



# Architecture beyond Architecture

Creativity and Social Transformations in Islamic Cultures  
The 1995 Aga Khan Award for Architecture



Edited by Cynthia C Davidson  
with Ismaïl Serageldin

 The Aga Khan Award for Architecture

 ACADEMY EDITIONS



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More than 1,600 projects have been examined and debated since the Aga Khan Award for Architecture was founded in 1977 with the intention of exploring the direction of architectural projects in Muslim societies and encouraging a high standard of design. In this sixth cycle of the Award, twelve projects are premiated. Each is vastly different from the others, and together they illustrate not only the diverse programmes architecture is being asked to address in Third World countries today, but also the degree to which modernisation, or what some may term 'westernisation', is influencing the built environment of rapidly industrialising societies.

Together these projects raise many questions: what is the role of the West in Muslim societies, or, for that matter, in any developing society? What is the role of architecture in Muslim societies? What constitutes a definition of architecture in developing countries? In essays by philosopher Mohammed Arkoun, architect Peter Eisenman, critic Charles Jencks and architect and banker Ismaïl Serageldin – all members of the 1995 Master Jury – as well as in selected transcripts of the Jury deliberations, these questions and more are placed in a critical context that attempts to remove the boundaries between 'Muslim' and 'western', and to open a discussion relevant to architecture everywhere.

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*Also available on The Aga Khan Award for Architecture:*  
*Architecture for a Changing World* edited by James Steele  
*Architecture for Islamic Societies Today* edited by James Steele

176 pages, over 290 illustrations, in colour and black & white

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#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book presents the twelve projects premiated in the sixth cycle of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture. These awards are different from those given in preceding years, thus the book was a challenge from the start. In order to present what constitutes this new thinking about architecture and its content today, it was necessary to rethink the format and content of this book and its many audiences. For helping me meet these challenges, I am indebted to many of the staff at the Aga Khan Award, especially to Farrokh Derakhshani for the knowledge he imparted, to Shiraz Allibhai and Bill O'Reilly for their organisation of images, to Nabil Cherouati for facts and figures, and to Helen Goodman for her nimble and accurate typing. I am also grateful to Selma Al-Radi for writing the project descriptions, which are based on reports made by the technical reviewers; to Ismail Serageldin for his thoughtful and generous advice and assistance; to Jack Kennedy, whose good-natured support helped see this book to completion; and to Suha Özkan for his trust, his quiet dedication, and for the opportunity he gave me to become involved in this book. And though any mention here is too minor, it must be noted that neither this book nor the Award programme would exist if it were not for His Highness The Aga Khan, whose foresight and wisdom concerning the role of architecture in Muslim societies is unprecedented. Not only I, but thousands of others are grateful to His Highness for his support of architecture and his understanding of its power to effect social change. *Cynthia C Davidson*

*Cover:* Plan of Kaedi Regional Hospital and plan of paving design of Allinace Franco-Sénégalaise; inset photographs: Alliance Franco-Sénégalaise, Kaedi Regional Hospital, Menara Mesiniaga, Re-Forestation of the METU.

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## PREFACE

The Aga Khan Award for Architecture marks its triennial award programme with this book. The vision of His Highness the Aga Khan, and the spirit of excitement that the programme engendered when it was founded are described here in an essay by Renata Holod, who was the first Convenor of the Award, a position later titled Secretary General. Over the years, many steering committees have guided the Award and have shaped its growth and development, probing the various challenges for architecture in Muslim societies through seminars and publications. The present Secretary General Suha Özkan and his predecessor Said Zulficar (1981-90), guided an important intellectual and outreach journey for the Award during these years. They also honed and improved the methodology of the Award through their unwavering commitment to quality in the process of nomination, screening and documentation. To all of the Secretariat, especially Suha Özkan and his colleagues Jack Kennedy and Farrokh Derakhshani, we all owe a debt of gratitude.

But despite these efforts of the steering committees and Secretariat, the world has tended to see the Award mostly through the projects premiated by the successive master juries. Suha Özkan describes here the process and contributions of the juries, from the time the first jury startled the architectural world by expanding the scope of the Award to include slum upgrading and water towers, to the jury that honoured the work of masons and clients as well as architects, to the decisions reported on in this book. But the intellectual underpinnings of the jury decisions, and the debate that preceded these decisions, was seldom appreciated by the public.

It is here that the 1995 Master Jury takes its departure from previous years. This jury recognised that the Award has successfully promoted a message of pluralism in a world that badly needed it. It felt, however, that the critical dimension was missing from the discourse associated with the awards and its winners. It set out to vigorously introduce this critical dimension and to try to set forth the rationale for its decisions – their relevance to the Muslim societies of today and to the critical architectural discourse of the world. In so doing, for the first time the jury willingly shares with the public, portions of its internal debates. This is intended to open up the reading of the 1995 awards, to invite questions and to challenge current thinking. While the Master Jury was unanimous in its decisions, it is the debate about these choices that we believe will engender the real contribution that we will have made. *Ismail Serageldin*



## INTRODUCTION

### *ARCHITECTURE BEYOND REGION*

*Cynthia C Davidson*

This book on the sixth cycle of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture attempts a new way of looking at these awards. In a broader sense, it also means looking at architecture in a new way. Indeed, to use this book effectively, one must cast off learned definitions of architecture and be open to new ways of interpretation as well as revising old ones. At the same time, the mandate of the Award to honour and encourage architectural achievement in Islamic cultures itself prompts questions, not only for readers of this book, but also for the jury members who premiated the projects represented here.

For example, is it possible today, in the late twentieth century, to define western and Muslim in terms of architecture? First World and Third World; fundamentalism and modernisation; critical and mediated? Just how much influence does the West – which in many eyes also includes Japan – have in Muslim societies today, and in particular, on architecture in those societies? Do satellite dishes in a below-poverty community in Pakistan constitute influence from the West? Does a High Tech tower in Kuala Lumpur mean that modernisation has a foothold in Malaysia that is not indigenous to that part of the world? Is a brick hospital in Mauritania that struggles to keep the lights on with stand-by generators only a regional project with no greater message for architecture? Is a re-forestation project in Ankara even architecture at all?

Questions such as these are addressed in the essays, selected transcripts of the jury discussions and the projects found in the following pages. But before turning to these it is useful to consider both the projects and the questions that they pose in terms of the idea of region, precisely because the Award itself is aimed at the 'place' of architecture in Islamic societies. 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 the 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 a place; that is, a place of Islam. While the bringing together of religion and region is easy to understand, the introduction of means of communication, specifically media, creates a more problematic mix. It questions the former notions of region as tied to geographic place, and thus the role of architecture in place-making.

In architecture, which is the primary focus of the Award, the idea of region as bounded place was clearly elaborated by the critic Kenneth Frampton. His concept of 'Regionalism', which he first defined in his 1980 book, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, was further elaborated in his introduction to *Modern Architecture and the Critical Present*

(1982), a volume Frampton edited in response to reactions to the earlier book. In his introduction to the latter Frampton writes about Regionalism, 'Architecture and building . . . have always been bound up with *place creation*, whereas *production* – which is justifiably associated in our minds with industry – is largely indifferent to place and tends, in the long run, to be destructive of rooted culture.' He defines the salient cultural precept of Regionalism as "'place" creation; its general model is enclave – the bounded urban fragment against which the inundation of the place-less consumerist environment will find itself momentarily checked.' At the same time, he writes, 'a common characteristic of Regionalism is its indifference – even hostility – to the media.' While hostility to media might have been possible in 1982, today in 1995 it is no longer possible to sustain such a position. In fact, I would argue that Frampton's concept of Regionalism becomes problematic today because media, like religion, has altered the notion of what constitutes place or region. This change is central to the issues raised in this book.

Is it possible to view a project such as the Hafsia Quarter reconstruction (page 48) as more than a 'bounded urban fragment' responding to the pressures of urbanisation in Tunis? And given its primarily Muslim population and the ability of religion to create place, is it also possible to see the Hafsia Quarter as something other than an 'enclave', another component of Frampton's idea of Regionalism? The answer today must be yes.

The power of media over place and over architecture can be seen in Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Conservation of Mostar Old Town received an Aga Khan Award for Architecture in 1986 for its 'remarkably conceived and realised conservation of the entire sixteenth century centre of this historic town.' Perhaps the most significant piece was the restoration of the Stari Most bridge, first built in 1566 by Khairuddin, a pupil of the great Ottoman architect Sinan. Spanning the Neretva River, the bridge had even survived World War II, when the German Army drove its tanks across it. But modern culture is ultimately indifferent to architecture; as the Serbs fired on Mostar in 1993 without regard for the symbolic monuments, the ultimate symbolism of Old Mostar became the images of destroyed structures, including the bridge, which were flashed around the world by the international media. The reality of this place and the symbolism of its architecture became secondary to an image of destruction. Even in such limited disputes, the old symbols of a society are no longer sacred. Thus an entirely new level of understanding must be brought to bear on the symbolic development of architecture.

Many societies in the Muslim world are becoming increasingly industrialised and increasingly financially viable. But more than industry, more than oil or finances, the factor that equalises or homogenises western and Muslim societies is the global media. Boundaries formerly made by geography or tradition, by state or religion, by race or tribe, or even politics are today rendered problematic by the reception of a satellite signal that has the capability of relaying the same information to New York and Tehran, Tokyo and Jakarta, Paris and Istanbul. Though one could argue that the origination of that information – such as CNN's American coverage of the 1991 war in Kuwait – represents the view of a particular region, it is the reception of that signal and the information that it carries that crosses previously impenetrable barriers. Given this crossover of global information, how can one identify a truly regional architecture? This is one of the problems presented by the Award projects seen here.

Like religion, media today also transcends race and place; but unlike religion, which demarcates limits by virtue of its practices, media neither finds nor creates boundaries; its power of transcendence is as great as the power of its satellite signal – received everywhere or nowhere, but no longer limited to place. In the post-industrial age now being experienced in much of the West, this media and its flow of information are spanning the globe ahead of, or in tandem with, the industrialisation of Third World countries, which in many instances are also Islamic cultures. It is this industrialisation which Frampton argues breaks down the idea of bounded place.

Recognition of media's ability to reach all places, and thereby neutralise all places, can be seen in almost any international news broadcast. When the same two minutes (or less) of airtime are accorded to the shelling of historic Mostar as to the war and famine

of Somalia and the race riots in Los Angeles, each 'place' is reduced to images and information that remove that place from its context and put it in a global flow of media that is seemingly without hierarchies. The danger in this for architecture is, as Frampton points out, that building's traditional role, which has been one of place creation, becomes compromised. Because the definition of place is changing, what constitutes architecture must also be rethought. Must region still be defined as bounded place, and is architecture's role still limited by this definition?

Clearly Frampton himself felt the need to rethink his concept of regionalism, for in his essay 'Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance', published in 1983, he introduces the term *critical* (a definition of the critical is also important to the work in this book). Frampton sets up the idea of 'Critical Regionalism' in opposition to 'the phenomenon of universalisation.' He writes, "The fundamental strategy of Critical Regionalism is to mediate the impact of universal civilisation with elements derived *indirectly* from the peculiarities of a particular place.' Today the idea of the universal could be interpreted as media, although Frampton continues to think of the universal in the more general term of production. But more important to his argument is his insistence on 'the absolute precondition of a bounded domain in order to create an architecture of resistance,' that is, a critical architecture. Thus, for Frampton, while the critical implies resistance to many forms of absorption – including westernisation, universalisation and consumption – he continues to locate this idea in a bounded place. But it must be possible to expand on Frampton's definition of the critical in light of the conditions in Islamic cultures today.

While the idea of 'bounded domain' has been changed by the transcendent capability of media, and in the case of the Award, by a universal religion, the notion of resistance in architecture – resistance to kitsch, to nostalgia, to a lost vernacular or to populism – is an important condition of the critical, especially as the critical is framed in the Award projects presented here.

But how is that resistance possible if place is no longer bounded? What factors make a tower in Kuala Lumpur or a hospital in Mauritania examples of a critical architecture? Is an architecture of resistance still possible in an age of media?

Indeed, I would argue that recognition of and resistance to media, rather than the indifference or hostility that Frampton suggests, is one way to redefine place and thereby a possible critical architecture. 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. This would be an architecture that both resists westernisation as well as the superficial imagery of a nostalgia for an unrecoverable past. A critical architecture is important today in the Muslim world because it can redefine the necessary symbolism that architecture must still provide.

Regionalism flourishes in the cultural fissures, Frampton writes, which are 'characterized, after Abraham Moles, as the "interstices of freedom"'. These interstices, which can be found even in a globalised and placeless society, also offer a 'place' for architecture. This concept is parallel to the Aga Khan Award for Architecture's own ambition to provide a 'space for freedom' in which an architecture of resistance, one that mediates and transcends kitsch and nostalgia, tradition and modernisation, is encouraged. In *Architecture Beyond Architecture*, the questions that the idea of a critical architecture raises and their possible answers begin to emerge.

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## WATERING THE GARDEN

*Ismail Serageldin*

Consider the paradox of our times. We live in a world of plenty, of dazzling scientific advances and technological breakthroughs. The end of the Cold War has offered the hope of global stability, yet our times are marred by conflict, violence, debilitating economic uncertainties and tragic poverty. Many of the rich seem to want to turn their backs on the poor, and selfish interests seem to displace enlightened concern, even though we are all neighbours, downstream or downwind of each other.

