the Orientalist discourse, with its opposition between the rational West, representing a dynamic world of progress, and the spiritual East, constituting a static world that was denied a true history.⁵⁵

In the writing of Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, Necipoğlu also identifies “the ongoing ‘feminization’ of the Orient” where the perceived emphasis on surface decoration at the expense of rigorous structural and formal innovation further distinguishes it from the dynamic evolution of Western architecture.⁵⁶

In these two examples, the regional differences of Islam, while recognised, are secondary to the emphasis on pan-Islamic unity of expression. These studies emerge in tandem with the experimental climate of design at the end of the nineteenth century. Exposure to new modes of visual expression in the context of imperial expansion prompted categorisation and comparison of ornament, exemplified in Owen Jones’ influential taxonomic classification of Arabian, Moresque, Turkish, Persian and Indian art in *The Grammar of Ornament*.⁵⁷ In this case, Islamic art was fragmented into regional differences. Necipoğlu identifies this emphasis on region, together with emphasis on a universal visual tradition, as two influential legacies of nineteenth century scholarship.⁵⁸ However, Jones’ plates were further abstracted from their contexts and the variations they illustrate are again secondary to a universalising agenda; to establish guidelines for contemporary design.

Necipoğlu identifies the ongoing tendency, at the end of the twentieth century, to “preserve the ‘otherness’ of the Orient.”⁵⁹ In this period she identifies new representations of ornament as an essential expression of Islam that has parallels with the ahistorical discourse of Orientalism and the search for universal design principles advanced by Jones. The dichotomy of Islam and the West is revived amidst new ideological assertions of difference, comprising “a critique of the modern world and the spiritual plight of Muslims in an industrial era dominated by Western culture.”⁶⁰

Subsequent representations of geometric ornament and the arabesque were characterised by their emphasis on the unity of Islam and the

⁵⁵ Jules Bourgoïn, *Les Arts Arabes* (Paris: A. Morel, 1873), quoted in Gülru Necipoğlu, “Ornamentalism and Orientalism: The Nineteenth Century and Early Twentieth Century European Literature,” in *The Topkapi Scroll*, 66.

⁵⁶ Necipoğlu, “Ornamentalism and Orientalism,” 68.

⁵⁷ *The Grammar of Ornament* was one of several encyclopaedic publications prepared on ornament and it also influenced a number of specialised pattern books featuring Islamic ornament.

⁵⁸ Necipoğlu, “Ornamentalism and Orientalism,” 63

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 72

⁶⁰ Necipoğlu, “Recent Studies on Geometric Ornament,” in *The Topkapi Scroll*, 74.

principle of *tawhid* (absolute unity or oneness of God), often articulated with reference to Sufism.⁶¹ Moreover, emphasis was given to the timelessness of tradition that transcended regional differences and the perceived limitations of modernity. Thus, Necipoğlu draws parallels between these studies and the distinction between historical and traditional cultures in Orientalist discourse.⁶²

Necipoğlu further challenges such studies for their broad generalisations that overlook the contingencies of time and place. At the same time, this body of scholarship is identified for its prominence and influence that can be linked to the World of Islam Festival held in 1976. In a review of the exhibitions and publications of this Festival, esteemed historian of Islamic architecture Oleg Grabar proposes that this literature “still forms the most coherent statement about Islamic art available to students or the general public.”⁶³

Several forums focusing on Islamic civilisation followed the Festival. The Arab-British Chamber of Commerce prepared an exhibition of architecture and a programme of related events in 1984.⁶⁴ Journals focusing on Arab culture and architecture were founded, including *The International Magazine of Arab Culture* and *Al-Benaa* in Saudi Arabia.⁶⁵ Philanthropic foundations encouraged cultural activities related to the arts, scholarship, education, development and Islamic studies, including the King Fahd Award (1975) and the King Faisal Foundation (1976). In the first twenty years after its foundation, the latter dedicated approximately \$US190 million to diverse activities, including scholarship and research, charitable projects, an international prize for high achievement in the arts and sciences, and the “promotion of Islam and Islamic heritage, scientific or academic research or financial aid.”⁶⁶

The King Fahd Award for Design and Research in Islamic architecture for students and recent graduates was first conferred in 1985.⁶⁷ The

⁶¹ Titus Burckhardt, *The Art of Islam: Language and Meaning* (London: World of Islam Publishing Company, 1976); Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1973); Issam El-Said and Ayse Parman, *Geometric Concepts in Islamic Art* (Palo Alto: Dale Seymour Publications, 1976); Keith Critchlow, *Islamic Patterns: An Analytical Approach* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976).

⁶² Necipoğlu, “Recent Studies on Geometric Ornament,” 77.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁶⁴ Abdul K. Al-Mudaris, “The Exhibition: Chamber’s First Cultural Venture,” in *Focus on Arab Architecture* (London: Arab-British Chamber of Commerce, 1984): 32-34.

⁶⁵ Jim Antoniou, “Arab Architecture in Transition,” in *Focus on Arab Architecture*, 156-159. Exhibition Review printed in *The International Magazine of Arab Culture* published by the Iraqi Cultural Centre.

⁶⁶ Kathy Chuddihy, guest ed., “The King Faisal Foundation.” Special supplement, *Arts and the Islamic World* 30 (1996): 3. The Foundation, named after the late King Faisal (r.1964-1975), the third king of Saudi Arabia, is one outcome of the Islamic Conference (1969) representing forty member states in an expression of pan-Islamic unity.

⁶⁷ It was founded during the International Commission for the Preservation of Islamic Cultural Heritage at the Sixth Islamic Conference in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. It is named after King Fahd Ibn

purpose of the Award is “the foundation of ideal models for Islamic dwellings which harmonize contemporary Muslims’ needs, because Islam is a comprehensive system whose aim is the improvement of human life in the world.”⁶⁸ The prizes for design excellence highlighted the integration of medieval formal typologies and motifs no matter how arbitrary these references were (Figure 5). The merit award for Gaetano Arcuri’s “Meknes Zenkat Zine el-Abidine, Dwellings between Tradition and Modernity” (Figure 6) is praised for the formal dialogue it creates with the past “whereby restoring the continuity of the authentic urban atmosphere.”⁶⁹ In research, emphasis is given to projects that focus on the medieval built environment. Necipoğlu received the Grand Prize for her scholarship on the Topkapi Palace. A second Grand Prize was bestowed on Morteza Sajadian, University of Wisconsin, for research on Madinat Al-Zahra. Highlighting the importance of the medieval built environment, Professor S. Gulzar Haider of Carleton University, Canada, states,

Muslims will have to critically engage their remote past that was glorious and the recent past that was ridden with physical and ideological subjugation. They will have to confront the ironic and paradoxical challenges of their present, and construct a vision of their future worthy of the universal promise of Islam.⁷⁰

Figure 5
King Fahd Award,
Student Entry.
King Fahd Award, *The King Fahd Award*, 23.

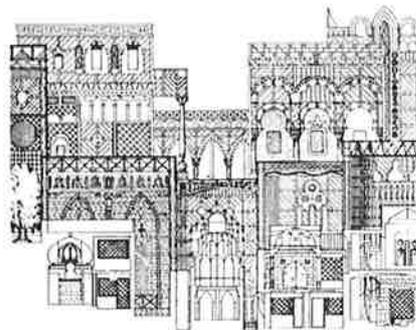
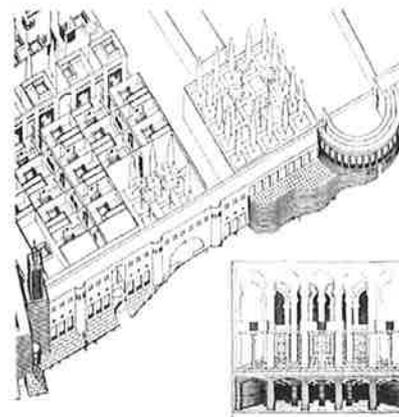


Figure 6
King Fahd Award,
Student Entry.
King Fahd Award, *The King Fahd Award*, 29.



Abdul Aziz, the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques. The triennial award distributes \$US100,000 amongst the prize-winners.

⁶⁸ King Fahd Award, *The King Fahd Award for Design and Research in Islamic Architecture, 1985-86* (1986), 5. Seven Muslim architects and academics were invited to determine the awards: Nadar Ardalan, Abdul Wahed El-Wakil, Dr Aptullah Kuran, Dr Parid Wardi Sudin, Dr Osamah Al-Gohary and Dr Bulent Özer.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 82.

The Aga Khan Award was founded a year after the Festival. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, expectations to represent architecture as a unique expression of Islam persist. These expectations are identified by locating the AKAAs amidst current discourses of Islamic architecture—conservation, typology, regionalism, symbolism—showing how the attitudes of these discourses persist in the Award literature, as well as how the Award transcends these discourses.

However, at this juncture it is necessary to pause and reflect on the discourse of regionalism at the time of the Award's conception: firstly, because the concept of regionalism underpins many of the debates in the Award literature; and secondly, because the geographical essentialism articulated in regional discourses, an influential legacy of nineteenth century scholarship, is central to representations of Islamic architecture past and present. Moreover, the discourse of regionalism illustrates the concept of cultural *roots* in architectural terms.

Just as the AKAAs unearth architectural practices in remote communities, Bernard Rudofsky's high profile photographic exhibition *Architecture Without Architects* held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1964, showcased disparate sites more than a decade earlier: Hyderabad in India, the Middle Atlas in Morocco, Loyang in China or Dogon communities in Sudan. Rudofsky's exhibition was important for establishing interest in vernacular or regional architecture amongst both professional and scholarly audiences. Yet, while this exhibition was partly enabled by a worldly vision of architecture and new travel possibilities, in effect crossing geographical and political boundaries, the exhibition and its accompanying catalogue asserted a number of oppositions: architect / non-architect, tradition / modernity, regional / universal, anti-industry / industry, remote / urban, timelessness / evolution, alien / familiar, authenticity / artifice. The limitations of Rudofsky's exhibition are well recognised.⁷¹ For example, Paul Oliver, editor of the *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World*, proposes that Rudofsky's "patronising" exhibition compressed differences between the cultures represented while establishing it as the antithesis of progressive architecture in the modern West.⁷²

⁷¹ Dell Upton, "The Tradition of Change." *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 5, no. 1 (1993): 9-15; Paul Oliver, *Encyclopedia of the Vernacular Architecture of the World*, 3 Vol. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Sibel Bozdoğan, "Architectural History in Professional Education: Reflections on Postcolonial Challenges to the Modern Survey." *Journal of Architectural Education* 52, no. 4 (1999): 207-215; Felicity Scott, "Bernard Rudofsky: Allegories of Nomadism and Dwelling," in *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, eds. Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault, 215-238 (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2000).

⁷² Oliver, *Encyclopedia of the Vernacular Architecture of the World*, volume 1, vii.

However, the dichotomies that characterised this exhibition are not absent in more recent representations of regionalism. Kenneth Frampton, for example, who is widely credited with popularising critical regionalism,⁷³ argues for a strategy of resistance that is also predicated on a perceived conflict between universal civilisation and regional culture. Frampton identifies critical regionalism as “a consciously bounded architecture,” that is not a return to local forms, technology or romantic cultural sentiments but rather to the “paradoxical creation of a regionally based ‘world culture’.”⁷⁴ This perceived opposition is attenuated in more recent writing. In “Universalism or/and Regionalism” Frampton argues for a more syncretic approach to mediate between the universal and the regional.⁷⁵ Finnish architect Juhani Pallasmaa, another prominent advocate for regionalism, also stresses the importance of maintaining cultural *roots* in the new millennium. Pallasmaa identifies six themes for architecture that is specific to place. Amongst these, authenticity is defined “as the quality of deep rootedness in the stratification of culture,” a necessary goal to establish individual identity.⁷⁶ Both Frampton and Pallasmaa are preoccupied with architectural practices that re-establish local roots—‘selfhood’—in the context of global culture and the dissemination and deterioration of the International Style.

This conflation of architecture, culture and place resonates in contemporary representations of Islamic architecture. In the introduction to *Architecture of the Islamic World* architectural historian Ernst Grube expresses the discursive concern that is contemporary with the foundation of the ACAA: “What is Islamic architecture?”⁷⁷ Grube speculates on the formal characteristics of Islamic architecture differentiated from a non-Islamic context. The homogeneity of Islam and the expectation for consistency in the built environment is stressed. Variation is attributed to the erosion of Islamic culture; “something has happened in Islamic culture in the particular region where such monuments were produced to indicate a general weakening in the ‘Islamicness’ of the specific architecture in question.”⁷⁸ Eminent architectural historian Robert Hillenbrand supports this perception of compromise to Islamic architecture and culture, “a culture as self-

⁷³ Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, “Why Critical Regionalism Today?” *A+U: Architecture and Urbanism* 5, no. 236 (1990): 33.

⁷⁴ Kenneth Frampton, “Critical Regionalism: Modern Architecture and Cultural Identity.” In *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 327.

⁷⁵ Kenneth Frampton, “Universalism and/or Regionalism: Untimely Reflections on the Future of the New,” *Domus* 782 (1996): 4-8.

⁷⁶ Juhani Pallasmaa, “Six Themes for the Next Millennium,” *Architectural Review* 194, no. 1169 (1994): 78.

⁷⁷ Ernst J. Grube, “Introduction: What Is Islamic Architecture?” in *Architecture of the Islamic World: Its History and Social Meaning*, ed. George Michell (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

contained as that of Western Europe—as to a faith.”⁷⁹ In a compelling overview of the difficulties in representing Islamic architecture, he states it is “the generally accepted opinion that the best Islamic architecture dates from before the 18th century.”⁸⁰ Furthermore, “Islam then found itself forced to come to terms with the West, and the experience was traumatic. The impact of Western influence was as destructive to indigenous modes in painting or pottery as it was in architecture.”⁸¹

2.2.3 Islamic Routes and Architecture

Hillenbrand identifies general perceptions of the destructive influence of the West on Islamic architecture. Given the exponential scale of encounters between Islam and the West since the nineteenth century, it could be further assumed that ongoing encounters preclude creative architectural expressions that are distinctive to Islam. However, such perceptions are grounded in essentialist conceptions of culture that Clifford has explored since *The Predicament of Culture*.⁸² He reiterates the shortcomings of this concept of culture in its

propensity to assert holism and aesthetic form, its tendency to privilege value, hierarchy, and historical continuity in notions of common ‘life.’ I argued that these inclinations neglected, and at times actively repressed, many impure, unruly processes of collective invention and survival.⁸³

However, the ACAA has embraced this challenge by promoting the possibility of future architectural excellence in Muslim communities, amidst the traumatic legacy of European colonial encounters. Historical encounters between Islam and the West are not accepted as an absolute end to Islamic culture or the possibility of expressing identity creatively in architecture. Again, Clifford presents insights to examine the goals of the ACAA. Clifford states, “if we rethink culture and its science, anthropology, in terms of travel, then the organic, naturalizing bias of the term ‘culture’—seen as a rooted body that grows, lives, dies, and so on—is questioned.”⁸⁴ Similarly, I propose that the ACAA is re-thinking Islamic architecture because it questions the insularity of Islamic culture and architecture, maintaining the possibility of creativity despite encounters with the West.

This attitude has parallels with a new body of scholarship that translates the possibilities of regionalism as it is articulated from a European /

⁷⁹ Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), 8.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁸² James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

⁸³ Clifford, *Routes*, 2.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

North American perspective, to hybrid cultural and geographical conditions in postcolonial regions. Singaporean architects and writers William Lim and Tan Hock Beng argue that critical regionalism will be moulded in the Pacific region.⁸⁵ In addition to the emphasis on ecological sensitivity, regionalism is identified as a strategy to counter degraded derivations of modern architecture, and as an ideological quest for national *roots*. Lim and Beng stress the importance of “evoking tradition” and the need for cultural introspection. This is not homogeneous. They emphasise pluralism and interaction in the region but new approaches must still begin with an understanding of vernacular architecture.

The notion of contemporary vernacular can thus be defined as a self-conscious commitment to uncover a particular tradition’s unique responses to place and climate, and thereafter to exteriorise these formal and symbolic identities into creative new forms through an artist’s eye that is very much in touch with contemporary realities and lasting human values.⁸⁶

Lim and Beng subsequently identify diverse strategies to respond to place that begin with an understanding of vernacular architecture.⁸⁷ While the didactic possibilities of vernacular architecture are prominent, they also recognise the shortcomings of “revivalist, scenographic or ethnocentric” manifestations of identity in architecture; manifestations that are frequently exploited in resort architecture in a pastiche of vernacular forms.⁸⁸

Architectural historian William J.R. Curtis also identifies the tendency to visualise identity in postcolonial nation-states (“Islamic,” “Jewish,” “Melanesian,” “Communist”).⁸⁹ However, like Lim and Beng, he warns against formal clichés in favour of measured responses to local, national and international factors; “skin-deep modernism and glib traditionalism were evils to be avoided in every part of the world.”⁹⁰

In different ways these individuals assert the need for an approach to architectural practice that is not isolationist. To address this dilemma in ethnography, Clifford juxtaposes the essentialism inherent in the notion

⁸⁵ William Lim and Tan Hock Beng, *Contemporary Vernacular: Evoking Traditions in Asian Architecture* (Singapore: Select Books, 1998).

⁸⁶ Lim and Beng, *Contemporary Vernacular*, 23.

⁸⁷ In *Contemporary Vernacular* Lim and Beng’s text is arranged accordingly: Reinvigorating Tradition: Evoking the Vernacular; Reinventing Tradition: The Search for New Paradigms; Extending Tradition: Using the Vernacular in a Modified Manner; Reinterpreting Tradition: The Use of a Contemporary Idiom.

⁸⁸ Lim and Beng, *Contemporary Vernacular*, 20.

⁸⁹ William J.R. Curtis, “Modern Architecture and Developing Countries since 1960,” In *Modern Architecture Since 1900* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1987), 366. See also William J.R. Curtis, “Towards an Authentic Regionalism,” *Mimar* 19 (1986): 24-31; and Brian Brace Taylor, “Perspectives and Limits on Regionalism and Architectural Identity,” *Mimar* 19 (1986): 19-21.

⁹⁰ Curtis, “Modern Architecture and Developing Countries since 1960,” 366.

of cultural *roots* with the alternative metaphor of cultural *routes*. Through the paradigm of encounter, Clifford exposes the elusive nature of ‘otherness’.

In this vein, Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre also argue for a critical regionalism that is not predicated on mutually exclusive forces that demand reconciliation. This approach is traced to the influential writing of Lewis Mumford, writer, cultural historian and critic, who, rather than positing an isolationist concept of regional culture, presented a controversial argument for traditions of change, evolution and adaptation.

People often talk about regional characters as if they were the same thing as the aboriginal characters: the regional is identified with the rough, the primitive, the purely local. That is a serious mistake. Since the adaptation of a culture to a particular environment is a long complicated process, a full-blown regional character is the last to emerge. We are only beginning to know enough about ourselves and our environment to create a regional architecture.⁹¹

Tzonis and Lefaivre make a case not for the reinterpretation of traditional or vernacular architecture, but rather, a reinterpretation of the concept of tradition.⁹² Dell Upton also poses a dynamic concept of tradition as a necessary step to practice if it is to respond to a particular region. In “The Tradition of Change” Upton problematises representations of vernacular or traditional architecture as static and immutable.⁹³ In his concluding remarks, Upton states

we need to contaminate the space of the vernacular and to relocate it in the human cultural landscape. We should turn our attention away from a search for the authentic, the characteristic, the enduring and the pure, and immerse ourselves in the active, the evanescent and the impure, seeking settings that are ambiguous, multiple, often contested, and examining points of contact and transformation—in the market, at the edge, in the new and the decaying.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, “The Suppression and Rethinking of Regionalism and Tropicalism after 1945,” in *Tropical Architecture: Critical Regionalism in the Age of Globalization*, ed. Alexander Tzonis, Liane Lefaivre and Bruno Stagno (Chichester: Wiley-Academy, 2001), 25. The phrase “critical regionalism” was first coined in Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, “The Grid and the Pathway,” *Architecture in Greece* 5 (1981). For more recent reflections on their case for critical regionalism see “Why Critical Regionalism Today?” *A+U: Architecture + Urbanism* 5, no. 236 (1990): 23-33.

⁹² They identify post-war architects who put Mumford’s ideas into practice, as well as older concepts of emancipatory regionalism arguing that architecture was, ideally, specific to the topography of the place, England, and a rejection of arbitrary and alien authority. Further, Tzonis and Lefaivre identify the chameleon nature of regionalism since the concept was presented by Vitruvius. Consistency and originality in architecture, vantaged as an image of and a right to independence—a precursor to nationalism—is distinguished from both an architecture of repression, such as German Heimatsarchitektur, or simulated for tourists, “architecture of the *genius commerciali*, of travelling and entertainment.” Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, “Tropical Critical Regionalism: Introductory Comments,” in *Tropical Architecture*, 6.

⁹³ Upton, “The Tradition of Change,” 9-15.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

Both Upton and Oliver identify travel, migration and diffusion and the implications for the built environment. Oliver's three volume *Encyclopedia* is arranged accordingly; "the sequence notionally reflects the diffusion of cultural influences, the movement of populations and world expansionism which have influenced the vernacular forms that have survived to the present century."⁹⁵ The intent is to relinquish national, political or cultural boundaries, or arbitrary alphabetical categorisation, for climate and geographical terrains. It explores principles that recur in different sites relating to technology, culture and society, environmental considerations and functions.

In the present thesis, my critique of the Aga Khan Award is grounded in this line of thinking. The Aga Khan himself flagged the concept of 'encounter' in a presentation to the National Council of Culture and Arts in Pakistan in 1976. He acknowledges the merits of interaction in the medieval period, stating "Islamic art has always thrived on a liberal adaptation of contemporary influences and at its greatest was neither restrictive nor insular."⁹⁶ Conversely, this visual heritage has "suffered the insidious influence of alien cultures."⁹⁷ The question, then, is how restrictive is this perception of encounters with "alien cultures" in the context of the AKAA? To what degree does the encounter between Islam and the West precipitate absolute assertions of identity and difference in the Award literature? How homogeneous is the Award's representation of Islam and Islamic architecture? Quoting Said;

we all need some foundation on which to stand; the question is how extreme and unchangeable is our formulation of what this foundation is. My position is that in the case of an essential Islam or Orient, these images are no more than images, and are upheld as such both by the community of the Muslim faithful and (the correspondence is significant) by the community of Orientalists.⁹⁸

Assertions of Islamic identity are certainly not absent in the Award discourse. The paradigm of encounter enables insights into the grounds for such assertions. However, by bringing together different "images" the AKAA does not present a homogeneous portrait of Islam. Historical encounters do precipitate resistance. However, the AKAA does not distance itself from the historical encounter between Islam and the West, or ongoing global encounters, with all the complicated social, political and physical contingencies entailed.

⁹⁵ Oliver, *Encyclopedia of the Vernacular Architecture of the World*, vol. 1, xxvi.

⁹⁶ Mildred F. Schmertz, "Design in the Spirit of Islam: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture," *Architectural Record* 165, no. 3 (Mar 1979), 119.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁹⁸ Said, "Afterword," in *Orientalism*, 333.

Said's own positionality provides insights into the contradictory union of difference and encounter. Said himself has been criticised for asserting Palestinian or Arab identity despite his rise as an intellectual in the North American academic community.⁹⁹ He is further criticised for his critique of European Orientalism from within the same theoretical tradition.¹⁰⁰ However, for Said, his coexistent identities as a Palestinian exile who lived in the West exemplify the complicated nature of identity in an increasingly global community.¹⁰¹ In this context, Said draws attention to coexistent identities, and disparate and plural identity claims, that resist essentialist discourses of identity.¹⁰² The paradigm of encounter is a means to bring these multiple facets of identity to the fore to reveal the heterogeneity of Islam and to show the dynamic relationship between architecture and Islam, with reference to the AKAA.

While emphasis has been given to nineteenth century encounters thus far, the paradigm of encounter is further justified given the historical emergence and diffusion of Islam. Islam has never been an isolated phenomenon. Evidence of Islam as a phenomenon that has travelled is available in many fields, including Islamic studies, history, and the history of travel. The emergence and diffusion of Islam is characterised by travel. Since the migration of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina (622), the beginning of the Islamic calendar, and his return journey to Mecca (632), these activities have presented an impetus for Muslims to travel. Pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the five pillars of Islam, expected of all Muslims who are physically and financially able.¹⁰³ The diffusion of Islam in the medieval period beyond Arabia, to Andalusia in the West and to India in the East by the end of the eighth century, is further marked by the emergence of intellectual centres, including Cairo, Baghdad, and Cordoba. These attracted travelling scholars from throughout *Dar al-Islam* (abode of Islam).¹⁰⁴ The mercantile history of

⁹⁹ Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (London: Verso, 1992).

¹⁰⁰ James Clifford, "On *Orientalism*," in *The Predicament of Culture*, 255-276

¹⁰¹ For a discussion of Said's "worldliness," that is, the notion that text and author are located materially in the world, see Bill Ashcroft and Pal Ahluwalia, "Worldliness," in *Edward Said: The Paradox of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1999), chap. 2, 31-56.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 9-13.

¹⁰³ Pilgrimage and migration are discussed in Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, eds., *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration and the Religious Imagination* (London: Routledge, 1990); F.E. Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). Ross E. Dunn has researched the travels of Moroccan pilgrim and adventurer Ibn Battuta: Ross E. Dunn, "International Migrations of Literate Muslims in the Later Middle Period: The Case of Ibn Battuta," in *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Medieval and Modern Islam*, ed. Ian Richard Netton, 75-85 (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1993). For a comprehensive new study of travel literature, including authors, transport and types of journey, see Jennifer Speake, ed., *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopaedia*, 3 vols. (London: Routledge, 2003).

¹⁰⁴ For insights into scholarship see Ian Richard Netton, *Seek Knowledge: Thought and Travel in the House of Islam* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1995); Marina Tolmacheva, "The Medieval Arab Geographers and the Beginnings of Modern Orientalism," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 27, no. 2 (May 1995): 141-156.

Islam is treated in studies of trade and sea-faring.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, commercial transactions are not contained within the medieval Islamic world. Instead, they link distant parts of the globe. Studies in world-systems theory identify such links, including the provision of resources, the migration of labour, transport routes, or the sale of commodities.¹⁰⁶ Not least, conflict and warfare demand the mobilisation of people and resources, or effect the displacement of peoples.¹⁰⁷ Muslim travel to Western Europe in the late medieval period and the nineteenth century are indicative of an ongoing history of global encounters. Islam has never been an isolated tradition today or in the past.¹⁰⁸ This attitude coincides with the focus of current interdisciplinary studies on the complex engagements of Islam in the world in the historical and political climate of colonisation, independence, nation building, commercial and industrial change, migration and globalisation.¹⁰⁹

In different ways, these activities draw attention to the heterogeneity of the medieval Islamic world. Moreover, they are indicative of encounters within and beyond medieval *Dar al-Islam*. In this light, it is plausible to emphasise the paradigm of encounter as a theoretical framework that can provide insights into representations of Islam, Islamic identity, and Islamic architecture. How, then, have these been addressed in studies of Islamic architecture?

¹⁰⁵ Maritime trade is discussed in George F. Hourani and John Carswell, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). David Abulafia has prepared several studies on Mediterranean trade, including *Commerce and Conquest in the Mediterranean, 1100-1500* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993). See also Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); and Dionisius A. Agius and Ian Richard Netton, eds., *Across the Mediterranean Frontiers: Trade Politics and Religion, 650-1450* (Leeds: David Brown Book Co., 1997).

¹⁰⁶ For example, Amin recognises Islam as interactive from its rise until today in Samir Amin, "The Ancient World-Systems Versus the Modern Capitalist World-System," in *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?* ed. Andre Gunder Frank and Barry K. Gills, 247-277 (London: Routledge, 1993). This approach is influenced by Immanuel Wallerstein's theory of inter-related world-systems from antiquity to the present. Studies that explore world-systems theory are evident in world historiography, archaeology, ancient history, economic history and political geography. For further discussion of the proliferation of world-systems theory in relation to Islam, see Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System, A.D. 1250-1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

¹⁰⁷ Conflict is discussed in Charles Issawi, *Cross-Cultural Encounters and Conflicts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters Between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492-1800*, trans. Ritchie Robertson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989).

¹⁰⁸ Nazik Saba Yared, *Arab Travellers and Western Civilization*, trans. Shahbandar, Sumayya Damluji (London: Saqi Books, 1996); Nabil I. Matar, "Muslims in Seventeenth Century England," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 8, no. 1 (1997): 63-82.

¹⁰⁹ For interdisciplinary perspectives on colonialism and postcolonialism, including implications for identity formation, see Gyan Prakash ed., *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). For a more recent discussion of postcolonial interactions, see Pamela McCallum, *Linked Histories: Postcolonial Studies in a Globalized World* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004). For a discussion of Muslim immigration, citizenship and identity in Europe, Britain and the United States respectively, see Nezar AlSayyad and Manuel Castells, eds., *Muslim Europe or Euro-Islam: Politics, Culture and Citizenship in the Age of Globalization* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2002); Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, *Muslims in the West: From Sojourners to Citizens* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and John L. Esposito eds., *Muslims on the Americanization Path?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Few architectural studies foreground the confluence of encounter, Islam and architecture in the medieval period. Two recent studies in architectural history are William Tronzo's examination of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo, Sicily, and Deborah Howard's exploration of Venice's Mediterranean outreach. In *The Culture's of His Kingdom* Tronzo examines the chapel of the Norman royal palace of Roger II.¹¹⁰ The Aghlabids controlled Sicily for two hundred years after the initial Fatimid invasion in the ninth century.¹¹¹ However, Arabic language and customs prevailed. The chapel's tenth century ceiling dates to Fatimid rule. The timber *muqarnas* ceiling is decorated with over a thousand images celebrating courtly life that derive from sources as diverse as Iberia, Anatolia and Central Asia. Thus, the ceiling is represented as an "ensemble" shaped by the intersection of Islam and the orthodox Christian traditions of Byzantium.¹¹²

In *Venice and the East* Howard focuses on travel, with particular emphasis on Mediterranean trade and pilgrimage to the Holy land, as activities that shaped cosmopolitan Venetian identity and the built environment, differentiated from continental Europe.¹¹³ Although Venice was never conquered by Islam, Howard identifies a wealth of sources highlighting medieval cultural encounters and patterns of movement, Howard focuses on the "transmission, propagation and reception" of goods and even architectural trophies brought to Venice from the East.¹¹⁴ The implications for the unique character of the Venetian townscape are considered in studies of residential quarters and palaces. This significant study provides invaluable insights into the articulation of the paradigm of encounter in representations of architecture.¹¹⁵

As in the case of Venice, urban settlements comprising significant Muslim communities rarely correspond to reductive Orientalist models that conceive of a fixed relationship between urban form and Islam. The limitations of Orientalist urban studies have already been identified. Both Raymond and Çelik identify early challenges to Orientalist studies in the writing of Claude Cahen and Ira Lapidus.¹¹⁶ Raymond further links new

¹¹⁰ William Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom: Roger II and the Capella Palatina in Palermo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

¹¹¹ For further discussion of Sicily's strategic Mediterranean location and the impact of successive conquests, see David Abulafia, *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean, 1100-1400* (London: Variorum, 1987); Ahmad Aziz, *A History of Islamic Sicily* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1975).

¹¹² Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom*, 13.

¹¹³ Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture, 1100-1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹¹⁵ Howard's study inspired the session *Toward a New World Architecture* at the 56th Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, Denver, Colorado, 2003.

¹¹⁶ Claude Cahen highlights economic issues in *Mouvements Populaires et Autonomisme Urbaine dans l'Asie Musulman au Moyen Age* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959); Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957).

directions in urban studies to the influence of interdisciplinary scholarship. Geography, anthropology and economic history, for example, present insights into society, demography, class differences, patronage, trade and tax.¹¹⁷ Medieval cities are the subject of increasing studies focusing on the idiosyncrasies of urban life and urban form.¹¹⁸ Recent scholarship of the Ottoman period and nineteenth century cities constitutes one of the most innovative areas in the field.¹¹⁹ In the case of the latter, these studies reveal inequalities of power, coexisting with cultural exchange, with diverse implications for urban form. For Çelik, each of these studies is “triggering questions that challenge the provinciality of former mind-sets.”¹²⁰

The study of frontier sites in medieval *Dar al-Islam* has also compelled studies of encounter, Islam and architecture by architectural historians.¹²¹ Referring to medieval Andalusia, Grabar makes the case for creative architectural practice as a consequence of encounter even though frontier encounters compelled different, often violent assertions of identity.¹²² This is also identified by architectural historians Jerrilynn Dodds and, less rigorously, by Miles Danby. Their studies build on interdisciplinary scholarship that problematises the polarisation of Muslim and Christian culture in the contested site of *Thagr al-Andalus* (the Andalusian frontier).¹²³ Architecture coexists with identity claims, but it cannot be

¹¹⁷ For example, he refers to the writing of geographer Eugen Wirth and anthropologist Clifford Geertz. Conversely, social anthropologist Ulf Hannerz, refers to the simultaneous heterogeneity of the city and its outreach to theorise global networks today in Ulf Hannerz, *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places* (London: Routledge, 1996).

¹¹⁸ See, for example, Nasser Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995); Janet Abu-Lughod, *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971).

¹¹⁹ André Raymond, *The Great Arab Cities in the 16th and 18th Centuries* (New York: New York University Press, 1984); Zeynep Çelik, *Remaking Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986). For discussions of the nineteenth century city, see Janet Abu-Lughod, *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Paul Rabinow, “Techno-Cosmopolitanism: Governing Morocco,” in *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989), chap. 9, 277-319; Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991); Nezar AlSayyad, ed., *Forms of Dominance: On the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1992); Zeynep Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers Under French Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). For an overview of urban studies, see Masashi Haneda and Toru Miura, eds., *Islamic Urban Studies: Historical Review and Perspectives* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1994).

¹²⁰ Çelik, “New Approaches,” 380.

¹²¹ In medieval Asia Minor, Ousterhout makes the case for “overlap architecture” where bricks and mortar are not ideological signifiers: Robert Ousterhout, “Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation in Early Ottoman Architecture,” *Muqarnas* XII (1995): 48-62. See also Thomas Robert Gensheimer, *At the Boundaries of Dar al-Islam: Cities of the East African Coast in the Late Middle Ages* (PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1997).

¹²² Oleg Grabar, “Two Paradoxes in the Islamic Art of the Spanish Peninsula,” in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, 583-591 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992). This frontier context was examined with reference to interdisciplinary scholarship in a paper entitled “The Almohad Minaret: Pillar of Islam or Beacon of Change?” at the session *Toward a New World Architecture* at the 56th Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, Denver, Colorado, 2003.

¹²³ Historian Moreno presents a similar argument while acknowledging the traditional Arabic concept of frontier in Eduardo Manzano Moreno, “The Creation of a Medieval Frontier: Islam and Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula, Eighth to Eleventh Centuries,” in *Frontiers in Question:*

reduced to them. Thus, Grabar's study departs from conventional representations of architecture as an expression of Islam in the face of Christian threats to Muslim power.

Grabar's approach to this specific historical context resonates with the paradigm of encounter in anthropology, whether it is articulated as a frontier, contact-zone or borderlands. With reference to Pratt, Clifford identifies the contradictions of sites where cultures come into contact with possibilities of copresence, interaction and shared practices, despite unequal power relations.¹²⁴ Gupta and Ferguson further contend that the borderlands present a theoretical tool to conceptualise postmodern encounters; "the term does not indicate a fixed topographical site between two other fixed locales (nations, societies, cultures) but an interstitial zone of displacement and deterritorialization that shapes the identity of the hybridized subject."¹²⁵

Grabar proposes that there was not a neat line of division between Islamic and non-Islamic architecture in Andalusia. This can partly be explained by the climate of *convivencia* or coexistence between Muslims, Christians and Jews between the eighth and the eleventh centuries.¹²⁶ However, Grabar acknowledges a shared visual language beyond *convivencia* when "intense identification of differences between groups and allegiances, at times warped by hate and contempt, coexisted with open-minded cohabitation and creative inventiveness."¹²⁷ This is not limited to Christian or Muslim differences, but also conflicting religious ideologies within Islam. For example, after the twelfth century, the North African Almohad dynasty (1130-1269) launched a campaign against Castilian reprisals.¹²⁸ Dodds argues that this campaign was also directed at perceptions of decadence amongst their predecessors, the North African Almoravid dynasty (1054-1147), and the decadent legacy of the Cordoban caliphate.¹²⁹

Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700, ed. Daniel Power and Naomi Standen, 32-54 (Houndmills: MacMillan Press, 1999).

¹²⁴ Clifford, *Routes*, 192.

¹²⁵ Gupta and Ferguson, "Beyond 'Culture'," 48.

¹²⁶ Thomas Glick explores *convivencia* in the introduction to Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilynn D. Dodds eds., *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York: George Braziller, 1992).

¹²⁷ Grabar, "Two Paradoxes," 591. In contrast, Menocal presents a homogeneous portrait of *convivencia* amidst Muslim rule in Andalusia from 786 to 1492. María Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little Brown, 2002).

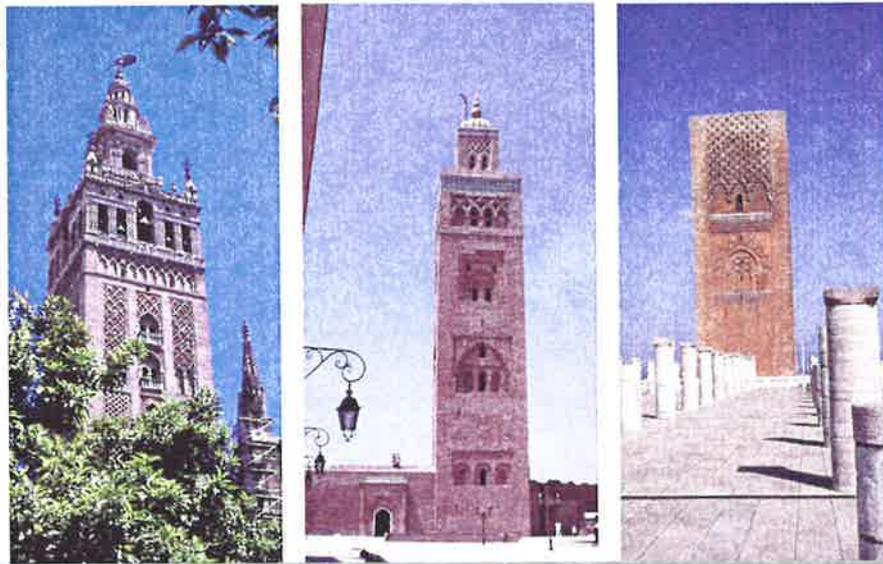
¹²⁸ For discussion of Almohad trade and increasing contact with the Eastern Mediterranean, see Olivia Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula 900-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). For a discussion of Almohad violence toward Christians, Jews and Spanish Muslims, see Enrique Sordo, *Moorish Spain: Cordoba Seville Granada* (London: Elek Books, 1963), 75.

¹²⁹ Jerrilynn Dodds, "Mudejar Tradition and the Synagogues of Medieval Spain: Cultural Identity and Cultural Hegemony," in *Convivencia*, 117. For a discussion of the differences between Almohad and Almoravid belief systems, see Madeleine Fletcher, "Al-Andalus and North Africa in the Almohad Ideology," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, 238; Titus Burckhardt, "Faith and

Figure 7
La Giralda
Minaret, 1184.
Seville, Spain.
Author, 2000.

Figure 8
Minaret, Kutubiyya
Mosque, 1158.
Marrakesh, Morocco.
Author, 2000.

Figure 9
Minaret, Al-Hassan
Mosque, 1195.
Rabat, Morocco.
Author, 2000.



Austere religious buildings were commissioned as part of the Almohad's reformist campaign, culminating in the construction of three congregational mosques in Marrakesh, Rabat and Seville (Figures 7, 8 and 9). These contrast earlier buildings executed by Muslim patrons in several ways: the monumental height of the minarets; the blank mosque facades; the restrained use of ornament; and the modelling of the minaret façades and interior *muqarnas* details and vaulting.¹³⁰

For architectural historian Jonathon Bloom, this trio of mosques were “undoubtedly conceived as major architectural statements at the height of the Almohad offensive against the Christian reconquest of Spain, the mosque towers had become an appropriate symbol of Islam triumphant.”¹³¹ However, given the context of Almohad expansion this must be further qualified as a message of Almohad reform directed at Muslim and non-Muslim communities. Necipoğlu also identifies different Muslim attitudes to this architecture. She states that Fez residents, “covered over ornaments just the night before the Almohads entered the city.”¹³²

Historian Enrique Sordo further challenges a specific relationship between architecture and identity in this frontier. Although the Almohad triumph was shortlived, Seville's minaret was not destroyed. Sordo states

Science,” in *Moorish Culture in Spain*, trans. Alisa Jaffa (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1972), 139-152.

¹³⁰ Tabbaa links this development to transformations following the Sunni Revival in the central Arab lands and the transmission of these techniques to the Maghrib. Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Architecture during the Sunni Revival* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 130.

¹³¹ Jonathan M. Bloom, *Minaret: Symbol of Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 124. Robert Hillenbrand also emphasises the cultural integrity of the Almohad mosques in image and text, exemplified in an unusual image of La Giralda where the Christian belfry is replaced with an artificial sky. Figure 96 in Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, 143.

¹³² Necipoğlu, *The Topkapi Scroll*, 217.

“when the conquered Moors asked Prince Alfonso the Wise (later King Alfonso X) if they could demolish the tower; he replied that ‘if they removed a single stone, they would all be put to the sword.’”¹³³ During Alfonso’s reign (1252-1284), Danby identifies the continued patronage of Muslim artisans for Christian buildings and the appropriation of Muslim buildings, exemplified in the Christian bell-tower of Santiago del Arrabel, Toledo (Figure 10). He also identifies new structures that emulated Muslim precedents. In Aragon, Teruel’s Christian bell-towers of San Martín (Figure 11) and San Salvador (Figure 12) are attributed to the *Mudéjar* (subject) architects, Omar and Abdala.¹³⁴ It is difficult to consider them independently of the Almohad minarets, given their proportions, twin windows, geometric tiling and masonry modelling.

Figure 10
Santiago del Arrabel, c.11C.
Toledo, Spain.
Author, 2000.

Figure 11
San Martín, c.1315.
Teruel, Spain.
Danby, *The Fires of Excellence*, 80.

Figure 12
San Salvador, c.1315.
Teruel, Spain.
Danby, *The Fires of Excellence*, 79.



Jewish patrons also commissioned *Mudéjar* artisans. Dodds links several synagogues to Almohad precedents even though Jews fared poorly under North African rule.¹³⁵ She argues that,

the architectural style begun under the Almohads had become a part of a shared visual language of Jews and Muslims that lost its religious, and to some extent its political implications. This branch of Mudéjar architecture reveals a deep cultural commonality that transcends the differences that separated Muslims and Jews.¹³⁶

Despite the uneven and often violent transfer of power, *Mudéjar* artisans made a prolific contribution to the Iberian built environment. Yet, Christian aggression became increasingly hostile after the fourteenth century. Muslims fled to Granada, or emigrated to Morocco, Tunisia, or

¹³³ Sordo, *Moorish Spain*, 88.

¹³⁴ Miles Danby, *The Fires of Excellence: Spanish and Portuguese Architecture* (Reading: Garnet, 1997), 80. The term *Mudéjar* is examined in Jerrilynn Dodds, “The Mudéjar Tradition in Architecture,” in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, 592-8.

¹³⁵ Santa María la Blanca (13C) and El Tránsito (1357) (both in Toledo).

¹³⁶ Dodds, “Mudéjar Tradition and the Synagogues of Medieval Spain,” 118.

Istanbul after 1453. While *Mozarabs* (Andalusian Christians) were assimilated slowly in central Spain after this reconquest, Iberian Muslims were strangers in North Africa.¹³⁷ In Fez, this migration parallels the enrichment of Maghribi techniques and Andalusian motifs, evident in the notable *madrastas* (Koranic schools) of the fourteenth century, including the Al-Attarin Madrasa and the Bou Inaniya Madrasa.¹³⁸

In the medieval Andalusian frontier, recent interdisciplinary scholarship shows that architecture cannot be reduced to an essentialist expression of Islam, even amidst violent or oppressive assertions of identity. Moreover, these assertions cannot be limited to ideologies of Islam or Christianity, rather they are fragmented into disparate identities: Castilian, Christian, Umayyad, Almoravid or Almohad. The Almohad mosques were realised in a multi-confessional climate flavoured by the architectural heritage of diverse Iberian conquerors. Alfonso's preservation of La Giralda, the patronage of *Mudéjar* builders by Christian and Jewish patrons, and the re-use of minarets as Christian bell-towers, disables arguments for architecture as a singular expression of Islam. The Almohad mosques are the products of cultural *routes*; routes of migration, exchange and interaction that transcend traditional dichotomies of Islamic and non-Islamic culture and architecture. Architecture emerges as an activity that transcends assertions of identity.

2.3 SUMMARY

This literature review adopts the metaphor of cultural *roots* to describe the preoccupation with architecture as an essential expression of Islamic culture and faith. However, this thesis is motivated by Clifford's provocative thesis of cultural *routes*. This is recognised as part of an interdisciplinary shift away from essentialist representations of culture. While the paradigm of encounter presents insights into motives to represent cultural identity ('self' and 'other') it also draws attention to the interactive contexts within which architecture is built. The intent of this thesis is not to dispute ideologies of identity. Rather, it draws attention to plural, coexistent identities. Moreover, the contingencies of encounter—engagement, cohabitation, interaction, transformation—complicate identity and its representation. Through the paradigm of encounter, identity emerges as an elusive phenomenon. What, then, are the implications for architecture? The next chapter engages the paradigm of encounter to revisit the contexts in which some of the most pervasive representations of Islamic architecture were formed. The chapter

¹³⁷ Lopez-Gomez identifies the uneasy assimilation of *Mozarab* Christians, who had adopted Arabic and Arab customs, into Christian Spain. Margarita Lopez-Gomez, "The Mozarabs: Worthy Bearers of Islamic Culture," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, 173.

¹³⁸ Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, 140. For a discussion of the refinement of pre-Islamic motifs see Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam: 650-1250* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987).

identifies expectations to define Islamic architecture as 'other' in images and texts, and expectations to build Islamic architecture as an expression of identity, including Islamic identity. However, by locating these expectations in the context of nineteenth century travel and encounter, I draw attention to changing definitions of 'otherness', and the coexistence of different identities, to reveal a dynamic relationship between architecture and identity. This dynamic relationship shapes the subsequent critique of the AKAA that seeks to reward buildings conceived for Muslim communities.

PART I

EUROPEAN TRAVEL AND THE FORMATION OF THE DISCOURSE

3 Islamic Architecture in Image and Text

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Few European representations of Islam and architecture can be traced before the nineteenth century.¹ They emerge in the context of increasing European travel to Andalusia, North Africa, the Near East, Asia Minor and Arabia. Travel enlarged European conceptions of the world and prompted its representation. Identifying journey as a metaphor for the expansion of knowledge, Sibel Bozdoğan states “the systematic discovery, exploration and recording of the Orient has to be understood as part of a radical, historical transformation in Western vision and consciousness, bringing it into contact with hitherto inaccessible natural and cultural worlds.”² In this context, expectations to write about Islam and Islamic architecture as ‘other’ emerge, particularly in the early, influential scholarship of Edward Freeman, James Fergusson and Owen Jones. Moreover, expectations arise to build Islamic architecture at the International Exhibitions that will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Without dismissing the momentum of expectations to write and build Islamic architecture, the intent of this discussion is to explore a counter-narrative that reveals the elusive nature of ‘otherness’. By focusing on the travelling context of writing and building, I aim to show that boundaries between ‘self’ and ‘other’ were not fixed. The Grand Tour, scholarly expeditions and the International Exhibitions comprised a variety of modes of travel. Travelling artists, architects, scholars, engineers and writers expected to represent ‘otherness’. However, ‘otherness’ was constantly revised. In the case of the Grand Tour, the elusive nature of ‘otherness’ becomes evident through an overview of the expanding horizons of travel. Mobile scholars, not least, Philibert Girault de Prangey, Pascal Xavier Coste, Charles Texier, Robert Hay, Edward William Lane, Émile Prisse d’Avennes, Francis Arundale and Frederick Catherwood, prepared early sketches, detailed drawings and casts of Islamic architecture. While many of these individuals immersed themselves in the daily life of the sites they studied, their drawings informed comparative surveys of world architecture (or ornament in Jones’ case). However, Jones and others abstracted their source images from the contexts within which they were originally represented. This material was organised in carefully structured surveys. The authors of these surveys sought to define architecture as an essential material expression of faith, race or culture. This process of abstraction further exemplifies the discursive construction of Islamic architecture as ‘other’

¹ Mark Crinson identifies a handful of earlier studies containing images of Islamic architecture in Edward Pococke, Bartholome d’Herbelot, Aaron Hill and J.B. Fischer von Erlach. See Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996), 23.

² Sibel Bozdoğan, “Journeys to the East: Ways of Looking at the Orient and the Question of Representation,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 41, no. 4 (Summer 1988): 38.

identified in this chapter. Surveys by Freeman, Fergusson and Jones were integral to the formation of the discourse of Islamic architecture. Yet, a disparity emerges between expectations to represent Islamic architecture as ‘other’ in image and text, and both the travelling context of those representing, and the interactive contexts within which the architecture represented was built.

3.1.1 Medieval European Travel

Colonial expansion represents the culmination of a long history of European journeys eastward that have inspired representation of the Orient in Western sources. Edward Said reminds us that “from at least the second century BC on, it was lost on no traveler or eastward-looking and ambitious western potentate, that Herodotus—historian, traveler, inexhaustibly curious chronicler—and Alexander—king, warrior, scientific conqueror—had been in the Orient before.”³ Their journeys, revealed in personal narratives and subsequent scholarship, pursued numerous agendas. Travellers might voyage for discovery, seek faith, or journey for commerce, crusade or conquest. Such motives were often richly interwoven.

European pilgrims have long been drawn to the Near East. Official recognition of Christianity raised the profile of Palestine and Egypt. The relocation of the imperial capital to Constantinople (330) focused attention eastward, involving “a radical rearrangement of the geographical hierarchies of the Roman Empire.”⁴ The account of the Bordeaux pilgrim (333) provides one of the earliest surviving accounts of the pilgrimage. The remarkable journey of a Spanish noblewoman, Egeria, indicates the attraction of the Holy Land toward the end of the fourth century. The Crusades represented the culmination of Europe’s travelling campaign to reclaim Jerusalem (‘fell’ 648; ‘reclaimed’ 1099-1187) only to be thwarted by the Muslim reconquest. This victory hindered travel to the Holy Land prompting medieval pilgrimage to sites of saintly status within Europe, including Rome and Santiago de Compostela.

Medieval European Christian missionary activity prompted travels as far as India and Cathay. For example, the Franciscan Johannes de Plano Carpini travelled to the camp of Kuyuk Khan near Karakorum in 1246, carrying a letter from Pope Innocent IV. His early descriptions of ‘Mongals or Tartars’ (including their dwellings) were confirmed by William de Rubruquis who was sent by Louis IX to Tartary in 1253.⁵

³ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 58.

⁴ Jas Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubies, eds., *Voyages and Visions. Towards a Cultural History of Travel* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 15.

⁵ Patrick Conner, *Oriental Architecture in the West* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), 10.

Ramon Lull (1232-1316) of Majorca, initiated missions to North Africa. Travels by the Franciscan Odoric of Pordenone to India and Cathay and his informative report (plagiarised by Sir John Mandeville) date to the 1320s. The Franciscans and the Jesuits extolled a worldly mission to save heathens. Historians Jas Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubies propose the missionary could be embroiled in cultural studies and political machinations, “the impact of the missionaries could pale into insignificance when compared to their impact as political meddlers, empirical world historians and ethnologists.”⁶ However, medieval encounters are by no means limited to missionary activities and the Polos’ employ by Kublai Khan in Kanbalu, Cathay was well-recognised after their return to Venice in 1295.

3.1.2 European Colonial Encounters

Renewed European commercial interests can be linked to Portuguese trade encouraged by Manoel I (1495-1521), and the foundation of ports on the trade route to India after Vasco de Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1498.⁷ With ports in Goa (1510) and Macao (1557) architectural historian Patrick Conner states, “it is not surprising that Portugal can claim to have been the first European nation to adopt Oriental elements into its architecture to any significant extent.”⁸ While these influences are evident in distant Portuguese settlements, they were also transported to Portugal, manifest in the idiosyncratic sixteenth century *estilo Manoelino*. In addition, Lisbon’s Tower of Belém (1515-19), with its “undeniably Islamic aspect,” is testament to Portugal’s outreach from Morocco to India and architect Francisco de Arruda’s extensive knowledge of North African military architecture (Figure 13).⁹

Portuguese activity preceded other European initiatives. Dutch activity amongst the Indonesian spice islands forced the British East India Company to turn its attention to India’s cloth trade by the mid-seventeenth century. Competition in the region amplified military reinforcement.¹⁰ Changes within Europe also prompted Mediterranean colonial activity. Europe’s population doubled in the first half of the nineteenth century. Burgeoning populations and the growth of the city exacerbated new demands. The Industrial Revolution created changes in labour and demanded raw materials in new proportions. For example, textile production in Lancashire, Britain created the demand for cotton

⁶ Elsner and Rubies, eds., *Voyages and Visions*, 32.

⁷ K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

⁸ Conner, *Oriental Architecture*, 11.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁰ James D. Tracy, ed., *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

from Egypt, establishing links in 1821.¹¹ Increased production catered to revived eastern markets. Exercises in power, strategic plans and the lure of markets, resources and goods drew European powers to the Mediterranean rim, underscoring its proximity to Europe.

Napoleon's invasion of Egypt (1798) inaugurated a new scale of North African expansion that cannot be limited to commercial or military interests. In *Imperial Eyes* Mary Louise Pratt states "the eighteenth century has been identified as a period in which Northern Europe asserted itself as the center of civilization, claiming the legacy of the Mediterranean as its own."¹² In this spirit, Napoleon initiated expeditions and projects in the interests of administration and scholarship, presented in terms of the cultural benefits to both France and Africa. Art historian Caroline Bulger proposes, "from Napoleon's Egyptian campaigns onwards the French were particularly good at furnishing some pretext of a political mission for sending their artists abroad."¹³ Napoleon's "elephant folios" of the *Description de l'Égypte* (1809-28) spearheaded a subsequent quest for knowledge of newly claimed territories that accompanied the inexorable process of French and subsequently British administrative control.¹⁴



Figure 13
Tower of Belém,
1515-19.
Francisco de Arruda.
Lisbon, Portugal.
Author, 2000.

¹¹ Maryanne Stevens, "Western Art and its Encounter with the Islamic World," in *The Orientalists: Delacroix to Matisse*, ed. Maryanne Stevens (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1984), 236.

¹² Mary Louise Pratt, *Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 10.

¹³ Caroline Bulger, "Innocents Abroad": Nineteenth-Century Artists and Travellers in the Near East and North Africa," in *The Orientalists*, 27.

¹⁴ Patrick Conner, ed., *The Inspiration of Egypt: The Influence on British Artists, Travellers and Designers, 1700-1900* (Brighton: Brighton Borough Council, 1983), 29.

This quest for knowledge was informed by diverse travel activities. The decline of the Napoleonic wars brought safer conditions for individual travel to France and Italy. Roughly contemporaneous forays in the mid-nineteenth century sought the architectural delights of Greece, the Near East and North Africa.¹⁵ Architects and artists joined scientific expeditions or travelled independently. Projects of acquisition brought the spoils of conquest to Europe for display and documentation. The International Exhibitions provided a stage to boast these spoils to a keen European audience. While these travel activities imply the physical negotiation of distant terrains, they do not exclude imaginative journeys inspired by representation in text and image. Imported artefacts, including furniture, textiles and carpets, served as props for studio reconstructions of the Orient. The exotic imagery of Ingres, who never travelled to the East, was informed by second-hand accounts and illustrations, including Lady Wortley Montagu's *Lettres* (1727) and Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* (1721).¹⁶ Such images, whether they were conceived in the Orient or not, cast a hypnotic spell on European audiences. At the same time, ethnographic and geographical societies, and individual travellers, contributed new curios, collectibles and trinkets for public display and popular wonder-houses, curiosity collections, and princely estates were transformed into public museums.¹⁷

3.2 THE GRAND TOUR

The Grand Tour, a title traced by historian Geoffrey Trease to Richard Lassell's *An Italian Voyage* (1679), describes travel by primarily British and later American tourists in Europe.¹⁸ In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, aristocrats travelled for a variety of reasons. While early motives were scholarly, Trease is careful to distinguish the scholarly tourist from travelling merchants, soldiers and diplomats. However, "the edges get blurred when the young wanderer combines his sightseeing with a little espionage, or comes to rest in one city long enough to pursue a course of study or a girl."¹⁹ Until the nineteenth century, Italy constituted the primary destination. However, advances in transport technology offered a new ease of travel enlarging the demographic spectrum of travellers, transforming the agenda and broadening the scope of the itinerary to include northern Europe, Spain, Greece, North Africa, the Near East, Asia Minor, and Arabia.

¹⁵ Institutional recognition of classical Greek architecture did not occur until 1845 with the foundation of the *Ecole Francaise d'Athens*.

¹⁶ Stevens, "Western Art and its Encounter with the Islamic World," 17.

¹⁷ See Carol Duncan, "From the Princely Gallery to the Public Art Museum: The Louvre Museum and the National Gallery, London," in *Representing the Nation*, 304-331.

¹⁸ Richard Lassell, *An Italian Voyage* (London: Thomas Bennet, 1679) is identified in Geoffrey Trease, *The Grand Tour* (London: Heinemann, 1967), 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

In this context, Islam and Islamic architecture received increasing attention after the mid-nineteenth century. While this period is characterised by picturesque representations of the Orient, a shift is discernible. In the visual arts, influential writer on the picturesque William Gilpin identifies this shift from experiential images to detached empirical observations at the end of the eighteenth century.²⁰ For Gilpin, travel offered the opportunity for numerous impressions. However, the greatest aesthetic delight arose after travelling was completed “when [the artist] takes his new experiences out of the context of the journey itself and arranges them in a new wilfully constructed context, the composite pictures and images of recollection and remembrance.”²¹ Opportunities for travel were also exploited by architects, including Robert Hay, and the various survey teams he co-ordinated to Greece, Egypt and the Near East. These were complemented by travelling architects, including Philibert Joseph Girault de Prangey (1804-1892), Émile Prisse d’Avennes (1807-1879), Owen Jones and Jules Goury (1803-34). These travellers prepared precise measured drawings constituting a shift from picturesque images to an empirical approach to the study of Islamic architecture. In tandem with this shift in representation, a contrary phenomenon emerges with respect to travel. Instead of polarised concepts of ‘self’ and ‘other’, boundaries of difference were constantly *realigned* as tourists ventured further afield and familiarity and engagement prompted the revision of sites of ‘otherness’, including the ‘otherness’ of Islam.

3.2.1 Latin Limits

Italy was the primary destination for Grand Tourists in the eighteenth century. Beyond pilgrimage, Italy was recognised as a cultural and intellectual destination *and* a site of Machiavellian wickedness casting a shadow over the traveller who might venture to meet such a fiend. Distinguishing between the Grand Tourist and the educational traveller, historian of English literature Sara Warneke examines images of travellers in literature and popular entertainment.²² She identifies a tendency to deride the traveller who abandons home for foreign lands with the result of reasserting “a sense of national identity and pride in that identity among commoners.”²³

However, Italy became increasingly familiar. The divide separating Britain from Italy dissolved with advances in transport technology. New

²⁰ William Gilpin, *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty* (London, 1794).

²¹ Jan Pieper, “Sezincote. A West-East Divan,” *Daidalos* 19 (Mar 15, 1986): 65.

²² For further discussion of travel for education, see Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (Portland: Frank Cass Publications, 2000). Black, *The British Abroad*, 303. See also Elsner and Rubies, eds., *Voyages and Visions*, 49.

²³ Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 290.

railways offered relative ease of travel in Britain (1825). Within two decades rail was laid on most of the continent. This accessibility was exploited by Thomas Cook precipitating a new scale of European leisure tourism that outpaced scholarly, aristocratic travel.²⁴ Rather than encountering new sites and extending the education of the tourist, the Tour could be viewed as a consolidation of earlier scholarship. According to architectural historian Giuliano Gresleri, the Grand Tour enabled, “the confirmation of certitudes,” when students pursued predictable itineraries prescribed at home, seeing only what they had been educated to see.²⁵ Similarly, James Buzard proposes that travellers in Europe followed a beaten track within clearly defined boundaries, informed by the literature of eighteenth century tourists, which did not necessarily correspond to the geographical spaces traversed by the travellers.²⁶ In this light, clear distinctions were made between the identity of the British traveller and the ‘otherness’ of Italy.

3.2.2 Beyond the Pyrenees

Ventures beyond Italy were limited to intrepid travellers at the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, changes in transport technology presented opportunities for new encounters. As Italy became more familiar, boundaries of difference were revised. New Mediterranean encounters displaced emphasis on Protestant-Catholic difference.²⁷

Early encounters with Islamic architecture took place in Spain. Spain’s Muslim legacy did not yet prove an attractive goal. Historian Jeremy Black remarks “outside Madrid there appeared little to see. There was no vogue for the beach, the mountains lacked the splendour and glamour of the Alps, the Roman antiquities were less well known than those in Italy and there was little interest in Moorish remains.”²⁸ However, with improved access artists travelled to Spain and many expressed interest in Islamic architecture. James Cavanagh Murphy sketched architectural details in Iberia between 1802 and 1809.²⁹ Popular travel writing generated further interest in the peninsula.³⁰ This coincided with interest in Spain’s Islamic heritage prompted by the writing of Chateaubriand and the unrivalled success of *Tales of the Alhambra* by Washington Irving who lived in the fortress for four months in 1829.³¹

²⁴ Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1992), 312.

²⁵ Giuliano Gresleri, “Home Ties - Adrift Abroad: The Oriental Journal of Ch. E. Jeanneret,” in *Daidalos*, 18 (Mar 1985): 105. Also quoted in Bozdoğan, “Journeys to the East,” 40.

²⁶ James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to ‘Culture’, 1800-1918* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1993).

²⁷ Explored in Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*.

²⁸ Black, *The British Abroad*, 77.

²⁹ James Cavanagh Murphy, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1813).

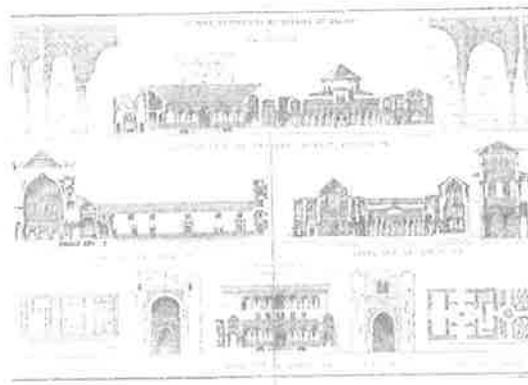
³⁰ John Carr, *Descriptive Travels in the Southern and Eastern Parts of Spain and the Balearic Isles, in the year 1809* (1811); Richard Ford *Handbook for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home* (London: John Murray, 1845).

³¹ Washington Irving, *Tales of the Alhambra* (London: Henry Coburn and Bentley, 1832).

Figure 14
Court of the Cistern-
North Window, Hall of
the Ambassadors.
Girault de Prangey,
Impressions,
Plate XIV.



Figure 15
Sectional Drawings of
the Alhambra Palace.
Girault de Prangey,
Impressions,
Plate XXX.



Philibert Joseph Girault de Prangey

While these texts inspired picturesque images of Andalusia, the work of artist Girault de Prangey made a new contribution to architectural scholarship (he arrived in Granada two years earlier than architects Jones and Goury). Girault de Prangey travelled extensively (to Italy, Tunisia, Greece, Asia Minor, Palestine and Syria). His studies of the Alhambra make a transition from a Granadan panorama and picturesque images (Figure 14) to detailed representations (Plates V, IX, XIV, XXI, XXV, XXIX and XXX, see Figure 15). These date to the early 1830s and were published in vivid chromolithographs as *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra* (1837).³²

Girault de Prangey's collection of thirty plates is accompanied by an overview of Spain's Muslim history and a favourable appraisal of the fortress and its setting. The artist inspires a sense of continuity drawing parallels with architecture in Tunis, Algiers and the Barbary Coast, and Roman edifices, antique baths, and the decoration of Norman churches in Sicily, and the palaces of La Zisa and La Cuba, "built by the Arabs or by native workers at Palermo, during the reigns of the Rogers and William."³³ In contrast, Girault de Prangey is disparaging about Charles V's "cumbersome" interventions at the Alhambra (Figures 16 and 17): "He should be eternally chastised for the destruction of part of the Alcazar [Royal Castle], sacrificed to enlarge this Germanic building."³⁴

Girault de Prangey's interest in the Alhambra was shared by a number of artists who painted in Andalusia or treated the region as a stepping-stone to North Africa. David Roberts and John Frederick Lewis both travelled

³² Girault de Prangey published several studies including: *Monuments Arabes et Moresques de Cordoue, Séville et Grenade* (Paris: Veith et Hauser, 1836) and *Essai sur l'Architecture des Arabes et des Mores en Espagne, en Sicile et en Barbarie* (Paris: A. Hauser, 1841).

³³ Philibert Joseph Girault de Prangey, *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra* (London: Garnet, 1996), 14.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

to southern Spain, crossing the Straits of Gibraltar to Tangier in 1833. They were followed by E.A.A. Dehodencq (1822-82), Henri Regnault (1843-1871) and Mariano Fortuny (1838-1874).



Figure 16
Palace of Charles V,
Alhambra Palace, 1526.
Granada, Spain.
Author, 2000.



Figure 17
Fountain,
Alhambra Palace,
mid-16C.
Granada, Spain.
Author, 2000.

3.2.3 Exotic Itineraries

Images of Islamic architecture in Andalusia were simultaneous with images prepared by travellers to Eastern Europe, Greece, European Asia Minor and Egypt. The fragmentation of the Ottoman Empire presented new European travel destinations.³⁵ By the late eighteenth century Ottoman European provinces were occupied by French, Austrian and Russian armies. The Greek revolt (1821-29) was followed by independence for Serbia (1830), Greece (1833), Romania (1866) and Bulgaria (1877). Ottoman Tanzimat reforms between 1839 and 1878 allowed freedom of trade for foreign merchants and equality for Muslim, Christian and Jewish subjects in varying degrees. Commercial disputes were settled outside Islamic courts allowing European merchants and goods to move freely. The short-lived Treaty of Paris (1856) recognised the independence of the Ottoman Empire. However, internal pressure from Christian communities and continued unrest threatened European territories prompting various European power alliances. Furthermore, Ottoman antagonism prompted renewed emphasis on the divisions between Christianity and Islam.

Large-scale infrastructure projects were established in this context, including the new railway between Damascus and the Hijaz (1900). These projects demanded foreign investments that would lead to the ultimate demise of the Ottoman Empire. In 1881, the Public Debt Administration was established to control Ottoman resources, leading to

³⁵ Francis Dashwood travelled from Warsaw to Constantinople in 1729. Sir Richard Worsley included Iberia, Asia Minor, Greece and Russia in his tour in the 1780s.

virtual control over all acts of government related to finance. This laid the groundwork for formal occupation. Similar patterns are identifiable with French occupation in Tunisia (1881) and the establishment of a French protectorate in Algeria (1883). European rivalries intensified as Germany's power increased. At the same time Russian and European powers formalised ties with authorities in the Gulf consolidating access to India and the Near East. The rich resources of North Africa soon generated territorial disputes between European powers. Control of resources attracted strategic military activity. For example, France, Spain and Britain pursued interests in Morocco, which was eventually fragmented into French and Spanish administration. It became a French protectorate in 1912. Italy occupied Tripoli in 1922.

Representations of architecture emerged in this context. By 1820, Mohammad 'Ali (1805-48) was established as the Pasha of Egypt. Although he deflected European interventions, merchants and travellers were welcome. Henry Salt (1780-1827), employed as a draughtsman and secretary to the Viscount Valentia in India, prepared *Twenty-Four Views* (1809) of Cairo on his return journey through Egypt in 1806. In due course he was appointed British Consul General and directed the excavation and import of Egyptian antiquities with the aid of the "superhuman traveller" Giovanni Belzoni (1778-1823).³⁶ Specialising in hydraulics, Belzoni contributed greatly to the excavation and transportation of antiquities. He is also known for his discoveries of notable tombs.

Egypt represented a popular staging post to India for Britons and a destination in its own right by the early nineteenth century. By the 1840s, an overland route was established connecting regular steamship services from England to Alexandria and Suez to Bombay. The route was patronised by civil servants, merchants, soldiers and travellers. This journey was simulated in a moving sequence of views in the popular *Panorama of the Overland Route to India* (1850) that attracted one quarter million customers during its display in England.³⁷ While this emphasis on antiquity was matched by the popularity of imported antiques and their reconstruction,³⁸ travelling artists and architects turned their attention to scenes of daily life in ancient Egypt by the 1850s.

By this time, regular passage for popular travel was established. By 1855, a railway linked Cairo and Alexandria and tourists sought out Pharoanic

³⁶ Conner, ed., *The Inspiration of Egypt*, 56.

³⁷ Ibid., 147. Conner identifies further examples of this popular medium: *Journeying on the Nile, Visiting Abu Simbel* (1849); *Diorama of the Holy Land* (1852); and *The Grand Moving Panoramic Picture of the Nile* (1849), an annotated panoramic image created by Frances Bonomi after his travels to North Africa.

³⁸ Ibid., 4.

monuments. Popular travel guides were published. These were often informed by academic scholarship of antiquity.³⁹ Thomas Cook's first tours to the Holy Land and Egypt coincided with the opening of the Suez Canal (1869).⁴⁰ The P&O Company had also organised passage to Egypt by the mid-nineteenth century.

Popular Nile voyages enabled visits to the pyramids. However, a transition is evident. In addition to antiquity, travellers were exposed to contemporary Egypt with mixed expectations and responses. In "Scripting Egypt" cultural geographer Derek Gregory examines such responses inscribed in travel literature. For example, the Nile voyage was seen as an opportunity for intimate and authentic visits to rural settings. Alternatively, the floating hotels, furnished as they would be at home, kept locals at a safe distance for picturesque appreciation. Similarly, hotels provided a platform from which to safely view the spectacle of Egyptian life, a notion that is also addressed by Annabel Wharton in her examination of the Cairene Hilton.⁴¹ While the local population became increasingly engaged in the context of European travel and tourism, Gregory contends "toward the end of the nineteenth century the scope of the Egyptian modern was enlarged and that 'impassable gulf' widened: the imaginative distance increased between the modern viewing platforms of the tourist and the life worlds of local people."⁴² In this light, modern Egypt was firmly established as 'other'.

The popularity of Egypt prompted artists to travel, guaranteeing a market for new works and legitimising the financial outlay for exotic journeys. However, these studies were rarely carried out in a vacuum. Pascal-Xavier Coste (1787-1879) was commissioned by Muhammad 'Ali to plan industrial projects. At the same time, he prepared detailed studies of Cairene mosques and other Muslim buildings, published between 1837 and 1839. This early study was inspirational for a number of architects, including Girault de Prangey, and Charles Texier (1802-71) in Asia Minor, and Goury and Jones who travelled in Egypt between 1832 and

³⁹ John Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Egypt* (1847) constituted a reworking of *Modern Egypt and Thebes* 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1843) by Egyptologist J.G. Wilkinson (1797-1875). Baedeker's first *Handbook for Lower Egypt* (1877) was also informed by Egyptology. James Curl examines the documentation of Egyptian antiquities by archaeologists and travellers and recurrent Egyptian revivals. James Stevens Curl, *Egyptomania: The Egyptian Revival* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994). For further discussion of nineteenth century travel see Peter A. Clayton, *The Rediscovery of Ancient Egypt: Artists and Travellers in the 19th Century* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992).

⁴⁰ Passengers on Cook's steamers and the Nile *dahabiehs* were presented with *The Nile: Notes for Travellers in Egypt* (London: Thomas Cook, 1901), prepared by E.A.T. Wallis Budge (1857-1934), Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum.

⁴¹ Annabel Jane Wharton, "Cairo and Athens," in *Building the Cold War: Hilton International Hotels and Modern Architecture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), chap. 2.

⁴² Derek Gregory, "Scripting Egypt: Orientalism and the Cultures of Travel," in *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, ed. James Duncan and Derek Gregory (London: Routledge, 1999), 127.

1833. Before Goury's premature death, they collaborated on *Views of the Nile from Cairo to the Second Cataract*.⁴³

Asia Minor presented an alternative route to Egypt. Texier travelled extensively in Asia Minor between 1833 and 1837. He prepared chromolithographs published as *Description de l'Asie Mineure de 1833 à 37*.⁴⁴ In the 1850s, the British constructed a railway along the coast of Asia Minor and a wealth of travel literature guided visitors to sites in Constantinople. Further south, artists were captivated by the landscape surrounding Jerusalem, inspiring panoramic representation. Travellers might then travel overland to Egypt (with sizable Arab escorts).

After Egypt, North African forays were relentless. The French army secured Algiers as a trading post in 1830 and systematically took land in Algeria. The coastal towns became largely European. By 1860, the population of Europeans had increased to 200,000. These were assimilated into the French administrative system by the 1840s. Commercial threats to these settlements were closely monitored and suppressed if necessary. A coastal railway linked Algiers to Oran, Constantine and Phillippeville by 1873. These circumstances enabled French artists to visit remote sites. Travelling in 1846, 1847-8 and 1852-3, Eugene Fromentin undertook journeys to El-Agouat in the Sahel. Gustave Guillaumet lived with the remote indigenous community of the Ouled-Niall in Bou-Saada. Ironically, Guillaumet held negative attitudes toward French occupation despite the fact that it was unlikely he would have ventured to Algeria without it.

For artists, North Africa presented a rich site for picturesque representations of the Orient. Delacroix, Bonnat, Roberts and Gleyre undertook single visits. Holman Hunt, L.C. Muller and Horace Vernet visited often. John Frederick Lewis and Edward William Lane undertook extensive stays in Cairo. On various occasions, artists employed realism to convey historical events that glorified European intervention. Artists were frequently commissioned to eulogise military campaigns and to record new topographies. For example, Delacroix accompanied the Comte de Mornay to Meknes in 1832 to negotiate the Sultan of Morocco's advances on French-Algerian territory. Despising constant pestering and the need for a military escort, Delacroix combined this experience with the earlier influences of Byron and Hugo and the collection of miniatures of Jules-Robert Auguste to realise works such as

⁴³ Owen Jones and Jules Goury, *Views of the Nile from Cairo to the Second Cataract* (London: Graves and Warmesley, 1843) with notes by Samuel Birch. Necipoğlu distinguishes the nuanced representation of Islam in this study from *The Grammar of Ornament*.

⁴⁴ Charles Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure, de 1833 à 37* (Paris: Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, 1839-49).

Death of Sardanapulus (1827). In other instances, realism extended to the quasi-ethnographic studies of Gerome and these distinctions extended to “the finer shades of Mauresque, Mamluk, Ottoman and Byzantine architecture and decorative detail.”⁴⁵

In this context, attitudes to Islam were not uniform. Delacroix observed nobility in Morocco. Gautier admired the chaste dignity of the Harem. Hostile attitudes were also evident. Roberts remarked on the indolence of the Ottomans and Egyptian life. Furthermore, North African sites presented new challenges for European artists. While composition corresponded to picturesque principles, strong light forced a modification in the use of colour, inspiring experimentation and innovation.⁴⁶

Opportunities for authentic encounters with the ‘other’ and their representation were perceived to be increasingly unlikely. Quoting the pre-Raphaelite Romantic William Holman Hunt, Bulger states, “in another generation it would be too late to reconstruct the past, save in rural and desert life, if even then.”⁴⁷ In *Belated Travellers*, Ali Behdad further identifies perceptions of missed opportunities for authentic experiences given the impact of colonial encounters.⁴⁸ Travellers expected to encounter ‘otherness’, yet to do so they travelled further afield. Arabia still proved the most impenetrable of destinations and entry to the Haram risked death. The difficulties of travel and the lack of tolerance for Christian travellers far exceeded the situation in North Africa and the Near East. The Bolognese adventurer Ludovico de Varthema visited Mecca in 1503 with vague cultural motives.⁴⁹ The Catalan Domingo Badia, disguised as hajji Ali Bey, entered Mecca in 1807 on behalf of the Spanish government.⁵⁰ John Lewis Burckhardt (1784-1817), travelling as Shaykh Ibrahim Ibn Abd Allah, visited Syria, Egypt and Arabia between 1809 and 1817.⁵¹ He discovered Petra and Abu Simbel in 1812 providing inspiration for other travellers and explorers. Burckhardt made the pilgrimage to Mecca with a group of Bedouins in 1814-15. Sir Richard Burton (1821-1890) travelled from

⁴⁵ Stevens, “Western Art and its Encounter with the Islamic World,” 21.

⁴⁶ Mackenzie challenges theories of ‘otherness’ by identifying many positive and enthusiastic responses to the Orient as well as the inspiration for technical innovation in John M. Mackenzie, “Orientalism in Art,” in *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 43-70. For further discussion of engagement with the Far East, see David Bromfield, “Japanese Art, Monet and the Formation of Impressionism: Cultural Exchange and Appropriation in Later Nineteenth Century European Art,” in *Recovering the Orient: Artists, Scholars, Appropriations*, ed. Andrew Gerstle and Anthony Milner, 7-44 (Chur: Harwood Academic Press, 1994).

⁴⁷ Bulger, “‘Innocents Abroad,’” 30.

⁴⁸ Ali Behdad, *Belated Travellers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994).

⁴⁹ Bulger, “‘Innocents Abroad,’” 30.

⁵⁰ *Voyages of Ali Bey El-Abbassi in Africa and Asia* (London, 1816).

⁵¹ These travels were published as *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (London: John Murray, 1822).

Alexandria to Mecca and Medina in 1853, he entered the Haram disguised as a Pathan doctor. His immense knowledge of languages and Islam aided his disguise. He recorded his travels in the *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Mecca*.⁵² Although Burton's account seeks empirical representation of his travels he is also inspired by a Romantic desire to encounter the exotic past. To this end, he published a translation of *The Arabian Nights* (1885-88), emphasising racy scenes "to heighten the aura of mysterious exoticism."⁵³

The Grand Tour inspired representations of Islam in text and image. However, the increasing ease of travel brought about by combined political and commercial forces and technological change opened up new frontiers. As unknown sites became familiar, new destinations and the hope of exotic encounters were sought. Yet, in the climate of relentless European imperial expansion 'otherness' became increasingly elusive and fragmented.