Now more than ever is a time for a united front of caring:

- one billion people live on less than a dollar a day,
- one billion people do not have access to clean water,
- 1.7 billion people have no access to sanitation,
- water and sanitation problems result in two to three million avoidable infant deaths a year,
- 1.3 billion people, mostly in cities in developing countries, are breathing air below standards considered acceptable by the World Health Organisation,
- 700 million people, mostly women and children, suffer from indoor air pollution caused by biomass burning stoves – the equivalent of smoking three packs of cigarettes a day,
- hundreds of millions of poor farmers have difficulty maintaining the fertility of the soils from which they eke out a meagre living.

To this stock of problems we are adding a constant flow of new challenges. Ninety million people are born each year, ninety-five per cent in poor, developing countries. But there are poor people in rich countries and vice versa.

All these contradictions are intensified in the Muslim world, from Morocco to Indonesia, from the mountains of central Asia to the deserts of Arabia, and there are also significant and growing Muslim communities in the West. The Muslim world exhibits extremes of wealth and poverty, of climate and terrain, of solidarity and strife; all held together by one common thread, a profession of faith in Islam. But that thread, like everything else, is overwhelmed by the global contradictions of our time.

### **Global Contradictions**

The world is in the grip of profoundly contradictory tendencies. In the face of globalisation and homogenisation, the

assertion of specificity – ethnic, religious, or cultural – is also powerfully present.

Globalisation is driven by the growing interdependence of national economies and the increasing integration of financial markets and telecommunications. The political boundaries that once divided sovereign states and nations are now permeable to the ethereal and ever-present commerce of ideas, as well as funds.

Another force in the increasing global consciousness is the environmental movement. A third force, and one significantly strengthened by the end of the Cold War, is the universal drive for the respect of human rights. A related and powerful aspect of this is the rise of gender consciousness.

Despite these global issues, local forces in nearly every society are asserting themselves, seeking greater voice and power. A negative aspect of this phenomenon is the emergence of a hateful and petty sense of nationalism that transforms the legitimate call for identity into one of hatred, and ultimately even 'ethnic cleansing'.

Inequality between nations and within societies is increasing; poverty and disempowerment are spreading throughout the world. Insecurity, fuelled by structural unemployment and rising birth rates, is the lot of the poor everywhere. As pollution, poverty and urban chaos ravage the environment, the ensuing loss of a heritage and sense of place robs a new generation of the opportunities to create a better world, a world that provides more than shelter. The citizens of the world, and the Muslim world specifically, face the new and the unknown with profound insecurity and none of the optimism and unbounded confidence once placed in technology. There is very real cynicism about the ability to create utopia, and there is a growing sense of unpredictability about the future. When the future cannot be clearly conceived as a goal, one lives for the present, and if the present is troublesome and disconcerting, there is a tendency to regress to the past, to ethnic, religious, cultural or national roots; to the concept of tribe and clan.

The confrontation of these competing forces is focused upon today's Muslim societies, societies that seek definition in terms of the present and the future, and also to retain their heritage without becoming captives of the past. In so doing, they must confront the hegemony of the images and

discourse of hyper-mediated western societies that set the global agenda, from world trade to architectural styles.

Many in the developing world fear the spread of 'westernisation' and seek refuge in an idealised view of their own past, but they are incapable of articulating a cultural framework that responds to the needs of today's Muslim societies. Paradoxically, this is taking place while western societies themselves question their own value systems and fear the 'browning of the West'.

### **Society and Architecture**

In the West, architecture is seen as an expendable commodity. A triumphant capitalism does not feel it needs architecture to symbolise its state of being. In the Muslim world, the élite and intelligentsia are more aware of the role that architecture can play in the process of forging a contemporary identity, both positively and negatively.

The crisis of values in contemporary society poses a profound challenge to all thinking people and to the societies that they aspire to create and be part of. To rise to that challenge, they will have to reaffirm our common humanity, and it is here that architecture – as a social construct, a critical, symbolising discourse that both affirms and transcends identity – has a major role to play and is relevant not only to Muslim societies, with all of today's innate tensions, but also to the evolving discourse on architecture in the rest of the world. To the extent that this architecture successfully addresses the human condition and the built environment, and relates those concerns to a natural and cultural context, it becomes a universal message.

Given the physical environment of our biosphere and the multiplicity of species with which we share this planet, a new environmental consciousness must permeate all our decisions and commit us to redress the excesses of the past, not merely to avoid repeating the same mistakes. Only thus will our actions truly promote sustainable development.

### **The Challenge for Architecture**

In this context of global social and economic challenges, architecture cannot remain confined in the conventional functions of designing an individual good building here and there. Architecture must go beyond architecture and rewrite

its definition to embrace the challenges of society, responding with a new critical discourse on social and technical levels.

Muslim identity provides a subtle thread of unity through a rich diversity of cultural expression, yet despite this diversity, architecture in the Muslim world is seen as either 'western' or 'authentic'. The debate about architectural form is most forcefully joined in ideological terms. Architecture is seen both functionally to affect behaviour (eg, segregation of sexes in the access of space) and as symbolising a state of being. This strongly-argued double dichotomy of society/built environment and behaviour/architecture carries ideological connotations that it does not deserve, and prevents the exploration and fruition of critical discourse.

The current cultural space of the Muslim world is the arena for contesting ideological positions, but it is uniquely suited to become the progenitor of a new and constructive discourse pertaining to architecture and society. Characterised by flexible formalism, the architecture of Muslim societies has always had strong links with nature and its surroundings. The rules of building were never governed by the equivalent of the rigorous 'norms' of Vitruvius or the formal idea of urban form dominant in many western societies. It has the ability to let individualism express itself, sometimes idiosyncratically, while retaining a sense of belonging to an organic whole, and is very different from the notion of a mechanistic, straitjacketed geometric ensemble. The sense of place that such architecture generates is challenging to both residents and visitors. It reflects a sense of boundaries, physical and psychological, between the public and the private.

The flexible formalism of the architecture of Muslim societies is also reflected in ornamentation. Calligraphy and arabesques, dazzling displays of geometric virtuosity, celebrate life and provide for contemplation. This important component of the Muslim building tradition is being destroyed by the drab slab blocks of today, yet the continuation of vernacular decoration recaptures this spirit.

The Muslim cultural space, however, is the locus of much intercourse between cultures and media. It is no longer, if it ever was, the coherent expression of an harmonious socio-cultural reality. Architects therefore need to avoid romanticising the past, accept the reality of today and seek



Mosque of the Grand National Assembly, looking along passage to staircase and library



to build a better tomorrow. Thus they will do more than solve local problems; they will contribute to the architectural and social discourse of the world.

### **The Award's Response**

The Aga Khan Award for Architecture has traditionally made its contribution to this task by bringing to the attention of the world examples of architectural excellence from within the Muslim world, broadly defined in a cultural sense. But to do justice to the challenges described here, the Master Jury seeks out examples of projects that speak to one or another facet of the social and architectural *problematique* in a way that is critical and projective rather than retrospective; examples that are innovative and open new doors to unexplored avenues that hold promise, even if they lack the polish usually associated with architectural excellence. For by recognising such efforts, the Awards would be 'watering the garden', so to speak, hoping that we would reap a harvest of magnificent blooms in the future. We decided to group these projects into three themes: social discourse, architectural discourse, and innovation.

The global and local dynamics have been described in all their fearsome attributes. To respond to this negative dynamic, the architectural and urbanistic professions must be raised to a new and more effective level of critical social discourse. A discourse that is new because it rejects the inevitability of such negative trends. Critical, because it goes to the roots of the causes and brings analytical rigour to bear on the issues. Social, in that it tackles the social reality of the changing urban condition, not just the elegance of an individual building or a group of buildings. This discourse is intended to engage society as a whole and effectively create the positive dynamics needed to respond to the challenges. Because we can create the new dynamics; we can create a better urban future. Five projects have been selected to illustrate this new critical social discourse.

The second group of projects addresses the challenges of a new critical architectural discourse. These three projects recognise that architecture has not only to respond to the needs of its users, but must also symbolise a state of being and create the physical manifestation of a society's cultural identity. The need to assert identity in the face of the forces



Reconstruction of Hafsia Quarter II, overall view of site, 1981

of anomie and globalisation has never been greater. The challenge for architecture, liberated by technology but still shackled by budget and site, is to transcend the conventional and create the new. This is not a search for innovation for its own sake, but a search for a language that responds to new needs and aspirations, and is sufficiently authentic to allow the users to identify with it today and cherish it tomorrow. This is the stuff of great architecture.

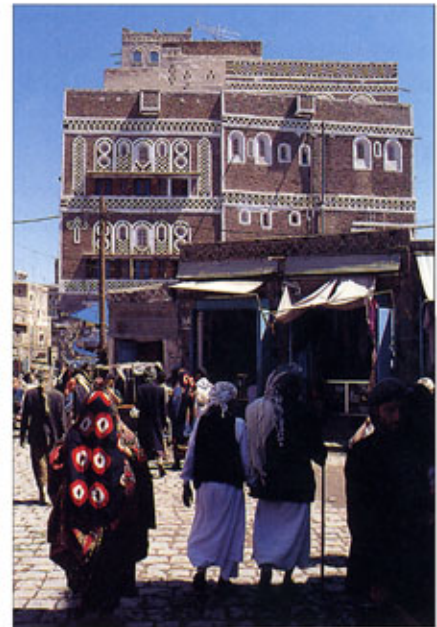
Finally, in the third group we identified innovators. Four projects were selected, projects that recognise that changing times require new solutions, not just to old problems but to new problems that are not yet fully posed. Problems that the insightful sense and half perceive. The new requires leaps of the imagination that break with the conventional and define possibilities not perceived by others. This is the task of the innovators, the risk takers. By breaking new ground they expand the scope of the possible for all those who follow, refine, and improve.

This group of Awards, recognising innovative concepts, is explicitly geared to encourage risk taking by future aspirants to the Award. Only thus will imaginations be unleashed to generate new ideas, and through ideas, even now, we are inventing the future.

### **Watering the Garden**

No man is an island, and no society can remain isolated from the world. What do the twelve projects selected to receive the 1995 Aga Khan Award for Architecture and framed in the critical, analytical matter we have developed, say to the Muslim world or to the world at large? Are these Awards indeed going to 'water the garden' and let a thousand flowers bloom? Will these flowers truly take 'Architecture Beyond Architecture'? These are our intentions. Let others, many others, join us in this step forward to take on the many challenges of our times.

In the forty-seven 'least developed' countries of the world, ten per cent of the world's population subsists on less than 0.5 per cent of the world's income. Some 40,000 people die from hunger-related causes every day. Many of the poor who survive lack access to the basic requirements for a decent existence. More than one sixth of the world's population lives a marginalised existence.



Conservation of Old Sana'a, view along street looking to Bayt 'Attayah

Urban poverty has reached unprecedented levels, and architectural heritage will be under threat as the urban populations of the developing countries will treble over the coming generation. Outside the city the forests are being cut down. The soils are rapidly eroding, and water is becoming more scarce. Desertification, climate change, and loss of biodiversity are global concerns.

Therein lies the challenge before us. Will we accept such human and ecological degradation as inevitable? Or will we strive to help – in Franz Fanon’s evocative phrase – ‘the wretched of the earth’? Will we accept that we are no longer responsible for future generations, or will we try to act as true stewards of the earth? Will we accept the anomie and loss of identity that accompany urban sprawl and environmental degradation, or will we seek through a bold, yet sensitive architecture and urbanism to revitalise the cities, restore the heritage and symbolise a better state of being for the future? Together, let us think of the unborn, remember the forgotten, give hope to the forlorn, and reach out to the unreached. With bold and thoughtful actions today, we can lay the foundation for better tomorrows.



Restoration of Bukhara Old City,  
Chashma-Ayub mausoleum



## SPIRITUALITY AND ARCHITECTURE

*Mohammed Arkoun*

*Architecture is 'built' meaning. It fatefully expresses who we are.*  
Charles Jencks

*[Harmonious proportions] arouse, deep within us and beyond our sense, a resonance, a sort of sounding board which begins to vibrate. An indefinable trace of the Absolute which lies in the depth of our being. This sounding board which vibrates in us is our criterion of harmony. This is indeed the axis on which man is organised in perfect accord with nature and probably with the universe. Le Corbusier*

*They will ask you concerning the Spirit. Say to them, the Spirit (rûh) is from the Command of my Lord and of knowledge you have been vouchsafed but little. Koran 17, 85*

The concept of spirituality is loaded with complex and different meanings; it is used loosely in contexts as different as religion, architecture, music, painting, literature, philosophy and alchemy, as well as in spiritualism, astrology, esoteric knowledge, et cetera. The quotations above refer to three different levels of conceptualisation. The first level is art and architectural criticism, which is supposed to make explicit, in a rational, analytical discourse, the 'harmonic proportions' inherent in the work of artists and architects, which emerges in the form of a poem, a picture, a symphony or a building. The second level is the lyrical-romantic expression of that which the artist-creator feels and projects into words whose connotations are more complex, abstract and speculative than those the work of art can actually convey to the observer or receiver (for example, a building of Le Corbusier does not necessarily possess all the resonance expressed in the above quotation). The third level is religious discourse, which has been transformed by generations of believers into a fountainhead, a source of spiritual experience projected on to the 'revealed word of God'.

In this article, I shall not consider the visions, conceptions, practices and discourses generated in spiritism, esoterism, astrology, theosophy and animism, although these psycho-cultural spheres of human manifestation interact in many ways with the undefined field of spirituality, which is more related to creative imagination, aesthetic works in different fields of the arts, and religious and transcendental values. Because these overlapping forces, notions, concepts,

Behruz Çinici, conceptual sketch for  
the Mosque of the Grand National  
Assembly, Ankara



spheres and fields converge in the meaning of the word *spirituality*, the efforts of art critics, philosophers, theologians, historians, anthropologists and psychoanalysts are essential to achieve precision and coherence in a matter which, until now, has been continuously confused.

As an historian of Islamic thought, I agree with the architectural critic who raises such problems as 'the power of a reigning paradigm' (although I would qualify reigning paradigms to those in a given language and for each language in successive periods). There is also a problem of words, such as 'the creative use of new languages' stemming from 'the developing story of cosmogenesis'.<sup>1</sup> These issues demonstrate the profound cultural gap and historical discrepancies that exist between Islamic and western contexts as regards the critical confrontation of spirituality and architecture.

I shall begin with basic assumptions about spirituality in Islamic tradition, and then identify a number of unperceived and therefore unthought of issues which are raised by so-called religious architecture and spiritual expressions in contemporary 'Islamic' contexts.

### **Glimpses into Spirituality in Islamic Tradition**

In the series *World Spirituality*, Seyyed H Nasr edited two volumes devoted to Islamic spirituality: Volume I, *Foundations* (1987) and Volume II, *Manifestations* (1991). In these works, spirituality is presented as a purely religious quest originating with the Koran and the Prophetic Tradition (Hadith); rites are described in their 'inner meaning', and Sufism is named 'the inner dimension of Islam'. Reality itself is reinterpreted in the framework of this constructed spirituality; literature, thought, architecture and the arts are also annexed to this spirituality, which is actually a complex combination of subjective desires, hopes, and representations embodied in rites and words, and projected on to spaces, places, time, cultural works and so forth.

God, the angels, the cosmos and eschatological expectations are simultaneously both sources and objects of 'spiritual' contemplation, the initiators and ultimate references of the systems of values and beliefs transmitted and reproduced with devotion in each spiritual tradition. All individuals born and trained in such a tradition spontaneously share the inherited 'values' and psychological mechanisms of

spiritualisation, sacralisation, transcendentalisation of the profane, and the modest realities of their own environments. It is crucial to make a clear distinction here between spirituality, sacredness and transcendence as substantive values used in theology and classical metaphysics, and spiritualisation, sacralisation and transcendentalisation as the products of the agents of social, cultural and historical activities. This difference will become clear with the following example of the 'wrong' mosque.

This means that spirituality in all cultural traditions has not yet been analysed and reinterpreted with the new conceptual tools that were elaborated in the neurosciences to 'map' the spiritual functions of the brain. Thus, the history of spirituality has to be (re)written in light of this neuroscientific approach. Fundamentalist believers from all religions will immediately reject such a 'positivist' explanation. It is true that intellectual modernity has generated two competitive psychological postures of mind: the spiritualist attitude sticks to the mythical, metaphorical, lyrical cognitive system taught by traditional religions (as described in the *World Spirituality* series); the empirical scientific attitude does not negate spirituality and its various manifestations but aims to elucidate, as I have said, and to differentiate between spirituality, spiritualism, phantasmagoria, subjective arbitrary representations, theosophic constructions, et cetera.

This critical approach to spirituality is particularly absent in Islamic contexts today; political scientists and sociologists speak of the 'return of religion', the 'awakening of Islam', the struggle of an emotional, unthought spirituality opposed to 'western materialism and positivism'. Within these confusing ideological discourses, which are disguised with religious claims and vocabulary, great architects are commissioned to revitalise, restore and preserve 'Islamic' cities; to design 'Islamic' urban patterns, not only with select, often stereotypical 'Islamic' features, but also with mosques juxtaposed to – or inserted in – airports, universities, banks, hospitals, justice palaces, parliaments, factories, and so forth. Whether the architects themselves do or do not have an Islamic background is not a priority issue; what matters more is the content and the functions they give to spirituality in the present cognitive, anthropological mutations that are imposed upon the human condition. It is a well-documented



fact that many leading architects who endeavour to build mosques in 'the spirit of Islam' have neither a critical historical understanding of this difficult concept (ie, the spirit of Islam), nor an anthropological approach to what I have called the metamorphosis of the sacred.<sup>2</sup> Are the main components of the mosque – mihrab, minbar, minaret, courtyard, ablutions – intrinsically Islamic and therefore unchangeable through time and culture, or are they arbitrary forms and signs made orthodox by theological definitions, made sacred by collective ritual functions established over centuries? Islamic thought itself has not changed – intellectually, conceptually, politically, culturally – to any significant degree since the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. On this issue, let us consider two striking verses from the Koran:

And those who took a place of worship [*masjid*] out of opposition and disbelief, in order to generate dissent among the believers and to provide a place of ambush for those who warred against God and His messenger aforetime, they will surely swear: we purposed naught save good. God bears witness that they verily are liars.

Never stand there [for prayer]! A place for worship founded for piety from the first day is more worthy that you stand in it. Therein are men who love to purify themselves; God loves the purifiers. (9, 107-108)

These two verses clearly show how spiritual values, sacred places and religious truths which are considered to be absolute, intangible and ultimate references, are historically contingent and dictated by a violent confrontation between social and political groups of 'believers' still struggling for survival; the opposing group, called the 'warriors against God', founded a place for worship to compete with the same semiological tools used by the 'believers'. Potentially, at this point in the competition, either of the two groups could have won the confrontation and imposed its own semiological code as the transcendental, sacred, unalterable model for pious reproduction.

### A Reappraisal of Religious Architecture

The 1995 Master Jury had long and fruitful deliberations on two mosques: the Great Mosque of Riyadh and Redevelopment of the Old City Centre of Riyadh, and the Mosque of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara. Rather than

proposing any kind of model to be followed, the Award has always aimed to encourage rich and much-needed debate on innovative solutions to changing situations and new challenges. The Jury felt that neither of the two considered mosques deserved an award purely for architectural merit; but both raised important problems related to religious architecture in two very different ideological contexts. The solutions proposed in each are clearly dictated by two polar stances toward Islam and secularism (*laïcité* in French).

In Riyadh, the mosque conforms strictly to traditional constraining models with all of the usual components; as in all heavily-financed mosques throughout the world, including Europe, religion is celebrated in architecture with large volumes, ostentatious luxury and sumptuous spaces, which suggest the will to power, material wealth and physical comfort, rather than a concern for aesthetic emotions, feelings of harmony and intimate peace, or the compulsion for spiritual contemplation. The architect of the Riyadh mosque is Muslim; he is certainly familiar with the ancient and recurrent opposition between *taqlid* (the strict reproduction of orthodox teachings in one of the recognised theological-juridical schools) and *ijtihad* (the personal intellectual endeavour to seek new, original solutions for new manifestations). Facing the task of building a mosque in an urban setting largely shaped by modern city planning and pompous modern buildings, is exactly the same as searching for a new definition of the 'personal status' (*al ahwâl al-shakhsiyya*) or expression of 'orthodox' forms, features and components of mosques; similarly, no theologian-jurist can introduce any change in the 'personal status' which is fixed by divine law.

How did the Turkish architect handle the same problem? Turkey is a secular (*laïque*) republic; the Grand National Assembly was created by Atatürk in 1923. Similar to the French Republican model, religious beliefs are private affairs, and control of public space is the monopoly of the state; these factors are why the commission for a mosque on the parliament premises could not be made by the Turkish deputies until 1984. The challenge is unique in the contemporary Muslim world, and we can easily imagine the enormous difficulties that the architect had to confront in order to build a mosque which looks more like a modest chapel, scaled down and hidden underground. The triumphant

Behruz Çinici, conceptual sketches for the Mosque of the Grand National Assembly, Ankara



minaret is suppressed, the mihrab opens on to a beautiful green garden; the main mosque components usually expected and demanded in a mosque are avoided or modified. Whether this *ijtihad* is a success or failure in architectural terms remains to be considered, but the posture of mind adopted by the architect to interpret – in a modern context – an old, venerable, semiological legacy deserves to be brought to attention and considered as an exceptional debate within the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, which, as an organisation, is a unique space for freedom: for free thinking, free expression, and free and constructive criticism which starts from and relies upon architecture, artistic creativity and spirituality, not on abstract, dogmatic, militant ideologies. It is obvious that the mosque in Riyadh aims to translate into an architectural vocabulary the orthodox theological statement that God's sovereignty supersedes any human claim to sovereignty, although the neo-traditional design of the mosque, its conservative style and the lavish materials fail to deliver an authentic spiritual message. The mosque of the Grand National Assembly does the opposite: it affirms the priority – but not necessarily the primacy – of people's sovereignty in a secular, democratic republic, and the privatisation of religious belief or God's sovereignty.

The 1995 Master Jury does not favour any one of these competing statements, but there is an urgent need to provide more examples, more potential solutions that can enhance criticism and cultural debate in the still poorly-explored field of architecture and the urban fabric. The contention is that architects, more efficiently than intellectuals and scholars, can resist the devastating violence generated by the confrontation of religion, state and society (*Dîn, Dunyâ, Dawla* – the three major concepts developed in classical Arabic thought) at a greater scale than all societies and cultures in history have achieved thus far. This means that all important architectural achievements contribute either to strengthening the dominant ideology in any given historical tradition and political order, or to creating a breakthrough in the inherited, imposed system of values and beliefs. In contemporary Islamic contexts, the second possibility still meets with many obstacles; the historical, intellectual and cultural gap between these contexts and those of western societies, where 'the jumping universe' is explored, thought about and

expressed simultaneously in all fields of human existence. This gap is widening, and is likely to increase even more in the next few years.

If, like other artistic expressions, architecture translates the main trends of the dominating cognitive system and cultural representations in a given tradition, we must recognise that the built environment in contemporary so-called Muslim societies is under the influence of a generalised ideological *bricolage*, which can also be described as a semantic disorder. High Tech images such as the Hajj airport terminal in Jeddah, the IBM tower in Kuala Lumpur or many other public buildings emerge among the more or less stereotypical 'traditional' city centres with their conventional mosques in redundant, populist or ostentatious styles and their monotonous social housing complexes and slums. The rift that has developed between the hard and the social sciences; between high technology and the quest for authenticity and identity; between the demands for modern, efficient economies and the dogmatic rigidity in 'moral', religious and juridical authorities that delay the emergence of citizens, individuals, civil society and patriarchal political systems perpetuating, in many cases, predatory states, must be analysed in order to explain why the quest for meaning has such a long way to go in combatting the wills to power. My contention is that the field of 'spirituality and architecture' is the richest, the more promising and most rewarding, where human desire for better life and affective, aesthetic environments can best achieve pluralist manifestations and optimal satisfaction.

#### Notes

- 1 Charles Jencks, *The Architecture of the Jumping Universe*, Academy Editions, London, 1995, p153.
- 2 *In The Mosque*, edited by Martin Frishman and Hasan-Uddin Khan, Thames and Hudson, London, 1994, pp268-72.



# CRITICAL DISCOURSE FOR CREATIVE TRANSFORMATIONS

## *Report of the 1995 Award Master Jury*

The Master Jury for the Aga Khan Award for Architecture met three times, October 3-5, 1994; January 25-27, 1995; and June 5-9, 1995. We reviewed 442 projects, twenty-two of which were reviewed *in situ* by technical reviewers. The jury deliberations led to a consensus that we should bring a more critical dimension to the message of the Awards. We became convinced that the Award, having well established its pluralistic message, must move to a sharper critique of the architectural and social problematic confronting the Muslim world. Such a critique, we believe, will have relevance beyond the Muslim world and will make a contribution to the international architectural and social discourse on the eve of the third millennium.

From the 442 nominations, we selected twelve projects and grouped them in relation to three themes:

- projects that address a critical social discourse
- projects that address a critical architectural and urbanistic discourse
- projects that introduce innovative concepts worthy of attention

The emphasis on the word critical is intentional. The Award is uniquely placed to engender a critical discourse on architecture and society, more so now than ever before. Today, the virtues of pluralism are overshadowed by intolerance, and ideological pressures restrict the space of freedom so necessary for critical discourse.

It is our belief that these projects illustrate an important message for the Muslim societies of today. More importantly, we feel that these messages are of universal relevance and constitute an important contribution that the architecture of the Muslim societies of today can make to the architectural and social discourse of the world. The jury wants to highlight not only the specificity of the solutions, but also their generic contributions and replicability.

We see the role of a new critical discourse as being projective rather than retrospective and so have introduced the category 'innovative concepts', explicitly geared to encourage risk taking by future aspirants to the Award. Only thus will imaginations be unleashed to generate new ideas; and through ideas, even now, we are inventing the future.