3.3 SCHOLARLY EXPEDITIONS

While Islam and Islamic architecture received attention by travelling artists and writers, the Napoleonic invasion precipitated empirical studies. French and British territorial interest predominated in North Africa generating a quest for knowledge in the interests of imperial power. Historian Harriet Ritvo states

one of the most effective ways to consolidate political sway over a territory was by abstracting its essence through a survey or catalogue of its attributes, including topography, climate, mineral resources, flora and fauna, human population and commercial products.⁵⁴

Architecture can be added to systematic efforts to catalogue empire. The *Institut de l'Égypte* co-ordinated expert scholarship to advise government and manage progress. Napoleon initiated several projects to catalogue Egypt. The Commission of Sciences and Arts was established to document the region. It comprised 167 scholars and 16 cartographers and surveyors who accompanied the Napoleonic expeditions. Continental exploration superseded maritime discoveries in the search for new resources and materials.⁵⁵ Territorial expansion provided the infrastructure for further travel. British expeditions paralleled Napoleonic initiatives with the establishment of the African Association in the late eighteenth century, and the foundation of the Royal Geographic Society

⁵² Richard Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Mecca* (London: Longman, Brown and Green, 1855).

⁵³ Conner, ed., *Inspiration of Egypt*, 155.

⁵⁴ Harriet Ritvo, "The Natural World," in *The Victorian Vision: Inventing New Britain*, ed. John Mackenzie (London: Victoria and Albert Publications, 2001), 283.

⁵⁵ Pratt examines this transition with reference to the Condamine Expedition (1735). Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 23.

(1830). Yet, despite the physicality of these enterprises, their findings were distilled into abstract representations: text, catalogues, surveys, drawings, maps and photographs. In botany, for example, Carl Linne's *Systema Naturae* (1735) provided a systematic, universal structure, articulated in Latin, to identify and classify flora and fauna, irrespective of the site represented or the individual representing. Acknowledging Foucault, Pratt states "the differences of distance factored themselves out of the picture."⁵⁶

In this context, the *Description de l'Égypte* included the first major collection of accurate measured drawings of the medieval built environment. Until this time, Islamic architecture had been peripheral to the study of Pharaonic antiquities. This scholarly enterprise inspired a new spirit of analytical inquiry of Islamic architecture. It was augmented by the foundation of another institution; the Louvre. The first director of this institution, Baron Dominique Vivant Denon (1747-1825), also founded its Egyptian collections. Architectural historian Norbert Miller claims the Louvre was inextricably linked to imperial self-interests, "almost everyone comprehended the Louvre as an emblem of Napoleon's claim to rule, and thus accepted it as part of a tradition of power."⁵⁷ Denon's own studies were also notable at the time for their focus on contemporary Egyptian culture.

As a member of Napoleon's advance guard Denon was employed as a draughtsman and archaeologist. His observations are collated in *Voyage dans le Basse et la Haute Égypte, pendant les campagnes du Général Bonaparte*.⁵⁸ This study is notable for its insights into the Napoleonic campaign and the sketches of Egyptian monuments. Miller proposes that these observations gleaned from experience ensured their 'otherness'. There is an "abandonment to the strange experiences which [Denon] is intent on recording in their autonomy, without immediately attempting to assimilate them into his own conception of art."⁵⁹ *Voyage* was published in a variety of formats and it enjoyed unprecedented circulation inspiring scholarship in the field of Egyptian antiquities and subsequently studies of Islamic architecture.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 31.

⁵⁷ Norbert Miller, "Vivant Denon's Outlandish Journeys or The Discovery of the Strange in the Familiar," *Daidalos* 19 (Mar 15, 1986): 53. For further discussion of collecting, classification and exhibition see James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

⁵⁸ Dominique Vivant Denon, *Voyage dans le Basse et la Haute Égypte, pendant les campagnes du Général Bonaparte* (Paris: Imprint P. Didot l'Aîné, 1802).

⁵⁹ Miller, "Vivant Denon's Outlandish Journeys," 47.

⁶⁰ Conner, ed., *Inspiration of Egypt*, 33.

3.3.1 Intrepid Architects

Robert Hay

The Scotsman Robert Hay led several expeditions comprising architects, artists and scholars to Egypt and Nubia and the Near East. Between 1824 and 1828 he made a systematic survey of monuments in Upper Egypt. After an eighteen month break he guided a second expedition to this region between 1829 and 1834.⁶¹ Hay was highly regarded for his study of Egyptian antiquities and his documentation, recorded in the lithographs of *Illustrations of Cairo* (1840), placed him at the forefront of the field. In 1833, Hay also conducted an expedition to the Levant. Other expeditions were organised independently of Hay's groups. For example, Karl Richard Lepsius (1810-84) departed in 1842 for a three-year Prussian expedition to Egypt with the architect James Wild (1814-92), draughtsman Joseph Bonomi (1796-1878), and artist Ernst Wiedenbach. However, Hay's expeditions are notable for the number of specialists who participated whose studies informed subsequent scholarship on Islamic architecture. Joseph Bonomi undertook both expeditions with Hay. They were later joined by architects Francis Vyvyan Jago Arundale (1807-1853), Frederick Catherwood (1799-1854) and Edward William Lane. Their contract of employment prohibited the reproduction of these representations elsewhere. These teams were responsible for documentation rather than excavation and they prepared drawings, casts and copies, many of which were displayed in the Egyptian court at Sydenham Palace (1854) and later the British Museum.

Edward William Lane

Edward William Lane joined Hay's expeditions to Cairo in 1826. Lane also took up residence in the city between 1825-28, from 1833 to 1835 as Mansour Effendi, and between 1842 and 1849, living with his wife and sister, Sophia Lane (1804-91).⁶² He also journeyed on the Nile on two occasions. Lane's extended stays in Cairo provided him with the opportunity to record details of daily Egyptian life. *Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* was the first comprehensive study focusing on contemporary Muslim society.⁶³ This contrasted with interest in antiquity evident in *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* by J. G. Wilkinson.⁶⁴ Lane was neither an architect nor an anthropologist, but he provided a minutely detailed examination of contemporary Egyptian society revealing Cairo as a

⁶¹ For a full discussion of Hay's exploits, see Selwyn Tillett, *Egypt Itself: The Career of Robert Hay, Esquire of Linplum and Nunraw, 1799-1863* (London: SD Books, 1984).

⁶² Sophia Lane collated Lane's unpublished notes and also wrote of her experiences in places where male access was denied. Sophia Lane, *The Englishwoman in Egypt. Letters from Cairo*, ed. Azza Kararah (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2003, first published 1844).

⁶³ Edward William Lane, *Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London: John Murray, 1836).

⁶⁴ J. G. Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1837).

living city and recording everything from the magnificent to the mundane with obsessive attention to detail. Lane lived as a local. Conner proposes, “unlike previous British commentators on Islam, Lane was able to consider his subject almost as if he were a member of the culture he described; the reader seldom feels that Lane is writing from the viewpoint of a supposedly superior religion or civilization.”⁶⁵ Similarly, Gregory acknowledges Lane’s unusual immersion in Cairene life along with Lady Gordon. Otherwise, travellers and tourists kept their distance, “even those of a more adventurous disposition—and none of those who ventured on the Nile in the middle decades of the nineteenth century were exactly timorous.”⁶⁶ While Lane was immersed in the context, other visitors affected ‘authentic’ experiences by adopting local dress. Conversely, Lane observes (with disapproval) local aspirations for European lifestyle particularly in terms of dress and the use of wallpaper, tables and chairs.⁶⁷

Lane prepared numerous drawings and photos of Cairo and its buildings. In 1860, *Saracenic Art* was appended to the fifth edition of *Manners and Customs*, prepared by Lane’s nephew Edward Stanley Poole. Poole’s son describes his father’s work in the introduction to his own study on decorative arts. Although Poole recognises positive attributes of studies by Prisse D’Avennes and Girault de Prangey, the appendix represents “the first attempt at a scientific examination of the origin and development of Saracenic art.”⁶⁸ Stanley Lane Poole’s study of decorative arts, focusing on the medieval period, stresses the uniformity of Saracenic art that is exemplified and preserved in Cairo.

Lane’s Influence

Lane’s text was influential as both a travel guide and an authoritative reference.⁶⁹ His dedication to the study of Egypt and the Arabic language is indicative of the scope of an Orientalists’ *oeuvre*. Moreover, his focus on contemporary Egypt rather than antiquity is significant for the focus it brought to Islam. In addition to architectural images, Lane prepared an accurate translation of *The Thousand and One Nights*, with explanatory notes that drew parallels with modern life in Cairo; a translation of selections from the Koran; and an Arab-English lexicon.⁷⁰ Lane’s drawings also informed Hay’s series of annotated plates published as

⁶⁵ Conner, ed., *Inspiration of Egypt*, 72.

⁶⁶ Gregory, “Scripting Egypt,” 119.

⁶⁷ Leila Ahmed, *Edward Lane* (London: Longman, 1978), 120.

⁶⁸ Stanley Lane Poole, *The Art of the Saracens in Egypt* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1886), vii.

⁶⁹ For an extensive discussion of Lane and his influence with emphasis on his reductive, edited representation of Cairo, see Said, *Orientalism*, 158-166.

⁷⁰ *Stories from Thousand and One Nights*, trans. Edward William Lane, ed. Stanley Lane Poole (New York: P.F. Collier and Son, 1909-14, originally translated 1838-41); Edward William Lane, *Selections from the Kuran* (Taylor and Francis, 2001, originally translated 1843); An Arabic-English Lexicon, 8 vols. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1863).

Illustrations of Cairo. Hay acknowledges Lane's influence in his frontispiece that reads as follows:

[A] Tribute of respect for the zeal and fidelity he has evinced in his literary pursuits connected with that country, and a small token of most sincere esteem and regard, by his very faithful friend, Robert Hay.⁷¹

Although Hay's drawings suggest a picturesque taste for ruins and decay, they also depict unappealing aspects of Cairo which had been absent in earlier Orientalist paintings. One plate records public executions featuring decapitated bodies at the Bab al-Zuwayleh (Plate XII), and Hay describes an image of a street near the Bab al-Khark,

a tolerably correct idea may be formed of the general appearance of the external domestic architecture of the city. Very few of the streets offer a less ruinous and abandoned aspect than this; but very many, one still more so. None are paved; the ground is the accumulation of ages, and, when rain does fall, impassable.⁷²

Both Lane and Hay devoted their lives to their scholarship. Yet, while they were immersed in the context, their studies are indicative of a move away from picturesque images to empirical (laboriously detailed in the case of Lane) observations.

Émile Prisse d'Avennes

Émile Prisse d'Avennes (1807-1879) also dedicated many years of his life to local observations. In *Arab Art*, Prisse D'Avennes is described as "one of the leading Egyptologists, Orientalists and travellers of the nineteenth century."⁷³ In his employment as a civil engineer under Muhammad 'Ali, Prisse d'Avennes began a lifetime career focusing on meticulous archaeological research in North Africa, the Near East and Arabia. Furthermore, Prisse d'Avennes embraced Islam and the local customs. He also gained considerable knowledge of Arabic, hieroglyphics, Coptic, and Amharic, in addition to Latin, English, Italian and Spanish.

Arab Art is a result of extensive travel and research. Prisse d'Avennes compiled innumerable images, including drawings, daguerreotypes, photos, not to mention the details of 29 Egyptian mummies and their skulls. Together with hundreds of plates (Figure 18), *Arab Art* contextualises the study with reference to geography, race(s), climate and history that recognises the diversity of Cairo, the variety of building

⁷¹ Hay's dedication to Lane in *Illustrations of Cairo* (London: Tilt and Brogue, 1840). The punctuation has been modernised for clarity.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 15.

⁷³ Émile Prisse d'Avennes, *Arab Art As Seen Through the Monuments of Cairo*, trans. J.I. Erythraspis (Paris: Le Sycomore, first published 1877), 7.

types (including religious, civil and military architecture) and the architectural legacy of Byzantium and Persia related to the unifying law of Islam. His intention is to identify the differences between a mosque or a church “to put an end to the ludicrous fables that naïve or biased travellers have too often allowed to gain credence, to the detriment of historical veracity.”⁷⁴

Beginning with the Mosque of ‘Amr (640) identified as the oldest unaltered example in Cairo, Prisse d’Avennes acknowledges the complicated heritage evident in the mosque (constructed by an early Christian convert to Islam). Referring to the architect he states, “imbued with the style of the edifices of his former religion and with the prevalent ideas of that age of decadence and barbarism, he seems not to have bothered to sort out the materials taken for the new edifice from diverse sources.”⁷⁵ Moreover, Prisse d’Avennes’ values Cairene medieval architecture for its didactic possibilities for architectural practice.⁷⁶

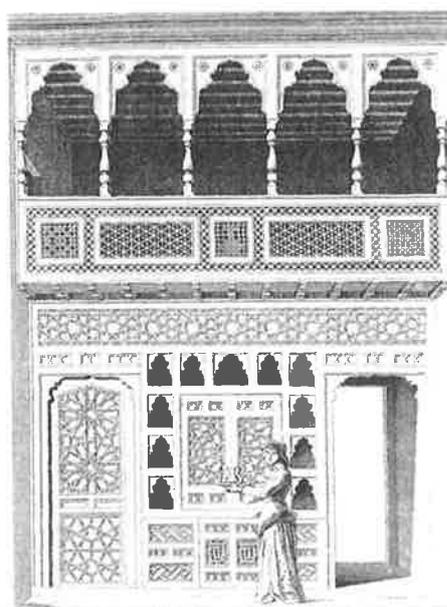


Figure 18
Takassir. Tribune
Reserved for Women.
Prisse d’Avennes,
Arab Art, Plate 5, 91.

3.3.2 Comparing Islamic Architecture

While this overview of early scholar/travellers is not exhaustive, these studies by Lane, Hay and Prisse d’Avennes further illustrate the shift in representation of Islamic architecture already identified in the work of Girault de Prangey. Rather than depicting Pharaonic monuments or a picturesque portrait of Cairo, these studies turn their attention to contemporary architecture and culture in detailed drawings and texts.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

Edward Freeman and James Fergusson

In each of the studies by Lane, Hay and Prisse d'Avennes, emphasis is given to Islam and architecture of the regions they visited. However, a further shift in the representation of Islamic architecture is evident in the scholarship of Edward Freeman and James Fergusson. Architectural studies in Egypt were part of a larger context of travelling scholarship. In the nineteenth century Freeman and Fergusson sought to include Islamic architecture in their comparative surveys of world architecture. Freeman's *History of Architecture* was published in 1849.⁷⁷ Fergusson compiled several encyclopaedic world architecture surveys: *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture*, *A History of Architecture in All Countries* (a subsequent revision of the Handbook), *A History of Modern Styles of Architecture*, and *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*.⁷⁸ In addition, both historians prepared studies focusing on the Near East and Islam, including Freeman's *The History and Conquests of the Saracens* and Fergusson's *Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*.⁷⁹

Freeman travelled extensively. His biographer W.R.W. Stephens states "travelling as a direct branch of the historian's business, is quite a modern practice owing to the expense, and even danger, which attended it in earlier times: but few modern historians, if any, have made it such an essential part of their work as Freeman did."⁸⁰ Fergusson did not travel until late in his career when his residence in India gave him the first-hand opportunity to examine (primarily) Hindu architecture and he was well recognised as an early expert in the field. Surveys by both Freeman and Fergusson draw on an increasing body of material that derived from their own travels and drawings prepared by others on individual and collective expeditions.

In the case of Fergusson's representation of the Dome of the Rock, for example, his illustrations were based on architectural drawings prepared by Catherwood, Bonomi and Arundale who accompanied Hay to the Near East in 1833.⁸¹ Fergusson also acknowledges the studies of Francis Arundale, Pascal Coste, and Girault de Prangey in his surveys.⁸² At the

⁷⁷ Edward Freeman, *A History of Architecture* (London: Joseph Masters, 1849).

⁷⁸ James Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1855), *A History of Architecture in All Countries* (London: John Murray, 1865), and *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1876).

⁷⁹ Edward Freeman, *The History and Conquests of the Saracens* (Oxford: J.H. and J. Parker, 1856), and James Fergusson, *An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem* (London: J. Weale, 1847).

⁸⁰ W.R.W. Stephens, *Life and Letters of Edward A. Freeman* (London: Macmillan, 1895), 109.

⁸¹ For further discussion of the activities of this group, see Jane Waldron Grutz, "The Lost Portfolios of Robert Hay," *Saudi Aramco World* (Mar-Apr 2003), <http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/200302/the.lost.portfolios.of.Robert.hay.html> (accessed Jul 7, 2003).

⁸² For a discussion of Fergusson's own travels to India and the influence of other scholar travellers on his writing, see Peter Kohane, "The Sources of James Fergusson's Orientalist History of World Architecture," in *Building Dwelling Drifting: Migrancy and the Limits of*

time, passes were required to access mosques and Catherwood's team were permitted to sketch in the Haram of Jerusalem. Catherwood was also commissioned by Muhammad 'Ali to assess the deterioration of several mosques, including the Dome of the Rock, as part of a series of reforms initiated by 'Ali. Citing Catherwood's letters, Bulger describes his entry to the mosque twice dressed as an Egyptian officer. As he sketched the interior of the mosque on his second visit, it was only the intervention of the Governor of Jerusalem, stressing the value of Catherwood's work, that saved his life after a disturbance.⁸³

Catherwood's travels in the Near East are indicative of his engagement with local and regional authorities and his immersion in the context. In Fergusson's study, such details are not relevant. Drawings like Catherwood's are abstracted from their context of representation. Fergusson's objective was to represent Islamic architecture, to compare it to 'other' architectures, and to differentiate it. To do so, Fergusson, and others, turned to the incipient disciplines of anthropology and ethnography to classify architecture.

In *Empire Building*, Mark Crinson identifies the influence of contemporary ideas about culture and race on Victorian representations of architecture in Anatolia, the Near East and North Africa. He focuses on studies of Byzantine and Islamic architecture arguing that architectural scholars sought a cultural overview for understanding architecture that corresponded to the increasing awareness of different cultures emerging in tandem with territorial expansion, travel, and settlement.

Since at least Winckelmann, histories of art had interpreted culture as representative of the spirit of a people, and Hegel had made this more pointed by separating 'historic' from 'non-historic' nations, the art of which would be determined on this essentialist basis. Early in the nineteenth century the Saint Simonians and positivists were clearly imbued with this thinking. Art and architectural history in general were thus given a new impetus to relate cultural form to race and to define cultural difference by race.⁸⁴

Crinson identifies this impetus in surveys of world architecture and studies of Islamic architecture. At the same time, the limitations of this approach are highlighted with reference to Edward Said's case in *Orientalism*. By defining and comparing architecture in terms of culture

Architecture, Papers from the Third "Other Connections" Conference, June 26-29, 1997, ed. Phillip Goad and Stephen Cairns, 163-70 (Melbourne: Faculty of Architecture Building and Planning, University of Melbourne, 1997); Peter Kohane, "James Fergusson's Indian travels," in *Proceedings of the 10th Annual Conference of SAHANZ* (Melbourne: Faculty of Architecture Building and Planning, University of Melbourne, 1993).

⁸³ Bulger, "'Innocents Abroad,'" 28.

⁸⁴ Crinson, *Empire Building*, 39.

and race, Crinson recognises the transfer of reductive ideas about the Orient to architectural scholarship, “for instance, that huge areas of the world and disparate cultures were in fact unified in an ethnically dominated condition locked forever in a stage of history long bypassed by the West.”⁸⁵

Crinson identifies the representation of architecture as an expression of culture in both Freeman’s and Fergusson’s surveys of world architecture.⁸⁶ Freeman’s *History* is divided into Christian and non-Christian architecture. Christianity is presented as one of three conditions that distinguish European nations, together with the unity of Aryan nations and the legacy of the Roman empire.⁸⁷ Bundled in with non-Christian architecture, Islamic architecture is represented as ‘other’. Freeman’s twofold division was articulated in terms of geography, race, climate and national character.⁸⁸ Crinson also identifies the influence of language theorists Thomas Arnold, Niebuhr and William Jones, and the theme of racial memory, on Freeman’s studies.⁸⁹ For Freeman, Islamic architecture was incapable of development, static and lacking in invention. Architecture that exhibited variations was attributed to cultural contact. Moreover, it was considered to be out of character. Describing the Norman Court of Palermo, Freeman states,

[the palace at Palermo] breathes the most thoroughly Arabian spirit and calls up the same notions of Eastern splendour as the habitations of the Spanish Caliphs. One really feels that a stern-visaged, iron-clad Norman was out of place in such a light, sunny, lofty abode.⁹⁰

For Freeman, this ambiguity was considered to compromise architectural integrity. The Norman Court at Palermo does not fit his expectations for clear distinctions between Christian and non-Christian architecture, that is, a distinctive material expression of ‘otherness’.

Fergusson’s representation of Islamic architecture in Spain reveals a similar expectation to differentiate architecture in terms of faith and culture.

This style possesses so much that is entirely its own as to make it often difficult to detect the germs, taken from older styles of architecture, which gave rise to many of its striking peculiarities.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 4.

⁸⁶ Crinson also identifies John Ruskin’s (1829-1900) inconsistent representation of architecture as a manifestation of culture, including Islamic architecture. While his attitude to Islamic architecture is positive, this is secondary to his fascination with the hybrid formal character of Venice (a synthesis of Lombard, Muslim and Byzantine influences) informed by his travels. For further discussion of Ruskin’s attitudes to Venice, see Kristine Ottesen Garrigan, *Ruskin on Architecture: His Thought and Influence* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), 54.

⁸⁷ Stephens, *Life and Letters*, 135.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 109.

⁸⁹ Crinson, *Empire Building*, 78.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 42.

These, however, are never entirely obliterated. Everywhere the conviction is forced upon us that originally the Moslems had no style of their own, but adopted those which they found practised in the countries to which they came.⁹¹

While Fergusson acknowledges distinctive features in the architecture of Andalusia after eight centuries of Muslim rule, he is preoccupied with a perceived lack of originality. This is deemed unnatural. On the one hand, the continuity of older styles implies the conscious adoption (even infection) from an external host. On the other hand, emphasis is given to the exteriority of Muslim settlement in Andalusia where the arrival of the Muslims after 711 prohibited natural, territorial bonds. Fergusson's expectations for cultural *roots* are apparent.

Like Freeman, Fergusson sought to include Islamic architecture in his survey of world architecture. It is also organised according to Christian and non-Christian architecture. However, Fergusson gives further emphasis to race and culture. Recognising the centrality of race in anthropology, Fergusson claimed different races left distinctive traces on their buildings making the study of race essential to the study of architecture. His surveys are organised and evaluated according to linguistic-racial groupings with fixed characteristics: Celtic, Aryan, Semitic and Turanian. Crinson links these to the "four great building races" named by the German *Altertumswissenschaft* historians.⁹² Celtic architecture included most nineteenth century European architecture; Greek and Roman architecture was Aryan; Islamic and Jewish architecture was Semitic; and Turanian architecture included, for example, architecture of Buddhists and Turks. Further, Fergusson's emphasis on the correlation between architecture and culture extended to the idea that architecture was an expression of national differences. He declares "the history of nations is more evident from the architecture than it is from any other source."⁹³

This deliberation over style is typical of the Victorian period. Architecture began to be defined as a series of periods and a succession of styles related to time and place.⁹⁴ Distinctions were drawn between original and revival styles. Fergusson argued that art was the expression of a particular race and social system that defied revival. While the classification of the architectural survey celebrated pure styles, hybridity

⁹¹ James Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1855), 515.

⁹² Crinson, *Empire Building*, 45.

⁹³ Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook*, 377. In a further effort to systematise his studies of architecture Krufft identifies Fergusson's points-value system with which to assess architecture according to the three equally weighted categories of technical beauty, sensuous beauty and phonetic beauty (pertaining to intellectual and aesthetic qualities). Hanno-Walter Krufft, *A History of Architectural Theory: From Vitruvius to the Present*, trans. Ronald Taylor and others (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994), 335.

⁹⁴ Garrigan, *Ruskin on Architecture*, 12.

represented a compromise that indicated a lack of originality and stylistic integrity.

Like Freeman, Fergusson's expectations for a clear relationship between architecture and culture is illustrated by exception. The Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and the lesser known Chiesa di San Giovanni degli Eremiti in Palermo, Sicily, comprised architectural forms that did not correspond to 'Islamic' or 'Christian' architecture. In the case of the Dome of the Rock, Fergusson could only identify the building as a Christian martyrrium appropriated by Muslim conquerors based on Catherwood's drawings of the octagonal, domed drum and the extensive use of mosaic. The Byzantine form did not correspond to his expectations for distinct forms created by Celtic, Aryan, Semitic or Turanian races. His error was not amended until the 1893 edition of *The History of Modern Styles of Architecture*, after Ermete Pierotti and Charles Warren disproved his theory in the 1860s.⁹⁵

Describing the Chiesa di San Giovanni (Figure 19), completed as late as 1132 by King Roger II of Sicily, Fergusson declares, "in no respect, except for the form of its tower, [would it] be out of place as a mosque in the streets of Delhi or Cairo. In fact, were we guided by architectural considerations alone the church would have more properly been described under the head of Saracenic than of Christian architecture."⁹⁶ Fergusson recommends a case study of Sicily due to its insularity, yet, his observations of the built environment contradict this proposal that overlooks Sicily's contested history as a coveted strategic island in the Mediterranean.

To address ambiguous buildings like these, Fergusson revised his 1855 survey several times. In the introduction to each survey and subsequent editions, Fergusson labours over the most appropriate organisation of the parts. Each architectural style is grouped according to its independence from or influence on another. For example, Fergusson proposed that areas in the east with the least contact with Roman and Byzantine culture displayed the most distinct styles. In *The Illustrated Handbook* the chapter on Europe, "consists in the first place of those styles of Saracenic art which are in any way connected with the European styles, and which consequently must be studied together with them in order to be understood."⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Crinson, *Empire Building*, 91.

⁹⁶ Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook*, 808-816.

⁹⁷ Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook*, 512.



Figure 19
Chiesa di San Giovanni
degli Eremiti.
Palermo, Italy.
Author, 2000.

Exceptional buildings like the Dome of the Rock and the Chiesa di San Giovanni did not fit with Fergusson's expectations to write about architecture as a distinct material expression of culture or faith. He concedes that Saracenic art could not be considered in isolation. However, his concluding remarks about Saracenic architecture still emphasise the homogeneity of non-Christian peoples and the built environment, and the uniformity of Islam through its diffusion.

In this way at last a style was elaborated, tolerably homogeneous, though never losing entirely the local peculiarities due to the earlier styles out of which it rose, and which still continue to mark most distinctly the various nationalities that made up the great empires of Islam.⁹⁸

The world architecture surveys prepared by Freeman and Fergusson were distinguished by their scope at the time of their publication. By no means limited to their own travels, these surveys brought together images and material prepared by a generation of travelling architects. But they are distinguished from this material by their efforts to define Islamic architecture and to distinguish it as 'other' from Christian architecture.

Sir Banister Fletcher

Sir Banister Fletcher's *History of Architecture*, first published in 1896, has had a greater influence on twentieth century scholarship than the surveys of Freeman and Fergusson. In "Toward Postcolonial Openings," Gülsüm Nalbantoğlu identifies its canonical status gained through its subsequent editions and revisions throughout the twentieth century. Like

⁹⁸ Ibid., 515.

Freeman and Fergusson, Fletcher expects to compare and differentiate Islamic architecture (included in 1901 with the non-historical styles). However, Nalbantoğlu identifies Fletcher's ambivalent attitude to Islamic architecture. For Fletcher, Islamic architecture and all the non-historical styles, present incommensurable differences that resist comparison to European architecture, or the legacy of Classical architecture. Thus, Fletcher expresses an uncertain attitude to difference "when he shows both fascination and disdain for the nonhistorical styles; when he speaks *ambivalently* of the excess, the grotesque, the bizarre."⁹⁹ Conversely, this ambivalence is lost in the numerous revisions of this text after 1961 by R.A. Cordingley (1961), James Palmes (1975), John Musgrove (1984) and Dan Cruickshank (1996).

All references to the grotesque, to the excessiveness of ornamentation, to impropriety, to the unaccustomed Europeans, and the qualifications of unpleasing and bizarre are erased. I would argue that in trying to eliminate Fletcher's seemingly negative qualifications for the East, Cordingley erased all traces of potentially critical openings in the earlier version.¹⁰⁰

For Fletcher, Islamic architecture defies comparison. It is too different. The subsequent revisions obscure this aspect of Fletcher's *History of Architecture*. Nalbantoğlu argues that Fletcher's ambivalence is unique because it challenges expectations for a fixed relationship between architecture and Islam that can be compared to Western European architecture, or clearly identified as its 'other'. Quoting Elizabeth Grosz in *Architecture from the Outside*, Nalbantoğlu writes,

I am not making the impossible suggestion of simply ignoring these categories and binary constructs. The boundaries that demarcate them, however, "are much more porous and less fixed and rigid than is commonly understood, and one side of the border is always already infected by the other. Binarized categories offer possibilities of reconnections and realignment in different systems."¹⁰¹

3.3.3 Abstracting Design Principles

Efforts to define Islamic architecture in the world architecture survey are complemented by efforts to extract principles for contemporary practice. This is demonstrated in the writing of two prominent and influential architects, Owen Jones and Henry Cole. These scholars are linked by their virulent debates on ornament (including ornament of Islamic

⁹⁹ Gülşüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, "Toward Postcolonial Openings: Rereading Sir Banister Fletcher's *History of Architecture*," *Assemblage* 35 (1998): 13. Bozdoğan further supports this unresolved tension. See Sibel Bozdoğan, "Architectural History in Professional Education: Reflections on Postcolonial Challenges to the Modern Survey," *Journal of Architectural Education* 52, no. 4 (1999): 214.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 15.

architecture) in the second half of the nineteenth century. Both architects maintained a positive attitude toward Islamic architecture and valued the role of architectural ornament. Jones sought to include Islamic ornament in his survey *The Grammar of Ornament*.¹⁰² Further, investigations by Jones and Cole inspired efforts to design Islamic architecture at the International Exhibitions and paralleled eclectic design experiments at the turn of the century.

Jones, a student of architect Lewis Vuilliamy, conducted extensive tours of Sicily, Greece, Turkey, Egypt and Spain. He travelled with Jules Gouroy in Spain (1834) and Egypt. Jones made a second visit for a detailed study of the Alhambra in 1837. This joint study constituted one of the first detailed analyses of an Islamic building comparable to the rigour applied to contemporary scholarship of Greek or Roman buildings. Recognising the work of Girault de Prangey, and later Jones and Gouroy, art historian John Sweetman proposes the “archaeological fact-finding phase of Alhambra studies was deepening: Jones took scrapings of the original colours beneath the overpaint, and made numerous drawings, paper impressions and casts.”¹⁰³ Jones also prepared architectural studies of buildings in Istanbul.

Jones’ preoccupation with ornament, inspired in part by his travels, is demonstrated in *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856). This study provides a taxonomic survey of sixteen cultures and periods. Five of the chapters are dedicated to Islamic art: Arabian, Moorsque, Turkish, Persian and Indian. The plates for Islamic ornament were compiled from Jones’ own studies and illustrations prepared by Frances Bonomi and James Wild in Egypt. The botanist Christopher Dresser, who extolled the beauty of Oriental ornament, also prepared images for *The Grammar of Ornament*. Jones’ studies are organised along similar lines to Freeman and Fergusson. The theme of racial memory expounded by architect and ethnographer Thomas Hope and Abbe Laugier in the mid-nineteenth century further informs Jones’ interpretation of Islamic architecture.¹⁰⁴ The notion of racial memory is exemplified in the links Jones’ perceives between the fabrication of rich flat planes of ornament and pre-Islamic, nomadic origins. Thus, geometric ornament corresponded to carpets. Such observations are also indicative of his obsession with surface pattern.

¹⁰² Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: Day and Son, 1856).

¹⁰³ Girault de Prangey, *Impressions of Granada*, xi.

¹⁰⁴ Crinson, *Empire Building*, 30-41.

Informed by increasing material documenting Islamic architecture prepared by different travellers, Jones fragmented the representation of Islamic art. *The Grammar of Ornament* represents a departure from an all-encompassing Muslim visual tradition distinguished from Christian architecture. Instead, he prepares a taxonomic study of different visual traditions aligned with cultural differences within the Islamic world. Despite his observations of cultural and regional differences in *The Grammar of Ornament* Jones sought to extract universal design principles for contemporary practice. Jones expounded his ideas and the possibilities for contemporary design with Cole at the Department of Practical Art at the South Kensington Museum. Together, they made a radical contribution to design theory through their derivation of rational, universal lessons for formal composition, colour and stylised approaches to ornament deriving from the “eternal and immutable” principles of nature.¹⁰⁵ Jones demonstrated these lessons in his colour scheme for the Crystal Palace.

While architectural historians tended to abstract their representations of Islamic architecture from the context represented, Jones and Cole furthered this abstraction with the intent to apply principles to contemporary design. Necipoğlu highlights the reductive nature of this approach. *The Grammar of Ornament* “called for a study of patterns for their universal relevance rather than as systems of signification, at the expense of their cultural associations and contextual meanings.”¹⁰⁶ Similarly, Bozdoğan is critical of Jones’ ornamental plates that extracted ornament from their context for new purposes whereby “ornamental patterns from different buildings are abstracted, stylised and combined on a page which itself becomes a decorative pattern. Thus is produced the most influential catalog of ornament in architectural culture.”¹⁰⁷

Despite the limitations of Jones’ studies, he campaigned tirelessly for recognition of Islamic art and architecture in relation to contemporary design. This was evidenced in his writing, his role as an educator, and in practice. Jones’ views influenced encyclopaedic collections of ornament and popular pattern books.¹⁰⁸ These embraced examples from other non-Western visual traditions including China and India. The Industrial Revolution generated new modes of production and reproduction and in

¹⁰⁵ Mackenzie, *Orientalism*, 120.

¹⁰⁶ Necipoğlu, *The Topkapi Scroll*, 64.

¹⁰⁷ Bozdoğan, “Journey to the East,” 40.

¹⁰⁸ MacKenzie further identifies the irony of the popular pattern book. While the abstract representation of ornament distilled principles applicable to contemporary design, European taste and the demand for oriental wares inspired modifications in imported, ornamented goods. At the same time, while Jones, Dresser and William Morris privileged the visual imagery of a remote and distant Orient, they were critical of non-Western ornament that demonstrated reciprocity. Inspiration and enterprise were only acceptable when demonstrated in the passage from East to West. Mackenzie, *Orientalism*, 119-124.

the decorative arts this transformed the manufacture of textiles, wall-papers, prints and other applied arts. Pattern books, drawing on the visual sources of freshly documented non-Western ornament, provided abstract patterns for manufacture, precipitating popular circulation of Oriental art. However, Jones' exhibits for the International Exhibitions preceded an unprecedented scale of contact with the visual culture of the Orient, enabling exotic, imaginary journeys for a popular audience.

3.4 SUMMARY

The formation of the discourse of Islamic architecture can be traced to the nineteenth century. This emerges in the context of increasing encounters between Islam and the West. The extended itinerary of the Grand Tour, together with scholarly expeditions, precipitated early representations of Islamic architecture in image and text. These studies emerge in the context of European colonial expansion and the impetus to acquire knowledge of the colonial 'other', including the 'otherness' of Islam, as a corollary of imperial power.

However, by shifting the emphasis to nineteenth century encounters and the travelling context of representation, I have endeavoured to complicate clearly defined boundaries between 'self' and 'other', and an essential relationship between architecture and identity. This overview of the travelling context within which formative studies of Islamic architecture were made reveals "entanglement at intersecting regional, national and transnational levels."¹⁰⁹ This complicates the feasibility of representing essential difference pointing to the limits of crystallising the 'other' in image or text.

In the case of the Grand Tour, 'otherness' was continually revised as destinations became familiar and travellers explored new frontiers. The Grand Tour was largely characterised by individual travel and it tended to generate picturesque images of the 'other'. However, 'otherness' was consistently revised: Italian, Spanish, Islamic, Oriental. Scholarly expeditions trained an increasingly empirical eye on the built environment inspiring efforts to define Islamic architecture. However, these studies were increasingly abstracted from the context represented. Architectural historians expected to differentiate Islamic architecture from Christian architecture. Their taxonomic surveys were arranged accordingly. Yet, these surveys were increasingly fragmented to accommodate the diversity of Islamic architecture. Exceptional projects could not be reduced to clearly identifiable 'Islamic' formal characteristics. This relationship is further confounded by Nalbantoğlu's proposition that 'otherness' might not be representable at all.

¹⁰⁹ Clifford, *Routes*, 7.

4 Building Islamic Architecture Amidst Encounters

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to examine expectations to materialise identity in the era of the International Exhibitions and beyond in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While architects and scholars expected to represent Islamic architecture as ‘other’ in image and text, this has parallels with aspirations to create buildings and pavilions as an expression of national, imperial, colonial or civic identity. In the context of European colonial expansion, expectations to represent the cultural diversity of empire—to simulate the cultural ‘other’ in increasingly fantastic displays—is well recognised. Eminent historian Eric Hobsbawm defines this phenomenon as “invented traditions.”¹ Pavilions and displays were constructed to represent ‘otherness’. However, ‘otherness’ was re-invented at successive exhibitions. These constructions were ephemeral. Recent studies by Felix Driver, David Gilbert, Pat Morton, Jean-Claude Vigato and Anthony Gristwood show that the relationship between architecture and identity was not fixed at the International Exhibitions. Mark Crinson, Jan Pieper and Roderich Fieß observe uncertain relationships between architecture and identity in new projects beyond the Exhibitions. In these “contact-zones” arguments for polarised expressions of ‘self’ and ‘other’ are unconvincing.

4.2 INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS

By the end of the nineteenth century, European travel generated a wealth of images that contributed to early representations of Islamic architecture. While authors like Freeman, Fergusson or Jones expected to define architecture as an expression of Islam, the International Exhibitions (World’s Fairs or *Expositions Universelles*) presented opportunities to design Islamic architecture. Early exhibits by Jones, including the Alhambra Court at the Sydenham site of the Crystal Palace (displayed from 1854 until the Palace was destroyed by fire in 1936) and the Oriental court for the South Kensington Museum, established precedents for the representation of different cultures at subsequent exhibitions. These displays contributed to a grand exposé of the cultural diversity of empire. The exhibitions lauded the global scale of European imperial expansion. In the tradition of the Roman Triumph, the exhibition brought the empire home. While the agenda of the exhibitions was ostensibly international, the representation of empire enhanced representations of European identity. European imperial rivalries prompted competitive displays of national identity. Moreover, expressions of identity were increasingly fragmented at successive

¹ Eric Hobsbawm, “Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914,” in *Representing the Nation: A Reader. Histories, Heritage and Museums*, ed. David Boswell and Jessica Evans, 61-86 (London: Routledge in association with the Open University, 1999).

exhibitions: imperial, national, ethnic and civic. The representation of the colonial 'other' was often part of the construction of a national 'self' image. In addition, non-European nations were invited to create temporary installations and pavilions in Europe and the United States.

In this context, exhibitors expected to express identity in architecture. Eminent historian Eric Hobsbawm calls this phenomenon "invented traditions" in the context of increasing global exposure and the desire for cohesive expressions of identity in both popular culture and politics.² These observations resonate in a number of studies of the International Exhibitions by historians, including Timothy Mitchell, Paul Greenhalgh and Robert W. Rydell. Zeynep Çelik and Mark Crinson lead studies focusing on representations of Islam at the International Exhibitions. Çelik identifies displays of architectural fragments, installations or pavilions at exhibitions in Paris (1867, 1878, 1889 and 1900), Vienna (1873) and Chicago (1893). After 1900, displays featuring European colonies in North Africa, the Near East and India were prominent in Paris (1878, 1889, 1900, 1925 and, decisively for architecture, 1931),³ Marseille (1906 and 1922) and Glasgow (1938). On each occasion, the International Exhibitions are characterised by efforts to build identity.

However, recent critical scholarship focusing on European imperialism and the International Exhibitions reveals reciprocity. Clear distinctions between representations of 'self' and 'other' are complicated. In *Imperial Cities* historians Felix Driver and David Gilbert state

recent work inspired by the 'post-colonial' turn in literature and the humanities has suggested a shift in our angle of perspective, towards the impact of imperialism 'at home'. From this perspective imperialism is understood as a necessarily hybrid though still uneven experience, shaping the identity of the colonisers as much as that of the colonised.⁴

In this light, boundaries between 'self' and 'other', coloniser and colonised, are blurred. While exhibition organisers expected to build identity, observation of successive exhibitions reveals the complicated character of identity formation in the context of imperial interactions and the constant invention and re-invention of material expressions of these identities. The International Exhibitions emerged as incubators for experimentation, pointing to a dynamic relationship between architecture and identity by the end of the century.

² Eric Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914," 61-86.

³ Jean-Claude Vigato, "The Architecture of the Colonial Exhibitions in France," *Daidalos* 19 (Mar 15, 1986): 24.

⁴ Felix Driver, and David Gilbert, eds., *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 7.

4.2.1 Exhibition Objectives

London hosted the first International Exhibition at Hyde Park in 1851. The inspiration derived from eighteenth century commercial and didactic initiatives in both France and England. In France, national exhibitions were organised between 1797 and 1849 to counter the slump in industry after the Revolution and nationalist sentiments were high. In England, two institutions celebrated the display of new technologies. The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacture and Commerce, established in 1754 (The Royal Society of the Arts after 1847), encouraged utilitarian advances in arts that informed industry and technology. The Mechanics Institute sought to educate working class citizens and inspire advances in industry. Henry Cole proposed the notion of an International Exhibition to The Royal Society of the Arts, presided over by Prince Albert in 1849. Cole and Prince Albert both supported the potential relationship between art and industry. However, these were increasingly supplanted by imperial and commercial objectives subsumed under the euphemistic umbrella of global trade, world peace or collective progress.⁵

In addition to these objectives, a third aspect—spectacle—is vital to gain an understanding of the popularity and longevity of the International Exhibitions. In the nineteenth century, fairs, circuses and seaside piers were popular sites and panorama theatres, featuring exotic locales, catered to the combined taste for education and entertainment. In the context of the Victorian taste for the exotic, the International Exhibitions provided a stage to exhibit the world in an engaging format that was unprecedented in its scope and popularity.

Given this scope, the International Exhibitions provided fertile ground for mass-communication. Paris and London hosted numerous, profitable exhibitions.⁶ Architectural historian Erik Mattie estimates that Paris attracted more than 28 million visitors in 1889 and 48 million in 1900. The crowds at the North American Exhibitions were greater. Smaller, less accessible cities also attracted large crowds. For example, Sydney attracted 1,117,536 visitors in 1879-80 and 11,497,000 visitors were recorded at Glasgow's second exhibition in 1901—the largest attendance recorded in Britain.⁷ This exposure enabled propaganda. While the exhibitions brought together an immense variety of materials, technologies, resources or commodities in an engaging visual format, the systematic arrangement of national, imperial or colonial displays

⁵ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 56.

⁶ For example, London made a profit of 186,000 pounds in 1851. Mattie provides a statistical, illustrated study of key International Exhibitions. Erik Mattie, *World's Fairs* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 17.

⁷ Paul Greenhalgh, "The Art and Industry of Mammon: International Exhibitions, 1851-1901," in *The Victorian Vision. Inventing New Britain*, ed. John Mackenzie (London: Victoria and Albert Publications, 2001), 276.

demanded comparison and differentiation by the visitor. Acknowledging the popularity of public displays, historian Tony Bennett proposes the International Exhibitions “formed vehicles for inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power.”⁸

4.2.2 Reciprocal Identity

Thirty-four nations were invited to participate in London’s 1851 Exhibition. Individual displays were organised on this basis under Henry Cole’s direction.⁹ After 1855, independent nations were invited to construct pavilions arranged side-by-side. By 1862, several nations prepared displays for architect Francis Fowke’s exhibition building in South Kensington. Imperial displays were fragmented into regional, indigenous or ethnic exhibits and pavilions (particularly after the Paris exhibition of 1867).¹⁰ European colonial settlements, including Australia, Canada, South Africa and New Zealand made contributions after 1870. Exhibitors sought to differentiate their respective identities on this international stage drawing on an eclectic repertoire of architectural forms, often conceived by French architects. The juxtaposition of different national displays complemented the international agenda of the exhibitions. However, their juxtaposition also intensified national rivalries, as well as the host country’s efforts to distinguish itself. Greenhalgh states, “for many exhibitors and politicians, the point of the international aspect was to emphasise national difference, not similarity.”¹¹ Competition for resources, commodities and territories was manifest in increasingly extravagant pavilions. Competition between France and Britain was pronounced.

However, displays featuring national attributes were often overshadowed by imperial displays. These further intensified national rivalries as each nation sought to demonstrate the riches of their respective imperial realms. The systematic organisation of the International Exhibitions augmented the opportunity for comparison and differentiation of national and imperial displays. Kinney and Çelik highlight the physical arrangement of the exhibitions as a strategy to perpetuate the image of the host nation and concomitant power hierarchies with reference to the Parisian exposition of 1867:

⁸ Tony Bennett, “The Exhibitionary Complex,” in *Representing the Nation*, 332-361. For further discussion of the role of popular culture as a vehicle for propaganda see John MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984). Timothy Mitchell forwards the notion of “the exhibitionary logic” as an ordering principle that demonstrated global capital in terms of a comparison of commodities. Timothy Mitchell, “Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order,” in *Colonialism and Culture*, ed. Nicholas Dirks, 289-317 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992).

⁹ Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996), 62.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 69. See also Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World’s Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 51.

¹¹ Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 18.

In their carefully articulated order, they also signified the dominant relation of power. Ordering and characterization ranked, rationalized and objectified different societies. The resulting hierarchies portrayed a world where races, sexes, and nations occupied fixed places assigned to them by the exposition committees of host countries.¹²

Given European imperial interests in North Africa, the Near East, and to a lesser extent, the Gulf and Central Asia, Islam was prominent in imperial representations. In *Displaying the Orient*, Çelik further examines the spatial hierarchy of exhibitions displaying Islamic architecture. While displays by European nations occupied the primary central pavilion, colonial exhibits were located in the peripheral grounds, conceived as spaces of entertainment, “although the park was intended to signify the peaceful gathering of nations, in reality it introduced, and even reinforced, division, in both its spatial organisation and its architecture.”¹³ Çelik proposes the organic layout contrasted the regular arrangement of the European displays, implying strict binaries of activity and leisure, progress and stasis, or order and chaos (Figure 20). Distinctions between European nations were secondary to distinctions between Europe and Europe’s ‘others’. Visual difference was the prominent stimulus for individual pavilions. Decorative elements deriving from an increasingly eclectic Victorian catalogue of styles were appropriated in inconsistent and hybrid ways, often adorning classical building envelopes, and architects employed replication, stylisation and pure invention.¹⁴ Crude or elegant, these displays were frequently fantastic.

Imperialism dominated national exhibits until World War II. Greenhalgh states, “displays of actual and informal empire lent the spaces the feeling of an exotic treasure house.”¹⁵ By highlighting the ‘otherness’ of empire, exhibitors served to heighten the sense of the heterogeneity and, thus, the diversity, scale and richness of empire. By 1889, individual pavilions were replaced by entire streetscapes or model cities exemplified by the *Rue du Caire*, in Paris (Figure 21). The intent was to simulate the ‘otherness’ of Cairo complete with calligraphers, customary activities or camels. As in the case of Orientalist painting, architects sought an illusion of reality. In the case of the *Palais du Congo* in Antwerp (1930), Belgian designers sought authentic details for the pavilion, “it would then serve in the manner of a stage set in an attempt to mentally transport the

¹² Zeynep Çelik and Leila Kinney, “Ethnography and Exhibitionism at the *Expositions Universelles*,” *Assemblage*, no. 13 (1990): 36.

¹³ Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 52.

¹⁴ Çelik provides a detailed discussion of the layout of individual exhibitions displaying Islamic architecture and the various formal approaches to create authentic settings. Zeynep Çelik, “Islamic Quarters in Western Cities,” in *Displaying the Orient*, 51-94.

¹⁵ Greenhalgh “The Art and Industry of Mammon,” 272.

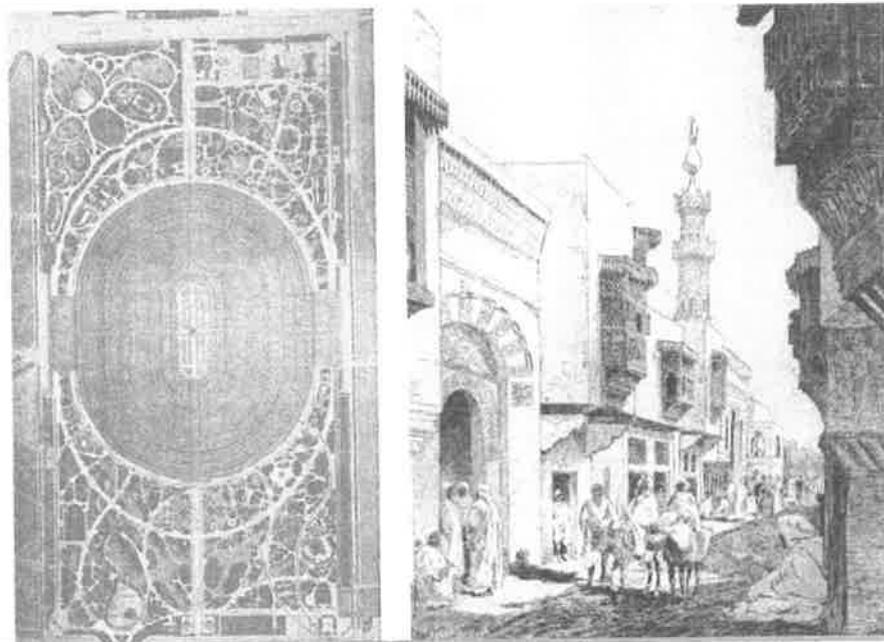
visitor away from Northern Europe.”¹⁶ Pat Morton further identifies the amplification of difference through the manipulation of scale at the 1931 Colonial Exposition. He identifies “exotic quotations” of Cameroon, Togo, Cambodia, French Equatorial Africa or the Belgian Congo.¹⁷ Moreover, eclectic pavilions adopted Western European forms adorned with stylised motifs as in the case of Martinique and Algeria.

Imaginative journeys to these simulated sites highlighted the distance and difference of empire. These exotic displays constituted a major drawcard for the International Exhibitions. Their popularity ensured the ongoing projection of imperial propaganda. Power and pleasure were aligned. A decadent, exotic Orient was consistently constructed to sustain the interest of local audiences while suppressing imperial commercial and political interventions.

The gaiety of the pavilions was purposefully meant to hide the darker side of the glorified conquest, the near genocide which had at different times occurred all over the imperial world, the destruction of cultures, the appropriation of wealth on an unprecedented and greed-ridden scale. The exposition was in every way a harlequin’s mask hiding brutish heavy features beneath. This of course did not prevent it from transfixing its audience.¹⁸

Figure 20
Plan of Universal
Exhibition, 1867.
Paris, France.
Çelik, *Displaying the
Orient*, 53.

Figure 21
Rue du Caire,
Universal Exhibition,
1889. Paris, France.
Çelik, *Displaying
the Orient*, 76.



¹⁶ Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 72.

¹⁷ Pat Morton, “A Study in Hybridity: Madagascar and Morocco at the 1931 Colonial Exposition,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 52, no. 2 (Nov 1998): 84.

¹⁸ Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 68.

However, the distance between ‘self’ and ‘other’—that is, the relationship between nation and empire—was not static. It was manipulated for many reasons. For example, the sense of distance could be exaggerated to draw attention away from national activities. In France, the visual focus on empire masked European territorial losses resulting from the Franco-Prussian war, especially in 1878 and 1889. In this light, constructions of the colonial ‘other’ served to suppress less desirable aspects of national activity.¹⁹ Furthermore, the opulent scale of imperial displays (in France and elsewhere) did not necessarily correspond to the proportion of actual territories.

Distance and difference were also tempered by the reciprocity of nation and empire. Displays of imperial diversity augmented national displays of industry, technology and commodities; so much so that imperial displays were another facet of national identity. In the case of Britain’s Indian and Colonial Exhibition in 1886, Greenhalgh identifies the reduction of India to a British commodity. The Exhibition was the last of four annual exhibitions focusing on single topics (health, fisheries and invention); “India was variously considered as a resource, as a commodity, as something the British had created, as an abstract concept, it could be many things in fact, except people with lives and traditions of their own.”²⁰

The ‘otherness’ of India was further mediated for British audiences to cultivate familiarity with the intent to bring the colonies to the forefront of British consciousness. Rather than stressing the ‘otherness’ of India, it was packaged as an extension of home.

Empire was to be ‘naturalised’ for the British public, settled into their way of life in order to make them feel comfortable with the thought of Africa, Asia and India. If the population at home could be swayed into believing Africa was theirs, the problem of sending troops and resources to defend it could be considerably reduced.²¹

The ambiguity of national and imperial expressions of identity is further identified by architectural historian Pat Morton. He identifies the unintentional mediation of difference in Parisian imperial displays (1931). He contends that the Moroccan Pavilion by Fournex and Albert Parade, for example, demonstrated the sympathetic “arabisation” of French colonial architecture.²² While France sought to demonstrate the difference of the colonies, the hybrid pavilions were ambiguous, challenging rigid colonial power structures. Moreover, they “potentially

¹⁹ Greenhalgh, “The Art and Industry of Mammon,” 273.

²⁰ Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 62.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

²² Morton, “A Study in Hybridity,” 83.

subverted the Exposition's goal of representing the absolute difference between colonized and colonizer."²³

Architectural historian Jean-Claude Vigato supports Morton's view. He identifies the subtleties of the Moroccan pavilion that did not conform to a universal conception of Islamic architecture. He also proposes it is an exception to the arbitrary pavilions of this, and earlier expositions. Instead, the Moroccan pavilion observes the idiosyncracies of medieval Moroccan architecture. Describing the axial arrangement of shops astride a water rill culminating in a courtyard with a water basin and a small pavilion, Vigato maintains

the order of the composition was not externally imposed, for the architect succeeded in appreciating the most essential principles of Islamic architecture rather than being easily seduced by the apparent disorder of which the amateur admirers of the picturesque tended to reproduce, such as Valensi in the Tunisian pavilion.²⁴

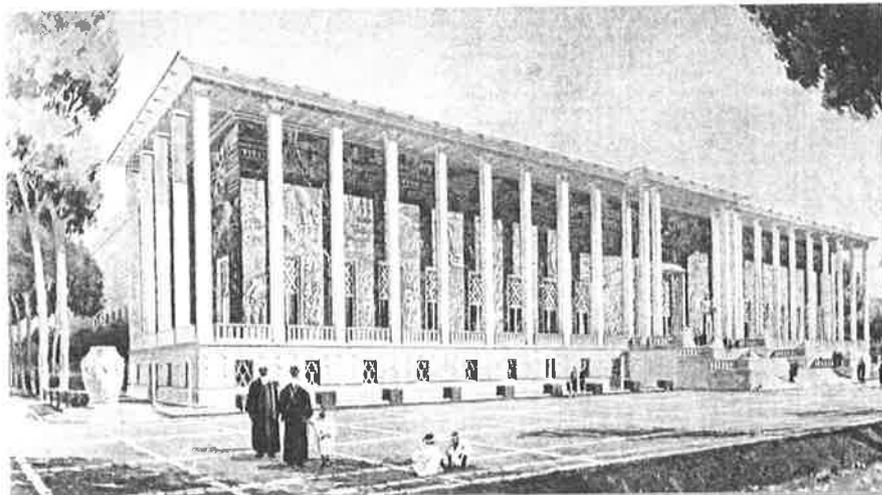


Figure 22
Museum of the Colonies, Universal Exhibition, 1931. Léon Jaussely and Albert Laprade. Paris, France. Vigato, "The Architecture of the Colonial Exhibitions in France," 36.

Vigato also explores the ambiguous relation between architecture and identity with reference to the Museum of the Colonies (Figure 22). The Museum was constructed as a permanent building.²⁵ The architects Léon Jaussely and Albert Laprade sought to create a lasting tribute to France's colonial activities. As such, they rejected formal references to Tunisian, Moroccan or Algerian architecture. Instead, indigenous communities

²³ Ibid., 84.

²⁴ Vigato, "The Architecture of the Colonial Exhibitions in France," 34.

²⁵ Several buildings were constructed for exhibitions that would later become permanent institutions to display material culture. In Glasgow, Kelvingrove Hall was established as The Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery after 1901. The Victoria and Albert Museum replaced London's South Kensington exhibition site. In Paris, the *Trocadero* continued to display non-Western art. The *Palais de Chillot*, which occupies the site today, houses the *Musée de l'Homme*. Robert W. Rydell further discusses the organisation of select exhibits and their subsequent institutionalisation in the United States after the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition (1893). Robert W. Rydell, "The Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 'And was Jerusalem builded here?'" in *Representing the Nation*, 273-303.

were represented undertaking traditional activities in a *bas relief* (1128 sq.m.) on the front façade of the building. This façade is set back from a pseudo-colonnade comprising Ionic capitals. The artist, Alfred Janniot, intended “to extol the wonders of the exotic and the civilising mission of the metropolis.”²⁶ Despite the clear hierarchy of power that is reinforced by the cage-like juxtaposition of the colonnade, colonial interests and activities by colonial subjects are superimposed and intertwined.

In a further challenge to homogeneous representations of empire as ‘other’, Çelik emphasises the active role of non-European participants in the preparation of national displays, even if they were shaped by European formal expectations. Co-ordinators encouraged expressions of cultural identity, structured within the exhibition in clear power relations. However, the inclusion of national exhibits challenged efforts to reduce the ‘otherness’ of empire and Islam to a homogeneous entity. Conceived by non-European exhibitors,

the insistence on national identities in exposition architecture was a reaction both to the European tendency to consider Islamic civilisation a single entity and to Ottoman suzerainty (except where the Ottoman Empire’s own displays were concerned).²⁷

4.2.3 Civic Identity

The reciprocity of national and imperial identity was further complicated by expressions of civic identity. Host cities sought to distinguish themselves on the international stage. For example, Glasgow, popularly nicknamed “Baghdad by the Kelvin,”²⁸ asserted itself as a unique industrial port city with global connections. At the 1929 Ibero-American International Exhibition in Seville, Miles Danby also identifies the desire to represent civic identity; “the city council had insisted that there should be an overriding emphasis on architectural effects that could be seen to be typical of Seville and its history.”²⁹ The exhibition celebrated Spain’s transatlantic outreach. In this context, architect Annibal Gonzalez conceived the Mudéjar Pavilion (Figure 23). It is indicative of an experimental mood exhibiting eclectic references to architecture in Iberia. While Iberia has a long history of invasion and conquest by different peoples—Greek, Carthaginian, Roman, Muslim—this hybrid architectural heritage was distilled as an expression of civic identity.³⁰

²⁶ Jean-Claude Vigato, “The Architecture of the Colonial Exhibitions in France,” 37.

²⁷ Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 136.

²⁸ MacKenzie, *Orientalism*, xx.

²⁹ Miles Danby, *The Fires of Excellence: Spanish and Portuguese Oriental Architecture* (Reading: Garnet Publishing, 1997), 207.

³⁰ Elsewhere in Spain, the architectural heritage of Andalusia was re-invented as an expression of national and civic identity beyond the Exhibition site. The Toledo Railway Station (1916), with its modelled masonry facade and the use of the interlaced arch motif, represents another iteration of the Andalusian architectural heritage for civic purposes.

Comparing this exhibition to Seville's 1992 Exposition, architectural historian Anthony Gristwood also problematises fixed representations of 'otherness'. Gristwood traces a shift in the definition of Spanish identity.³¹ The 1929 Exhibition, centred around the Plaza de España (Figure 24), focused on Spain's glorious history of exploration and discovery highlighting the rich colonies of the Americas. In contrast, the 1992 Expo canvasses Spain's role as a vital economic power within European and global economies. The imperial past is suppressed. Rather than fixing identity, the International Exhibition provided a site of experimentation and re-invention that was by no means static or uniform.



Figure 23
The Mudéjar
Pavilion, Universal
Exhibition, 1929.
Annibal Gonzalez.
Seville, Spain.
Author, 2000.

Yet, even during the inter-war period, visitors to European exhibitions expected to view difference, in spite of contrary realities. Historian Yale Simpson Fletcher examines the challenges presented to exhibition organisers at the Colonial Exposition held in Marseille in 1922. The spatial layout of pavilions simulated the journey from Paris, via Marseille, to the colonies of Northern and Central Africa and Indochina, and to the recent mandates of Syria and Lebanon. The climate of Marseille was praised for providing an entirely suitable setting for the construction and habitation of markets, artisans' workshops, a partial mud village and a temple based on Angkor Watt. A mosque was also included on the site and the *muezzin* called the faithful to prayer. Muslims of diverse colonies prayed together, simultaneously demonstrating the heterogeneity of French imperialism, imperial tolerance and cohesion of the *paix française*. The displays were inhabited by villagers transported from abroad. Quoting Çelik, Fletcher acknowledges the reductive construction of difference "as the architecture demonstrated, the exhibits drew on the same underlying

³¹ Anthony Gristwood, "Commemorating Empire in Twentieth-Century Seville," in *Imperial Cities*, 155-173.

colonialist ‘phantasmatics’—the exotic orient, primitive Africa, mysterious Islam—as other European expositions.”³²

However, Fletcher highlights the ambiguity of the boundaries between the exposition and the surrounding districts of Marseilles. The port city functioned as a “double-gateway” between France and the Mediterranean colonies. The local population comprised immigrants, refugees and soldiers such that the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the exhibition was mirrored in the streets. Fletcher defines Marseille as a liminal site. Instead of clear distinctions between the imperial port of Marseille and colonised Mediterranean neighbours, observation of the Marseille exhibition exposes “the fragility of the imperial divide between metropole and colonies.”³³ Clear distinctions between Marseille and the colonies were “elusive and imagined.” Singling out Syrian and Lebanese soldiers, lauded for their recent exploits in the interests of the allies, Fletcher identifies surprise amongst visitors who expected to encounter difference. Instead, the soldiers resembled

‘those here at home (rather than) soldiers black like Nubians or bronzed like the Indochinese!’ Moreover, they spoke fluent French. Clearly, for many French the term ‘overseas’ denoted a rather simplistic caricature of ‘racial’ and cultural difference.”³⁴

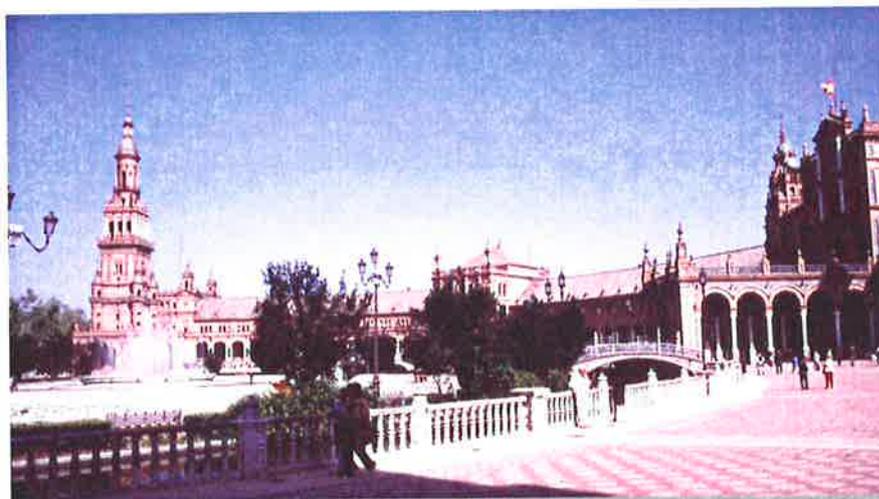


Figure 24
Plaza de España,
Universal
Exhibition, 1929.
Seville, Spain.
Author, 2000.

Attention to the site of Marseille, at the crossroads of a complicated Mediterranean network, reveals the difficulty in asserting boundaries between colonised and coloniser, despite deliberate attempts to construct difference in the exhibits. While Marseille is a unique case, other cities occupied ambiguous sites. International Exhibitions were held throughout Europe, in remote colonial settlements, and in the USA.

³² Yael Simpson Fletcher, “‘Capital of the Colonies’: Real and Imagined Boundaries Between Metropole and Empire in 1920s Marseilles,” in *Imperial Cities*, 141.

³³ *Ibid.*, 137.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 146.

Individual cities forged global relations in different ways. Geographic position, the provenance of imports, the destination of exports, labour relations, migration and conscription all conditioned attitudes to identity. The relationship between local interests and global exposure was continually invented and re-invented.

4.2.4 Building Beyond the Exhibition

These observations of efforts to represent civic, national and imperial identity reveal expectations to build identity at the International Exhibitions. However, while the exhibitions were lauded for their global scope, many events were marked by tension between international exposure and the expression of local or national difference. Rather than clear distinctions between expressions of European identity and Europe's 'others', including Islam, nation and empire emerge as reciprocal entities. Moreover, representations of identity are increasingly fragmented as disparate nations and cities sought to express unique identities. In this light, multiple identities emerge. Moreover, boundaries between 'self' and 'other' are increasingly blurred.

The ambiguous relationship between architecture and identity, or architecture and Islam, is further identified in studies of projects beyond the exhibition. Exotic follies or Oriental pavilions in Europe are well recognised as formal manifestations of Orientalism. In this light, pavilions can be viewed as a perpetuation of European's visual fascination with the Orient and Islam. However, recent studies have enriched discussions of building projects beyond the International Exhibition. They draw attention to an interactive context, the contingencies of architectural practice, and the context of engagement with the Orient that is at odds with Orientalist distinctions between 'self' and 'other'.

This ambiguity is amplified in the case of two projects conceived in Britain as expressions of their respective patron's identity that is conditioned, in turn, by their engagement with Islamic contexts: Sezincote and Brighton Pavilion. Recent studies of these buildings by Jan Pieper, Roderich Fieß and John Mackenzie reveal a connection between the images prepared by travelling artists and architects, and a creative and eclectic enterprise of design.

By the nineteenth century the Far East was established as a precedent for landscape design and garden follies. In addition to literature, the fine arts, popular panorama images and imported *objets d'art*, disparate travels related to the Grand Tour and scholarly expeditions also inspired flights of fancy in architecture and landscape design. Geoffrey Jellicoe states, "China in miniature was re-created in the courts of eighteenth-century

Europe from traveller's descriptions and sketches."³⁵ Chinese gardens were celebrated in Sir William Temple's *Upon the Gardens of Epicurus*, Batty Langley's *New Principles of Gardening* and Sir William Chambers' *Designs of Chinese Buildings*.³⁶ These texts prompted experiments in the Anglo-Chinese garden exemplified in Drottningholm Park, Sweden by F.M. Piper (1799) and the waterways and pavilion of the palace gardens of Tsarkoe Selo, south of St Petersburg. This passion for Chinoiserie was also manifest in pavilions and follies including Chambers' pagoda for Kew Gardens, London, and *La Palazzina Cinese* in the Favorita Park, Palermo, Italy, built in 1799 by Venanzio Marvuglia for the Bourbon King Ferdinand III. Chambers also designed a mosque for Kew in 1761, thus enlarging the cosmopolitan taste for the exotic in garden design. Illustrations by architects like Fischer Von Erlach acquired popularity and many country manors or villas adopted Oriental motifs or forms. However, these influences tended to be limited to sites dedicated to leisure. Estates like Sezincote or Brighton, begun in the early part of the nineteenth century, were influential in Europe and North America. However, these projects are responses to complex attitudes to the Orient that cannot be limited to visual delight.

Sezincote

Sezincote, begun in 1806, was conceived as an Indian pavilion and water garden (The Thornery) by the architect Samuel Pepys Cockerell, the patron's brother (Figure 25). While the inspiration for the project derived from the Indian travels of his brothers, the forms are inspired by lithographs of sketches and watercolours of cities, architecture and landscapes in India and the Far East published in *Oriental Scenery* (6 vols. 1808) prepared by Thomas and William Daniells, artists who also travelled extensively in the subcontinent between 1786 and 1793. The Daniells brothers were known to the Cockerells and they also prepared preliminary designs for the house and garden. Colonel John Cockerell initiated the project after his return from extensive military campaigns in India. After his death in 1798, the estate fell to his brothers. Charles Cockerell was an administration official for the East India Company in India from 1776-90.

Unlike his brothers, S.P. Cockerell never travelled to India. The design for Sezincote might be interpreted as a detached translation of their experiences and the images available to the architect. Samuel did travel between 1810 and 1817 and his views on architecture in Istanbul are

³⁵ Sir Geoffrey Jellicoe and Susan Jellicoe, *The Landscape of Man*, Third ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 228.

³⁶ Sir William Temple, *Upon the Gardens of Epicurus* (1685); Batty Langley, *New Principles of Gardening* (London: A. Bettesworth and J. Batley, 1728); Sir William Chambers, *Designs of Chinese Buildings* (1757).

disparaging. Highlighting S.P. Cockerell's attitudes to the novelty of Islamic architecture, Crinson states, "much as other styles might imply moral or poetic ideas, so Islamic architecture was often linked to pleasure, femininity and entertainment."³⁷ Sezincote was conceived as an English country manor and the Regency interior offers contemporary comforts within an exotic shell informed by the monumental proportions of an onion-domed Mughal tomb.

However, architectural historian Jan Pieper argues that Sezincote cannot be reduced to an exotic pleasure house. Instead, its realisation is indicative of a tension-filled process that encompasses the remoteness of India, individual identity, and rich experiences of India simultaneously.³⁸



Figure 25
Aquatint by John
Martin of Sezincote,
1806. S.P.Cockerell.
Gloucestershire,
United Kingdom.
Pieper, *Sezincote*, 57.

Pieper examines the difference of Sezincote in relation to the identity of the patrons and the architect's attitudes to early nineteenth century architectural practice. While the forms are inspired by the Cockerells' engagement in India, Sezincote does not reproduce the accommodation of the orderly military camps or the colonial bungalow. In India, these ordered forms distinguished British settlement, "where a small group of colonial masters had a perfectly good reason to fear for their cultural identity."³⁹ At Sezincote, the design differentiates the dwellers from their surroundings in "conceited isolation."⁴⁰ In Britain, this exotic exercise distinguishes the patrons' identity.

³⁷ Crinson, *Empire Building*, 21.

³⁸ Pieper, "Sezincote," 55.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 64.

Sezincote also represents a departure in the context of architectural practice. At the end of the eighteenth century, architects explored the possibilities of picturesque arrangements of pavilions in the landscape. For example, Stourhead and Blenheim were remodelled in terms of the aesthetic principles of picturesque variety, surprise, combination and contrast, although the manors themselves were neoclassical. Instead, Sezincote house itself represents a manifestation of these principles where the exotic formal references demonstrate a picturesque contrast of opposites. Moreover, the eclectic juxtaposition of forms inspired by a variety of exotic precedents, and the contrast with the landscape is identified by Pieper as a departure from contemporary expectations for a clear relationship between cultural difference and the natural and spatial environment within which culture is *rooted*, defined as cultural determinism, or “the theory of milieu.”⁴¹

Pieper further contends that a hierarchy of cultural difference is absent at Sezincote where English and Indian garden traditions are juxtaposed, and Indian gods occupy the expected plinths of Greek heroes, pointing to correspondences between mythologies where the aspirations and anxieties of humanity are shared. As such, Sezincote is a creative response to the individual aspirations of the patrons conceived in a liberal, cosmopolitan framework that embraces the possibilities of universal aesthetic principles. Pieper concludes,

standing directly on the threshold of the euro-centric, and essentially racist Victorian Age which was to turn away from and forget all the knowledge gained in the early, enlightened phase of the encounter between Europe and Asia, Sezincote must be understood as the work of liberal-minded men who had learned, as the elder Cockerell brothers had learned in India, that the versicolored variety of cultures cannot be comprehended and grasped with concepts of evaluation and causality.⁴²

Brighton Pavilion

British fascination with India is further manifest on a royal scale at Brighton Pavilion, commissioned by George IV and built between 1815 and 1822 (Figure 26). The Pavilion is part of a larger estate that already boasted palatial stables (begun in 1803 and designed by William Porden). Like Sezincote, known of by George IV, the final design by John Nash was inspired by images in *Oriental Scenery*.⁴³ However, these images are translated into a “pan-oriental”⁴⁴ concoction comprising onion-domes,

⁴¹ Ibid., 68.

⁴² Ibid., 72.

⁴³ The Prince Regent invited designs from Henry Holland, William Porden, Humphry Repton and James Wyatt before settling on the second of Nash's schemes in 1815 when the necessary funds and land became available.

⁴⁴ Conner, *Oriental Architecture*, 153.

multi-foil arches, multiple minarets, ornamented colonnades and opulent, richly coloured interiors. The Pavilion was far removed from any specific Mughal precedent. Recognising this distancing, architectural historian Patrick Conner states,

Sezincote and the Royal Pavilion represent fundamentally different conceptions. The former was the product of a trio of enthusiasts, each devoted in his own way to Indian tradition and detail, which by careful planning unfolded a balanced and consistent composition in a style to which they were deeply attached. But at Brighton neither client nor architect had any personal commitment to India. Their resources were boldness and imagination, and a readiness to invent and combine forms without feeling themselves constrained by precedent. If Sezincote is an elegant tribute to Mughal India, the Royal Pavilion is an evocation of the wildest splendours of the East.⁴⁵

Figure 26
Brighton Pavilion,
1815-23. John Nash.
Brighton, United
Kingdom.
Author, 2001.

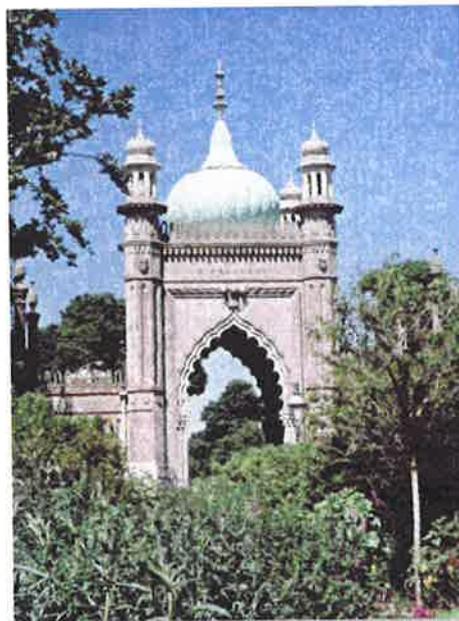


Figure 27
Music Room Interior,
Brighton Pavilion,
1815-23. John Nash.
Brighton, United
Kingdom.
Jessica M.F.
Rutherford, *The Royal
Pavilion*: (Brighton:
Brighton Borough
Council, 1995), 20.



However, MacKenzie complicates a straightforward Orientalist reading of Brighton Pavilion as an exotic experiment. Nash's eclectic and creative interpretation of the Daniells' images cannot be dismissed as an indifferent response to these precedents even though Nash, like S.P. Cockerell, never travelled to India. This attitude is shared with his royal patron. MacKenzie praises experiments like Brighton Pavilion as healthy, creative and eclectic Victorian exercises that sought to extend the repertoire of formal composition. Catering to the hybrid taste of the Edwardian and Victorian period, this taste was cultivated by the expansive gaze conditioned by travel and exploration.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 132.

MacKenzie highlights diverse and positive attitudes to the Orient in European visual arts in spite of unequal power relations presented by European imperialism. While MacKenzie does not dismiss the reductive representations emerging in the nineteenth century,⁴⁶ he is critical of the substitution of late twentieth century prejudices that are not “appropriately contextualised,” including “appealing languor for sloth” or “female elegance, repose and self-expression for male dominance and possession.”⁴⁷

MacKenzie foregrounds the interactive context of this rich period of artistic work in an effort to counter reductive interpretations of material culture, to which European artists were exposed, and the influence that it had on their own visual expression. Commenting on the marriage of illusion and luxury appropriate to a princely, cosmopolitan image, Architectural historian Roderich Fieß also states, “in England, there is a tradition of peaceful coexistence; wherever in the eighteenth century nobility and gentry withdrew into private seclusion, the *villegiatura* is transformed into a masked ball.”⁴⁸ Yet, Brighton was by no means a secluded coastal village. Instead, the popular resort constituted an exotic pleasure ground in its own right and Brighton Pavilion spawned many local derivations contributing to the individuality of this seaside resort. Oriental forms were re-invented to express local identity at the periphery of Britain, both physically and conceptually, as a site of (often illicit) pleasure.⁴⁹

While the architecture of Brighton had a limited influence in Britain, the Royal Pavilion inspired “bulky transatlantic offspring.”⁵⁰ Nash’s eclectic pavilion appealed to the circus master P.T. Barnum as a demonstration of his individual and popular showmanship. The Barnum mansion included many similar details to Brighton Pavilion derived from images provided by New York architect Leopold Eidlitz. Conceived in 1846 and constructed at Bridgeport, Connecticut, “Iranistan” represented a further distancing of the Orient. Until it was destroyed by fire in 1857, the mansion was indicative of the more sedate North American interest in Chinoiserie and the imagery of the Orient, further exemplified in the Italianate New Haven Railway Station (also 1846) by Henry Austin, adorned with a Chinese pagoda and an Indian stupa. In the same period Samuel Sloan’s drawings for an Oriental Villa (1852) combining

⁴⁶ Ibid., 107.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 214.

⁴⁸ Roderich Fieß, “Views of the East. A Note on the Royal Pavilion at Brighton,” *Daidalos* 19 (Mar 15, 1986): 74-75.

⁴⁹ Rob Shields, “Ritual Pleasures of a Seaside Resort: Liminality, Carnavalesque, and Dirty Weekends,” in *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1991), 73-105.

⁵⁰ Conner, *Oriental Architecture*, 179.

European and Oriental details with an onion-dome inspired the design for the mansion “Longwood” (also known as Nutt’s Folly), conceived for Dr Haller Nutt, a Mississippi cotton planter who had travelled to Egypt. The New York Crystal Palace, designed for the World’s Fair of 1853-54, represented a further permutation of Nash’s pavilion. In time, North American travellers were also drawn to the Near East and Grabar acknowledges the simultaneous search for origins by American Protestants within this exotic context in his brief introduction to the phenomenon of Orientalism in American Art.⁵¹

These projects served as projections of the patron’s identity, differentiated from their surroundings as an expression of ‘self’ rather than a representation of cultural ‘other’. Yet, it is difficult to separate these expressions from the cosmopolitan world-view enlarged by nineteenth century travel. While these liberal attitudes are indicative of a European preoccupation with universal principles and the creative possibilities for architectural practice in the nineteenth century, they further complicate the concept of a fixed relationship between architecture and identity.

Conditional Identity Abroad

Constructions of identity cultivated at the International Exhibitions were conceived at the same time that Europeans sought to construct images of imperial identity abroad. Translations of European cities were evident in the Ville Nouvelle, urban reforms and individual building commissions. Crinson examines the way Victorian architects manipulated their knowledge of the “architectural orient” to communicate imperial identity abroad. His study of British building projects in the Near East and Egypt is contextualised within Britain’s increasing diplomatic, missionary and commercial links and the formation of British communities. Crinson explores how, unlike the experimental exhibition pavilions, these projects occupied real-time and space fulfilling different agendas. Practical and socio-political contingencies forced the reconciliation of imperial vision with contextual constraints of labour, materials and finance under the close observation of (assumed) impressionable neighbours. Crinson contradicts the prevalent expectation to represent architecture as a material expression of cultural identity.