*Professor Mohammed Arkoun*

*Nayyar Ali Dada*

*Darmawan Prawirohardjo*

*Peter Eisenman*

*Professor Charles Jencks*

*Mehmet Konuralp*

*Luis Monreal*

*Dr Ismail Serageldin*

*Professor Alvaro Siza*

Geneva, 9 June 1995

## RECIPIENTS OF THE 1995 AGA KHAN AWARD FOR ARCHITECTURE

### **Critical Social Discourse**

Restoration of Bukhara Old City, Uzbekistan  
Conservation of Old Sana'a, Yemen  
Reconstruction of Hafsia Quarter II, Tunis, Tunisia  
Khuda-ki-Basti Incremental Development Scheme, Hyderabad, Pakistan  
Aranya Community Housing, Indore, India

### **Critical Architectural and Urbanistic Discourse**

Great Mosque of Riyadh and Redevelopment of the Old City Centre,  
Riyadh, Saudi Arabia  
Menara Mesiniaga, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia  
Kaedi Regional Hospital, Kaedi, Mauritania

### **Innovative Concepts**

Mosque of the Grand National Assembly, Ankara, Turkey  
Alliance Franco-Sénégalaise, Kaolack, Senegal  
Re-Forestation Programme of the Middle East Technical University,  
Ankara, Turkey  
Landscaping Integration of the Soekarno-Hatta Airport, Cengkareng, Indonesia



## A CRITICAL SOCIAL DISCOURSE

The rapidly urbanising Muslim world faces many social challenges. Population growth, influx of rural migrants and an evolving economic base all challenge the ability of cities to provide jobs and livelihoods. Crumbling infrastructure, poor and overstretched social services, rampant real estate speculation and weak governments put tremendous pressure on the central cities, often the *loci* of an invaluable architectural and urban heritage, while the degradation of the urban environment limits the abilities of a growing homeless population to take root and establish communities with even a minimum standard of housing. Such pressures stoke animosities between economic and ethnic groups, and tensions within the cities fray the social fabric as much as economic speculation transforms the urban tissue. The inner historic cities are increasingly ghettoised, with the middle class fleeing the historic core and economic activities actively destroying its very fabric.

In light of these spiralling difficulties, the Master Jury has selected five projects, each of which exemplifies one facet of a solution to these problems. Together they not only speak to the Muslim world, but also contribute to the international debate about the problems of rapid urbanisation, historic cities and the growing urban underclass.

The Bukhara and Sana'a projects represent valiant efforts to cope with the preservation of the character of a historic urban core, not just that of single monuments. In addition, there is a significant involvement of the local communities in reclaiming their heritage. The rejuvenation of the economic base of the historic centre and its links with the rest of the city is clearly recognised as a goal in both projects, although here Bukhara is more advanced than Sana'a, where problems of vehicular access and solid waste management remain.

Hafsia is exemplary in its revitalisation of the economic base and diversification of the inhabitants of the old medina. It is a financial, economic and institutional success. Cross-subsidies made the project financially viable as a whole,

and the rates of return on investment have been high. The reduction of population density in the old *wekalas* has been successfully accompanied by a sensitive resettlement scheme, and the removal of the previous rent-control law has effectively lifted the obstacle to commercially financed rehabilitation of rental units. All of these changes have been accompanied by a sensitive treatment of the urban fabric, including the integration of the old city with the surrounding metropolis.

The Khuda-ki-Basti Incremental Housing Scheme at Hyderabad, Pakistan, successfully addresses the problem of accommodating large numbers of very poor people. Through a sensitive participatory process, the scheme succeeds in giving the homeless poor access to land tenure, and assists them in incrementally establishing homes as their means allow. The emergence of a community where once only destitute and homeless people eked out an existence is an inspiring social transformation that speaks volumes about the improvement of the urban condition, even if the external appearance of the structures and the layout of the streets are not exemplary urban design.

The Aranya housing project in Indore, India, is a unique case of a distinguished architect intervening in support of a sites and services scheme to create a coherent urban design and sensitive housing models around core service units that can be built incrementally. By consciously reflecting the mix of Muslim, Hindu and other communities among the poor beneficiaries, and arranging for shared common facilities and social spaces, the project successfully sets a precedent for pluralistic tolerance and co-operation. By including a mix of income levels, the project is financially viable, an essential ingredient for sustainability.

Each project exhibits the successful treatment of one important facet of the problems facing urban society today. Together they make an important contribution to the international discourse on these urban and architectural issues.



## SHELTER AND CONSERVATION IN AN URBANISING ISLAMIC WORLD

*Arif Hasan*

Almost the entire Muslim world is part of the Third World and, like the rest, is rapidly becoming urbanised. Most of its major cities have an annual growth rate of four to six per cent. Together, the populations of Istanbul, Cairo, Tehran, Karachi, Dhaka and Jakarta grow by an average of nearly 400,000 every year, and this figure will continue to increase in the foreseeable future. Most Islamic cities do not have the infrastructure to accommodate such large increases in population, which for the most part are poor, nor do most Islamic governments have the financial and technical capability to tackle the repercussions of rapid urbanisation through conventional approaches. Radical or innovative approaches or 'models' are rare, and seldom scaled up because conservative planners, bureaucrats and uninformed politicians who dominate the professional and political scene in most Islamic countries find them difficult to comprehend or support. In addition, the institutions and manpower necessary to scale up these models do not yet exist. Their creation requires not only dedication and love, but also consistent lobbying of politicians, bureaucrats, professional organisations and academic institutions.

The Islamic cities have not only expanded, they have also developed into modern industrial and trading centres that accommodate contemporary facilities such as airports, railways, road transport systems for people and cargo, and the enormous support and service systems sector that accompany these activities. In the majority of cases, much of this development has been partly *ad hoc* and has taken place in or close to the historic city centres. It has been accompanied by

massive environmental degradation and changes in land use. This has destroyed the scale and character of the old city centres and endangered, if not yet destroyed, the architectural and cultural heritage of Islam.

Apart from economic activity and the development of related infrastructure, the two major requirements of today's Islamic cities are the delivery of housing to low-income communities and the protection of the historic city from physical degradation and destruction.

Almost seventy per cent of the housing demand in the major Islamic cities is for the poor – a problem nearly every government has tried to tackle. They have built subsidised housing units and large sites and services projects. They have created housing banks and taken loans from bilateral international agencies for funding their shelter programmes. Technical assistance has been sought from the developed world for framing their housing policies, and some have even politicised the housing issue. In spite of these efforts, the supply and demand gap for shelter in the formal sector is increasing in actual numbers, even when it is declining in terms of percentages.

There is a number of reasons for this. The scale of the housing programmes is too small when compared to the demand. The cost of development is far too high for the target groups to afford. The procedures for acquiring a plot of land are cumbersome and involve complex bureaucratic procedures in societies where the relationship between officials and the poor is, in most cases, one of mutual hostility and suspicion. For people who still manage to

acquire a plot, there is no technical advice available for house building, which often must conform to by-laws and building codes that are inappropriate and expensive for poor and sometimes illiterate families. In short, housing strategy in the formal sector is not compatible with the culture, sociology and economics of low-income communities.

Then there is the issue of house-building loans for low-income groups. Rules and regulations of the housing banks find the very poor not loan-worthy. In addition, almost all loan programmes are for building houses, not for the purchase of land, whereas the major requirement of low-income groups in the Third World is the acquisition of land on which they can incrementally build their own shelter. Research has also shown that small loans with a short-term repayment schedule of two to three years can be recovered from the poor, whereas larger loans with a fifteen- to twenty-year repayment period have to be written off since default is common and a 'loanee' often disappears after selling his plot or house. All loans in the formal banking sector of Islamic societies are fairly large and are repayable in twelve- to twenty-year terms.

In the larger Islamic cities there has been a real estate boom in recent years. This has increased the cost of land considerably and made it difficult for housing projects for low-income groups to be appropriately located. It has also meant that much of the land reserved for, or allotted to, low-income families has been purchased by speculators, a fate that an increasing number of housing projects is meeting

The failure of the formal sector to provide housing for

low-income groups has led to the development of an informal sector that caters to the needs of the poor, and its strategy is compatible with their culture, sociology and economics. Many Islamic countries have initiated programmes of regularisation and upgrading of the settlements that have been created by the informal sector. However, much of this development, once regularised, is also subject to speculation, uncontrolled densification and commercialisation, in violation of building by-laws and zoning regulations.

The Incremental Development Scheme of the Hyderabad Development Authority in Pakistan, which has received an Aga Khan Award for Architecture in this cycle, has tried to follow the strategy of the informal sector in delivering land and services to low-income communities. It has also tried to overcome the other administrative and social constraints that governments face in dealing with the issue of shelter for the poor. So far, however, there are no projects that have dealt with the problems of densification and degradation of regularised informal settlements.

Low-income communities are now increasingly living in the degraded centres of historic Islamic cities. These city centres, often called 'old town' or 'walled town' by the inhabitants, are of two categories. The first occurs when most contemporary city functions move to the new areas of the city, of which the old town is not made an integral part. In this case, the old town is abandoned. Its traditional system of providing urban services and their maintenance and operation falls apart due to the social and economic changes that have taken place in all Islamic societies over the last

century. When the élite also leave for the new city, the old town loses its political power. Consequently, modern urban services are not developed properly; over time, marginalised groups and activities move in, and the ancient town decays.

In this case, conservation of the old town involves 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 among the community regarding the historic nature of the town and a sense of belonging to its history; and the creation of institutions, regulations and by-laws to make this possible and to sustain it over time. These conditions have been met in Old Sana'a and Bukhara.

In the case of cities where contemporary development and city functions have developed in the old town, this has led to considerable environmental degradation due to densification; the development of a services sector for transportation; development of manufacturing, storage and warehousing; as well as the departure of the élite, community institutions and administrative functions to the new city. In such cases, the old town is an integral part of the contemporary city. Its conservation is part and parcel of a larger city planning exercise involving the development of transport systems and relocation of important manufacturing and commercial functions. In the Islamic world, no successful project of this nature has been developed.

In this context, the decision to conserve and the development of related legislation is – irrespective of opinions to the contrary – a political act. Its success depends on the political

strength of the lobbies pressing for it and the receptiveness of the administrative and legislative agencies. Their receptiveness is related to the development priorities of these agencies, the educational and class backgrounds of the decision makers, and, more recently, on the pressure that can be exerted on these agencies by international loan organisations who play an increasingly important role in development-related decisions in Third World countries. The development of criteria for conservation work itself, on the other hand, is a local technical exercise. Given political will, adequate training and experience, professionals and local bodies can, over time, master it. However, relating the conservation plan to larger economic and social realities and their physical repercussions, and developing relevant and institutional support for it, is a far more complex affair, and it is here that almost all conservation efforts collapse. This failure is more often than not the inability to see conservation as a smaller part of a larger regional and city planning exercise that involves and empowers people in the process.

Shelter and conservation issues are becoming increasingly important in an urbanising Muslim world. The technical aspects of these two issues are far less important than the social and institutional aspects. One can even say that when shelter and conservation programmes educate and empower communities – build new institutions that are compatible with the reality of Third World societies; change the perception of and involve politicians in the programmes; and bring about change in university curricula in order to produce professionals to replicate the programmes – these issues are

far more important than technically perfect projects that do not accomplish such programmes.

It is not out of context here to mention that, by and large, Islamic societies today belong increasingly to the contemporary world and have contemporary values and aspirations, the so-called debate between ‘liberalism’ and ‘fundamentalism’ notwithstanding. Communities demand and struggle for education (especially education for girls), water, sanitation, social services and the benefits of modern civilisation, such as satellite television and mechanised transportation. When someone falls ill, one will still pray at a mosque, but the patient will be taken to a doctor and not to a traditional *hakim*. When a child is sent to school, it is preferred that he learns English so that he may do better in his future life, even if the parents are strongly religious or nationalistic. It is this pragmatism of contemporary Islamic societies on which a new world and its theoretical parameters can be constructed. But this can only be done if it is acknowledged that liberalism and fundamentalism in the Muslim world are ‘Siamese twins’ and not entirely separate entities.