In the informal empire architecture gave the British a means to establish and present themselves within a different host culture in a pointedly material way. Any preconceptions of the Orient might be forced into subordination, momentary or not, to this end as the temporalities of politics, war, inflation and slump took their toll on

⁵¹ Oleg Grabar, “Roots and Others,” in *Noble Dreams Wicked Pleasures: Orientalism in America, 1870-1930*, ed. Holly Edwards, 3-10 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

cultural artifacts. To put it another way, the Orient as an imaginary construction in writing might hinder the actual construction of real foundations, walls and roofs; consequently failure, contingency and incompetence have to be accepted into analyses of this architecture.⁵²

In the case of St Mark's Church in Alexandria, architect James Wild drew on eclectic sources, including Byzantine and Islamic architecture. The city was already home to people of diverse faiths after the Treaty of Amiens (1803) established foreign trading privileges. The site for the church was granted by Mohammad 'Ali in 1839. While British critics were alarmed by Wild's failure to design a meaningful Gothic structure, Wild defended the church on the basis of its context. Crinson identifies the formal resonance of St Mark's with the existing built fabric. Through this visual compatibility the Church was acceptable to the local population, all the more vital given the Church's missionary imperative. While it was expected that the building should express imperial and religious identity through conventional Gothic forms, the forms of buildings like St Mark's Church were manipulated in light of the social and political interactions of the context.

At a ceremony celebrating the placement of the foundation stone for the Crimea Church in Istanbul (1858), British Ambassador Lord Stratford de Redcliffe praised the successful alliance between the Ottoman Empire and the British in the Crimea. Crinson proposes the speech alludes to a complex agenda. The proselytising mission of the Anglican Church demanded visual communication to a local audience while asserting an image of Britain. In addition, the project needed to address the contradictory role of a benevolent image of Britain operating in tandem with intentions for commercial and administrative expansion. Crinson argues that the Crimean Church was

a project with both a particular political job and a multitude of audiences. In these and other respects the resonances and meanings of the Crimean Church, both as an ideal project at the time of its competition, and as a completed building, were more intricate than any previous British building in Istanbul and, arguably, more richly layered and over determined than much contemporary architecture in Britain.⁵³

The construction of the Crimean Church, considered in the context of this informal colonial encounter draws attention to the complexity of encounters between Britain and the Ottoman Porte. It reveals the fragility of British and Anglican identities as they were expressed in these settlements abroad. It draws attention to expectations to explain identity

⁵² Crinson, *Empire Building*, 7.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 125.

in architecture. However, it also reveals the attenuation of expressions of identity in experimental projects that respond to interactive contexts of informal imperialism, and the exploration of these complexities in the scheme for the church.

By shifting the emphasis away from the architectural object to the processes and contingencies of architectural production in these complicated “contact-zones,” Crinson argues that these projects cannot be reduced to polarised representations of ‘Islamic’ or ‘British’ architecture.

4.3 SUMMARY

The International Exhibitions presented a stage to represent different cultures as an expression of imperial power. The tendency to represent Islam and Islamic architecture in image and text, and to build Islamic architecture at the exhibitions is well recognised in critiques of Orientalism and architectural Orientalism inspired by Edward Said, and evident in the critical scholarship of Mark Crinson, Zeynep Çelik, Leila Kinney, and others. However, by locating expectations to build identity in the context of nineteenth century encounters, I have endeavoured to unsettle an essential relationship between architecture and identity. Attention to the complicated “contact-zones” within which pavilions and new building projects were conceived and realised complicates the feasibility of representing essential difference pointing to the limits of materialising the ‘other’ in architecture.

The ambiguous relationship between architecture and identity is further complicated at the International Exhibitions. Identities were increasingly fragmented as national rivals, civic authorities and colonial settlements asserted their differences. Moreover, the reciprocal context of imperialism generated the constant re-invention of material expressions of ‘self’ and ‘other’. Difference was asserted visually, but pavilions were ephemeral. Expressions of identity were invented and re-invented in comparative, successive exhibitions. The complicated relationship between architecture and identity extends beyond the exhibition. Observation of building projects in Britain, and abroad, reveals the contingency of architectural practices shaped by disparate, contextual economic, material, practical or environmental constraints. Architectural practice cannot be limited to singular expressions of identity. Although conceptions of ‘otherness’ were fixed in text and in architectural projects, recognition of the paradigm of encounter draws attention to the constant realignment of boundaries of ‘self’ and ‘other’, revealing the difficulty of representing architecture as a material expression of identity.

How, then, does the ACAA address this issue of representation? The foundation of an award for architectural excellence in Muslim communities implies a perceived relationship between architecture and Islam. Is the Award predicated on the idea that Islamic architecture can be built? Does the Award promote a fixed relationship between architecture and Islam? How are ideologies of Islam articulated? In what ways are the contingencies of practice addressed? Or, do ideologies of identity “hinder the actual construction of real foundations, walls and roofs?”⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Crinson, *Empire Building*, 7.

PART II

A CRITIQUE OF THE AGA KHAN AWARD FOR ARCHITECTURE

5 The Aga Khan's Mission

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the nineteenth century, architectural historians expected to represent architecture as an essential expression of culture. Architects also expected to represent culture in displays and pavilions at the International Exhibitions, and, by extension, to build identity at the Exhibitions and beyond. This expectation is not limited to the nineteenth century. David Kolb, for example, proposes that the search for unified meaning has been consistent among key architectural practitioners and theorists; "it was the business of the architect to express the spirit of the age."¹ He identifies this search with reference to Richard Payne Knight, Viollet-le-Duc, Louis Sullivan, Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier and Paolo Portoghesi. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, there was renewed emphasis on cultural identity and the search for cultural *roots*. This is not limited to architecture. In "The Concept(s) of Culture" cultural critic William H. Sewell Jr. observes an interdisciplinary preoccupation with cultural identity arising from challenges to the grand narratives of imperialism, nationalism and modernism.² Influential architectural historian Spiro Kostof articulates this preoccupation amongst architects in AKAAs Seminar 10. Kostof stresses that the search for meaning is not limited to the Islamic context. Rather, it is shared by architects in the face of internationalism who seek "cultural anchors in the surging tides of efficient and formulaic uniformity."³ In 1994, Oleg Grabar further locates the AKAAs amidst the pervasive preoccupation with "architectural identity, of reliance on native rather than imported practices and talents, of an ideologically significant rather than merely antiquarian past."⁴ In what ways, then, does the AKAAs reward the materialisation of cultural *roots* in architecture?

In Part II, it is my intention to examine the phenomenon of the AKAAs, with its emphasis on new architectural projects for Muslim communities, in relation to the search for Islamic identity. While the expectation for

¹ David Kolb, "Building Together / Buildings Together," in *Postmodern Sophistications: Philosophy, Architecture and Tradition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 172.

² William H. Sewell Jr., "The Concept(s) of Culture," in *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*, ed. Victoria Bonnell and Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 37.

³ Spiro Kostof, "The Education of the Muslim Architect," in *Architecture Education in the Islamic World*, Proceedings of Seminar 10, ed. Ahmet Evin (Singapore: Eurasia Press, 1986), 2. The search for meaning in architecture, amidst perceptions of loss of identity and sense of place attributed to the increasing uniformity of modern architecture, is eloquently stated in Geoffrey Broadbent's preface to Juan Pablo Bonta, *Architecture and Interpretation: A Study of Expressive Systems of Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1979). For further investigation of these concerns at the time of the Award's conception see Charles Jencks and George Baird eds., *Meaning in Architecture* (New York: Braziller, 1970). For a recent discussion of these concerns, see Chris Abel, *Architecture and Identity: Responses to Cultural and Technological Change* (Boston: Architectural Press, 2000).

⁴ Oleg Grabar, "The Mission and its People" in *Architecture for Islamic Societies Today*, ed. James Steele (Geneva: Academy Editions, 1994), 7.

architecture to materialise cultural identity endures, my aim is to show how the AKAA challenges conventional discourses of Islamic architecture. Having identified the tendency to represent an essential relationship between architecture and Islam thus far, I propose that the paradigm of encounter presents insights into the Award's dynamic approach to the representation of architecture and identity: firstly, in the way that 'encounters' provide motives for plural assertions of 'self' and 'other'; and secondly, in the way that 'encounters' present insights into the interactive contexts within which architecture is built.

The Aga Khan's perceptions and experiences of historical encounters between Islam and the West are central to the foundation of the AKAA. It was founded in response to his perception of deterioration in the built environment and the lack of contemporary architectural precedents after his efforts to commission a teaching hospital in Karachi, Pakistan.⁵ To redress this situation, he founded a unique programme of activities to discuss the complex issues Muslims face, and to explore possibilities for future architectural practice. Reflecting on the terms of reference presented to them by the Award Steering Committee in 1980, the Master Jury sought to recognise projects

'which demonstrate architectural excellence at all levels'; which respond to their 'social, economic, technical, physical, and even environmental challenges'; which 'nurture 'a heightened awareness of the roots and essences of Muslim culture'; and which 'have the potential to stimulate related developments elsewhere in the Muslim world.'⁶

Since 1980, the Award has continued to privilege architectural excellence in specifically 'Muslim' or 'Islamic' communities.⁷ The Award promotes the agency of Muslims who build for themselves amidst escalating global encounters. Parallels can be drawn between the Award literature and arguments for an essential relationship between architecture and identity, "the roots and essences of Muslim culture," in discourses of conservation, regionalism, or symbolism (discussed in Chapter 6).

This rhetoric of identity is one of the most prominent perceptions outside the AKAA. The pertinent question, then, to return to Said, is "how extreme and unchangeable" is this rhetoric?⁸ How does the AKAA

⁵ Aga Khan IV, "Opening Remarks," in *Toward an Architecture in the Spirit of Islam*, Proceedings of Seminar I, ed. Renata Holod (Philadelphia: Smith-Edwards-Dunlap, 1978), viii.

⁶ AKAA, "Report of the 1980 Master Jury," AKDN, http://www.akdn.org/agency/akaa/firstcycle/mj_80.html (accessed Mar 20, 2003).

⁷ This is evidenced, not least, in the subheadings of the publications documenting each Award cycle. For example, *Building in the Islamic World Today* (1983); *The Search for Architectural Excellence in Muslim Societies* (1989); *Architecture for Islamic Societies Today* (1994); *Creativity and Social Transformations in Islamic Cultures* (1995).

⁸ Edward W. Said, "Afterword," in *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 333.

construct a 'self' image? Does it perpetuate expectations to build a unified "spirit of the age" or, in this case, a "spirit of Islam"?⁹ I will argue that the answers to these questions lie in the Award's visionary "space for freedom." Through a sophisticated programme of activities the Award brings individuals together to share their perspectives on architecture and Islam. This has enabled the expression of essentialist ideologies of identity, but it is not limited to them. Identity is not fixed in this "space for freedom." The Award has never been labelled "The Aga Khan Award for Islamic Architecture."¹⁰ Coexistent, plural identity claims are juxtaposed. This is complemented by the recognition of diverse projects. Thus, the subsequent chapters tease out a dynamic relationship between architecture and Islam. In Chapter 7, this culminates in a discussion of creative architectural practices that coexist with identity claims. It highlights the possibility of "building together" amidst ongoing "historical contact" and "entanglement at intersecting regional, national and transnational levels."¹¹

5.2 AGA KHAN INITIATIVES

The AKA is one of a number of initiatives that derive from the unique intersection of spiritual, regal and entrepreneurial circumstances. While the Aga Khan is spiritual leader of the Ismaili community, he is uniquely poised between Islam and the West. This position continues to shape the activities he has founded.

As direct descendants of the Prophet Mohammed, Aga Khan IV and his forefathers provide spiritual guidance to the Ismaili community. The Ismailis have revolutionary origins as a Persian based sect that broke away from the Fatimids in 1094, acquiring the reputation of assassins.¹² Since his succession as Imam in 1957, the Aga Khan has introduced revolutionary change through the co-ordination of disparate activities to improve the welfare of the Ismaili community comprising over 15

⁹ Aga Khan IV, "Opening Remarks," viii.

¹⁰ Secretary General Suha Özkan reiterates this point in an interview with Stuart Klawans in July 2004, "A Quarter Century of Change: Interview with Suha Özkan," AKA, <http://www.akdn.org/agency/interview> (accessed Feb 8, 2005). Özkan further rejects an overarching notion of Islamic architecture in Suha Özkan, "Defining Architecture," *Architectural Design* 74, no. 6 (Nov-Dec 2004): 24-31. However, an award for 'Islamic' architecture is emphasised by external reporters. See, for example, "News from the Islamic World. Master Jury for Aga Khan Award," *Islamic Voice*, <http://www.islamicvoice.com/april.2004/news.html> (accessed Dec 10, 2004); John Feeney, "Building for the 800 Million: Interview with Hassan Fathy in 1981," *Saudi Aramco World* (Jul-Aug 1999), http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/199904/building_for.the.800.million-an.interview.html (accessed Dec 10, 2004); Knowledge in Action, "Global Heroes: From Bullets to Buckets: Allan Cain in Angola Prize," *The Canadian*, <http://www.sounddevelopment.com/globalheroes/original/tblazers/sl/cain.html> (accessed Dec 10, 2004).

¹¹ James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 7.

¹² John L. Esposito, *Islam: The Straight Path*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 46. For a measured discussion of Ismaili origins, see Farhad Daftary, *Assassin Legends: Myths of the Isma'ilis* (London: I.B. Tauris and Company, 1995). Lewis re-frames his earlier publications on the origins of Ismailism in the context of terrorism today in Bernard Lewis, *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2001).

million adherents dispersed around the globe. Biographer Mihir Bose describes the Aga Khan as a “super Third World social worker.”¹³ Further, John L. Esposito, a renowned scholar of Islam, recognises the Aga Khan’s commitment to the spiritual and practical needs of the Ismaili community and their translation in the contemporary global context; “as its living Imam, he has been able to reinterpret Islam to respond to modern life.”¹⁴

This commitment is part of an ongoing humanitarian legacy promoted by the Aga Khan Imamate and initiated on a broad scale by Sir Sultan Mohammed Shah, Aga Khan III, former president of the League of Nations. His son, Prince Ali Khan (His Highness’ father) was Pakistan’s ambassador to the USA. Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, His Highness’ uncle, was the former High Commissioner for Refugees for the United Nations. Prince Sadruddin also acted as a co-ordinator for assistance to Afghanistan, and assisted United Nations efforts for Iraq, Kuwait, Iraq-Iran and Iraq-Turkey border areas.¹⁵ The Aga Khan’s brother is a member of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Both he and the Aga Khan’s children are involved in various aspects of socio-economic development as part of the Imamate’s institutions.

5.2.1 Engaging with Islam

Aga Khan IV has been recognised for his commitment to humanitarian causes, including a United Nations Human Rights Award.¹⁶ However, he is not active in an overt political arena. Instead, the Aga Khan focuses on the practical needs of Ismaili communities. These extend to shelter, clean water, health care, farming, education (particularly for children and women) and economic development. He emphasises the role of individual communities as both beneficiaries and agents of change. MIT President Charles M. Vest proposes “the Aga Khan stands as a unique figure on the international scene today. Through private philanthropy, he has enabled the very poor in Asia and Africa to enhance their lives.”¹⁷

In the 1970s, the Aga Khan Foundation (AKF) initiated a “hands-on approach” to establish business needs in diverse sites, including Bangladesh, Canada and Portugal.¹⁸ Commenting on the Aga Khan’s

¹³ Mihir Bose, *The Aga Khans* (London: World’s Work, 1984), 12.

¹⁴ Esposito, *Islam*, 47.

¹⁵ AKDN, “His Highness the Aga Khan,” AKDN, <http://www.akdn.org/hh/highness.html> (accessed Jul 20, 2000). The unique role of the Aga Khan, straddling Islam and the West, is discussed by Marisa Bartolucci in “Who is the Aga Khan?” *Metropolis* 17, no. 2 (Sept 1997): 67, 105.

¹⁶ AKDN, “His Highness the Aga Khan,” AKDN, <http://www.akdn.org/hh/highness.html> (accessed Jul 20, 2000).

¹⁷ AKPIA, *AKP Newsletter* 6, no. 2 (Spring 1994): 5.

¹⁸ Anne Edwards, *Throne of Gold: The Lives of the Aga Khans* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1995), 291.

entrepreneurial initiatives for *Forbes*, journalist Pranay Gupte states “what turns the Aga Khan on is changing lives through entrepreneurial capitalism—adapted to the historical and cultural needs of particular Ismaili communities.”¹⁹ While promoting sustainable economic development and self-reliance, the AKF also enabled migration and resettlement for Ismailis in intolerant political situations. The diffusion of the global Ismaili community is shaped by migration and diaspora.²⁰ This is exemplified by the assisted relocation of nearly 10,000 Ugandan Ismailis to Britain after Idi Amin’s rise to power in 1972.²¹ In such circumstances, funds derived from contributions of *dasong* (tithe) paid to the Aga Khan are returned to the Ismaili community. Thus, the Aga Khan is widely celebrated; “Ismailis, even dissident, lapsed ones, are unanimous in praising Aga Khan IV.”²²

5.2.2 Engaging with the West

The Aga Khan’s interventions in the Ismaili community are complemented by financial investments in Europe, particularly in the hotel industry and horseracing. As a result, the Aga Khan has amassed enormous wealth primarily managed from Britain, France and Switzerland. The Aga Khan holds British citizenship and his family’s ties with the British empire date back four generations to Aga Khan I (Hasan Ali Shah) after he fled Persia for India in 1840 with his principal wife, Sam I Jahan Khamun, daughter of the Shah of Persia. The royal title of Aga Khan dates to this union. Queen Elizabeth II granted him the title of His Highness in 1957. In 1959, the Shah of Iran conferred the title of Royal Highness.

The Aga Khan’s European investments and investiture are complemented by his enthusiasm for Western education (His Highness received a Bachelor of Arts from Harvard University) and the principles of technology, industry and progress. Bose states

the Aga, himself, has sought to promote an image of the moderate Muslim leader who can deal with the West and who leads a forward-looking community in Asia, Africa and the Middle East, keen to harness the technology of the West and promote economic well-being and prosperity.²³

Thus, the Aga Khan is uniquely poised between the needs of the Ismaili community and the possibilities of Western economic and commercial opportunities. This position underpins each Aga Khan initiative. These initiatives are part of an umbrella institution, The Aga Khan

¹⁹ Pranay Gupte, “Venture Capitalist to the Poor,” *Forbes* (May 31, 1999): 58.

²⁰ See Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 871-872.

²¹ Edwards, *Throne of Gold*, 295.

²² Bose, *The Aga Khans*, 14.

²³ *Ibid.*, 12.

Development Network (AKDN). This manages economic development projects including tourism and industry services, financial institutions and social development. The Network co-ordinates the AKF, the Aga Khan Universities and the Aga Khan Education, Health, and Planning and Building Services. While education initiatives evident in the Aga Khan Universities aspire to long-term intervention with indirect immediate benefits, they are complemented by interventions that focus on immediate needs. In 1999, the AKDN distributed approximately \$US200 million and of 100 companies financed 95 are earning profits.²⁴ These initiatives, responsible to the Imamate until they are launched as public companies, respond to a proactive mission that aims to sustain improved living conditions.

The AKDN is further engaged with the West through the medium of representation. While the AKDN focuses on Muslim communities, the target audience for material published by the AKDN is Western. While many texts are published in Arabic and French, English is the primary language of the publicity material and publications documenting AKDN activities, including seminar proceedings, books, research, reports and electronic media (website, CD-Rom).

5.2.3 Promoting Architectural Roots

The Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) is another branch of the AKDN. It is defined as a “private, non-denominational, philanthropic foundation”²⁵ concerned with the “cultural dimension of development.”²⁶ It co-ordinates enterprises relating to the built environment comprising education, research and practice. These include the Historic Cities Support Programme (HCSP), the Education and Culture Programme and the Aga Khan Award for Architecture (AKAA). Despite the geographic diffusion of the Ismaili community and the engagements that the Aga Khan actively pursues with Muslim communities and the West, each of these programmes tend to focus on the ways that architecture can materialise cultural identity, or, to return to Clifford, cultivate cultural roots.

The HCSP (established 1991) aims to “implement conservation and urban revitalisation projects in culturally significant sites of the Islamic world.”²⁷ This is exemplified in the revitalisation of Samarkand, Iran,²⁸

²⁴ Gupte, “Venture Capitalist,” 62.

²⁵ “The Aga Khan Award for Architecture,” in *Legacies for the Future: Contemporary Architecture in Islamic Societies*, ed. Cynthia Davidson (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 6.

²⁶ AKTC, “Background and History,” AKAA, <http://www.akaa1998.org/back.html> (accessed Jul 7, 2002).

²⁷ AKTC, *The Cultural Agency of the AKDN* (Geneva: AKDN, 2004), 3.

²⁸ Don Mowatt, “Journey to Samarkand,” in *The Aga Khan Award for Architecture: Building for Tomorrow*, ed. Azim A. Nanji, 114-117 (London: Academy Editions, 1995).

and the urban conservation of Zanzibar Stone Town, Tanzania.²⁹ In addition, the programme orchestrated the reconstruction and conservation of Baltit Fort, Northern Pakistan. In these instances, tourism is encouraged for local prosperity.³⁰ In the case of Cairo's ongoing Al-Azhar Park development, it is hoped that the project will act as a catalyst for the district's revitalisation.³¹

HCSP documentation is published by the AKTC. In each case, the projects are justified on the basis of their perceived historical and cultural significance. These objectives are shared with UNESCO and identified by architect Saïd Zulficar.³² Speaking on behalf of UNESCO's Division of Cultural Heritage at ACAA Seminar 2, he highlights the value of the built environment as a site of cultural identity that is under threat, where "disfigurement or demolition through neglect, ignorance, deliberate indifference, short-sighted policies or individual vandalism implies the eradication of whole chapters of a nation's history."³³ The loss of historic towns is declared as an act of "cultural suicide," an irreversible end to culture that could be avoided through practical intervention.³⁴ The role of the built environment as a locus for cultural identity is stated forcefully by HCSP Director Stefano Bianca with reference to Mostar Old Town in the wake of the Bosnian War (1992-95). Bianca describes the ruins as the "deliberate destruction of the very symbol of its political and cultural heritage."³⁵ The ACAA awarded the community's initiative to revitalise Mostar in 1986. In 2000, the HCSP together with the World Monuments Fund share their mission with UNESCO in a joint effort to rehabilitate the town.

The AKTC promotes architectural research through the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture (AKPIA) founded in 1979 at Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) after an initial gift of \$US11.6 million. The Aga Khan Professorship was

²⁹ The Stone Town of Zanzibar was added to the World Heritage List in 2000. See Titus DaCosta and Eric F. Meffert, "The Stone Town of Zanzibar," in *The Architecture of Housing*, Proceedings of International Seminar, ed. Robert Powell (Geneva: ACAA, 1990). Further Aga Khan initiatives in Tanzania are discussed in Paul J. Kaiser, *Culture, Transnationalism, and Civil Society: Aga Khan Social Service Initiatives in Tanzania* (Westport: Praeger, 1996).

³⁰ Martin Filler, "Architecture's Prophet Motive," *House Beautiful* (Mar 1999): 142.

³¹ This revitalisation is discussed in Francesco Siravo, *Three Pilot Projects for Conservation and Urban Revitalisation in Cairo's Al-Darb Al-Ahmar District* (Geneva: AKTC and HCSP, 1998).

³² UNESCO is committed to recognising and preserving sites through legal, technical and financial aid, education, and communication about these sites locally and internationally. Several World Heritage Cities (established 1993) have been recognised by the ACAA for collaborative conservation efforts. These include infrastructure improvements in Old City Sana'a, Yemen (1986); Kairouan, Tunisia (1988); Aleppo, Syria (1986); and Baku, Azerbaijan (2000). UNESCO, *World Heritage Cities*, UNESCO, <http://whc.unesco.org/sites/cities.html> (accessed Mar 14, 2004).

³³ Mildred F. Schmertz, "Design in the Spirit of Islam: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture," *Architectural Record* 165, no. 3 (Mar 1979): 121.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 121.

³⁵ AKTC Technical Support Office, *Planning For Historic City of Mostar: Draft Report* (Istanbul: AKTC and World Monuments Fund, 2000), 3.

established in 1980 with the appointment of eminent historian of Islamic architecture Oleg Grabar, followed by Gülru Necipoğlu in 1994. The AKPIA was established as a centre for research and professional education. In addition to retrospective scholarship (published in *Muqarnas*), the AKPIA also offers design studies focusing on conservation and new projects that are considered amongst myriad contextual issues, including economic development, socio-political factors, the bio-physical environment, identity politics and the existing urban fabric. In 2002, Aga Khan IV asserted the impact of these schools, identifying a cultural component and a professional component at Harvard and MIT respectively; “ultimately, people who are trying to reposition what they are doing will be looking at the most credible, most competent resources.”³⁶

While the Harvard Graduate School of Design (GSD) comprises mostly Western students, the Design for Islamic Societies Unit at MIT comprises many students from non-Western nations. Both Schools offer studios that engage students in actual sites. Mona Serageldin, Associate Director of the AKPIA at the GSD in 1989, states “our aim is to train students to work in any developing context, be it the Muslim World or Latin America.”³⁷ Aga Khan biographer Anne Edwards describes the program as “a major cultural effort to preserve and restore the values and practice of architecture that reflects the Islamic spirit.”³⁸ However, preservation is active. Both Schools are characterised by their respect for past architecture that is complemented by interventions that adopt new technologies and methods.³⁹ This approach is exemplified by a collaborative initiative in 1992 to address the transformation of the Himalayan Karimabad Village (adjacent Baltit Fort) after new roads linked the previously isolated region to Southern Pakistan, Central Asia and China. The team conducted on-site research and analysis to determine a sustainable plan for development as well as proposing guidelines for conservation and prototypes for new buildings.⁴⁰ This

³⁶ Aga Khan IV, “Aga Khan Award for Architecture 2001: Interview with Aga Khan IV,” by Robert Ivy, *Architectural Record* 190, no. 2 (Feb 2002): 70.

³⁷ AKPIA, *AKP Newsletter* 6, no. 2 (Spring 1994): 2.

³⁸ Edwards, *Throne of Gold*, 294.

³⁹ There are parallels between AKPIA and the Berkeley research unit “Environmental Design in Developing Countries” founded by Nezar AlSayyad in 1988. This falls under the umbrella of *The International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments* (IASTE). Parallels can be drawn with AKPIA. For example, the traditional built environment is presented as a locus for cultural identity; it is valued for the critical lessons offered for sustainable development today; and a dichotomy of architecture and building is rejected. However, AKPIA and IASTE maintain largely independent research institutions. For further information, see IASTE, “IASTE Mission,” University of California, Berkeley, <http://www.arch.ced.Berkeley.edu/research/iaste/index.html> (accessed Feb 10, 2004). The contributions of IASTE are identified by Stanford Anderson, “Architectural History in Schools of Architecture,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (Sept 1999): 286.

⁴⁰ AKPIA, *AKP Newsletter* 6: 7.

attitude is simultaneously retrospective and forward-looking, and it is complemented by seminars and forums convened by the AKPIA.⁴¹

These Schools are distinguished by their focus on Islamic architecture and the immense resources they command. However, they remain elite institutions. Margaret Ševčenko, AKPIA editor and administrator, is critical of the practical problems of distribution and accessibility in Third World countries.⁴² Grabar also laments this fact in 1990.⁴³ To address this dilemma one of the most recent Aga Khan initiatives is the virtual forum, ArchNet, operational since 2001. This is a joint initiative forged between the Schools of Architecture at MIT and University of Texas at Austin, and supported by the AKTC.⁴⁴ The website contains a wealth of textual and visual resources focusing on architecture in Muslim communities, past and present. It combines the extensive material amassed by AKTC, AKAA and AKPIA with documents, drawings and photographs deriving from prestigious archives, including those of K.A.C. Creswell, Ernst Cohn Wiener and, more recently, Geoffrey Bawa. In addition, the site enables electronic communication, it enables virtual encounters. Profiles of individual subscribers may be posted. ArchNet maintains comprehensive links with the existing AKDN website and related sites focusing on Islamic architecture.

This enterprise projects information beyond an elite institutional domain, potentially accessible globally (although internet access remains an elite medium). Hence, while programmes like HCSP and AKPIA focus on the ways architecture can materialise identity, this is complicated by new modes of research, practice and representation. These Aga Khan initiatives complicate boundaries between Islam and the West. They complicate the conventional “field” of Islamic architecture as ‘other’. This resonates with Clifford’s simultaneous location of the practice of the ethnographer within a specific geographic field and beyond it. The “field” of anthropology, conceived of as a bounded site is

changing as the geography of distance and difference alters in postcolonial/neo-colonial situations, as power relations of research are reconfigured, as new technologies of transport and communication are redeployed, and as “natives” are recognized for their specific worldly experiences and histories of dwelling and travelling.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Seminars focus on both the pre-modern built environment, exemplified by the symposia *Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces*, May 15-16, 1992, and contemporary practice evidenced in the symposia *Sher-E-Banglanagar: Louis Kahn and Dhaka*, October 26-27, 1991.

⁴² AKPIA, *AKP Newsletter* 2, no. 1 (Winter 1990): 2.

⁴³ AKPIA, *AKP Newsletter* 2, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 7.

⁴⁴ ArchNet, “Welcome,” MIT and University of Texas at Austin, <http://www.archnet.org/front/welcome.html> (accessed Nov 12, 2004).

⁴⁵ Clifford, *Routes*, 58.

5.3 RE-THINKING ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE

5.3.1 Challenges and Goals

Similarly, the AKAA is challenging the “field” of Islamic architecture. Complemented by ArchNet, the AKAA is distinguished by its multi-media format, the countless individuals from disparate backgrounds engaged in the discussion of awarded projects, and a comprehensive infrastructure that enables the promotion of different attitudes to architecture and Islam. In addition, the AKAA shares the practical goals of other Aga Khan initiatives. The Aga Khan oversees progressive change that embraces modern technology, education and infrastructure, as well as the insights and opportunities of Western institutions. Moreover, his vision for progress is not confined to the Ismaili community. It extends to all Muslim communities. The AKAA augments this vision. However, it is underpinned by an expectation for a cohesive relationship between architecture and identity.

In April 1978, Aga Khan IV convened the first of a series of seminars to discuss “the future physical environment that Muslims should seek for themselves and future generations in their homelands, their institutions, their workplaces, their houses, their gardens and in their surroundings.”⁴⁶ He emphasises the agency of Muslims in effecting physical change that is intimately tied to the notion of belonging, to home, to an attachment to and investment in place. In the same presentation, Aga Khan IV stresses rapid, often deleterious change in the built environment. Change is attributed to many physical and economic factors, including sudden affluence, increasing poverty, population growth and urbanisation.⁴⁷ Further, many Muslim nations “have emerged from a colonial era and are searching for an identity of their own.”⁴⁸ Hence, the AKAA, like other Aga Khan initiatives, is founded on a vision for practical and physical interventions. Moreover, like the HCSP, the relationship between architecture and identity is prioritised. While colonial encounters are perceived to have compromised Muslim identity in the past, architecture is vantaged as a medium to express Muslim identity in the postcolonial period.

In *Architecture and Community*, the first publication documenting the prize-winners, Aga Khan IV reiterates the merits of Muslim agency with further emphasis on independent Muslim ‘selfhood’ distinguished from the Muslim ‘other’; “however useful and essential outside experts may

⁴⁶ Aga Khan IV, “Opening Remarks,” viii.

⁴⁷ For further discussion of these goals based on an interview with the Aga Khan, see Paul Chutkow, “The Aga Khan’s Vision,” *Connoisseur* 213, no. 859 (Sept 1983): 78-85. For perceptions of the Aga Khan’s vision, see Paul Bennett, “Beyond the Eighteenth Meridien: The Aga Khan Award Takes the Pulse of the Rapidly Changing Islamic World,” *Landscape Architecture* 88, no. 12 (Dec 1998): 80-82.

⁴⁸ Aga Khan IV, “Opening Remarks,” viii.

be, however international contemporary architecture has become, our past, our roots, give us the right to say that the choices we make are *our* choices.”⁴⁹ Further, there is a need to recognise in architecture of the past “that unique spirit, that unique way that made these monuments Islamic.”⁵⁰ In relation to sustainable development, “we should become leaders rather than followers, where our needs can revolutionise the rest of the world.”⁵¹ In relation to education, “even if we create an architecture worthy of praise, we will partly have failed unless we form for ourselves the men and women who will realise that architecture.”⁵²

The challenges that have motivated this preoccupation with identity in architecture are articulated in different ways in the Award literature. Eminent historian of Islamic thought Mohammed Arkoun forwards the notion of “rupture” with reference to a break with the ontology of revelation for Muslims, Christians and Jews. He highlights discontinuity with tradition.⁵³ The term “rupture” resonates in the Award context as a challenge that must be addressed. However, a break with tradition is expressed with varying intensity, and with different points of reference (spiritual, economic, physical), by individual Award participants. For example, architects Ismaïl Serageldin and Saïd Zulficar identify the theft of cultural continuity attributed to “the ravages of a wanton modernism and the assaults of economic and demographic pressures as well as environmental degradation.”⁵⁴ Architect-Historian Professor Doğan Kuban decries “grotesque imitations of those of modern western cities.”⁵⁵

While Serageldin, Zulficar and Kuban have made significant contributions to the Award literature, the threat to identity is also expressed by occasional participants. Scholar Seyyed Hossein Nasr highlights the “hideous” and “ugly” contemporary urban environment that imitates “foreign models with the pretence of universality and world-wide applicability.”⁵⁶ This is contrasted to an idealised image of the traditional Islamic city. Architect Abdel Wahed El-Wakil proposes that the modern movement constitutes a “rape” that has victimised tradition.⁵⁷ These threats are embodied in the built environment, thus, necessitating its transformation. In each case, identity is aligned with the physical built

⁴⁹ Aga Khan IV, “Preface,” in *Architecture and Community: Building in the Islamic World Today*, ed. Renata Holod (New York: Aperture, 1983), 12.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵³ Mohammed Arkoun, “Muslim Character; the Essential and the Changeable,” in *Space for Freedom*, 210.

⁵⁴ Serageldin, ed., *Space for Freedom*, 250.

⁵⁵ Doğan Kuban, “Conservation of the Historical Environment for Cultural Survival,” in *Conservation as Cultural Survival, Proceedings of Seminar 2*, ed. Renata Holod (Philadelphia: Smith-Edwards-Dunlap, 1978), 1.

⁵⁶ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, “The Contemporary Muslim and the Architectural Transformation of the Islamic Urban Environment,” in *Toward an Architecture in the Spirit of Islam*, 1.

⁵⁷ Serageldin, ed. *Space for Freedom*, 238.

environment. Yet, while it poses a threat to identity, architecture is also represented as a vehicle for new expressions of identity that can be distinguished from the West.

These attitudes cannot be disentangled from the physical legacy of colonial encounters. European colonial interests manifest in commerce, administration and settlement precipitated an unprecedented pace of change in the built environment. For example, the construction of the North African *Ville Nouvelle* outside the medieval *medina*, populated by European communities and an indigenous mercantile elite, undermined the traditional role of the *medina* exacerbating its deterioration. The construction of orthogonal, tree-lined boulevards modelled on European precedents contrasted the existing built fabric (Figures 28 and 29). New building types, including post offices, churches, administration facilities, residential apartments, and railway stations changed the shape of different cities, transforming daily life at an urban and a domestic level. However, these physical changes were not limited to European initiatives. While colonial authorities articulated a ‘civilising’ mission of progress, indigenous authorities further embraced these aspirations. Amidst campaigns for nationalism and independent reform, leaders like Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk, 1881-1938) and Colonel Jamal Abd al-Nasir (Nasser, 1918-1970) encouraged development that was frequently inspired by Western models in technology, infrastructure and materials.⁵⁸



Figure 28
Colonial
Ville Nouvelle.
Casablanca, Morocco.
Author, 2000.

The pace of change has escalated since World War II. Migration from rural communities precipitated rapid urbanisation. Health reforms and improved utilities prompted exponential population growth, mostly due to a decrease in infant mortality. Western building practices were adopted to respond to urgent housing needs. The shape of the built

⁵⁸ These can be linked to pre-war reform movements, including the Young Turks Revolution (1908) or the Arab Revolt in Syria (1916-17). For discussion of Islamic reform or Islamic modernism see Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age* (London: Oxford University Press, 1980), chap. 5 and 6.

environment changed significantly with the introduction of new building typologies and materials evident in high-rise apartments, hospitals, schools and factories (Figures 30 and 31). These were coupled with the development of new transport technologies and infrastructure. These changes were compounded by popular awareness of an uneven pace of change, both intellectually and materially, between Western Europe and the United States.⁵⁹



Figure 29
Colonial
Ville Nouvelle.
Tunis, Tunisia.
Author, 2000.

Changes in material wealth also generated changes in the built environment. This was partly stimulated by continued trade in natural resources and agricultural products with Western Europe and the United States. The oil embargo, established in defiance of escalating United States political intervention, generated unprecedented revenues. This financed a building boom in the Gulf States and an unprecedented scale of urban development. This further created wealth for other areas of the region, particularly from remittances sent home by Arabs working in Saudi Arabia. This change in wealth presented opportunities for lucrative building contracts and foreign architects were frequently commissioned to manage new projects contributing to the further proliferation of building types conceived in the West.

These changes have precipitated change in the built environment. As in the case of the Karachi Teaching Hospital, challenges are perceived in the standardisation of the built environment, particularly in urban areas, and the indiscriminate appropriation of new technologies and materials that fail to meet context specific constraints. The preference for foreign architects over local ones is questioned. These concerns are not limited to the AKAA as Kostof and Grabar indicate. Further architectural challenges are perceived in existing responses to these changes. These

⁵⁹ For further discussion of this disparity, see Sarah Ansari, "The Islamic World in the Era of Western Domination 1800 to the Present," in *Islamic World*, ed. Francis Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 97.

include uncritical form-making exercises in historicism, revivalism and hybridity, the indiscriminate pastiche of pre-modern architectural forms, the simulation of 'vernacular' architecture in tandem with a reluctance to explore the possibilities of new industry and technology.⁶⁰

The AKAA is predicated on this relationship between architecture and identity, conceived of in both negative and positive terms. Architecture is represented as a potential vehicle to embody the collective, distinctive identity of Muslim communities. This is "the business of the architect." In the introduction to Seminar 4, architectural historian Renata Holod states that the architect should aim

to create a physical environment readily identifiable by a society as its own. Building within contemporary societies sets before the professional the challenge of identifying, understanding and creating forms and spaces which are at once new and familiar, which convey a sense of specific identity and which are non-alienating.⁶¹

The AKAA was established in response to these goals. Moreover, it was conceived as a vehicle to promote a positive image of Islam, through architecture, in the face of international misconceptions of Islam. This profile is directed to both non-Muslims and to Muslim communities to generate a sense of pride in the achievements of Islamic civilisation.⁶²

To address these goals, the AKAA praises promising or outstanding architectural projects in diverse Muslim communities. This is achieved through unique activities. These are governed by the Award Secretariat co-ordinated by Renata Holod and Hasan-Uddin Khan after 1980. They were replaced by Suha Özkan and Saïd Zulficar in 1983. Jack Kennedy and Farrokh Derakshani joined this team in 1986 and 1989 respectively.⁶³ These individuals play a vital role in the organisation of the Award. The Secretariat oversees project identification and nomination and the Aga Khan maintains a keen interest in these activities. He chairs each Steering Committee. The Steering Committee appoints and advises each new Master Jury. In turn, the Master Jury shortlists the nominated projects. Shortlisted projects are then submitted to further assessment and documentation *in situ* by Technical Review Teams (TRT) co-ordinated by the Award Secretariat. This process has led to an unprecedented collection of documents focusing on contemporary architectural practice archived at the Award's Geneva

⁶⁰ These issues are spelt out in relation to the AKAA in William J.R. Curtis, "Roots and the Aga," *Architectural Review* 181, no. 1081 (Mar 1987): 86-88.

⁶¹ Renata Holod, "Introduction," in *Architecture as Symbol and Self-Identity*, Proceedings of Seminar 4, ed. Jonathan G. Katz (Philadelphia: Smith-Edwards-Dunlap, 1980), viii.

⁶² This is discussed in Ismaïl Serageldin and Saïd Zulficar, "Awakening Architectural Consciousness in Muslim Societies," *Arts and the Islamic World* 5, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 29-35.

⁶³ Holod and Khan subsequently accepted roles as Steering Committee members (Khan 1983, 1986, 1989; Holod 1983, 1995, and Juror 1992).

Headquarters. Presentations are then made by the TRT to the Master Jury to assist their final deliberations and the selection of the winning projects. The Award has been presented every three years since 1980. On each occasion, \$US500,000 is allocated to winning projects and shared amongst multiple winners from humble stonemasons, stakeholders or celebrity architects. Over 80 projects have been awarded to date.

Figure 30
Colonial
Catholic Cathedral.
Tunis, Tunisia.
Author, 2000.

Figure 31
Contemporary
Commercial
Development.
Karaköy,
Istanbul, Turkey.
Author, 2000.



5.3.2 Creating a “Space for Freedom”

A further goal, the creation of a “space for freedom,” distinguishes the AKAA. Also coined by Arkoun, this refers to a conceptual space for debate on the challenges Muslims face, and the possibilities of architecture for Muslim communities. While, the Award continues to maintain its emphasis on Muslim agency, it has actively sought input from individuals from different disciplines or backgrounds, including many non-Muslims, since the foundation of the Award. Thus, the search for architecture in the “spirit of Islam” is qualified. “Space for freedom” allows for formal experimentation and open-ended debate. The AKAA is not predicated on an exclusive return to the past. The Steering Committee states

at no time has the Award tried to endorse a particular ‘style’, nor has it taken a position on an ideological plane that would exclude any dimension of this multi-faceted search. Thus, through its many activities, including research, seminars and publications as well as the project citations themselves, the Award has sought to create a *space for freedom* where intellectual debate among those concerned with the built environment of Muslims could proceed unhindered and uninhibited, dedicated to the purpose of enriching the dialogue, furthering the pursuit of excellence and a search for appropriate solutions.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Serageldin, ed., *Space for Freedom*, 66.

This goal has been reiterated on numerous occasions. In 1994, Grabar identifies the imperative, “to ask forcefully and openly whether the narrow-minded political and ideological framework of nations should not be superseded by a generous and humane universalism.”⁶⁵ Four years later, Suha Özkan reiterates the value of the Award where distinguished scholars are brought together irrespective of their geographic or ideological point of departure.

This avoidance of ideological assertions of identity distinguishes the AKAA in the postcolonial period. It has been founded amidst forceful assertions of identity. Hasan-Uddin Khan, who has written widely on architectural practice in the developing world and played a prominent role in the AKAA, identifies the “modern encounter of Muslims and the West” as a catalyst for three phases of identity formation: nationalism, internationalism and Islamicisation. These phases can be further fragmented into expressions of Arab unity and pan-Islamic sentiments. Nationalism is linked to postwar initiatives for political independence. Internationalism is identified after the 1970s with new aspirations for progress as an expression of economic and cultural independence. At the end of the 1980s, Islamisation is presented as “a defining force in evolving political agendas.”⁶⁶

In the 1950s and 1960s fledgling states asserted national identities. Nasser’s activities presented a rallying point for nationalist causes and decolonisation in the Middle East and North Africa. Syria and Lebanon achieved independence from France in 1946. In 1934, Habib Bourguiba founded the New Constitution party in Tunisia. Jordan’s King Husayn dismissed Glubb Pasha, commanding officer of the British Army, in 1956. Morocco’s Independence party was founded in the same year. British protectorates in Kuwait and Yemen were dissolved in 1961. Violent transitions were evident with the Iraqi coup of 1958 and the prolonged conflict leading to Algerian independence in 1962.⁶⁷ Afghanistan pursued independence under a constitutional monarchy after 1960. UAE, Oman, Qatar and Bahrain gained independence in 1971 and *glasnost* precipitated partial independence of former Soviet Muslim communities in the 1980s. East and West Pakistan achieved independence after partition in 1947, followed by Bangladeshi independence in 1971.

⁶⁵ Grabar, “The Mission and its People,” 9.

⁶⁶ Hasan-Uddin Khan, “Expressing an Islamic Identity: Mosques Built in Western Societies,” in *Building for Tomorrow*, 65.

⁶⁷ For further discussion of postcolonial independence and subsequent conflicts see William R. Polk, “The Independent Arab States,” in *The Arab World Today* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), part 5, 185-266.

Pledges for Arab unity have arisen alongside nationalist claims since the formation of the Arab League (1945). However, these pledges are not uniform.⁶⁸ For example, Nasser invigorated transnational links when he negotiated the Jordan-Palestinian truce. Nasser's successor President Anwar Sadat revived post-war visions for Arab unity exemplified by the venture for peace forged with Israeli premier Menachem Begin in 1979, prior to Sadat's assassination by Islamists in 1981. In light of disparate assertions of pan-Arab identity, historian Sarah Ansari highlights the "reality of Arab disunity."⁶⁹

Identity is further differentiated in terms of faith. The tendency to emphasise the unity of Islam is heightened since the 1980s. In part, emphasis on religious differences can be linked to ongoing, highly publicised Arab-Israeli conflict, the rise of extremist groups and a host of violent responses to Israeli occupation. However, the resurgence of Islamism is a multi-faceted phenomenon. For example, political historian Salwa Ismaïl explores a variety of attitudes to Islamism in Egypt, emphasising the political role of conservative Islamism as a strategy to challenge the "authority of post-independence secular nationalist discourse."⁷⁰ Similarly, journalist Robin Wright examines the progressive attributes of Islamism distinguished from militant fundamentalist positions.⁷¹

However, militant assertions of the difference of Islam continue to command global attention. By the late 1970s, individual states were faced with oppositional voices calling for a rejection of Western political models in favour of a return to the Koran and Hadith.⁷² In Pakistan and

⁶⁸ For a thorough discussion of the origins and development of Arabism and the struggle for Arab unity, see Ira M. Lapidus, "The Arab Middle East: Arabism, Military States and Islam," in *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), chap. 25, 637-668. For an exemplary discussion of shifting perceptions of the Egyptian nation-state in the context of pan-Arab sentiments that are further complicated by the disputed compatibility of nation and *ethnie* (culture and language), see Charles D. Smith, "Imagined Identities, Imagined Nationalisms: Print Culture and Egyptian Nationalism in Light of Recent Scholarship," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29, no. 4 (Nov 1997): 607-622. For further discussion of the search for Arab identity, particularly in the context of relations with the United States, see Polk, "The Arab and the World: A Quest for Identity and Dignity," in *The Arab World Today*, 299-314.

⁶⁹ Ansari, "The Islamic World," 106.

⁷⁰ Salwa Ismaïl, "Confronting the Other: Identity, Culture, Politics, and Conservative Islamism in Egypt," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 2 (May 1998): 199. For a critical discussion of disparate assertions of Islamism since the nineteenth century, see John L. Esposito, "Trailblazers of the Islamic Resurgence," in *The Contemporary Islamic Revival: A Critical Survey and Bibliography*, ed. Yvonne Haddad and others, 37-56 (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1991); and in the North African context, Michael Gilson, "Everywhere and Nowhere: Forms of Islam in North Africa," in *Recognizing Islam: Religion and Society in the Modern Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 1992), 142-163.

⁷¹ Robin Wright, "Islam, Democracy and the West," *Foreign Affairs* 171, no. 3 (Summer 1992).

⁷² For a discussion of the different and multi-faceted character of official ideologies comprising pan-Arab, Islamic, and nationalist images, see Ira M. Lapidus, "Islam in State Ideologies and Opposition Movements," 714-718, "Nations, Nationalism, and Islam," 884-890, and "The Neo-Islamic States," 906-911, in *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Libya these principles were articulated under a socialist banner with the formation of the Islamic Socialist Republic (1973) under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1926-79), and Colonel Muammar Qaddafi's "Third Way" asserting the primacy of the Koran. The Iranian Revolution (1978-79) orchestrated by the Ayatollah Khomeini (1902-89) represented the quintessential rejection of principles attributed to the legacy of colonial encounters construed as alien and external.

The Award has emerged as one advocate for identity amidst these disparate ideologies of nationalism, Arabism and Islamism in the postcolonial period. Moreover, it is refreshing for the multi-dimensional portrait it paints of Muslim communities without resorting to an overt political message given the proliferation of demonising images of Islam today.⁷³ While such expressions of identity are not absent in the Award, none are privileged.⁷⁴ Through the juxtaposition of different perspectives in the Award's "space for freedom," identity emerges as a multi-faceted phenomenon. How, then, has this "space for freedom" been created and maintained?

5.3.3 Organisation and Contributions

This "space for freedom" has been created through an elaborate network of activities. Emphasis is on projects and the lessons they offer. The Award does not celebrate the cult of the fountainhead. Comparing the AKA to other international awards, notably the Pritzker Prize, journalist Martin Filler states, "the Aga Khan Award transcends the vacuous celebrity-mongering that is now as rampant in architecture as it is in the culture at large."⁷⁵ The Award is distinguished from other architectural awards by the thoroughness of research and documentation and the forum of debate dedicated to nominated projects. This forum is generated through numerous seminars convened with the intent to forge the Award criteria and discuss challenges for contemporary practice. Reviewing the contributions of the AKA after two decades, Azim A.

⁷³ For extensive discussion of this phenomenon, see Edward W. Said, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (London: Vintage, 1997).

⁷⁴ It is beyond the scope of this study to examine representations of Islamic architecture as a materialisation of 'self' identity (national, Arab, Islamic or otherwise) from 'within' what is considered to be the Islamic world, that is, studies distinct from a Eurocentric perspective. An emerging discourse on Islamic architecture as an expression of 'selfhood' is evident. Emerging, insightful studies that do consider architectural practice in specific historical-political contexts (revealing, part-by-part the diversity of architecture and Islam and the complex forces impacting on this context, and distinguished from essentialist studies that privilege faith as an exclusive determinant of form), include Kamil Khan Mumtaz, *Architecture in Pakistan* (Singapore: Concept Media, 1985), particularly the concluding chapter focusing on independence; Sibel Bozdoğan, "The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture: An Overview," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Resat Kasaba, 133-156 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997); and Monique Eleb, "An Alternative to Functionalism Universalism: Écochard, Candilis, and ATBAT-Afrique," in *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, ed. Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault, 55-74 (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2000).

⁷⁵ Martin Filler, "Eyes on the Prize," *The New Republic* (Apr 26-May 3, 1999): 94.

Nanji proposes the broad and inclusive scope of the Award is “enabling conversations” that challenge homogeneous notions of Islamic architectural heritage or monumental, elite or reductive concepts of “architecture” in the global context.⁷⁶

Steering Committee

The richness of these “conversations” is maintained through the appointment of a changing cast of architects, planners, policy makers and interdisciplinary scholars.⁷⁷ A background in architecture and/or Islam is not mandatory. Moreover, the debate is punctuated by contributions by high profile architects and scholars. In the case of the Steering Committee, for example, prominent figures include Grabar (1980, 1983, 1986), Arkoun (1983, 1986, 1989, 1992), architects Charles Correa (1980, 1983, 1986, 2001), and Ismail Serageldin (1986, 1989, 1992). The Committee has also welcomed celebrated historians William Porter (1980, 1983, 1986) and Sir Hugh Casson (1980, 1983), and architects Ronald Lewcock (1992), Charles Moore (1989, 1992), Frank O. Gehry (1995, 2001), Peter Eisenman (1998), Charles Jencks (1998) and Zaha Hadid (2001). Several Committee members have also participated as Master Jurors including Correa, Hadid, Grabar, Porter, Gehry, Jencks, Arkoun, Moore and Lewcock.

Master Jury

The Master Jury is equally diverse. In 1998, architectural journalist Michael Sorkin captures the disparate backgrounds of the AKAJ Jury: “at their best, most Aga Khan juries represent a World War II movie bomber-crew assortment of backgrounds and ethnicities: the diasporan theorist, the Marxist, the woman, the superstar, the Jew.”⁷⁸ This is exemplified by the 2001 Jury. Each member is established and respected in their chosen field. The panel included five architects, a social scientist, a sociologist, an archaeologist and an artist.

Among the architect Jurors in 2001, Darab Diba is an Iranian architect trained in Geneva and Liège. Doğan Hasol is a Turkish architect, writer and publisher. Indian architect Raj Rewal, trained in New Delhi and London, is acknowledged for diverse projects from New Delhi to Lisbon and his commitment to low-cost housing. The superstars include Ricardo Legorreta and 2002 Pritzker Prize-winner Glenn Murcutt. These celebrities join a stellar cast: Giancarlo de Carlo (1980), Kenzo Tange

⁷⁶ Azim A. Nanji, “Introduction: Enabling Conversations,” in *Building for Tomorrow*, 8. Commenting on the Indonesian Seminar on Architecture, this is also stated by Azim A. Nanji, “Space and Spirit: The Contemporary Expressions of Buildings in Islam,” *Arts and the Islamic World* 20 (Spring 1991): 63-65.

⁷⁷ A full list of the Steering Committee and Master Jury participants, detailing their provenance, qualifications and publications, is included in Appendix 2.

⁷⁸ Michael Sorkin, “Ever More Inclusive, The Aga Khan Awards are Redefining the Borders of Islamic Architecture,” in *Metropolis* 18, no. 4 (Dec 1998): 35.

(1980), James Stirling (1983), Robert Venturi (1986), Fumikiko Maki (1986, 1992), Frederic Jameson (1998) and Arata Isozaki (1998).

The non-architects are less well-known in architectural circles, however, their credentials are no less impressive. Abdou Filali-Ansary is a Moroccan social scientist who has published numerous essays focusing on secularism and Islam. Fulbright scholar Zahi Hawass is an Egyptian archaeologist and Professor of Archaeology in Cairo. Norani Othman, another Fulbright scholar, is a Malaysian sociologist. Her area of expertise encompasses sociological theory, the intellectual cultures of Third World societies, Islamic social theory, religion, gender studies and women's rights. Palestinian artist Mona Hatoum also engages with gender issues as well as exploring "architectonic spaces that relate to the human body, and dealing with such themes as violence, oppression and the condition of exile."⁷⁸

However, the intellectual contributions of individuals like Hatoum or Murcutt are not always published. Instead, their profile is emphasised in glittering career biographies. This raises questions about the priorities of the Award. Is reputation more important than refutation?⁷⁹ The involvement of these architects and scholars contradicts the Aga Khan's pledge for independence. Moreover, their familiarity with the issues facing Muslim communities is questionable. As a 1995 Juror, Peter Eisenman declared, "I didn't even know where Uzbekistan was!"⁸⁰ However, the inclusion of celebrity architects is defended by the Award Secretariat. Reflecting on the history of the Award in 1998, Özkan justifies the involvement of these celebrities. The Award brings "together the world's finest minds and talents—regardless of politics, religion, geographic location or ideology—to discuss the improvement of the built environments of Muslims."⁸¹

This diversity presents an opportunity for dynamic, potentially controversial debate. This is amplified by the triennial renewal of the Jury. However, the Jury debates are mostly closed sessions. When they are published, the discussions are characterised by shifts in priorities conditioned by the projects discussed, prevailing issues, and the personalities and preferences of individual Jurors. While the selection of Jury members reflects the motives of the Steering Committee, the Jury's decision is final.

⁷⁸ Kenneth Frampton, Charles Correa, and David Robson, eds., *Modernity and Community: Architecture and the Islamic World* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001), 174.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 174. These points were presented by Katharine Bartsch, "A Prize for Progress? Transnational Practice and the Aga Khan Award for Architecture," in *Progress*, 20th annual conference of SAHANZ, ed. Maryam Gusheh and Naomi Stead, 11-16 (Sydney: SAHANZ, 2003).

⁸⁰ Marisa Bartolucci, "Islamic Revelations," *Metropolis* 17, no. 2 (Sept 1997): 64.

⁸¹ Özkan, "Legacies of the Future," 158.

Seminars

In the early Award cycles the Master Jurys' selection criteria was partly informed by the seminar programme. In addition to debate on pressing issues, the seminars were convened to consider "design objectives" or "comprehensible guidelines" and to forge Award criteria.⁸² Four seminars were conceived prior to the selection of the first round of awards in 1980. These are structured thematically in the proceedings and often conclude with a counterpoint or discussion. The richness of debate is ensured by interdisciplinary dialogue fostered through contributions by economists, sociologists or philosophers.⁸³

Two of the first four seminars were dedicated to architecture that might be compatible with a shared or universal Islamic identity, namely, *Toward an Architecture in the Spirit of Islam* and *Architecture as Symbol and Self-Identity*. Beyond the theme of identity, other early seminars were convened to discuss housing, conservation and public buildings. However, the launch of the regional seminars in 1983 coincides with a shift in emphasis. While challenges facing Muslim communities globally are not put aside, there is heightened emphasis on the regionalism of Islam and context specific challenges grouped thematically: rural habitats, African cities, urban development, housing and education. The seminar venues further enhance discussion of context specific issues in cities as disparate as Beijing (1981), Dakar (1982), Sana'a (1983), Kuala Lumpur (1983), Dhaka (1985), Zanzibar (1988), Jakarta and Yogyakarta (1990). Furthermore, the participation by local architects, planners, policy makers or government authorities and the increasing number of case studies enhance the specificity of debate. In this context, the rhetoric of identity vantaged at the Award's conception is fragmented into local identities—national, regional, urban—of Muslim communities.

Given the number of participants and the range of intellectual and professional backgrounds, the seminars reveal a dialogue peppered with contradiction. This presents opportunities for the articulation of different perspectives on the topic at hand. Not only is the Award literature fragmented into regional debates, it is further characterised by individual voices.

Grabar reflects on the value of this phenomenon in a review of Seminar 3 focusing on housing. The seminar presented the notion of a definable Islamic typology either derived from traditional forms or from

⁸² Aga Khan IV, "Opening Remarks," viii.

⁸³ The proceedings of international and regional seminars are titled *Architectural Transformations in the Islamic World* and *Exploring Architecture in Islamic Cultures* respectively. In 2000, the proceedings of all the seminars were transferred to CD-Rom with the intent to improve their accessibility.

behavioural requirements stated in the Koran, Sunna or Hadith. The seminar presented the idea that the Koran is prescriptive of behaviour, not form, whereby contemporary social requirements require solutions that are independent of faith or culture. Hence, the architectural form of the past and today was “open to discussion.”⁸⁴ The identification of a specifically Islamic architecture and culture is further disputed by Iraqi architect Rifat Chadirji and Arkoun during Seminar 10, challenging the conferment of an Award for Islamic architecture altogether.⁸⁵ Thus, the mood of the seminars is dialogical. A homogeneous attitude to architecture and Islam is not prominent.⁸⁶

Publications

The seminars are well attended. However, they have a relatively low profile despite the dissemination of the seminar proceedings in print media and electronic formats. The diverse prize-winners attract international attention.⁸⁷ At the culmination of each cycle the winners are showcased in the lavishly illustrated series *Building in the Islamic World Today*. From the outset, revised seminar papers have been included alongside the prize-winners to contextualise the projects. However, the dialogical character of the seminars is often lost. The publications lack the contradictory richness of the seminar proceedings that enhance the Award’s “space for freedom.”⁸⁸

Between 1977 and 2001, eight cyclical publications showcase the triennial prize-winners. In the first publication, *Architecture and Community*, several essays reflect the scope of the seminar proceedings. These excerpts foreground prominent issues of aesthetics, faith, symbolism, urbanism, poverty, conservation and new building types. However, the selection draws attention to the participation of prominent scholars of Islamic architecture and Islamic studies (including Renata Holod, Ismail Serageldin, Oleg Grabar, Mohammed Arkoun and Charles Correa). Their contributions belie the diversity and comparative obscurity of the majority of seminar participants. The extraction of these essays from the seminar proceedings also compromises the dialogue engendered during their original presentation at seminars.

⁸⁴ Oleg Grabar, “Symbols and Signs in Islamic Architecture,” in *Architecture as Symbol and Self-Identity*, 1-11. Also published in Oleg Grabar, “Symbols and Signs in Islamic Architecture,” in *Architecture and Community*, 25-31.

⁸⁵ Evin, ed., *Architecture Education in the Islamic World*, 22.

⁸⁶ This dialogical character resonates in a publication that focuses on many awarded projects: Attilio Petruccioli and Khalil K. Pirani, eds., *Understanding Islamic Architecture* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002).

⁸⁷ This diversity is complemented by the geographical diffusion of the projects demonstrated in maps depicting the location of the prize-winners (1983, 1989, 1995 and 2001).

⁸⁸ Serageldin acknowledges the difficulty of reproducing the variety of these dialogues in a brief essay on architectural processes. Serageldin, ed., *Space for Freedom*, 228.

Viewed in succession, the cyclical publications tend to present a series of arguments and counter-arguments. For example, the plural scope of *Architecture and Community* contrasts the emphasis on conservation, precedent and tradition in *Architecture in Continuity*. The latter addresses the omission of mosque architecture in the previous Award cycle with two essays on the medieval mosque (Robert Hillenbrand) and contemporary mosque architecture (Ihsan Fethi). Focusing on Turkey, Kuban examines the translation of tradition to contemporary practice. This emphasis on continuity is subsequently challenged in *Space for Freedom*. This third publication reflects on the first three publications and reiterates a multi-dimensional forum. It also advances the merits of Modernism and technology. For the first time, the dialogical character of the seminars is evoked through the selective representation of the Jurors' deliberations.⁸⁹ In *Architecture for Islamic Societies Today*, documenting the 1989 awards, the complexity of issues is reiterated.⁹⁰ In each case emphasis is given to the particular needs of Muslim communities.

Architecture for a Changing World signals a shift in emphasis from an explicit focus on Muslim communities to a global vision that addresses Third World realities. This resonates much more richly with the Aga Khan's early interventions in Ismaili communities. Emphasis is given to the social dimension of the Award that is spearheaded by Arif Hasan, Pakistani architect, planner, social researcher and writer, in "The Search for a Socially-Responsive Architecture."⁹¹ This shift is elaborated on in *Architecture Beyond Architecture*. Through new themes of a "critical social discourse" and "a critical architectural and urbanistic discourse," challenges are presented to the perceived limits of contemporary architectural discourse.⁹² This inclusive scope prioritises social concerns. The prize-winners are vantaged to demonstrate the benefits of local agency in achieving sustainable change. Awards reflect change at an urban scale rather than individual buildings presenting lessons that extend the parameters of "architecture" project beyond the Islamic world to a global context.⁹³ This universal message is reiterated in *Legacies for*

⁸⁹ For a critical review of the first three publications, see Sibel Bozdoğan, "The Aga Khan Award for Architecture: A Philosophy of Reconciliation," *Journal of Architectural Education* 45, no. 3 (May 1992): 182-188. For discussion of the contradictions and inconsistencies of the 1986 cycle and the deliberations of the Master Jury, see Brain Brace Taylor, "The AKA: 1986 Winners," *Mimar* 22 (1986): 50-54.

⁹⁰ Claire Louca articulates the perception of increasing pluralism in "The AKA: The 1989 Recipients," *Arts and the Islamic World* 5, no.2 (Summer 1990): 36-41.

⁹¹ Arif Hasan, "The Search for a Socially-Responsive Architecture," in *Architecture for a Changing World*, ed. James Steele (London: Academy Editions, 1992), 60-63.

⁹² 1995 Master Jury, "Critical Discourse for Creative Transformations," in *Architecture Beyond Architecture: Creativity and Social Transformations in Islamic Cultures*, ed. Cynthia C. Davidson and Ismail Serageldin (London: Academy Editions, 1995), 20.

⁹³ For an overview of the Award infrastructure, the seminars and publications, with emphasis on the way the Award has challenged conventional definitions of 'architecture', see Bartolucci, "Islamic Revelations," 62-67, 102-103.

*the Future and Modernity and Community.*⁹⁴ With the release of each publication the AKAA has gathered an international following. Hence, individual prize-winners are pitched as didactic models for future practice to a global audience under a humanitarian banner.⁹⁵

Prize-winners

While individual participants grapple with the relationship between architecture and identity in the Award seminars and publications, the representation of projects further this message. During each cycle prize-winners are staged as exemplars for future practice. On many occasions projects have been organised thematically, loosely corresponding to themes of conservation, regionalism, local agency and innovation. While agency is prominent in each Award cycle, there is a demonstrable shift toward regional expression that culminates in 2001. This tendency is demonstrated in the allocation of the Chairman's Awards presented to Hassan Fathy (1980), Rifat Chadirji (1986) and Geoffrey Bawa (2001). These are the only occasions when individual architects are celebrated. While Fathy's work represents a return to traditional building technologies to meet the needs of impoverished Muslim communities, Chadirji is celebrated for his marriage of tradition and modernity. In 2001, Bawa is praised for his intrinsic response to Sri Lanka. While each of these architects were previously recognised in a limited architectural context, their selection for the Chairman's Award places them on an international stage. Each architect is praised for his attention to the regional context, existing building technologies and typologies and the precedent established for future generations of architects. Speaking to Robert Ivy, Aga Khan IV states; "generally, it [the Chairman's Award] will bring forward names of individuals who have not been identified in the industrialised world as dominant figures in the processes of change, dominant figures in the right way."⁹⁶

Mimar

This plural portrait of architecture and Islam is complemented by the journal *Mimar: Architecture in Development* (1981-1992), also funded by the Aga Khan. As in the case of the Award, *Mimar* focuses on the Islamic world. This is reflected in the title which means "master builder" in Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Turkish. The geographic scope of *Mimar* placed further emphasis on Muslim communities from Morocco to

⁹⁴ Robert Campbell praises the Award's no-nonsense efforts to call "a slum a slum" in "Honoring Substance over Style," *Architectural Record* (Nov 1998): 68-73.

⁹⁵ For sustained reflections on the evolution of the Award see Suha Özkan, "Complexity, Coexistence and Plurality," in *Architecture for Islamic Societies Today*, 22-27; Suha Özkan, "The Architecture of Architecture," in *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 162-169; Suha Özkan, "Legacies of the Future," in *Legacies for the Future*, 158-167.

⁹⁶ Aga Khan IV, "Aga Khan Award for Architecture 2001," 70. In *Architecture and Urbanism* this interview is illustrated with images of Bawa's work, particularly Lunuganga. "Aga Khan Award for Architecture 2001," *Architecture and Urbanism* 2, no. 377 (Feb 2002): 102-129.

China. After 1991, coverage extended to Central and South America. In these diverse contexts the journal dealt with myriad subjects—housing, health care, tourism, education and recreation—presenting many overlaps with the Award.

Mimar was published in a consistently high-quality, lavishly illustrated format, a deliberate decision on behalf of the editorial committee, led by Hasan-Uddin Khan and later Brian Brace Taylor, to elevate the built environment of the developing world to international status. Many writers for *Mimar*, including Khan, Holod and architectural historian James Steele, have also made contributions to the AKAAs. Despite the wide-spread circulation of *Mimar* and its enthusiastic readership, prohibitive production and distribution costs led to the journal's demise. However, *Mimar* launched a number of issues that correspond to the themes and challenges that motivated the foundation of the AKAAs. These include, but are not limited to: the notion of discontinuity with the past; change in the built environment attributed to the forces of industrialisation and globalisation and the concomitant homogenisation of contemporary practices; the possibilities of vernacular architecture differentiated from historicist attitudes to the past or simulated form-making exercises; and the possibilities of innovative, sustainable technologies. Although the journal had an international scope, emphasis was given to regional particularities and the potential for cultural expression vital "for a modern architecture if it is to be rooted in its own society."⁹⁷

Mimar canvassed the viewpoints of many individual architects to articulate this approach to practice. Architecture critic Parini Ziai Bahadori identifies the contributions of *Mimar* based on its attention to varied, progressive projects that address regional sensitivity while expanding the geographic scope of architectural journalism.⁹⁸ However, Bahadori is critical of *Mimar's* reluctance to extend the discussion of regionalism to questions of cultural difference. This is attributed to censorship where "both architect and critic adopt an apolitical stance *vis-à-vis* their work and cultural milieu."⁹⁹ Is the Award's "space for freedom" different from this apolitical stance? Like *Mimar*, explicit ideologies are kept to a minimum in the Award literature. Yet, it maintains a pervasive rhetoric of identity. This ambivalent position between aspirations for the expression of Islamic identity, and a desire to be ideology free has generated mixed perceptions of the Award.

⁹⁷ Parini Ziai Bahadori, "Life and Demise of *Mimar*: Architecture in Development," *Design Book Review* 29-30 (Summer-Fall 1993), 43.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

5.3.4 Appraising the Prize

The Award attracts extensive media attention. The media is informed of developments in regular Press Releases documenting the Steering Committee, Master Jury, prize-winners and Award ceremonies and the AKAA maintains a watchful eye on its critics.¹⁰⁰ The objectives and activities are newsworthy in themselves. However, the Award's profile is enhanced by the status of the Aga Khan who is often represented as a wealthy jet-set celebrity with attachments to politicians, royalty and celebrities.¹⁰¹ Further, the generous prize, the participation of architectural cognoscenti, the affiliation with prestigious educational institutions, and the extravagant ceremonies place the Award on the international stage.

Praise for the Award is unanimous. In addition to architectural journals that dedicate laudatory articles to each new crop of prize-winners, the Award is represented in current affairs journals, lifestyle magazines, newspapers and the mass media (including television coverage).¹⁰² This material tends to fall into two camps: firstly, praise for the Award's search for distinctive cultural *roots* expressed in architecture; secondly, its role as a cross-cultural agent that rewards projects that mediate between Islam and the West. A limited number of articles draw attention to the contradictions of this mediating strategy.

At the time of the Award's conception, architectural journalism tended to reinforce the Award's message of Muslim agency with emphasis on the unity and difference of Islamic culture. For example, architectural journalist Mildred F. Schmertz emphasised the search for designs that accommodate Muslim beliefs and traditions with reference to Alexander Solzhenitsyn's Harvard commencement address: "Every ancient and deeply rooted self-contained culture, especially if it is spread over a wide part of the earth's surface, constitutes a self-contained world, full of riddles and surprises to Western thinking."¹⁰³ The emphasis on cultural *roots* is stated forcefully by esteemed designer Alessandro Mendini in his tribute to the humble stone mason Aladdin Mustafa, recognised in 1980. The agency of Mustafa is set in opposition to Western practitioners: "How many *mea culpas* would the international architects and businessmen have to declaim for the brutality of their remote interference with the corpus of such a vast, difficult, mysterious and unknown culture?"¹⁰⁴ In 1993, Ismaïl Serageldin and Safei El-Deen

¹⁰⁰ For example, AKAA, *Selections from the International Press, 1978-1980* (Geneva: AKAA, 1980).

¹⁰¹ For further discussion of the celebrity status of the Aga Khans, see Willi Frischauer, *The Aga Khans* (London: Bodley Head, 1970).

¹⁰² *Architectural Review, Architectural Record, Architecture Australia, Architect, Architecture + Urbanism, Arts and the Islamic World.*

¹⁰³ Schmertz, "Design in the Spirit of Islam," 117.

¹⁰⁴ Alessandro Mendini, "Dear Aladdin Mustafa," editorial, *Domus* 612 (1980).

Hamed highlight “connection to the land” as a crucial part of establishing “Islamic identity and regional character.”¹⁰⁵

However, increasing attention has been given to the way the Aga Khan seeks to reconcile Islam and the West. In “Islamic Revelations” Marisa Bartolucci identifies the way the Award promotes the reconciliation of Islamic faith and spiritual values with modernity and technological progress, just as the “West and Islam are merging” through immigration and global popular culture.¹⁰⁶ Writing for the *New York Times*, Herbert Muschamp also perceives an inextricable link between faith and a progressive world that is embodied in the AKA. But Muschamp’s perception of a threshold to explain the AKA phenomenon is firmly rejected by the Aga Khan when interviewed by Muschamp.

It evoked for him images of conquest, of crossing a border with the intention of colonizing the territory on the other side. The threshold also implies terrain left behind—epochs, values, roots. Neither image fits the prince’s mission. His aim, rather, has been to create a meeting ground for cultural exchange.¹⁰⁷

Terminology aside, the Aga Khan does not promote clear distinctions between different cultures, a ‘them’ and ‘us’ conception of the Award. His articulation of cultural exchange is closer to the concept of “contact-zones.”

Despite the Award’s international profile, few individuals have undertaken a rigorous critical examination of the AKA. The limited number of articles that do so take issue with this reconciliatory position. The Award’s rhetoric of Islamic identity (in opposition to the West), and the simultaneous affiliation of the Award with Western institutions and scholars that is complemented by the life of the Aga Khan himself, is identified as a contradiction.

In a review of the first three Award publications, Sibel Bozdoğan identifies a “philosophy of reconciliation.”¹⁰⁸ Bozdoğan praises the scope of the Award, the opportunities for debate, and the mandate for exemplary transformation of the built environment. This is complemented by the Award’s representation of architecture in regions that are not normally treated in contemporary architectural discourse.

¹⁰⁵ Ismaïl Serageldin and Safei El-Deen Hamed, “A Modest and Delightful Balance,” *Landscape Architecture* 80, no. 8 (1990): 49.

¹⁰⁶ Bartolucci, “Islamic Revelations.”

¹⁰⁷ Herbert Muschamp, “An Islamic Reminder of the Sacred in Design,” *New York Times* (Oct 11, 1998), <http://www.amaan.com/tajik/nytimes.html> (accessed Mar 4, 1999). For further perceptions of this reconciliatory position, see Ken Shulman, “Lowering the Veil: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture Plays a Critical Role in helping Muslim Countries Connect to the West” *Metropolis* 23, no. 3 (Nov 2003): 100-107, 139-40. Michael Sorkin, “The Aga Khan Balancing Act: The Latest Set of Aga Khan Award Winners,” *Architectural Record* 178, no. 4 (Apr 1990): 57-61.

¹⁰⁸ Bozdoğan, “The Aga Khan Award for Architecture,” 188.

However, the reconciliation that is praised by Bartolucci, Muschamp and others, is challenged by Bozdoğan. The limitations of the Award lie in its plural scope.

It espouses, in a pluralistic umbrella, an architectural discourse that is expected to mediate between continuity and change, tradition and modernity, regional and international, and craft and technology—to name just a few of the binary oppositions that recur in the ACAA discourse. Not only does such a reconciliatory pluralism frequently take these terms for granted without subjecting them to rigorous critique, but it also confronts the problem of relativism, which is difficult to handle without engaging in the inevitable political implications of any preoccupation with the Islamic world today.¹⁰⁹

For Bozdoğan, these binaries are indicative of the perceived dichotomy between Islam and its ‘others’. To move beyond this reconciliatory position, Bozdoğan turns to postcolonial theory and criticism. Quoting Gülsüm Nalbantoğlu, Bozdoğan argues that postcolonial critics distinguish between difference and diversity; “*difference* implies ‘the impossibility of containing the other in one’s own terms of reference,’ whereas *diversity* suggests ‘conveniently commensurable and hence comparable categories,’ blunting the critical edge of cultural difference.”¹¹⁰ While the Award literature emphasises pluralism, it is subsumed within the monolith of Islam established in opposition to the West. This attitude often fails to address the heterogeneity of Islam or the complex outreach of Islam today and in the past. For Bozdoğan, it is necessary to consider difference and diversity simultaneously; “to hold these two seemingly contradictory impulses together is our only way out if we don’t want cultural difference to be reified into essentialist and timeless discourses of identity.”¹¹¹

In an essay that is closely informed by Bozdoğan’s review, Fatima A. Hirji identifies the Award’s oppositional identity as a false dichotomy that perpetuates the phenomenon of Orientalism expounded by Edward Said.¹¹²

The creation of an Islamic architecture based on the return to traditional forms carries within it a kind of false consciousness which posits an artificial East/West dichotomy that legitimises the static and normative constructions of architecture of the ‘other’ (a position that entrenches ‘other’ architecture within the orientalist paradigm of

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 182.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 209.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 209.

¹¹² Hirji’s article derives from her Master’s dissertation: Fatima A. Hirji, “Building New Thoughts: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture” (Masters of Science in Architecture, MIT, June 1995). This comprises a critical analysis of the Award seminars to examine the intellectual concerns of the Award.

Western scholarship). Such a view naïvely suggests that one needs only to model the urban context of the ‘true Islamic’ city or building and problems within the existing urban fabric will be alleviated.¹¹³

While the Award acknowledges regional differences, she argues that this is simultaneously subsumed in the Award’s politics of opposition, “differences disappear behind the invariable called ‘Islam,’ which supposedly transcends race, class, ethnicity and socio-economic status, and is unaffected by geographical and cultural context.”¹¹⁴ Furthermore, while the Award provides an unprecedented forum for debate on issues that have transformed the built environment, “it remains uncritical of the ideological and prejudicial policies within those societies that have created these socio-economic conditions in the first place.”¹¹⁵ She concludes with questions in the context of the global diffusion of Islam: “Is the idea of a Muslim ‘self’ put into question as borders collapse in an emerging global village through free market economics and communication technologies? Is the idea of an ‘Islamic’ architecture viable given that Muslims are now part of different cultures and places?”¹¹⁶ Like Bozdoğan, Hirji alludes to the opportunities to question the boundaries of ‘self’ and ‘other’ in the context of the exponential scale of global encounters.

In “Shaking Up Architecture” freelance writer Lee Adair Lawrence reviews the exhibition *Architecture for a Changing World* (2001) held at Howard University’s Gallery of Art in Washington D.C.. Acknowledging the “mind-spinning variety” presented in this survey of 71 Award winners since 1980, Lawrence is mindful of the Award’s debates that remain “within the paradigm that seeks reconciliation between Islamic and Western values.”¹¹⁷ Lawrence identifies important challenges to contemporary architectural discourse that emerge in the Award literature (incorrectly limited to members of the Master Jury and the Steering Committee): “What is culture? What is architecture, and what is its role in society? Is there such a thing as ‘Islamic architecture’ or is there only ‘architecture in Islamic societies’? Can we speak of cultural expression or identity in architecture at all?”¹¹⁸ Lawrence further locates these challenges in the context of contemporary architectural discourse,

¹¹³ Fatima A. Hirji, “Reconstructing ‘Self’ and ‘Place’: The Aga Khan Award for Islamic Architecture,” in *Self, Place and Imagination: Cross-Cultural Thinking in Architecture*, Proceedings of Second International Symposium for CAMEA, ed. Samer Akkach, Stanislaus Fung, and Peter Seriver (Adelaide: CAMEA, 1999), 26.

¹¹⁴ Hirji, “Reconstructing ‘Self’ and ‘Place,’” 26. Bozdoğan reiterates the limits of such exclusionary positions presented as “bounded domains” in Sibel Bozdoğan, “Architectural History in Professional Education: Reflections on Postcolonial Challenges to the Modern Survey,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 52, no. 4 (May 1999): 210.

¹¹⁵ Hirji, “Reconstructing ‘Self’ and ‘Place,’” 27.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹¹⁷ Lee Adair Lawrence, “Shaking Up Architecture,” *Saudi Aramco World* (Jan-Feb 2001): 18.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

particularly the preoccupation with cultural identity and regionalism in the context of globalisation.¹¹⁹ Thus, Lawrence further identifies an ambivalent position as the Award seeks to mediate between Islam and the West.

Özlem Erdoğan Erkarşlan criticises the prominence of Western architects and the Award's subsequent lack of independence. Instead, Erkarşlan proposes that the AKAA would benefit from collaboration with the Islamic intelligentsia (identified as a heterogeneous intellectual movement of which the Award is a part of) as a strategy to explore novel languages.¹²⁰ Samer Akkach, director of the Centre for Asian and Middle Eastern Architecture (CAMEA) at the University of Adelaide, further questions this affiliation with Western architects. In "Expatriating Excellence" Akkach identifies a "schizophrenic attitude" in the organisation of the Award. On the one hand, he identifies the Aga Khan's perception of "alienation" attributed to the "pernicious cultural interaction that is taking place between East and West."¹²¹ On the other, Akkach draws attention to the Aga Khan's "lack of confidence in the capabilities of Muslim individuals and communities" and the preference to affiliate the AKAA with prominent Western institutions and expertise (AKPIA), and celebrity individuals in the Award selection (participation, he argues, that is silent in the early Award publications).

Moreover, Akkach identifies the Award's "imitation" of Western discourses, including regionalism and vernacularism to sustain its message of authenticity. Thus, Akkach makes the case for an "untold story." Despite the message of an Award run by Muslims for Muslims, this veils the Award's alliance with Western institutions that legitimise the Award's message, redeploying the legitimising strategies of Orientalism.¹²² The authenticity of Muslim agency is further questioned due to the majority of expatriates who administer the Award from its Geneva headquarters.

It may be fair to say that expatriates maintain direct access to their original culture, but it is naïve to assume that this access remains always authentic and immutable. Expatriation involves separation and distancing. Expatriates, to a greater or lesser degree, separate

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 9.

¹²⁰ Özlem Erdoğan Erkarşlan, "The Aga Khan Award for Architecture and the Issue of Cultural Identity in the Islamic Intelligentsia" (PhD Dissertation, Dokuz Eylül University, February 1999).

¹²¹ Samer Akkach, "Expatriating Excellence: The Aga Khan Search for Islamic Identity," in *Building Dwelling Drifting: Migrancy and the Limits of Architecture*. Papers from the Third "Other Connections" Conference, June 26-29, 1997, ed. Phillip Goad and Stephen Cairns (Melbourne: Faculty of Architecture Building and Planning, University of Melbourne, 1997), 3.

¹²² This mediating strategy is further identified in Samer Akkach, "Identity in Exile: The Aga Khan's Search for Excellence in Islamic Architecture," in *On What Ground(s)? Proceedings of SAHANZ*, The University of South Australia Adelaide, July 17-20, 1997, edited by Sean Pickersgill and Peter Scriver, 1-8 (Adelaide: SAHANZ, 1997).

themselves geographically from their homeland and distance themselves from their own original culture. Separation and distance involves displacement and necessitates adaptation. In the process of adaptations expatriates are permanently and irreversibly altered. Displaced from the homeland's real and living world, the original identity is no longer that transparent condition which was once spontaneously lived and understood.¹²³

For Akkach, this process of adaptation compromises the potential of the Award to articulate 'otherness'. Does this not privilege cultural *roots* over *routes*? The Award continues to evolve. I propose that the Aga Khan and individuals who contribute to the Award continue to wrestle with the complexities of the Islamic world, the differences of Islam, the plural identities of peoples who submit to Islam, and the global diffusion of these communities today and in the past. How recent is the condition of the expatriate? Is there not an advantage in the insights this condition can bring, despite the concomitant ambiguities, to explore alternative strategies to conceptualise the differences of Islam in the context of contemporary global practice. Quoting M. Tucker's foreword to *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, Bozdoğan states

the AKA, while recognizing heterogeneity and actually employing it to justify diversity and pluralism in its architectural agenda, steers clear from the cultural politics of difference that underlies it. What is meant by the latter is a way of thinking that is not singular and monolithic, 'exploring instead, the concept of a multiple, shifting, and often self-contradictory identity'.¹²⁴

What, then, are possible strategies to address this cultural politics of difference? Commenting on the 2001 Awards, Peter Davey, a close observer of the AKA for twenty years, concludes on a positive note about the potential contributions of the Award, highlighting architecture's lack of autonomy; "it is created out of the interaction of many forces: political, legal, economic, social, ecological, historic, technical as well as aesthetic."¹²⁵ While Davey is concerned about the reiteration of previous messages in 2001 (urbanism, sustainability, history and region), his emphasis on interactive forces is valuable. This attention to interaction relates to the prize-winning projects rather than the Award literature. Is it possible that this dynamic conception of architectural practice can provide insights to recognise the differences of Islam, differences and ideologies exacerbated in the context of global encounters, that co-exist with the contingencies of architectural practice.

¹²³ Akkach, "Expatriating Excellence," 4.

¹²⁴ Bozdoğan, "The Aga Khan Award for Architecture," 188.

¹²⁵ Peter Davey, "Aga Khan Awards 2001," *Architectural Review* 210, no. 1257 (Nov 2001): 54.

5.4 SUMMARY

Given the international profile of the AKAA and affiliated activities, the Award is ideally placed to re-think Islamic architecture as a creative response to the disparate forces affecting Muslims. The AKAA has emerged as a prominent and commended international flagship for contemporary representations of Islamic architecture. Moreover, the Aga Khan's spiritual leadership combined with his entrepreneurial activities and the scope of the Award that is strategically aligned with cutting-edge intellectual institutions and international scholars and architects presents opportunities for new approaches to debate on architecture and Islam.

In the remaining chapters, I will argue that the AKAA sustains a rhetoric of Islamic identity in discourses of continuity, symbolism and agency. In Chapter 6, I will demonstrate how these discourses assert the possibility of an essential expression of Islam in architecture. However, I emphasise the juxtaposition of ideologies of identity in the Award's multi-voiced discourse that is further complicated by the participation of Western scholars. While emphasis on Muslim communities is maintained, I argue that the Award is increasingly exploratory in its recognition of the heterogeneity of architecture that coexists with aspirations for identity. Just as the Aga Khan maintains complicated relations between Islam and the West, individual participants are grappling with the notion of identity that is increasingly complicated in the context of global encounters. Chapter 7 revisits the writing of select individuals and reflects on specific projects to re-think difference through the paradigm of encounter as a "multiple, shifting, and often self-contradictory identity" advanced by Bozdoğan, that coexists with exciting new projects that continue to demonstrate architectural excellence.¹²⁶

¹²⁶ Bozdoğan, "The Aga Khan Award for Architecture," 188.

6 Space for Freedom

6.1 INTRODUCTION

These essays by Bozdoğan, Hirji, Lawrence and Akkach draw attention to the contradictions of the Award literature. This is attributed to the perceived conflict between the Award's pervasive rhetoric of Muslim identity that is distinguished from the West, and the affiliation of the Award with Western scholars, institutions and discourses. In this chapter, I will identify the ways the Award continues to construct a 'self' image through its recognition of individual projects and their location in discourses of continuity (conservation, history and typology, regionalism), religious symbolism and local agency. In different ways, these three discourses inscribe a relationship between architecture and identity, sharing an expectation to build architecture as an expression of Islam. Moreover, emphasis is given to "cultural continuity and cultural authenticity," identified by İsmail Serageldin as a collective message of the Award.

This probing into cultural continuity finds a corollary concern with cultural authenticity in new building. The issue is not whether the structure conforms exactly to the criteria of the past; it clearly cannot do so and remain relevant to today's concerns. Instead, the issue is whether the designer has learnt the lessons of the past, internalised them, and used them as input, although partial, in defining the solution to a contemporary problem for contemporary clients.¹

In different ways, these discourses maintain a preoccupation with cultural roots, that is, with an essential relationship between architecture and Islam. However, these images of identity and architecture are not singular. This chapter culminates with a discussion of the increasing pluralism of the Award as well as projects that might be considered ambiguous in light of the Award's emphasis on Muslim communities. This pluralism is not limited to projects. "Space for freedom" enables the articulation of plural perspectives on identity. Through their juxtaposition, the Award presents a conceptual space to re-think the relationship between architecture and Islam that is "multiple, shifting, and often self-contradictory."² This "space for freedom" constitutes a dynamic forum of representation where disparate often dissonant voices are brought together in a constantly evolving dialogue. This is complemented by the representation of projects conceived and built in an interactive context of contemporary practice that coexists with the differences of Muslim communities and the assertion of disparate ideologies of identity.

¹ İsmail Serageldin, ed., *Space for Freedom: The Search for Architectural Excellence in Muslim Societies* (London: Butterworth Architecture, 1989), 58.

² Sibel Bozdoğan, "The Aga Khan Award for Architecture: A Philosophy of Reconciliation," *Journal of Architectural Education* 45, no. 3 (May 1992): 188.

6.2 CONTINUITY

6.2.1 Conservation

Conservation has been identified as a priority since the Award's inception, exemplified in Seminar 2, *Conservation as Cultural Survival*. On this occasion, several conservation programmes were discussed (in cities including Fez, Lahore, Jakarta and Istanbul's Sultanahmet precinct). These presentations explored potential guidelines for development with emphasis on the cultural significance of conservation.³ Further, the first Master Jury identified conservation as one of three prevalent issues in the Muslim world, together with industrial aspirations and rural migration to urban centres. In 1980, lessons in conservation were identified in three ACAA projects: the restoration of Ali Qapu, Chehel Sutun and Hasht Behesht, Isfahan, Iran; the re-use of Rüstem Pasha Caravanserai, Edirne, as a small hotel; and the area conservation of Sidi Bou Said, Tunisia. While these projects exemplify a variety of modes of conservation in terms of scale, technique and new interventions, they are linked by the opportunities they present for "cultural survival." In the context of deteriorating urban environments where the premodern architectural heritage is at risk of being lost forever, survival, revitalisation and continuity are key words in the Award literature. While preservation of the physical fabric is justified in terms of practical and economic objectives, physical continuity is linked to the preservation of community vitality at a domestic and an urban scale.

At the same time, the ACAA does not dismiss changing aspirations in Islamic societies, including desires for modern conveniences and infrastructure. However, the realisation of new building projects at the expense of the existing built environment is represented as "dissociation with Islam's cultural roots."⁴ Architect and historian Professor Doğan Kuban defines the destruction of the premodern built environment as a "sacrificial rite" of modern passage.⁵ In "Architecture and Society" Ismaïl Serageldin defines this rupture as a "*dichotomisation* of cultural perception, where the historic heritage—cultural, religious, social—is identified with the past, backwardness and poverty, while the image of 'progress' is borrowed from elsewhere, namely the West."⁶ The ACAA aims to reverse this trend. Exemplary conservation efforts are praised as

³ Stefano Bianca, "Fez: Toward the Rehabilitation of a Great City," 28-40; Soedarmadji Damais, "The Development of a Conservation Programme for Jakarta," 46-49; Nezhir Eldem, Melih Kamil, and Atilla Yucel, "A Plan for Istanbul's Sultanahmet-Ayasofya Area," 53-56; Kamil Khan Mumtaz, "The Walled City of Lahore: Directions for Rehabilitation," 43-45. Each essay is published in Renata Holod, ed., *Conservation as Cultural Survival*, Proceedings of Seminar 2 (Philadelphia: Smith-Edwards-Dunlap, 1978).

⁴ Ismaïl Serageldin, "Architecture and Society," in *Space for Freedom*, 256.

⁵ Doğan Kuban, "Conservation of the Historical Environment for Cultural Survival," in *Conservation as Cultural Survival*, 5.

⁶ Serageldin, "Architecture and Society," 256.

“indigenous” alternatives to “imported” models.⁷ Projects that privilege continuity of the indigenous physical fabric, without denying the potential for integrating new uses and infrastructure, are praised. Arguments for conservation emphasise the potential for architecture to embody collective cultural identity. Ronald Lewcock, architect, educator, former Aga Khan Professor of Architecture and Design, Master Juror, 1983-1986, and leading international authority on conservation, states “a sense of identity needs to be generated afresh to counteract the alienating effects produced in many a people by the too-rapid changes of modern life.”⁸ Yet, while this approach resists the dichotomy of tradition and modernity through continuity, AKAAs conservation debates perpetuate a distinction between Islamic architecture and the West.

Defining Conservation

Sherban Cantacuzino defines conservation as “the act or process of preserving something in being, of keeping something alive.”⁹ While this theme of ongoing vitality resonates in the Award literature, it is closely aligned to contemporary discourses that emphasise the cultural value of conservation in the face of change. In Seminar 2, Martin Biddle, British historian and archaeologist, defends conservation of the built environment on the grounds of cultural identity.

The sense of belonging, the need to identify with a particular place, is a fundamental aspect of the quality of life, whether one is the inhabitant of a small village or a citizen of an urban metropolis, it is indeed the inability to belong, the failure to identify the character of a place and to recognize it as specifically and essentially one’s own, that gives rise to rootlessness and to the host of personal worries and social unrest which this inspires.¹⁰

Biddle privileges familiarity and belonging that is compromised by radical change in the built environment. This compromise is indicative of a perceived dichotomy of tradition and modernity that proliferates in contemporary discourses of conservation. Lewcock also identifies opposition between conservation and aspirations for modernisation. In “Conservation in the Islamic World” this resistance is attributed to economic factors, new infrastructure needs and the unfamiliar demands

⁷ Ibid., 256.

⁸ Ronald Lewcock, “Conservation in the Islamic World,” in *The Aga Khan Award for Architecture: Building for the Future*, ed. Azim A. Nanji (London: Academy Editions, 1994), 63.

⁹ Sherban Cantacuzino, “Continuity and Change: Architecture and Development in the Islamic World,” in *Architecture in Continuity: Building in the Islamic World Today*, ed. Sherban Cantacuzino (New York: Aperture, 1985), 22. Cantacuzino has published numerous articles on conservation issues in Europe and the Islamic world: “Architectural Conservation in Europe,” Special issue, *Architectural Review* 157 (January 1975); “Gdansk,” *Architectural Review* 161, no. 962 (April 1977): 235-241; “Isfahan,” Special issue, *Architectural Review* 159 (May 1976); “Aleppo,” *Ekistics* 42, no. 253 (December 1976): 367-371; “Blueprint for Conservation in the Third World,” *Mimar* 24 (June 1987): 19-25.

¹⁰ Martin Biddle, “The Experience of the Past: Archaeology and History in Conservation and Development,” in *Conservation as Cultural Survival*, 9.

of conservation projects. Furthermore, Lewcock identifies an “inferiority complex” with little appreciation of the aesthetic, practical, economic or cultural value of the premodern built environment in the global context.¹¹ The Award was expressly cultivated to improve perceptions of the medieval built environment within the Muslim world and to instill a sense of pride in the architectural heritage of Islamic civilisation.

In “Conservation of the Historical Environment for Cultural Survival” Kuban labels cities emerging in Muslim countries since the colonial period as “grotesque imitations of modern Western cities.”¹² He asks, “will any historic culture, be it Islamic, Indian, Chinese or any other, manage to survive as an entity distinct from the fabric of a uniform civilization?”¹³ Kuban rejects Western planning principles that privilege economy of construction over quality of life. In the face of the alienating and homogenising forces of modernity and industry, Kuban highlights eternal factors that offer an opportunity to maintain a distinct entity, including language, faith, geography and “the inertia of cultural behaviour. This last which accounts for a great part of our real cultural differences ... an eternal embryo of future diversities.”¹⁴

Despite Kuban’s reservations, he does not reject change. However, change in the Islamic world is differentiated from the rapid changes presented by contact with the West. Instead, conservation is presented as a dynamic intervention that extends the longevity of the built environment while enabling contemporary lifestyles of Muslim communities. Architectural conservation is justified as an activity to maintain a distinctive cultural identity. Rather than taxidermic preservation, conservation provides the tools to ensure continuity. This continuity is predicated on the assumption of a collective visual identity in the past.

The Aga Khan Award has been established to encourage the formation of a specifically Islamic architecture as an expression of Islamic civilization. A natural concomitant to this objective is the preservation of the Islamic image in our physical environment. The continuity of our cultural identity throughout the process of modernization can only be guaranteed by this act of preservation.¹⁵

¹¹ Lewcock, “Conservation in the Islamic World,” 59. Conservation strategies, new needs and new aspirations are addressed in Ronald Lewcock, “Conservation in Islamic Cairo,” in *The Expanding Metropolis: Coping with the Urban Growth of Cairo*, Proceedings of Seminar 9, ed. Evin (Singapore: Eurasia Press, 1985), 49-53.

¹² Doğan Kuban, “Conservation of the Historical Environment,” 1.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.

A dynamic interpretation of tradition is also forwarded in "A Living Legacy" by Serageldin and Zulficar. Conservation is praised as a "bridge between past, present and future."¹⁶ This is further supported by Grabar. However, he argues that any reconciliatory strategy that addresses the opposition between tradition and modernity demands a redefinition of terms. In "Why History? The Meaning and Uses of Tradition" Grabar explores opposing interpretations of tradition.¹⁷ Grabar reiterates the limits of prevalent perceptions of tradition and change as mutually exclusive entities, where "antiquarianism in architecture is a peculiarity of a very limited Western elite and that preservation is a form of congealing a meaningless past, at best for flag waving."¹⁸ Instead, Grabar forwards a dynamic concept of tradition that is compared to progressive interpretations of modernity and the implication for development, growth and change. Tradition might be perceived as a body of habits, beliefs and behaviour informed by collective memory and myth attached to the built environment that can further serve as inspiration for action in the present and future.

Rewarding Continuity

While the Award seeks to overcome the perceived dichotomy of tradition and modernity, the difference of Islamic architecture is maintained. This is demonstrated through the representation of the many prize-winners that exhibit diverse approaches to conservation, including the preservation of individual monuments, existing buildings adapted for new uses and the conservation of urban areas. Several awards have been conferred for the restoration of individual monuments that are deemed to be culturally significant in civic, spiritual, regional or national terms. In addition to the seventeenth century Isfahan monuments awarded in 1980, prizes have been dedicated to the imperceptible restoration of the Shah Rukn-I-'Alam Tomb in Multan, Pakistan (1983), the technical brilliance of the Al-Aqsa Mosque restoration in Jerusalem, Palestine (1986), and the reconstruction of the Great Omari Mosque in Sidon, Lebanon (1989). In each case the original functions have been maintained. They are lauded for their mastery of technique, in part assisted by foreign expertise, and the training for contemporary and future, local conservationists. The Isfahan restoration is also notable for its impetus for publications of major new studies in Safavid architecture.

¹⁶ Ismaïl Serageldin and Saïd Zulficar, "A Living Legacy: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture and the Conservation of the Cultural Heritage," in *Space for Freedom*, 250-253.

¹⁷ Oleg Grabar, "Why History? The Meaning and Uses of Tradition" *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 4, no.2 (Spring 1993). Distinctions between tradition and modernity are further questioned by Dell Upton, "The Tradition of Change," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 5, no. 1 (Fall 1993); and Janet Abu-Lughod, "Disappearing Dichotomies: First World-Third World; Traditional-Modern," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 3, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 7-12.

¹⁸ Oleg Grabar, "Symbols and Signs in Islamic Architecture," in *Architecture as Symbol and Self-Identity*, Proceedings of Seminar 4, ed. Jonathan G. Katz (Philadelphia: Smith-Edwards-Dunlap, 1980), 2.

The Great Omari Mosque (Figure 32) is notable for the preservation of historical layers. The rich cultural history of this port city is acknowledged. The mosque was constructed in the Bahri Mamluk period (late thirteenth century) on Crusader fortifications. Each of these elements was restored together with the Ottoman minaret dating to the second half of the nineteenth century. It is the oldest remaining structure in Sidon. The restoration was undertaken by Saleh Lamei-Mostafa for an expatriate Lebanese patron, Rafiq al-Hariri and the Department of Islamic Awqaf in Sidon, Lebanon. Although Lamei-Mostafa was trained in Aachen, Germany, the majority of professionals were local and the multi-faith construction team comprised Druzes, Sunni Muslims and Christians (who had to leave Sidon following construction). The Master Jury highlighted the significance of the mosque in the face of tragedy. The mosque, bombed and shelled in 1982 by Israeli occupation forces, was praised as a metaphor for rebuilding in war-torn nations. The project is also praised as a symbol of spiritual identity and for its preservation of local and national identities. However, it is a further manifestation of the Award's identity politics where authenticity is praised in the face of Arab-Israeli difference: "[for] their sheer audacity in not being willing to give up on their mosque, reconstructing and restoring it even in the teeth of an alien occupying force."¹⁹ Yet, difference is simultaneously complicated by the unexplored intentions of the expatriate patron.



Figure 32
Great Omari Mosque,
1986. Saleh Lamei
Mostafa. Sidon,
Lebanon.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 309.

Area Conservation

Few awards have been allocated for individual monuments for a number of reasons. Firstly, such projects have a limited quotidian audience. Further, the Award seeks new approaches; conservation programmes targeting individual monuments are already well established in many

¹⁹ James Steele, ed., *Architecture for Islamic Societies Today* (London: Academy Editions, 1994), 45.

Muslim nations.²⁰ Lastly, such projects are at risk of preserving the past at the expense of change. Hence, a shift is evident in the Award literature. Instead of prizes for individual monuments, the Award prioritises conservation projects that address a larger context. This context comprises the surrounding urban environment from the bazaar to city fortifications. Housing, the streetscape or infrastructure are recognised. In the case of the Darb Qirmiz quarter in Cairo, Egypt (awarded 1983) seven monuments were restored as a catalyst for rehabilitation of the precinct. Conservation in the Tunisian city of Kairouan (1992) demonstrates a variety of approaches intended to revitalise this important spiritual centre. Emphasis is given to the compatibility of new uses, the scale, proportion and juxtaposition of new buildings and the preservation of the visual character of the area.

Kairouan was founded in the seventh century by Uqba bin Nafi, a famous commander and close friend of the Prophet. As such, it is one of the oldest cities of Islam. In the ninth and tenth centuries Kairouan was the capital of the Aghlabids and emerged as an intellectual centre. However, the city declined due to its isolation until the eighteenth century when renewed commercial prosperity contributed to its growth. In 1977, Association de Sauvegarde de la Médina (ASM) was established to reverse the condition of neglect. The Ibn Kayrun Mosque (of Three Doors, Figure 33) dating to the ninth century is the focal point of the project. The rare carved stone façade was dismantled stone by stone and rebuilt after stabilising the foundations. The oldest mausoleum of Sidi Sahib, containing the remains of one of the companions of the Prophet (Abu Jam'a Al-Balawi) dates to the seventh century. Much of the building was rebuilt in 1629, and after the nineteenth century it was heavily restored. The Barrouta well also dates to the ninth century. It comprises a two-storey building with a simple dome with enough room for a camel to draw water by circling the well. The first restoration of this building took place in the seventeenth century, but by the twentieth century it had fallen into decline again. Each of these buildings have been restored and their functions are preserved.

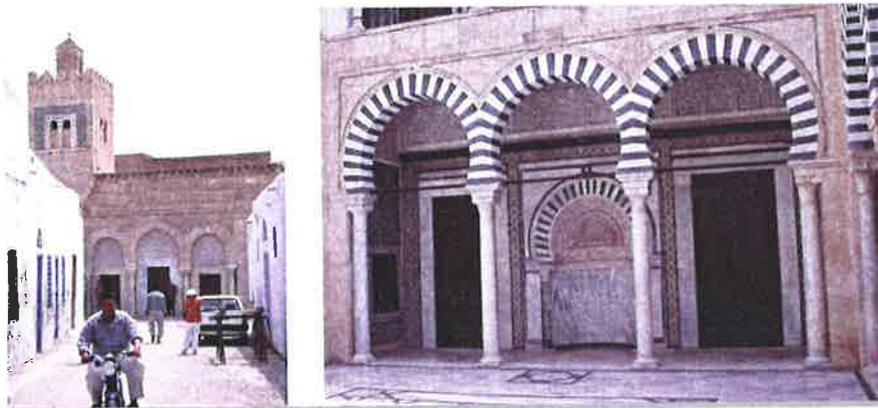
The more recent Mausoleum of Sidi Khedidi (eighteenth century) comprising a single courtyard, a prayer hall and a funerary chamber has been converted into a school for the deaf. The nineteenth century Mausoleum of Sidi Abada functions as a crafts museum. Entrance fees to many of these buildings continue to pay for the conservation work. Furthermore, the whitewashed walls and ramparts surrounding the

²⁰ However, Serageldin acknowledges an alarming decline in the number of monuments left in Cairo as recently as 1995 in Cynthia C. Davidson and Ismaïl Serageldin, eds., *Architecture Beyond Architecture: Creativity and Social Transformations in Islamic Cultures* (London: Academy Editions, 1995), 73

medina, narrow winding streets, blind alleys, small squares and decorated doors and portals have also been rehabilitated. The fourteenth century markets, consisting of sixty shops lining a street covered by a tunnel vault, completes the project. The buildings were restored using traditional building techniques and available materials. The improvement of the amenities and services has improved the physical welfare of the people and increased tourism has enhanced employment opportunities. In addition, the skills developed in the project are now available to private owners for the repair or restoration of private properties.

Figure 33
Ibn Kayrun Mosque,
1979+. ASM.
Kairouan, Tunisia.
Author, 2000.

Figure 34
Zaouia of Sidi Abid
Ghariani, 1979+.
Kairouan, Tunisia.
Author, 2000.



In the case of Kairouan conservation is not limited to restoration, preservation or reconstruction. Emphasis is given to local benefits in terms of education, training and the cultivation of conservation skills and the potential revenues from commerce including tourism. Most important, living conditions were improved in a deteriorating urban context. In the case of Kairouan, and other projects for area conservation and adaptive re-use, the Award literature stresses local agency in the initiatives and implementation of conservation programs. While the preservation of individual monuments is not excluded, awards for Kairouan and other centres place emphasis on pragmatic contemporary uses.

The AKAAs has recognised many projects for area conservation, including the conservation of Mostar Old Town (1986, Figure 35) and the rehabilitation of Asilah, Morocco (1989). In each case, the Award literature stresses local agency. For example, while the restoration of the Isfahan monuments was undertaken by the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, conservation in Turkey in the case of the Touring Club Restorations (Honourable Mention 1986), and more recently Bukhara, Uzbekistan (1995) are praised for their local initiative and patronage. In Mostar the community led the decision making, and the local artisan techniques were revitalised in the case of Shah Rukn-I-'Alam and Darb Qirmiz. In each case, the benefits to the local

community in terms of their quality of life and economic sustainability are underlined.

Each of these projects is notable for a cohesive approach to conservation. The revitalisation of Mostar, completed in 1978, is noted for the scale of the project comprising the entire sixteenth century Ottoman town centre. Restoration of individual structures, including the bridge (1566) attributed to a pupil of Sinan, the Roznamedži Ibrahim Efendi Mosque (1621-23), was complemented by homogeneous conservation of the area together with the adaptation of significant buildings to new uses including artists' studios in the Tara Bridge Tower (1576). The project is distinguished by its comprehensive approach to area conservation and a local team that co-ordinates disparate authorities in this multi-faith community.



Figure 35
Conservation of
Mostar, 1978. Stari-
Grad Mostar.
Bosnia-Herzegovina.
AKAA, Awards,
Slide 259.

Re-Use

In addition to area conservation, Awards have been conferred for individual buildings that demonstrate adaptive re-use. Preservation is complemented by compatible changes to ensure vitality in the built environment through the integration of new functions. Adaptive re-use is demonstrated in a number of projects, including the National Museum of Doha, Qatar (awarded 1980), Azem Palace in Damascus, Syria (1983), the Ottoman Palace Parks Project in Istanbul (1992) and most recently New Uses for Old Buildings, Iran (2001).

The National Museum of Doha (Figure 36 and 37) is one of the earliest projects to receive an Award for adaptive re-use. The design task was part of an international competition awarded to a team of architects from Greece and England and undertaken by Qatar Department of Public Works. Qatar's Amiri palace was reconstructed to form the heart of the museum. The complex consists of three courtyard houses, two reception

halls and various service quarters, all within a walled enclosure. A two-storey arcade at the centre of the compound, dominates the site. A new three-storey building, below grade, completes the courtyard. The new façade is proportioned to echo the older buildings. It reinterprets the formal character of Qatari architecture. However, emphasis is given to the role of the museum, which showcases Qatari history with emphasis on Bedouin life, maritime activity, and the impact of Islam in the region (information that was complemented by the design team's research). Further, the museum is celebrated as a unique precedent in the Gulf.

Figure 36
National Museum,
1975. Qatar
Department of Public
Works. Doha, Qatar.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 294.



Figure 37
National Museum,
1975. Qatar
Department of Public
Works. Doha, Qatar.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 295.



Azem Palace, completed in 1954, constitutes another example of adaptive re-use. The General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums in Damascus, Syria, proposed to convert the eighteenth century palace to a museum for traditional culture. The palace was damaged in 1925 when French troops shelled the old quarter of the city. The work called for extensive research. The conservation team, including Michel Ecochard, Paris, France, and Shafiq al-Imam with workshop director Zaki al-Emir, both of Damascus, consulted incomplete French plans dating to the 1920s and members of the Azem family.²¹ As such, the conservation of the palace is not technically accurate. Elements of nearby eighteenth century buildings were transferred to the site to complete the project. Despite this composite approach, the project is praised for the training of local artisans and the revival of arts and crafts in the shadow of the Great Umayyad Mosque.

The Award's Contribution

Although aspects of the Award resonate with contemporary discourses of conservation, the benefits of conservation in developing countries are quite distinct from those of industrialised nations for a number of

²¹ For a discussion of Ecochard's contributions in the region see Nathalie de Mazieres, "Homage," *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre* 1 (1984): 22-25.

reasons. In developed nations conservation projects are often avoided due to the high costs that they incur with disproportionate returns. In contrast, the existing built environment constitutes a valuable commodity in areas with few resources, finances or skills to undertake new projects. Conservation projects that target the development of impoverished communities are perhaps the most unique contribution of the AKAA. In “Shelter and Conservation in an Urbanising Islamic World” Arif Hasan describes the requirements of a conservation programme as “not only the restoration and re-use of historic buildings, but also the provision of contemporary infrastructure; a return to political importance; the creation of awareness and respect of the town and *a sense of belonging* to its history.”²² Shelter and mass-housing for people with little or no income, are pressing global issues. Several projects have been rewarded for recognising these needs and the aesthetic and economic value of the existing built environment. For example, new infill projects in the Tunis medina are compatible with the scale and density of the existing built fabric. In the case of Old Sana’a, Yemen and Bukhara, improvements to infrastructure prolongs the life of the built environment.

Conservation in Old Sana’a and Bukhara Old City exemplify progressive attitudes to conservation and housing in terms of planning and implementation when few innovative models are available. The rich history of both cities as vibrant medieval trading centres (maritime in the case of Yemen and trans-Asian in Bukhara) is explored briefly by historian Selma Al-Radi. However, rapid development has occurred in a random, unplanned way leading to environmental degradation and presenting a threat to the earlier built environments of these cities in the second half of the twentieth century. This urban expansion “has destroyed the scale and character of the old city centres and endangered, if not yet destroyed, the architectural and cultural heritage of Islam.”²³ Hasan stresses the incompatibility of conventional housing strategies with the “culture, sociology and economies of low-income communities.”²⁴ While the conservation of Sana’a and Bukhara present housing solutions, they also demonstrate a new dimension of the Award that praises policy and infrastructure as concomitant factors of conservation. Luis Monreal praises the management of Sana’a conservation led by UNESCO with the General Organisation for the Preservation of Old Sana’a (founded 1984). This team co-ordinated international technical assistance and funding with local participation in execution and maintenance. The conservation includes restoration of buildings and gardens and the adaptation of existing structures,

²² Arif Hasan, “Shelter and Conservation in an Urbanising Islamic World,” in *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 26.

²³ *Ibid.*, 25.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

exemplified by the transformation of Bayt Mutahhare (1600) to a women's technical school. In addition, the project is distinguished by the amelioration of the infrastructure, including the water supply, drainage, sewage, road paving and garbage disposal.

Both Sana'a and Bukhara (Figure 38) represent a radical departure in conservation due to their emphasis on sustaining the vitality of the cities' functions rather than prioritising the technical accuracy of individual restoration projects. As a smaller project Bukhara is distinguished as a community initiative by the Restoration Institute of Uzbekistan and the restoration Office of the Municipality of Bukhara in the post-Soviet period (1990). Like Sana'a, conservation extends to the provision and integration of new utilities. The project is praised as a national initiative.

The civic pride and enhanced cultural identity that are the outgrowth of this work demonstrate that a legacy can be more than a museum or a tourist destination. It can become a part of the living present, to be used and enjoyed by residents and visitors alike, a continuing inspiration for new architecture and urbanism.²⁵

Figure 38
Conservation of
Bukhara, 1975.
Restoration Institute
of Uzbekistan.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 256.



The Award presents a vehicle to highlight the value of the premodern built environment not only as a site of cultural identity, but also as a practical resource for shelter. Thus, new attitudes to the possibilities of conservation are necessary amongst decision makers at an institutional level, including clients and planners at a national and local level. In addition, a shift in attitude is necessary amongst individual homeowners and the local community to mobilise conservation. Renata Holod proposes, “intensive campaigns are needed to sensitize owners and administrators of many buildings to the inherent value of historical monuments, as unique products of a cultural past which retains both

²⁵ Davidson and Serageldin, eds., *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 29.

psychological and aesthetic validity.”²⁶ In 1995, Hasan reiterated the need for large scale education to achieve conservation.

The issues we are discussing are, then, ultimately ideological. The desire for a specifically Islamic character in our environment is no different in function from the modern ideology of industry, and promulgating it is simply another aspect of the struggle against the blind imperialism of industry.²⁷

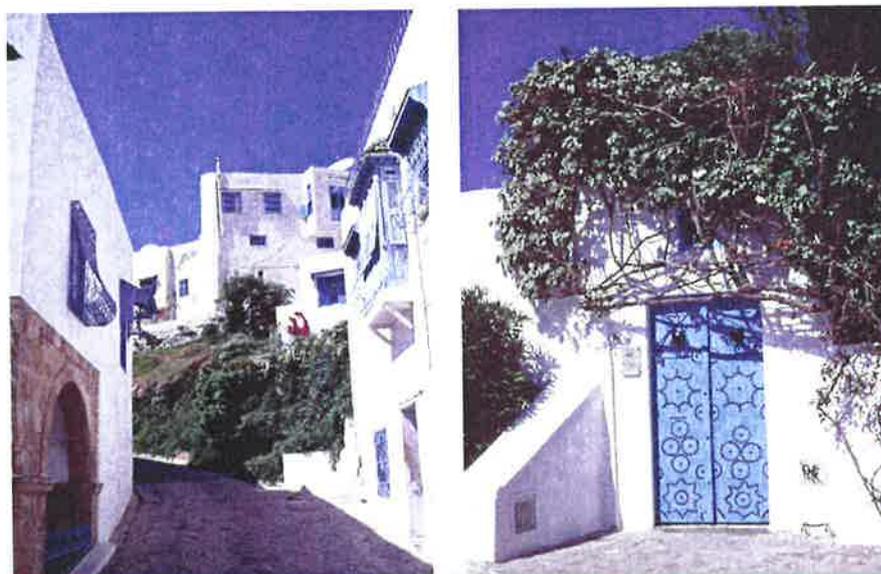


Figure 39 and 40
Sidi Bou Said, 1973.
Technical Bureau of
the Municipality
Sanda Popa. Tunisia.
Author, 2000.

Community mobilisation is praised in the 1980 award for Sidi Bou Said overlooking the Bay of Carthage, Tunisia (Figure 39 and 40). The natural beauty of the site enhances tourist interest in this former resort village that is now a year-round (rapidly gentrified) residential area of Tunis. The project was conceived by the Technical Bureau of the Municipality of Tunis for the Municipality of Sidi Bou Said. The management plan devised provides guidelines for development and land use. Given the increasing pollution and traffic congestion related to tourism, the guidelines control maintenance, expansion, vehicular access and environmental rehabilitation. While Tunisian authorities market Sidi Bou Said internationally, together with Carthage, tourism presents limitations that compromise the benefits of conservation. While tourism fuels a lucrative commercial trade, the impact of outside visitors who do not share any of its patterns of behaviour presents a risk to the authenticity of the site.²⁸

²⁶ Holod, ed., *Conservation as Cultural Survival*, ix.

²⁷ Kuban, “Conservation of the Historical Environment,” 7.

²⁸ Holod, ed., *Conservation as Cultural Survival*, x.

Community mobilisation is supported as an enabling force to realise conservation particularly when it is not economically feasible.²⁹ These objectives are prioritised over and above the technical attributes of a project.³⁰ In Asilah, conservation has been undertaken by the people of this ancient coastal town. Part of its walls date to the medieval period when it was a Portuguese trading post (Figure 41). Today it is a harbour, a market, a centre for cultural events and a summer resort. Protection of Asilah's architectural heritage began over 15 years ago with the efforts of the two founding patrons of a local cultural association, and other interested intellectuals and artists. Many buildings and streets have been rehabilitated, including the Portuguese fortifications and an early twentieth century palace. Commercial facilities were relocated at the foot of the fortifications, and decorative pavings and murals were made by local artists. Improvement has also been made to improve the water and sewerage systems, and the maintenance of houses, public buildings and mosques, and waste disposal. The Award acknowledges thoughtful strategies incorporated to discourage excessive international tourism. However, local cultural events, including the annual arts festival attract other Moroccan travellers to Asilah.

Thus, Hasan defines conservation as "a political act."³¹ The projects thus far highlight the improvements in people's physical, social and commercial welfare, whether they are initiated by foreign project teams or local agencies. The politics of conservation as an expression of difference come to the fore in the 1998 award for Hebron, an old and sacred town south of Jerusalem. Hebron is an important religious centre for Islam, Judaism, and Christianity (Figure 42). Today, the contestation of this site continues. Since occupation by Israel in 1967, Hebron has been a focus of Jewish settlement. Almost a decade ago, the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee was created, as a result of a decision by Yasser Arafat, to develop a programme to renew the town for Palestinian habitation. In January 1997, Israel turned over 80 percent of the administration of Hebron to the Palestinian Authority, thereby enabling the actual reconstruction of the old town to begin. As such, the project was conceived amidst delicate issues, "land property, identity and cultural and historical consciousness."³²

²⁹ For an examination of adaptive re-use costs see Ismail Serageldin, "Financing the Adaptive Re-use of Culturally Significant Areas" in *The Challenge of our Cultural Heritage: Why Preserve the Past?* (Washington D.C.: UNESCO, 1984); Ismail Serageldin, "Project Finance, Subsidisation and Cost Recovery," in *Adaptive Re-Use: Integrating Traditional Areas into the Modern Urban Fabric*. (Cambridge: AKPIA 1983): 92-102.

³⁰ Hasan, "Shelter and Conservation," 27.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 26.

³² Cynthia C. Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future: Contemporary Architecture in Islamic Societies* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 39.

The ancient city lies south east of the nineteenth century city. It possesses a remarkable stone architecture, most of which was built in the eighteenth century. The sector under revitalisation consists of large, extended-family houses built of thick stone walls and arranged in a compact way. Most of the clusters do not suffer from major structural problems. The rehabilitation focuses on infrastructure such as running water, sewage, and drainage services conceived by the Engineering Office of the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee. In the words of the Master Jury “Hebron (Al-Khalil in Arabic) perpetuates a very long collective Palestinian memory, rooted in religious beliefs and a rich cultural and multi-faith legacy.”³³

Figure 41
Conservation of Asilah,
1978. Al-Mouhit
Cultural Association.
Asilah, Morocco.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 268.



Figure 42
Conservation of
Hebron, 1995+.
Engineering Office of
the Hebron
Rehabilitation
Committee. Israel /
Palestine.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 245.



Conserving Islamic Identity

In conclusion, each of these projects demonstrate progressive approaches to conservation where the premodern built environment is revitalised through intervention, including preservation, the incorporation of new services or uses, and the provision of new utilities and infrastructure. Emphasis is given to contemporary needs that are provided without jeopardising the existing built environment. Visual continuity is allied with cultural vitality. Thus, representations of conservation in the Award literature avoid a strict dichotomy of tradition and modernity. The Award literature also demonstrates a move away from the conservation of individual monuments in favour of projects that address community needs such as housing, commerce and institutional needs such as the provision of schools. Increasing emphasis is given to local agency in activating and realising conservation projects. Not only is architecture vantaged as an essential expression of identity that has parallels with a broader discourse of conservation, it is given ideological significance

³³ Ibid., 39.

where conservation presents a vehicle for the continuity of a Muslim 'self' image.

6.2.2 History and Typology

Historical scholarship is valued in the Award literature as an adjunct to conservation. In *Architecture in Continuity* Cantacuzino identifies Robert Hillenbrand's introductory essay "The Mosque in the Medieval World" as essential reading for contemporary practitioners; "he will ignore at his peril."³⁴ Hillenbrand's essay is paired with Ihsan Fethi's examination of innovative interpretations of medieval mosque precedents. Continuity in the built environment as a catalyst for identity is sustained. Several architecture and urban historians have contributed to the AKAA as seminar participants, members of the Steering Committee or Master Jury, or they have contributed essays to the Award publications. These include Oleg Grabar, Renata Holod, Doğan Kuban, Aptullah Kuran, Nurhan Atasoy, Jacques Berque, André Raymond and Janet Abu-Lughod. Given their contributions, extended debate on innovative directions in architecture and urban history might be expected. While the historical context is recognised in representations of individual projects or sites/cities where AKAA award ceremonies have taken place, assays into the historical context are limited. This is also surprising given the affiliation between the AKAA and the AKPIA.³⁵ In the case of the latter, historical research drives the educational programme that encourages progressive interventions in existing built environments. Instead, discussions of awarded projects tend to highlight visual continuity with the past. Typology is prioritised over dynamic and idiosyncratic historical processes that characterise the histories of Islam and architecture.

Clues to avenues of historical scholarship are evident in the Award literature. In Seminar 1, Abu-Lughod declares

there is not, nor was there ever, an Islamic city or even an Islamic system of city building, if one means a common set of architectural building blocks generated by a common process and combined according to a common set of rules in a common composite urban pattern.³⁶

³⁴ Sherban Cantacuzino, "Continuity and Change: Architecture and Development in the Islamic World-An Introduction," in *Architecture in Continuity: Building in the Islamic World Today*, ed. Sherban Cantacuzino (New York: Aperture, 1985), 14.

Robert Hillenbrand, "The Mosque in the Medieval Islamic World," in *Architecture in Continuity*, 30-51. Hillenbrand explores the evolution and dissemination of formal types in Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994). "The Mosque in the Medieval Islamic World" foreshadows this survey.

³⁵ Parallel efforts of the AKAA, AKPIA and *Mimar* are discussed in Serageldin, ed., *Space for Freedom*, 29.

³⁶ Janet L. Abu-Lughod, "Preserving the Living Heritage of Islamic Cities," in *Toward an Architecture in the Spirit of Islam*, Proceedings of Seminar 1, ed. Renata Holod (Philadelphia: Smith-Edwards-Dunlap, 1978), 61.

While Abu-Lughod acknowledges idioms such as the suq, bazaar or residential courts, these are partly attributed to legal systems and concomitant actions of behaviour and property relations rather than formal motives. Her intent is to observe principles for regularity in the city in an effort to consider practical directions for change. To this end, emphasis is given to maintaining the ongoing vitality of the city. Future interventions must allow for “ongoing compromises.”³⁷ Preservation and restoration are forwarded as active agents of vigour and continuity that are not limited to anachronisms. Recognising the need to address the practical issues of housing for a low-income majority in the older districts of Islamic cities, Abu-Lughod turns to spatial principles, land use and urban activities. Parallels are drawn between observations of urban history and today’s needs that are further illustrated by a pilot study informed by historical analysis.

In “Symbols and Signs in Islamic Architecture” Grabar also questions the consistency of a visual system throughout the Muslim world, the sources for such symbols, their transfer to architecture and the validity of past symbols for future practices.³⁸ Grabar makes a distinction between signs related to faith, cultural signs or symbols, and social and/or political constructs. He also proposes that the Islamic character could be a symbol of taste, rather than a symbol of faith or religion. Grabar outlines three methods for addressing architecture and meaning. Firstly, he identifies pure theory, including the abstract work of Barthes, Wittgenstein and Eliade, and their limited practical application. Secondly, he considers the role of written evidence, including the Koran and Hadith and evidence of recognised visual symbols in medieval accounts, including travel narratives. In addition, Grabar considers the monuments themselves, the changing meaning ascribed to them over time, and the problem of unique buildings such as the Dome of the Rock acting as indicators for symbolism. He proposes that some buildings are unique and their meaning changes, as in the case of the Dome of the Rock or the Taj Mahal. Other monuments have a restricted continuity such as the hypostyle mosque, inscriptions or specific elements such as the minaret or mihrab.

However, Grabar concludes that there is a lack of evidence of specifically Islamic visual symbolism. He proposes that this may be a matter of insufficient examination of available data, although he doubts this. He concludes with the proposal that “it is not the forms which identify Islamic culture and by extension the Muslim’s perception of his

³⁷ Abu-Lughod, “Preserving the Living Heritage,” 62.

³⁸ Oleg Grabar, “Symbols and Signs in Islamic Architecture,” in *Architecture as Symbol and Self-Identity*, Proceedings of Seminar 4, ed. Jonathan G. Katz (Philadelphia: Smith-Edwards-Dunlap, 1980), 1-11.

architecture, but sounds, history and a mode of life.”³⁹ Grabar’s conclusion resonates with his findings in his seminal study *The Formation of Islamic Art*. Pursuing provocative essays on the mosque, the court, the city and ornament, Grabar traces the continuity of pre-Islamic forms,

practically every decorative motif considered in isolation, every unit of planning, every detail of construction, and every kind of object has a direct prototype in the earlier artistic tradition of the Near East and the Mediterranean.⁴⁰

Considering the variety, diffusion and assimilation of pre-Islamic forms, Grabar is reluctant to draw conclusions based on form. Instead, he looks to the historical and political setting to test attitudes toward architecture.

Focusing on urban planning, Holod introduces the principle of *waqf* (pious foundation) in Seminar 2 and its possible rejuvenation. Traditionally the foundation is administrated by independent trustees who provide the finances to maintain religious and social buildings generated through agricultural and commercial activities. The trustees maintain the building. In the context of rapid change the activities administered by *waqf* constitute a pro-active intervention. In some cases it has disappeared or *waqf* has been subsumed in a centralised body. There are also positive precedents such as the *Vakiflar Genel Mudurlugu*, a Turkish government organisation that has initiated maintenance, restoration, reconstruction and re-use.⁴¹ In other cases maintenance, although well intentioned, has led to deterioration of the original character or it has been discontinued altogether. While the evolution of *waqf* is varied “it is still a specifically Islamic form of property maintenance; with some internal restructuring, it could be the mainstay of preservation and conservation efforts.”⁴²

The Award’s affiliation with the AKPIA also raises expectations for rigorous intersections with the programmes in architecture and urban history. However, the Award publications are increasingly independent of this scholarship. Contributions by the AKPIA are limited to a planning proposal for Cairo which considers the viability of Heliopolis as a model for future satellite cities in Cairo’s surrounding desert regions.⁴³

³⁹ Ibid., 7.

⁴⁰ Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), 207. Stucco, ceramic lustreware, calligraphy and the iwan are identified as rare exceptions that became ubiquitous features of Islamic art.

⁴¹ Renata Holod, “Introduction,” in *Architecture as Symbol and Self-Identity. Proceedings of Seminar 4*, ed. Jonathan G. Katz (Philadelphia: Smith-Edwards-Dunlap, 1980), ix.

⁴² Ibid., ix.

⁴³ AKPIA, “Cairo 1800-2000. Planning for the Capital City in the Context of Egypt’s History and Development,” in *The Expanding Metropolis. Coping with the Urban Growth of Cairo*, Proceedings of Seminar 9, ed. Ahmet Evin (Singapore: Eurasia Press, 1985), 91-120.

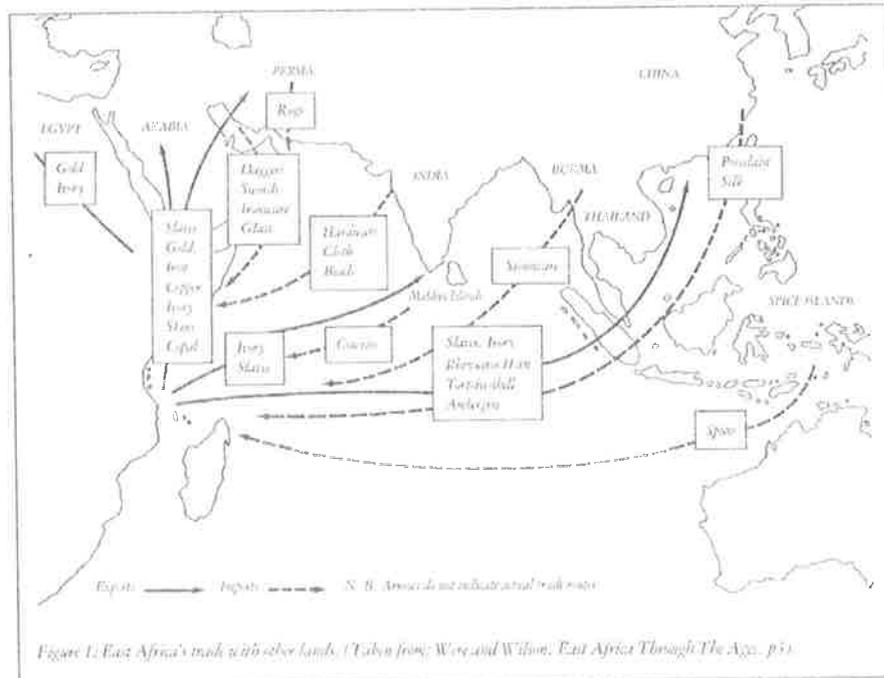


Figure 43
Map. East Africa's
Trade with Other Lands.
Al-Radi, "Brief History
of the East African
Coast," 272.

Lastly, insightful, if brief, essays have been presented to showcase the history of diverse sites on the occasion of individual seminars and Award ceremonies. Often, these are limited to the medieval context. In the case of Steele's presentation on Samarkand or Grabar's introduction to Cairo, these presentations point to a dynamic heritage that reinforces the Award's intention to stimulate pride in the architectural heritage of the Muslim world.⁴⁴ In the international seminar *The Architecture of Housing*, held in Zanzibar, Selma Al-Radi introduces the maritime outreach of the East African Coast (Figure 43).⁴⁵ Displacing the primacy of the built environment, the essay points to complicated ethnic, religious and cultural intersections that cannot be limited to a *rooted* concept of local or regional culture.

Continuity in Type

Despite these reservations about an identifiable formal language in the history of Islamic architecture, particularly the Islamic city, the AKAA prioritises formal continuity in the representation of awarded projects. Several awards are framed in terms of the typology of the mosque, housing or the city. Emphasis on the mosque articulated by Hillenbrand and Fethi in *Architecture in Continuity* represents a departure from the first round of Awards. The Saïd Naum Mosque in Jakarta, Indonesia

⁴⁴ See, for example, James Steele, "The Significance of Samarkand," in *Architecture for a Changing World*, ed. James Steele (London: Academy Editions, 1992), 210-211. James Steele, "The Significance of Cairo," in *Architecture for Islamic Societies Today*, 148-151. Oleg Grabar, "The Meaning of History in Cairo," in *The Expanding Metropolis*, 1-20. Excerpts of the latter republished in *Space for Freedom*, 247-249.

⁴⁵ Selma Al-Radi, "Brief History of the East African Coast," in *The Architecture of Housing*, ed. Robert Powell (Geneva: AKAA, 1990), 270-6. Al-Radi also presented the historical background for many of the 1995 awards.

(Figure 44), was the only mosque short-listed in 1980. It did not receive an Award. His Highness defends the absence of mosques in favour of recognition of architecture for the masses.⁴⁶ Instead, two mosques were rewarded in 1983: Sherefudin's White Mosque in Visoko, Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Niono Mosque, Mali. Considered together, Serageldin argues that these very different buildings demonstrate the Award's message of "openness to alternative solutions."⁴⁷ They are considered as inspirational models given the "stagnant state" of contemporary mosque architecture identified by Fethi.⁴⁸ Based on a survey of two architectural competitions, Fethi examines a dilemma deriving from the shift from craft based industry to machine technology and the "dismemberment" of the mosque from its setting in vehicle based cities.⁴⁹ Further, contemporary mosque architecture is beset with a permissive character "that has been the case of some sound innovation but also of much misguided experimentation, resulting in stylistic transplants and strange hybrids."⁵⁰ This permissiveness has generated a wealth of approaches to mosque design that resist definition in terms of a contemporary design typology.

While diversity is not dismissed, Fethi stresses overriding conservatism attributed to the frequent rejection of innovation by clergy or client and resistance to imported Western forms. Hasan-Uddin Khan reiterates this trend on the basis of a survey conducted with Renata Holod.⁵¹ They aim to identify a typology of contemporary mosques. In "Expressing an Islamic Identity" Khan identifies the three primary conclusions of this study.⁵² Firstly, the role of the mosque is presented as a centralised place of congregational worship. Secondly, their proximity to other public and administrative activities and buildings is identified. Thirdly, the reinterpretation of medieval formal precedents is emphasised. More recently, Khan links the grounds for conservative mosques built in the West to the concept of the "foreigner"; "identity is tested when contexts and boundaries of definition change."⁵³ However, historicist approaches are being superseded by efforts to project a modern image.⁵⁴ In each case, self-conscious identity is amplified in the context of global encounters. S. Gulzar Haider identifies aspirations to assert Islamic

⁴⁶ The Aga Khan, "Preface," in *Architecture and Community*, 11.

⁴⁷ Serageldin, ed., *Space for Freedom*, 34.

⁴⁸ Fethi, "The Mosque Today," 62.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁵¹ Renata Holod, *The Contemporary Mosque* (New York: Rizzoli, 1997).

⁵² Hasan-Uddin Khan, "The Architecture of the Contemporary Mosque, an Overview and Design Directions," in *Expressions of Islam in Buildings*, ed. Hayat Salam (Geneva: AKTC, 1990), 109-127.

⁵³ Hasan-Uddin Khan, "Expressing an Islamic Identity: Mosques Built in Western Societies," in *Building for Tomorrow*, 65.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 72.

identity in the West in formal terms from a rudimentary arch and dome over a house in Wimbledon to new mosques in Kingston and Miami.⁵⁵

Fethi, Khan and Haider identify the tendency to reinterpret medieval architectural forms as an expression of Islamic identity in the context of global encounters. Despite these disparate opinions, the Award publications tend to emphasise formal continuity in the representation of mosque architecture and the AKAAs has rewarded several schemes since 1983.



Figure 44
Saïd Naum Mosque,
1977. Atelier Enam.
Jakarta, Indonesia.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 114.

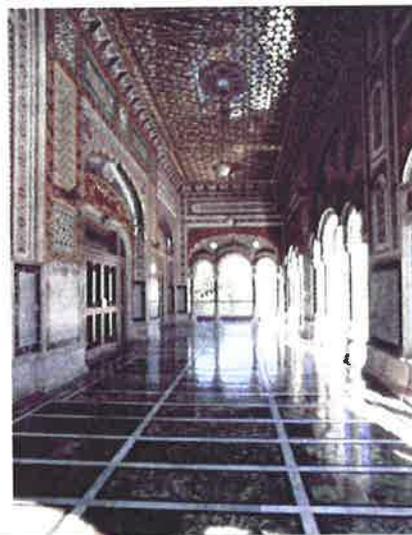


Figure 45
Bhong Mosque, 1982.
Rais Ghazi Mohammad.
Bhong, Pakistan
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 32.

The Saïd Naum Mosque in Jakarta, Indonesia (Honourable Mention 1986), is praised for its reinterpretation of the symmetrical, square-plan, Hindu-Javanese House. Al-Aqsa Mosque, Jerusalem, Israel (1986), and the Great Omari Mosque in Sidon, Lebanon (1989), demonstrate conservation efforts that preserve the physical fabric of the medieval period. The Bhong Mosque, Bhong, Rahim-Yar Khan, Pakistan (1986) (Figure 45), is represented as an expression of a distinctive popular visual culture (with many reservations).⁵⁶ The Corniche Mosques in Jeddah and Medina, Saudi Arabia (1989), and the Great Mosque of Riyadh, Saudi Arabia (1995), are praised as imaginative reinterpretations of regional architectural vocabularies. In this last example, Rasem Badran is lauded for his integration of formal and spatial principles derived from his typological analyses of medieval mosques (Figure 46).

Sherefudin's White Mosque (awarded 1983) (Figure 47), and the Mosque of the Grand National Assembly (1995) (Figure 48), represent a departure from this trend. Both demonstrate the incorporation of contemporary technology and the influence of Western precedents,

⁵⁵ S. Gulzar Haider, "Brother in Islam, Please Draw Us a Mosque," in *Expressions of Islam in Buildings*, 159.

⁵⁶ Discussed in Serageldin, ed., *Space for Freedom*, 45-47.

notably architect Zlatko Ugljen's references to Le Corbusier at Ronchamp. However, these examples also reinterpret traditional mosque elements, including the spatial relationship between the entry, courtyard, prayer hall, mihrab and minbar.

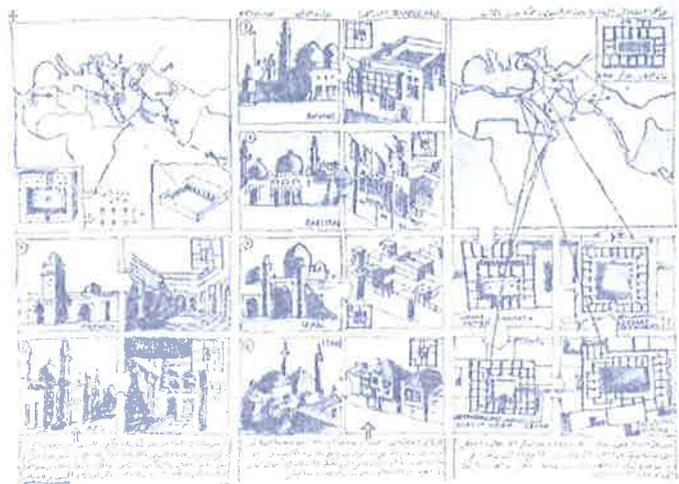


Figure 46
Mosque Typology.
Rasem Badran.
James Steele, "Recent
Work by Rasem
Badran," *Mimar* 11,
no. 4 (Dec 1991), 43.

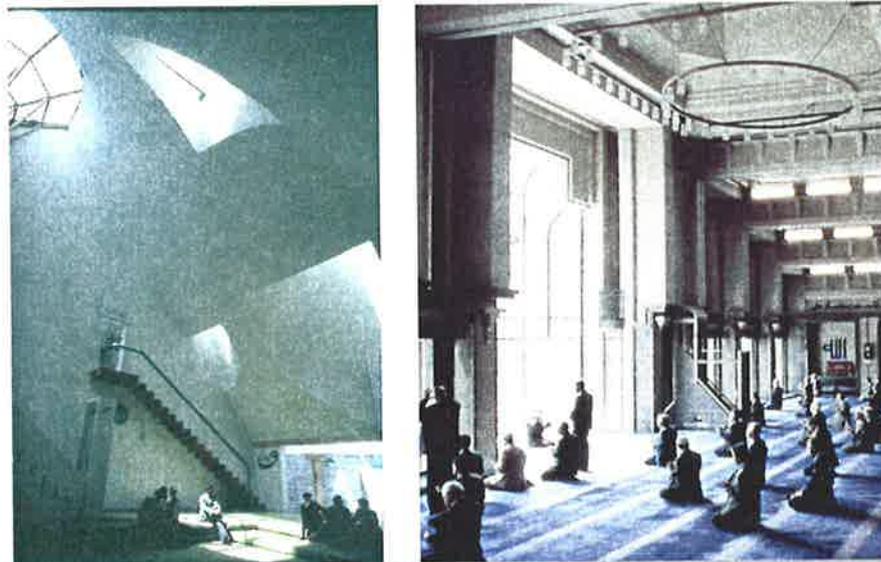
Continuity of Islamic types is further recognised. Agadir's Courtyard Houses, Morocco (1980) are linked to the Mediterranean patio house type. These low-income houses were conceived by Casablancon architect Jean-Francois Zevaco after the 1960 earthquake. In this example, formal continuity is aligned with the rebuilding of the community. In the case of the Halawa House in Agamy, Egypt (1980) (Figure 49) the courtyard, wind catcher, alcoves, masonry benches, belvedere, oblique entrances, and the use of the *mashrabiyya*, reference Nubian forms inspired by Hassan Fathy. Their sophisticated integration belies the nomadic, Bedouin origins of the site. As such, this integration is forwarded by the Master Jury as a "search for contemporary use of traditional language" in a site that lacks indigenous formal precedents.⁵⁷ Islamic types are further explored in tourist resorts. The Mughal Sheraton Hotel, Agra, India (1980), is described as a "hotel complex that is rooted in the culture of the region."⁵⁸ The low-rise formal massing clad in red brick and the sequence of lush courtyards is compared to the palatial Mughal forts, including Akbar's Red Fort and Fatehpur Sikri.

⁵⁷ Renata Holod and Darl Rastorfer, eds., *Architecture and Community: Building in the Islamic World Today* (New York: Aperture, 1983), 58.

⁵⁸ Holod and Rastorfer, eds., *Architecture and Community*, 209.

Figure 47
Interior, Sherefudin's
White Mosque, 1980.
Zlatko Ugljen. Visoko,
Bosnia-Herzegovina.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 163.

Figure 48
Mosque of the Grand
National Assembly,
1989. Behruz and
Can Çinici.
Ankara, Turkey.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 99.



Architect and prize-winner Serge Santelli champions the continuity of North African building types defined as “a concept which connects social conventions, social practice and architectural work.”⁵⁹ Moreover, Santelli advocates the need for a “profound understanding of the history of Muslim architecture.”⁶⁰ Hence, Santelli aims to resurrect Tunisian types that are distinguished from Western influences or the Modern Movement. The hotel *Résidence Andalous*, Sousse, Tunisia (1983, Figure 50), is presented as an example of the North African courtyard house. The Master Jury praised the building for its recognition of vernacular building techniques and compositional principles. It commended the incorporation of Arab-Islamic architectural elements, including enclosed gardens, courtyards and the use of water. For Santelli, “a building that does not have a courtyard is not really a Muslim building.”⁶¹ Despite Santelli’s asserted departure from Western precedents, Bozdoğan states “ironically, much of the quality of his own architecture derives from the powerful Mediterranean aesthetic of Le Corbusier.”⁶²

André Raymond identifies the shortcomings of narrow interpretations of housing types in North Africa. In “The *Rab*: A Type of Collective Housing in Cairo During the Ottoman Period” Raymond explores the peculiarities of this housing stock that was inhabited by five to ten percent of the population. It consisted of a multi-storey tenement comprising shared living spaces, and without a courtyard, that enabled high density living in the heart of the city. For Raymond, “the *rab*’ may

⁵⁹ Serge Santelli and others, “On Creativity, Imagination, and the Design Process,” in *Space for Freedom*, 229.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 230.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 231.

⁶² Sibel Bozdoğan, “The Aga Khan Award for Architecture: A Philosophy of Reconciliation,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 45, no. 3 (May 1992), 187.

be considered a total rupture with ‘traditional plans’.”⁶³ Since it is not exceptional (with further examples in Old Cairo and Yemen), Raymond proposes

the study of the *rab’* should lead us to revise our understanding of Islamic housing and to admit that the traditional schemata are not valid in all cases and represent only part of the reality. Moreover, many of the characteristics which form our notion of ‘Islamic’ housing are, in fact, Mediterranean features which correspond to earlier models from Roman and Greek antiquity.⁶⁴

For Raymond there are further lessons to be learnt for contemporary practice. However, the richness of these lessons revealed in the seminar series are not always clear in the discussions of awarded projects.



Figure 49
Halawa House, 1975.
Abdel Wahed
El-Wakil.
Agamy, Egypt.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 24.

In “A Search for Meaning” Steele identifies controversial debate over the re-use of traditional forms, particularly in light of arbitrary applications described by Kuban as “‘cultural fetishism’ that blindly uses forms from the past without a full understanding of their meaning.”⁶⁵ In this round, the Sidi El-Aloui Primary School, Tunis, Tunisia (Figure 51), is identified as an exception.⁶⁶ The project was conceived as an alternative to the standardised school type built throughout Tunisia. Conceived by Association de Sauvegarde de la Médina (ASM), Sidi El-Aloui represents an alternative model that met the needs of a modern school while complementing the scale and character of the Bab Souika Halfouine, incorporated into the existing walled medina of Tunis in the sixteenth century. While the massing is

⁶³ André Raymond, “The *Rab’*: A Type of Collective Housing in Cairo During the Ottoman Period” in *Architecture as Symbol and Self-Identity*, 60.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 60-61.

⁶⁵ James Steele, “A Search for Meaning,” in *Architecture for Islamic Societies Today*, 32.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 33.

compatible with the scale of the quarter, the courtyard arrangement was chosen as a traditional Tunisian form. Together with the treatment of openings and the main façade's timber *mashrabiyya* the school is praised for its "preservation of the architectural integrity of that area of the old medina."⁶⁷

Figure 50
Résidence Andalous,
1980. Serge Santelli.
Sousse, Tunisia.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 112.



Figure 51
Sidi El-Aloui
Primary School,
1986. ASM,
Samir Hamaici.
Tunis, Tunisia.
Author, 2000.



The Award's preoccupation with architectural form as an expression of Islamic identity extends to the shape of the city. Since the foundation of the Award, attention has been given to the future of the Islamic city. This is characterised by two themes presented in the first AKAA seminar (1978): *Toward the Revitalization of Traditional Habitats* and *Toward New Models for Future Islamic Cities*. The premodern built environment is celebrated as a site of cultural identity articulated in Awards presented for urban area conservation: Conservation of Ali Qapu, Chehel Sutun and Hasht Behesht, Isfahan, Iran (awarded 1980); Cairo's Darb Qirmiz Quarter (1983); Mostar Old Town, Bosnia-Herzegovina (1986) or the Restoration of Bukhara Old City, Uzbekistan (1995). The medieval city is also considered as a precedent for urban development. This is discussed in relation to awards for infill housing, including the Hafsia Quarter (I and II) in Tunis, Tunisia (awarded in 1983 and 1995 respectively), and the Dar Lamane Housing Community, Casablanca, Morocco (1986). Urban design projects including Al-Kindi Plaza, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia (1989) or the Citra Niaga Urban Development, Samarinda, Indonesia (1989) have also been recognised for their formal relationship to their contexts. Moreover, several seminars have been dedicated to debate on the city in Dakar, Senegal (Seminar 7, 1982), Sana'a, Yemen (Seminar 8, 1983) and Cairo, Egypt (Seminar 9, 1984).

The majority of awards for urban environments relate to new projects that maintain visual continuity with existing urban types. ASM coordinated rehabilitation with infill housing to ameliorate the deterioration

⁶⁷ Ibid., 109.

of Tunis medina in the ongoing Hafsia Project. In addition to protecting the existing urban fabric, 400 new dwellings were constructed. These dwellings adopt the traditional model of a two-storey courtyard house. The architectural vocabulary employs traditional forms like the *mashrabiyya* and partially covered streets. In addition, legislative changes for financing were introduced together with the improvement of roads and utilities.



Figure 52 and 53
Dar Lamane Housing
Community, 1983.
Abderrahim Charai.
Casablanca,
Morocco.
Author, 2000.

In contrast, the Dar Lamane Housing Community in Casablanca, Morocco (Figure 52 and 53) was conceived as an entirely new project (1986) to address low-income housing needs. Constrained by a limited budget and time frame, architect Abderrahim Charai sought to develop 4,000 units for rural or nomadic immigrants to the city. The final scheme is compared to the organisation of traditional Moroccan towns in its hierarchy of public, pedestrian and private spaces. While the construction is enabled through the use of introduced technologies and materials (primarily reinforced concrete structure with concrete block or brick infill) much is made of the gateways and arches as territorial markers that are deeply rooted in Moroccan culture.⁶⁸

However, the project is enlivened by the activities enabled within the public spaces including wedding ceremonies. In a similar vein, the Citra Niaga Urban Development (1989) is noted for its creation of spaces that enable community gatherings (*bale bale*) and the facilitation of a mutual aid lifestyle (*gotang royang*) where different social classes and commercial facilities are engaged simultaneously. While the construction is acknowledged, this project is distinguished by the emphasis on activity. The development enables a “complex experience

⁶⁸ Serageldin, ed., *Space for Freedom*, 95.

[that] is traditionally and intrinsically a very Asian one, and should be encouraged.”⁶⁹

In contrast, the series of images of Riyadh’s vacant Al-Kindi Plaza (1989) (Figure 54) belie its population of three million people. While this anomaly is attributed to the climate, it suggests that formal continuity is prioritised beyond the activities of the local population. Beeah Group Architects (Ali Shuaibi and Abdul Rahman Hussaini) undertook the project. The scheme comprises commercial facilities and restaurants clustered around a square that is linked to the Great Mosque and the Government Service Complex. Together with these buildings, Al-Kindi Plaza is linked to the urban character of the Nadji region consisting of low-rise adobe construction with blank façades, and the principles of seclusion and privacy. This materiality is simulated by stucco sprayed on metal panels that are attached to block infill supported by a reinforced concrete frame. While the absence of patrons contradicts arguments for cultural continuity in an urban context, the materiality is at odds with claims for authentic architectural expression.



Figure 54
Al-Kindi Plaza, 1989.
Beeah Group
Architects. Riyadh,
Saudi Arabia.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 64.

6.2.3 Regionalism

Conservation and typology are highlighted as strategies to maintain or revitalise the cultural identity of a particular community through visual continuity. Projects rewarded for conservation, housing and urban development also draw attention to regional diversity in the Muslim world. This diversity has emerged as an “implicit focus” in many avenues of debate since the Award’s foundation.⁷⁰ Moreover, a number of seminars have been devoted to the discussion of regionalism:

⁶⁹ Steele, ed., *Architecture for Islamic Societies Today*, 79.

⁷⁰ Suha Özkan, “The Architecture of Architecture,” in *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 166.

Architecture and Identity, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (1983), *Regionalism in Architecture*, Dacca, Bangladesh (1985) and to a lesser extent *Criticism in Architecture*, Valetta, Malta (1989). Debates on regionalism are prominent in the international seminars, notably: *The Changing Rural Habitat*, Beijing, China (1982) and *Reading the Contemporary African City*, Dakar, Senegal (1983). A number of projects have been singled out for their innovative response to region. These range from new, mud-brick mosques in West Africa to the Sheraton Hotel in Agra, India. During the first ten to fifteen years of its presentation, attention to practices throughout the developing world set the AKAA apart from contemporary architectural discourse.

However, the Award does not stand alone in its advocacy of regionalism, nor is it the initiator of a regional discourse. In the Award literature this discourse comprises a broad spectrum of ideas and it is exemplified in diverse awards. These demonstrate a range of attitudes to site that is not limited to local resources or skills. In “Regionalism within Modernism” Özkan identifies this spectrum with reference to vernacularism and modern regionalism.⁷¹ While the former is closely aligned to Rudofsky’s argument for “Architecture without Architects,” the latter resonates with Frampton’s case for Critical Regionalism. The selection of Hassan Fathy and Rifat Chadirji for the Chairman’s Award in 1980 and 1986 respectively, aptly demonstrates these poles and indicates their importance. While the Award has remained a prominent champion of regionalism, locally inspired practices are receiving increasing attention in architectural journalism at the end of the millennium. For example, *Architectural Review* maintains interest on regionalism.⁷² Increasing global awareness of resource depletion, environmental degradation, ecological and economic limits, and the possibilities of sustainable practices also correspond to the interests of the AKAA, at the risk of displacing its unique message in the global context.

Vernacularism

The first Aga Khan Chairman’s Award was presented to Hassan Fathy, architect, artist and poet. This Award honours his lifetime dedication to the study of vernacular architecture, recognition of its potential extinction, and Fathy’s revitalisation of indigenous building technologies to enable self-build housing for the poor. Fathy’s pioneering work since his first project for a primary school in 1928 predates renewed attention to vernacular built environments presented in the influential work of,

⁷¹ Suha Özkan, “Regionalism within Modernism,” in *Regionalism in Architecture*, Proceedings of Regional Seminar 2, ed. Robert Powell (Singapore: Concept Media, 1985), 8-16.

⁷² “Regional Identity,” Special Issue, *Architectural Review* 176, no. 1052 (Oct 1984); “Regionalism in the Developed World,” Special Issue, *Architectural Review* 183, no. 1095 (May 1988); “Whatever Happened to Regionalism?” *Architectural Review* 194, no. 1164 (Feb 1994): 72-73. “Regional Meaning,” Special issue, *Architectural Review* 188, no. 1125 (Nov 1990).

among others, Paul Oliver and Bernard Rudofsky.⁷³ While these studies highlight the cultural significance of vernacular architecture, it is the didactic possibilities of these approaches for contemporary practice that are foregrounded in the Award literature.

Definitions of Vernacular Architecture

Oliver, author of several studies of vernacular architecture and editor of the widely acclaimed reference *Encyclopaedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World*, defines vernacular architecture (with reservations) as,

the dwellings and all other buildings of the people. Related to their environmental contexts and available resources, they are customarily owner—or community—built, utilizing traditional technologies. All forms of vernacular architecture are built to meet specific needs, accommodating the values, economies and ways of living of the cultures that produce them.⁷⁴

Inspired by his earlier scholarship and bringing together contributions by numerous individuals, Oliver's survey examined myriad examples of shelter and dwelling that extended conventional notions of what kinds of building constituted 'architecture'. The profile of vernacular architecture was elevated by Rudofsky's photographic exhibition, *Architecture without Architects*, held at New York's Museum of Modern Art in 1964.⁷⁵

More recently, Frampton defined vernacular architecture as "spontaneously produced by the combined interaction of climate, culture, myth and craft."⁷⁶ In *A History of Architecture* Kostof also challenged definitions of architecture that omit traditional built environments for their lack of "delight" (venustas) in the Vitruvian sense. Instead, he seeks a more "inclusive," "democratic" view of architecture and architectural history.⁷⁷ Kostof's work at Berkeley inspired further scholarship on traditional built environments, including the foundation of IASTE and the publication of TDSR by AlSayyad and Bourdieu. Together, these studies have enlarged the purview of contemporary discourse.

⁷³ Interest in regional architecture as an expression of national identity can be traced to the scholarship of Viollet le Duc and his influence on the Glasgow School, the Arts and Crafts Movement and the work of Horta, Berlage and Gaudi. Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 64.

⁷⁴ Paul Oliver, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World*, volume 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), xxiii.

⁷⁵ Bernard Rudofsky, *Architecture Without Architects: A Short Introduction to Non-Pedigreed Architecture* (New York: Doubleday, 1964).

⁷⁶ Kenneth Frampton, "Critical Regionalism: Modern Architecture and Cultural Identity," in *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 313.

⁷⁷ Spiro Kostof, *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 14-15.

In the Award literature the value of vernacular architecture in terms of practical responses to site and aesthetic appeal are acknowledged. Moreover, the built environment is represented as a holistic space where monumental buildings are valued alongside humble dwellings.⁷⁸ Referring to the North African medina in Seminar 2, Renata Holod said, “it is the harmonious arrangement of the two categories with their systems of communications which resulted in a distinct regional and cultural character.”⁷⁹ In contrast to retrospective scholarship, it is the instrumentality of vernacular architecture that is foregrounded in the Award literature. It highlights the principles of projects that might be replicated elsewhere.

Hassan Fathy

The didactic nature of Hassan Fathy’s (1900-1989) work is represented in *Architecture and Community*. Many of the principles he adhered to match the AKAA mandate. Fathy’s commitment to aesthetic, practical and ethical concerns resonates with the Award’s preoccupation with cultural identity and architectural excellence. Fathy’s attitudes to practice are attributed to his formative years during Egypt’s rich, interdisciplinary, intellectual climate that fostered debate on identity and modernity, secularism and Islam, and elitism and populism. These debates were not cultivated during his formal Beaux Arts training at Giza, Egypt.⁸⁰ Fathy is recognised as a pioneer in architecture for his efforts to translate his intellectual aspirations into practical, rural solutions during Egypt’s rise to independence. Transformation of the built environment through the introduction of imported technologies, materials and skills was seen to be radical compared to the gradual assimilation and naturalisation of imported ideas in other disciplines.

While prefabrication is attributed to the distancing of people from production, “the mechanical is death.”⁸¹ Technique without harmony or proportion (expressed in poetic and musical analogies) is barren. As such, the changes brought about in the modern period could present possibilities for positive change but were usually seen to be divisive.⁸² People were cut off “from the benefits of the accumulated experience of the generations that have crystallised into traditions.”⁸³ Fathy’s writing and his work is characterised by his attempts to reverse the momentum of the perceived destruction of traditional architecture and arts in Egypt.

⁷⁸ For an overview of dwellings throughout the Islamic world see Lee Home, “Rural Habitats and Habitations: A Survey of Dwellings in the Rural Islamic World,” in *The Changing Rural Habitat: Volume II*, Proceedings of Seminar 6, ed. Brian Brace Taylor (Singapore: Eurasia Press, 1982), 27-64.

⁷⁹ Holod, ed. *Conservation as Cultural Survival*, ix.

⁸⁰ Renata Holod and Darl Rastorfer, eds., *Architecture and Community*, 240.

⁸¹ Presentation, Aiglemont, 1978, quoted in *Architecture and Community*, 241.

⁸² Presentation at Aiglemont, 1978, quoted in *Architecture and Community*, 242.

⁸³ *Mosque Architecture* (undated), quoted in *Architecture and Community*, 245.

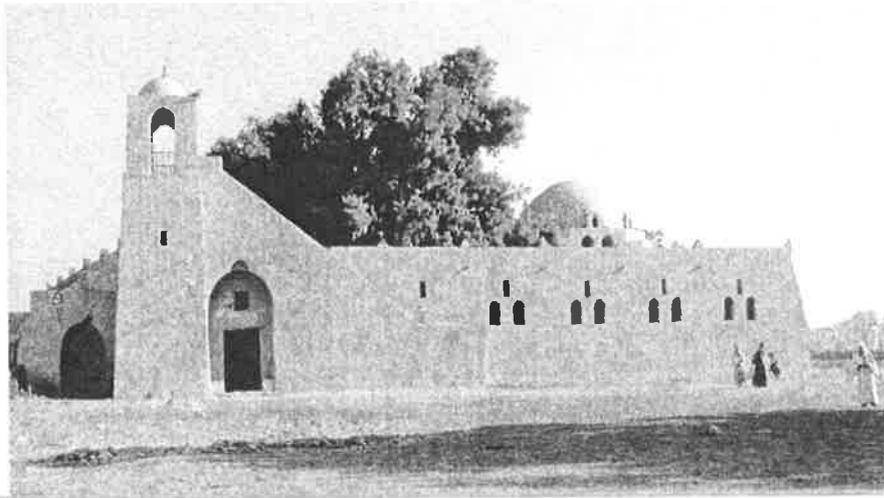


Figure 55
New Gourna
Mosque, 1949-52.
Hassan Fathy.
Gourna, Egypt.
Steele, *Hassan
Fathy*, 69.

Given his interventions to address this tendency through site-specific responses, Fathy is further praised in *Space for Freedom* for “the idea of rooting architectural expression in the local and regional context to ensure both relevance and authenticity.”⁸⁴ In “Third World Architects” Çelik highlights Fathy’s insistence on purity and cultural authenticity in “reaction to internationalism [that] led him to polarize cultures, this time emphasizing the “otherness” of the West and presenting it as a threat.”⁸⁵

This reaction fuelled Fathy’s resolve to study pre-industrial buildings for their climatic response, their use of local resources and their aesthetic qualities. The intent was to learn from these technologies and to apply them to contemporary practice, in effect ensuring their continuity and the viability of rural masonry in impoverished communities. Although Fathy observed the principles of premodern architecture in Mamluk and Ottoman architecture in Cairo, he focused on rural Egypt and particularly Nubia. These principles included the leaned vault and domes constructed as a continuous spiral and supported on squinches. These offered a number of units, including a square-plan dome, a barrel vaulted hall and a half-dome alcove. Together, these could be skilfully arranged and refined to produce enclosed and semi-enclosed spaces arranged around courtyards.