# RESTORATION OF BUKHARA OLD CITY

*BUKHARA, UZBEKISTAN*



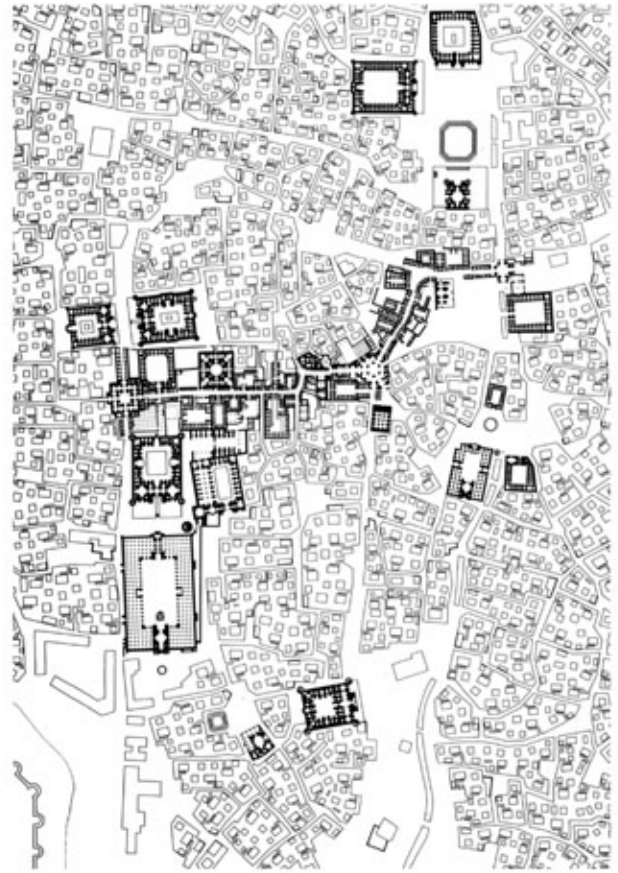
■ The restoration programme of Bukhara Old City, a legendary city of learning and culture, and a jewel of medieval Muslim urbanism, sends a strong message to the rest of the Islamic world of the importance to restore and reinvest old towns with new ways of life. Given the economic weakness of the newly independent republic in an increasingly competitive international economy, the local community has taken the primary responsibility to reclaim the old city as its own. The ensuing integration of the remaining elements of the old city into the modern city fabric has been sensitively achieved. The restoration work is of acceptable quality, and the sense of place has been enhanced. The re-use of the historic spaces and buildings has been an economic, social and architectural success. The surroundings have also been revitalised, galvanising new construction that is sensitive in scale and materials, and new economic activities.

The versatile and everyday uses that have been integrated into the old city have given it a new lease of life. The upgrading of utilities, paving of streets and restoration of the old town centre have virtually transformed Old Bukhara from a derelict slum into a viable, functioning, living urban space with a cultural and aesthetic focus that is attractive to local visitors and foreign tourists alike. The historic monuments are no longer isolated, like objects on show in a museum, but are once again in context, restored and knit into a thriving and bustling city in harmony with the surrounding modern areas of new Bukhara.

The combination of community effort and technical expertise represented in this project deserves high praise. 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 an important part of the living present, to be used and enjoyed by residents and visitors alike; a continuing inspiration for new architecture and urbanism.

■ Bukhara was first settled in the middle of the first millennium BC, but became an important commercial, artistic and intellectual centre particularly after the beginning of the eighth century AD. Its influence continued until the city was almost levelled by the Mongol hordes under Genghis Khan in 1226. When it was revived, Bukhara's position on Central Asian trade routes generated enormous wealth which the Timurids and Uzbeks used to commission architectural masterpieces, making Bukhara one of the most splendid cities in the Islamic world. In 1753, Bukhara became an independent khanate, continuing as such until 1868, when it was incorporated into Tsarist Russia. Following World War I it was taken by the Bolsheviks, and a number of monuments suffered from bombardment during the conflict. Uzbekistan became an independent republic with the collapse of the USSR in 1990, with Bukhara as the capital of one province.

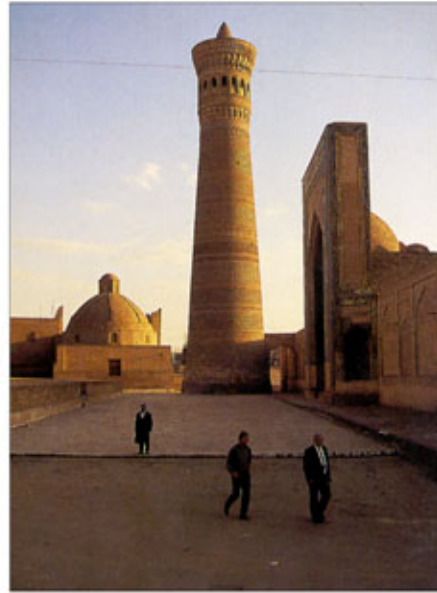
The old city of Bukhara has 500 standing monuments within its ramparts, including twenty-four madrasas, forty-eight mosques, fourteen caravanserais, nine mausoleums, four trading domes, the Ark Citadel, and many hammams, old houses, and canals, as well as sections of the city ramparts and gates. The primary aim has been to conserve the major monuments and architectural landmarks in the centre of the old town and to integrate them with the life of the surrounding city.



ABOVE: *Reconstructed plan of the seventeenth-century city centre, after Klaus Herdeg; BELOW: The Ark Citadel was the seat of the Emir of Bukhara until 1917, and today houses a museum which displays the history of the city*

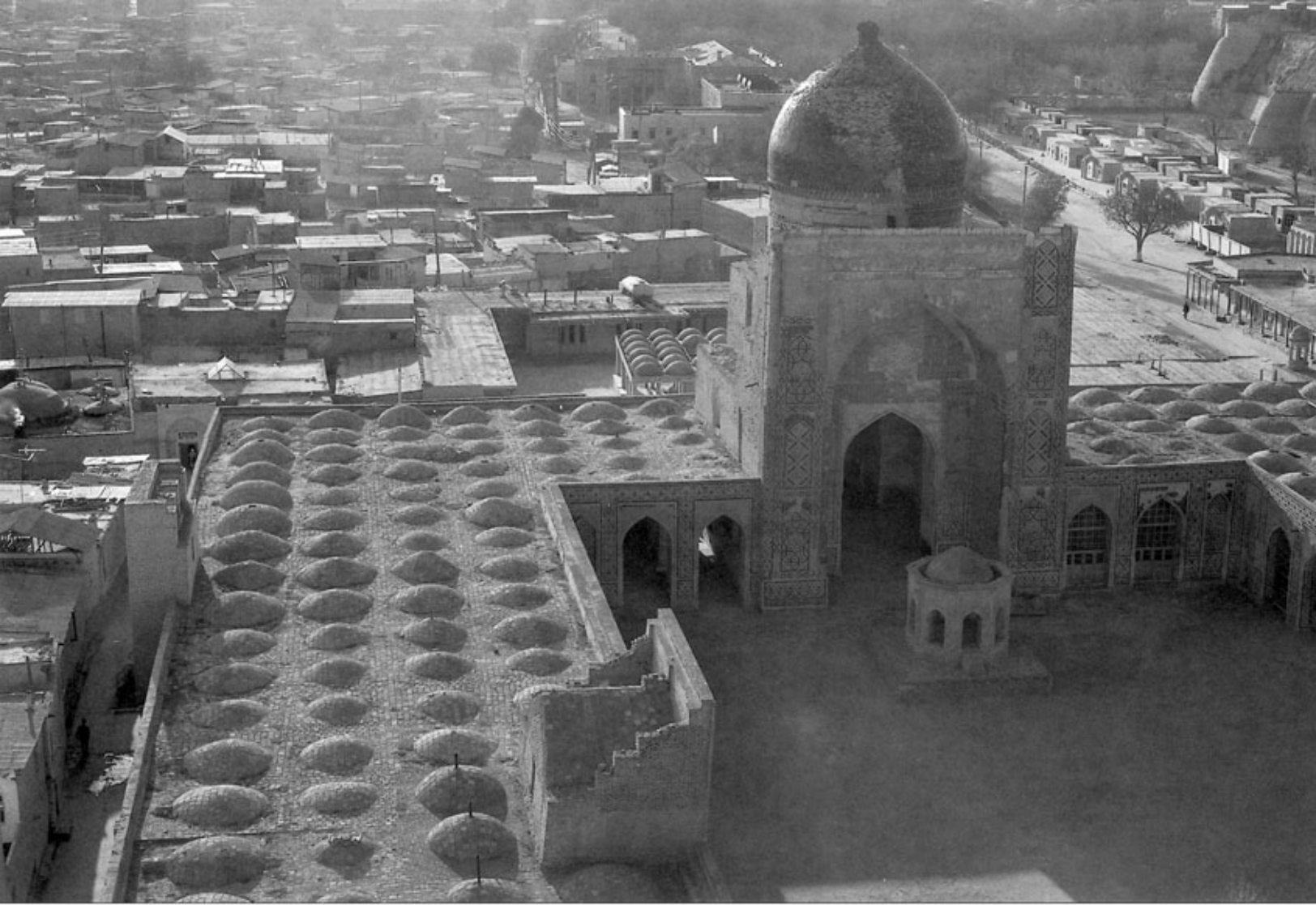
The few monuments that survived the Mongol invasions of 1226 – the Samanid mausoleum, the Magak-i Attar Mosque and the Kalyan Minaret – and the Kalyan Mosque (1514), the trading domes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – the Taq-i Sarrafan, Gaukushan and Zargaran – and the madrasas of Ulugh Beg (1417), Kalyan (1515), Mir-i Arab (1536), Divan Begi (1619) and Abdul Aziz Khan (1652), were among the many studied and restored. Modern eyesores built in the 1950s were removed, which improved the articulation of spaces and opened up the old centre, enhancing the lines and masses of Bukhara's distinctive architecture. Electricity supplies were upgraded and a sewage system was installed, although the latter has not yet been connected to the whole town. Streets were paved with asphalt or concrete slabs, and the spaces around the monuments were paved with baked bricks, reducing the level of dust and making the old city a more attractive place in which to live, shop and walk.

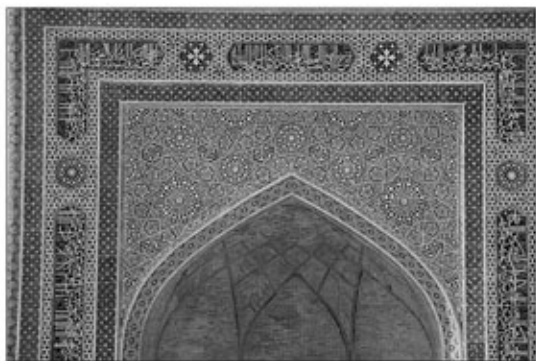
Buildings were restored to their original forms using traditional decorative features and motifs; no new additions were allowed. Baked brick, the basic building material in Bukhara, was used throughout the restoration. State regulations require that all buildings use reinforced concrete for load-bearing walls and portals as a necessary precaution against earthquakes, and so



*FROM ABOVE: The Poi-Kalyan, built between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries; Samanid mausoleum, built in the ninth and tenth centuries*







*OPPOSITE, FROM ABOVE: The Kalyan Mosque complex; New Bazaar in front of the Kalyan ensemble; courtyard of the mosque; ABOVE: View of the courtyard and surroundings; LEFT: Detail of tile work in the mosque*







the structural members of the monuments were rebuilt with that material. Traditional materials such as *ganj* mortar (a mix of lime, crushed alabaster and ash) are used wherever possible. Locally manufactured glazed tiles are commissioned and designed for each particular monument. The labour force is also local, and the master craftsmen are descended from a long line of craftsmen – their fathers and grandfathers also worked on preserving the monuments of Bukhara.

Bukhara was one of the major intellectual and learning centres of medieval Islam, but under Soviet rule the numerous madrasas could not be used for teaching purposes. Today only Mir-i Arab is used for teaching Islamic studies that include Arabic, the Koran and Hadith. More than 200 pupils from all over Uzbekistan are currently registered at the Mir-i Arab, where they stay for two years before going to Egypt or Saudi Arabia for further study. Other madrasas have been turned into craft centres, ateliers and galleries, thus providing venues for the craftsmen and women of Bukhara: coppersmiths, embroiderers on velvet and silk, felt-makers, enamellers, potters and ironmongers work side by side in the restored Divan Begi madrasa. The Abdul Aziz Khan is now the headquarters of the Bukhara Restoration Office, while Ulugh Beg will become an institute for training restoration workers. The Tim Abdullah



OPPOSITE: The Mir-i Arab madrasa and surrounding city fabric; FROM ABOVE: Mir-i Arab before and after restoration





*ABOVE: Divan Begi madrasa today houses many craftsmen's ateliers and shops; RIGHT: The popular tea houses around the Lab-i Hauz, opposite the Nadir Divan Begi Khanagah*





Khan has reverted to its original function as a silk and cloth warehouse.

The restored trading domes of the Taq-i Sarrafan, Zargaran and Tilpak Furushan now provide space for all sorts of retailers – astrakhan hats, embroidered caps, antiques, dry goods, china, food stuffs and ready-made clothes are again being sold in these domes. New shopping arcades have been built near the Ark Citadel and by the Kalyan madrasa, and have brought more business into the old town, especially during the Sunday bazaars.

The quality of restoration is adequate and, more importantly, is improving as a result of the Uzbeks' commitment to their heritage. On the whole, the brickwork is good, although the New Bazaar and most facades show rising damp and salt, a result of the high water table, which remains a serious problem for both old and new Bukhara.

The current revitalisation is a reoriented and expanded programme, begun in the late 1960s with a series of restorations. Today, as much attention is paid to the activities in the monuments and surrounding urban fabric as to the physical fabric itself. The Restoration Institute of Uzbekistan in Tashkent was created with the sole mission to revitalise the historic centres of old towns. The architects and restorers of the Tashkent Institute have worked with their counterparts in Bukhara to plan and carry out the



*FROM ABOVE: Interior of the Abdul Aziz Khan madrasa ceiling; Ulugh Beg madrasa*

restoration of Bukhara Old City. Since gaining independence in 1990, Uzbekistan has sought to define its national image, and the preservation and re-use of its architectural heritage are important components of this effort.