In addition to the divisive implications of new technologies, including imported, prefabricated building systems, they also presented prohibitive costs for poorer communities and an inability to carry out maintenance. Instead, vernacular building techniques demonstrated the use of materials derived locally (predominantly earth) and therefore, cheaply.⁸⁶ These are

⁸⁴ Serageldin, ed., *Space for Freedom*, 24.

⁸⁵ Zeynep Çelik, “Third World Architects,” *Design Book Review*, no. 19 (Winter 1991): 47.

⁸⁶ The possibilities of mud as a viable building material are examined in Anil Agarwal, “Research: Mud as a Viable Building Material,” in *The Changing Rural Habitat: Volume I*, Proceedings of Seminar 6, ed. Brian Brace Taylor (Singapore: Eurasia Press, 1982), 137-146.

further traced to pre-Islamic precedents in Egypt.⁸⁷ Fathy championed self-build housing as a project of empowerment articulated in *Architecture for the Poor* (1973). As such, Fathy pursued collaborative efforts, enabled by the architect, but realised as a community activity. This approach is demonstrated in several projects: Ezzab Farming Community (1942), The New Gurna Village (1949-52, Figure 55), Cultural and Health Centre, Garagos (1950) and Temporary Dwellings for Arab Refugees, Gaza (1951).

Despite Fathy's noble aspirations, his work was poorly recognised in Egypt or abroad for most of his career. *Architecture for the Poor* generated interest in the West. The construction of the Dar al-Islam Mosque in Abiquiu, New Mexico (1980, Figure 56)—drawing on identical formal units and construction techniques as his Egyptian projects—consolidated North American interest in his work.⁸⁸ The conferment of the Chairman's Award together with the representation of his work in *Mimar* and in two publications by Richards, Serageldin and Rastorfer, and Steele further enhanced his reputation.⁸⁹ He was also recognised as an Honorary Fellow of the AIA (1976) and he received the Gold Medal of the International Union of Architects (1984). Fathy's receipt of the Chairman's Award has further enhanced this profile.

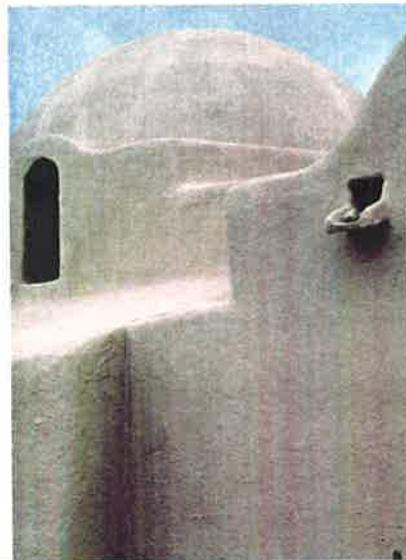


Figure 56
Mosque Dar Al-Islam,
1980. Hassan Fathy.
Abiquiu, New Mexico,
United States.
Steele, *Hassan
Fathy*, 17.



Figure 57
Dome and Vault
Construction,
Hassan Fathy.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 4.

⁸⁷ James Steele, "Chapter Two. The Earth: Revival of an Ancient Construction Method," in *Hassan Fathy* (London: Academy Editions, 1988), 29-32.

⁸⁸ He also designed a mosque in Boston (1980) and a mountain house for William Polk, Aspen, Colorado (1972).

⁸⁹ J.M. Richards, *et al.*, eds., *Hassan Fathy* (Singapore: Concept Media, 1985).

Other ACAA winners acknowledge Fathy's influence. Fathy worked with Ramses Wisa Wassef. The latter's Weaving Centre was rewarded in 1983. Fathy's inspiration has also been identified by Abdel Wahed El-Wakil, awarded for both the Halawa House, Agamy, Egypt (in 1980) and the Corniche mosques, Saudi Arabia (1989).⁹⁰ Fathy's influence is also evident in the work of ADAUA (Association for the Development of Traditional African Urbanism and Architecture), awarded for the Pan-African Institute for Development, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso (1995), André Ravereau for the Mopti Medical Centre, Mali (1980), and UNESCO for the Agricultural Training Centre in Nianing, Senegal (1980).⁹¹ In *Architecture and Community* Fathy's work is praised for its inspiration: "Hassan Fathy has taught us the value of the vernacular environment. And he has shown us that the lessons to be learned are modern lessons."⁹²

Ironically, Fathy made the least impact in the eyes of the community he intended to benefit. The New Gournia Village was intended to re-house grave robbers from another site. While Fathy established the project on the basis of self-build housing, it was frequently sabotaged by the Gourni's who resented the dislocation from their livelihood. Furthermore, local residents linked mud-brick technology to conditions of abject poverty. Thus, Fathy failed to acknowledge changing aspirations for modern conveniences and alternative forms partly inspired by their exposure to imported materials and architectural styles. On this basis, Fathy has been charged as a paternalistic romantic.⁹³ However, this has not left him without supporters. Throughout his career Fathy has been commissioned by middle class and wealthy patrons despite his pursuit of architecture for the poor. Their villas outnumber community orientated projects: Nigerian Ambassador's Villa, Niamey (1960), Attiya Restaurant (1960), Dr Fouad Riad House, Giza (1967), Princess Shahnaz Villa, Luxor (1970), Nasser Mausoleum, Cairo (1971) and Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan House, Aswan (1980). Despite these shortcomings, Fathy is celebrated in the Award literature for his commitment to architecture as a vehicle for the expression of identity particular to Egypt. In a tribute to Fathy after his death, Steele states,

throughout his life, he struggled to ensure that this new identity, which continues to evolve, would reflect the best elements of both past and present, in order to truly express the cultural richness and complexity

⁹⁰ El-Wakil's praise for Fathy's work is expressed in his introduction to Steele, *Hassan Fathy*, 7-9.

⁹¹ Fathy's influence is traced in James Steele, "Architecture Today," (London: Phaidon, 1997), 226-248.

⁹² Holod and Rastorfer, eds., *Architecture and Community*, 239.

⁹³ Çelik, "Third World Architects," 47.

that is the essence of Egypt rather than the foreign materialistic values that are completely alien to it.⁹⁴

Fathy's Influence

The Award literature tends to perpetuate a distinction between Egypt's rural architecture and the alienating impact of imported technologies. This polarising attitude is further evident in the representation of other architects inspired by Fathy. Ramses Wisa Wassef, architect and artist and a colleague of Fathy after 1941, was committed to architecture that enhanced the identity and livelihood of impoverished communities. In 1983, the Jury praised the Ramses Wisa Wassef Centre, Harraniya, Egypt (Figure 58): "For the beauty of its execution, the high value of its objectives, and the social impact of its activities, as well as its influence as an example. For its role as a center of art and life, for its endurance, its continuity, and its promise."⁹⁵

The project comprises a weaving school and museum in addition to middle and low cost housing for its students, and a farm. The School educates children of the *fallahin* (peasants) to encourage the continuity of local crafts (weaving was later complemented by pottery, carpets and stained glass) and knowledge of construction through participation. The changes improved the standard of living for the children. In *Architecture and Continuity* the project, which incorporates similar construction techniques promoted by Fathy, is described as essentially Egyptian for its continuity of construction principles used by Pharaonic, Coptic and Muslim builders. The conflation of architecture and national identity has a long history.



Figure 58
Ramses Wisa Wassef
Centre, 1974.
Ramses Wisa Wassef.
Harraniya, Egypt.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 14.

⁹⁴ "A Tribute to Hassan Fathy," in *Architecture for A Changing World*, ed. Steele, 50-52.

⁹⁵ Cantacuzino, ed., *Architecture in Continuity*, 131.

In 1980, several projects were awarded for their revitalisation of local building technologies and resources. In Mopti, Mali, a medical centre was praised for its “culturally attuned technological responses to the architectural needs of a specific site.”⁹⁶ With funding from *Fonds Européens de Développement* (FED), architect André Ravereau (Juror) was commissioned based on his earlier work in Algeria’s M’Zab Valley. The centre provides a range of community services, including a maternity ward, arranged around a pedestrian axis running parallel to the main thoroughfare (Figure 59). The scheme responds to the patients’ needs and it includes facilities for visiting family members to prepare meals for patients. However, emphasis is given to the building technology as a viable response to limited local resources, the dominant aesthetic of the adjacent Friday Mosque, and the harsh, hot climate. Reinforced steel and cement were combined with the local clay (banco) to achieve comfortable thermal properties and adequate levels of lighting.⁹⁷

Figure 59
Mopti Medical Centre,
1976. André Ravereau.
Mopti, Mali.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 79.



Figure 60
Pondok Pesantren,
1965+. LP3ES.
Pabelan, Indonesia.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 187.



The Pondok Pesantren (Figure 60) responds to local conditions and needs in Java, Indonesia. The Pesantren is a unique, non-government schooling system in Indonesia that prioritises religious education. The goal is to provide instruction of the Muslim way of life based on Muslim teachings and Muslim Law. The project, in Pabelan, south of Yogyakarta, was initiated in 1965 by Kyai Hamam Dja’far (kyai is the title for the school’s leader). In addition to religious education, the school offers community services, including a health clinic, a credit scheme, agricultural training, cattle breeding and building skills.⁹⁸ A cohort of 20 students and 20 villagers were trained in local skills in carpentry,

⁹⁶ Holod and Rastorfer, eds., *Architecture and Community*, 86.

⁹⁷ For the didactic principles of Ravereau’s work, see Jean-Jacques Guibert, “Mopti: Tradition in the Present. Elements for Reflection and Action in Medium-Sized Cities in Africa,” in *Reading the Contemporary African City*, Proceedings of Seminar 7, ed. Brian Brace Taylor (Singapore: Eurasia Press, 1983), 101-112.

⁹⁸ The relationship of the pesantren to rural activities is examined in Farokh Asfar, “Pesantren in Java: Local Institutions and Rural Development,” in *The Changing Rural Habitat: Volume II*, 29-44.

masonry and tiling. The project was coordinated by a Jakarta based research team LP3ES. A library was added in 1975 and after 1978, the Pesantren further initiated a local home-improvement program focusing on structure and shelter in light of the wet climate and flooding. Like the Mopti Medical Centre, the Pondok Pesantren demonstrates a sensitive response to local constraints of climate, technology and skills. It also demonstrates collective participation that is further recognised in the AKAAs awards for the Niono and Yaama Mosques.

The “homegrown” Friday Mosque of Niono, Mali (Figure 61), is inspired by the form and structure of ongoing building traditions exemplified in the Great Mosques of Mopti and Djenné.⁹⁹ Conceived by master mason Lassiné Minta, the mosque is an enlargement, after 1973, of a smaller mosque begun in 1948. The project is praised on a number of levels, including its attention to local resources and skills. The mosque is predominantly built of sun-dried clay bricks. Short members of local timber are ingeniously integrated to bear the roof structure to capitalise on their short span. However, imported materials are evident in the precast concrete window frames, steel sections for the doors and tubular steel for the verandah posts (each of these elements are noticeably absent in the photographic representation of the Mosque). The mosque is further praised for its response to the community’s needs as a place of worship and as a model for new development in this rural centre. The continuity of vernacular architecture “is one of our strongest allies in retaining architectural character and cultural identity as larger-scale modern industry and world-wide building models assert their presence.”¹⁰⁰

Figure 61
Friday Mosque, 1973.
Lassiné Minta.
Niono, Mali.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 6.

Figure 62
Yaama Mosque, 1982.
Falké Barmou. Niger.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 10.



⁹⁹ Cantacuzino, ed., *Architecture in Continuity*, 153.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 149.

Similar principles are recognised in the representation of the Yaama Mosque in the Sahel region in Niger (Figure 62), initiated in 1962 and coordinated by master mason Falké Barmou. Like Niono, the continuity of local building technology and the use of indigenous resources is commended and emphasis is given to the potential for a gradual transition to introduced technologies. Conversely, the dynamic history of Yaama is recognised for its vital location at the crossroads of a contested region from the expedition of Uqba bin Nafi (666 AD), the diffusion of Islamised Berbers from the North, the reform movements of the eighteenth century and colonial appropriations in the nineteenth century. This lively history is at odds with the emphasis on locality distinguished from the onset of western technology, ideas and transformations.

Emphasis is given to the ongoing process of construction—towers and a dome were added in the seventies—and maintenance that are represented as an act of faith. The Master Jury's citation labours the ceremonial process of construction as an example of "living tradition"¹⁰¹ and "a sacrificial act to the Glory of God."¹⁰² The collective application to building tasks and cyclical maintenance of the re-facing of the mosque, and the provision of funds or grain for workers is highlighted as a continuous, essential expression of place.

In this architecture we do not see a "primitive" aspect, but a primordial state of being in which men are umbilically bound to Nature. The "regional" becomes intrinsic. And the "particular" extends to the universal.¹⁰³

The phraseology, the rooting of culture in a particular geographic place, resonates with Uttam C. Jain's exploration of regionalism as a source of identity in Rajasthan where he refers to an umbilical cord between man and his surroundings.¹⁰⁴ Man is bound to territory over and above other relationships. Faith is coupled with the possibilities of local resources, technology and skills as a formula for self-identity. Jain highlights the need for harmony with nature that is articulated with reference to a mathematical formula posited by Tapio Perriainen, director of the Finnish Society of Craft and Design.

$$\frac{\text{Nature (N)}}{\text{Man (M)}} = \frac{1}{1} = 1 \text{ (value)} \quad \text{or} \quad \frac{\text{N}}{\text{M}} = \frac{1}{1} = 1^{105}$$

¹⁰¹ Serageldin, ed., *Space for Freedom*, 133.

¹⁰² Ibid., 136. A survey of Islam in rural Africa, presenting a generalised relationship to society, nature and the cosmos, is found in Rafique H. Keshavjee, "Islam in Rural Areas. An Analytical Introduction," in *The Changing Rural Habitat: Volume II*, 1-10.

¹⁰³ Serageldin, ed., *Space for Freedom*, 136.

¹⁰⁴ Uttam C. Jain, "Regionalism: Resource for Identity," in *Regionalism in Architecture*, Proceedings of Regional Seminar 2, ed. Robert Powell (Singapore: Concept Media, 1985), 46.

¹⁰⁵ Jain, "Regionalism: Resource for Identity," 47.

If man and nature are in equilibrium the resultant ratio is 1. If the value (dominance) of man (M) is increased, the equilibrium with nature is lost. Jain presents traditional architecture in India as an exemplar of Perriainen's equation.

Abdel Wahed el-Wakil, an Egyptian born architect based in Folkestone, England, acknowledges the influence of Fathy. This is demonstrated in his sensitive reinterpretation of vernacular architectural precedents in rural Egypt and Cairo's Mamluk architectural heritage. El-Wakil's projects demonstrate sophisticated compositional principles. In the Award literature these are highlighted as a vehicle for the expression of cultural identity.

The seven Corniche mosques in Jeddah (5) and Medina (2), Saudi Arabia, commissioned in the first instance by the Mayor of Jeddah, Said Al-Farsi, are praised for their excellent handling of form in light of the local precedents (Figure 63). However, the "local" relevance of Rasulid Yemeni or Egyptian Mamluk precedents, realised by a British based architect, raises questions about an immediate, indigenous response to place in Saudi Arabia. Moreover, the success of the material selection is at odds with the deterioration of the paintwork and timber, rusting chandeliers and the constant ingress of sand due to the exposed setting of the mosques. The management of the mosques as a response to evolving local needs and the aspirations of the community is also questionable. Due to their stunning coastal sites, the mosques proved popular with local residents who chose to picnic nearby. However, local authorities discouraged these activities and the mosques were closed off after prayer.



Figure 63
 Corniche Mosque,
 1986-88.
 Abdel W. El-Wakil.
 Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.
 Steele, ed. *Architecture
 for Islamic Societies
 Today*, 112.

Like Fathy, El-Wakil rejects pervasive international technologies at the expense of local industry. In addition to his recognition as an Award recipient, El-Wakil has participated as a Juror (1986) and contributed to the Award literature. In *Space for Freedom* he advocates the virtues of vernacular architecture and the revival of traditional forms. This position is established in opposition to Modernism that is perceived to privilege structure and function at the expense of a mystical dimension: "Modernity has destroyed hierarchy. It has created a nakedness, an obscenity because previously forms were adorning. A culture would seek forms. Modernity did away with forms."¹⁰⁶ Bozdoğan is highly critical of El-Wakil's oppositional stance. For Bozdoğan, El-Wakil identifies modernist preoccupation with "art for art's sake" at the expense of social and ethical principles advocated by early modernists.¹⁰⁷

The Limits of Vernacular Architecture

This oppositional stance is not consistent in the Award literature. For Hasan-Uddin Khan the isolation of vernacular architecture is untenable; "the notion of an 'authentic' expression of culture in today's world is hard to define; and this becomes even more difficult when different cultures come into contact with each other."¹⁰⁸ Özkan also proposes that the oppositional stance advocated by El-Wakil and others is only one aspect of regionalism. Özkan qualifies the rejection of modernism as resistance to internationalism by the 1960s.¹⁰⁹ Yet, the pursuit of internationalism as a visual expression of progress in the Islamic world cannot be overlooked either. Kuban identifies the acceptance of "alien forms as symbols of technology and progress."¹¹⁰ This acceptance is identified as a "sacrificial rite" of entry in the modern world, often at the expense of the historical environment.¹¹¹ In Turkey, for example, Kuban identifies Atatürk's embrace of modernism as part of his unified secular vision for the Turkish Republic.¹¹² In architecture, this extended to the dissemination of Modernist principles through the appointment of visiting European and American architects in Turkish architectural schools and the education of Turkish architects abroad.¹¹³ Cantacuzino

¹⁰⁶ Serageldin, ed., *Space for Freedom*, 238.

¹⁰⁷ Bozdoğan, "The Aga Khan Award for Architecture," 187.

¹⁰⁸ Khan, "Expressing an Islamic Identity," 67.

¹⁰⁹ Ozkan, "Regionalism within Modernism," in *Regionalism in Architecture*, 8-16.

¹¹⁰ Doğan Kuban, "Symbolism in Its Regional and Contemporary Context," in *Architecture as Symbol and Self-Identity*, Proceedings of Seminar 4, ed. Jonathan G. Katz (Philadelphia: Smith-Edwards-Dunlap, 1980), 17. These issues are explored in an overview of architectural practice in Turkey since 1960. This essay draws on a survey of modern architecture (1960-1983) organised by the AKAA. The compilation of 1200 photographs, 150 interviews and written material was prepared as contextual material for the AKAA archive and Master Jury, and to assess the possible contributions of local practitioners in the Award process. Doğan Kuban, "A Survey of Modern Turkish Architecture," in *Architecture and Continuity*, 64-75.

¹¹¹ Kuban, "Conservation of the Historical Environment," 5.

¹¹² Kuban, "Modern Turkish Architecture," 66.

¹¹³ Bozdoğan explores the adoption and proliferation of modernist forms as the "visible politics" of the Republic in the second half of the twentieth century in Sibel Bozdoğan, "The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture: An Overview," in *Rethinking Modernity and*

articulates the need to reconcile the perceived conflict between regionalism and the possibilities of modern technology in the same Award publication.

How can traditional culture be maintained or revived without losing the benefits of modern technology, and how can the separate identities of these cultures—the regionalism of Islam—survive in the face of modern views and methods that seek everywhere to standardise and unify?¹¹⁴

Modern Regionalism

In this context, the AKAA brings forward architects who explore a dialogue between regional and international possibilities. This approach is further endorsed as a strategy to visualise Islamic identity through the Award's representation of individual prize-winners. For example, Khan proposes that “the need to be a participant in the ‘project of modernity’ and yet remember one’s own traditions lies at the root of expressing an Islamic identity through buildings.”¹¹⁵ This visualisation of identity through modern regionalism is one of the most consistent messages of the AKAA.

Turkish Awards

The possibilities of modern regionalism as a strategy to promote a distinctive identity is pronounced in the treatment of many awards for projects in Turkey. This is exemplified in the Award's representation of projects by Turgut Cansever and Sedad Hakki Eldem. Cansever has received awards for the Erteğün House, Bodrum and the Turkish Historical Society in Ankara (both in 1980), and the Demir Holiday Village, Bodrum (1992). In 1986, Eldem received an AKAA for the Social Security Complex in Zeyrek, Istanbul. They are praised for their sensitive responses to context and the excellent execution of these projects using modern materials and technology. Further, their work is vantaged as ideological expressions of Islamic and national identity.

In “Thoughts on Architecture” Cansever is vehement in his denouncement of modern architecture.

The architecture of the Islamic world has been alienated from the fundamentals of its own culture and beliefs in addition to the pollution experienced in the West. The devastation caused by the attitude which regards solutions devised by others as absolutely valid truths has helped escalate degeneration in these parts of the world.¹¹⁶

National Identity in Turkey, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (Seattle: University of Washington Press), 136-7.

¹¹⁴ Sherban Cantacuzino, “Continuity and Change,” 11.

¹¹⁵ Khan, “Expressing an Islamic Identity,” 65.

¹¹⁶ Turgut Cansever, “Thoughts on Architecture,” in *Building for Tomorrow*, 51.

Cansever maintains an ideology of opposition akin to El-Wakil with emphasis on the manifestation of Islam in architecture in his writing. In the Award literature it is Cansever's reconciliation of Islamic identity and modernism that is celebrated. Moreover, the Turkish Historical Society (Figures 64 and 65) is a Republican legacy. The Society was founded at the dawn of Atatürk's Republic as a place for research, accessible to scholars and the public, that embraced the diverse history of Turkey, by no means limited to Islamic or Ottoman history. In *Architecture and Community* Cansever's project is described as "a contemporary madrasa."¹¹⁷ The spaces contained within the reinforced concrete frame are arranged in three storeys around a central courtyard as in the case of the traditional *madrasa*. The master jury citation for the project emphasises the translation of "the Islamic ideals of interiority and unity into a contemporary idiom."¹¹⁸

Figure 64
Turkish Historical
Society, 1966.
Turgut Cansever.
Istanbul, Turkey.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 121.

Figure 65
Turkish Historical
Society, 1966.
Turgut Cansever.
Istanbul, Turkey.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 123.



While Cansever privileges tradition and faith, Sedad Hakki Eldem promotes the materialisation of national identity, specifically Turkish identity, that resists the onslaught of internationalisation. In "Toward a Local Idiom" Eldem traces the deleterious impact of modernisation in Turkey as a result of speculative development, urbanisation and poor technical quality. In *Space for Freedom* the Social Security Complex in Istanbul (Figure 66) is praised for its articulation of "new regionalism" in Turkish architectural circles advocated in the 1960s. However, the relevance of Eldem's project is projected into the contemporary context. The Social Security Complex "addresses the concerns of the present

¹¹⁷ Bozdoğan, "The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture," 146.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 146. Cansever's emphasis on Islam as a source for his work and a force of resistance is examined by Bozdoğan and she further identifies his increasing emphasis on Islamic cosmology and history to explain his work.

generation of architects practicing in a rapidly evolving environment to satisfy societies in constant search for identity.”¹¹⁹

Eldem’s attitudes can be traced to the 1930s. In 1932, Eldem participated in a seminar on the national architectural style at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul. The conference sought “to encourage a new, modern style based on Turkish domestic architecture.”¹²⁰ Eldem focused on the potential lessons of “The Turkish House,” referring to an Ottoman building type consisting of a timber frame and a standardised plan that could be found from the Balkans to Georgia after the sixteenth century. In a paper presented at the second AKA seminar Eldem states,

the chief aim of my fifty years of professional life has been to create a regional architectural style. I have approached the problem from various angles, not all of which have been appropriate or successful. With time I have become even more convinced that internationalism in architecture is not a productive choice.¹²¹

The Award highlights this regional focus and praises “the absence of any ideological bombast in its expression.”¹²² Wedged on an awkward triangular site on Atatürk Boulevard (built in the 1960s) the complex is praised in *Space for Freedom* for its sensitive contextual response, its development of an Ottoman precedent and the integration of modern technology.¹²³ The thoughtful massing and the articulation of the façade echo the rhythm of the existing built fabric comprising a Byzantine Church, a mosque, a tomb and a bathhouse (buildings that are well represented in the selection of images that document the site). The interior spatial arrangement, comprising a shopping arcade and cafes, is compared to an Ottoman *küllüye*, “a public building ensemble or urban sub-centre focused on internal public space.”¹²⁴

However, the absence of ideological expression stressed in *Space for Freedom* is problematic. It is difficult to separate Eldem’s work from the ideological context of nation building orchestrated by Atatürk. Eldem advocated the “state sponsored “national” style in the 1930s and 1940s.”¹²⁵ While the Kemalist regime resisted historicism in its wholehearted embrace of modernity, Eldem’s interest in vernacular architecture did correspond to Atatürk’s philosophy of coherent national identity bound to the land of Anatolia.

¹¹⁹ “The Social Security Complex,” 89.

¹²⁰ Sedat Hakki Eldem, “Toward a Local Idiom: A Summary History of Contemporary Architecture in Turkey,” in *Conservation as Cultural Survival*, 91.

¹²¹ Eldem, “Toward a Local Idiom,” 96.

¹²² “The Social Security Complex,” in *Space for Freedom*, 79.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 78-89.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 89.

¹²⁵ Bozdoğan, “Predicament of Modernism,” 141.



Figure 66
Social Security
Complex, 1970.
Istanbul, Turkey.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 93.

Moreover, Eldem's experiences transcend this national context. In Seminar 2, he traces a variety of mentors who influenced his attitudes to architecture, including Le Corbusier and Auguste Perret whom he visited often in Paris. Frank Lloyd Wright's prairie houses are also singled out as a source of inspiration. Eldem also identifies Wright's global encounters evidenced in his formal references to Asian, Aztec and Mexican sources. Furthermore, Eldem's visit to the Unity Temple in Oak Park inspired his detailing of the American Girls' College in Arnavutköy, suggesting intersections at an academic, professional and personal level. Bozdoğan states that these experiences are closely related to Eldem's search for "The Turkish House," revealing the "essentially modernist spectacles through which he viewed tradition, however passionately he expressed this view in the nationalist rhetoric of the 1930s."¹²⁶

Rifat Chadirji

The exploration of modernity as a means to articulate identity is also highlighted in the Award's representation of Rifat Chadirji, recipient of the 1986 Chairman's Award. Chadirji is praised for "a lifetime dedicated to the search for an appropriate contemporary architectural expression that synthesises elements of a rich cultural heritage and key principles of architecture in the twentieth century."¹²⁷

Rifat Chadirji's professional career since his graduation in the United Kingdom (1952) is characterised by his committed search for design that seeks a dialogue between the traditional built environment of Iraq and the possibilities of international technology. In *Space for Freedom* he proposes architectural excellence derived from the equilibrium between social needs and social technology. He argues that the equilibrium between need and technology has been displaced by the introduction of

¹²⁶ Ibid., 140.

¹²⁷ Serageldin, ed., *Space for Freedom*, 199.

machine-based technology, diverse new materials, and the loss of a coherent national style in the post war period.¹²⁸ Although Chadirji does not dispute the dissemination and deliberate appropriation of architectural forms in the premodern period, he argues that the pace of universal production has presented alien and imported formal options that are yet to be integrated.¹²⁹ Unlike Fathy, Chadirji rejects a retrogressive return to the past. Instead, Chadirji embraces the challenges and possibilities offered in universal technology in an experimental approach that he hopes will influence a new generation of architects through his teaching and practices.¹³⁰ As such, he proposes an “authentic modern regionalism” that abstracts formal principles and design concepts from the ancient Islamic built environment of Iraq and synthesises them with technological and aesthetic principles of modern architecture. This synthesis is highlighted in the Steering Committee’s citation.

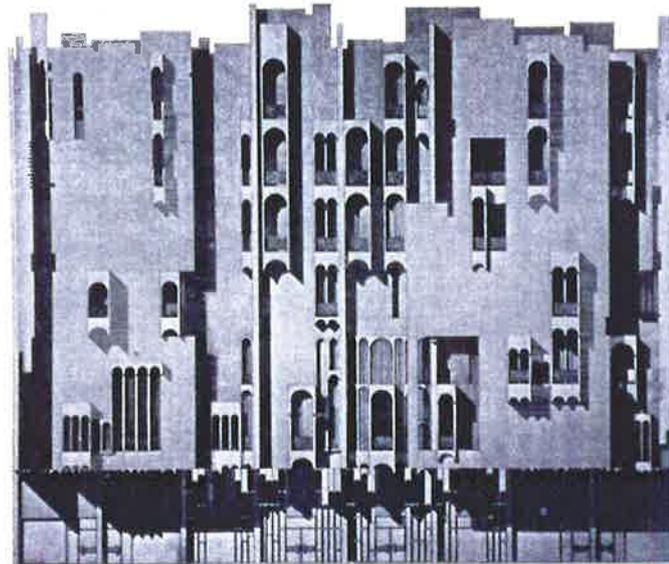


Figure 67
Etching, Rifat Chadirji.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 74.

Other Awards for Modern Regionalism

Jordanian architect Rasem Badran has also been rewarded for the successful marriage of new technology and needs with vernacular formal precedents. In 1992, he received an ACAA for the Great Mosque and Redevelopment of the Old City Centre, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia (Figure 68). The Arriyadh Development Authority and Qasr Al-Hokm District Development Programme sought the revitalisation of the city centre while maintaining a balance between the scale of the old city and contemporary needs. The clients expressed awareness of traditional urban patterns and requested that “the architect be a believer in the

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 205.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 205.

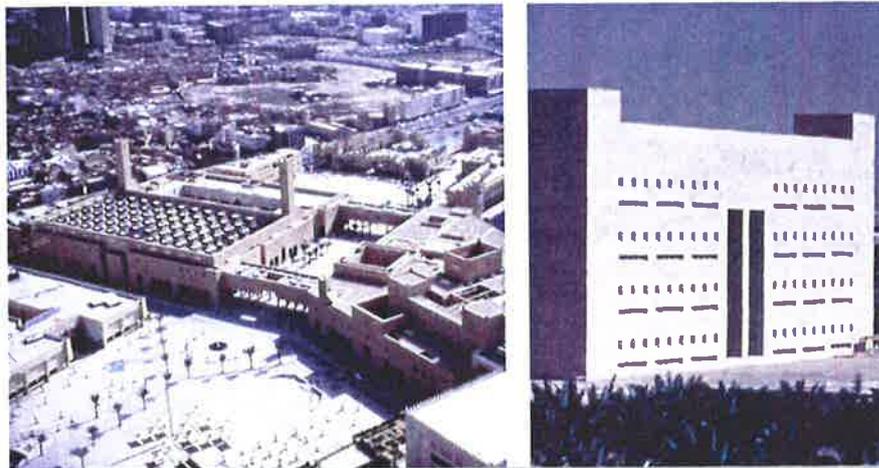
¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 205.

Islamic faith and a practitioner of Islamic culture.”¹³¹ The scheme caters to Riyadh’s population growth, allowing for 14,000 worshippers in the indoor prayer hall and 6,000 in the adjacent courtyard. The mosque is located at the heart of the city and it is integrated with the new urban facilities, including public services, educational, commercial and semi-government facilities and institutions relating to the mosque and a residence for the imam.

This scheme is intended to reinterpret the spatial character of regional Nadji architecture, characterised by rendered (often whitewashed) adobe or mud-brick construction. The resultant scheme comprises three-storey, blank masonry walls punctuated with small triangular windows. The rooves are flat. Ornament is limited to decorative mouldings, crenellations, and finials. His articulation of form is inspired by his extensive visual research of mosque typology (identified earlier). Badran’s analysis also takes into account the fierce Nadji climate, local traditions and social behaviour. Attention to vernacular architecture is motivated by Badran’s perception of an alien built environment emerging in the postcolonial period that is “devoid of authentic, religious, historical, or regional substance.”¹³²

Figure 68
Model. Great Mosque
of Riyadh, 1992.
Rasem Badran.
Saudi Arabia.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 65.

Figure 69
Ministry of Foreign
Affairs, 1984.
Henning Larsen.
Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 153.



Yet, the character of the traditional architecture is lost in the multiplication of scale. The *qibla* links two square-plan minarets that provide orientation in the city and the mosque. Gates to the courtyard link directly to the new urban facilities. Badran defends this outcome in the face of isolating foreign imports: “The design respects the environment and seeks a solution derived from our sense of the timeless human qualities of Islamic civilization.”¹³³ However, Luis Monreal declares,

¹³¹ Rasem Badran, “Historical References,” in *Theories and Principles of Design in the Architecture of Islamic Societies*, ed. Margaret Ševčenko (Cambridge: AKPIA, 1988), 156.

¹³² Badran, “Historical References,” 157.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 159.

this is not a nuanced sensitivity to the traditional Nadji style, and it would be absurd to try and show a direct connection with a Nadji style. The materials, volumes and dimensions and requirements are all different. The old buildings worked with natural climate. This building is hermetic, to allow air conditioning. Nevertheless, there are some interesting echoes of some Nadji elements which are nicely blended.¹³⁴

In “Regionalism as a Source of Inspiration for Architects” architect Habib Fida ‘Ali also recognises the validity of modernist principles for contemporary design in place of an exclusive return to local forms. However, ‘Ali presents the limitations of tradition and heritage as chief overriding design principles with reference to Henning Larsen’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs Building in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia (Figure 69). Conversely, the absence of Larsen’s building as a prizewinner is noted and defended in *Space for Freedom*. It was subsequently rewarded in 1989.¹³⁵

Danish architect Henning Larsen won the commission to design the building after an international competition in 1979. The building houses three main functions including political, cultural and administrative facilities. 85,000 square metres is devoted to office space. The development also includes a conference centre, mosque, banquet hall, library, exhibition space, extensive parking space and training facilities for the diplomatic corps.

The architectural team’s intention was to combine principles of Islamic traditional design with a contemporary architectural language. In *Architecture for Islamic Societies Today* formal precedents in Riyadh are identified as low rise, homogeneous masonry construction, usually two storey adobe buildings located around courtyards with windowless street façades and minimal decoration. The courtyard is further recognised as an indispensable element of Islamic building design. The platform housing the underground car park is compared to Indian Mughal architecture.¹³⁶ Further the hanging bulbs in the reception area are compared to traditional mosque lanterns and spaces for circulation are compared to souks transformed into three storey barrel-vaulted halls. The planning is also linked to Islamic principles of geometry and composition that are not elaborated.

While these precedents stretch the notion of a regionally inspired architecture, the labour and materials derive from a truly international

¹³⁴ Luis Monreal, “Architecture Beyond Architects,” in *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 114.

¹³⁵ Steele, ed., *Architecture for Islamic Societies Today*, 123.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 119.

context. Korean's were employed to undertake construction and the materials were sourced from distant areas: Japan (steel), Austria (chandeliers), Denmark (electric lights) and Germany (spherical lights). Notwithstanding the disparate sourcing of material and labour for the project, 'Ali is critical of the emphasis placed on regionalism and tradition that is difficult to align with the utility of the design. Much of the building, roughly two thirds, is devoted to circulation space to maintain the design team's commitment to the traditional forms of the region. These forms include the

'street', courtyards, light wells and fountains, which give the building its traditional 'feel', while the remainder of one third, or probably less, of the entire constructed area of the building is left over for the offices of the people who occupy the building.¹³⁷

The Limits of Modern Regionalism

The AKAA promotes visual continuity in the built environment in discussions on conservation, typology, vernacular architecture and modern regionalism. Advocates for conservation highlight the value of conservation in practical and economic terms. They further praise the preservation of cultural *roots* through the conservation of an indigenous image as a counterpoint to perceptions of alienation attributed to the combined impact of modernisation and industrialisation. Conservation is given ideological significance as a vehicle that enables the continuity of a Muslim 'self' image. Visual continuity through the reinterpretation of specific formal types is also praised in the representation of many awarded projects: *mashrabiyya*, courtyard, wind-towers, formal massing, single and mass-housing types, the mosque and the *madrassa*. Yet many rewarded projects stretch the boundaries of interpretation in their manipulation of mass, scale and materiality. A visual 'self' image is further promoted in discourses of vernacularism and modern regionalism as a strategy of resistance to universalising forces impinging on the built environment. Awarded projects are frequently praised for their thoughtful approach to local technology, materials and environmentally sensitive principles of composition (to mediate the elements or address resource issues).

However, the Award continues to promote different points of view. In 1995, Cynthia C. Davidson questioned the possibility of defining Islam in regional terms. Davidson introduced a new critical direction for the AKAA challenging the notion of regional limits due to pervasive global media and communication, industrialisation and the erosion of assumed boundaries defining place or region. Recognising Frampton's concept of

¹³⁷ Habib Fida 'Ali, "Regionalism as a Source of Inspiration for Architects," in *Regionalism in Architecture*, 94.

region as a bounded place, Davidson questions the possibility of identifying a “truly regional architecture,” questioning essentialist representations of Islam as a faith that is *rooted* in place.

It is problematic to characterise the Muslim world as a region because Islam is a religion that transcends both race and place. But there is a way of seeing that many societies that follow Islam as comprising a new idea of region that is defined both by religion and by means of communication, rather than by geography alone. In this particular context, one can theoretically conflate the terms religion and region, for the religion of Islam also creates enclaves, defines limits or boundaries, through its practices which, though they may not be limited to geographic place, can be seen to represent the idea of place; that is, a place of Islam.¹³⁸

Davidson advocates projects that resist global forces or a nostalgic reinterpretation of traditional architecture, arguing, “this could be an architecture that ‘mediates’ the universal with the particular in an attempt, through architecture, to redefine both place and the place of architecture.”¹³⁹ As such, Davidson concurs with new directions in the study of vernacular built environments. In the introduction to the *Encyclopaedia of Vernacular Architecture* Oliver traces the term vernacular to the Latin word *vernaculus*, that is, native. As such, vernacular denotes a “local or regional dialect, the common speech of building.”¹⁴⁰ Yet, he goes on to propose that, like language, vernacular architecture might transcend geo-political boundaries; simultaneously, language can be contained in insular communities. In *The Architectural Review* the destructive limits of regionalism are also voiced by architectural journalist Peter Davey; “experiences of the Balkans, Chechnya, Ireland, the Basque lands, and Afghanistan show how drastically the ideal can become corrupted and lead to death rather than life.”¹⁴¹

Davidson’s call for a redefinition of place is indicative of a similar shift in the Award literature. While attention to regional differences is not abandoned, there is increasing emphasis on local agency that coincides with debates over the disciplinary parameters of architecture. Architectural quality, the role of architects and the type of eligible projects are frequently called into question, pointing to new avenues of debate that re-inscribe identity in the global context.

¹³⁸ Cynthia Davidson, “Architecture Beyond Region,” in *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 7.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁴⁰ Oliver, *The Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture*, xxi.

¹⁴¹ Peter Davey, “Regionalism: Time to Review and Renew,” *The Architectural Review* 210, no. 1257 (Nov 2001): 34-35.

6.3 ARCHITECTURE IN “THE SPIRIT OF ISLAM”

An essential relationship between architecture and Islam is most forcefully stated in Award contributions that foreground faith and spirituality. Aga Khan IV calls for architecture in “the spirit of Islam” in his “Opening Remarks” at Seminar 1. The “spiritual in architecture” is further emphasised as a collective message of the Award a decade later.¹⁴² The Steering Committee has invited contributions by scholars and architects who privilege spirituality as a framework to understand architecture. Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Titus Burckhardt are most prominent among these. Parallels can be drawn between their contributions and renewed scholarship of Islamic architecture inspired by their collective scholarship during *The World of Islam Festival* (1976), held at the time of the Award’s conception. Together this new generation of scholars, including Keith Critchlow, Nader Ardalan, Laleh Bakhtiar and Martin Lings, interpret the Koran and Hadith, and writings generated by different (often medieval) religious schools of thought, as preferred frameworks for defining the essential principles of Islamic architecture (identified in chapter 2). This is not limited to sacred buildings. Indeed, the dichotomy of sacred and secular architecture is rejected as a modern and Western construction.¹⁴³ Yet, despite the reiterated search for architecture in “the spirit of Islam,” these avenues of debate are limited to the early seminars in essays by architects Nader Ardalan, S. Gulzar Haider, Fazlur R. Khan, Zahir-ud Deen Khwaja and Ahmad Sadali who identify principles for contemporary practice.

6.3.1 Transcendent Themes

Nasr and Burckhardt are influential writers. Their invitations to participate in the AKAA are indicative of a desire to potentially translate the lessons of their scholarship to contemporary practice. Their contributions in the Award literature resonate with their body of scholarship. In “The Contemporary Muslim and the Architectural Transformation of the Islamic Urban Environment” Nasr calls for the “rediscovery of the spiritual and metaphysical principles of [Islamic] arts and sciences.”¹⁴⁴ This call extends to education and practice. It is motivated by Nasr’s perception of the desecralisation of art effected by modernisation and secularisation, and aspirations for architecture modelled on the West that is patronised by an elite, Westernised and wealthy Muslim minority. The result, for Nasr, is an “ugly,” “hideous,” “foreign,” “westernized” and “chaotic” physical environment that is attributed to the inner spiritual state, “the mind and soul” of the

¹⁴² Serageldin, ed., *Space for Freedom*, 54.

¹⁴³ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, “The Contemporary Muslim and the Architectural Transformation of the Islamic Urban Environment,” in *Toward an Architecture in the Spirit of Islam*, Proceedings of Seminar 1, ed. Renata Holod, (Philadelphia: Smith-Edwards-Dunlap, 1978), 1.

¹⁴⁴ Necipoğlu, *The Topkapi Scroll*, 4.

contemporary Muslim.¹⁴⁵ According to Nasr, the principles of traditional Islamic art (painting, literature, architecture and music), have lost their sacred dimension. Nasr's presentation is grounded in his own numerous texts.¹⁴⁶ He also draws attention to prominent scholars in the field who foreground the spiritual principles of Islamic art or symbolism through a reference list appended to his essay. Thus, he identifies the influential scholarship of Titus Burckhardt, Frithjof Schuon and Ananda Coomaraswamy and the more recent scholarship of Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar, Keith Critchlow and Martin Lings. Nasr emphasises their didactic principles for contemporary practice.

Each of these scholars, together with Nasr, advocate the principle of unity to explain Islamic art. The principle of unity motivates Nasr's theorisation of Islamic art as it is revealed in the Koran and Hadith. The principle of unity (*tawhid*)—the unity of existence and the universe—determines all other distinctions of culture, geography or time. This principle is articulated with reference to the unity of the Islamic city:

Islam is based upon Unity (*tawhid*) and is the means toward the integration of human life, and in fact of all multiplicity, into Unity. Every authentic manifestation of the Islamic spirit reflects the doctrine of *tawhid*. This doctrine is the principle of all the Islamic arts and sciences, as well as of the *Shari'a*, which integrate all human action and prepares man to return to the One, in the world of the perfection which is found on the highest level in the Holy Prophet, in the world which could be called "The Muhammadan Perfection."¹⁴⁷

Although Nasr observes aspects of the principles of the tradition (*al-din*) pertaining to human action, he decries the loss of "the principles of wisdom (*hikma*) and the norm of making things which is contained in the principles and methods of Islamic art."¹⁴⁸ This loss is further linked to the loss of sensibility of divine beauty, "which characterizes all authentic manifestations of the Islamic spirit, including of course Islamic art."¹⁴⁹ It is this wisdom that provides insights into the principles of Islamic art. Unity is understood to have an inner and an outer aspect—a hidden and a sensible aspect. The outer aspect can be perceived by the senses whilst the inner aspect demands metaphysical understanding. The Revelation

¹⁴⁵ Nasr, "The Contemporary Muslim and the Architectural Transformation of the Islamic Urban Environment," 1.

¹⁴⁶ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *An Introduction to the Cosmological Sciences* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978); Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality* (Ipswich: Golgonooza, 1987); Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "The Principal of Unity and the Sacred Architecture of Islam," in *Islamic Art and Spirituality*, 37-63; Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Science and Civilization in Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).

¹⁴⁷ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "The Contemporary Muslim and the Architectural Transformation of the Islamic Urban Environment," 3.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

provides clues to this inner reality and the goal of the spiritual disciplines is to unite the inner and the outer realms. For Nasr, art provides the physical manifestation of archetypal realities linking the tangible world to the invisible, sacred world. In this light, Nasr states, “it needs to be underlined that the sacred architecture of Islam is a crystallisation of Islamic spirituality and a key for the understanding of this spirituality.”¹⁵⁰ In spiritual discourses of Islamic art and architecture, it is not the artist or the context but rather consciousness of Islamic Revelation and the principle of Divine Unity that orders the Islamic cosmos that differentiates Islamic art.

The Islamic cosmos is based on the emphasis upon God as the unique Origin of all beings, on the hierarchy of existence which relies upon the One, and is ordered by His command, on the levels of existence which relate matter to the subtle world, the subtle world to the angelic, the angelic to the archangelic, the archangelic to the Spirit and the Spirit to God’s primordial creative act.¹⁵¹

Another advocate of Divine Unity is Titus Burckhardt, a prominent scholar of Islamic art and spirituality and a member of the first ACAA Master Jury. His appointment to the Master Jury is indicative of the Award’s allegiance with prominent Muslim scholars as part of its collective message of Muslim identity and agency at the time of the Award’s conception. His appointment is also a gesture to the currency of this field of debate at the time. Burckhardt’s scholarship highlights the transcendental unity of all religions. In *Sacred Art in East and West* Burckhardt examines visual traditions in several religious contexts, and in *Perennial Values in Islamic Art* Burckhardt focuses on the transcendental unity of the Islamic visual tradition. In addition, Burckhardt prepared the introduction to the exhibition catalogue *The Arts of Islam* curated for *The Festival of Islam*. The text *Art of Islam: Language and Meaning* was also published in 1976.

Necipoglu states that Burckhardt, together with Schuon and Rene Guénon, made “a radical critique of the contemporary world, and searched for universal spiritual truths in metaphysics, cosmology, and traditional art.”¹⁵² It rejected quantitative approaches to art history of the academy in favour of studies informed by Revelation. Burckhardt argues for continuity across time and space linking present day Islam to its Abrahamic origins. With this universal and ahistorical view Burckhardt fails to acknowledge disparate attitudes to Islam. Instead, Sufism conditions the writing of both Nasr and Burckhardt. However, the diffusion of Sufism is limited in the medieval period and today. Yet,

¹⁵⁰ Nasr, “The Principal of Unity,” 59.

¹⁵¹ Nasr, “Islamic Cosmological Doctrines,” 4.

¹⁵² Necipoglu, *The Topkapi Scroll*, 78.

there is a place for such disparate attitudes in the Award as well as conflicting opinions. Doğan Kuban, for example, stresses the unintuitability of God where the material expression of God is “inherently anti-Islamic.”¹⁵³

Nasr and Burckhardt also privilege the insights of Muslims over non-Muslims which is not the prominent message of the AKAAs. Burckhardt converted to Islam after he spent time in Morocco in the interwar period. He stresses that knowledge of Islam is only accessible to believers. Similarly, Nasr demands the training of “Islamic architects, men and women who are committed to specifically Islamic architecture,”¹⁵⁴ furthering the Award’s message of Muslim agency and independence.¹⁵⁵

However, the AKAAs do not sustain this attitude. The participation of individuals like Burckhardt and Nasr highlights the Award’s intent to canvass diverse attitudes to the difference of Islamic architecture. Despite the diffusion of this avenue of scholarship at the time of the Award’s conception, their contributions are limited to the first Award cycle.

6.3.2 Identifying Unique Principles for Contemporary Practice

The instrumentality of Islamic principles for contemporary practice is further examined in the AKAAs. In Seminar 4, Nader Ardalan highlights clues for architectural practice in the Iranian context and his studies are endorsed by Nasr in *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture* prepared with Laleh Bakhtiar.¹⁵⁶ In this text, geometric ornament is broken down into shapes and patterns to illustrate the principle of Unity that pervades all aspects of the built environment with emphasis on the continuity of Iranian culture. However, their emphasis on the Iranian context overlooks the dynamic nature of Islam in the region and specific, documented transformations.

The radical sectarian shifts throughout Iranian history (characterised by such irreconcilable positions as the rigid Sunnism of the Seljuks and the official Twelver Shiism of the Safavids) were ironed out in this romantic vision of an eternal sense of unity that was engendered by an innate spiritual psyche, shaped by the unique Iranian ecology and tradition.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ Doğan Kuban, “Symbolism in Its Regional and Contemporary Context,” in *Architecture as Symbol and Self-Identity*, 12.

¹⁵⁴ Nasr, “The Contemporary Muslim,” 4.

¹⁵⁵ However, Necipoğlu condemns this attitude. She declares that “all interpretations are bound up with one’s own historicity, however, it is difficult to believe that any interpreter, from whatever background, is more privileged with objectivity.” Necipoğlu, *The Topkapi Scroll*, 79.

¹⁵⁶ Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1973)

¹⁵⁷ Necipoğlu, *The Topkapi Scroll*, 77.

ZONE I Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, North Africa, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Syria

NO.	LOCALITY	NAME	GENERIC FORMS								MOSQUE TYPOLOGY					Century of Construction-A.D.	
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5		6
			Mihrab	Central	Minaret	Dome	Chimney	Portico	Fluted	Altimont Place	Hypostyle	Hypostyle with Dome Arcuate	Hypostyle with Domical Vaulting	Four-Tyab	Central Dome	Other	
1	ALGHIBS	Mosque of the Fishery	●	○	●	●	●	●	●	●							12
2	ALEPPO	Great Mosque	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					11-15a
3	BAHIGDAD	Masjid al-Nabi	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●							13
4	BASSA	Mosque of Umar	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●							8
5	CAIRO	Al-Azhar	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					10
6		Al-Azhar	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					10
7		Al-Hakim	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					10
8		Al-Mu'ayyad Sheikh	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					15
9		An-Nisar Mansour	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					14
10		Al-Zahir Haydar	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					13
11		Amir Al-Hudaybi	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					11
12		'Amr Ibn Al-'As	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					9
13		Ibn Tulun	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					9
14		Muhammad 'Abi	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●				X			19
15		Sultan Hasan	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●				X			14
16	CORDOBA	Great Mosque	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					8th
17	DAMASCUS	Great Mosque	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					8c
18	FEZ	Di-Idrissiyya	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●			X				14
19		Qayrawiyin	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					9-17
20	HAMA	Great Mosque	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					13-14c
21	JERUSALEM	Aqsa Mosque	●	○	●	●	●	●	●	●					X		7
22		Dome of the Rock	●	○	●	●	●	●	●	●					X		7
23	KAIROUAN	Great Mosque	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					9-15
24	RUFA	Mosque	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					7-15
25	MAHDIA	Great Mosque	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					10
26	MARRAKESH	Kutubiyya	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					12
27	MECCA	Haram Al-Sharif	●	○	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					14
28	MEDINA	Mosque of Prophet	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					7
29	RABAT	Hasan Mosque	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					12
30	SAMARRA	Great Mosque	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					9
31	SAN'A	Al-Bakhiyya	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●					X		16
32		Great Mosque	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					7-17
33	SEVILLE	Great Mosque	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					12b
34	SPAX	Great Mosque	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					9-18
35	SHIRAZ	Mosque	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					9
36	TANZ	Asratiyya	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●			X				13-14
37	TINMAL	Frigay Mosque	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					12
38	TLEMCTN	Al-Mamdi	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					14
39		Great Mosque	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					12-13
40	TOLEDO	Abd al-Mudim	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					10b
41	TUNIS	Hamida Pasha	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●			X				17
42		Zaytuna Mosque	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		X					9-15

Inventory of generic forms and typology of selected mosques
Compiled by N. Ardalan

KEY: ● Strong emphasis
● Medium emphasis
○ Non-existent
! Insufficient information
P Pitched roof
a Converted from church
b Converted to church
c Roman structure converted first to church, then mosque
d Pre-Islamic Arabian

Figure 70
Inventory of Generic Forms and Typology of Selected Mosques: Zone I. Ardalan, "The Visual Language of Symbolic Form," 23.

Despite such reservations, the AKAAs has provided a relatively neutral forum to articulate this perspective. Nader Ardalan has presented his examination of the medieval built environment in two seminars in an effort to translate his scholarship to the context of contemporary practice. In Seminar 4, Ardalan presented a typological survey of mosques in Central Asia, the Near East and North Africa. The study is motivated by the desire to prepare a "useful 'road map' to the more relevant forms appropriate for each of the ecological / cultural zones of Islam today."¹⁵⁸ In "The Visual Language of Symbolic Form" Ardalan presents a rational "preliminary survey of the visual language of symbolic forms found in the architecture of the mosque."¹⁵⁹ He tabulates generic elements and mosque typologies, cataloguing evidence of minarets, mihrab niches and

¹⁵⁸ Nader Ardalan, "The Visual Language of Symbolic Form: A Preliminary Study of Mosque Architecture," in *Architecture as Symbol and Self-Identity*, 22.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 18.

domes in traditional mosques (Figure 70). Ardalan's emphasis is on the importance of aesthetics and beauty, a "purposeful" or "meaningful" sense of beauty in addition to meeting functional requirements. For Ardalan, the study indicates a "natural language of visual forms of mosque design."¹⁶⁰

Preoccupation with the form of the medieval built environment and the potential lessons for contemporary practice that embodies universal Islamic principles is addressed on a number of occasions in the early seminars. Pakistani architect and Master Juror Zahir-ud Deen Khwaja highlights the need to isolate an essential, Islamic formal expression "to see whether it is possible to indicate a path or paths along which we should proceed in order to evolve an architecture identifiable as being in the true spirit of Islam."¹⁶¹ Recognising the regional diversity of architecture in the medieval period, he identifies characteristics exemplified with reference to the Indian subcontinent. Highlighting flexible and creative responses to these principles Khwaja encourages experimentation with contemporary materials that demonstrate these first principles.

1. a bold approach to engineering and architectural problems,
2. adoption of geometric forms and symmetrical and axial planning,
3. close integration of the building with the landscape,
4. dexterous handling of scale,
5. adoption of interesting structural forms, domes, pendentives etc., and a vast field of surface treatment.¹⁶²

Similarly, Fazlur R. Khan, of Skidmore Owings and Merrill (SOM) architects, looks at characteristics of the medieval built environment for contemporary insights. However, he warns against "façade architecture" that adopts arbitrary formal precedents, recognising instead the "history and preservation of the Islamic architectural heritage which evolved over long periods of trial and error."¹⁶³ F.R. Khan's examination of the principles of Islamic architecture, deriving from his observations of the forms of the mosque and the citadel/palace, leads to conclusions of regional diversity that is framed by the notion of the individuality of Muslims who are each accountable directly to God. Recognising a number of formal characteristics, including symmetry, site-specific responses in terms of climate and materials, a symbolic respect for water, and the organic composition of the medieval city, F.R. Khan forges a

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 22.

¹⁶¹ Zahir-ud Deen Khwaja, "The Spirit of Islamic Architecture," in *Toward an Architecture in the Spirit of Islam*, 39.

¹⁶² Ibid., 40.

¹⁶³ Fazlur R. Khan, "The Islamic Environment: Can the Future Learn from the Past?" in *Toward an Architecture in the Spirit of Islam*, 37.

“checklist for a prototype of the contemporary Islamic environment.”¹⁶⁴ Highlighting regional diversity, he also concludes that medieval builders were flexible in their adaptation to an Islamic way of life; “it is in this spirit of the past that we must look to the future of Islamic architecture.”¹⁶⁵

In Indonesia, architect Ahmad Sadali explores the implications of regionalism in relation to the principles of *tawhid* and unity in diversity to explain the regional evolution of Islamic architecture: “Despite its manifold forms of externalisation, the underlying belief of Islam is *tawhid*, that everything is from the One and will be returned to the One.”¹⁶⁶ Three primary causes are cited to explain the diversity of architecture and Islam. Firstly, the continuity of pre-Islamic indigenous architectural forms. Secondly, the emulation and continuity of external formal precedents, including the dome and the arch. Lastly, the exploration of contemporary forms after independence. For Sadali, each trend presents possible directions for future practice in Indonesia.

While each of these architects articulates the principle of unity in the face of external changes, these are articulated with increasing emphasis on regionalism. S. Gulzar Haider further asserts the need for guiding architectural principles in non-Muslim environments that are considered in relation to his case study of the Islamic Centre in North America at Plainfield, Indiana (Figure 71). Like Ardalan, Khwaja, Khan and Sadali, the unity of God and the primacy of the Koran are asserted, and a number of principles observed in the medieval built environment, including the priority of prayer, congregation and ablution, the integration of sacred and secular functions, the avoidance of exotic pastiche and the observance of ecological principles. However, in an alien context Haider emphasises the need for a proselytising physical gesture of peace.

It should employ a form language which for immigrant Muslims evokes a sense of belonging in their present and hope in their future. To indigenous Muslims it should represent a linkage with Muslims from other parts of the world, and should underscore the universality and unity of Islam. To new Muslims this architecture should invoke confidence in their new belief. To a non-Muslim it should take the form of clearly identifiable buildings which are inviting and open, or at least not secretive, closed and forbidding.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 38.

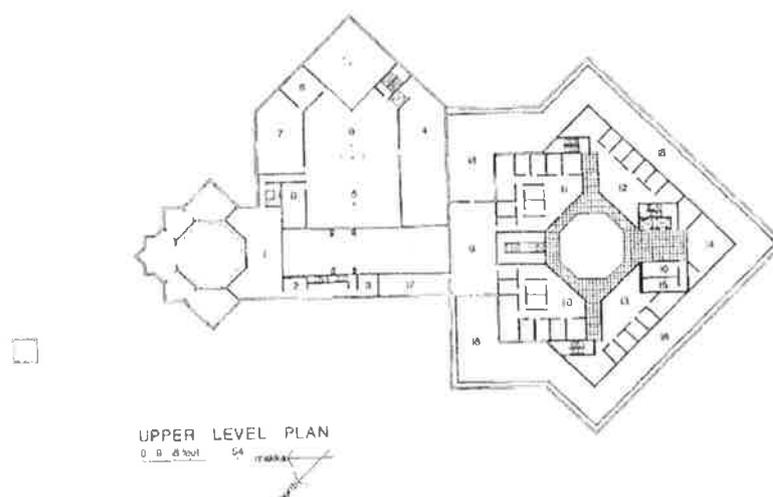
¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 38.

¹⁶⁶ Ahmad Sadali, “In Search of an Islam-Initiated Architectural Identity in Indonesia,” in *Architecture as Symbol and Self-Identity*, 87.

¹⁶⁷ S. Gulzar Haider, “Islamic Architecture in Non-Islamic Environments,” in *Places of Public Gathering in Islam*, Proceedings of Seminar 5, ed. Linda Safran (Philadelphia: Smith-Edwards-Dunlap, 1980), 123.

While the communication of identity and a sense of belonging—advocated by His Highness from the outset is prioritised—Khan highlights multiple messages for disparate audiences. While difference is exacerbated in the context of encounter in Haider’s eyes it should be, simultaneously, engaged with the “other.”

Figure 71
Islamic Centre of
North America, Gulzar
Haider.
Plainfield, Indiana,
United States.
S. Gulzar Haider,
“Islamic Architecture in
Non-Islamic
Environments,” 123.



6.3.3 Activating Meaning

No Aga Khan Award has been dedicated to or defended on the basis of explicit religious spirituality or symbolism (including the numerous mosques that have been rewarded). However, Cairo’s Cultural Park for Children (Figures 72 and 73), conceived by architect Abdelhalim I. Abdelhalim, is a unique project (1992) that resonates with many of the tenets advocated by scholars of Islamic spirituality. Steele claims that it is difficult to compare the park to other projects.¹⁶⁸ However, the creation of an environment that reverses the physical deterioration of the urban quarter resonates with arguments forwarded in the context of conservation or urban infill projects. Motivated by Abdelhalim’s doctoral thesis (Berkeley, 1978) entitled “The Building Ceremony,” the scheme is enabled through community participation as a process that is intended to activate meaning in the face of alienation. He states “a class of events in which the process of the community can be regenerated includes the definition of boundaries, the establishment of centers, and the connecting of the building to the community.”¹⁶⁹ However, alienation is perceived to be exacerbated, in part, by the increasing detachment from industrialised building processes and a subsequent loss of identity. Further, the creation of the park was intended to revitalise the environs of the site.

¹⁶⁸ James Steele, “Continuity, Relevance and Change,” in *Architecture for a Changing World*, 29.

¹⁶⁹ Abdelhalim I. Abdelhalim, “A Ceremonial Approach to Community Building,” in *Theories and Principles of Design in the Architecture of Islamic Societies*, 139.

The project was commissioned after a national competition in 1983. It comprises children's facilities, including an amphitheatre, museum, playground spaces and a library within walled gardens in a 2.5 acre site. The site is located in the impoverished Al-Sayyida Zaynab quarter that takes its name from the grand-daughter of the Prophet who is commemorated in annual festivities. The site is further distinguished by its siting amongst the Ibn Tulun Mosque, the Tomb of Salar and Sangar Al-Gawli, the Sargarmish Mosque and Madrasa and the Shaykhun Complex. The transformation and deterioration of this medieval district is partly attributed to Mohammed 'Ali's Parisian inspired remodelling of the quarter and the introduction of major new thoroughfares in the 1960s.

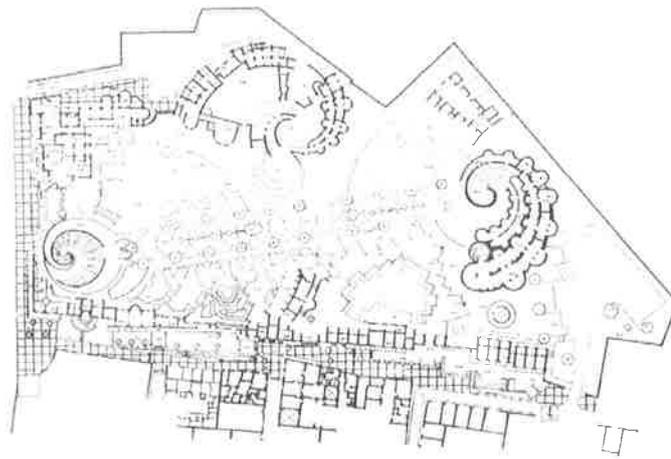


Figure 72
Cultural Park for
Children, 1990.
A.I. Abdelhalim.
Cairo, Egypt.
Steele, ed., *Architecture
for a Changing World*,
107.

In this context, Abdelhalim forwarded "The Building Ceremony" as a mobilising strategy for the local community. With this goal, the park was facilitated through community participation. The physical framework derives from a number of geometrical operations relating to the natural vegetation and the surrounding built environment.¹⁷⁰ The existing palm trees are recognised as a module that is linked to the street grid. Together, they present a set of coordinates or *Ihdathiyat*. This technique is identified by the Technical Review Team as a feature of traditional Egyptian architecture that can be compared to the golden ratio.¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ The absence of discussions on Islamic geometry and architecture is surprising given the wealth of literature that has emerged since the 1970s. In Islamic metaphysics, geometry and number theory are examined as tangible clues to the intangible origins and structure of the cosmos. As such, number theory and geometry are forwarded as an entry point to the theorisation of Islamic architecture. See Nasr, *Science and Civilization in Islam*, 146. Keith Critchlow, "Pattern and Cosmology," in *Islamic Patterns: An Analytical and Cosmological Approach* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 57-73. Quantitative interpretations of medieval geometry are examined in Wasma A. Chorbachi, "In the Tower of Babel: Beyond Symmetry in Islamic Design," in *Symmetry 2: Unifying Human Understanding*, ed. Istvan Harttigai (1989); Chmelniczki, "Methods of Constructing Geometric Ornamental Systems in the Cupola of the Alhambra," *Muqarnas* 6 (1989): 43-49.

¹⁷¹ Steele, "Continuity, Relevance and Change," 30. See also A.A. Sultan, "Notes on the Divine Proportion in Islamic Architecture," *Process Architecture* 15 (1980): 152.

Furthermore, the series of spirals are translated from the Ibn Tulun minaret linking the scheme to the surrounding landmarks. The Master Jury links these operations to rhythm “that unites all the disparate parts of the project, and gives it strength.”¹⁷² Steele further links the themes of rhythm and the spiral to the concept of growth in nature and the growth of the children. Geometry is further integrated into the scheme to encourage learning through play.



Figure 73
Cultural Park for
Children, 1990.
A.I. Abdelhalim.
Cairo, Egypt.
Steele, ed., *Architecture
for a Changing
World*, 116.

Given the references to geometry, nature, rhythm, proportion, potential themes of the paradise garden and the acquisition of knowledge, it might be anticipated that the project be linked to spiritual discourses and the concomitant theories of geometry and proportion alluded to in isolated essays on spirituality and symbolism in the early seminars. However, no such allusions are made. Instead, the project is distanced from spiritual discourses in an argument for local agency. Discussions of religious symbolism and spirituality are limited to the earlier seminars implying that the Award organisers are distancing themselves from such debates. Steele proposes that the Cultural Park for Children “deserves to be presented in its entirety as a perfect example of political rather than aesthetic innovation.”¹⁷³ After the project was approved, Abdelhalim facilitated a ceremony linked to the laying of the foundation stone set amidst a mock-up of the site. Through performance and participation, the community was galvanised into action achieving the construction of the park that served as a catalyst for complementary development in the district, thus, revitalising the community.

¹⁷² Steele, ed., *Architecture for a Changing World*, 123.

¹⁷³ Steele, “Continuity, Relevance and Change,” 30.

6.4 LOCAL AGENCY

6.4.1 Infrastructure: Is it Architecture?

In 1995, the Master Jury praised several projects for their exemplary attention to the built environment of impoverished communities. These projects were distinguished by their innovative development strategies, implementation of policy and/or infrastructure and services. However, their demonstration of architectural excellence was called into question. Charles Jencks, for example, demanded a distinction between policy and architecture. Peter Eisenman was also wary of prioritising a social agenda at the expense of “architecture.”¹⁷⁴ Serageldin and Indonesian architect Darmawan Prawirohardjo complicated the debate by identifying the different merits of each scheme. Serageldin has presented a strong case for infrastructure and services, closely aligned to his work for the World Bank, since the Award’s inception. Prawirohardjo, in contrast, presents a fresh voice. However, his contribution exemplifies the ongoing debate forwarded by architects from South Asia who prioritise basic needs—shelter, services, resources—over aesthetics, identity or form-making.

The AKAAs has acknowledged such projects since the first cycle. In *Architecture and Community* the Aga Khan recognises the importance of the everyday built environment—particularly self-built dwellings—as opposed to monuments or institutions as “ways to maintain identity.”¹⁷⁵ Moreover, the Award has long been recognised for its “social bias.”¹⁷⁶ Projects that have ameliorated living conditions include a series of Kampung improvements in Indonesia (awarded 1980, 1986, 1992); Ismaïliyya Development Project, Egypt (1986); Grameen Bank Housing Programme, Bangladesh (1989); Slum Networking of Indore, India (1998); and a Leper’s Hospital, Chopda Taluka, India (1998). These themes are prioritised in *Housing: Process and Physical Form* (1979), *The Architecture of Housing* (1988), and *Shelter: Access to Hope* (1997).¹⁷⁷ While these debates suggest essential needs that transcend difference, they are underscored by the emphasis given to local agency. In the Award literature agency is established as a mechanism for the construction of cultural identity through architecture in very poor communities.

¹⁷⁴ Peter Eisenman, “Architecture Beyond Architects,” in *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 74.

¹⁷⁵ Aga Khan IV, “Preface,” in *Architecture and Community*, 11.

¹⁷⁶ Wayne Attoe, “The Aga Khan Award for Architecture: A Critical Commentary,” in *Building for Tomorrow*, 105.

¹⁷⁷ Linda Safran, ed., *Housing: Process and Physical Form*, Proceedings of Seminar 3 (Philadelphia: Smith-Edwards-Dunlap, 1980); Robert Powell, ed., *The Architecture of Housing* (Geneva: AKAAs, 1990); William O’Reilly, ed., *Shelter: Access to Hope* (Geneva: AKAAs, 1997).

A New Dimension?

In "Watering the Garden" Serageldin identifies a shift in the Award literature. He highlights the appalling gulf between poverty and wealth and the need for architecture to address this issue. The criterion for architectural excellence is questioned. The AKAA is represented as a unique voice that challenges conventional understandings of architecture, taking "architecture beyond architecture." However, this message is not entirely new. Serageldin himself has maintained a consistent attitude to the value of infrastructure in developing societies. This is articulated in his role as editor of *Space for Freedom* (1989) and *Legacies for the Future* (1998), and as a member of the Master Jury (1983) and the Steering Committee (1986, 1989, 1992). As an Egyptian architect and planner, Serageldin's activities extend well beyond the Award. His variety of senior roles at the World Bank, complements his commitment to projects that address poverty, environmental degradation and social and economic development. He is also the author of several books and World Bank publications on cultural development.¹⁷⁸ Serageldin advocates the import of cultural identity in relation to sustainable development initiatives in physical, cultural and economic terms. Moreover, emphasis is given to people-centred development enabled through judicious funding that generates further incomes.¹⁷⁹

Serageldin reiterates these priorities in the Award literature praising the global lessons it presents amidst the plight of an impoverished majority in the Muslim world.¹⁸⁰ In "Watering the Garden" he identifies the awarded projects as critical and innovative responses to local conditions and global forces. While he advocates the expression of identity, this is distinguished from "a hateful and petty sense of nationalism that transforms the legitimate call for identity into one of hatred, and ultimately even 'ethnic cleansing'."¹⁸¹ The 1995 awards present a new discourse that is both critical and social in its examination of the myriad issues facing the urban poor.¹⁸² How, then, is this message distinguished from earlier messages?

¹⁷⁸ Ismaïl Serageldin and Joan Martin-Brown, eds., *Culture in Sustainable Development. Investing in Cultural and Natural Endowments* (Washington D.C.: The World Bank, 1999); Ismaïl Serageldin and Andrew Steer, eds., *Making Development Sustainable; From Concepts to Action* (Washington D.C.: The World Bank, 1994); Ismaïl Serageldin, "The Challenge of a Holistic Vision: Culture, Empowerment, and the Development Paradigm," in *Culture and Development in Africa*, ed. Ismaïl Serageldin and June Taboroff, 15-32 (Washington D.C.: The World Bank, 1992).

¹⁷⁹ This emphasis is explored in an exhibition displaying projects by several organisations including the AKTC, UNESCO, WMF, The Getty Conservation Institute and the Smithsonian Institute. Ismaïl Serageldin, "Memory and Vision," in *Culture and Development at the Millenium*, ed. Ismaïl Serageldin (Washington D.C.: The World Bank, 1998), 8-15.

¹⁸⁰ These lessons are identified with reference to AKAA prize-winning projects in Ismaïl Serageldin, ed., *The Architecture of Empowerment. People, Shelter and Livable Cities* (London: Academy Editions, 1997).

¹⁸¹ Ismaïl Serageldin, "Watering the Garden," *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 11.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 13.

Existing Priorities

In 1998, Suha Özkan claims that this social responsibility has been prioritised since 1980. In 1983, Mahbub Ul-Haq, a Pakistani economist, states that two thirds of Muslim communities had an average income per person less than US25 cents per day.¹⁸³ These figures are coupled with lack of shelter, malnourishment, illiteracy and little or no access to public services, or participation in political or economic life. Further, Ul-Haq defines the denial of equal opportunities in many countries as a “violation of Islamic principles.”¹⁸⁴ Ul-Haq is uncertain of a definition of Islamic architecture and questions the elite models of a feudalistic age. For architecture to be Islamic it must be accessible to the poor. For Ul-Haq the relationship between architecture and Islam is not a formal one. Medieval precedents must be translated “into a wholly new architecture that reflects the essential spirit of Islam and its values: equality, accessibility, mass participation, and cost effectiveness.”¹⁸⁵

Thus, architects should highlight housing options that prioritise people not form. In 1980, this is exemplified in the Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP), Jakarta, Indonesia (Figure 74).¹⁸⁶ The programme focused on improving the living conditions of numerous kampungs, mostly located on the city fringe. The kampungs developed as a spontaneous approach to housing for rural immigrants seeking work in Jakarta’s booming construction industry in the 1950s and 1960s. The result was overcrowded, high density, unplanned settlements that lacked basic services, including the supply of fresh water, sewerage, electricity or water, and waste collection/removal. Together these factors precipitated environmental degradation and health risks, including cholera outbreaks. At the time of the 1980 Awards, 3 million people occupied kampungs covering 7,200 hectares.

A sites and services approach was adopted to address the scale of the problem and the different states of development of the kampungs. Rather than replacing them with unaffordable mass-housing, the programme worked within the parameters of the existing kampung.¹⁸⁷ Starting with the oldest, densest and poorest kampungs, the programme set standards based on a minimum level of infrastructure per household. For example, all dwellings must be within 100m of a roadway for emergency vehicles and within 125m of a public standpipe. Furthermore, public facilities based on population density include one primary school per 6,000

¹⁸³ Mahbub Ul-Haq, “Islamic Architecture and the Poor People of Islam,” in *Architecture and Community*, 40.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁸⁶ Suha Özkan, “Legacies of the Future,” in *Legacies for the Future*, 158.

¹⁸⁷ Özkan explores the limitations of formal approaches to mass housing in urban centers in Suha Özkan, “The Architecture of Mass Housing,” in *The Architecture of Housing*, 120-130.

people. The grass roots implementation also distinguishes the project. The KIP technical unit consulted with the *camat* (subdistrict head) and the *lurah* (urban village head) to address needs, and to coordinate implementation and maintenance. The project is praised for the sustainability of these improvements and its replicability.

Projects that addressed poverty and basic needs of shelter and amenities were not reiterated until the third cycle. The Steering Committee presented a specific agenda to the Master Jury to prioritise initiatives like Jakarta's KIP. The Committee's brief identified the scale of the problem: 120 million poor households in the developing world in 1980 were predicted to increase to 130 million in urban areas by 2000. With the exception of Latin America, this growth is concentrated in Muslim countries. Given the magnitude of the problem, the Committee stressed the need for large scale, replicable solutions that mobilised the community, thus encouraging responsibility and sustainability. To this end, Kampung Kebalen in Surabaya (North East Java), Indonesia and the Ismaïliyya Development Projects in Ismaïliyya, Egypt received Honourable Mentions.

Figure 74
Kampung Kali
Improvement
Programme, 1969+.
Jakarta, Indonesia.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 194.



Figure 75
Kampung Kali
Cho-de, 1985.
Willi Prasetya.
Yogyakarta.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 190.



Kampung Kebalen and Kampung Kali Cho-de (Figure 75) both target the problems addressed in the KIP. They are further distinguished by the continuity of the timber framed Javanese House type in Surabaya and the integration of murals by volunteer art students at Kampung Kali Cho-de. Community mobilisation and pride is emphasised in both cases. In the case of the latter, identity is foregrounded once again: the project “accomplished the difficult task of endowing a marginalized population

with dignity and self-respect by re-designing a derelict space into an urban environment.”¹⁸⁸

The provision of infrastructure—water, roads, sewerage—is also identified in the Ismailiyya Development Projects (Figure 76), conceived as a redevelopment project for Suez Canal sites following the Arab-Israeli conflict. In this context, low-income housing is enabled through the provision of land, access to land titles and credit, with an emphasis on self-reliance through security of tenure.



Figure 76
Ismailiyya Development
Projects, 1978+.
Culpin Planning.
Ismailiyya, Egypt.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 207.

Figure 77
Grameen Bank
Housing, 1984+.
Various Locations,
Bangladesh.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 220.

In each of these examples, the Award literature stresses an improved quality of life through the provision of infrastructure rather than housing. For Charles Correa, a vocal advocate for low-income housing, infrastructure must extend to the provision of urban land that is commensurate with demand and access to employment opportunities. In “Urban Housing and the Third World” he proposes the architect must facilitate such a shift enabling people to build for themselves affordably. The potential in this approach is low-rise, flexible, resourceful housing achieved with local labour. The role of the architect is “to get out of the way!”¹⁸⁹ Thus, Correa displaces the architect’s role as a form-giver by the role of facilitator. The Award has recognised many projects in South Asia that are commensurate with this priority, including the Grameen Bank Housing Programme, Bangladesh (awarded 1989), Khuda-ki-Basti Incremental Development Scheme, Hyderabad, Pakistan (1995), Aranya Community Housing, Indore, India (1995) and the Slum Networking, Indore, India (1998).

¹⁸⁸ Steele, ed., *Architecture for a Changing World*, 143.

¹⁸⁹ Charles Correa, “Urban Housing in the Third World,” in *Architecture and Community*, 45.

The Grameen Bank initiative (Figure 77) targets rural, landless communities. It is not an architectural project, but an innovative credit scheme that gives preference to people most in need. Conceived by economist Mohammed Yunus, loans are given for business activity and the purchase of land or building materials (often the former complements the repayment of the latter). While the loan is unique in that it requires no collateral, it is conditional. Borrowers must establish groups that comply with the rules of the loan and ensure weekly repayments. Groups might also be part of a centre represented by a chief who liaises with the Grameen Bank. The programme is notable for the majority of borrowers that are women (84%).

The Khuda-ki-Basti (Allah's Settlement) Scheme is also unique. It provides homeless people with an unserviced plot of land in a planned layout of streets and sites (Figure 78). This allocation, based on a screening process that determines needs, precipitates construction by the new owners. Speculators are excluded. Owners are provided with technical support by the Hyderabad Development Authority. Their land repayments partly fund new infrastructure and facilities. As such, development is incremental. The scheme is economically sustainable in that it is self-financing.¹⁹⁰ For Serageldin, the project places authority with the people because it is not based on subsidies.¹⁹¹ Prioritising affordability, ownership is presented as a sense of dignity in *Architecture Beyond Architecture*. The scheme is praised as a low-cost, financially viable model that has generated interest in the professional housing sector.¹⁹²

Hasan also prioritises the empowering social, institutional and didactic aspects of these projects over and above their demonstration of technique and skill.¹⁹³ This polarity is exemplified by the juxtaposition of the Hyderabad Incremental Scheme with the Aranya Community Housing (begun in 1983) conceived by the Vastu-Shilpa Foundation (Figure 79).

While Aranya is similar to Hyderabad's incremental model, Balkrishna V. Doshi's design flair is acknowledged. An open-ended design approach is central to Doshi's commitment to the concept of community. His philosophy of practice is inspired by Indian culture: "The built-in variations in all aspects of Indian life, and activity-creation always provide an 'open-end' with regard to growth, evolution and change."¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ The project is described in detail by Tasneem Ahmed Siddiqui, "Innovation and Success in Sheltering the Urban Poor," in *The Architecture of Housing*, 74-81.

¹⁹¹ "Architecture Beyond Architects," in *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 75.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 63.

¹⁹³ Hasan, "Shelter and Conservation," 27.

¹⁹⁴ Balkrishna V. Doshi, "Cultural Continuum and Regional Identity in Architecture," in *Regionalism in Architecture*, Proceedings of Regional Seminar 2, ed. Robert Powell (Singapore:

The scheme is praised for its attempts to engender neighbourliness in a multi-faith community (Hindu, Muslim, Jain): “In a world of intolerance and strife, it is a beacon of enlightened and socially responsible architecture.”¹⁹⁵ Yet, while Aranya was praised for its architectural merit, sites were resold at an exorbitant price marginalising new low-income groups.

Figure 78
Khuda-Ki-Basti
Incremental
Development Scheme,
1989. Hyderabad
Development
Authority.
Hyderabad, Pakistan.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 210.



Figure 79
Aranya Housing,
1983+. Vastu-Shilpa
Foundation.
Indore, India.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 223.



Indore's slums are addressed again in 1998 (Figure 80) in a scheme devised by civil engineer Himanshu Parikh in 1989 to upgrade services and to enhance the amenity of the city's polluted waterways. Integrating solid waste disposal management, a sewerage network and recreational areas, including the lake and the riverbanks, this holistic approach integrates the slums in a scheme that improves the degraded environment of the city centre that comprises a population of 25% Muslims. Further objectives were to reduce the cost of utilities, mobilise material resources, increase community responsibility and improve the quality of life. In the slums, dwellers were given land leases and encouraged to purchase toilets and connections to the new water and waste disposal services. Individual bathing facilities further reduced the incidence of assault at communal facilities. These were then complemented by the provision of new roads, streetlights and neighbourhood facilities. In *Legacies for the Future* the project is recognised for its influence in other urban centres, including Barodha, Ahmedabad, Jodhpur and Bombay and for its recognition of “peoples rights to have the basic necessity for human dignity: a home in their communities.”¹⁹⁶

Concept Media, 1985), 90. The pluralism of Asia and its architecture is reiterated in Romi Khosla, “Crashing Through Western Modernism into the Asian Reality,” in *Regionalism in Architecture*, 58-59.

¹⁹⁵ Davidson and Serageldin, eds., *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 65.

¹⁹⁶ Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 64.



Figure 80
Indore Slum
Improvement
Programme, 1989.
Himanshu Parikh.
Indore, India.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 203.

Whose Agency?

The Indore projects do not cater to majority Muslim communities, nor do they necessarily impact on other Muslim communities. This emphasis on the priorities of shelter and infrastructure begs the question: Is identity a basic need? Yet, the Aga Khan foregrounds the search for identity as a universal aspiration shared by Muslims that is “a visible self-identification of their own and for satisfaction of new worldwide expectations about the quality of their lives.”¹⁹⁷ In this sense the Muslim message is presented as a universal example.¹⁹⁸

In 1998, Özkan reinforces this universal message with reference to Aranya, Hyderabad and Hafsia II, Tunis.¹⁹⁹ Basic needs are prioritised before distinctions are made on the basis of race or faith. This represents a shift in the Award’s priorities. While conventional definitions of architecture are challenged with the recognition of policy, infrastructure and credit, these projects raise questions about the Islamic context of such projects in the context of ethnic and religious pluralism. A statement issued by the 1998 Master Jury locates the concerns of the Award within a global frame of reference and meaning. The Jury sought creative responses

to the new crisis situations in the world in general today and in the Muslim world in particular: demographic pressure, environmental degradation, globalisation, standardisation, ethnic tensions, the crisis of the nation-state, the struggle for democracy and human rights, and the like.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ Aga Khan IV, “Preface,” 12.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁹⁹ Özkan, “Legacies of the Future,” 159.

²⁰⁰ “Report of the 1998 Award Master Jury,” in *Legacies for the Future*, 10.

As such, the Jury sought to identify global humanitarian concerns. The AKAA continues to present a unique voice. Commenting on the 1998 Award cycle, Indian architect Romi Khosla proposes that, “the Award represents the only, and rather lonely, articulated position that holds that architects still have broader responsibilities in developing societies.”²⁰¹ Few ongoing architectural awards present such a consistent ethical stance. In “The Conscience of Architecture” Khosla locates the Award discourse beyond global or trans-Atlantic debates on architecture that are characterised by a dichotomy. Advocates for modernism are presented in opposition to the “regional debate on authenticity, cultural continuity and craftsmanship.”²⁰² More specifically, Khosla identifies the detachment of more recent permutations of modernism (internationalism) from its origins as a socialist project. State clients have been replaced by private, often corporate, clients and the social projects have disbanded into small pockets of activity. According to Khosla, architectural debate gave a higher priority to formal and stylistic concerns rather than debates “about culture, social and economic issues and futures in western societies.”²⁰³ In light of these concerns, Khosla identifies the AKAA as one of the sole champions of the socialist project, “it is possible that the Award’s importance lies in clearly articulating an alternative debate about the relevance of architecture today.”²⁰⁴

6.4.2 Technology: Is it Islamic?

Awards for infrastructure have prompted debate on the parameters of the Award. The Award challenges conventional disciplinary boundaries of architecture. Another contentious field of debate is machine based technology. Discourses of vernacular architecture articulate resistance to the hegemony of industrialisation.²⁰⁵ In conservation debates, technology and economic feasibility are subordinate to formal character and local activities. In both cases, industry is represented as an imported building practice attributed to contact with industrialised nations. Thus, the question arises of industrial technology as an appropriate expression of Islamic culture.

Divisive Debate

The AKAA continues to recognise diverse building types and technologies, a range of educational and practical experiences of architects and builders, and a variety of regions within which projects are realised. However, projects that demonstrate high technology prompt

²⁰¹ Romi Khosla, “The Conscience of Architecture,” in *Legacies for the Future*, 14.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 12.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 13.

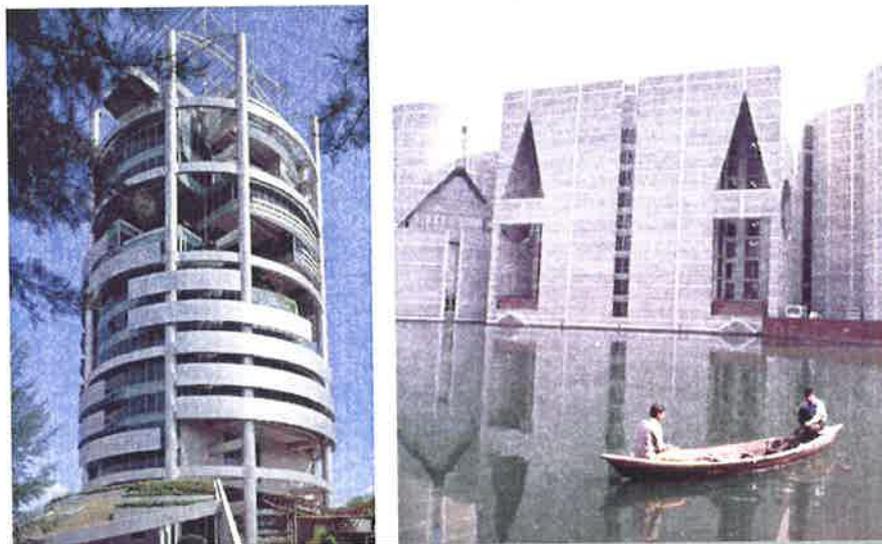
²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

²⁰⁵ Kenneth Frampton, “Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance,” in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Post Townsend, Washington: Bay Press, 1983), 20.

some of the most divisive ACAA debates. To some extent this division can be attributed to the independent Master Jury and conflicting attitudes to architecture and Islam voiced during the evolution of the Award. Prize-winners that incorporate technological innovations include Kuwait's Water Towers (awarded 1980), the Hajj Terminal in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia (1983) and Menara Mesiniaga, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (1995) (Figure 81).

Figure 81
Menara Mesiniaga,
1992. Ken Yeang.
Kuala Lumpur,
Malaysia.
Davidson and
Serageldin, eds.,
*Architecture Beyond
Architecture*, 98.

Figure 82
National Assembly
Building, 1983.
Louis I. Kahn.
Dhaka, Bangladesh.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 139.



In 1986, three widely celebrated buildings were dismissed by the Master Jury. Defined as a “conspicuous absence,” Louis Kahn’s Sher-E-Bangla-Nagar, Dhaka, Bangladesh was dismissed due to insufficient post-occupancy evaluation (Figure 82).²⁰⁶ Two buildings in Saudi Arabia—National Commercial Bank, Jeddah by SOM and Henning Larsen’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Riyadh—were charged with arrogance and derivation respectively.²⁰⁷ This invited accusations of an anti-modern bias and emphasis on buildings by Muslim nationals rather than Western architects. Mehmet Doruk Pamir identified a “romantic bias” among the jurors toward tradition and region, and the resonance of this attitude with mainstream architectural discourse, Pamir speculates, “the obvious question arises as to whether or not this one-dimensional message is a sufficient response to the complexities facing architects in the developing world.”²⁰⁸ While Kahn and Larsen were awarded in 1989, there are further opportunities to address the possibilities of technology and the multiple dimensions of transnational practice. Citing the (often conceptual) work of Zaha Hadid, Bozdoğan questions the lack of

²⁰⁶ Serageldin, ed., *Space for Freedom*, 44.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 44.

²⁰⁸ Mehmet Doruk Pamir, “Dissenting Reports,” in *Space for Freedom*, ed. Serageldin, 75. For further reflection on this dissent see William J.R. Curtis, “The Aga Khan Award for Architecture 1986: Third World Myths and First World Fashions: A Critical View,” *Architectural Record* (Jan 1987): 104-105.

recognition of architects from a Muslim background working in the West. She proposes that an enlarged scope that includes such architects/practices might present “a way of perhaps posing new questions and undoing constructs that may easily become habits and therefore invisible.”²⁰⁹

Technology has only been prioritised in isolated AKAAs presentations. No seminars have been dedicated to the subject. In Seminar 6, “Technology Resources” were explored in presentations on renewable energies, the use of methane, and structures that resisted earthquakes.²¹⁰ Serageldin prioritised the possibilities of technology for urban settlements in Seminar 8, and he has contributed several essays on technology and infrastructure. These are closely linked to his UNESCO activities. Moreover, architectural historian William Porter led a session entitled “Technology, Form and Culture” as part of the education forum (Seminar 10).²¹¹ Porter disputes representations of technology as an oppositional force. Instead, he argues that technology does not present constraints on architectural form nor is it inappropriate for different regions or cultures.²¹² Despite resistance, Porter’s advocacy of technology is echoed in the discussion of several awarded projects. These discussions invert the attitudes to those who would champion indigenous technology as an expression of continuity. Industrial technology is also represented as an expression of cultural identity in the global context—an appropriate expression of progressive Islam.

In *Architecture and Community* thirty-three water storage towers in Kuwait City (completed 1976) were praised for their symbol of progress in this prosperous city.²¹³ The Swedish design team, Vallenbynadsbrynan (VBB), utilised concrete structural systems to create two types of tower. The majority comprise a structurally efficient dish design (Figure 83). A unique design was selected for three towers on the central promontory (Figure 84). Each is composed of a needle-like tower. Two suspend globes for water storage and facilities (restaurant, banquet hall etc.); the third is a lighting tower. Architect Malene Björn proposes the group symbolise the ideals of humanity and technology.²¹⁴ The designs are also attributed to Islamic precedents for their minaret-like towers and the use of mosaic. Since their construction they have been recognised as a “national landmark.”²¹⁵

²⁰⁹ Bozdoğan, “A Philosophy of Reconciliation,” 187.

²¹⁰ “Technology Resources,” in *The Changing Rural Habitat: Volume I. Case Studies*, Proceedings of Seminar 6, ed. Brian Brace Taylor, 105-146 (Singapore: Eurasia Press, 1982).

²¹¹ Extracts from this presentation were also reprinted in *Space for Freedom*.

²¹² William L. Porter, “Technology Form and Culture in Architecture: Misconception and Myth,” in *Architecture Education in the Islamic World*, 49-59.

²¹³ Holod and Rastorfer, eds., *Architecture and Community*, 181.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 180.

²¹⁵ Serageldin, ed., *Space for Freedom*, 22.

Figure 83
Water Towers, 1976.
Vallenbyynadsbryan.
Kuwait City, Kuwait.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 169.

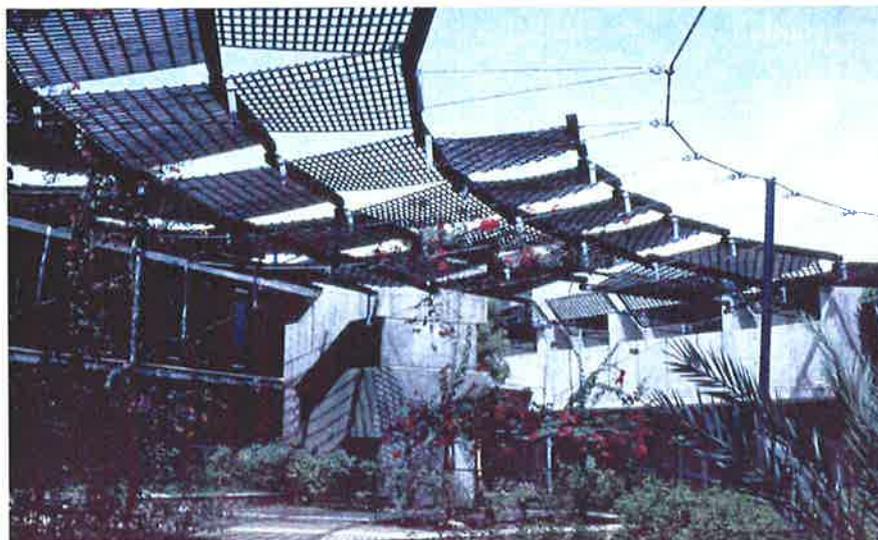


Figure 84
Water Towers, 1976.
Vallenbyynadsbryan.
Kuwait City, Kuwait.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 170.



The Inter-Continental Hotel and Conference Centre in Mecca, Saudi Arabia was also awarded in 1980 (Figure 85). An international competition was won by the collaboration of Rolf Gutbrod and Frei Otto (1966). Two indigenous precedents inspire the final scheme: masonry construction and the Bedouin tent. Low-rise concrete structures accommodate hotel facilities. Lightweight suspension structures define the auditorium. Further, the design of timber lattice shading devices (Scandinavian redwood) are supported on a steel frame deriving from traditional timber screens. While the formal precedents are local, their realisation in imported technology and materials by a foreign team is indicative of global aspirations in an age of global communication and exposure. In the Award's representation of both the Water Towers and the Inter-Continental Centre emphasis is given to their appropriate formal expression of Islamic architectural precedents through their technologies.

Figure 85
Inter-Continental
Hotel, 1974.
Rolf Gutbrod and Frei
Otto. Mecca,
Saudi Arabia.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 135.



Since 1980, a number of projects demonstrate technological ingenuity. These include the Hajj terminal in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia (Figure 86), the National Assembly Building, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Menara Mesiniaga. The Hajj terminal by SOM—also inspired by the Bedouin tent—is described by the late Bangladeshi architect Fazlur R. Kahn (of SOM) as “a very Saudi place.”²¹⁶ Louis Kahn’s Assembly Building is celebrated as “a symbol for the betterment of the future” and the embodiment of a “new and contemporary identity.”²¹⁷ Menara Mesiniaga demonstrates Ken Yeang’s exploration of the bio-climatic tower and it is linked to “cosmic” inspiration.²¹⁸ While these projects clearly demonstrate architectural excellence, their representation of Islam is ambiguous. Moreover, the defence of these projects in terms of their ‘Islamic’ formal references—mosaic, Bedouin tents or formal massing—raises questions about a superficial relationship between form and Islam that is not interrogated in the representation of these projects in the Award literature.



Figure 86
Hajj Terminal, 1981-82.
Skidmore Owings
Merrill, Jeddah,
Saudi Arabia.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 165.

6.4.3 Complexity and Pluralism

The diversity of Muslim communities has been stressed since Seminar 1. This seminar addressed issues and projects in areas as diverse as Yemen, Kuwait, Tunisia, Sub-Saharan Africa and Iran. The diverse awards comprised an unexpected selection of projects. It did not privilege individual monuments. The vernacular built environment of Mopti and Senegal was afforded a place alongside the modern technology of the Inter-Continental Centre. This phenomenon has been addressed since 1992 by Özkan. In each case he has introduced the awards (1989 and 1992) or reflected on them (1995, 1998, 2001).²¹⁹ He highlights the

²¹⁶ Cantacuzino, ed., *Architecture and Continuity*, 126.

²¹⁷ Steele, ed., *Architecture for Islamic Societies Today*, 137.

²¹⁸ Davidson and Serageldin, eds., *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 95.

²¹⁹ *A Pluralist Alternative* (1992), *Complexity, Coexistence and Plurality* (1994), *The Architecture of Architecture* (1995), *Legacies of the Future* (1998) and *Cultivating Architecture* (2001).

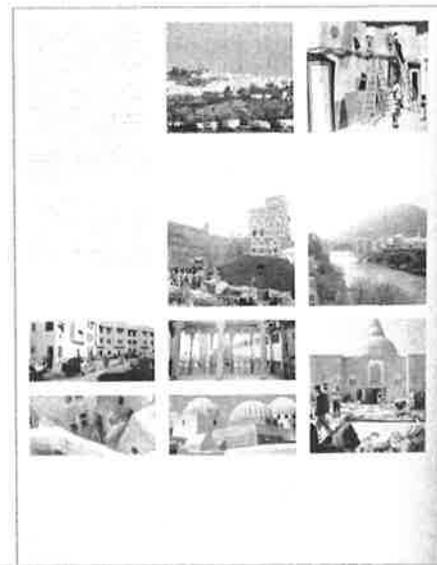
diversity of projects in terms of their type and formal properties, their location, the discourses they exemplify and the valuable lessons they offer. Özkan further locates each prize-winner in relation to a categorised, copiously illustrated list of past awards (Figures 87 and 88). The new prize-winners are measured for the additional contributions and directions they offer. Pluralism is identified as an overriding message that distinguishes the AKAAs from exclusive architectural discourses at the time of the Award's conception. In 2001, however, Özkan identifies an overlap between the Award's plural mandate and shared global concerns.²²⁰ Given increasing global awareness articulated in current architectural discourse, the unique nature of the Award's inclusive mandate is called into question. Can the AKAAs present a unique voice with the potential for didactic contributions through this recognition of increasingly disparate projects?

In 1992, Özkan distinguishes the Award's pluralism from architectural debate in the late 1970s. Pluralism extends to the diversity of projects, their regional variety, and the diverse opinions of participants. This diversity is complemented by the range of issues: architectural heritage, poverty, cultural identity, environmental and climatic awareness, continuity with the past, present realities and contemplation of the future, appropriate technology, social and environmental harmony.²²¹

Figure 87
AKAA Pluralism.
Davidson and
Serageldin eds.,
*Architecture Beyond
Architecture*, 166.



Figure 88
AKAA Pluralism.
Davidson, ed.,
*Legacies for the
Future*, 166.



²²⁰ Paul Oliver articulates these concerns at the seminar *Global Blanding: Is Architecture Losing a Sense of Place?* He challenges the insistence on identity in architectural discourses, deemed a question of style, at the expense of urgent issues the population explosion and pressing needs for mass-housing. The Arts Council of England in collaboration with RIBA. *Architecture Week 2000, 9-18 June 2000*, 149. Key speakers were Jonathon Adams, architect of the Wales Millennium Centre, Cardiff; Fred Koetter, Founding Principal of Koetter Kim and Associates, Boston and co-author of *Collage City*; and Nicola Turner, editor of *World Architecture*.

²²¹ Suha Özkan, "A Pluralist Alternative," in *Architecture for a Changing World*, 36. See also Peter Davey, "Aga saga," *Architectural Review* 204, no. 1219 (Sept 1998): 17, 20.

While these issues were addressed at the time of the Award's conception, it is their presentation within one forum that distinguishes the AKAA. In 1994, Özkan identifies independent fields of debate, including polarised attitudes toward tradition and modernity.

Traditionalism and its derivations have cast Modernism in the role of the villain, responsible for the ills of present day and environmental chaos and disaster. Modernists in defence have labeled their attackers as the ones without a sense of future, retrogressive escapists from reality.²²²

Moreover, architectural critics were preoccupied with semantics, aesthetics or form-making. While they are not problematic in themselves, Özkan argues that these debates were mutually exclusive. In contrast, the AKAA has emerged as an alternative voice advocating inclusive debate that elevated humble concerns, poorly addressed at the time compared to the status of debates on modernism or aesthetics. By staging different perspectives, the Award "has ventured to benefit from both modern and traditional lines of thinking as well as other variants."²²³ Exceptions are noted in the practice and ideology of individual architects, including Fathy, Correa, Koenigsberger in London, Ravereau and Simounet in the Maghreb, Bawa, Eldem and Chadirji. With the exception of Koenigsberger, each of these individuals are profiled in the Award. In addition, Özkan identifies the ground-breaking studies of Rudofsky, Alexander and Oliver. Many of the concerns of the AKAA resonate with the ideas put forward by these architects and scholars. However, it is the exploration and juxtaposition of these discourses that sets the AKAA apart.

For Özkan, this plural scope is the Award's strength. The recognition of diverse issues, attitudes and projects draws attention to the complexity of the context within which buildings are realised. Plural interests include the recognition of architecture in deteriorating urban contexts or the observation of rural developments, attention to high-technology, large scale development, popularism or new trends, and the ethical openings presented in the context of modernism.²²⁴ Moreover, these disparate projects were unified by their collective commitment to continuity, a sense of identity, consideration of climate and/or user participation. After 1995, a shift is evident in the emphasis on social responsibility, innovation and community participation. In addition, the possibilities for intervention at an urban scale rather than recognition of individual houses

²²² Suha Özkan, "Complexity, Coexistence and Plurality," in *Architecture for Islamic Societies Today*, 24.

²²³ Özkan, "Complexity, Coexistence and Plurality," 25.

²²⁴ The 1986 Master Jury is identified as an exception with its emphasis on tradition, Classicism and vernacular architecture.

or small developments, is demonstrated by the prize-winners. Further, the Jurys' thematic categories to demonstrate differences are discarded in favour of a unified message. Regional variety that has characterised the Award since its inception is foregone for emphasis on cultural relevance and the quality of the awarded projects despite their provenance. This is indicative of the trend toward the universal messages sought by the Award, identified in 1998 and 2001.²²⁵

The plurality of issues presented in the early Award literature distinguished it from contemporary architectural discourse in the first decade. However, issues of agency, sustainability, development, infrastructure, and the proactive integration of modern technology are no longer the domain of isolated architects or Schools. Instead, they have emerged as global concerns. The Award has continued to demonstrate a commitment to these plural goals and the scope is increasingly inclusive.²²⁶ In an interview with Robert Ivy after the eighth round the Aga Khan identifies pluralism as an asset.

You cannot deal with a world like the Islamic world by rejecting the notion of pluralism. Historically, it is part of that world. The faith of Islam recognises and sustains the right of people to be their own masters of the judgements that they make.²²⁷

6.5 SUMMARY

The articulation of the Award's search for architectural excellence that meets the needs and aspirations of Muslim communities has become increasingly sophisticated during the course of the Award. The Aga Khan and the Secretariat and the successive Steering Committees encourage ongoing debate on the issues facing Muslims. These issues are articulated in different debates, including conservation, new building projects, environmental sensitivity, religious symbolism, infrastructure projects and technology. These debates share a common thread with their emphasis on the role of the built environment as a locus for cultural identity that can be sustained through visual continuity, the reinvigoration of community vitality, or the correlation with aspirations for progress. In this way, the Award continues to promote aspirations for expressions of identity in architecture. Moreover, emphasis on identity—whether it is articulated in terms of Islam, Arabism, nationhood, Palestine, community or progress—means that an oppositional politics of identity have not been relinquished. Yet, the Award is distinctive for its heterogeneous portrait of Islam that transcends discourses of continuity

²²⁵ Özkan, "Legacies of the Future," 163.

²²⁶ Suha Özkan, "Cultivating Architecture," in *Modernity and Community: Architecture and the Islamic World*, ed. Kenneth Frampton, Charles Correa, and David Robson (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001), 162.

²²⁷ Robert A. Ivy and Aga Khan IV, "Aga Khan Award for Architecture 2001 (Interview, Aiglemont, August 31, 2001)," *Architectural Record* 190, no. 2 (Feb 2002), 71.

(conservation, typology, vernacular architecture, critical regionalism), religious symbolism or local agency. Each of these discourses articulates the role of architecture as a potential medium of identity. However, the juxtaposition of these discourses in the Award's "space for freedom" reveals plural identities and a dynamic relation between architecture and Islam.

Given the increasing scope of architectural discourse in the new millennium, how will these accomplishments be unique to the AKAAs? In what way can the Award further expand the parameters of debate to set it apart on the international stage? In 1998, architectural journalist Michael Sorkin questioned this inclusivity, raising questions about the difference of individual prize-winners in the context of Muslim communities.²²⁸ What are the limits of this plural scope? In what ways does this conflict with the original quest for architecture that is particular to Muslim communities? Or, do these contradictions present further opportunities to conceive of practice that transcends ideologies of identity?

²²⁸ Michael Sorkin, "Ever More Inclusive," *Metropolis* 18, no. 4 (Dec 1998): 33-35.

7 Building Together

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Suha Özkan has been exceedingly frank about the pluralism of the AKAA since the 1990s. His essays resonate with the Aga Khan's support for pluralism. The "space for freedom" cultivated by the organisers of the Award has been sustained to enable the expression of different attitudes to architecture and Islam. This plural image of the Islamic world has intensified since the foundation of the Award in 1977. This demonstrates the evolution of the Award over its twenty-five year history and the ongoing process of re-thinking Islamic architecture. In Chapter 5, I identified the Aga Khan's emphasis on the agency of Muslims. The original Master Jury was encouraged to consider projects that demonstrated "a heightened awareness of the roots and essences of Muslim culture."¹ The paradigm of encounter presents insights into the grounds for this search for roots and essences at the time of the Award's conception, particularly in the context of exponential global encounters, and specifically, perceptions of encounters between Islam and the West. Yet, while the Aga Khan seemed to promote the search for a Muslim 'self' image he maintained his roles as both a Muslim spiritual leader and a Western European businessman. The paradox of encounter presents insights into this plural identity. Encounters with the 'other' prompt assertions of identity, assertions of 'selfhood'. However, encounters simultaneously complicate distinctions between 'self' and 'other'.

This paradox has become increasingly evident during the course of the AKAA. While the original intent of this "space for freedom" was that it be maintained as a forum free of ideology or politics, this is not entirely the case. Rather, different, often conflicting, ideologies of identity are juxtaposed in this "space for freedom." In Chapter 6, the overriding message of the Award that emerges is the role architecture can play to convey a Muslim 'self' image. This is articulated in discourses of continuity (conservation, typology, vernacular architecture and critical regionalism), symbolism and agency. However, this 'self' image is fragmented into images of faith, progress, nationhood or ethnicity. The Award continues to be distinguished from contemporary discourses of architecture through this exploration of a 'self' image for Muslim communities. It is also distinguished from discourses of Islamic architecture through the promotion of a heterogeneous 'self' image that has continued to evolve during the course of the Award. A homogeneous 'self' image and its relationship to architecture has been uprooted during the evolution of the Award through an increasingly sophisticated forum

¹ AKAA, "Report of the 1980 Master Jury," AKDN, http://www.akdn.org/agency/akaa/firstcycle/mj_80.html (accessed Mar 20, 2003).

of participation and debate, research of individual projects, and the dissemination of the Award material. The ACAA continues to re-think Islamic architecture.

This plural 'self' image further reveals the global diffusion of Muslim communities today. The ACAA rewards architecture that is not limited to Muslim benefactors, architects or discrete Muslim communities. Thus, the ACAA has inspired me to reflect further on the entanglements beyond this plural 'self' image in Chapter 7. David Kolb reflects on this uneasy relationship between architecture and identities.

History may not make a whole, and within ourselves and in society there may be no neat order. But when we act, we act together. When we build, we build next to one another. Intellectual and cultural space may have a strange discontinuous topology, but physical space remains stubbornly finite and continuous. Our buildings will stand together whether we do or not.²

For Kolb, architecture coexists with ideologies of identity. It is my intention to tease out this concept of togetherness, a further dimension of the paradigm of encounter, to complicate the boundaries of 'self' and 'other', and to further consider the role of architects engaging with disparate identities today. Encounters inspire assertions of identity. They also enable creative interaction and transformation. This approach continues to be inspired by the contributions of Award participants, particularly Mohammed Arkoun and Charles Correa who have participated in the ACAA since its foundation, as well as newcomer Mona Hatoum, a Palestinian artist in exile. I reach beyond the Award to discuss her work and three ambiguous prizes: the Institut du Monde Arabe by Jean Nouvel; Vidhan Bhavan by Charles Correa; and the 2001 Chairman's Award presented to Geoffrey Bawa (1919-2003). The Muslim audiences of projects by these architects are difficult to pinpoint. They are ambiguous selections given the repeated rhetoric of architecture for Muslim communities. I propose that they cannot be limited to a Muslim 'self' image. Instead, these projects coexist with assertions of different ideologies of identity beyond Islamic identity. They exemplify Clifford's case for new paradigms of "historical contact, with entanglement at intersecting regional, national and transnational levels."³

7.2 NEW ROOTS OR ROUTES?

In 2001, the Aga Khan advocated "authentic architecture" defined as "appropriate architecture for a specific place linked to clear perceptions

² David Kolb, *Postmodern Sophistications: Philosophy, Architecture and Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 175.

³ James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 7.

of independent cultural identity in the Muslim world.”⁴ This emphasis is given additional authority by Kenneth Frampton in his introduction to the 2001 prize-winners in *Modernity and Community*. Frampton praises the cultural and territorial specificity of the nine prize-winners conceived “in the face of largely indifferent forms of modernization, operating at a globalized distance at ever-increasing speeds.”⁵ As such, the 2001 publication places renewed emphasis on regional authenticity. However, the discourse of regionalism is already well represented within and beyond the Award literature. Frampton’s resumption of an earlier theme tends to compromise the original vanguard position of the AKAA. Given the breadth of debate in the past, this return to regionalism might be perceived as a retrograde move.



Figure 89
Bare Foot College,
1989. Bare Foot
Architects.
Tilonia, India.
Frampton, Correa,
Robson, eds., *Modernity
and Community*, 81.

In 2001, nine prize-winners were selected. These include: Aqaba’s SOS Children’s Village in Jordan; the Kahere Poultry Farming School in Koliagbe, Guinea; Aswan’s Nubian Museum in Egypt; the Olbia Social Centre in Antalya, Turkey, The Datai Resort in Pulau Langkawi, Malaysia; and a large recreational park in Tehran, Iran. These are all new projects. They are complemented by a rural development project in Tilonia, India (Figure 89), the rehabilitation of community facilities in the remote, impoverished village of Ait Iktel in Abadou, Morocco, and a series of adaptive re-use projects in Iran. In addition, prominent Sri Lankan architect Geoffrey Bawa received the Chairman’s Award. While many of these examples incorporate modern technology and new building materials, the emphasis in each selection is again on continuity with the past and the agency of community in effecting change.

⁴ Aga Khan IV, “Aga Khan Award for Architecture 2001: Interview with Aga Khan IV,” by Robert Ivy, *Architectural Record* 190, no. 2 (Feb 2002): 68.

⁵ Kenneth Frampton, “Modernization and Local Culture,” in *Modernity and Community: Architecture and the Islamic World*, ed. Kenneth Frampton, Charles Correa, and David Robson (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001), 15.

Altruistic images represent pro-active, industrious communities creating new houses, and content users enjoying the fruits of their labour. Children play in the SOS Village (Figure 90), conscientious students thrive in an Iranian school (Figure 91), and leisurely Tehranians picnic in the Bagh-e-Ferdowsi, reinforcing the rhetoric of local participation and benefaction. These projects meet the criteria posed by the 2001 Steering Committee that stipulates “winning projects must be intended to serve a significant percentage of Muslims.”⁶

Where are the satisfied patrons of the Datai Resort? Where are the German and French tourists that make their winter pilgrimage south? Where are the Americans and the Australians that flock to this paradisiacal retreat? In the images documenting the Datai, the clientele are curiously absent (Figure 92). This exclusive resort caters to elite, global travellers. The selection of the Datai is ambiguous given the Award’s renewed emphasis on local agency. While Kerry Hill Architects are well recognised for their attention to regional particularities, the Datai is also indicative of global architectural practice. Acknowledging this anomaly, Frampton concludes his introduction with a lament: “In sum, we are still some way from the authentic, contemporary cultural response.”⁷

Figure 90
SOS Children’s
Village, 1991. Jafar
Tukan and Partners.
Aqaba, Jordan.
Frampton, Correa and
Robson, eds., *Modernity
and Community*, 120.



Figure 91
Vazir Bathhouse, 1993.
Urban Development
and Revitalisation
Corporation.
Isfahan, Iran.
Frampton, Correa and
Robson, eds., *Modernity
and Community*, 59.



The selection of the Datai, and other ‘regional’ projects is also peculiar considered in light of the 1998 Jury’s recommendations for alternative directions for the AKA. It is not unusual for the Jury deliberations of a major architecture prize to remain confidential. However, the AKA explicitly asserts its individuality. It has consciously evolved as a prominent international forum for debate on the uncertain conjunctions

⁶ “The Aga Khan Award for Architecture,” in *Modernity and Community*, 6.

⁷ Frampton, “Modernization and Local Culture,” 16.

of architecture, modernity, culture and faith. On the occasions when excerpts from the Jury deliberations have been published (1986, 1995 and 1998) the intellectual mandate of the Award has been challenged. In 1998, Japanese architect Arata Isozaki highlights conflicting forces impacting on the built environment. Given this conflict, he argues that it is not the Award's intent to "seek the 'pure' idea of modern architecture or 'pure' Islamic architecture."⁸ Rather, clues to practice lie in peripheral sites of conflict. Periphery is conceived in both a geographical and a socio-economic sense, "where local traditions are conflicting with new technology and developing new ideas, new solutions."⁹ Thus, architectural practices cannot be reduced to essential expressions of Islam or polarised expressions of difference.

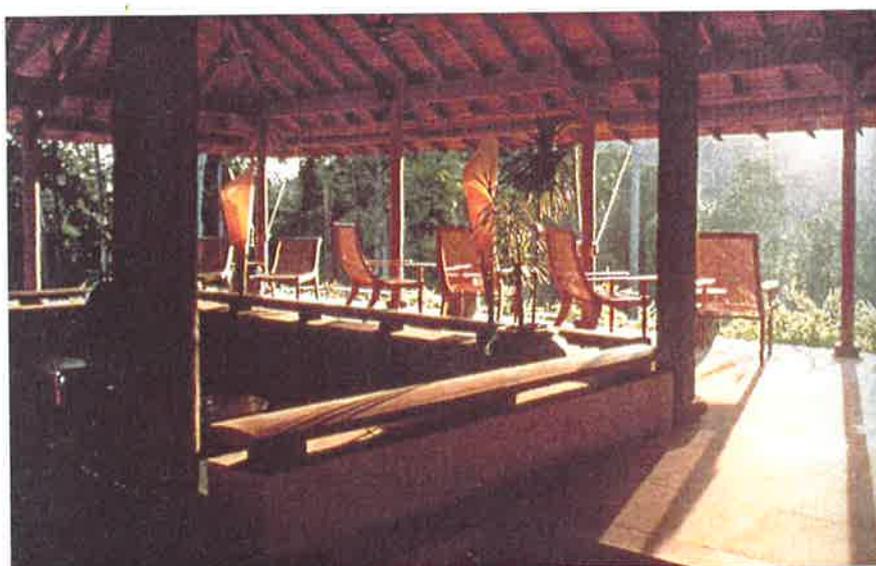


Figure 92
The Datai Resort, 1993.
Kerry Hill Architects.
Pulau Langkawi,
Malaysia.
Frampton, Correa and
Robson, eds., *Modernity
and Community*, 158.

Isozaki's points are indicative of the 1998 Jury's thoughtful debate that points to new ways of thinking about architecture and Islam in the context of globalisation. This debate reflects on the merits of the prize-winners and the limitations of reiterating earlier messages (stressed by Yuswadi Saliya and Zaha Hadid).¹⁰ The deliberations renew debate on regionalism. While Arif Hasan refers to regionalism as "a dying force," Fredric Jameson flags the notion of a "new regionalism."¹¹ However, it is Mohammed Arkoun who focuses on the core of the dilemma distinguishing between ideological expressions of Islam, and opportunities for innovative, regional resistance that the Award is also in the position to advance. While the insights offered by such excerpts are not exhaustive, they are put aside in *Modernity and Community*. Instead, the elusive, yet desirable, quest for regional authenticity articulated by

⁸ Cynthia C. Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future: Contemporary Architecture in Islamic Societies* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 149.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 149.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 149-151.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 147.

Frampton in his opening essay, might be perceived as a regressive move that suppresses the opportunities for provocative debate on the progressive project teams that engage difference in the global context.

However, the expression of different opinions further enriches the Award's "space for freedom" and the way the AKAA grapples with heterogeneous images of Islam and architecture. Projects like the Datai raise questions about an authentic or essential relationship between architecture and Islam expressed in Frampton's lament. While the Muslim audience of the Datai is unclear, I propose that ambiguous prize-winners like it present opportunities to look beyond the relationship between architecture and Islam, to dynamic conjunctions of architecture and identity today.

7.3 BEYOND ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE

7.3.1 Complicating "Rupture"

The writing of Mohammed Arkoun enables such a shift. Arkoun is distinguished by his extensive scholarship in Islamic studies and his consistent contributions to the AKAA since 1980.¹² His contributions in the Award literature point to a conceptual shift beyond Islamic architecture, toward a dynamic relationship between architecture and identity. Enduring themes presented and reiterated in the Award literature can be traced to the writing of Arkoun including "rupture" and "space for freedom." Since Seminar 4, he has prepared essays and participated on the Steering Committee (1983, 1986, 1989, 1992) and the Master Jury (1995, 1998). However, the reiteration of these themes by other Award contributors is distanced from Arkoun's lengthy deliberations presented in the Award seminars and their ensuing discussions. These essays explore multiple ruptures in the history of Islam and the corresponding limits on an intellectual "space for freedom." In this context, Arkoun challenges the application of the adjective "Islamic" to any entity apart from faith. In the Award publications, Arkoun's brief essays belie the richness of this challenge. However, his 1998 appointment as a juror rather than a Steering Committee member suggests a deliberate effort on behalf of the Award to cast Arkoun as an agent of re-thinking that can have an immediate impact on Award selections. Commenting on the 1998 cycle, he identifies misconceptions of the AKAA within its

¹² Arkoun is an authoritative figure in the field of Islamic studies, and particularly the history of Islamic thought. He has prepared numerous publications in Arabic and French since the 1970s, including his role as editor of *Arabica* (Brill). His most recent English-language publications include *Rethinking Islam: Common Questions, Uncommon Answers* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), and *The Unthought in Contemporary Islamic Thought* (London: Saqi Books, 2002). In addition, he holds the position of Emeritus Professor at La Sorbonne and he is a Senior Research Fellow and Member of the Board of Governors of the Institute of Ismaili Studies. As a visiting professor, he has taught at UCLA, Princeton University, Temple University, and the Pontifical Institute of Arabic Studies, Rome.

infrastructure and the need to challenge isolating concepts of Islamic identity.

The Technical Reviewers almost all integrated the idea that the Award is illustrating an Islamic identity. This means that we have not delivered a very clear message for almost twenty years. We are not free from this image.¹³

Arkoun's Influence

The construction of this image and the intellectual tools to challenge it lie in the concept of "rupture." The theme of "rupture" has been represented in several Award publications as a break with tradition that is attributed to external forces, commonly, the encounter between Islam and the West since the nineteenth century. However, Arkoun's representation of rupture is more complex. While Arkoun does not dismiss the implications of this encounter, he examines multiple ruptures in the history of Islam that are not sustained in the Award literature.¹⁴ Through this examination, Arkoun problematises the politics of opposition vantaged in contemporary discourses of Islamic identity. These discourses are traced to specific historical and political circumstances within which ideologies of difference were conceived; ideologies that contradict both the heterogeneous contexts within which they emerged, and the interactive context of today's global encounters. By questioning the circumstances that have led to the assertion of Islamic identity in opposition to secularising modernity, Arkoun further opens up a "space for freedom" that displaces Islamic identity as a definitive parameter for architecture.

In "Islamic Culture, Modernity and Architecture" rupture is presented as "a key concept in Islamic history."¹⁵ This rupture is not limited to Islam. Arkoun identifies a rupture between all "Societies of the Book" (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) and historical processes of material and intellectual change that displaced the eternal reason of theocentric worlds. In the case of Christianity, a gradual process of modernisation (and secularisation) is identified since the sixteenth century. In the Islamic context, this process is distinguished by an unprecedented pace of change, provoking arguments for a clash between Islam and modernity. In the case of the Socialist Village Experiment in Algeria, this

¹³ Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 148.

¹⁴ The causes of deterioration in the built environment and society, particularly in the postcolonial period, are highlighted in Mohammed Arkoun, "Architectural Alternatives in Deteriorating Societies," in *Architecture for a Changing World*, ed. James Steele (London: Academy Editions, 1992), 41-49.

¹⁵ Mohammed Arkoun, "Islamic Culture, Modernity and Architecture," in *Architecture Education in the Islamic World*, Proceedings of Seminar 10, ed. Ahmet Evin (Singapore: Eurasia Press, 1986), 15.

clash is referred to as *déracinement* or uprooting.¹⁶ Arkoun further identifies the conscious isolation of Islamic tradition from processes of change throughout the Islamic world in the postcolonial context. This constitutes an

exit from history involving mind and consciousness, Islamic thought since the nineteenth century has been exclusively preoccupied with the defensive justification of its tradition, with polemic against the colonial and imperialist West and with the mythologising of its own history.¹⁷

Re-Thinking Modernity and Tradition

Arkoun displaces the dichotomy of Islam and modernity by transposing the concept of modernity to other moments in the history of Islam. In the context of *jahiliyya*, or the darkness of pagan ignorance, Islam is presented as an example of modernity *par excellence* that shaped all aspects of Arabian life after the seventh century.¹⁸ Arkoun states “in each stage of history new and ancient elements of life and thought are in an interactive process that leads the “modern” to become traditional or out of date.”¹⁹ However, Arkoun further problematises this interactive process in the Islamic context whereby tradition (specifically the Tradition of Orthodox Islam) is often vantaged at the expense of change.

To examine the assertion of Islamic identity in opposition to modernity, Arkoun problematises “Orthodox” concepts of Tradition. Conventionally, Orthodoxy “is understood in the Muslim tradition to embody the authentic continuity of the original teaching of the Quran and the Prophet.”²⁰ Tradition as it is revealed in the Koran is defined as “divine, unmodifiable by man, and the expression of Eternal Truth.”²¹ While “Orthodoxy” has different exponents (predominantly Sunni, Shi’ite, Kharijite after the Prophet’s death), Arkoun argues that it is often wielded as an ideological concept that shaped the culture of Islam from the eleventh to the twentieth centuries. Arkoun underlines the sensitivity of his proposition.

To rethink Islamic Tradition is to violate official prohibitions past and present, and the social censure that conspires to keep off limits the *unthinkable* questions that were asked in the early phase of Islam, but

¹⁶ Mohammed Arkoun, “The Socialist Village Experiment in Algeria,” in *The Changing Rural Habitat: Volume I*, Proceedings of Seminar 6, ed. Brian Brace Taylor (Singapore: Eurasia Press, 1982), 51.

¹⁷ Mohammed Arkoun, “Current Islam Faces its Tradition,” in *Architecture Education in the Islamic World*, 100.

¹⁸ Arkoun, “Current Islam Faces its Tradition,” 99.

¹⁹ Arkoun, “Islamic Culture, Modernity and Architecture” 16.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

²¹ Arkoun, “Current Islam Faces its Tradition,” 92.

inquiry into which was closed off with the triumph of the official orthodoxy that was based on the classic texts.²²

Arkoun argues that “Orthodoxy” is presented as an ideological strategy of isolation advocated by different political authorities during the course of history. These processes are considered at length in “Current Islam Faces its Tradition.” This construction is linked to a “solidarity between State, Scripture and Orthodox Tradition sustained by the official culture.”²³ The limits presented by official culture are traced to two early ruptures in the history of Islam.

The first rupture is identified in the political triumph of Mu’awiya (661), where the Authority of God is presented as an idealised image manipulated by the *‘ulama* to legitimise the Caliphate. The second rupture is linked to the neglect of divergent approaches to theology after the ninth century. This is exemplified with reference to the official creed of Abbasid Caliph al-Qadir (d.1031), constituting a Sunni definition of Muslim belief. Arkoun argues that this Caliphal intervention in a theological realm represents a “decisive shift from religious and intellectual concerns to ideological-dogmatic attitudes that have increasingly dominated all cultural life in Muslim societies.”²⁴ The creed advocated rigid beliefs in contrast to an exploratory approach to theological issues in the classical age of Islam (seventh to eleventh centuries). This period was characterised by the different but interrelated spheres of human existence *din, dunya, dawla* (religion, terrestrial life, state). For example, Arkoun identifies a high degree of differentiation between religious thought and profane activity in the humanist culture of the Buyid dynasty (932-1052). In the heterogeneous Mediterranean world, faith (including Islam) was an integrated element of human existence.

In the case of both Mu’awiya and Caliph al-Qadir, Arkoun observes an idealising process whereby Islamic teachings were repackaged for political motives. Attention to these “internal” ruptures shifts emphasis away from an “external” clash that underpins contemporary discourses of identity. Few scholars have forwarded such controversial arguments within the Award context. Yet, Arkoun argues that it is necessary to question the historical circumstances within which pledges for the difference of Islam and the concomitant assertion of the difference of “Islamic culture” emerged. The difference of “Islamic architecture” can only be surmised after such questions are addressed.

²² Ibid., 96.

²³ Ibid., 95.

²⁴ Arkoun, “Islamic Culture, Modernity and Architecture” 16.

For Arkoun, this ideology of opposition posits a false Islamic identity, an eternal message that is isolated from the historical context. The departure of these ideological outlooks from intellectual and spiritual thinking is posed as a further “rupture” in the history of Islam: “We do not pay enough attention to this rupture between the symbolic and the ideological expression of existence; the latter is becoming more and more powerful, even among intellectuals.”²⁵ This departure is defined as a disguising process where “the central character of these representations is the negation of history and the disguising of procedures in order to transform social, psychological, political realities into idealised images of the eternal Message.”²⁶ Thus, politics of opposition articulated since the 1930s are identified in Nasser’s secularising ideology, socialism in Algeria under the monarchy of Hassan II and Saddam Hussein’s ideology of tradition presented through the secular Baath party. Since the 1980s, Arkoun identifies the polarisation of ideological debate between tradition and modernity, conservation and progress, domination and emancipation and liberal capitalism and socialist collectivism.²⁷ In each case, “Orthodox Tradition” is presented as a unifying force that is distanced from the Revelation and reinvented as an ideology of contestation and change.²⁸

Disintegrated Architecture

Such ideologies are linked to the concept of disintegrated architecture in contemporary architectural practice.²⁹ That is, architecture that is isolated from its context, either through the use of hi-technology, or imitations of past architecture influenced by an ideological *bricolage*:³⁰ “In the name of Islam, this ideology is imposing forms of architecture and shapes of urbanism which are relevant neither to Muslim tradition nor to modern life and culture.”³¹ Elsewhere, Arkoun refers to this tendency as “evasion.”³² In his introduction to Seminar 7, *Reading the Contemporary African City*, contemporary discourses of identity are presented as both a “camouflage” and a “factor of alienation” that suppresses a potential “polyphonic, trans-social discourse.”³³ With the exception of Charles Correa, few scholars align themselves with these controversial

²⁵ Arkoun, “Muslim Character,” 211.

²⁶ Arkoun, “Islamic Culture, Modernity and Architecture” 20.

²⁷ Mohammed Arkoun, “The Aga Khan Award as a Process of Thinking,” in *Legacies for the Future*, 152.

²⁸ Arkoun, “Current Islam Faces its Tradition,” 99.

²⁹ Arkoun, “Islamic Culture, Modernity and Architecture” 20.

³⁰ Mohammed Arkoun, “Spirituality and Architecture,” in *Architecture Beyond Architecture: Creativity and Social Transformations in Islamic Cultures*, ed. Cynthia C. Davidson and Ismaïl Serageldin (London: Academy Editions, 1995), 19.

³¹ Arkoun, “Islamic Culture, Modernity and Architecture” 21.

³² Mohammed Arkoun, “Islam, Urbanism and Human Existence Today,” in *Architecture and Community: Building in the Islamic World Today*, ed. Renata Holod and Darl Rastorfer (New York: Aperture, 1983), 52.

³³ Mohammed Arkoun, “Introduction,” in *Reading the Contemporary African City*, Proceedings of Seminar 7, ed. Brian Brace Taylor (Singapore: Eurasia Press, 1983), xviii.

observations described by A.I. Abdelhalim as “astonishing and rather shocking but perhaps it is needed.”³⁴ In response to Arkoun’s seminar presentation “The Socialist Village Experiment in Algeria” Correa reinforces Arkoun’s case for disintegrated architecture, arguing that the adoption of new technologies and concomitant lifestyles can be indicative of ideological strategies (colonial, national or private).³⁵

Arkoun’s lonely position is pronounced in *Architecture Beyond Architecture*. Discussing the nomination of the Great Mosque of Riyadh with other 1995 Jurors, Arkoun identifies a predictable approach to mosque design by Badran where creativity is suppressed “not only by the political power, which is there and watching and imposing, but also by structure, deep structure in which we are trapped, unable to express ourselves.”³⁶ In the same discussion, Jencks attenuates this repression as a condition of self-censure, self-imposed convention and politeness.³⁷ However, Serageldin quashes Arkoun’s allusion to repressive political and ideological structures despite a request for elaboration by Eisenman. Serageldin relates this repression of creativity to a question of “identity rather than power.”³⁸ This apolitical stance returns the AKAA debate to a “space for freedom” that is supposedly ideology free in the way it sustains a Muslim ‘self’ image, without subjecting such images to rigorous critique.

Disintegrated architecture is further identified in the case of Cairo’s satellite city Heliopolis, widely represented as having no Islamic character and recognised as a colonial creation.³⁹ However, Arkoun demands further consideration of Heliopolis, otherwise these statements are reduced to ideologies of isolation and opposition. To move beyond an ideological framework of representation Arkoun calls for interdisciplinary scholarship, particularly through the human and social sciences in order to revitalise the intellectual spirit of the Classical Age of Islam that was not fettered by ideological thinking.

The gap between ideological thought and new intellectual/theological approaches to Islam and architecture is further identified in a discussion of mosque architecture in “Spirituality and Architecture.” Commenting on the Riyadh Mosque (Badran) and the Mosque of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara, Turkey (Behru and Can Çinici), Arkoun argues that both projects are indicative of a tendency to reinforce dominant

³⁴ Mohammed Arkoun, “Islamic Cultures, Developing Societies, Modern Thought,” in *Expressions of Islam in Buildings*, ed. Hayat Salam (Geneva: AKTC, 1990), 75.

³⁵ Arkoun, “The Socialist Village Experiment,” 51.

³⁶ Davidson and Serageldin, eds., *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 114.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 115.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 115.

³⁹ Arkoun, “Muslim Character,” 212.

ideologies (tradition in the case of Badran and modern secularism for Çinici) rather than presenting a critical approach to Islam and spirituality today. Thus, Arkoun reiterates the need to distinguish between ideological discourses that are framed in religious vocabulary (spiritualisation, sacralisation, transcendentalisation) and critical approaches to spirituality potentially informed by history, semiotics, sociology or anthropology.⁴⁰

Thinking the Unthinkable

The core of this dilemma is reprised in 1998 when Arkoun reiterated the need to address difference and the potential for creativity amidst globalisation.

The Muslim world is still looking to Islam as something that warrants the permanence of values that are outside of any criticism. We have to pay attention to this. I am not totally opposing globalization: on the contrary. But we have to think about the Islamic discourse, which is strongly, even violently, opposed to the forces of globalization as the West imposes it.⁴¹

Arkoun's insistence on recognising difference asserted within a global context of engagement is vital to any strategy to re-think architecture and Islam today. Arkoun has maintained a consistent argument for the heterogeneity of cultures that submit to Islam in an effort to counter pan-Islamic expressions of identity. However, this is not regionalism considered in isolation. Arkoun's conception of regionalism is linked to his ongoing call for the articulation of "unthinkable" questions with the intent to displace the defensive isolation of Islamic identity and its conflation with architecture.

In 1998, Arkoun reiterated the need to pose "unthinkable questions" in his most vehement critique of representations of Islamic identity both within and beyond the AKAA. There remains a need to "put an end to all conventional, romantic, nostalgic, fundamentalist references to 'the spirit of Islam,' 'Islamic identity' and 'Islamic spirituality' maintained apart from modern critical reassessment."⁴² These are presented as "tendencies to *routinization* in the thinking process."⁴³ For Arkoun, architecture presents an opportunity to move beyond such references given the contingencies of practice. However, he argues that this has led to an

⁴⁰ The case for anthropology is further examined in Mohammed Arkoun, "The Metamorphosis of the Sacred," in *The Mosque: History, Architectural Development and Regional Diversity*, ed. Martin Frishman and Hasan-Uddin Khan, 268-272 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994).

⁴¹ Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 145.

⁴² Mohammed Arkoun, "The Aga Khan Award as a Process of Thinking," in *Legacies for the Future*, 156.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 154.

excessive preoccupation with form-making.⁴⁴ Thus, he has maintained a consistent plea for debate informed by interdisciplinary (non-visual) scholarship that is enabled by participants with disparate training as part of the Award's "space for freedom." This has prevented intellectual interrogation of the complex contemporary issues, including the absence of democracy, economic regression, socio-cultural tensions, the marginalisation of youth, or the deterioration of traditional cultural codes. He proposes that

all of these facts and many others that I cannot mention here are enumerated in the reports of the Master Jury, but *not intellectually, culturally or practically integrated in the thinking process leading to the final decisions for action through the Award activities or for awarding projects.*⁴⁵

The insights presented by non-architects are voiced without being integrated into a process of re-thinking architecture and Islam. They are rejected with "the simple remark that architectural criticism applied to Islamic countries is still underdeveloped."⁴⁶ By re-thinking the difference of Islam practiced by different cultures engaged in a global context in varying relationships, Arkoun presents an opportunity to re-think architecture and Islam as an engaging, creative activity. For Arkoun, addressing practical issues within an interdisciplinary framework is the only way to further articulate the Award's "space for freedom." Such a debate is possible given the disparate backgrounds of the 2001 Jurors (identified in Chapter 4). Instead, Frampton's pledge for authenticity posits an ideology of opposition that is at odds with Arkoun's controversial and dialectical approach to regional creativity of Muslim communities that is engaged in an interactive world both historically and today.

7.3.2 The Entire World as a Foreign Land

The Award has invited many non-architects to participate in the jury deliberations to enrich the "space for freedom." In 2001, the appointment of Palestinian artist Mona Hatoum demonstrated the Award's ongoing alliance with cutting-edge thinking, research and visual expression. Hatoum's work is widely celebrated for the way she explores the porosity of identity, complicating clear distinctions between 'self' and 'other'. While her appointment to the Master Jury aligns the Award with another leading figure who can contribute to the Award's process of rethinking Islamic architecture, her contributions can only be inferred

⁴⁴ This point is reiterated in Mohammed Arkoun, "Thinking Architecture," in *The Aga Khan Award for Architecture: Building for Tomorrow*, ed. Azim A. Nanji, 32-35 (London: Academy Editions, 1995).

⁴⁵ Arkoun, "The Aga Khan Award as a Process of Thinking," 154.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 154.

based on her reputation that is outlined in her career biography.⁴⁷ However, I propose that her work deserves further consideration as a complement to the Award's exploration of the visual expression of identity. Her work also presents opportunities to move beyond ideological expressions of identity.

Doubly exiled from Palestine and Lebanon, Hatoum's personal experiences provoke critical attitudes to national, ethnic, political and corporeal boundaries. Unsettling messages of migration, discontinuity, and cultural in-betweenness challenge ideologies of identity. By provoking the viewer's physical and intellectual engagement with her work, Hatoum aims to expose the contradictions inherent in identity: self, gender, race, home and nation. While these intentions can be traced to her early experimental performances and video pieces in Britain, her recent installations are more ambiguous. These sophisticated installations adopt a minimalist aesthetic. Yet, they cannot be dismissed as detached artistic statements. According to Giorgio Verzotti, curator of a solo exhibition at the Castello di Rivoli in Turin (1999), her recent work "allows a more efficacious testimony to reality, precisely because it removes itself from unambiguous definitions and shifts from a world framed by certainty to a multiform universe of possibilities, revealed as a place of contradictions."⁴⁸ Hatoum's contribution as a Master Juror in the AKA is unclear. However, her invitation in tandem with her approach to issues of identity and visual expression has inspired me to reflect on the ambiguous relationship between identity and creative expression. I propose that Hatoum's work points to a "multiform universe of possibilities" that holds potential insights to further move beyond an essential relationship between architecture and identity.

The Pleasures of Exile

The announcement of the 1999-2001 Jurors coincides with Hatoum's execution of three installations as part of Tate Britain's inaugural exhibition in London, 2000. Together the installations are entitled *The Entire World as a Foreign Land*, a phrase adopted from Edward Said's essay "Reflections on Exile." Extracts from this same text were selected to complement a number of critical essays compiled in a comprehensive monograph of her work.⁴⁹ In this essay, Said poses the provocative and creative implications of the condition of exile, in spite of the perils of alienation.

⁴⁷ Frampton, Correa and Robson, eds., *Modernity and Community*, 174.

⁴⁸ Giorgio Verzotti, "Mona Hatoum," in *Mona Hatoum*, ed. Giorgio Verzotti (Milan: Edizioni Charta, 1999), 17.

⁴⁹ Michael Archer, Guy Brett, and Catherine deZegher, eds., *Mona Hatoum* (London: Phaidon, 1997).

While it perhaps seems peculiar to speak of the pleasures of exile, there are some positive things to be said for a few of its conditions. Seeing ‘the entire world as a foreign land’ makes possible originality of vision. Most people are principally aware of one culture, one setting, one home; exiles are aware of at least two, and this plurality of vision gives rise to an awareness of simultaneous dimensions, an awareness that to borrow a phrase from music is contrapuntal.⁵⁰

Said’s “pleasures” allude to unexpected creativity, a result of simultaneous alienation and engagement. Hatoum has described this paradox as “the feeling of in-betweenness that comes from not being able to identify totally with my own culture or the one in which I am living.”⁵¹ This lack of certainty has inspired her examination of plural and contradictory identity that resonates in her *oeuvre*. The Tate exhibits are no exception.

Figure 93
Continental Drift,
2000. Mona Hatoum.
Tate Gallery. *Mona
Hatoum*, 22.

Figure 94
Map, 1998.
Mona Hatoum.
“Mona Hatoum,” *Artnet
Magazine* (2005),
<http://www.artnet.com/robinson/robinson7-9-4.asp>
(accessed Feb 18, 2005).



Continental Drift (2000) (Figure 93) invites meditation on the arbitrary nature of political geography. The installation occupies the centre of an octagonal space in the Tate’s Duveen Galleries. A horizontal glass disc is mounted on a steel platform. Opaque sheets of glass representing continental masses are set in relief amidst a swirling mass of ‘water’ consisting of iron filings. The filings quiver as a concealed, motorised and magnetised arm repeatedly sweeps clockwise, then counter clockwise, beneath the surface. The relentless motion displaces the filings and they resist containment beyond the continental boundaries. The viewer is engaged in “a metaphorical depiction of the ebb and flow of time, of history, of place.”⁵² Furthermore, while the viewer can only

⁵⁰ Edward Said, “Reflections on Exile (1984, extract, (Artist’s Choice),” in *Mona Hatoum*, 113.

⁵¹ Laurel Berger, “In Between, Outside and in the Margins,” *Art NEWS* (Sept 1994): 149.

⁵² Sheena Wagstaff, “Uncharted Territory: New Perspectives in the Art of Mona Hatoum,” in *Mona Hatoum: The Entire World as a Foreign Land* (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 2000), 41.

stand beyond the steel platform and circumnavigate the piece, they obtain a comprehensive view of Hatoum's world. Sheena Wagstaff, Head of Exhibitions and Display at Tate Britain, compares this view to the "cartographic gaze" and the historical corollary of power and territorial conquest.⁵³ The viewer is implicated despite her/his exteriority to the piece.

This arbitrary relationship between space and power, and the concomitant nature of political geography, is explored in several pieces. *Map* (1998, Figure 94) consists of glass marbles, once again arranged in the shape of the earth's continents. They cover the floor of a room in the British School in Rome.⁵⁴ Political boundaries are indistinguishable in the uniform surface. While the transparency of the marbles creates an exquisite plane that is constantly transformed by light, the movement of the spectator threatens the stability of the composition. An inappropriate step would scatter the marbles. Michael Archer states "the floor, or more fundamentally, the earth upon which one stands, that basis, above all others, upon which not only bodily presence, but also attitudes and beliefs rest, is made uncertain."⁵⁵ In *Map* the viewer is engaged both physically and intellectually—a central theme in Hatoum's work since her early performance pieces in Britain. Physical engagement becomes a critical act that provokes a response from the spectator. In an interview with Archer, Hatoum states, "I like the work to operate on both sensual and intellectual levels. Meanings, connotations and associations come after the initial physical experience as your imagination, intellect, psyche are fired off by what you've seen."⁵⁶ The desire for a response derives from Hatoum's early perception of the Cartesian detachment of mind and body experiences in the United Kingdom that she distinguishes from "her upbringing in a Middle East culture which does not make a straightforward split between mind and body."⁵⁷

Fragile Boundaries

Hatoum was stranded in Britain after the civil war broke out in Lebanon in 1975. Taking advantage of her British passport (held since her birth in Beirut to Palestinian parents) Hatoum enrolled at the Byam Shaw School of Art in Cardiff (1975-79) and subsequently the Slade School of Art in London (1979-81). She has since travelled and exhibited extensively in Europe and North America, although, the majority of her work is in Britain.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁵⁴ Inspired by Rome's many opulent marble surfaces, Hatoum's intent was to use marble for the installation. However, the cost was prohibitive.

⁵⁵ Michael Archer, *Mona Hatoum* (Rome: The British School in Rome, 1996), quoted in Guy Brett, "Survey: Itinerary," in *Mona Hatoum*, 77.

⁵⁶ Mona Hatoum, "Michael Archer in conversation with Mona Hatoum," by Michael Archer, in *Mona Hatoum*, 8.

⁵⁷ Wagstaff, "Uncharted Territory," 29.

Art critic Guy Brett identifies three distinct phases in Hatoum's work. Her early performances, focusing on the body, were experimental. These performances were followed by projects focusing on explicit issues, emerging in tandem with her education at the Slade School during the tumultuous years coinciding with Thatcher's rise to power and Hatoum's own involvement in various activist groups. Since the late 1980s, her finely crafted installations adopt a minimalist aesthetic and her earlier narratives are replaced with more ambiguous works that are open to interpretation. Yet many of these installations derive from ideas formed during her student years and more often than not their realisation is a result of financing that was unavailable early in her career. For example, *Self-Erasing Drawing* (1979) consists of a motorised arm that traces grooves in a simple, circular sand tray. On its reverse revolution the blade erases this pattern. For critic Yuko Hasegawa, the piece evolves "a sense of existence accentuated by the fear of disappearance."⁵⁸ This paradoxical relationship between opposing entities is a recurrent theme in Hatoum's work that is often linked to Hatoum's experience as an 'outsider' in the United Kingdom.

However, her work cannot be limited to this condition of exile. Hatoum is a mobile artist. Proficient in Palestinian and Lebanese Arabic and French and English, Hatoum is inspired by her plural identities. In an interview with critic Jo Glencross, Hatoum states "different spaces and places always inspire me. I think better when I am on the move...because I do not expect myself to identify completely with any one place. They are all provisional bases from which to operate."⁵⁹ As such, Hatoum's work draws attention to the tenuous nature of boundaries, and the dichotomies they inscribe, including race, class, gender and the body. Furthermore, Hatoum's *oeuvre* cannot be placed within a particular school or movement. Brett locates Hatoum in a "virtual group"

of artists and thinkers, multinational, multicultural, who question the barriers which keep us divided and enclosed, whether these barriers are described as physical, mental, ethnic, cultural, sexual, religious or economic. Instead, she proposes plural entities, reciprocal relations, multiple selves. We can no longer exist by trying to annihilate the 'other'.⁶⁰

Challenging Arab and Muslim Identities

These challenges are explored in many projects. In the 1980s, Hatoum prepared several works that made specific political comments relating to difference. In *Under Siege* (1982) Hatoum enclosed herself, naked, in a

⁵⁸ Yuko Hasegawa, *De-Genderism détruire dit-elle/il* (Tokyo: Setagaya Art Museum, 1997), quoted in Guy Brett, "Survey: Itinerary," in *Mona Hatoum*, 38.

⁵⁹ Jo Glencross. *Entretien avec Jo Glencross*, broadsheet to exhibition at Le Creux de L'Enfer, Centre d'Art Contemporain, Thiers 1999, quoted in Wagstaff, "Uncharted Territory," 41.

⁶⁰ Brett, "Itinerary," 86.

transparent booth. During the seven-hour performance her repeated attempts to stand on a slippery clay surface evoked a sense of futility that foreshadowed the Israeli invasion and the siege of Beirut a week later. *Hidden from Prying Eyes* (Air Gallery, London 1987) comments on the exposure of the Middle East in the international media. The viewer discovers walls of corrugated iron concealing would-be dwellings. Daily sounds—television, conversation, city lights—escape the walls. The artist evokes notions of surveillance, in a journalistic or anthropological sense.⁶¹ However, this is not merely the representation of the ‘other’. The viewer participates in the experience. While s/he is denied access, the act of seeing is intertwined with responsibility rather than voyeurism.⁶²

However, her most explicit political narrative is in *A Thousand Bullets for a Stone* (1988). This responds to a specific commission for an exhibition in Toronto entitled *Nationalisms: Women and the State*. The piece was conceived during the Intifada, described by Hatoum as “the biggest spontaneous demonstration of social protest or resistance that had ever taken place in that part of the world.”⁶³ Stones are strewn across the gallery’s floor. They appear to be thrown from a newspaper image projected on the wall. The image depicts a woman and children confronting a heavily armed soldier. Each of the stones are labelled and numbered, seemingly for identification. The installation is indicative of the curator’s expectation to represent difference and conflict given Hatoum’s background. Commenting on such expectations, Hatoum states: “If you come from an embattled background, there is often an expectation that your work should somehow articulate the struggle or represent the voice of the people. I find myself often wanting to contradict these expectations.”⁶⁴

However, Hatoum mostly avoids such explicit identity statements that are limited to literal interpretation. In other works, Hatoum draws attention to dwelling and family life that has particular resonance in the context of the AKA given the emphasis on housing and place. Although Hatoum’s work is rarely autobiographical, *Measures of Distance* (1988) is an exception. The piece comprises a video that strings together photographs of Hatoum’s mother showering. Arabic script, taken from letters to Hatoum from her mother, is juxtaposed over the images. The script, described alternatively as “veil-like”⁶⁵ and “barbed wire,”⁶⁶ is read aloud in English. This soundtrack is complemented by

⁶¹ Ibid., 58.

⁶² Ibid., 59.

⁶³ Archer, “Interview,” 13.

⁶⁴ Janine Antoni, “Interview with Mona Hatoum,” *Bomb* 63 (Spring 1998): 56.

⁶⁵ Brett, “Survey,” 53.

⁶⁶ Claudia Spinelli, “Interview with Mona Hatoum,” *Kunst-Bulletin, Zurich* (Sept 1996), reprinted in *Mona Hatoum*, 140.

the voices of two woman engaged in (Arabic) conversation and laughter. Commenting on the piece in the event of Hatoum's solo exhibition in Turin, Verzotti states,

the work also points to a question of cultural differences and Western prejudices about other cultures. Thus the association of femininity and Arab culture does not present us with a veiled submissive woman, but with a powerful one, standing naked, laughing and openly discussing her sexuality.⁶⁷

In this intimate piece Hatoum challenges rooted concepts of home and family. While it is inappropriate to draw conclusions from Hatoum's experiences, this intimate portrait presents a distinct contrast to the rare articles in the AKAA literature that present any discussion of women and housing in the Award literature. Hatoum does not declare herself a staunch feminist: "For me my involvement in feminism was like a jumping-board towards investigating power structures on a wider level as in the relationship between the Third World and the West and the issue of race."⁶⁸ Moreover, she questions the relevance of Western feminism to women in the Third World.

In *Prayer Mat* (1995), conceived for the Istanbul Biennial, Hatoum makes an explicit reference to Islam and its dislocation in the West. The piece is immediately recognisable as a prayer mat, with a built in compass, that can be bought in London. Like all her recent projects, its sophisticated execution transposes it from its everyday context. On closer inspection the prayer mat is composed of fine pins, provoking discomfort and unease. In "Hatoum's *Recollection: About Losing and Being Lost*," art critic Catherine deZegher highlights haptic responses to Hatoum's installations where "her works embody multi-directional relations to a world where 'threatening' difference is mitigated and negotiated."⁶⁹ The use of everyday objects juxtaposed with a sense of unease or threat, recurs in her works that challenge concepts of childhood (cots), domesticity (kitchens) and institutions (dormitories and lockers). Referring to her evocation of the familiar, or memory, Said states:

In the age of migrants, curfews, identity cards, refugees, exiles, massacres, camps and fleeing civilians, however, they are the uncooptable mundane instruments of a defiant memory facing itself and its pursuing or oppressing others implacably, marked forever by changes in everyday materials and objects that permit no return or real repatriation, yet unwilling to let go of the past that they carry along

⁶⁷ Verzotti, "Mona Hatoum," 15.

⁶⁸ Spinelli, "Interview with Mona Hatoum," 141.

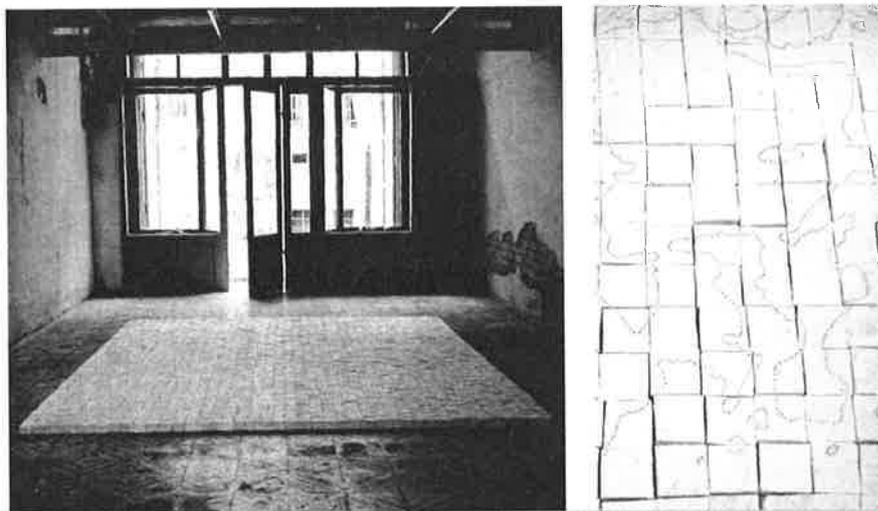
⁶⁹ Catherine deZegher, "Hatoum's *Recollection: About Losing and Being Lost*," in *Mona Hatoum*, 100.

with them like some silent catastrophe that goes on and on without fuss or rhetorical blubber.⁷⁰

Present Tense (1996) is one of a limited number of projects Hatoum has undertaken in the Middle East. The piece was commissioned for the Anadiel gallery in the Arab quarter of Jerusalem (Figure 95). It coincides with Hatoum's first visit to Palestine. The piece comprises small cubes placed together to form a square on the floor of the gallery. Each cube is embedded with tiny red glass beads. They appear to trace an abstract pattern of disconnected patterns and shapes. The shapes represent the territorial divisions devised in the Oslo Peace Agreement (1993) demarcating land to be returned to Palestinian authorities. For Hatoum, "it was a map about dividing and controlling the area. At the first sign of trouble Israel practices the policy of 'closure'—they close all the passages between the areas so the Arabs are completely isolated and paralyzed."⁷¹ The abstract piece highlights the arbitrary nature of these political boundaries: "With the simplest means, Hatoum symbolically threatened the symbols of oppressive power through an exposure of individual fragility."⁷²

Figure 95
Present Tense, 1996.
Mona Hatoum.
Tate Gallery,
Mona Hatoum, 37.

Figure 96
Detail, Present Tense,
1996.
Mona Hatoum.
Tate Gallery,
Mona Hatoum, 38.



The viewer's attention is arrested by the scent of the work. The cubes are carved from olive soap handcrafted according to a traditional method at the nearby town of Nablus (Figure 96). The scent of the soap inspires disparate associations. For local residents the scent is immediately recognisable, conjuring continuity with the past, defined by Verzotti as a symbol of resistance.⁷³ For Israeli visitors from Tel Aviv, the scent was linked to the soap used in German concentration camps. Commenting on

⁷⁰ Edward Said, "The Art of Displacement: Mona Hatoum's Logic of Irreconcilables," in *Mona Hatoum: The Entire World as a Foreign Land*, 17.

⁷¹ Archer, "Interview," 27.

⁷² Brett, "Survey," 86.

⁷³ Verzotti, "Mona Hatoum," 25.

the impermanence of the soap, one visitor asked Hatoum: “Did you draw the map on soap because when it dissolves we won’t have any of these stupid borders.”⁷⁴ While these responses are indicative of plural identities coexisting in Jerusalem, *Present Tense*, like many of her works, challenges any certainty or permanence of identity. Concluding his essay prepared for the Tate exhibition catalogue, Said states:

Her work is the presentation of identity as unable to identify with itself, but nevertheless grappling the notion (perhaps only the ghost) of identity to itself. This is exile figured and plotted in the objects she creates. Her works enact the paradox of dispossession as it takes possession of its place in the world, standing firmly in workaday space for spectators to see and somehow survive what glistens before them. No one has put the Palestinian experience in visual terms so austere and yet so playfully, so compellingly and at the same time so allusively.⁷⁵

As a conceptual artist Mona Hatoum alludes to the tenuous nature of ideological constructions of identity, including Islamic or Arab identity. Hatoum draws on personal experiences. However, these are only a brief point of departure to explore plural identities and their ambiguous boundaries. Hatoum’s *oeuvre* inspires interrogation of identity constructs. She challenges the boundaries that inscribe faith, gender, nation and the body. Her performances and installations constitute a creative moment that elicits engagement from the viewer that is both physical and intellectual. For Hatoum “explaining it as meaning this or that inevitably turns it in to something fixed rather than something in a state of flux.”⁷⁶

De-Stabilising Identity

While Hatoum’s insights lie at the periphery of the Award, the unstable relationship between architecture and identity can also be identified in several Aga Khan Awards. A number of projects are ambiguous in light of the Award’s continued search for exemplary architecture for Muslim communities. This search is articulated most recently by Frampton as an “authentic contemporary cultural response.”⁷⁷ However, awards for the Institut du Monde Arabe, (awarded in 1989), Vidhan Bhavan (1998) and the 2001 Chairman’s Award for Geoffrey Bawa raise questions about the potential of architecture to demonstrate such a response, particularly given the architects’ reluctance to verbalise or “fix” the meanings of their work.

⁷⁴ Archer, “Interview,” 27.

⁷⁵ Said, “Art of Displacement,” 17.

⁷⁶ Archer, “Interview,” 25.

⁷⁷ Frampton, “Modernization and Local Culture,” 16.

Furthermore, their work is indicative of contemporary transnational practice. Peter Davey highlights contingent forces that shape architectural practice—“political, legal, economic, social, ecological, historic, technical as well as aesthetic.”⁷⁸ He raises these points in a discussion of the 2001 Award for the Datai. Moreover, he states that recognition of these forces is one of the many attributes of the AKAA. Yet, the recognition of contingent forces is inconsistent in the Award literature. In the representation of Vidhan Bhavan or Bawa’s work, for example, transnational collaboration is down-played in favour of contextual sensitivity and their role as exemplars for practice within Muslim communities. The creative teamwork by individuals from disparate backgrounds is side-lined in favour of emphasis on the final product.

Although the Award’s “space for freedom” encompasses an increasing variety of projects, the potential for architecture to embody Islamic identity is rarely questioned. However, neither Correa nor Nouvel forward their projects as exemplars of identity or difference. In “Quest for Identity” Correa declares, “identity cannot be fabricated.”⁷⁹ Instead, identity is a by-product of engagement and understanding within a given context and the challenges it presents. Thus, the Award’s representation of Vidhan Bhavan raises questions about the alignment between architectural form and identity politics. This alignment is even more peculiar in the Award’s representation of Bawa’s *oeuvre* as an exemplary demonstration of Sri Lanka’s hybrid cultural context. Bawa himself refuses to engage in identity politics and he is reluctant to verbalise creative formal expression. I propose that these projects, like Hatoum’s work, point to an unstable relationship between architecture and identity, presenting opportunities to move beyond Islamic architecture.

7.3.3 Parisian Pastiche?

The Institut du Monde Arabe (IMA) might be considered an obvious choice for an AKAA. It was conceived in 1980 as one of President Mitterrand’s *grands projets* to foster relations between France and a conglomerate of twenty Arab states. The institution is widely celebrated as a cultural bridge. The IMA has the potential to showcase the plural cultural heritage of the Arab world in a museum, library, auditorium, exhibition hall and documentation centre. Despite the uniformity of the sleek façades, formal references are made to this plural heritage that might be charged as a historical pastiche. Striking features include the façade of the south wing that is entirely composed of hi-tech aluminium screens that adopt some qualities of a timber *mashrabiyya*. Although the north wing consists of an anonymous curtain wall (Figure 97), it

⁷⁸ Peter Davey, “Aga Khan Awards 2001,” *Architectural Review* 210, no. 1257 (Nov 2001): 52.

⁷⁹ Charles Correa, “Quest for Identity,” in *Architecture and Identity*, 10.

terminates in a spiral tower/ramp/stair that James Steele compares to the minaret of the Great Mosque of Samarra.⁸⁰ This “minaret” occupies the most prestigious corner of the site facing the Notre-Dame across the Seine (Figure 98). Given its prominent location on the Left Bank, the ambitious programme and the hi-tech transformation of well-recognised formal precedents, the Award literature praises the IMA for its embodiment of the progressive aspirations of the Arab world. Yet, in its emphasis on cultural difference, the Award literature paints a reductive portrait of the Arab world that undermines the plurality that it otherwise condones. Instead, consideration of the production and occupation of the IMA shows that representation of identity is no easy task and Nouvel makes no claims to do so.⁸¹ Instead, he prioritises the transient visual qualities of the building, described in terms of transparency, layering, reflection and film. The expression of identity has little or no place in Nouvel’s approach to the project, even though this expression of identity is vantaged in the Award literature and beyond.