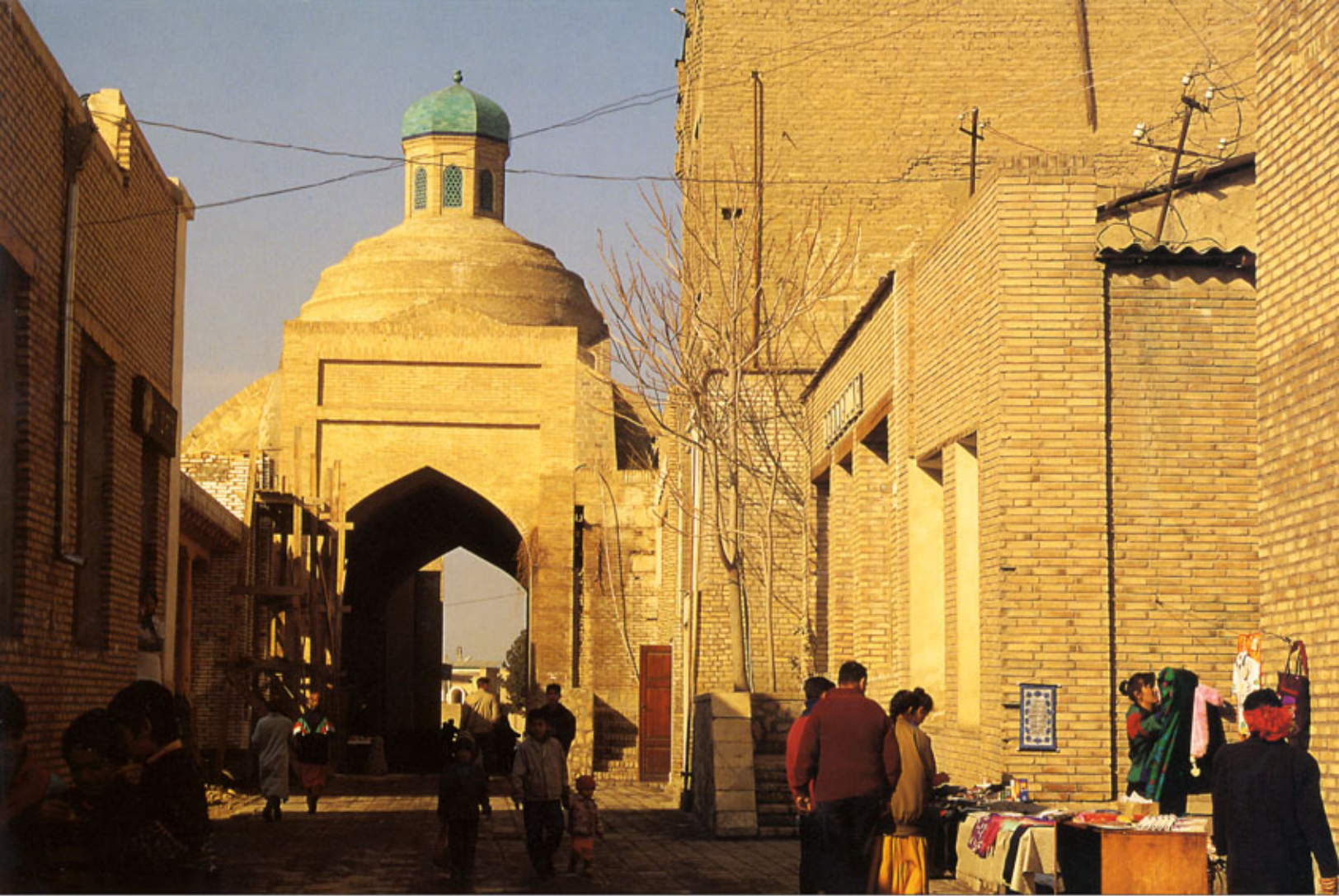
The restoration of Old Bukhara is an immense undertaking that will continue for years to come. For example, only some fifteen per cent of the monuments of Bukhara have been conserved to date. This mammoth task is being tackled practically and rationally, with imagination and foresight, by the staff of the restoration institutes in Tashkent and Bukhara. In spite of all the difficulties Uzbekistan faces, the government, talented specialists and the general populace display a commitment to protect the architectural heritage of their city in an extraordinary expression of cultural identity. *Selma Al-Radi*

*Completed 1975 and ongoing*  
*Restoration: Restoration Institute of*  
*Uzbekistan*  
*Restoration Office of the Municipality of*  
*Bukhara*  
*Client: Municipality of Bukhara*



*FROM ABOVE: The Taq-i Tilpak Furushan before restoration; many kinds of retailers have opened shops after restoration*





*ABOVE: Two of the main pedestrian streets cross at Taq-i-Sarrafan; LEFT: The New Bazaar, built in 1993, brings many people to the old city every day*

## CONSERVATION OF OLD SANA'A

*YEMEN*



■ Old Sana'a is a unique jewel of Arab Muslim architecture and urbanism. Closed to foreign influence for more than 200 years, the city entered the twentieth century in the late 1960s at the end of a civil war. The opening of the country to the outside world in the 1970s, and the growth accompanying the huge influx of dollars from the oil boom in neighbouring Saudi Arabia, combined with a rapidly growing population, placed considerable stress on the old city and its inadequate infrastructure and historic buildings.

The conservation project successfully addresses most of these problems, setting in motion a positive dynamic to counter them through some outstanding restorations of individual buildings, street repaving, the reclamation of gardens and the involvement of the local population. The project has also demonstrated an excellent capacity to co-ordinate the efforts of many parties, public and private, national and international, to implement the parts of a common plan, guided by a common vision. While some issues remain unresolved, the effort has already achieved the critical mass necessary to maintain its momentum to success.

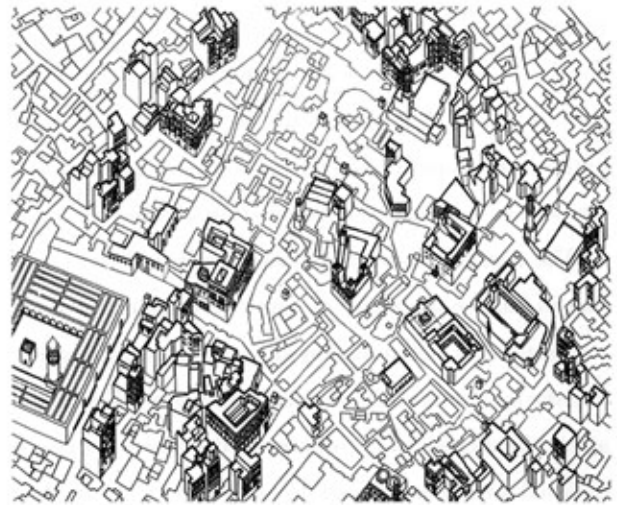
Old Sana'a illustrates that a positive response to the challenges of old cities is possible, even under difficult conditions. That it both protects the urban context – or sense of place – and revitalises the old city is indicative that an historic district can be kept alive, its economic base rejuvenated, and its links to the surrounding modern city reinforced. Much more than a restoration project, Old Sana'a is a worthy attempt at urban revitalisation.



■ For nearly two millennia the city of Sana'a has been an important political, economic and trading centre for southwestern Arabia. Its architectural heritage of multi-storey buildings decorated with geometric shapes and horizontal bands rendered in gypsum, of narrow streets, urban gardens, elegant minarets and imposing monuments has left an unforgettable impression on every visitor. For more than 200 years Sana'a was closed to foreign visitors, isolated and protected behind its mud walls, but with the end of the civil war in 1969, Yemen entered the modern world. The urban expansion of the 1970s and 1980s, a direct result of making Sana'a the capital of this new republic, began to threaten the fabric of the old city, and measures had to be taken during the oil-driven economic boom that affected the entire Arabian peninsula to protect it.

In 1984, the General Organisation for the Preservation of Old Sana'a was created. By 1987, the scope of its responsibilities was enlarged to include all of Yemen and its title changed to the General Organisation for the Preservation of the Historic Cities of Yemen (GOPHCY). Plans for conserving Sana'a were made with the assistance of UNESCO and UNDP, and technical assistance and funding provided by the Yemeni government and by Italy, The Netherlands, North Korea, Norway, South Korea, Switzerland and the United States. Technical

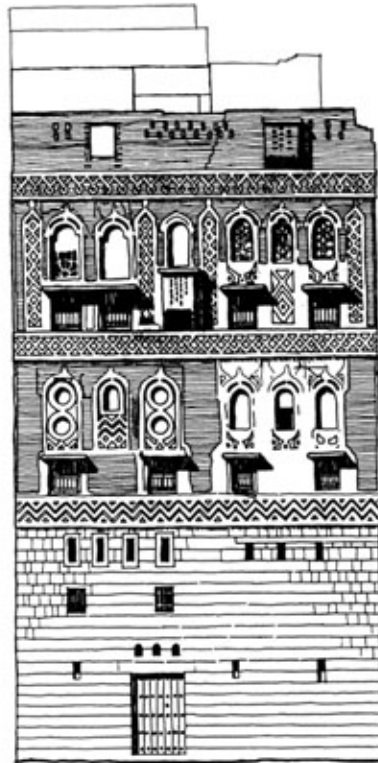
*BELOW: Aerial view of the central souk; plan of the old city area*





*ABOVE: Panorama of Old Sana'a;  
LEFT: Bab al-Yemen is the main  
entrance to the busy souks of the old  
city*





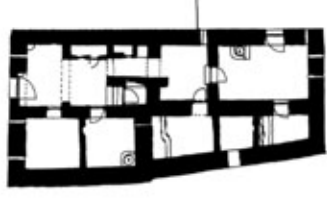
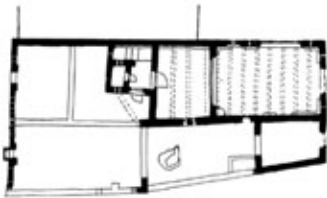
studies of the infrastructure of the old city led to the water supply and drainage systems being upgraded by the Yemeni government, and the streets being paved in pleasing, patterned bands of black basalt and white limestone. About fifty per cent of the old city's streets and alleys has now been paved, and the work continues. These basic and essential improvements have already transformed the lives of the inhabitants of the old city.

Numerous buildings have also undergone restoration. The first to be completed, the seventeenth-century Dar al-Jadid, became the headquarters of GOPHCY, and others were restored and given new functions: Bayt Mutahhar (c1600, with later additions) was turned into a women's technical school; Samsarat al-Mansurriyah (c1850) was opened as an art gallery; Samsarat al-Nuhas (c1800) became a craft centre; and Bayt al-'Umari (c1600) now serves as a guest house. Bayt Sari' (c1300, with later additions) reverted to its original owners after restoration by the Italians. Throughout the city, local owners were encouraged to renovate their houses under the guidance of GOPHCY.

The work continues: the Swiss government is in the process of restoring Bayt al-'Anbasah, and Bayt 'Attiyah has just been completed by GOPHCY. Renovations undertaken by the private sector include four hotels and numerous private residences.

*FROM ABOVE: Elevation; restoration work is carried out by the craftsmen using traditional techniques*

LEFT: Section and plans of Bayt 'Attiyah, showing representative building typology of the Sana'a houses; BELOW: Restoration work





Preservation work on the mud walls of the old city commenced in 1987 and is continuing, as is the reconstruction of the flood walls of Wadi Sailah, which will protect the old town from heavy monsoons. Outside the walls of the old city, in the nineteenth-century extensions of Sana'a and in Rawdah, another group of buildings has been restored by the private sector for use as private houses or hotels.

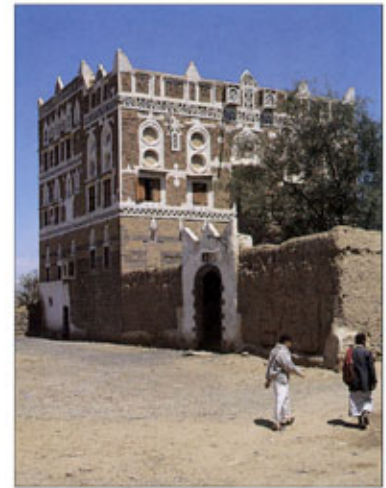
Both the public and private restorations have shown considerable sensitivity to the architectural features of Sana'a, incorporating traditional materials and construction techniques in the restoration process. Foreign architects and conservators, working closely with local craftsmen and unskilled workers, have created a pool of competent local restorers who can continue the work.

This project has saved Old Sana'a, which in the late 1970s was in the process of being deserted by its inhabitants and falling into decay. Paving the streets has revitalised the walled town, and improvements to the infrastructure have made the residential areas more desirable. Markets, of which there are several, are now more accessible to vehicular traffic, thus boosting business and revitalising the

area's once sagging economy. Cultural life in the old city is also improved with the addition of galleries and craft centres, which have encouraged the arts and provided employment for craftsmen.