A Cultural Bridge

Commenting on the fourth Award cycle Özkan declares: “The 1989 Awards reveal the present plurality of forces existing in today’s Islamic world.”⁸² However, pluralism only seems to apply when the Islamic world is considered in isolation. In the case of the IMA, pluralism is relinquished in a discussion that focuses on French-Arab relations. Apart from the Visoko Mosque and the conservation of Mostar, the IMA is the only European project to receive an AKA. In this context, the difference of Arab culture is pronounced. Steele describes the project as “a meeting place for the two cultures that produced it, France and twenty Arab countries. Its aim was to improve the image of Arab culture in France, and to reinforce France’s understanding of that part of the world.”⁸³ In the case of the IMA, “that part of the world” subsumes the numerous states of the 1980 foundation charter. Together with France these include: Algeria, United Arab Emirates, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Mauritania, Morocco, North and South Yemen, Oman, Qatar, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Libya (who joined in 1984) and Egypt (in 1989). It is difficult to conceive of a uniform Arab culture given the diversity of these countries. Yet, collective difference emerges in the Award’s representation of this global encounter.

⁸⁰ James Steele, “A Search for Meaning,” in *Architecture for Islamic Societies Today*, 33.

⁸¹ Nouvel (in collaboration with Gilbert Lezenes, Pierre Soria and Architecture Studio) was invited to submit a concept (prepared within three weeks) in competition with Roland Castro, Henri Ciriani, Edith Girard, Yves Lyon, Gilles Perraudin and Christian Portzamparc.

⁸² Suha Özkan, “Complexity, Coexistence and Plurality,” in *Architecture for Islamic Societies Today*, 27.

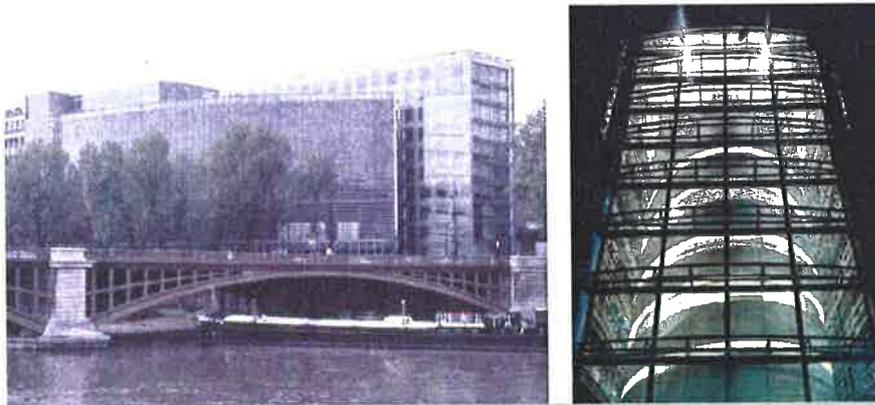
⁸³ Steele, ed., *Architecture for Islamic Societies Today*, 139.

The 1989 Master Jury describe the IMA as “a successful bridge between cultures.”⁸⁴ Steele elaborates on the notion of cultural bridging by highlighting the orientation of the building and the formal qualities that assert symbolic links between the IMA and its Parisian neighbours.

The northern face of the IMA mirrors and reflects the Paris skyline, while the southern one conjures up the Arab world. Between these two worlds runs the slit that connects the inner court space to the outer one. The Islamic courtyard is symbolically linking up with the Parisian and Christian world, exemplified by Notre Dame across the river.⁸⁵

Figure 97
IMA, 1987.
Jean Nouvel.
Paris, France.
Steele, 1994, 141.

Figure 98
View of ‘Minaret’,
IMA, 1987.
“L’Institut du Monde
Arabe,” *Archiseek*
(1996-2003),
<http://www.france.archiseek.com>
(accessed Jul 12, 2003).



The Award literature identifies numerous formal references to these two worlds. While the orientation of the building is directed toward the Notre Dame, the marriage of high technology with formal elements that evoke traditional precedents is presented as a clever parallel to the programme that seeks to foster cultural exchange. In addition to the spiral tower and the *mashrabiyya* screen (Figure 99), the blank curtain walls are compared to the “masked aspect of Islamic architecture, introverted and hidden behind walls.”⁸⁶ These references can be multiplied. The south façade with its intricate lacework of lenses, automated by photo-electric cells, is inspired by principles of the traditional *mashrabiyya* that enable the moderation of light and air whilst maintaining visual privacy. Quoting Nouvel, architectural journalist Thomas Vonier states that the design for the south façade comprises a “technological geometry rooted in the noblest elements of great Arab architecture.”⁸⁷ The courtyard, described by Nouvel as “the symbolic centre of Arab culture,”⁸⁸ is faced with delicate squares of marble fixed to a steel frame. Internally, the basement auditorium is entered via a dim, hypostyle hall that simultaneously evokes an ancient Egyptian tomb, a mosque or a crypt. Nouvel further

⁸⁴ “Report of the 1989 Master Jury,” in *Architecture for Islamic Societies Today*, 37.

⁸⁵ Steele, ed., *Architecture for Islamic Societies Today*, 147.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁸⁷ Thomas Vonier, “Culture Clash,” *Progressive Architecture* 76, no. 9 (Sept 1995): 64.

⁸⁸ Giampiero Bosoni, ed., *Jean Nouvel: Architecture and Design, 1976-1995. A Lecture in Italy* (Milan: Skira Editore, 1997), 83.

identifies a children's play space decorated with oriental colours and motifs.⁸⁹ A water cascade flowing over a thirty-metre flight of stairs, in the spirit of a traditional water *shaddar*, was also planned.⁹⁰ Materials and their properties were consciously chosen.

Prior to its construction, the IMA was recognised internationally for the potential cross-cultural relations. Architectural journalist Charlotte Ellis praises the great promise represented by this project prior to its opening in 1987: "Architecturally, the approach is highly symbolic in that the design addresses three principal dichotomies: the traditional and modern aspects of the site; Arab and Western cultures; interiority and openness."⁹¹ Reflecting on the success of the project as a vehicle for French-Arab exchange, Vonier also states: "The Institute's home in the French capital would herald a new era in the checkered past France shares with the Arab states."⁹² Generous support from other Parisian institutions enabled the permanent display of cultural artefacts. The Louvre's Arab and Islamic Collections were relocated, and the IMA also displays collections from the Musée des Arts Decoratifs and Musée des Arts Africains et Océaniens. Moreover, the library is accessible to scholars, students and the general public. In the Award literature, surprisingly little information is accorded to these activities.

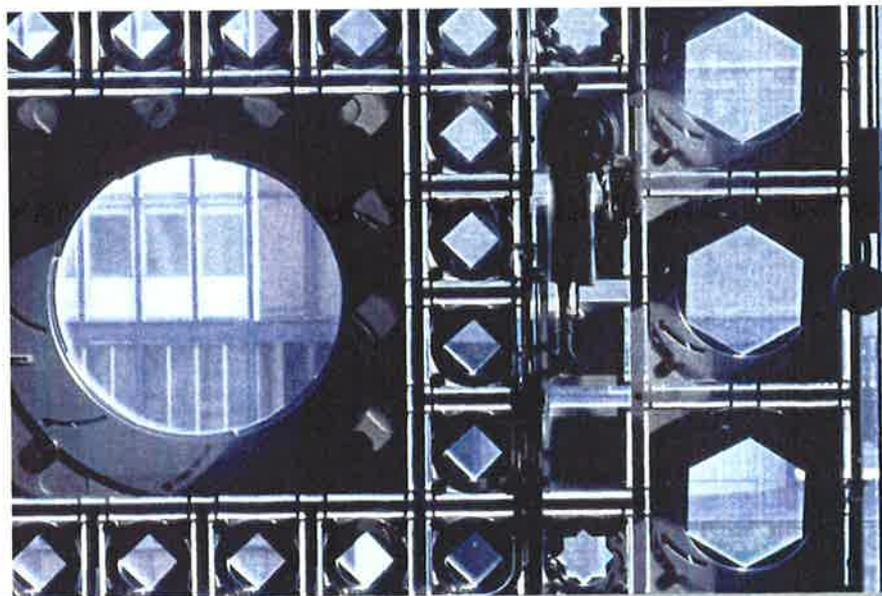


Figure 99
Façade Detail,
IMA, 1987.
Jean Nouvel.
Paris, France.
AKAA, *Awards*,
Slide 148.

⁸⁹ Bosoni, ed., *Jean Nouvel*, 83.

⁹⁰ Conway Lloyd Morgan, *Jean Nouvel: The Elements of Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 97.

⁹¹ Charlotte Ellis, "Split on the Seine: Arab Culture Centre." *Architectural Review* 182, no. 1088 (Oct 1987): 48.

⁹² Vonier, "Culture Clash," 62.

In hindsight, Vonier questions the success of the building. The IMA has not held many large-scale exhibitions since the opening. Attendance does not match expectations. Vonier further identifies dispute over the content of the exhibitions and resistance to overtly Islamic displays. Internally, employees are concerned about lack of storage space, poor circulation and low ceilings in the office spaces. The primary reservations relate to the south façade. The individual screens are intended to modify solar gains through the dilation or contraction of each individual iris. Despite the considerable effort and expense dedicated to developing the prototype, the screens were dormant in 1995. The automatic operations have been replaced by a computer-controlled system and the screens are activated in response to visitor expectations rather than any ambient conditions. In the office spaces, these cage-like structures are oppressive. Natural ventilation is not possible. The deterioration of the façade, and the building in general, is attributed to poor maintenance that is extended to the discoloration of the aluminium, the unwashed façades and the unfinished south court. For Vonier, the IMA is a flawed symbol: “The building, like the institution it houses, is perceived mainly in terms of what it sought and promised to deliver, but never could.”⁹³

The promise of cultural exchange is further complicated by the apparent accessibility of the building. While public access is intended, ingress is unclear. Ellis proposes that Nouvel sought a degree of separation between Arab culture and the city through the superimposed layers that veil the views to the city.⁹⁴ Conversely, Lories perceives a permeable façade that she compares to Alice’s passage through the looking glass.⁹⁵ The profile of Paris is not only reflected on the north façade and viewed from the interiors; it is also enamelled on the glass. Acknowledging this penetration, Steele proposes that these transparent properties serve to “reflect the outside world and bring them into the interior spaces. It may be a message indicating the way for the future of the Islamic world.”⁹⁶ Thus, the IMA emerges as a site of encounter that is achieved through the form of the building and through the various activities that can be housed there.

French *Je Ne Sais Quoi*

Despite the ambitious programme for cultural exchange, it is difficult to conceive of the building as a materialisation of Islam or Arab identity. For Ellis the IMA constitutes a French exploration of hi-tech.⁹⁷ Morgan states “the IMA is not an Arab building but a Western one. It is not

⁹³ Ibid., 66.

⁹⁴ Charlotte Ellis, “Self-Effacing IMA,” *Architectural Review* 185, no. 1103 (Jan 1989): 24.

⁹⁵ Marie Christine Lories, “Through the Looking Glass,” *Progressive Architecture* 69, no. 5 (May 1988): 94-97.

⁹⁶ Steele, ed., *Architecture for Islamic Societies Today*, 147.

⁹⁷ Ellis, “Split on the Seine,” 47.

merely Western in terms of its location, but in the public it addresses (unlike say a contemporary mosque).⁹⁸ The majority non-Arab audience, identified in a survey conducted by technical reviewer Manar Hammad, is also acknowledged in the Award literature.⁹⁹ Moreover, for Morgan, the notion of a cultural institution is of French provenance with precedents like the Centre Pompidou. Furthermore, this genealogy can be traced to nineteenth century ethnographic museums and the International Exhibitions.

The IMA is an ambiguous choice for an AKAAs. Jean Nouvel's status as an international architect represents a turning point in the Award's history. While the IMA was omitted in 1986, it was commended in 1989. Özkan links the selection of Nouvel's team for the design to the progressive aspirations of the Arab world and their representation in the French capital; "they felt that this presence ought not to be associated with backwardness in time. This is a very important aspiration that has been captured by the architect."¹⁰⁰

Nouvel himself focuses on tectonic properties of the IMA and its Parisian site, rather than cultural exchange. Emphasis is given to the transparency of the building and the properties of light that are manipulated by his selection of materials. The ample use of aluminium, glass and superimposed surfaces demonstrates his desire to eliminate the perception of structure and form. In his presentation at *The Jerusalem Seminar*, Nouvel challenges the traditional notion of space; "it is becoming dematerialized and global, and in this global space there floats an increasing number of signs and images that give rise to a new poetics."¹⁰¹

Acknowledging Nouvel's contradictory remarks, architectural critic John Bihn hypothesises the "self-distancing" effects achieved through the built fabric. Stylised formal references to the *mashrabiyya* or the courtyard are linked to interpretation rather than precedent. The transparent and translucent layering of the building introduce ambiguous relationships to the institute's displays and the exterior context of Paris.

A privileging of the visual in the Arab Institute has the paradoxical effects of actively heightening awareness of the extra-visual, of experientially questioning ideological notions of the Arab other, and

⁹⁸ Morgan, *Jean Nouvel*, 97.

⁹⁹ Steele, ed., *Architecture for Islamic Societies Today*, 147.

¹⁰⁰ Özkan, "Complexity, Coexistence and Plurality," 26.

¹⁰¹ Jean Nouvel, "Presentation and Interview with Zvi Efrat," in *Technology Place and Architecture: The Jerusalem Seminar in Architecture*, ed. Kenneth Frampton and others (New York: Rizzoli, 1998), 82.

of casting doubt upon the general and usually implicit truth claimed by representation itself.¹⁰²

Highlighting vision within the space, Nouvel invites physical and conceptual engagement with otherness. At the same time, he refuses to represent the heterogeneous Arab world. Nouvel exploits the creative potential of the physical fabric to challenge the question of representation in spite of the programme. Biln states, “Nouvel recognises that whatever the “Arab” is, it will remain out of the grasp of his architecture, that any dualities presented in the work will always remain within the interpretive economy of the West.”¹⁰³ Thus, Nouvel remains sceptical about the possibility of representing otherness. Instead, emphasis is given to an appreciation of place. This is not presented as a static entity but rather a dynamic, cinematic space and Nouvel frequently draws parallels between the architect and the filmmaker.¹⁰⁴

Suspending Identity

The IMA is realised in the context of global encounters. While Nouvel’s project team competed against a host of French architects to obtain the commission, the project represents disparate stakeholders. Despite the ambitious programme that seeks to achieve a cultural bridge between France and representatives of “the Arab world,” the project is an ambiguous choice in light of the Award mandate that seeks architectural excellence in the context of Islamic societies. The recognition of an international architect operating in a Western European country is a significant departure from earlier awards. Furthermore, the building fails to cater to a majority Arab audience and the deterioration of the building belies architectural excellence. Given the increasing emphasis on the plural forces affecting Islamic societies, the IMA might be considered compatible with the scope of the Award. However, the pluralism of this context is obfuscated in the Award’s reductive portrait of the Arab world in the context of this global encounter.

Despite the claims for potential cross-cultural exchange, materialisation of identity asserted in representations of the IMA is difficult to reconcile with the production and reception of the building. Nouvel himself claims to avoid representations of ‘otherness’, despite the formal references to traditional architecture in North Africa and the Middle East. As such, Nouvel suspends the automatic conflation of architecture and identity. Through a creative visual programme that complicates interiority and

¹⁰² John Biln, “(De)Forming Self and Other: Toward an Ethics of Distance,” in *Postcolonial Space(s)*, ed. Gülsüm Nalbantoğlu and Wong Chong Thai (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), 33.

¹⁰³ Biln, “(De)Forming Self and Other,” 26.

¹⁰⁴ Bosoni, ed., *Jean Nouvel*, 14. See also Nouvel, “Presentation and Interview with Zvi Efrat,” 93.

exteriority, Nouvel has created a dynamic series of spaces where engagement operates in tandem with incommensurable difference(s).

7.3.4 Merits of the Mandala

Correa's participation as a member of the 2001 Steering Committee also presents opportunities to move beyond Islamic architecture. Correa was invited to participate together with Frampton and Selma al-Radi (archaeologist), Gehry, Hadid, Luis Monreal (historian and archaeologist), Azim Nanji (scholar of comparative religions) and Ali Shuaibi (architect and planner). Correa has participated in the Award as a Juror (1989) and a member of the Steering Committee (1980, 1983, 1986, 2001). Moreover, he has presented his views in several Award seminars and publications since 1979 (1983, 1984, 1988). In 1998, he received an ACAA for Vidhan Bhavan in Bhopal, India (Figure 100). Correa is well recognised for his housing schemes for low, middle and high-income earners. His commitment to a better quality of life, sustained through the built environment, is closely aligned to the Aga Khan's vision. Correa's thoughtful projects marry his social concerns with aesthetic considerations that complement the Award's commitment to architectural excellence.

However, the selection of Vidhan Bhavan for an ACAA is surprising. Given Correa's numerous projects that address issues of poverty, housing and urbanisation in Asia, and specifically India, it is unusual that this institutional building was singled out. In *Legacies for the Future* Vidhan Bhavan is celebrated for its rich formal references to regional precedents. However, the planning derives from the mandala. Considering this explicit imagery, identified by Correa on numerous occasions, Vidhan Bhavan cannot be reduced to a visual expression of Islam. Yet, this project considered in tandem with Correa's approach to architecture, presents compelling insights into his engagement with the plural identities of India. Correa's work is complex, plural and personal. His symbolic references are simultaneously local, international, historical and contemporary. As such, Correa "suspends any question of an authentic Indian identity."¹⁰⁵ Instead, his work challenges conventional boundaries—pertaining to climate, programme, technology, history and identity. These challenges present an opportunity to move beyond questions of architecture and identity.

Vidhan Bhavan

In many respects the ACAA for the State Government Assembly Building located in Bhopal, the capital of Madhya Pradesh, might be considered overdue. The Aga Khan Award is the latest in a series of

¹⁰⁵ Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu and Wong Chong Thai, "Introduction," in *Postcolonial Space(s)*, 10.

prominent titles that laud Correa's contribution to architecture in India since he graduated from MIT in 1955;¹⁰⁶ not least, the RIBA Royal Gold Medal for Architecture and (1984) and the American Institute of Architects' Chicago Architecture Award (1986). These awards recognise diverse projects ranging from private residences to infrastructure proposals for Mumbai. Correa was recognised as an Honorary Fellow of the AIA in 1975, and he has held several distinguished teaching positions at University of London (May 1974); Harvard GSD (Fall 1974), University of Bombay (July-October 1976), MIT (Spring 1981), University of Pennsylvania (Spring 1982), Columbia University (Spring 1984); Nehru Professor, Cambridge University, UK (1985). As such, Correa complements the stellar cast who have contributed to the Award.



Figure 100
Vidhan Bhavan, 1996.
Charles Correa.
Bhopal, India.
Davidson, ed., *Legacies
for the Future*, 136.

Vidhan Bhavan is the product of many years of experimentation in response to Correa's social, climatic, economic, and aesthetic concerns in India. The project occupies the site of a former colonial guesthouse on the Arera Hill overlooking Bhopal, subsequently utilised by the State Government after 1956. The new facility houses the Upper and Lower House. It also includes offices for permanent staff, official visitors and administration staff, an auditorium, a cafeteria and a library. The Muslim context of Bhopal is not in dispute. Bhopal was founded by Afghan adventurer Dost Mohammad Khan (1723). It later became one of the largest Muslim principalities of the British Empire. The Nawab's rule (abolished 1952) overruled India's independence and Bhopal did not merge with Madhya Pradesh until 1956. The Assembly Building was not commissioned until 1980. The 1996 completion was delayed after the Union Carbide disaster, December 3 1984.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Following his training in the USA, which also included an undergraduate degree at the University of Michigan, Correa joined G.M. Bhuta and Associates (1955) before establishing his own practice in Bombay (1958).

¹⁰⁷ 2,500 died, and 50,000 were injured due to a poisonous gas leak from this pesticide plant. In 1989 India's Supreme Court ordered the company to pay \$470 Million in compensation. The cause was attributed to poor management, understaffing and inadequate safety procedures.

A Curious Selection

In *Legacies for the Future* the Muslim history of the region is not explicitly stated. Instead, the Master Jury focus on formal composition and visual imagery as an inventive solution to a difficult programme. Quoting the Master Jury's citation in full, Vidhan Bhavan is selected:

For the numerous qualities of this ambitious project, its heroic scale and the creation of an ensemble that provides a wide range of spatial experiences as one moves through the complex. The dangers of creating spatial chaos in order to accommodate its multiple functions have been successfully avoided with a circular fortified enclosure [Figure 101]. Despite the use of axial planning and the formal organization of spaces punctuated by mythical and historical symbols, the building uses the vocabulary of modern architecture and avoids the use of pastiche folk motifs, thereby contributing to the contemporary idiom of architecture of Islamic societies. The use of colour and of murals painted by modern folk artists is innovative and adds a degree of lightness to the internal spaces, in the process reviving the historical practice of painting interiors in public buildings and making it part of a new modern idiom for the region.¹⁰⁸

Mythical and historical symbols anchor Vidhan Bhavan to the local context and contribute to the architectural language of "Islamic societies." However, in the essay accompanying the citation references to the Muslim context are oblique. Explicit references to the Hindu context are also displaced. While the generating form of the mandala is acknowledged, this is relinquished for general historical and contemporary references. Delhi's Parliament building and the Buddhist Stupa at Sanchi are offered as examples.¹⁰⁹

Architectural Michael Sorkin identifies this anomaly. He describes Correa's award as, "the curiosity of the Indian selections."¹¹⁰ Acknowledging Correa's sensitivity to the local context and specifically the inspiration of the Hindu mandala, Sorkin presents a challenge; "calling this building Muslim is surely a stretch, and its inclusion again seems to signal the extension of the prize's catchment area to include the developing world in general."¹¹¹ Sorkin compares Vidhan Bhavan to Tuwaiq Palace in Riyadh, also awarded in 1998. The latter incorporates Frei Otto's tensile structures, adopted in contexts as diverse as Germany and Japan. In *Legacies for the Future* these are readily compared to the Bedouin tents of Arabian nomads. In the description of Vidhan Bhavan

¹⁰⁸ Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 129.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 131.

¹¹⁰ Michael Sorkin, "Ever More Inclusive, The Aga Khan Awards are Redefining the Borders of Islamic Architecture," *Metropolis* 18, no. 4 (Dec 1998), 35.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

the genealogy of formal references is far less specific. Identifying this arbitrary process, Sorkin states “as a rationale, this is a bit fast and loose, allowing meaning to be detached (in Bhopal) or attached (in Riyadh) at will.”¹¹²

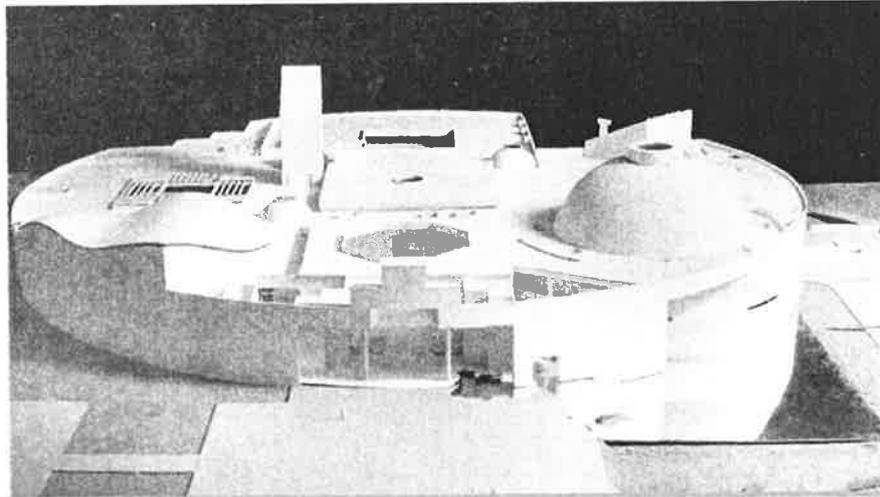


Figure 101
Model, Vidhan
Bhavan, 1996. Charles
Correa. Bhopal, India.
Khan, ed., *Charles
Correa*. 138.

Correa's Attitudes to Architectural Practice

In *Legacies for the Future* representation of Correa's work and his attitudes to practice is selective. Yet, his attitudes have been expressly stated in AKAA seminars and numerous articles, interviews and exhibitions. He has also participated in several international seminars. Furthermore, two publications, *Form Follows Climate* (1980) and *The New Landscape* (1985) demonstrate Correa's exploration of climatic considerations and the pressing issues of urbanisation in the Third World respectively. In *Transfers and Transformations* (1989) Correa summarises his approach to practice in India,

architecture should always be simultaneously both old and new for it comes into being at the intersection of three major forces. The first represents technology and economics; the second, culture and history; and the third, the aspirations of people. This third force is perhaps the most important of all. In Asia we live in societies of great cultural heritage—societies which wear their past as easily and naturally as a woman drapes her sari.¹¹³

While this statement resonates with the AKAA's preoccupation with continuity, recognition of cultural diversity in the past and today is central to Correa's work. Furthermore, his projects demonstrate inventive responses to environmental, technological and social constraints and he has identified diverse precedents that inform his responses. Professional

¹¹² Ibid., 35.

¹¹³ Charles Correa, “Transfers and Transformations,” in *Charles Correa: Architect in India*, ed. Hasan-Uddin Khan (London: Concept Media, 1989), 175.

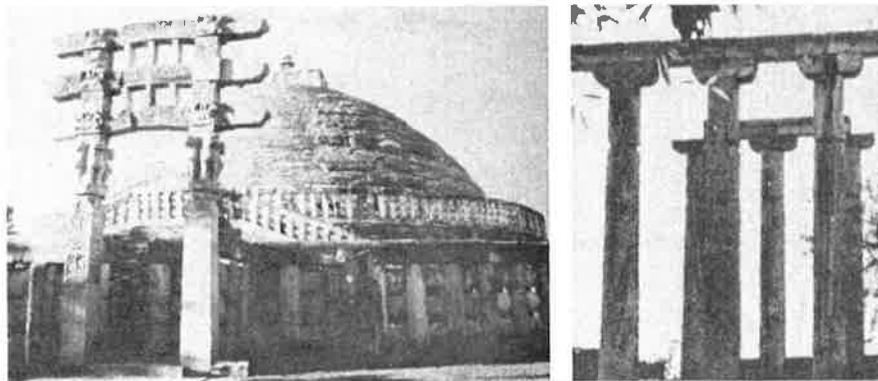
and practical observations of built form in India, combined with his architectural training in India and the USA, have contributed to an experimental search for prototypes. Vidhan Bhavan represents the culmination of several concepts that recur in Correa's work.

Cross-Cultural Sources

The built environment of India is a significant point of departure for Correa. Rajasthani villages are far removed from Mughal visions, yet both have inspired his approach to spatial organisation and his clever responses to India's climatic extremes. Khan argues that Correa, "though very Indian in nature, draws inspiration from many cross-cultural sources."¹¹⁴ Furthermore, this inspiration extends to, "symbolic and metaphysical images: a conceptualising of form beyond that which is just "problem solving" in terms of environmental and economic considerations."¹¹⁵ The symbolic imagery of Vidhan Bhavan cannot be overlooked. Correa's regional precedents are clearly stated in *Legacies for the Future*, including locally inspired building fragments and murals and an entry pool in the shape of Madhya Pradesh.¹¹⁶ However, these observations belie the richness of Correa's sources.

Figure 102
Great Stupa,
Sanchi, India.
Khan, ed., *Charles*
Correa, 134.

Figure 103
Colonnade,
Sanchi, India.
Khan, ed., *Charles*
Correa, 134.



In *Charles Correa* Khan is more specific about Correa's sources. He also acknowledges nearby Muslim monuments and the Buddhist Stupa at Sanchi dating to 150 B.C.¹¹⁷ Khan stresses the formal inspiration of the mandala and juxtaposes a plan of Vidhan Bhavan (the orthographic projection that most resembles a nine part mandala) with images of a bathing ghat,¹¹⁸ and the Sanchi complex. The first image of Sanchi displays the Great Stupa alongside its heavily ornamented gate (Figure 102).¹¹⁹ This is clearly the precedent for the stylised gateway in the Legislator's Foyer (Figure 104). This is simply referred to as a "brilliantly

¹¹⁴ Khan, ed., *Charles Correa*, 19.

¹¹⁵ Khan, "Public Buildings," in *Charles Correa*, 105.

¹¹⁶ Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 140.

¹¹⁷ Henri Stierlin, ed., *India*, (Lausanne: Benedikt Taschen, n.d.), 20.

¹¹⁸ The raised terraces in the Court of the People are similar to the bathing *ghats* found in many Indian cities or the steps of a village well.

¹¹⁹ Khan, ed., *Charles Correa*, 134.

coloured gate [through which] one enters the Vidhan Sabha.”¹²⁰ This gate is modelled on the monumental three-tiered gateway or *torana*, a stone version of the timber city gate with explicit Buddhist symbols.¹²¹ Khan also includes an image of a colonnade in the Sanchi complex (Figure 103), the inspiration for Correa’s monumental column in the external courtyard adjacent the Upper House (Figure 100).¹²² In Vidhan Bhavan a mandala also adorns the entrance to the Legislator’s Foyer and the façade over the cabinet wing.



Figure 104
Entry to Vidhan Sabha, Vidhan Bhavan, 1996. Charles Correa. Bhopal, India. Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 139.

Correa himself underscores the nine part mandala as the inspiration for the planning of Vidhan Bhavan.¹²³ The circular mandala, or form, is the order defined by Brahma and imposed on the terrestrial world. The square is considered to be a perfect form that represents the Absolute. The square *vāstu-purusha* mandala, “is an image of the laws governing the cosmos, to which men are just as subject as is the earth on which they build.”¹²⁴ Correa’s interpretation of the mandala recognises the Hindu perception of the cosmos, but it is also considered as a universal form, “in fact found in many other cultures around the globe and across history.”¹²⁵ In *The Jerusalem Seminar* he also interprets it as a personal form, offering, “a profound sense of centrality that affects the environment we build.”¹²⁶

¹²⁰ Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 139.

¹²¹ Traditionally, it is crowned by the *dharmacakra* (The Wheel of the Law). The three uprights between each tier symbolise the *triratna* (three jewels) of Buddhism: the Buddha, the law and the congregation. Stierlin, ed., *India*, 94.

¹²² Khan, ed., *Charles Correa*, 134.

¹²³ Correa, “Transfers and Transformations,” 174. Correa’s point is illustrated with images of square mandalas.

¹²⁴ In the *vāstu shāstras*, pre-colonial manuals on architecture, 32 versions of the *vāstu-purusha* mandala are identified and they can be divided into as many as 1,024 squares or *pādas*. These have been identified as the basis for planning housing, temples and cities. Stierlin, ed., *India*, 44.

¹²⁵ Correa, “Transfers and Transformations,” 174.

¹²⁶ Frampton and others, eds., *Technology Place and Architecture*, 242.

Expecting Identity Statements

As an architect and an educator, Correa has presented his ideas at several international forums. However, his emphasis on the mandala is a late development in his work and writing. The mandala is well recognised as a sacred Hindu image and Bozdoğan equates this emphasis with Correa's overdue recognition beyond India.¹²⁷ Just as Hatoum was expected to make Palestinian messages in Toronto, architectural critic Vikramaditya Prakash states that this recognisability is expected of Correa, and other architects, as an authentic expression of the non-Western other, in this case, a distinctive "Indian" identity.

Focusing on another mandala-inspired project (the Jawahar Kala Kendra), Prakash diffuses Correa's emphasis on the mandala.¹²⁸ He proposes that Correa's writing undermines the richness of his work; "an architectural work that may be very complex and multilayered in itself becomes so closely aligned with its "official explanation" that it is difficult to interpret it differently."¹²⁹ Without dismissing Correa's interpretation of the mandala, Prakash proposes that it is only "one of the constituent threads of the Kendra's weave."¹³⁰ Instead, Correa's projects, including the Kendra, transcend references to the mandala, engaging in complex negotiations with universal aspirations, regional concerns, technology, faith and democracy in postcolonial India. As such,

Correa's design does not dissolve the question of Indian identity. It simply disorients it, uses it and casts it aside, inhabits and critiques it. In other words, it parodies the impossible stereotype 'Indian' by suspending it within distancing quotation marks.¹³¹

In Vidhan Bhavan references to the Hindu cosmos are extended to Hindu and Buddhist pilgrimage rites. These inform Correa's treatment of the labyrinthine pathways through the Assembly Building. The sequential arrangement of spaces further distinguishes Correa's work from mere form-making. The primary functions are organised around five main courtyards. Four courtyards are located at the cardinal points. A central court—the absent centre of the Hindu mandala, complements these. Access to the courtyards depends on the status of the visitor. The Court of the People is the public entrance. There is a separate entrance for legislators and VIPs. Although the layout of the building is axial the

¹²⁷ Sibel Bozdoğan, "Architectural History in Professional Education: Reflections on Postcolonial Challenges to the Modern Survey," *Journal of Architectural Education* 52, no. 4 (1999): 210.

¹²⁸ The Jawahar Kala Kendra is a state sponsored exhibition space for traditional arts and crafts in Jaipur.

¹²⁹ Vikramaditya Prakash, "Identity Production in Postcolonial Indian Architecture: Re-Covering What We Never Had," in *Postcolonial Space(s)*, 41.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 41.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 51.

routes are circuitous, dictated by the various levels of security that operate within the building.

Diffusing Spiritual References

In *Legacies for the Future* these routes are compared to the ritual circumnambulation (*pradakshinā*) around the stupa.¹³² Correa is particularly interested in the pilgrim's path (that also dictates the layout of Hindu shrines within a sanctuary)¹³³ for spatial and sequential experience and the importance of external space; "this open-to-sky processional movement is of the utmost religious and symbolic significance."¹³⁴ However, the religious significance of this circuitous path is complemented by references to modernism. Khan compares Vidhan Bhavan's labyrinth, and other projects, to the "path within the puzzle-box" in Shar-E-Bangla-Nagar.¹³⁵ Kahn and later Le Corbusier, modernist pioneers who were both drawn to the Indian subcontinent, had a profound influence on Correa's work.¹³⁶ *Legacies for the Future* celebrates Correa's reconciliatory approach to the Indian context that is viewed through a modernist lens. Vidhan Bhavan "breaks the myth that modern architecture cannot be adapted to Asian nations and environments."¹³⁷

The accessibility of Vidhan Bhavan, enabled by these paths is emphasised in *Legacies for the Future*. While the organisation of spaces related to pilgrimage is acknowledged, greater emphasis is given to Correa's observations of open spaces within a city. The urban character of Vidhan Bhavan, divested of problematic spiritual references, is emphasised; "Vidhan Bhavan is conceived not as a monument but as a city within the city, both in its roofline profile and in plan."¹³⁸ Vidhan Bhavan is an institutional building in the democratic context of India. This function may well be related to its nomination for an AKA. The lack of exemplary and eligible institutional buildings has long been identified as a concern by the Steering Committee.¹³⁹ The 1998 selection of Vidhan Bhavan, along with Indore's Slum Networking infrastructure programme and the Leprosarium in Chopda Taluka, might also be related to the political context of India in 1998. Citing antagonism toward Islam by the BJP (Hindu Nationalist Party), Sorkin speculates that the selection of these projects can be attributed to a political message; "it seems likely

¹³² The *pradakshinā* is the rite of circumnambulation of a cult object. Stierlin, ed., *India*, 188.

¹³³ Stierlin, ed., *India*, 46.

¹³⁴ Correa, "Transfers and Transformations," 168.

¹³⁵ Khan, ed., *Charles Correa*, 134.

¹³⁶ Correa's mentors also include Buckminster Fuller, Gyorgy Kepes and Kevin Lynch. Khan cites their respective influences on Correa's approach to invention, history, theory and debate, and urbanism.

¹³⁷ Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 140.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 137.

¹³⁹ Özkan, "Legacies of the Future," 167.

that at least some members of the jury meant to send a message of tolerance by recognizing projects in nominally secular India, which are sure to be used by religiously mixed groups.”¹⁴⁰

The disparate cultures of India are vital co-ordinates for Correa’s approach to practice. To overlook them is to trivialise Correa’s architecture. Yet, Correa is mindful of the dilemma posed by the complexity of India. In *The Jerusalem Seminar* he proposes, “Indian culture is pluralistic; it is highly complex; it has many layers. Thus, the responsibility, the opportunity, for the architect designing a public building is to express this multiplicity of mythic ideas and to clarify them.”¹⁴¹ This multiplicity cannot be contained within a Muslim or a Hindu worldview.

Transitional Spaces

Whether it is references to pilgrimage or the mandala, these aspects of Correa’s work, like his writing, are relatively recent developments. In the case of earlier schemes, the relationship of the spaces is linked to climatic conditions. In the Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya (1958-63), a memorial at the historic home of Gandhi in Ahmedabad, individual pavilions are grouped around a series of courtyards. These modify climatic extremes and provide natural lighting. Courtyards are articulated with partial overhangs. Changes in level generate convection currents removing the need for artificial cooling. In this instance the *chatri* (literally, ‘umbrella’) a traditional form that modifies light, shade and air movement is transformed. This approach to composition is inspired by Rajasthani villages and the layout of Mughal palaces.

Sequential space is also evident in the Bhopal Archaeology Museum (1985). Correa rejects the (Miesian), “sealable weather-resistant box. One is either *inside* this box or *outside* it. The transition from one condition to the other is through a hard, clearly defined, boundary—the front door. Inside and outside co-exist as opposites, in a simplistic duality.”¹⁴² Like the Archaeology Museum, the sequence of spaces at Vidhan Bhavan also demonstrates subtle transitions between exposure and enclosure, repeating Correa’s spatial ambiguity.¹⁴³

In these examples, transition is cited as a formal principle to address space and climate. However, this principle of transition extends to the cultural and technological aspects of Correa’s work. Vidhan Bhavan represents a refinement of Correa’s exploratory work. Formally,

¹⁴⁰ Sorkin, “Ever More Inclusive,” 35.

¹⁴¹ Frampton, Correa and Robson, eds., *Technology Place and Architecture*, 242.

¹⁴² Correa, “Transfers and Transformations,” 167.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 168.

transitional spaces provide a means to address the program: “The boundaries between these various zones are not formal and sharply demarcated, but easy and amorphous.”¹⁴⁴ Thresholds are liminal spaces of enclosure and access. Similarly, Correa’s work cannot be limited to essential difference. Correa states, “Architecture is not a very pure art, like poetry or music. However, it is the only art whose technology changes every few decades, and this challenges society to reinvent the expression of its aspirations and mythic values.”¹⁴⁵ As a 1998 Juror Hadid celebrates this enthusiasm for invention. Although her attitude to Vidhan Bhavan is not expressly stated, she asserts; “personally, I am against restoration because it takes away from invention. People should have the confidence to build new things with the same strength as has been done historically.”¹⁴⁶ This commitment to invention and change is vital to Correa’s architecture; “we must understand our past well enough to allude to it and yet also well enough to know why (and how) it must be changed.”¹⁴⁷

Vidhan Bhavan occupies a liminal site, a threshold where differences are asserted in the context of a long history of engagement and contestation. While this project addresses regionalism, it also demonstrates Correa’s universal aspirations that transcend binary oppositions between East and West or Hinduism and Islam. In Vidhan Bhavan there is greater exploration of formal precedents. Moreover, Correa celebrates the diverse cultural context that has a history of tension and violence. It is counter-productive to distance Correa’s work from his rich sources or to isolate specific precedents. Correa weaves plural sources with ease and sophistication. Despite his training in the USA, Correa is immersed in India. Yet, the realisation of Vidhan Bhavan demonstrates a creative sensitivity to a much larger context that cannot be reduced to a regional response, or a “contemporary idiom of architecture of Islamic societies.”¹⁴⁸

7.3.5 Dismissing Identity Politics

Like Correa, Bawa is reluctant to reduce his work to a formal expression of identity or cultural difference. Bawa rarely discusses his work. Yet, Bawa’s work is celebrated for the expression of Sri Lanka’s hybrid identity and for the embodiment of national identity. He is most well known for several resorts in South Asia including the Bentota Beach Hotel (1969), Serendib Hotel, Bentota (1971), the Kandalama Hotel, Dumballa (1994) and the Lighthouse Hotel, Galle (1996). These are richly illustrated in *Modernity and Community*. These complement

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 167.

¹⁴⁵ Frampton and others, eds., *Technology Place and Architecture*, 244.

¹⁴⁶ Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 151.

¹⁴⁷ Sherban Cantacuzino, “Ideas and Buildings,” in *Charles Correa*, 14.

¹⁴⁸ Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 129.

Bawa's prolific body of work that also comprises institutional and religious buildings, and domestic residences, including the accumulative development of his own property at Lunuganga and his Colombo office/house. For these and other projects Bawa received the 2001 Chairman's Award.¹⁴⁹ Similarities can be identified in the approach of Bawa together with Fathy and Chadirji. In the Award literature each architect is praised for his attention to the regional context, existing building technologies and typologies and the precedent established for future generations of architects. Moreover, his work is celebrated for its sensitivity to the environment given exponential and destructive overdevelopment in the region.¹⁵⁰

However, unlike the contexts within which Fathy and Chadirji practice, Sri Lanka has a minority Muslim population of eight percent.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, both Fathy and Chadirji are vocal exponents for their craft whereas Bawa is a reluctant spokesperson. In addition, Bawa's projects for well-heeled clients attract charges of elitism. Unlike Fathy and Chadirji, it is difficult to limit Bawa's work to a regional expression rooted in the Sri Lankan context. In the case of Bawa's resorts, the activity of travel complicates emphasis on a local context or audience. Simultaneously, it is the very character of a locality that is marketed in the international context to attract clients. Introducing a series of new hotels, including Bawa's Club Villa Hotel in Bentota, Brian Brace Taylor states, "perhaps one crucial dimension to the success or failure of hotel buildings is the degree to which there is a 'cultural fit' with their physical surroundings, whether urban or rural."¹⁵² In the Award literature emphasis is given to an authentic "cultural fit." However, Bawa's resorts attract international travellers seeking "authentic," exotic experiences. Thus, Bawa might be charged with fabricating authenticity to meet the expectations of the foreigner rather than local needs.

Authentic Hybrid Identity?

In *Modernity and Community* Bawa is praised for his perceptive response to place and his vigorous interest in local building technologies and crafts. Unlike the Datai, Frampton praises Bawa's work as an "exemplary response" and he identifies Bawa's work as a new link in Sri Lanka's building history:¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ AKA, *Chairman's Award: Geoffrey Bawa*, AKDN, <http://www.akdn.org/agency/akaa/eighthcycle/bawa> (accessed Nov 25, 2002).

¹⁵⁰ In the Award literature the limitations of such approaches amidst aspirations for progress are flagged by Yasmeen and Suhail Lari as early as 1983. Yasmeen Lari and Suhail Lari, "On Recreational and Tourist Complexes," in *Architecture and Community*, 52-54.

¹⁵¹ Renee Otmar, ed., *SBS World Guide*, Eighth ed. (South Yarra: Hardie Grant Publishing, 2000), 688.

¹⁵² Brian Brace Taylor, "The Displaced Moment: Intangible Qualities of Hotel Environments," *Mimar* 25 (Sept 1987): 18.

¹⁵³ Frampton, "Modernization and Local Culture," 16.

At the risk of exaggerating, one may perhaps claim that, whereas Bawa's plans were invariably orthogonal and hence both modern and efficient, particularly when combined with precisely trabeated structures, his details and, above all, his low-pitched tiled roofs, embodied much of the Sri Lankan building tradition, almost as an untouched continuum, as valid now as on the past.¹⁵⁴

Bawa's attention to the study of traditional building form, the use of wide eaves, terracotta tiles and other traditional materials is well recognised in architectural media. However, many of Bawa's projects integrate existing dwellings or draw on Sri Lanka's diverse built heritage resulting from Portuguese, Dutch or British settlement. Frampton's emphasis on continuity and the independence of Sri Lanka's "untouched" context of material expression suppresses this rich history. In the same publication, David Robson does address this history. However, Bawa's work is pitched as an expression of national identity in the postcolonial context, "a new architectural identity that drew together the different strands of a complex ethnic weave and exploited a rich history."¹⁵⁵ Adopting the alluring rhetoric of a tourist brochure, the Award website also acknowledges the hybrid context of Sri Lanka, yet this context is distilled in Bawa's work as "something new but intrinsically Sri Lankan."¹⁵⁶ Hence, Bawa's work is presented as an authentic response to Sri Lankan hybridity.

Cultural Routes

Conveniently located between the Coromandel Coast and the Malacca Straits, Sri Lanka is a contested site. Muslims, Portuguese, Dutch and British authorities have vied for commercial monopoly since the arrival of Arab traders after the seventh century. Moreover, concomitant territorial claims overlay the imaginary geography of Buddhism inscribed on the landscape.¹⁵⁷ Given this contest, it is difficult to conceive of Sri Lanka as an isolated regional centre. This "astonishingly important geographical position," as it is described by one of Bawa's numerous collaborators, designer Barbara Sansoni, has given rise to numerous contests for power, including British colonial administration from 1815 to 1948.¹⁵⁸ These contests for power contribute to the hybrid cultural landscape of Sri Lanka today that is further complicated by migration, pilgrimage, tourism or exile.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 16.

¹⁵⁵ David Robson, "Genius of the Place: The Buildings and Landscapes of Geoffrey Bawa," in *Modernity and Community*, 18.

¹⁵⁶ David Robson, "Sage of Sri Lanka," *Architectural Review* 210, no. 1257 (Nov 2001), 75.

¹⁵⁷ James Duncan, *The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

¹⁵⁸ Barbara Sansoni, "A Background to Geoffrey Bawa," in *Geoffrey Bawa*, ed. Brian Brace Taylor (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995), 180-181.

Bawa's work also represents an aesthetic response to global encounters that echo Sri Lanka's multi-dimensional history, thus challenging fixed or bounded notions of cultural identity. The Award's tendency to suppress hybridity in favour of regional integrity resonates with Clifford's critique of ethnographic constructions of cultural authenticity that are fixed or *rooted* in place. Clifford's provocative paradigm shift from cultural *roots* to *routes* motivates recognition of the nexus of dynamic processes of contact and exchange that also shape Bawa's *oeuvre*.

Geoffrey Bawa's family history, comprising Muslim, English, German, Scottish and Sinhalese heritage, is also indicative of Sri Lanka's disparate connections. Moreover, Bawa's architectural training is shaped by his international education and travels. Initially, he trained as a lawyer (Cambridge) and practiced in the United Kingdom and Colombo. After travel to the Far East, the United States and Europe, he returned to Sri Lanka and turned to architecture, inspired in part by his purchase of Lunuganga in 1948. Bawa pursued an apprenticeship with H.H. Reid, the last surviving partner of the British colonial firm Edwards, Reid and Begg (ERB) in Colombo before completing the Diploma of Architecture at the Architecture Association in London in 1957 at the age of thirty-eight. Bawa became an associate of the RIBA in 1957 and the Sri Lankan Institute of Architects in 1960. After his return to Sri Lanka, Bawa established himself as the senior partner at ERB. Since then he has worked with a diverse team, notably Danish architect Ulrich Plesner (1958-65) and Tamil engineer K. Poolagasundrum from 1965 until the late 1980s. In addition, Bawa has continued to work with young architects and designers, including the artist Laki Senanyake and batik artist Ena da Silva. In his late seventies Bawa continued to be involved in projects from his Colombo office.

National Identity

Bawa is further celebrated as a national architect. Bawa's focus on region can be linked to the general dissatisfaction with internationalism in architectural circles in the 1950s and postcolonial assertions of nationalism. His early interest in Sri Lankan building traditions coincides with President Bandaranaike's encouragement of independence and self-reliance. While the subsequent left-wing coalition encouraged economic restraint in the 1970s, Bawa continued to prepare designs for institutional and government buildings. His portfolio was expanded to include the Ceylon Pavilion Expo 70 in Osaka, Japan, the Science Block for the University of Sri Lanka, Nugegoda (1971), the National Institute of Management (1971) and the State Mortgage Bank (1976), both in Colombo. After the installation of the United National Party in 1977, Bawa was commissioned to design the Parliament Building in Kotte

(1982) (Figure 105). Since this period, Bawa has been celebrated as a national icon. In 1982, he received the inaugural gold medal at the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Sri Lankan Institute of Architects. In 1985 he was awarded the Vidya Jothi (Light of Science) in the inaugural Honours List of the President of Sri Lanka followed by the Deshamanya (Light of the Nation) in the 1993 Honours List. Thus Bawa's work might be conceived as an expression of national identity.



Figure 105
National Parliament,
1982. Geoffrey Bawa.
Kotte, Sri Lanka.
Frampton, Correa and
Robson, eds., *Modernity
and Community*, 29.

Regional Identity

In architectural circles, Bawa has been labelled a tropical modernist, a romantic, a vernacularist and a regionalist.¹⁵⁹ Recognising his influence on architectural practice in Sri Lanka, Robson identifies Bawa as the “Sage of Sri Lanka”: “His ideas have spread across the island, providing a bridge between past and future, a mirror in which ordinary people can obtain a clearer image of their own evolving culture.”¹⁶⁰ However, it is difficult to limit Bawa's work to an expression of national or regional identity. Commenting on the Ena de Silva house (1962) and Bawa's Colombo office, Brian Brace Taylor challenges the regional tag, “to categorise them as ‘vernacular’ is to dismiss them, and hence to disregard the significant overlays of historical knowledge embodied in each one.”¹⁶¹ Taylor proposes that Bawa's work is paradoxical. While it is “uncontestably Sri Lankan,” he is inspired by many sources.¹⁶² Bawa himself cites an appreciation of disparate sites: medieval Italian hill towns; English country houses and their gardens; Greek, Roman, Mexican and Buddhist ruins; the Alhambra, Spain; Le Corbusier's chapel at Ronchamp; Rajasthani forts; and the palace at Padmanabapuram in Kerala.¹⁶³ While this cosmopolitan outlook is inspired by his extensive travels, Bawa's collaboration with other architects complicates the matter. For example, Plesner, who travelled to Sri Lanka to satiate his

¹⁵⁹ David Robson and Channa Daswatte, “Serendib Serendipity: The Architecture of Geoffrey Bawa,” *AA Files* 35 (Spring 1998): 28.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁶¹ Brian Brace Taylor, *Geoffrey Bawa*, Rev. ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995), 13.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁶³ Geoffrey Bawa, “Statement by the Architect,” in *Geoffrey Bawa*, 16.

interest in Buddhism introduced Bawa to principles of Scandinavian design.

The development of Lunuganga has prompted a host of associations (Figures 106 and 107). The coastal site south of Colombo is a 25 acre disused rubber plantation purchased after his extensive travels to the Far East, the United States and Europe. In Italy, Bawa was tempted to purchase a farm overlooking Lake Garda. Instead, he returned to Colombo and in Lunuganga his “dream was to create an Italian garden from the tropical wilderness.”¹⁶⁴ Taylor draws parallels between Lunuganga and the gardens of Bomarzo (begun in 1552) near Viterbo, Italy by Vicino Orsini. Lunuganga emerges as a visual pun. Among other references, Bawa’s “Plain of Jars” parodies Orsini’s “Plateau of the Vases” and a vista towards the dagoba temple echoes the view to the templetto at Bomarzo. In *The Landscape of Man* Geoffrey Jellicoe and Susan Jellicoe describe Bawa’s garden “as a metamorphosis of the English School which the designer had experienced, into one strange to Western eyes.”¹⁶⁵ Lunuganga demonstrates principles of irregularity and interest, of a varied sequence of views, contrasting open vistas and pockets of discovery located within limitless natural habitat. This resonates with the picturesque objectives of the English School epitomised by Castle Howard (begun in 1701) and Stourhead (1740-1760).

Figure 106
The Broad Walk,
Lunuganga, 1948+.
Geoffrey Bawa.
Frampton, Correa and
Robson, eds., *Modernity
and Community*, 41.

Figure 107
Lunuganga, 1948+.
Geoffrey Bawa.
Frampton, Correa and
Robson, eds., *Modernity
and Community*, 42.



¹⁶⁴ Robson, “Sage of Sri Lanka,” 72.

¹⁶⁵ Sir Geoffrey Jellicoe and Susan Jellicoe, *The Landscape of Man*, Third ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 381.

Suppressing Identity Politics

Any acknowledgement of formal referencing is left to Bawa's critics. Bawa only undertook isolated teaching appointments and he rarely published his attitudes to practice. His presentations were limited to the occasions when he was invited to be a guest speaker: ARCASIA forum in Bali, Indonesia (1987); the PAM-SIA-CAA International Conference on *Architecture and Tourism* held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (1989); and the RAI-PAM Conference *Architecture in Isolation* jointly hosted in Perth, Australia and Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (1990). In addition, Bawa held a teaching fellowship at the AKPIA at MIT in 1986.

In the Award context, Bawa participated as a Master Juror in 1989, although, individual contributions by the jurors were not published in this round. In 1985, he was invited to be a guest speaker at the second regional seminar in Dhaka, Bangladesh. However, the representation of Bawa's contribution is limited to a statement in the final discussion panel chaired by Syed Ali Ahsan. Beginning with an introductory session focusing on Dhaka and Bangladesh, the seminar explores regionalism in relation to modernism, housing, conservation, government regulations and technology. Recognising the many points of view, Bawa stressed his own attitude to practice. He prioritised his personal response to site and the needs of the client—a response that transcends East-West distinctions that were oft cited in the seminar.¹⁶⁶ In Sri Lanka, Bawa refused to distinguish between building traditions as Indian, Portuguese, Dutch or Kandyan.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, Bawa stressed experience, sensation, beauty and the relationship between the building and the landscape: “that relationship is enormously important, and I think it is very close to the essence of good architecture.”¹⁶⁸

Indeed, it is difficult to perceive distinct boundaries in Bawa's work. Precariously sited amidst rocky outcrops or consumed by dense vegetation, nature interrupts the building fabric and interior spaces communicate with Bawa's garden interventions that melt into the natural landscape (Figure 108). Enclosed spaces are afforded visual communication with a small courtyard, an open vista or a sequence of open and enclosed spaces. Formal, temporal and cultural binaries are reconciled, “he has broken down the artificial segregation of inside and outside, building and landscape.”¹⁶⁹ In the Polontalawa Estate Bungalow or the Kandalama Hotel, rocky outcrops penetrate the building (Figure 109). Bawa's attitudes to his integrative approach are reiterated in a brief

¹⁶⁶ Robert Powell, ed., *Regionalism in Architecture*, Proceedings of Regional Seminar 2 (Singapore: Concept Media, 1985), 180.

¹⁶⁷ Geoffrey Bawa, “Statement by the Architect,” in *Geoffrey Bawa*, 16.

¹⁶⁸ Powell, ed., *Regionalism in Architecture*, 180.

¹⁶⁹ Robson, “Sage of Sri Lanka,” 75.

statement included in Taylor's monograph and commenting on the development of the scheme for the Ruhunu University complex Bawa states; "the landscape was to be as important as any building placed on it."¹⁷⁰ Bawa's concern is with the phenomena of the site. At the Ruhunu campus authenticity is linked to the familiarity of sequential movement amongst the buildings that is compared to a village or a country house. As such, the scheme is "easily accepted and understood by the students."¹⁷¹ Privileging experience over representation, Bawa declares, "it is impossible to explain architecture in words—I have always enjoyed seeing buildings but seldom enjoyed reading explanations about them."¹⁷²

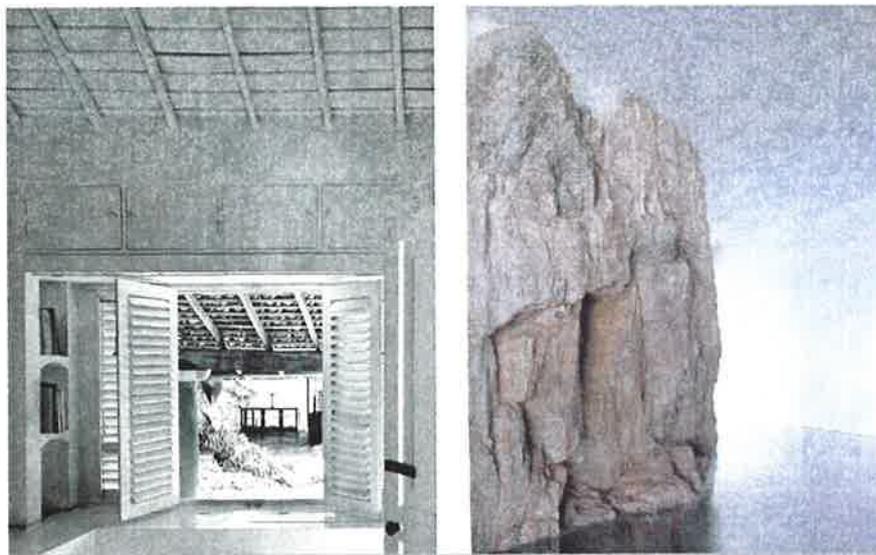


Figure 108
Ena da Silva House,
1960. Geoffrey Bawa.
Colombo, Sri Lanka.
Frampton, Correa and
Robson, eds., *Modernity
and Community*, 24.

Figure 109
Kandalama Hotel,
1991. Geoffrey Bawa.
Sri Lanka.
Frampton, Correa and
Robson, eds., *Modernity
and Community*, 31.

Çelik is critical of this stance. In "Third World Architects" she speculates on Bawa's silence; "perhaps Bawa's reluctance to verbalize results from not having a social program and not attempting to reform society through his architecture."¹⁷³ Catering to an elite clientele, "Bawa does not address the crucial Third World problems, such as mass shelter, urbanization, rural planning, resettlement, and so forth."¹⁷⁴ In Sri Lanka, crucial problems could be extended to the ongoing, volatile political situation. The absence of Bawa's position in relation to the violent assertions of identity as civil war rages is notable. While the rich cultural history of Sri Lanka is celebrated in the Award literature and other representations of Bawa's work, contemporary cultural differences are suppressed in texts that highlight a unified and often idyllic setting. The most notable absence relates to the Tamil Tigers' militant claims for independence, a

¹⁷⁰ Geoffrey Bawa, "Gracefully Horizontal University Buildings Overlooking the Sea," *Architecture* 77, no. 9 (Sept 1988): 58.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 60.

¹⁷² Bawa, "Statement by the Architect," 18.

¹⁷³ Zeynep Çelik, "Third World Architects," *Design Book Review*, no. 19 (Winter 1991), 49.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 49.

conflict costing over 50,000 lives between 1983 and 1997 and the destruction of many prominent buildings, including Sri Lanka's holiest Buddhist temple in 1997.¹⁷⁵ In the Award literature emphasis is given to hybridity in the past, and its resonance in contemporary Sri Lankan culture subsumes hotly contested differences.

Geographer James Duncan identifies this tendency a century earlier in the context of British administration, tourism and settlement. British visitors to Ceylon were taken by the familiarity of the place. Duncan argues that Ceylon presented a visual environment that corresponded to a conditioned, picturesque way of seeing the world. While the mountainous highlands corresponded to a penchant for (European) alpine majesty, the signs of decline, decay and ruin matched an orientalist vision. However, this vision was tempered by the tropical alterity of the site and there could be no mistake that the climate, the people and the customs were exceedingly unfamiliar. Duncan proposes that British settlers sought to align the physical context with their picturesque vision. Plants were imported from Britain and gardens and hill stations were transformed in the Anglo-Chinese garden tradition to create "a bit of Britain in the tropics."¹⁷⁶ In this context, local difference was subsumed in this aesthetic vision of place.

Such erasure and inscription, both on the ground and in the imagination, could only succeed when the visual and the aesthetic were privileged over other ways of understanding the place, which was precisely what the picturesque demanded. And yet the irony is that this privileging of the visual entailed the visual erasing in the mind of that which the eye could clearly see.¹⁷⁷

Similarly, Bawa's resorts might be interpreted as a mediating strategy in the contested site of Sri Lanka, a picturesque world-making that panders to the expectations of the international tourist demanding an authentic experience. In the case of the Club Villa Hotel, Bentota, the site is traversed by a local train offering the opportunity for engagement in the local context. Taylor and Khan propose that this "brings with it a touch of reality from the outside world."¹⁷⁸ However, unlike the multi-sensory engagement with the landscape this experience is primarily visual. Bawa's works do not necessarily offer opportunities to engage with cultural difference(s), nor do they suppress them. Given Bawa's elite commissions, he has been afforded the luxury to focus on a response to

¹⁷⁵ Otmar, *SBS World Guide*, 690.

¹⁷⁶ James Duncan, "Dis-Orientation: On the Shock of the Familiar in a Far-Away Place," in *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, ed. James Duncan and Derek Gregory (London: Routledge, 1999), 155.

¹⁷⁷ Duncan, "Dis-Orientation," 156.

¹⁷⁸ Hasan-Uddin Khan and Brain Brace Taylor, "Club Villa Hotel, Bentota," *Mimar* 25 (Sept 1987): 26.

site that is not complicated by the demands presented by Çelik. However, Bawa's meticulous and observant attention to the phenomena of site and the potential of architecture to transcend notions of cultural difference or distinctions between East and West raises provocative questions: Should a response to these contested identities be expected? To what extent can architecture enable reform? To what degree is architecture independent of politics?

Such references could be multiplied. Recognising the many contexts with which Bawa was familiar, Taylor proposes that Bawa's work, like that of Carlo Scarpa's Venetian projects, "abounds with layers of successive 'images of the world', where oriental and Western traditions were intermingled. There exists in the work of both artists a measure of collage, of a very refined sort, whereby references to the past are given legitimacy previously excluded from modern architecture."¹⁷⁹ However, Bawa fails to acknowledge explicit references. While Bawa's work is distanced from a social programme his reluctance to verbalise architecture also raises questions about the potential of architecture to fix identity. Bawa asserts a contextual response to site in terms of topography, climate and the experiential qualities of site. However, Bawa refuses to engage in identity politics. While this approach might be dismissed as apolitical, it raises questions about the potential role of architecture as a vehicle for the representation of regional, cultural, ethnic or national difference. Thus, Bawa suspends an essential relationship between architecture and identity. While his many projects erode physical boundaries between interior and exterior space, his work might be perceived as a metaphor for practice that transcends ideologies of identity.

7.4 SUMMARY

This penultimate chapter has sought to reflect on the writing and practices of several Award participants and prize-winners who are distinguished in the context of the AKAA by their ambivalent attitudes to identity and its potential manifestation in architecture. In different ways, I have proposed that these individuals enhance the AKAA process of re-thinking Islamic architecture that is encouraged through the unique synthesis of dialogue and project identification, research and representation that coincides with the selection and praise of individual prize-winners.

When the Award was launched, a search for unified meaning in architecture was not unique to the Award. Indeed as Kolb argues, this search has been consistent amongst key architectural practitioners and

¹⁷⁹ Taylor, *Geoffrey Bawa*, 14-15.

theorists since the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁰ The present thesis has demonstrated expectations to identify architecture as a distinct expression of Islam in the nineteenth century. It has further identified the resonance of this expectation in contemporary discourses of Islamic architecture. These are acknowledged by way of this critique of the AKAA. The invitation extended by the Award Secretariat to prominent scholars affiliated with different discourses of Islamic architecture—conservation, typology, regionalism or symbolism—has aligned the Award with these discourses. Considered independently, these discourses tend to sustain the possibility of a unified architectural expression of Islam. At the same time, the Award has presented a forum for the expression of aspirations for independent Islamic identity. While these aspirations are not the exclusive focus of the Award, they partly replace Orientalist identifications of the Islamic ‘other’ with assertions of Islamic ‘self’ and expectations to manifest this in architecture.

As we have examined, these different perspectives on architecture and Islam are brought together through the Award’s unique “space for freedom.” In the Award seminar publications such different perspectives are captured in the form of a dialogue. Individual seminar papers are published together with multiple, often conflicting, responses. While the Award seminars are increasingly infrequent, each publication of the triennial Award cycle continues to juxtapose articles that reveal different attitudes to architecture and Islam. This approach has diffused any potentially homogeneous representation of a uniform relationship between architecture and a “spirit of Islam.” Part II has demonstrated how the Award is increasingly sophisticated in its articulation of the complexities of the Islamic world, including complicated physical, cultural and socio-economic realities that Muslim communities face. Thus, the Award constitutes a departure from much of the existing literature on Islamic architecture, by predominantly European and North American scholars, where Islam is represented as a uniform religious and cultural entity, as well as the legacy of nineteenth century expectations to represent architecture as a distinct material expression of Islam. While there are exceptions to this tendency, as I have attempted to articulate in this thesis, the Award is further distinguished by its focus on contemporary practice. By communicating a heterogeneous perspective on Islam and architecture, the Award manifests a re-thinking of Islamic architecture.

This heterogeneous perspective is complemented by the selection of increasingly diverse projects. This continues with the announcement of

¹⁸⁰ Kolb, *Postmodern Sophistications*, 172.

the ninth round of prize-winners on November 27, 2004.¹⁸¹ Given the attention to the circumstances within which each project is realised, the Award literature is not limited to abstract theoretical reflection removed from the material realities of architectural practice. With its multi-vocal discourse, the multiple projects identified and rewarded, and the detailed research that is devoted to short-listed projects, and the multi-media format of representation, the AKAAs constitute a strategy to represent architecture and Islam that is not monolithic, even though it gives priority to Muslim communities.

This shift in thinking is pronounced in the case of seemingly ambiguous prize-winners and contributions by a handful of participants. Through his participation as a seminar speaker, writer, Steering Committee member and Master Juror, Mohammed Arkoun has demonstrated the most consistent efforts to displace a homogeneous portrait of Islam and a strict dichotomy between Islam and the West. These efforts are set against his vehement critique of ongoing assertions of Islamic identity in opposition to the West in theological, political, national or economic quarters. Arkoun has proved to be an influential participant. Key phrases he has coined (“rupture” and “space for freedom”) recur in the Award literature, although, the usage is often at variance with Arkoun’s writing. Moreover, as a historian of Islamic thought, Arkoun’s writing tends to coexist with the representation of prize-winners. He proposes that individual projects are not subject to the rigorous interdisciplinary critiques that he and other non-architect participants are able to offer. In his most recent reflections on the AKAAs phenomenon in 1998, he considers deliberation over the prize-winners and interdisciplinary debate that addresses the contexts within which such prize-winning projects are built to be mutually exclusive.

This gap between the identification and representation of AKAAs prize-winners and critical discussion about the contradictions of identity and whether or not it can be materialised in form, becomes more pronounced when one considers the critical debates that surround the work of individuals like Mona Hatoum, Jean Nouvel or Charles Correa beyond the AKAAs context (notably that of Said, Binn and Prakash respectively).

While Hatoum’s work is located within the visual arts, projects by Nouvel, Correa and Bawa raise questions about the conflation of architectural form and identity, or the possibility of materialising Islamic identity. I have argued that Correa’s work unfolds in a contested cultural landscape amidst expectations for a materialisation of Indian identity in

¹⁸¹ AKDN, *Recipients of the 2004 Aga Khan Award for Architecture Announced by India’s Prime Minister and His Highness the Aga Khan*, Press Release, AKDN, <http://www.akdn.org/news/2004Nov27.html> (accessed Dec 2, 2004).

architecture. While the Award literature emphasises Correa's response to ethnicity and region through clever formal devices, I have argued that his work is a response to both the Indian context and the simultaneous impact of international ideas and technologies. Other projects are equally ambiguous choices for Aga Khan Awards, including the Datai Resort by Kerry Hill Architects or the IMA by Jean Nouvel. However, this ambiguity is pronounced in the case of Correa and Bawa. The architects themselves question an essential relationship between specific cultural/religious beliefs and specific form-making practices. Bawa, in particular, is reluctant to translate his practice into text.

The work of Bawa is emblematic of the notion of "building together" amidst disparate identity claims in Sri Lanka, including assertions of Islamic identity. The work of both Bawa and Charles Correa meets the AKAA criteria for architectural excellence. In this light, awards for their work are not contentious. However, I have argued that the overriding message of the Award is a search for architecture that meets the needs and aspirations of Muslim communities. It is difficult to isolate Muslim communities in the context of Bawa's or Correa's work. Thus, I have argued that the Award tends to localise "a regional/national/global nexus," as James Clifford might describe it, in its emphasis on Muslim communities.¹⁸² Beyond the Award's praise for Bawa, he has been celebrated for the expression of national, cultural and regional identity in his work. It is difficult to delimit Bawa's work as an expression of singular identity. His work responds to local peculiarities as well as international stimuli.

While they remain ambiguous selections, Bawa's Chairman's Award, the selection of Vidhan Bhavan, and the publication of statements by these architects in the Award literature, exemplify the evolution of the AKAA and the way it is re-thinking Islamic architecture. However, this evolution, this process of re-thinking, tends to be implicit. These projects and others are not subject to extended, critical discussion of identity politics in architecture. Instead, the message of a heterogeneous Muslim community engaged in global interactions as a context within which new buildings are conceived remains a message that is inferred through the juxtaposition of images and viewpoints, rather than the publication of extended, project-specific, critical discussion. In this chapter I have endeavoured to clarify this shift in thinking that remains implicit in the Award literature, with reference to specific projects and architects.

¹⁸² Clifford, *Routes*, 24.

8 Conclusions and Recommendations

This bipartite thesis was inspired in its conceptualisation and structure by the provocative writing of anthropologist James Clifford. I have argued that the metaphor of cultural *roots* describes the preoccupation with architecture as an essential expression of Islamic culture articulated since the formation of the discourse on Islamic architecture by European scholars in the nineteenth century. However, this thesis is further motivated by Clifford's case for cultural *routes*, recognised as part of an interdisciplinary shift away from essentialist representations of culture. This shift in thinking inspired the core question for the present study: *How does the Aga Kahn Award for Architecture manifest a re-thinking of Islamic architecture since the formation of the discourse in the nineteenth century?*

Through an analysis and critique of the Award's activities and contributions since 1977, considered in light of the legacy of scholarship on Islamic architecture since the nineteenth century, I have shown that the Award manifests a shift away from pervasive representations of Islamic architecture as 'other'. While this shift in thinking is evident in an increasing number of recent critiques of nineteenth century scholarship, such a dynamic reading of architecture and Islam has received minor attention in discussions focusing on contemporary practice. I have thus argued that the paradigm of encounter offers a conceptual framework to understand interactions within and beyond Islamic cultures and the complexities of architectural practice that cannot be limited to discrete representations of isolated cultural production.

The paradigm of encounter has proved valuable to reflect on architectural production amidst complex cultural interactions. This paradigm presents insights into motives to represent cultural identity. 'Self' and 'other' are heightened in the context of encounter. This underpins the identification in this thesis of expectations to represent Islamic architecture as 'other' in European scholarship as well as postcolonial aspirations for the representation of Islamic architecture as an expression of 'selfhood', which partly motivated the foundation of the AKAAs.

The intent of this thesis is not to dispute the authenticity or relevance of pledges for identity. Rather, it draws attention to plural, coexistent identities. Moreover, the contingencies of encounter—engagement, cohabitation, interaction, and transformation—complicate identity formation and its representation. I have shown that assertions of 'self' and 'other' are not static. 'Self' and 'other' can be transformed through encounter. Through successive encounters 'self' and 'other' is revised.

Identity—‘selfhood’ or ‘otherness’—is in a constant state of flux. It is rarely homogeneous.

Thus, identity is an elusive phenomenon that resists crystallisation in text or materialisation in architecture. While identity is mobile, architecture is permanent, stable and immobile. Efforts to write ‘Islamic’ architecture or to build ‘Islamic’ architecture are at odds with this phenomenon. The permanence of architecture is at odds with the mobility of identity. Identity formations elude fixing in architecture. The paradigm of encounter enables an understanding of the limits of such representations given the interactive contexts within which architecture is built.

The paradigm of encounter was adopted to revisit the contexts in which some of the most pervasive representations of Islamic architecture were formed because it displaces essentialist representations of identity and cultural difference. The formation of the discourse of Islamic architecture can be traced to the nineteenth century. This emerges in the context of increasing encounters between Islam and the West. The extended itinerary of the Grand Tour, together with scholarly expeditions, precipitated early expectations to differentiate Islamic architecture in image and text, and expectations to build Islamic architecture as an expression of identity, including Islamic identity. These representations emerge in the context of European colonial expansion and the impetus to acquire knowledge of the colonial ‘other’, including the ‘otherness’ of Islam, as a corollary of imperial power. Conceived within this context, the International Exhibitions presented a stage to represent different cultures as an expression of imperial power. These tendencies are well recognised in critiques of Orientalism and architectural Orientalism inspired by Edward Said, and evident in the critical scholarship of Mark Crinson, Zeynep Çelik, Leila Kinney, and others.

However, by shifting the emphasis to nineteenth century encounters and the travelling context of representation, I have drawn attention to the chameleon nature of identity and the tenuous relationship to architecture. This overview of the travelling context within which formative studies of Islamic architecture were made reveals “entanglement at intersecting regional, national and transnational levels.”¹ This complicates the feasibility of representing essential difference, pointing to the limits of crystallising the ‘Islamic’ in text, or materialising the ‘Islamic’ in architecture.

¹ James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 7.

In the case of the Grand Tour, 'otherness' was continually revised as destinations became familiar and travellers explored new frontiers. The Grand Tour was largely characterised by individual travel and it tended to generate picturesque images of the 'other'. However, 'otherness' was consistently revised: Italian, Spanish, Islamic, Oriental. Scholarly expeditions trained an increasingly empirical eye on the built environment inspiring efforts to define Islamic architecture. However, these studies were increasingly abstracted from the context represented. Architectural historians expected to differentiate Islamic architecture from Christian architecture. Their taxonomic surveys were arranged accordingly. Yet, these surveys were increasingly fragmented to accommodate the diversity of Islamic architecture. Exceptional projects could not be reduced to clearly identifiable 'Islamic' formal characteristics.

The paradigm of encounter draws attention to the constant realignment of boundaries of 'self' and 'other'. At the International Exhibition identities were increasingly fragmented as national rivals, civic authorities and colonial settlements asserted their differences. Moreover, the reciprocal context of imperialism generated the constant re-invention of material expressions of 'self' and 'other'. Difference was asserted visually, but pavilions were ephemeral. Expressions of identity were invented and re-invented in comparative, successive exhibitions. The complicated relationship between architecture and identity extends beyond the exhibition. Observation of building projects in Britain, and abroad, revealed the contingency of architectural practices shaped by disparate, contextual economic, material, practical or environmental constraints. Architectural practice cannot be reduced to singular expressions of identity.

Inspired by Said, this positioning of nineteenth century representations of Islamic architecture in the context of encounters between Islam and the West has received reasonable attention in recent studies focusing on European colonisation. It has been my intention to explore the possibility of understanding contemporary architectural practices from this perspective, that is, through the paradigm of encounter. On the one hand, I have argued that the AKAAs inherited the concept of architectural *rootedness* that can be traced to the nineteenth century. On the other hand, I have argued that the AKAAs have, over a thirty-year period, evolved to articulate a more dynamic conception of architecture and Islam, the possibility of architectural *routes*.

The condition of inheritance is important here. In this thesis the Award is treated as part of the legacy of European scholarship. Despite the fact that a Muslim spiritual leader conceived the Award and the focus of the

Award is on the agency of Muslim communities, the AKAA does not replace European representations of Islamic architecture as 'other' with conceptions of Islamic architecture as a materialisation of 'selfhood'. The AKAA has emerged as a prominent and commended international flagship for contemporary representations of Islamic architecture. This has been greatly enhanced by the Award's strategic alignment with cutting-edge intellectual institutions (Harvard and MIT), high profile scholars and architects and numerous (often expatriate) Muslim architects and scholars educated in leading European and North American universities (the Sorbonne, Yale, Cambridge, Architectural Association, Harvard). Given this double-edged hegemony, the AKAA is neither 'Islamic' nor 'Western'. In its very organisation and the dissemination of its material the AKAA complicates notions of identity, authorship and agency through its transgression of discrete geographical, institutional or disciplinary entities. It is a forum that brings together differing perspectives on architecture and Islam. The Award is ideally placed to re-think Islamic architecture as a creative response to global encounters today and the disparate forces impacting on Muslims.

The articulation of the Award's search for architectural excellence that meets the needs and aspirations of Muslim communities has become increasingly sophisticated during the course of the Award. The Aga Khan and the Secretariat and the successive Steering Committees encourage ongoing debate on the issues facing Muslims. These issues are articulated in different debates, including conservation, new building projects, environmental sensitivity, religious symbolism, infrastructure projects and technology. These debates share a common thread with their emphasis on the role of the built environment as a locus for cultural identity that can be sustained through visual continuity, the reinvigoration of community vitality, or the correlation with aspirations for progress. In this way, the Award continues to promote aspirations for expressions of identity in architecture. Moreover, emphasis on identity—whether it is articulated in terms of Islam, Arabism, nationhood, Palestine, community or progress—means that an oppositional politics of identity have not been relinquished. Yet, the Award is distinctive for its heterogeneous portrait of Islam that transcends discourses of continuity (conservation, typology, vernacular architecture, critical regionalism), religious symbolism or local agency. Each of these discourses articulates the role of architecture as a potential medium of identity. However, the juxtaposition of these discourses in the Award's "space for freedom" reveals plural identities and a dynamic relation between architecture and Islam.

The Award is increasingly exploratory in its recognition of the heterogeneity of architecture that coexists with aspirations for identity.

Just as the Aga Khan himself maintains complicated relations between Islam and the West, individual participants are grappling with the notion of identity that is increasingly complicated in the context of global encounters.

To re-iterate Kolb, “intellectual and cultural space may have a strange discontinuous topology, but physical space remains stubbornly finite and continuous. Our buildings will stand together whether we do or not.”² Architecture has been claimed as a material expression of identity. Architecture has been written about and built as an expression of Islam. The ACAA has staged awarded projects as exemplars of architectural excellence in Muslim communities. However, my critique moves beyond the Award’s agenda of architecture for Muslim communities to show that while identity is inscribed in architectural discourses, the translation of identity claims to architectural practice is awkward. While the paradigm of encounter presents insights into the motives for identity claims, it also draws attention to the interactive circumstances of architectural practice. It is difficult to limit architecture to singular expressions of identity. Architecture is built amidst differences, even despite differences.

Given this focus on the paradigm of encounter as an impetus for both the materialisation of identity in architecture and the paradoxical production of architecture amidst encounters, this thesis gives rise to further avenues of research that are beyond the scope of the present thesis. This thesis focuses on Eurocentric or Western representations of Islamic architecture. The ACAA is treated as a part of this corpus of scholarship. However, the condition of historical encounters as a catalyst for assertions of identity and the possibility of representing Islamic architecture as a materialisation of ‘selfhood’ deserves further consideration. How do Muslim scholars, architects, clerics or politicians represent architecture and concomitant issues pertaining to ‘Islamic’ countries like democracy and human rights (in the case of sociologist and Master Juror Saad Eddin Ibrahim) or gender and equality (in the case of sociologist and Master Juror Norani Othman)?³ How do individuals who are outside the ACAA perceive Islamic architecture? How has this concept of ‘selfhood’ developed historically in relation to prominent socio-political moments: the dissolution of the Ottoman empire, colonial interventions, postcolonial independence and nationalism, the Iranian revolution or conflicts in the Balkans? In what ways is this notion of ‘selfhood’ fragmented into disparate identities (national, Arab, Sufi, modern, secular, revolutionary)? While this thesis has touched on these issues to locate the emergence of the ACAA, the focus of the thesis is

² Kolb, *Postmodern Sophistications*, 175.

³ Saad Eddin Ibrahim was imprisoned in 2000 for his investigation of fraud in the Egyptian election process.

how the ACAA (an ostensibly 'Muslim' phenomenon) is re-thinking Eurocentric discourses of Islamic architecture. Such perspectives of Islamic architecture from 'within' what is considered to be the Islamic world would reveal the historical and geographical complexity of regions where Islam is practiced and further complement the process of re-thinking that I have identified through this critique of the ACAA. Further study would explore the complexities of an emerging discourse on Islamic architecture as a materialisation of 'selfhood'.