GOPHCY still has many problems to solve. Chief among them are traffic congestion, pollution and the removal and effective disposal of garbage; these need careful thought and planning. Nevertheless, GOPHCY's success in directing the efforts of governmental, bilateral and multilateral projects has improved the quality of life in Old Sana'a, thus earning the good will of the inhabitants, which has begun to mobilise them in the process of continuing rehabilitation. *SA-R*

*Completed 1987 and ongoing  
Conservation: General Organisation for the  
Preservation of the Historic Cities of Yemen*



*FROM ABOVE, L TO R: Restoration of the mud walls surrounding the city is only partially complete; repaving approximately half of the old city streets has dramatically improved the area; Dar al-Hammam in Rawdah is an example of private sector conservation work*

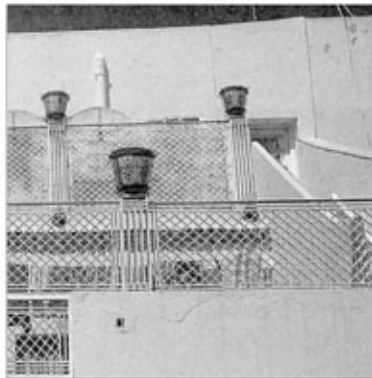


*BELOW: Courtyard; RIGHT, FROM ABOVE: Bayt Sari' (built 1300-1950) was restored in 1992, sponsored by the Italian government; the old streets have difficulty in accommodating traffic; numerous vegetable gardens and orchards punctuate the dense urban fabric*



## RECONSTRUCTION OF HAFSIA QUARTER II

*TUNIS, TUNISIA*



■ The historic cores of the cities of the Muslim world are under assault. These treasures of architecture and urban heritage are the victims of crumbling infrastructure and real-estate speculation. The middle-class flight from the historic core, together with their economic activity, was actively destroying its very fabric. The historic inner cities are increasingly becoming repositories of the poor in overcrowded and unsanitary conditions.

The Hafsia reconstruction programmes represent exemplary success in revitalising the economic base and diversifying the inhabitants of the old medina of Tunis. Middle-class residents have returned, making the medina once more the locus of social and economic integration. This project is a unique reversal of the negative trends seen in urban centres throughout the Muslim world.

Phase I of this project received widespread attention because of its ability to contain the damage of earlier misguided efforts at large-scale development in the area, in part by creating the covered souk which organically links the two parts of the old city, and by inserting housing that sensitively emulates the historic fabric. The key questions raised then were whether a second phase would accomplish more than simply developing a few new houses. The response over the past decade has been spectacular, and thus this second phase is recognised today.

In an amazing amalgam of public and private co-operation, the Municipality of Tunis, the Association de Sauvegarde de la Médina (ASM) and the Agence de Réhabilitation et Rénovation Urbaine (ARRU) have succeeded in reducing the enormous population densities in the old *wekalas* and helped the displaced with a sensitive resettlement scheme. Rehabilitation of the structures through credit schemes has worked extremely well, and removal of the rent-control law in 1993 effectively lifted the remaining obstacle to commercially financed rehabilitation of rental units.

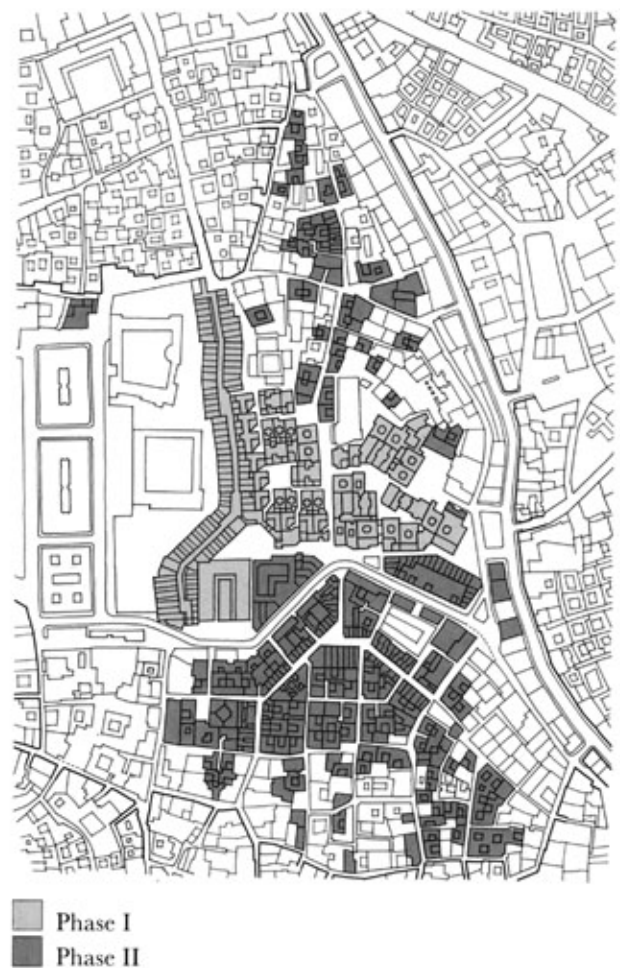
Hafsia II is a financial, economic and institutional success. Cross-subsidies have made the project financially viable as a whole, and the rates of return on investment have been high. All of this has been accompanied by a sensitive treatment of the urban texture and an integration of the old city with its surrounding metropolis. It is a project worthy of study and emulation.

■ The Hafsia Quarter, located in the eastern part of the medina or old city of Tunis, was traditionally the Jewish Quarter. After the establishment of the French protectorate, wealthy Jewish families abandoned the medina for the new 'European' city. The poorest families who remained were unable to maintain their homes, and the buildings fell into such a state of disrepair that the protectorate declared the area a health hazard in 1933. Municipal slum clearance and reconstruction projects were carried out in the 1930s and 1940s; the area again began to grow in importance in the 1950s because of its proximity to the developing modern quarters of Tunis. Despite the provision of new housing blocks in the area, a poor population continued to settle in the derelict houses of the Hafsia Quarter, and living conditions continued to deteriorate.

After Tunisia's independence from France in 1956, the Municipality of Tunis devised grandiose projects to upgrade the medina. In 1967, bulldozers moved into the populous quarter of Sidi El Bechir and almost incited a popular uprising. The grandiose projects were quickly abandoned, and the Association de Sauvegarde de la Médina (ASM) was established, with the aim of studying and rehabilitating the urban fabric of the old city, and of improving the living conditions of its inhabitants.

The medina is characterised by a dense fabric of courtyard houses served

*Plan of Hafsia Quarter, showing phases I and II*

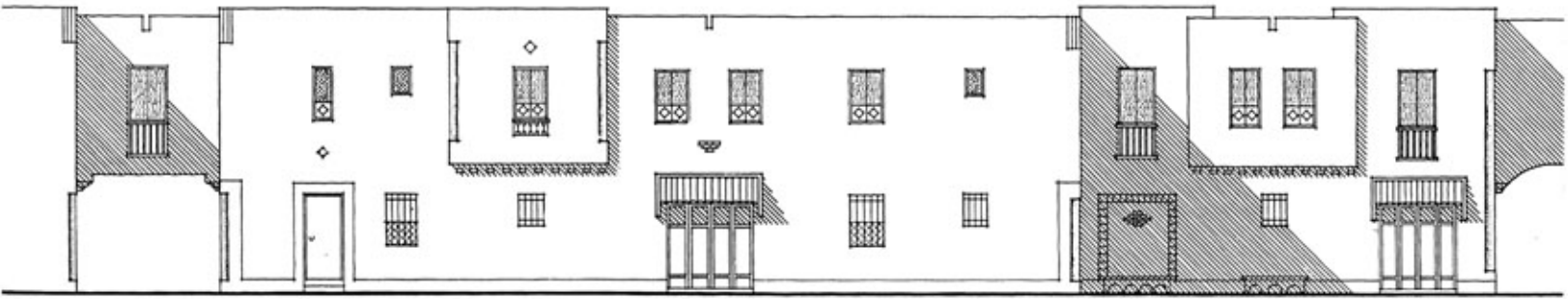






*ABOVE: Overall view of reconstruction in 1990; LEFT: Demolition of buildings in 1983*





by a web of narrow alleys and streets. The first phase of the Hafsia Quarter reconstruction, at the northeastern edge of the medina, was begun in 1972 and completed in 1980 – it received an Aga Khan Award in 1983. Souk el-Hout was reconstructed, and new office buildings and 95 housing units were built, the latter to provide suitable accommodation for the poor. Particular attention was paid to maintaining a harmonious relationship with the existing morphology of the old city.

Despite the successes of the first phase, the deterioration of the medina continued, and a Phase II reconstruction programme was launched, co-financed by the World Bank and the Tunisian government. The general objectives of the second phase were similar to those of the first, but with important additional components: the installation and improvement of utilities and street networks; the upgrading and restoration of existing structures; and the

building of new housing units, commercial and office spaces, underground car parks and public facilities on vacant land and sites cleared by demolition. User requirements were determined by physical and socio-economic surveys, and new building designs based on the traditional architectural vocabulary of the town. Plain white walls with projecting or recessed blocks contrast with deep openings and dark windows, while arcades and arched entrances to buildings and alleyways articulate the urban spaces. The roads are narrow and certain paths are restricted to pedestrian traffic. There are few outdoor spaces or landscaped areas for public use, but most housing units have internal courts or private balconies where families can create their own gardens.

The materials used to restore and rehabilitate the old buildings depend on their original structural system, but most required reinforcement with new



*FROM ABOVE: Street facade; the new structure respects the urban fabric of the old medina of Tunis; narrow streets provide shade for pedestrians*



concrete members. New buildings are constructed with reinforced concrete columns and beams, and with hollow concrete or cored terracotta brick walls. The external finish is stucco, with wide frames of glazed ceramic tiles around doorways. The technology, materials and labour force are all local. Low-technology construction methods were used throughout the project, and most of the labour force was unskilled – only the restoration work required skilled artisans. The municipality and utilities companies were responsible for the infrastructure networks and service facilities.

Most of the functional requirements of the Hafsia II project have been achieved. Phase II also introduced effective financial arrangements to achieve social amelioration. Residents were encouraged to own and rehabilitate their housing units through arrangements with the National Savings Fund for Housing. Vacant plots



*FROM ABOVE: Street facade; interior courtyard of the dispensary; BELOW: The upper floors of some houses bridge the alleys*



were sold, with the proceeds going to the housing fund to provide subsidised loans for the needy. Private ownership of property in the Hafsia Quarter has now reached 80 per cent. But the complete success of the rehabilitation component had been partly blocked by rent-control laws which did not allow for any increase of rent for improved properties. Thus, a reform of the legislation between landlords and tenants was necessary, and was finally introduced in late 1993.

The reconstruction of Hafsia Quarter II has succeeded in improving the local character of the area, both physically and culturally. The traditional fabric of the old town has been rehabilitated or recreated, and the infrastructure upgraded. The area has seen significant improvements in living conditions and its enhanced image has attracted more business. At the same time, this growth has stretched the capacity of the quarter, and traffic congestion is becoming a real problem. As property values have increased, developers have bought some of the residential areas, with the intention of creating commercial sites. *SA-R*

*Completed 1986 and ongoing*

*Planners/Architects: Association de*

*Sauvegarde de la Médina de Tunis*

*Client: Municipality of Tunis*

*Developer: Agence de Réhabilitation et  
Rénovation Urbaine (ARRU)*

*FROM ABOVE: Open urban spaces provide facilities for commercial activities; most houses have courtyards or balconies; decorative elements emphasise the exterior of houses in the long whitewashed facades; OPPOSITE, FROM ABOVE: The infill construction, along with the rehabilitated structures, integrate well into the old medina of Tunis; street facades*