The present thesis also gives rise to further research on contemporary projects as an adjunct to the activities of the Award. This study has considered specific projects and how they are staged as exemplars of Islamic architecture. It has further considered the attitudes of individual architects to issues of identity and its potential materialisation in architecture, including Jean Nouvel, Charles Correa and Geoffrey Bawa. In the context of this thesis their reluctance to conflate architecture and identity is examined for the purposes of demonstrating the diversity of thinking articulated in the Award's "space for freedom." By challenging a fixed relationship between architecture and identity, I have argued that this enhances the Award's re-thinking of Islamic architecture. While the intent of this thesis has been to de-essentialise the relationship between architectural form and identity and place, this thesis gives rise to the need for further examination on what the political or ideological agendas might be within which buildings are realised, plural agendas that transcend religious or cultural differences. While Nouvel or Bawa are reluctant to engage in identity politics in their approach to practice, it has not been my intention to discuss the implications of such agendas. Future research, grounded in fieldwork and ethnography would provide insights into the shifting conditions of contemporary practice as well as an understanding of how various stakeholders relate to the site/project in question.

The most radical possibilities for future research that arise from the present thesis relate to the concept of 'Islamic Routes'. By privileging encounters and circumstances of cross-pollinations between Islamic and other cultures (whether by force, transculturation, assimilation or otherwise) as constitutive of architecture there is the potential to explore the plural meanings of given forms where architecture is subjected to different interpretations, by different peoples, in different historical periods. Viewed in the context of encounters, prominent 'Islamic' buildings like Hagia Sofia, the Dome of the Rock or The Alhambra, or buildings in specific geographical contexts that are characterised by encounters, like the Maghrib, Anatolia, Sicily, India, Indonesia or Central Asia, can be re-encountered with reference to their disparate inhabitants/visitors/subjects.

In this light, it is feasible to propose that the whole history of architecture could be *re-routed* through the paradigm of encounter.

In conclusion, recognition of travel and encounter provide clues for intensifying and enriching the debate about architecture as an activity that transcends isolating discourses of identity. Thus, this thesis has captured the contradictions of identity formation in relation to architecture practices that travel globally, in the past as they will in the future.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

**TRIENNIAL MASTER JURY REPORTS
AND LISTS OF AWARDED PROJECTS**

Appendix 1

NOTE:

This appendix is included on pages 262-279 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

APPENDIX 2

**TRIENNIAL STEERING COMMITTEE
AND MASTER JURY PARTICIPANTS**

Appendix 2

TRIENNIAL STEERING COMMITTEE AND MASTER JURY PARTICIPANTS

1978-1980

STEERING COMMITTEE

The Aga Khan
Nader Ardalan
Garr Campbell
Sir Hugh Casson
Charles Correa
Hassan Fathy
Oleg Grabar
Doğan Kuban
William Porter

MASTER JURY

Titus Burckhardt
Sherban Cantacuzino
Giancarlo de Carlo
Muzharul Islam
Aptullah Kuran
Mona Serageldin
H.E. Soedjatmoko
Kenzo Tange
Mahbub ul-Haq

1981-1983

STEERING COMMITTEE

The Aga Khan
Sherban Cantacuzino
Sir Hugh Casson
Charles Correa
Oleg Grabar
Renata Holod
Hasan-Uddin Khan
Mohammed Makiya
Kamil Khan Mumtaz
William Porter

MASTER JURY

Turgut Cansever
Rifat Chadirji
Habib Fida-Ali
Mübeccel Kiray
Charles Moore
İsmail Serageldin
Roland Simounet
James Stirling
Parid Wardi bin Sudin

1984-1986

STEERING COMMITTEE

The Aga Khan
Mohammed Arkoun
Charles Correa
Oleg Grabar
Hasan-Uddin Khan
William Porter
İsmail Serageldin

MASTER JURY

Mahdi Elmandjra
Abdel W. el-Wakil
Hans Hollein
Ronald Lewcock
Fumihiko Maki
Mehmet Doruk Pamir
H.E. Soedjatmoko
Zahir Ud-deen Khwaja
Robert Venturi

1987-1989

STEERING COMMITTEE

The Aga Khan
Selma al-Radi
Mohammad Arkoun
John de Monchaux
Hasan-Uddin Khan
Charles Moore
İsmail Serageldin

MASTER JURY

Esin Atil
Rasem Badran
Geoffrey Bawa
Charles Correa
Kamran Diba
Oleg Grabar
Saad Eddin Ibrahim
Hasan Poerbo
William Porter

1990-1992**STEERING COMMITTEE**

The Aga Khan
 Selma al-Radi
 Mohammad Arkoun
 John de Monchaux
 Arif Hasan
 Ronald Lewcock
 Charles Moore
 Ismaïl Serageldin
 Muhammad Yunus

MASTER JURY

Balkrishna V. Doshi
 Frank O. Gehry
 Renata Holod
 Fumihiko Maki
 Adhi Moersid
 Azim Nanji
 Ali Shuaibi
 Dogan Tekeli
 Saïd Zulficar

1993-1995**STEERING COMMITTEE**

The Aga Khan
 Sir Bernard Feilden
 Frank Gehry
 Arif Hasan
 Renata Holod
 Nurcholish Madjid
 Ali Shuaibi
 Dogan Tekeli

MASTER JURY

Mohammad Arkoun
 Nayyar Ali Dada
 Peter Eisenman
 Charles Jencks
 Mehmet Konuralp
 Luis Monreal
 Darmawan Prawirohardjo
 Ismaïl Serageldin
 Alvaro Siza

1996-1998**STEERING COMMITTEE**

The Aga Khan
 Selma al-Radi
 Balkrishna V. Doshi
 Peter Eisenman
 Charles Jencks
 Adhi Moersid
 Luis Monreal
 Azim Nanji
 Ali Shuaibi

MASTER JURY

Mohammad Arkoun
 Saleh al-Hathloul
 Zaha Hadid
 Arif Hasan
 Arata Isozaki
 Fredric Jameson
 Romi Khosla
 Yuswadi Saliya
 Dogan Tekeli

1999-2001**STEERING COMMITTEE**

The Aga Khan
 Selma al-Radi
 Charles Correa
 Kenneth Frampton
 Frank O. Gehry
 Zaha Hadid
 Luis Monreal
 Azim Nanji
 Ali Shuaibi

MASTER JURORS

Darab Diba
 Abdou Filali-Ansari
 Dogan Hasol
 Zahi Hawass
 Mona Hatoum
 Ricardo Legorreta
 Glenn Murcutt
 Norani Othman
 Raj Rewal

**BIOGRAPHIES:
TRIENNIAL STEERING COMMITTEE
AND MASTER JURY PARTICIPANTS**

The following biographies are obtained from different sources, identified in each case. Many of them do not derive from the Award literature. Hence, these biographies were written at different times and for different purposes. The biographies have not been updated with new career details since the time they were published, although, the most recent biography of an individual has been included where possible. The biographies are quoted in their entirety, unless otherwise indicated (...). In the case of lengthy biographies, key biographical data has been extracted. Information pertaining to participants' roles as Steering Committee members and/or Master Jurors (listed above), or AKAA prize-winners (included in Appendix 1) has been omitted for the purpose of brevity. In the case of the Aga Khan, only limited material is included in this Appendix since his life and work has been addressed extensively in the main body of this thesis.

Aga Khan.¹ His Highness the Aga Khan became Imam of the Shia Imami Ismaili Muslims on July 11, 1957 at the age of 20, succeeding his grandfather, Sir Sultan Mahomed Shah Aga Khan. He is the 49th hereditary Imam of the Shia Imami Ismaili Muslims and a direct descendant of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) through his cousin and son-in-law, Ali, the first Imam, and his wife Fatima, the Prophet's daughter.

Saleh al-Hathloul.² Saudi Arabian educator and a critic in the field of architecture, with interests in epistemology, structural changes in society and futurist studies. He received a master's degree in urban design from Harvard University (1975) and a PhD in architecture from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1981). He was an assistant professor and chair of the department of architecture at King Saud University in Riyadh from 1981 to 1984, and chairman of the board of Al-Umran (the Saudi Arabian Society for Architects and Planners) from its inception in 1989 until 1993. Dr Al-Hathloul served as a jury member of the Award organisation of Arab Cities for the past three cycles. He is the author of numerous books and articles in planning and architecture, of which *The Arab Muslim City* (1994) is the best known. Since 1984 Dr Al-Hathloul has been deputy minister for town planning, Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, with the responsibility of directing and supervising all national, regional and local planning in the kingdom.

Nayyar Ali Dada.³ Pakistani architect whose numerous works have been recognised both at home and abroad. He pioneered the cause of conservation in Pakistan, and is a founding member of the Lahore Conservation Society. Mr Dada is devoted to the education of young architects, and has been a lecturer at Lahore's National College of Arts since 1965; he was named a Fellow of the College in 1976. Mr Dada is actively involved in the creative arts in Pakistan, both as a watercolourist and as the director of a private gallery, and is a board member of and adviser to many cultural institutions. In 1992 Mr Dada was presented with the President's Pride of Performance Award for his services to Pakistan.

¹ Extract from AKAA, "His Highness the Aga Khan," AKDN, <http://www.akdn.org/hh/highness.html> (accessed Jun 22, 2005).

² Cynthia C. Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future: Contemporary Architecture in Islamic Societies* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 172.

³ Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 170.

Selma al-Radi⁴ is an Iraqi archaeologist, and a research associate at New York University. She has worked in Yemen since 1977. In 1983, she undertook the restoration of the 16th century Madrasa al-Amiryah in the town of Rada', and is currently overseeing the final phase of the project and the restoration of the internal wall paintings. Also in Yemen, she is now completing the rehabilitation of the complex of Imamate palaces at the National Museum in Sana'a, and preparing the catalogue of the museum collections for publication. Dr. al-Radi has excavated in Iraq, Egypt, Kuwait, Cyprus, Syria, and Yemen, and has published in Arabic and English. She was a member of the 1986 and 1995 Award Technical Reviews.

Nader Ardalan⁵ (b. Tehran, 9 March 1939). Iranian architect, urban planner and writer. He studied architecture at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh (BA, 1961) and at Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (MArch, 1962). He worked in several firms in the USA, including Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, before returning to Iran to work for the National Iranian Oil Company (1964–6). In 1966 he became Design Partner for Iran's largest architectural firm, Abdul Aziz Farman Farmaian & Associates, in Tehran, and in 1972 he set up his own practice in Tehran, the Mandala Collaborative. Ardalan, whose work ranges from private residences to master plans for new towns, is one of the most important architects to emerge from Iran in the recent past. His work reflects his particular concern for cultural and ecological aspects of architecture; in Iran it is strongly rooted in an understanding of the traditions and forms of Iranian Islam, although his buildings are in a totally contemporary idiom

...

In 1977 Ardalan moved to the USA, continuing his practice in Boston and undertaking work in Pakistan, France, Israel and Turkey, for example the Old City Preservation Plan for Jerusalem (1984) and the Ankara Sheraton Hotel Centre (1985). He joined Jung/Brannen International, Boston, in 1983 and became a Principal Associate. His work in the USA covers planning, interior design and architecture ... He was appointed Visiting Professor at Harvard and at Yale University, New Haven, CT.

Mohammad Arkoun⁶ French academician of Algerian origin, is Emeritus Professor of the History of Islamic Thought at the Sorbonne (Paris III), and visiting professor at universities in the United States, Europe and the Muslim world. Professor Arkoun's work and interests concentrate on classical Islam and contemporary issues of Islam facing modernity. He is associated with several European initiatives to rethink and reshape the relationship between, Europe, Islam and the Mediterranean world, and is the author of numerous publications including *L'Humanisme arabe au IVe/Xe siècle* (1982), *Pour une critique de la raison islamique* (1984), *Arab Thought* (1988), and *Rethinking Islam: Common Questions – Uncommon Answers* (1993).

Esin Atil,⁷ a native of Turkey who resides in Northern Virginia, received a PhD degree from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Dr. Atil has been the curator of Near Eastern art at the Smithsonian Institution's Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. and was also featured extensively as an expert scholar at last year's PBS Documentary on Ottomans and Islam: "Empire of Faith". Her books include: *Ceramics from the World of Islam*; *Islamic Art and Patronage*, *Treasures from Kuwait*; *Kalila wa Dimna*, *Fables from a 14th Century Arabic Manuscript*; *Renaissance of Islam*, *Art of the Mamluks*; *Suleymanname*, *The Illustrated History of Suleyman the Magnificent*; *The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent*; *Turkish Art*; *Turkish Art of the Ottoman Period*; *Voyages and Visions 19th Century European Images*.

⁴ AKAA, "Aga Khan Award for Architecture: The Eighth Award Cycle, 1999-2001," AKDN, <http://www.akdn.org/agency/akaa/eighthcycle/awards99-01.html> (accessed Jun 22, 2005).

⁵ Extract from Grove Dictionary of Art, "Artists' Biographies: Nader Ardalan," MacMillan Publishers, <http://www.artnet.com/library/00/0039/T003922.asp> (accessed Jun 28, 2005).

⁶ Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 172.

⁷ Sema Karaoglu (Founder), "Esin Atil," Daughters of Atatürk Organisation, <http://www.dofa.org/bios/us-c/atil.html> (accessed Jun 28, 2005).

Rasem Badran⁸ Rasem Badran's influence is rapidly spreading throughout the developing world. His work involves the full spectrum of the built environment, from urban planning to individual residences. He concentrates on making architecture that meets the social and cultural requirements of the people who use it, as well as being place-specific in response to environmental conditions. Born in Jerusalem in 1945, Badran was educated in Ramallah and then in Germany, which had a profound impact on his approach to design. His well-balanced education, beginning with a traveling apprenticeship with his father and continuing through a fertile and exciting time of experimental architecture in Europe, has allowed him to weave a systematically rational, Western methodology with the intuitive traditions inherent in his own cultural background.

Geoffrey Bawa⁹...was born in 1919 in what was then the British colony of Ceylon... In 1938 he went to Cambridge to read English, before studying law in London, where he was called to the Bar in 1944. After World War II he joined a Colombo law firm, but he soon tired of the legal profession and in 1946 set off on two years of travel that took him through the Far East, across the United States and finally to Europe.

...

In 1951 he was apprenticed to H H Reid, the sole surviving partner of the Colombo architectural practice Edwards, Reid and Begg. When Reid died suddenly a year later Bawa returned to England and, after spending a year at Cambridge, enrolled as a student at the Architectural Association in London, where he is remembered as the tallest, oldest and most outspoken student of his generation. Bawa finally qualified as an architect in 1957 at the age of thirty-eight and returned to Ceylon to take over what was left of Reid's practice. He gathered together a group of talented young designers and artists who shared his growing interest in Ceylon's forgotten architectural heritage, and his ambition to develop new ways of making and building.

...

He was joined in 1959 by Ulrik Plesner, a young Danish architect who brought with him an appreciation of Scandinavian design and detailing, a sense of professionalism and a curiosity about Sri Lanka's building traditions. The two formed a close friendship and a symbiotic working relationship that lasted until Plesner quit the practice in 1967 to return to Europe and Bawa was joined by the engineer K Poologasundram, who remained his partner for the next twenty years. The practice established itself as the most respected and prolific in Sri Lanka, with a portfolio that included religious, social, cultural, educational, governmental, commercial and residential buildings, creating a canon of prototypes in each of these areas. It also became the springboard for a new generation of young Sri Lankan architects.

Titus Burckhardt¹⁰ a German Swiss, was born in Florence in 1908 and died in Lausanne in 1984. He devoted all his life to the study and exposition of the different aspects of Wisdom and Tradition.

In the age of modern science and technocracy, Burckhardt was one of the most remarkable of the exponents of universal truth, in the realm of metaphysics as well as in the realm of cosmology and of traditional art. In a world of existentialism, psychoanalysis, and sociology, he was a major voice of the *philosophia perennis*, that "wisdom uncreate" that is expressed in Platonism, Vedanta, Sufism, Taoism, and other authentic esoteric or sapiential teachings. In literary and philosophic terms, he was an eminent member of the "traditionalist school" of twentieth-century authors.

...

⁸ Thames and Hudson, "Spring 2005 Books," Thames and Hudson, <http://www.Norton.com/thamesandhudson/new/spring05/534206.htm> (accessed Jun 28, 2005).

⁹ Extract from AKA, "Aga Khan Award for Architecture. The Eighth Award Cycle, 1999-2001: Lifetime Achievements of Geoffrey Bawa, Chairman's Award," AKDN, <http://www.akdn.org/agency/akaa/eighthcycle/bawa.html> (accessed Jun 28, 2005).

¹⁰ Extract from World Wisdom, "Author: Titus Burckhardt," Blackwell's Book Services, <http://www.worldvision.com/Public/Authors/Detail> (accessed Jun 28, 2005).

Titus Burckhardt was a contemporary of Frithjof Schuon—destined to become the leading exponent of traditionalist thought in the twentieth century—and the two spent their early school days together in Basle around the time of the First World War. This was the beginning of an intimate friendship and a deeply harmonious intellectual and spiritual relationship that was to last a lifetime.

Garr Campbell.¹¹ Award winning Landscape Architect and Design Consultant. Educated at Utah State University and Harvard University, Mr. Campbell's work has taken him to such exotic places as Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, India, Ireland, and France. While in France, Mr. Campbell was a member of His Highness The Aga Khan's staff and worked on several of the Aga Khan's private facilities and institutional projects. Locally, Mr. Campbell has designed numerous private residential gardens and has been awarded a design citation from the Utah Heritage Foundation for his work on one of these residences in Salt Lake City...

Turgut Cansever.¹² Born in Antalya in 1921. Graduated from the School of Architecture of the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul in 1946. PhD degree in Art History from the University of Istanbul in 1949. Lecturer in the School of Architecture on Construction 1946-1949 and on History of Architecture 1950-1952. Adviser on planning and architecture to the Municipality of Istanbul in 1957-1960...He was member of the National Award for Architecture of Honour in 1993.

Sherban Cantacuzino¹³ is an architect and a writer who specializes in architectural conservation. He is the author of, among other works, *New Uses for Old Buildings* and *What Makes a Good Building?* He has been a practicing architect, executive editor of *The Architectural Review*, and secretary of the Royal Fine Art Commission. He was a member of the architectural conservation grant committee of the Getty Grant Program from 1992 until 1998.

Sir Hugh Maxwell Casson¹⁴ (23 May 1910 – 15 August 1999) was a British architect, interior designer, artist, and influential writer and broadcaster on 20th century design. He is particularly noted for his role as director of architecture at the 1951 Festival of Britain on London's South Bank.

...

Hugh Casson studied at Eastbourne College in East Sussex, then St John's College, Cambridge (1929-1931), after which he spent time at the Bartlett School of Architecture in London. Up to the start of the Second World War in 1939, he divided his time between teaching at the Cambridge School of Architecture and working in the London office of his Cambridge tutor Christopher (Kit) Nicholson. During the war, he worked in the Camouflage Service of the Air Ministry.

...

After the war, and alongside his Festival work, Casson went into partnership with young architect Neville Conder. Their projects included ... a building for the Royal College of Art (where Casson was Professor of Interior Design from 1955 to 1975) ... As a leading light in the fine arts, Casson also served as Provost of the Royal College of Art and, after being elected in 1970, was President of the Royal Academy (1976-1984).

¹¹ Extract from "Art of the Gardener: A Walking Tour of Private Gardens," Utah Museum of Fine Arts, <http://www.vandyck.anu.edu.au/work/teah/context/www.utah.edu/umfa/artgardpr.html> (accessed Jun 28, 2005).

¹² Extract from "Turgut Cansever," A+U: Architecture and Urbanism, <http://www.japan-architect.co.jp/English/2maga/au/magazine/2000/au07/architect/cansever.html> (accessed Jun 28, 2005).

¹³ Sherban Cantacuzino and Caroline King, "Conservation of Monuments and Sites," The J. Paul Getty Trust, Fall 1999, http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications/newsletters/14_3/feature_1_4.html (accessed Jun 28, 2005).

¹⁴ Extract from "Hugh Casson," Wikipedia, <http://www.answers.com/topic/hugh-casson> (accessed Jun 28, 2005).

Rifat Chadirji.¹⁵ The second Chairman's Award was given in 1986 to Rifat Chadirji, Iraqi architect, critic and teacher, for a lifetime dedicated to the search for an appropriate contemporary architectural expression that synthesises elements of the rich Islamic cultural heritage with key principles of the international architecture of the 20th century. Chadirji believes that architecture's future lies in lessons learned from its past. His designs are transformations of regional forms that seek to express, by means of abstraction, the construction technologies in almost universal use today, while affirming the aesthetic values the latter engender.

The last assignment he took before leaving Iraq for the United States was to serve as Advisor to the Municipality of Baghdad, then engaged in planning the most extensive urban reconstruction in the history of that city. Although the war between Iraq and Iran halted this project, his vision of Baghdad's future townscape, in conjunction with the rest of his life's work, still serves to raise critical questions about the meanings of architecture in Islamic society and offers important examples for study. His built work, projects, teaching and writings have helped form a conscience and set goals for Arab and Muslim architects everywhere.

Charles Correa¹⁶ is an Indian architect, planner, activist, and theoretician who studied architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and the University of Michigan. He has taught and lectured at many universities, both in India and abroad, including MIT, Harvard University, the University of London, and Cambridge University, where he was Nehru Professor. Mr. Correa is known for the wide range of his architectural work in India and on urbanisation and low-cost shelter in the Third World, which he articulated in his 1985 publication, *The New Landscape*. His architectural designs have been internationally acclaimed and he has received many awards including the Royal Institute of British Architects Gold Medal in 1984, the Indian Institute of Architects Gold Medal in 1987, the International Union of Architects Gold Medal in 1990, and the Praemium Imperiale for Architecture from the Japan Art Association in 1994.

Giancarlo de Carlo¹⁷ was born in Genoa, Italy in 1919. He trained in Italy as an architect from 1942 to 1949, a time of political turmoil which generated his philosophy toward life and architecture. Libertarian socialism is the underlying force for all of his planning and design. De Carlo sees architecture as a consensus activity. He generates his designs from the inherent conflict that occurs in the site and historical context of architecture. His ideas link C.I.A.M. ideals with late twentieth century reality. Although his political beliefs have limited his portfolio of buildings, his ideas have remained untainted by postmodernist beliefs through his journal *Spazio e Società* and through his class on the International Laboratory of Architecture and Urban Design (I.L.A.U.D.), as well as through the support of his Team X colleagues.

John de Monchaux,¹⁸ who was dean of the School of Architecture and Planning from 1981 to 1992, is interested in urban design, site planning, housing design and policy, and the institutional and organizational processes that result in good architecture and good cities. In private practice as an architect and planner from 1960 to 1981, he participated in architectural, urban design and planning projects in Australia, Canada, Colombia, Indonesia, the Philippines, United Kingdom, and the United States. An active member of the local design community, de Monchaux has served on the boards of the Boston Society of Architects, the Boston Architectural Center, and the Boston Civic Design Commission, of which he was the founding chair. He has been a trustee of the Boston Foundation for Architecture and a trustee and overseer of the Museum of

¹⁵ AKAA, "Aga Khan Award for Architecture. The Third Award Cycle, 1984-1986: Lifetime Achievements of Rifat Chadirji Chairman's Awards," AKDN, http://www.akdn.org/agency/akaa/thirdcycle_chairman.html (accessed Jun 22, 2005).

¹⁶ AKAA, "The Eighth Award Cycle, 1999-2001," (accessed Jun 22, 2005).

¹⁷ "Giancarlo de Carlo," Wikipedia, <http://www.answers.com/topic/giancarlo-de-carlo> (accessed Jun 22, 2005).

¹⁸ Department of Architecture, "People: John de Monchaux," MIT, 2000-2003, <http://www.architecture.mit.edu/people/profiles/prdemonc.html> (accessed Jun 28, 2005).

Fine Arts, Boston. In 1988, he chaired the jury for the "Boston Visions" competition and in 1990, he was on the panel selecting an architect for the new World Bank building in Washington, DC. From 1992 to 1996 he served as general manager of The Aga Khan Trust for Culture in Geneva. With Mark Schuster he recently co-edited *Preserving the Built Heritage: Tools for Implementation* published in 1996 by the New England University Press. He currently serves as a member of the Advisory Committee to the architecture program at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. De Monchaux, who was named a Life Fellow of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects in 1988, received his BArch from Sydney University in 1960 and MArch in urban design from the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University in 1963. He was a Loeb Fellow at Harvard University in 1971. He is a member of the Royal Australian Planning Institute and an honorary member of the Boston Society of Architects.

Darab Diba¹⁹ is an Iranian architect, trained at the University of Geneva and the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Liège. Professor Diba teaches theory and history of architecture and conducts design studios at Tehran University's Faculty of Fine Arts. He is also chairman of the Art, Architecture and Urban Planning Department at the Islamic Azad University of Iran. Since 1985 he has been a member of the Iranian Ministry of Higher Education's Central Committee for Academic Architectural Programmes; he has also served as a consultant to the Iranian Ministry of Housing. As an architect in private practice, Professor Diba has built many projects throughout Iran. Widely published, his written works include *La Maison d'Ispahan* (2000), *Contemporary Architecture and Engineering in Iran* (1999), *Principles of Architectural Design* (1985, 1990), and *Art et Nature* (1974). He is also an artist and has organised a number of exhibitions of his sketches, drawings and paintings both in Iran and abroad.

Kamran Diba.²⁰ Architect in private practice in the United States and Spain.

Balkrishna V. Doshi.²¹ Indian architect, educator and academic. After initial study in Bombay, he worked with Le Corbusier in Paris (1951-54) as senior designer, and then in India to supervise Corbusier's projects in Ahmedabad and Chandigarh. Professor Doshi established the Vastu-Shilpa Foundation for studies and Research in Environmental Design in 1955, known for pioneering work in low-cost housing and city planning. Today, his internationally renowned projects are designed under the name of Vastu-Shilpa Consultants, with offices in Ahmedabad. As an academic, Professor Doshi has been visiting the USA and Europe since 1958, and has held important chairs in American universities. He has received numerous international awards and honours, including Padma Sri from the Government of India and an honorary doctorate from the University of Pennsylvania.

Peter Eisenman.²² American architect and educator. He is the Irwin S. Chanin Distinguished Professor at the Cooper Union in New York City and the principal of Eisenman Architects. Among his built projects are the Wexner center for the Arts and Fine Arts Library at Ohio State University in Columbus, completed in 1989, and a project for social housing at Checkpoint Charlie in Berlin. He has built two office buildings in Tokyo, a convention center in Columbus, Ohio, and the Aronoff Centre for Design and Art in Cincinnati, Ohio. Mr Eisenman was the founder and director of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, an international think-tank for architectural ideas, from 1967 to 1980.

¹⁹ Kenneth Frampton, Charles Correa, and David Robson, eds., *Modernity and Community: Architecture and the Islamic World* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001), 174.

²⁰ Robert Powell, ed. *The Architecture of Housing*, Proceedings of an International Seminar (Geneva: AKAA, 1990), 293.

²¹ Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 171.

²² *Ibid.*, 171.

Mahdi Elmandjra²³ taught international relations at the University of Rabat since 1958. He was President of the World Future Studies Federation and of Futuribles International (Paris), Founding President of the Moroccan Organization of Human Rights, and is a member of the African Academy of Sciences. He has published twenty books and over 700 articles in fifteen languages in the areas of human and social sciences. Mahdi Elmandjra graduated from Cornell (USA) and obtained his PhD from the London School of Economics. He was Director General of the Moroccan Broadcasting Service and Counsellor of Moroccan UN Mission. He held various positions in the UN System (1961 to 1981) including that of Assistant Director General of UNESCO for Social Sciences, Human Sciences and Culture. He was a Visiting Professor to Tokyo University (1998) and a Visiting Scholar of the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science (1999).

Abdel W. el-Wakil²⁴...was born in Cairo in 1943. He earned his degree in architecture from Ain Shams University where, from 1965 to 1970, he lectured in the Department of Architecture. From 1971, he went into private practice ... His works are found in mosques, residences and public buildings throughout the Middle East and include the residence of Sheikh Teymour Alireza in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, the Quba mosque in Medina and the King Saud Mosque in Jeddah. One of his latest projects include the construction of the new home of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, skilfully incorporating Islamic architectural traditions with the features of Oxford.

As one of the leading voices of contemporary Islamic architecture, Abdel Wahed El Wakil has contributed to numerous publications. Aside from publications on his architectural works, he has also contributed towards others including "On Creativity, Imagination, and the Design Process" (1989) and "Model and Metaphor in the Design of New Building Types in Saudi Arabia" (1988).

Hassan Fathy.²⁵ The first Chairman's Award was given in 1980 to Hassan Fathy, an Egyptian architect, artist and poet in acknowledgement of his lifelong commitment to architecture in the Muslim world. Early in his career he began to study the pre-industrial building systems of Egypt to understand their aesthetic qualities, to learn what they had to teach about climate control and economical construction techniques and to find ways to put them to contemporary use. Two such systems dominated his thinking: the climatically efficient houses of Mamluk and Ottoman Cairo, ingeniously shaded and ventilated by means of their two-storey halls, mashrabiyyas and courtyards; and the indigenous mud brick construction still to be found in rural areas.

...

Stimulated by what he had learned, Fathy had what was then a revolutionary idea. He perceived that a connection could be made between the continuing viability of mud brick construction and the desperate need of Egypt's poor to be taught once again to build shelter for themselves. In his lifetime he designed more than thirty projects including several villages for the poor. Experimental and unorthodox as his ideas were, more than two-thirds of his projects were either partially or completely realised. Still in use, and well cared for, are a series of modest private residences shaped by his profound understanding of vernacular design.

Sir Bernard Feilden,²⁶ British architect, has over forty years of architectural experience covering a wide range of buildings. He built up an award-winning provincial practice based on a philosophy of design in context and respect for the environment,

²³ "Mahdi Elmandjra," World Culture Forum Alliance, <http://www.wcfcorp.org/authorpage> (accessed Jun 22, 2005).

²⁴ Islamic Arts Museum, "A Foot in the Malaysian Arts Scene. TALK: The Works of El-Wakil in the Context of Living Tradition by Prof. Abdel Wahed El-Wakil," Kakiseni, <http://www.kakiseni.com/events/talks/NDI2Mg.html> (accessed Jul 04, 2005).

²⁵ Extract from AKA, "Aga Khan Award for Architecture. The First Award Cycle, 1978-1980: Lifetime Achievements of Hassan Fathy. Chairman's Awards," AKDN, http://www.akdn.org/agency/akaa/firstcycle_chairman.html (accessed Jun 28, 2005).

²⁶ Cynthia C. Davidson and Ismail Serageldin, eds. *Architecture Beyond Architecture: Creativity and Social Transformations in Islamic Culture* (London: Academy Editions, 1995), 174.

believing that architecture is a social art and should be humane. The successful conservation of Norwich Cathedral spire led to major works preventing the collapse of the central tower of York Minster and more involvement with the conservation of historic buildings. From 1977 to 1981, he was Director of the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property in Rome (ICCROM), when he initiated the restoration of the dome of the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, which received an Aga Khan Award for Architecture in 1986. Subsequently, he has made several missions on behalf of UNESCO, which included work on Taj Mahal. Recently, he has trained architects in conservation methods giving courses in China, India, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, as well as lecturing in Rome.

Habib Fida-Ali. Architect, Karachi.

Abdou Filali-Ansary,²⁷ is a Moroccan social scientist and is director of the King Abdul-Aziz Al Saud Foundation for Islamic Studies and Human Sciences in Casablanca. He obtained a doctorate in philosophy from the University of Dijon on the topic of 'The Notion of Intuition in the Philosophy of Spinoza and Bergson' and taught philosophy at the University of Rabat, before becoming secretary general of the University of Mohamed V in Rabat. Since 1994 he has been editor of *Prologues*, a scholarly journal devoted to literature throughout the Maghrib. Dr Filali-Ansary has published numerous articles on contemporary Islamic thought, including the recent essays 'The Challenge of Secularization' (*The Journal of Democracy*, Washington, DC, 1996) and 'Islam and Secularisation' (*Revista de Occident*, Madrid, 1997). His monograph entitled *Is Islam Hostile to Secularism?* was published by Editions Le Fennecin 1996.

Kenneth Frampton,²⁸ British architect and architectural historian, is Ware Professor of Architecture at Columbia University's Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation, and currently a visiting professor at the Academia di Architettura in Menrison, Switzerland. He was trained as an architect at the Architectural Association in London, and has worked as both an architect and architectural historian. Professor Frampton was a fellow of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, New York, from 1972 - 1982, and a Senior Tutor at the Royal College of Arts, London, from 1974 - 1977. He is the author of numerous influential publications, including *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (1980, 1985), *Modern Architecture and the Critical Present* (1983), *Modern Architecture: 1851 to 1945* (1981), and *Studies in Tectonic Culture* (1996).

Frank O. Gehry,²⁹ Canadian architect, is the principal in charge of Frank O. Gehry and Associates, Incorporated, which he established in 1962 in Los Angeles. Gehry received his Bachelor of Architecture degree from the University of Southern California and studied city planning at Harvard University Graduate School of Design. His architectural career spans three decades and has produced public and private buildings in America, Japan and, most recently, Europe. Gehry's work has been featured in major professional publications and national and international trade journals. In 1986, an exhibition entitled *The Architecture of Frank O. Gehry* travelled throughout North America from Minneapolis to Atlanta, Houston, Toronto and Los Angeles, ending at the Whitney Museum of Modern Art in New York City. In 1989, he was awarded the Pritzker Architecture Prize and was named a trustee of the American Academy in Rome. In 1992, he received the Wolf Prize in Art and the Japan Art Association's Praemium Imperiale Award in Architecture.

²⁷ Frampton and others, eds., *Modernity and Community*, 174.

²⁸ AKAA, "The Eighth Award Cycle, 1999-2001," (accessed Jun 22, 2005).

²⁹ Davidson and Serageldin, eds. *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 174.

Oleg Grabar,³⁰ Professor Emeritus at the Institute for Advanced Study in the School of Historical Studies at Princeton, has had a far-reaching and profound influence on the study of Islamic art and architecture. A native of Strasbourg, France, Grabar was born into an intellectual environment fostered by a highly-intellectual family that included his father, André Grabar, an eminent scholar in the field of Byzantine art. He received his PhD in Oriental Languages and Literatures and the History of Art (1955) from Princeton University. Oleg Grabar began his academic career in the early 1950s at a time when there were few historians of Islamic art in the United States. Now, fifty years on, Islamic art historians all over the world are indebted to Grabar's influence as a teacher and for his numerous publications and public lectures. During his first teaching post at the University of Michigan, Grabar earned a reputation as a superb undergraduate lecturer and seminar leader, and in 1968 he accepted a post as Professor of Fine Arts at Harvard University. He became the first Aga Khan Professor of Islamic Art and Architecture when that chair was established at Harvard in 1980 and joined the Institute for Advanced Study in the School of Historical Studies as Professor Emeritus in 1990, where he has since devoted himself full-time to lecturing and research. Professor Grabar is the author of some 18 books and more than 140 articles, and has received several prestigious awards, including the Levi Della Vida award for distinguished scholarship in the field of Islamic Studies from the University of California and the Charles Lang Freer Medal for distinguished contribution to the knowledge and understanding of Oriental civilisations as reflected in their arts from the Smithsonian Institution. He is currently editing a multi-volume publication of his previous articles, which will provide yet another valuable tool for generations of art historians to come.

Zaha Hadid.³¹ London-based architectural designer whose work encompasses all fields of design, ranging from large-scale urbanism to products, interiors, and furniture. Ms Hadid studied architecture at the Architectural Association (AA), London, where she was awarded the Diploma Prize in 1977. She then joined the Office of Metropolitan Architecture (OMA) and began teaching at the Architectural Association with OMA collaborators Rem Koolhaas and Elia Zenghreis; she later led her own studio at the AA until 1987. Her work was awarded wide international recognition in 1983 with her winning entry for the Hong Kong Peak Competition. This was followed by first-place awards for competitions in Kurfürstendamm, Berlin (1986); for an Art and Media Centre in Düsseldorf (1989); and for the Cardiff Bay Opera House (1994). In 1993 Ms Hadid's fire station for the Vitra furniture company opened to much public acclaim. Her IBA housing scheme in Berlin was completed in the same year. Ms Hadid's paintings and drawings are an important testing field for her ideas. They have been widely published and exhibited, in the 'Deconstructivist Architecture' show at the Museum of Modern Art (1998), the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University (1995) and the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art (1998). Her work was also featured in the Master's section of the 1996 Venice Biennale. In 1996 Ms Hadid was shortlisted as a finalist for the Victoria and Albert Museum's new Boilerhouse Gallery in London and for a Philharmonique in Luxemburg; her office is also joint winner of the Thames Water Habitable Bridge competition. Current work includes a housing scheme in Vienna and projects in London. Ms Hadid was awarded the Sullivan Chair for 1997 at the University of Illinois, Chicago, school of architecture and a guest professorship at the Hochschule für bildende Künste in Hamburg, also in 1997.

Arif Hasan.³² Pakistani architect and planner, teacher, social researcher and writer, studied architecture at the Oxford Polytechnic, England, from 1960 to 1965, and established an independent architecture practice in Karachi in 1968. He has been a consultant to various United Nations agencies, international organizations, non-governmental organizations and community groups both in the North and South. Mr Hasan is renowned for his involvement with low-income settlement programmes and is

³⁰ "Professor Oleg Grabar," The Institute of Ismaili Studies, http://www.iis.ac.uk/research/bio_notes/grabar.html (accessed Jun 22, 2005).

³¹ Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 172.

³² *Ibid.*, 172-173.

the architect of a large number of important residential, commercial and educational facilities in Pakistan. The Orangi Pilot Project to which he is consultant has attracted international attention and in 1990 the Japanese government presented Mr Hasan with its International Year for the Shelterless Memorial Award.

Doğan Hasol³³ is a Turkish architect, writer and publisher, who trained in architecture at Istanbul Technical University. Dr Hasol participated in the architectural journal *Mimarlık ve Sanat* during its founding years and was later editor-in-chief of *Mimarlık*, the monthly journal of the Turkish Chamber of Architects. From 1965 to 1966 he served as the secretary general of the Istanbul Branch of the Turkish Chamber of Architects. He founded Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi (the Turkish Building Centre) with a group of colleagues in 1968, and publishes the monthly architectural review *Yapı*. Dr Hasol is an honorary member of the International Union of Building Centres (UICB), of which he served as president from 1989 to 1995. He is also in private architectural practice in Istanbul. He has written extensively on architecture, including a trilingual dictionary of architecture and building in English, French and Turkish, and an encyclopaedia of architecture. He was made Doctor *honoris causa* by Istanbul Technical University in 1998, and by Yıldız Technical University in 1999.

Mona Hatoum³⁴ is an artist, born to a Palestinian family in Beirut. Since 1975 she has lived and worked in London, where she studied at Byam Shaw School of Art from 1975 to 1979, and at the Slade School of Art from 1979 to 1981. She has held artists' residencies in Britain, Canada and the United States, and has taught in London, Maastricht, Paris and Cardiff, where she was senior fellow at the Cardiff Institute of Higher Education from 1989 to 1992. Hatoum's work comprises video, performance, sculpture and installations, creating architectonic spaces that relate to the human body, and dealing with such themes as violence, oppression and the condition of exile. Her work has been exhibited widely in Europe, the United States and Canada. In 1997 a major survey of her work was organized by the Chicago Museum of Contemporary Art, and toured to the New Museum of Contemporary Art in New York, the Museum of Modern Art in Oxford, and the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art in Edinburgh. Other solo exhibitions have been held at the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris in 1994 and Castello di Rivoli in Turin in 1999. Hatoum was shortlisted for the prestigious Turner Prize in 1995, and her solo exhibition 'The Entire World as a Foreign Land' was the inaugural exhibition for the launch of Tate Britain in London in 2000.

Zahi Hawass³⁵ is an Egyptian archaeologist, director general of the Giza pyramids and the Saqqara necropolis. Awarded a Fulbright fellowship, he received his doctorate in Egyptology from the University of Pennsylvania in 1987. On the Giza plateau, Dr Hawass discovered and excavated the tombs of workmen who built the Great Pyramid of Cheops, and is now excavating a newly discovered pyramid that reveals, for the first time, evidence of the construction techniques of the great pyramids. The excavations have also revealed a pair of previously unknown statues of Rameses II. Dr Hawass directed the conservation of the Sphinx, completed in 2000, and is currently working on new approaches towards tourism and archaeology. He is a leading international spokesman on archaeology and Egyptology. He is the author of several monographs on the pyramids, on female royalty in ancient Egypt, and on Egyptology. Dr Hawass is a professor of archaeology at Cairo University and at the University of California at Los Angeles, and frequently lectures at universities throughout the world.

Hans Hollein³⁶ was born in Vienna in 1934. He studied at the Academy of Graphic Arts in Vienna, the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago and the University of California at Berkeley where he received his Masters in Architecture. After working in

³³ Frampton and others, eds., *Modernity and Community*, 174.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 174.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 174.

³⁶ Extract from Great Buildings Online, "Hans Hollein," Artifice Incorporated, 1994-2005, http://www.greatbuildings.com/architects/Hans_Hollein.html (accessed Jun 28, 2005).

several architecture offices in Australia, South America, Sweden and Germany he returned to Vienna and established a private practice in 1964.

Renata Holod,³⁷ Canadian specialist in the history of Islamic art and architecture, is professor and chair of the History of Art Department at the University of Pennsylvania. She has worked on a variety of topics, from archaeological investigations of Umayyad Syria and historical surveys of Isfahan, Yazd and other sites in Iran, to problems of contemporary architecture in the Islamic world. Professor Holod is currently at work on The Isfahan City Project, and *Architecture in Greater Iran in the Fifteenth Century*.

Saad Eddin Ibrahim³⁸ is a respected Egyptian sociologist, professor in the Department of Sociology at the American University in Cairo, and director and chairman of the board of the Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies (ICDS). He holds dual U.S.-Egyptian citizenship. Professor Ibrahim has a PhD in sociology from the University of Washington and has taught at a number of universities in the United States. He has written and published extensively, including some 30 books in English and Arabic.

Professor Ibrahim is a former adviser to the Egyptian government. He has also served as a board member and head of Arab Affairs at the state-affiliated Al-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies. Professor Ibrahim is well-known for his work both as a scholar and a champion of democracy and human rights. In addition to the various positions he holds in organizations such as the Club of Rome and the World Bank's Advisory Council for Environmentally Sustainable Development, he has been a leading proponent of democratic reforms in Egypt, particularly with regard to religious minority rights.

Muzharul Islam.³⁹ ...Having trained first as an engineer, Muzharul Islam opted for further study in architecture and went to the University of Oregon in the United States and to Yale University where he received a Masters degree under the supervision of Paul Rudolph. It was upon his return to East Pakistan, and as part of his responsibilities within the ubiquitous Public Works Department (as no private architectural firms existed at the time) that he designed two edifices which are landmark in terms of the recent history of the profession locally: Dhaka, Public Library (now Dhaka University Library) and the College of Arts and Crafts.

...
It is Muzharul Islam's work, which, in addition to Kahn's capital buildings, has dominated the early architectural scene in Bangladesh. His practice has been discontinuous in time, with periods of greater or lesser intensity of production, but it has always been multisided from the late 1950s and onwards. Muzharul Islam created the nascent architectural culture of Bangladesh, carrying out a struggle against government bureaucracy, against political domination by engineers, and against academic sterility.

...
Muzharul Islam singly formed the first generation of contemporary architects and laid the basis of a profession and an intellectual discipline. His work ultimately seemed too reserved however in proposing an iconography which would be evocative of a Bengali sensibility. This is the concern that seems to engage a group of small but conscientious architects today and this is where the significant thrust of thoughtful production will lie in the future.

³⁷ Davidson and Serageldin, eds. *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 174.

³⁸ Extract from Committee on Human Rights, "Case Information: Saad Eddin Ibrahim," National Academy of Sciences, http://www7.nationalacademies.org/humanrights/Case_Information_Ibrahim.html (accessed Jun 22, 2005).

³⁹ Extract from Kazi K. Ashraf, "Muzharul Islam, Kahn and Architecture in Bangladesh," *Mimar* 31 (1989), *Worldview: Perspectives on Architecture and Urbanism from around the Globe*, Architectural League of New York, 2004, <http://worldviewcities.org/dhaka/islam2.html> (accessed Jul 4, 2005).

Arata Isozaki.⁴⁰ Japanese architect, was educated at the University of Tokyo, Faculty of Architecture. He worked with Kenzo Tange's Team and Urtec, Tokyo, from 1954 to 1963, when he established his own practice, the Arata Isozaki Atelier. Mr Isozaki's major buildings include the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles (1986), the Sant Jordi Sports Palace for the Olympic Games in Barcelona (1990), Art Tower Mito in Ibaragi (1990), the Team Disney Building in Buena Vista, Florida (1991), Domus: La Casa del Hombre in La Coruña, Spain (1995) and the Kyoto Concert Hall (1995). His work has been widely published and exhibited and he has received numerous awards and honours, including three Annual Prizes of the Japan Architectural Association, the *Interiors Award* (1983) and the Gold Medal of the Royal Institute of British Architects (1986). Mr Isozaki is an Honorary Fellow of the American Institute of Architects (1983), of the Bund Deutscher Architekten (1983) and of the Royal Institute of British Architects (1994); he is also a member of the Italian Academic Tiberina (1978) and an Honorary Academician of the Royal Academy of Arts, England (1994). Throughout his career, Mr Isozaki has been active in education, and has served as a visiting professor at the University of California at Los Angeles, the University of Hawaii, the Rhode Island School of Design, Columbia University, Harvard and Yale University.

Fredric Jameson.⁴¹ American cultural theorist. At Duke University, he is the William A. Lane, Jr, Professor of Comparative Literature and the Chair of the Duke Program in Literature. He received his BA from Haverford College in 1954 and his MA (1956) and PhD (1960) from Yale University. He has taught at Harvard University (1959-67), the University of California at San Diego (1967-76), Yale University (1976-83), and the University of California at Santa Cruz (1983-85). Professor Jameson's teachings cover modernism, Third World literature and cinema, Marx and Freud, the modern French novel and cinema and the Frankfurt School. Among his ongoing concerns is the need to analyze literature as an encoding of political and social imperatives and the interpretation of modernist and postmodernist assumptions through a rethinking of Marxist methodology. His most recent books include *Late Marxism* (1990), *Signatures of the Visible* (1990), *Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (1991), *The Geopolitical Aesthetic* (1992) and *The Seeds of Time* (1994). He also chairs the editorial board of *South Atlantic Quarterly*.

Charles Jencks.⁴² American architect and architectural historian, is well known as the critic who first defined postmodernism in architecture, an event which led to its subsequent definition in many fields. A visiting professor at the University of California at Los Angeles, he is the author of many books on architecture and culture. His recent work is on cosmogonic architecture and complexity theory. He lectures widely in the United States, Japan and Europe, has made a number of television programmes on architecture and designed important objects, including buildings, furniture and landscape gardens.

Hasan-Uddin Khan⁴³ is an architect and critic whose numerous publications include *Contemporary Asian Architects* (1995), *The Mosque and the Modern World* (1997), and *The International Style: Modernist Architecture from 1995 to 1965* (1998). He graduated in 1971 from the Architectural Association in London and subsequently practiced in London and Karachi. From 1977 to 1994 he worked for His Highness the Aga Khan in Europe and was editor of the periodical *Mimar: Architecture in Development from 1981 until 1992*. Since 1994 he has been Visiting Associate Professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His research projects focus on the architecture of mosques, contemporary building in Asia, on issues of conservation, and on the relationship of landscape to built form.

⁴⁰ Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 173.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁴² Davidson and Serageldin, eds. *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 174.

⁴³ Harvard Divinity School, Center for the Study of World Religions, "Hasan-Uddin Khan," President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2005, http://www.hds.harvard.edu/csww/research/ecology/bio_khan.html (accessed Jul 04, 2005).

Romi Khosla.⁴⁴ Indian architect who received a BA in economics from the University of Cambridge and qualified as an architect at the Architectural Association, London. Mr Khosla founded GRUP (Group for Rural and Urban Planning) in Delhi in 1974, and has designed a number of large institutional complexes as well as small, community-based rural projects. His recent work includes developmental and revitalization projects for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Central Asia, Tibet and Egypt, and for the Government of India in the Himalayan belt. Mr Khosla's published works include *Buddhist Monasteries in Western Himalayas* (1979). He served as professional adviser for the Aga Khan Trust for Culture's International Competition for Ideas for the Revitalization of Samarkand. Mr Khosla was a member of the Award Technical Review for the 1986, 1989 and 1992 cycles.

Zahir Ud-deen Khwaja. Architect and planner, Pakistan.

Mübeccel Kiray. Urban sociologist, Istanbul.

Mehmet Konuralp,⁴⁵ Turkish architect, received his training in architecture and city planning at the Architectural Association in London. He began his professional practice in 1965 in London with Richard Sheppard, Robson and Partners, and established a private practice in Istanbul upon his return to Turkey in 1969. During this same period he was a lecturer and design tutor at schools of architecture in Istanbul, where he still maintains ties as a guest lecturer and tutor. Konuralp's completed work has focused on public and administrative buildings, art facilities and cultural centres, and housing.

Doğan Kuban. Turkey. Architect and architectural historian, professor and director of the Institute of History of Architecture and Restoration at Istanbul Technical University, and former director of the International Research Center of Islamic History, Art, and Culture, Istanbul.

Aptullah Kuran,⁴⁶ received his secondary education at Robert College of Istanbul, at the time situated on the very campus that would become Bogazici University. Following his graduation in 1948, he went on to Yale, where he received Bachelor's and Master's Degrees in Architecture in 1952 and 1954.

...

After returning to Turkey and completing his military service, Aptullah Kuran launched what would be a long and multi-faceted career as an architect, scholar, professor, and university administrator. He designed a number of important private and public buildings in Istanbul and Ankara, including Perkins Hall at Robert College and the Iranian Cultural Center in Ankara. In 1957 he joined the Faculty of Architecture of the newly formed Middle East Technical University in Ankara, where he served for eleven years, including eight years as Dean of the Faculty of Architecture. This period saw the publication of two of his important books: *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, still an important reference on the subject, and *Anatolian Medreses*.

...

He served as Bogazici University's president from 1971 to 1979 and as chair of its History Department from 1981 to his retirement in 1994. In the latter capacity, he oversaw the creation of a highly respected graduate program.

While he held these important administrative positions, Aptullah Kuran remained active as a scholar. His third major work, *Mimar Sinan*, appeared in Turkish in 1986, and a year later in English under the title *Sinan: The Grand Old Master of Ottoman Architecture*. Kuran also traveled widely as a guest lecturer and visiting scholar, both in the US and in the Middle East. He trained numerous scholars and influenced many others, through his scholarship, his contributions to the growth of higher education in

⁴⁴ Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 173.

⁴⁵ Davidson and Serageldin, eds. *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 174.

⁴⁶ Extract from Timur Kuran and Nancy Micklewright, "In Memoriam: Aptullah Kuran," *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin Summer* (2002), <http://www.fpa.arizona.edu/mesassoc/Bulletin/36-1/36-1InMemoriam.html> (accessed Jun 28, 2005).

Turkey, and his generosity. An indication of the high regard in which he was held is the festschrift published in his honor in 1999 with contributions from thirty-eight former students and colleagues.

Ricardo Legorreta⁴⁷ is a Mexican architect, trained at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. He is the recipient of the Gold Medal of the American Institute of Architects (2000), the Gold Medal of the International Union of Architects (1999), and the Mexican Premio Nacional de las Artes (1992). His architectural work is characterized by the integration of traditional regional architecture and landscapes, with emphasis on light, colour and bold geometry. He has built residences and public facilities throughout Mexico and the south-western United States, including hotels, museums, cathedrals, corporate facilities and science and arts centres. Mr Legorreta lectures extensively throughout the world. He is the author of numerous articles for a wide variety of publications, and a Rizzoli monograph on his work, *Ricardo Legorreta Architects*, was published in 1997. Mr Legorreta served as a member of the Pritzker Architecture Prize Jury from 1983-1993.

Ronald Lewcock⁴⁸ Ronald Lewcock is an architect, conservator and scholar. He was Aga Khan Professor of Architecture at MIT, 1984-91, and Chairman of the Aga Khan Program at Harvard and MIT; Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge University, 1970-85; in 1991 he moved from MIT to become Professor of the Doctoral Program in Architecture at the Georgia Institute of Technology in Atlanta. In 1999 he was awarded an Honorary Doctor of Architecture degree by the University of Natal. Dr. Lewcock has been consultant in conservation to UNESCO since 1978, and Technical Coordinator of Two UNESCO International Campaigns from 1982 to 1990 (those of Sana'a' and Shibam in Yemen), as well as of the UN Campaign for Cultural Tourism and the Revival of Heritage in Uzbekistan, 1991-97.

He is the author and joint author of eight books, over a hundred articles, and contributor to the major architecture, art and cultural encyclopedias published since 1970. Dr. Lewcock specializes in a number of fields. He is a historian and theorist in European architecture and urbanism. His doctoral and post-doctoral studies were in European colonial architecture and urbanism from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, in the West Indies, Africa and Asia, with particular emphasis on cultural interactions. The latter led him to the study of Asian and African indigenous architecture, especially to that dominating the main areas of European colonial trade—Islamic—but also including Hindu and Buddhist architectures. He has researched and published in the area of architectural science, especially in climatic control in tropical and subtropical countries, and in acoustics, the acoustics of music and acoustical designing in architecture.

Nurcholish Madjid⁴⁹ Indonesian historian of Islamic thought, is a lecturer in the postgraduate programme at the Institute of Islamic studies in Jakarta, and a member of the Indonesian Institute of Science. In addition, he is the chairman and founder of the Paramadina Foundation, an organisation that is part of an effort to build an Islamic intellectual tradition in Indonesia and to link the country more closely to the rest of the Islamic world.

Fumihiko Maki⁵⁰ was born in Tokyo in 1928. He studied at the University of Tokyo, at the Cranbrook Academy of Art in Bloomfield Hills, and at the Harvard Graduate School of Design. After he worked for Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill in New York and for Sert Jackson and Associates in Cambridge he spent several years teaching and working independently. In 1965 he established Maki and Associates in Tokyo.

⁴⁷ Frampton and others, eds., *Modernity and Community*, 174.

⁴⁸ Extracts from College of Architecture, "People: Faculty: Ronald B. Lewcock," Georgia Institute of Technology, 2005, <http://www.coa.gatech.edu/arch/people/faculty/Lewcock/index.php> (accessed Jun 28, 2005).

⁴⁹ Davidson and Serageldin, eds. *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 174.

⁵⁰ Extracts from Great Buildings Online, "Fumihiko Maki." Artifice Incorporated, 1994-2005, http://www.greatbuildings.com/architects/Fumihiko_Maki.html (accessed Jun 28, 2005).

Maki returned to Japan in 1960 and helped establish the Metabolism Group. With an obsessive interest in new technology and rational design, Maki uses modular systems in planning and standardized building components in construction. His favorite materials are metal, glass, and poured concrete. Despite his keen interest in theory and technology, Maki is a populist, and his buildings display a warmth and sense of excitement that is rarely found in contemporary architecture.

Mohammed Makiya⁵¹ has a wealth of experience worked on numerous projects and won many awards. Dr Makiya's trans-cultural education, experience, architectural practice and environmental concerns highlighted a need for a public forum where seminars, lectures, concerts and exhibitions were open to interested parties of all backgrounds who were as eager to invest in their connected futures as they were to cherish their pasts.

...

Dr Makiya is an Honorary Corresponding Member of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), UK, From 1961 Member of Engineering Society, Baghdad, Iraq From 1951 Member of Architects Registration Board UK., From 1958 Member of Royal Town Planning Institute (FRTP), UK, from 1963 Fellow of Royal Geographical Society, UK, From 1946 Member of International Ekistics Society from 1963; participants in al 'Delos seminars', held in Athens...

Adhi Moersid⁵² Indonesian architect in private practice with PT Atelier 6 Architects, where he is actively involved in the design, planning and construction of Atelier 6 projects, and senior vice-president of Atelier 6 Holding Company. Mr Moersid has been honorary chairman of the Indonesian Institute of Architects since 1989, and was deputy chairman of ARCASIA (Architects Regional Council Asia) from 1987 to 1989. He was a lecturer in the School of Design at the Jakarta Institute of Arts from 1970-1980, and continues to be an external examiner for several schools of architecture.

Luis Monreal⁵³ Spanish historian, is currently director general of the Caixa Foundation in Barcelona. From 1985 to 1990 he was the director of the Getty Conservation Institute and oversaw conservation of projects such as the tomb of Nefertari in Upper Egypt, the Sphinx in Giza and Buddhist temples in Mogao (Datong, China), as well as other major projects in Cyprus, Jordan, Cambodia and Spain. Mr Monreal was the secretary general of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) from 1974 to 1985, and responsible for the establishment or conservation of nine museums throughout the world. He has also served as the curator of the Marés Museum in Barcelona, and was a professor of the history of art and museology at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. Mr Monreal has participated in numerous archaeological expeditions, to the High Atlas Mountains (Morocco), Nubia, Abkanarti (Sudan) and Masmas (Egypt).

Charles Moore⁵⁴ was born in Benton Harbor, Michigan, on October 31, 1925. He studied architecture at the University of Michigan, taught first at the University of Utah, served in the army during the Korean War, worked briefly in the Bay Area, and then returned to study for a Master's degree and PhD at Princeton. He went on to teach at Princeton and became assistant to Louis Kahn in the conduct of the Master's studio for 1958-59. William Turnbull, Jr. and I were both students in this class and subsequently became partners in MLTW (Moore Lyndon Turnbull Whitaker) and long-term friends and colleagues.

...

⁵¹ Extract from "Dr Mohammed Makiya," Kufa Gallery, London, 2004, http://www.kufagallery.co.uk/Pages/dr_makiya.html (accessed Jun 28, 2005).

⁵² Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 171.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 171.

⁵⁴ Extract from Donlyn Lyndon, "A Brief Biography of Charles W. Moore," The Charles W. Moore Center for the Study of Place, <http://www.charlesmoore.org/biography.pdf> (accessed Jun 28, 2005).

Moore was recruited to the University of California, Berkeley faculty by William Wurster in 1959 and taught and served as chairman of the department until 1965 when he moved to Yale University to head its department of architecture, later to become dean. Later still, he moved to UCLA and finally to the University of Texas at Austin, where he held the O'Neil Ford Centennial Chair and conducted a graduate program.

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 At each stage of his career, he initiated architectural offices (always in generous collaboration with younger colleagues) and created startling, provocative buildings that have continued to be important in architectural discourse.

...
 Moore's writings have also proven to be very influential, including early, formative articles in *Perspecta* and *Landscape* magazines and a succession of twelve co-authored books, including *The Place of Houses*; *Dimensions: Body, Memory, and Architecture*; *The Poetics of Gardens*; *Water and Architecture*; and *Chambers for a Memory Palace*.

...
 In 1991 the American Institute of Architects awarded Charles Moore its Gold Medal in recognition of the scope and importance of his contributions to architecture. In 1989 he received the AIA/ACSA Topaz Medallion for lifetime achievement in architectural education. Charles and his collaborators received many design awards and his works have been published in every major architectural magazine, in most anthologies of contemporary architecture, and in a dozen monographs devoted to his work.

Kamil Khan Mumtaz⁵⁵ is a Pakistani architect in private practice in Lahore. He was trained at the Architectural Association, London in the 1960s after which he returned to Pakistan to practise and teach. He was Head of the National College of Arts, Lahore between 1966-1975. He also formed a partnership, BKM which lasted until 1984 after which he worked on his own. He has been a member of several architectural juries and has widely lectured in Europe and Asia. He is the author of several papers which have been published in Pakistan and abroad. He is the author of *Architecture in Pakistan* (1985).

Glenn Murcutt⁵⁶ is an Australian architect, trained at the University of New South Wales, with a private practice in Sydney. Most of his works are domestic residences, set in isolated landscapes throughout Australia, or in urban centres such as Sydney. In 1992 he received the seventh Alvar Aalto Medal in Finland. He lectures and teaches architecture at universities worldwide. In 1992, he was presented with the Gold Medal of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects (RAIA), and he has been awarded the RAIA's Sir Zelman Cowen Award for Public Buildings on two occasions, in 1994 and in 1999. Made an honorary fellow of the American Institute of Architects and of the Royal Institute of British Architects during 1997, Mr Murcutt received the Richard Neutra International Award for Architecture and Teaching in the United States in 1998, the Green Pin International Award for Architecture and Ecology in Denmark in 1999, and the Kenneth F. Brown Asia Pacific Culture and Design Award in the United States in 2000. Mr Murcutt's work is featured in a Thames and Hudson monograph, *Glenn Murcutt: Works and Projects*, by Françoise Fromonot (1995-1997).

Azim Nanji,⁵⁷ specialist in the comparative study of religions, was born in Nairobi, Kenya, and attended schools in Kenya, Tanzania, and Makerere University in Uganda, receiving his masters and doctorate degrees in Islamic Studies from McGill University. He has taught at both Canadian and American universities and was the Margaret Gest Professor for the Cross-Cultural Study of Religion at Haverford College, Pennsylvania. Until 1998, he was professor and chair of the Department of Religion at the University of Florida at Gainesville. Professor Nanji has served as co-Chair of the Islam Section at the American Academy of Religion, and as a member of the Council on Foundations Committee on Religion and Philanthropy. In 1998, Professor Nanji was appointed Director of the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London. He served as a member of the

⁵⁵ Kamil Khan Mumtaz, *Architecture in Pakistan* (Singapore: Concept Media, 1985), endpaper.

⁵⁶ Frampton and others, eds., *Modernity and Community*, 174.

⁵⁷ AKAA, "The Eighth Award Cycle, 1999-2001," (accessed Jun 22, 2005).

Master Jury of the 1992 Aga Khan Award for Architecture, and edited a monograph on the Award entitled *Building for Tomorrow*, published by Academy Editions.

Norani Othman⁵⁸ is a Malaysian sociologist and is associate professor and senior fellow at the Institute of Malaysian and International Studies, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. She is a research fellow affiliate at the Institute for Advanced Study in Berlin, where she was also an academic fellow from 1998 to 1999. Professor Othman specializes in social and sociological theory, intellectuals and intellectual cultures of Third-World societies, Islamic social theory, women's rights, religion and gender studies. She received her MPhil from the University of Oxford in 1982, and was a member of Wolfson College at the University of Oxford from 1980 to 1985. As a Fulbright fellow, she undertook research and a lecture tour on the theme of 'Islam, Women and Human Rights' in the United States in 1996. Professor Othman is a vice-president of the Malaysian Social Science Association and a director of the SIS Forum Malaysia Berhad, a Muslim women's organization popularly known as Sisters in Islam. Her work is frequently published in scholarly journals, and she is the editor of *Shari'a Law and the Modern Nation State: A Malaysian Symposium* (1994), *Gender, Culture and Religion: Equal before God, Unequal before Man* (with Cecilia Ng Soon Chim, 1995), and *Malaysia's Experience of Globalization: Actor or Captive?* (with Sumit K Mandal, 2000).

Mehmet Doruk Pamir. Architect, Turkey.

Hasan Poerbo,⁵⁹ ITB Department Akitectura, Bandung Indonesia. Professor of Architecture at Bandung University, Indonesia.

William Porter⁶⁰ has taught studios in urban and architectural design and seminars in design methods and theory. His research has focused on methods and processes of design of individuals and groups.

...

Recent publications have included *Excellence by Design: Transforming Workplace and Work Practice* and *The Agile Workplace*, both co-authored with colleagues; and, most recently, *Design Representation*, a study of how designers in a variety of fields represent ideas and employ those representations in their practice, co-edited with Gabriela Goldschmidt. He is currently co-principal investigator of a project entitled *Distributed Work* sponsored by the Cambridge University-MIT Institute (CMI) and the Electronic Card Wall (EWall) project sponsored by the Office of Naval Research.

...

As architect Porter worked for Louis I. Kahn in Philadelphia, and on the new city of Ciudad Guayana with the Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies. He has served on numerous juries.... He has done master planning and been design advisor for many institutions, and is a partner in Four Architecture, Inc.

Porter joined the faculty in 1967 and was dean of the school from 1971 to 1981 ... he founded the school's Laboratory of Architecture and Planning to encourage and support field-related research. He and Dean Kilbridge of the Harvard GSD led a major study of architectural education funded by the Andrew Mellon Foundation. With Oleg Grabar, professor emeritus of Fine Arts at Harvard, he founded the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture in 1979 and was its co-director until 1985. In 1979, with Professor Donlyn Lyndon of Berkeley, he co-founded *Places*, a Journal of Environmental Design, and served as co-editor until 1989.

Porter is a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects, a member of the Boston Society of Architects, and holds a certificate from the National Council of Architectural

⁵⁸ Frampton and others, eds., *Modernity and Community*, 174.

⁵⁹ Powell, ed. *The Architecture of Housing*, 294.

⁶⁰ Extract from Department of Architecture, "William Lyman Porter, Professor Emeritus: Profile" MIT, 2004, <http://www.architecture.mit.edu/people/profiles/prporter.html> (accessed Jun 22, 2005).

Registration Boards. He is also past president of the National Architectural Accreditation Board. He earned his BA from Yale College in 1955, the MArch from Yale's School of Art and Architecture in 1957, and the PhD from MIT in 1969. He joined the MIT faculty in 1967 and retired from it in 2004. He now conducts research and advises a few students.

Darmawan Prawirohardjo⁶¹ is an Indonesian architect who received his training at the Bandung Institute of Technology. He is the president of Atelier 6 Architects and Planners, and responsible for the design of a number of the firm's important completed buildings. Prawirohardjo is dedicated to the architectural profession in Indonesia and South East Asia, and served as the president of the Indonesian Institute of Architects and deputy chairman of the Regional Council of Asian Architects (ARCASIA). He regularly serves as a member of competition juries in Indonesia and, as a participating architect, has himself won a number of important architectural competitions.

Raj Rewal⁶² is an Indian architect and urban design consultant who studied architecture in New Delhi and London. His built works comprise a wide range of building types, and include the Nehru Pavilion, the Scope office complex, the Central Institute of Educational Technology, the World Bank Building, the National Institute of Immunology, the Parliament Library, and the Asian Games Village, all located in New Delhi in India, as well as the Ismaili Centre in Lisbon, Portugal. Mr Rewal's commitment to housing is also central to his built works. In 1989 he was awarded the Gold Medal of the Indian Institute of Architects and the Robert Matthew Award of the Commonwealth Association of Architects. In 1993 he received the Mexican Association of Architects Award, and he is also the recipient of the Great Master's Award of the JK Trust. Mr Rewal's work has been widely exhibited and published, with monographs in English and French; his most recent publication is entitled *Humane Habitats at Low Cost*. He has been a professor at the New Delhi School of Architecture and Planning, and has taught and given lectures at universities in Asia, America and Europe.

Yuswadi Saliya⁶³ Indonesian architect and educator, graduated from the Bandung Institute of Technology (Institut Teknologi Bandung—ITB) in 1966, and was awarded a master's degree in architecture in 1975 from the University of Hawaii at Manoa, concentrating on the spatial organization of traditional Balinese architecture. Mr Saliya has been continuously associated as an instructor with ITB since his graduation. Currently, he is a senior lecturer in theory, criticism and history for both the undergraduate and graduate programmes in architecture and is the senior editor for critical analyses of important Indonesian architects prepared for the graduate programme and published by the Institute of Indonesian Architectural History (Lembaga Sejarah Arsitektur Indonesia—LSAI). Mr Saliya currently chairs the LSAI, which was established in Bandung in 1989 and now conducts yearly national workshops to improve the ways and means of teaching history in architectural schools. Mr Saliya is also a practising architect, and one of six founding partners in the Design office PT Atelier Enam, established in Jakarta in 1969.

Ismail Serageldin⁶⁴ is an Egyptian architect and planner. He is a vice president of the World Bank in Washington, DC, responsible for the department for Environmentally Sustainable Development and for a wide array of special programmes dealing with poverty, environment, and socio-economic development. He is the author of numerous publications in English, French and Arabic on the subjects of poverty, development, architecture and Muslim societies, including *Space for Freedom and Innovation and Authenticity in the Architecture of Muslim Societies*.

⁶¹ Davidson and Serageldin, eds. *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 174.

⁶² Frampton and others, eds., *Modernity and Community*, 174.

⁶³ Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 173.

⁶⁴ Davidson and Serageldin, eds. *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 175.

Mona Serageldin.⁶⁵ Egypt. Architect and planning consultant and an expert in demographic analysis and programming with special experience in low cost housing in the Middle East.

Ali Shuaibi.⁶⁶ Saudi Arabian architect and planner, is a co-founder of Beeah Planners, Architects and Engineers, based in Riyadh, with projects in Saudi Arabia, Oman, Yemen, Pakistan and Djibouti. Mr Shuaibi teaches design at King Saud University, and is co-editor of the *Urban Heritage Encyclopaedia*. Several of his projects have received national and international awards including the Al-Kindi Plaza at Hayy Assafarat, the diplomatic quarter in Riyadh, which received an Aga Khan Award for Architecture in 1989 and the Architectural Project Award of the Organization of Arab Towns in 1990. With Beeah, he is currently at work on the National Museum in Riyadh, the Institute of Public administration in Jeddah and the Embassy of Saudi Arabia in Tunis.

Roland Simounet.⁶⁷ (b Guyotville, Algeria, 31 Aug 1927). French architect. He studied architecture in Paris and then returned to Algeria where he opened an office in 1952. His first major work, the emergency *cit  de transit* Djenan el-Hassan (1956–8), reflected his concern with the eradication of slum housing; its cellular construction, with individual vaulted roofs, echoed local architectural forms. In 1958 he was appointed to plan the new city of Thamugadi, which borders the famous Roman ruins. After the War of Independence Simounet moved to Paris (1963), but many of his works continued to address the problems of design for warm climates through the suitable expression of materials, massing and openings; examples include the student housing (1962–70) for the University of Tananarive, Madagascar ... Simounet became one of the most prolific museum builders in France in the 1970s and 1980s. His new buildings for the Musée de la Préhistoire de l’Ile-de-France (1975–9), Nemours, and the Musée d’Art Moderne du Nord (1978–83), Villeneuve d’Ascq, reveal a careful orchestration of natural lighting and details to enhance the individual display of works of art. He also won the limited competition for the conversion of the 17th-century Hôtel Sal  in the Marais district of Paris into the Musée Picasso (1976–85); the austere and luminous quality of the white-washed walls and pristine volumes was generally acknowledged to be the perfect showcase for Picasso’s personal collection. In Saint-Denis he designed some low-cost housing (1983) in the shadow of the abbey; arranged around small courtyards, it alluded to the historic fortifications. The same *parti* was used in the les Fong res residential complex (1987–91) facing the Parc Citro n in Paris. Simounet was awarded the Grand Prix National d’Architecture in 1977. He claimed an indebtedness to Le Corbusier, especially to his Maisons Jaoul (1951–5), Paris, but his work seems perhaps closer to that of Louis Kahn in its rectilinear, Mediterranean forms and play with recesses and incisions to create an impression of depth and mystery in fa ades.

Alvaro Siza,⁶⁸ Portuguese architect, completed his first built project in 1954. He has taught at the School of Architecture at the University of Porto since 1966, and has been a visiting professor at the Ecole Polytechnique of Lausanne, the University of Pennsylvania, Los Andes University of Bogot  and the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University. The Portuguese Department of the International Association of Art Critics awarded him its Prize of Architecture in 1982 and he received the Portuguese Association Architects’ Award in 1987. In 1988, he was awarded the Gold Medal of the Spanish ‘Colegio de Arquitectos’, the Gold Medal of the Alvar Aalto Foundation, Harvard University’s Prince of Wales’ Prize in urban design, and the European Award of Architecture by the European Economic Community and the Mies van der Rohe Foundation (Barcelona). In 1992, he received the Pritzker Prize for the corpus of his work, and in 1993 he received the Portuguese Association of Architects’ National Prize of Architecture. He was made Doctor Honoris Causa by the University of Valencia (1992) and by the Ecole Polytechnique of Lausanne (1993).

⁶⁵ AKAA, “The First Award Cycle, 1978–1980: (accessed Jun 28, 2005).

⁶⁶ Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 172.

⁶⁷ Grove Dictionary of Art, “Artists’ Biographies: Simounet, Roland,” Artnet 2005, <http://www.artnet.com/library/07/0788/T078867.asp> (accessed Jun 22, 2005).

⁶⁸ Davidson and Serageldin, eds. *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, 175.

H.E. Soedjatmoko. Indonesia. Sociologist and historian, advisor on Social and Cultural Affairs to the National Development Planning Agency (BAPPENAS) in Jakarta, and former Ambassador to the United States. Chairman of the 1986 Master Jury.

James Stirling⁶⁹ (1926–92), British architect, b. Glasgow, grad. Univ. of Liverpool school of architecture (1950). Settling in London, Stirling worked in partnership (1956–63) with James Gowan, and became known for straightforward and functional modernist public buildings executed mainly in brick and rough-finished concrete, e.g., Ham Common flats, London (1957), and the Univ. of Leicester engineering building (1963). After he formed (1971) a partnership with Michael Wilford, his stylistic approach changed as he made a transition to architectural postmodernism. Stressing a humanistic approach, he designed buildings at once classical and experimental, geometrically abstract structures in a variety of shapes and a wide range of colors. Among these works are the Stuttgart Art Gallery, Germany (1984), buildings for Harvard's Fogg (1984) and Sackler (1985) museums, the Social Science Research Center Berlin, Germany (1987), the Tate Liverpool, England (1988), and Temasek Polytechnic, Singapore (1996). The winner of the 1981 Pritzker Prize, Stirling was knighted in 1992.

Kenzo Tange⁷⁰ (1913–2005), Japanese architect. The Hiroshima Peace Center (1949), for which Tange designed three buildings, won him international fame. He was a leading creator of shell structures and planned many throughout Japan. In his design for the Shizuoka convention hall, Ehima (1953–54), a hyperbolic paraboloidal system was used to span a distance of 375 ft (114 m). Tange's later works, such as the Kagawa prefectural office (1955–58), are notable for restraint of design and the employment of the traditional Japanese aesthetic in modern technical terms. His plan for the National Indoor Stadium at Yoyogi for the 1964 Tokyo Olympics is a striking example of suspension roofing. Later works include the Japan Olivetti Technical Center.

Dogan Tekeli.⁷¹ Turkish architect, has been in private practice with his partner Sami Sisa, since 1952, when they graduated from Istanbul Technical University. Mr Tekeli lectured in architectural design and the Maçka School of Architecture and Engineering of Istanbul Technical University, and was president of the Chamber of Turkish Architects for one term in 1957. Mr Tekeli and his partner have won more than twenty design competitions in Turkey, most of which have been realized. Among their works are the environmental design for the Fortress of Rumelia, a market complex in Istanbul (Manifaturacilar çarsisi), Lassa Tyre Factory in Izmit and the Halkbank Headquarters in Ankara; they are currently working on an international passenger terminal for Antalya Airport. Mr Tekeli was a consultant to the Municipality of Istanbul from 1985 to 1988, and is a member of the board of the Turkish Association of Consulting Engineers and Architects. The works of Sami Sisa and Dogan Tekeli are published in two monographs, *Architectural Works* (1974) and *Projects and Buildings* (1995). In 1995 Messrs Tekeli and Sisa were awarded the Fourth National Grand Prize of Architecture by the Turkish Chamber of Architects. Mr Tekeli served as a member of the 1992 Award Master Jury and the 1995 Award Steering Committee.

Mahbub ul Haq⁷² (February 22, 1934 - July 16, 1998) was an influential Pakistani economist. One of the founders of human development theory (and a personal friend of Amartya Sen, whom he met while studying at Cambridge), he created the Human Development Index, used since 1993 by the United Nations Development Programme in its annual report. He also served as the World Bank's director of policy planning

⁶⁹ "James Stirling," The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition, Columbia University Press, 2003, <http://www.answers.com/topic/stirling-sir-james-frazer> (accessed Jul 04, 2005).

⁷⁰ "Kenzo Tange," The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition, Columbia University Press., 2003, <http://www.answers.com/topic/kenzo-tange> (accessed Jul 04, 2005).

⁷¹ Davidson, ed., *Legacies for the Future*, 173.

⁷² "Mahbub ul Haq," Wikipedia, 2005, <http://www.answers.com/topic/mahbub-ul-haq> (accessed Jul 04, 2005).

(1970-1982) and headed Pakistan's Finance Ministry as its minister of finance and planning (1982-1984).

Robert Venturi⁷³ 1925–, American architect, b. Philadelphia. In his writings, Venturi inveighed against the banality of modern architecture in the postwar period. He argued instead for a more inclusive, contextual approach to design that heralded the postmodern era in architecture. Among his early large works is Guild House in Philadelphia (1962–66), whose entrance is distinguished by a bold, billboardlike sign. A more restrained historicizing mode has characterized his later public works, such as Gordon Wu Hall at Princeton Univ. (1982–84), the Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery, London (1991), the somewhat flamboyant but not overwhelming Seattle Art Museum (1991), and the expanded Museum of Contemporary Art, San Diego (1996). Venturi is also an important theorist whose writings include the influential *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1966); *Learning from Las Vegas* (1972), written with Stephen Izenour and Denise Scott-Brown (Venturi's wife and architectural partner); and *A View from the Campidoglio: Selected Essays, 1953–1984* (1984). He was awarded the Pritzker Prize in 1991.

Parid Wardi bin Sudin. Architect and University Lecturer, Kuala Lumpur.

Muhammad Yunus,⁷⁴ born 1940, is a Bangladeshi banker and the developer and founder of the concept of microcredit. Microcredit is the extension of small loans to entrepreneurs too poor to qualify for traditional bank loans. Born in Chittagong, Yunus was a U.S. educated professor of economics from Chittagong University who first got into the business of fighting poverty during a 1974 famine in his Bangladesh, one of the poorest countries in the world. Yunus discovered that very small loans could make a significant difference in a poor person's ability to survive.

...

In 1976, Yunus founded the Grameen Bank to make loans to poor Bangladeshis. Since then the Grameen Bank has issued more than \$3 billion in loans to approximately 2.4 million borrowers. To ensure repayment, the bank uses a system of "solidarity groups". These small informal groups apply together for loans and its members act as co-guarantors of repayment and support one another's efforts at economic self-advancement.

As it has grown, the Grameen Bank has also developed other systems of alternate credit that serve the poor. In addition to microcredit, it offers housing loans as well as financing for fisheries and irrigation projects, venture capital, textiles, and other activities, along with other banking services such as savings...

Saïd Zulficar.⁷⁵ Historian and conservator, Secretary general of The Aga Khan Award for Architecture.

⁷³ "Robert Venturi," The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition, Columbia University Press, 2003, <http://www.answers.com/topic/robert-venturi> (accessed Jul 04, 2005).

⁷⁴ Extract from "Muhammad Yunus," Wikipedia, 2005, <http://www.answers.com/topic/muhammad-yunus> (accessed Jul 04, 2005).

⁷⁵ Powell, ed. *The Architecture of Housing*, 295.

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