**KHUDA-KI-BASTI INCREMENTAL  
DEVELOPMENT SCHEME**

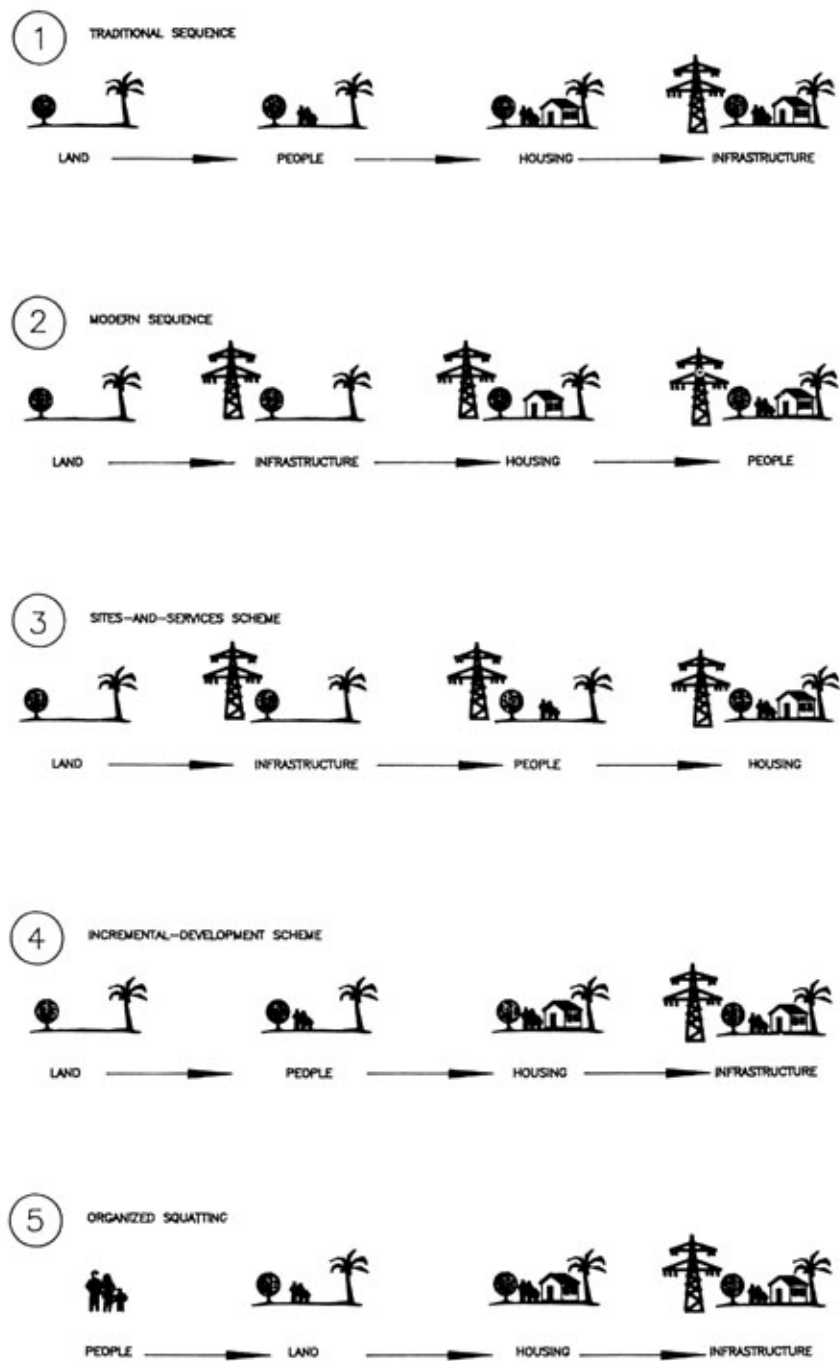
*HYDERABAD, PAKISTAN*



■ Homelessness that accompanies extreme urban poverty is on the rise everywhere. This will continue to be a major challenge in the cities of the Muslim world, which are expected to treble in size within a generation. The Incremental Development Scheme in Hyderabad shows that it is possible to reach the homeless and give them the opportunity to create communities of their own.

The key is access to land that cannot be appropriated by the middle classes. The project is based on a sensitive participatory process that identifies the truly poor and homeless through a screening process that involves a two-week waiting period at a reception site. It gives the participants a sense of dignity by providing access to ownership and involves them, through payments, in the selection of the improvements to be provided.

The actual housing is built incrementally as individual incomes allow; the social transformation is profound and inspiring. A non-governmental support group (NGO), created by the initiators of the project, is now working with the community to provide technical and moral support, with the continuing goal of sustainability. This project, which has successfully reached the apparently unreachable, is financially sustainable and economically viable, and deserves widespread recognition and emulation.



■ The 5,500-acre Gulshan-e-Shahbaz housing scheme is located in Hyderabad, an historic city and once the capital of Sindh. One section was renamed Khuda-ki-Basti or ‘Allah’s settlement’, by its residents. The project lies in a flat area near the highway between Karachi and Hyderabad, close to the town and industrial area of Kotri. In Pakistan, land from sites and services schemes is usually acquired by middle-income families. In an attempt to reach the lowest income groups, the Hyderabad Development Authority (HDA) launched an incremental development scheme based on the idea that *mohajirs* (immigrants) be given the chance to settle on land before building a house or acquiring infrastructure. The idea developed after studying the growth and dynamics of illegal subdivisions, where occupiers first settle on vacant land, then construct a shelter, and later incorporate the infrastructure. The HDA has followed that approach.

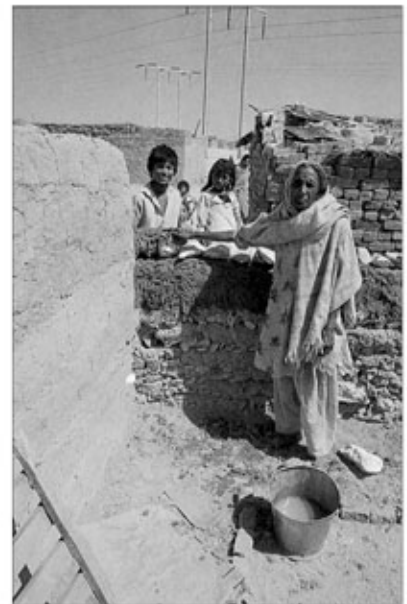
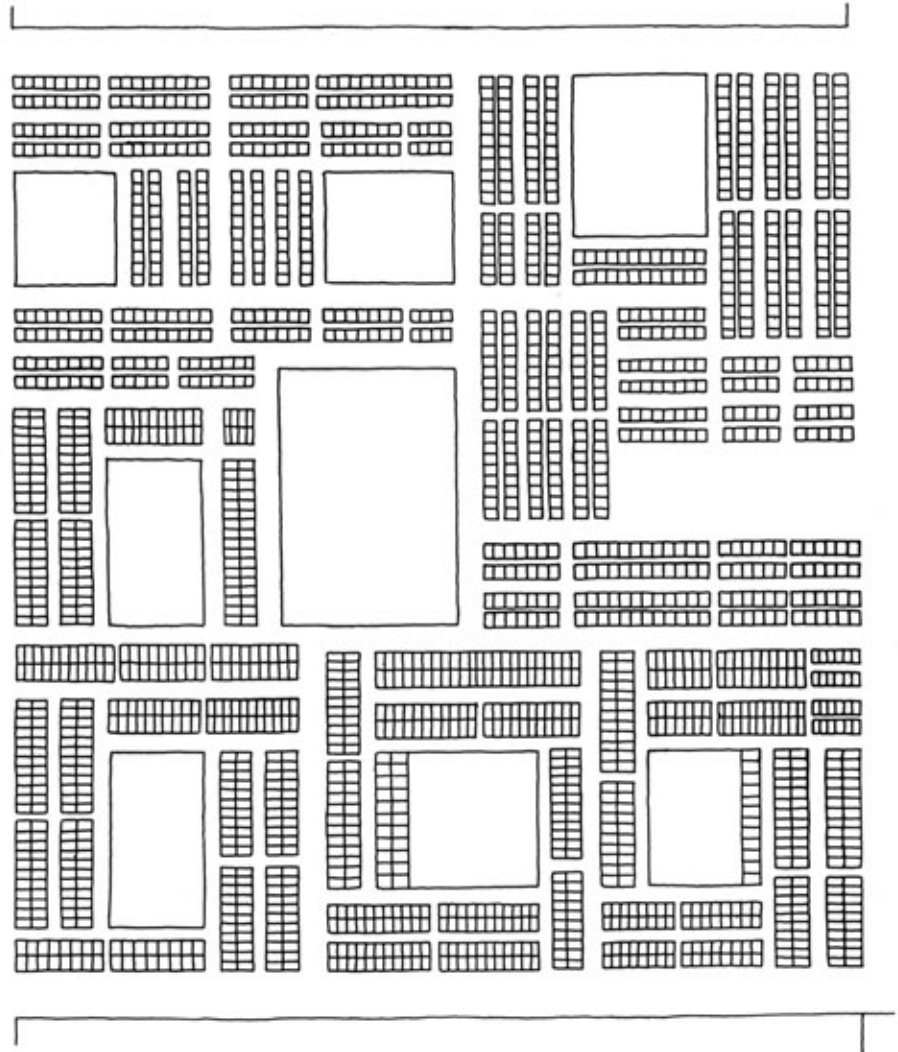
Alongside resolving the problem of housing for the urban poor and reducing the unplanned growth of slums, was a second, social objective to upgrade the living standards of the needier sections of the population by making land accessible for permanent ownership in a planned housing scheme, thereby integrating the urban poor into the mainstream of society. On arrival at Hyderabad, a poor family is required to stay in a reception area for 15 days. After being screened by the HDA and making a down payment of 1,000 rupees, the family is allocated an unserviced plot of land. The entire cost of a developed plot (9,600 rupees, or 50 US dollars) is borne by the owner in monthly instalments spread over eight years. As the repayments proceed, infrastructure developments are implemented and residents select the priority of utilities for their houses. The incremental development scheme is entirely self-financing with-

Processes of housing delivery





*ABOVE: Large streets are designed for infrastructure, to be provided by the government in later stages; LEFT: General view of the Khuda-ki-Basti settlement*

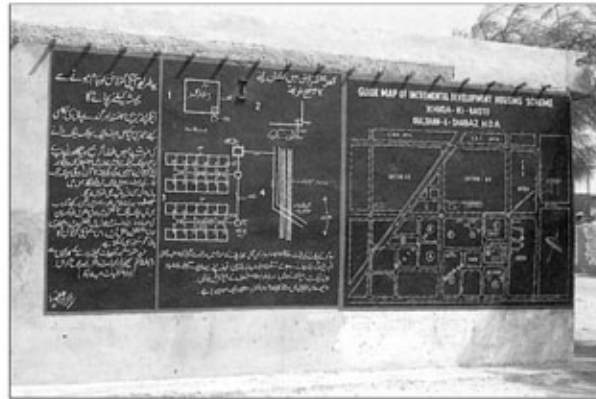


*FROM ABOVE, L TO R: Typical sector plan; provisional shelter erected to secure the plot; woman and children constructing shelter*

out any subsidy, formal or informal.

Within two weeks of receiving a plot, a family must begin to construct a house or else the allotment is cancelled. They can design and construct the house themselves in any material or style they can afford. The first structure is usually a *jhuggi*, a makeshift shelter of reeds, wood, cardboard or whatever materials are available, which provides privacy and protection. Slowly, a more permanent house of brick or cement block is erected, many with roofs of asbestos tiles or corrugated tin sheets. The majority of the houses are single-storey, but ten per cent of the owners add a second floor. Facades are brightly decorated, and some have cantilevered verandas with iron railings. Floors are of cement, and maximum use is made of the space of the houses and rear courtyards, as they frequently function as shops or centres for home crafts, industries and livestock breeding, thereby bringing a secondary source of income into the family coffers.

For every four houses there is one septic tank that is linked to a pumping station – the recycled water is used for agriculture. More than 70 per cent of the houses have individual water connections, and the others collect water from conveniently located pipes; electricity is also supplied to the area. Residents apply for individual connections to all utilities after they have paid the charges; monthly instalments eventually repay the actual cost.



*FROM ABOVE: Signposts act as an information medium between the NGO and the population; construction material is prepared on site for building permanent structures after the plots have been allocated*





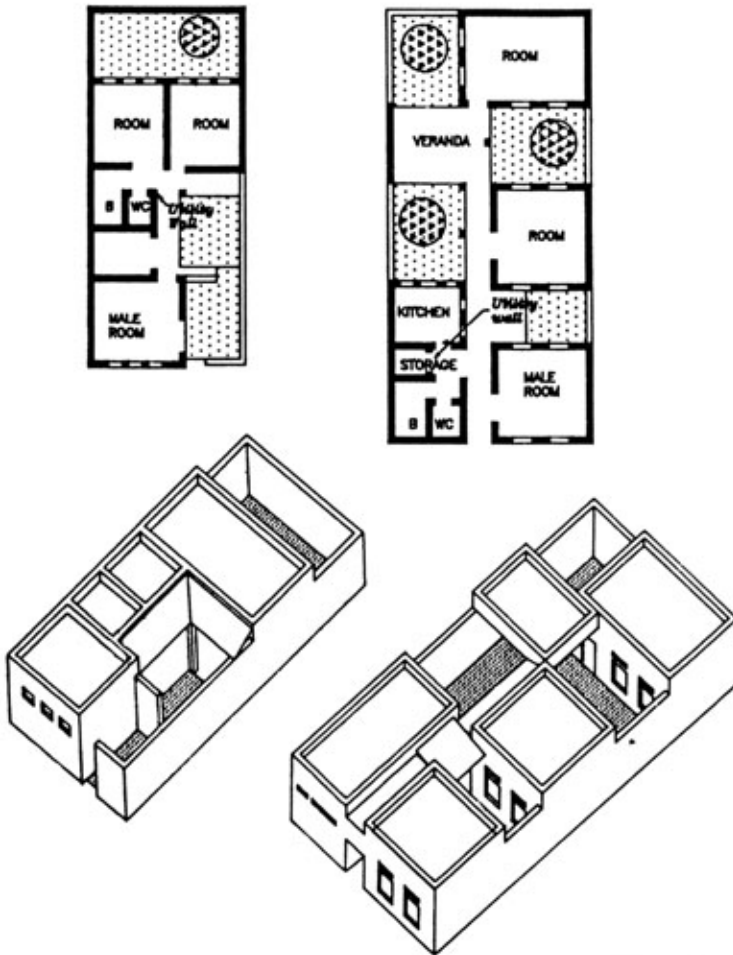
Khuda-ki-Basti is also provided with education and health facilities as well as an affordable transport service.

The difference between this settlement and the slum growths of Karachi and Hyderabad is its planned layout, conditions that permit permanent ownership and serviced utilities. The scene is one of constant development – a basic principle of incremental development. Houses are always being built, enlarged or repaired. Although the self-designed houses display an array of facade treatments and decorative elements, a uniformity of scale and proportion is evident throughout the site. The programme targets the urban poor (20 per cent) and the lower-middle classes (40 per cent) whose monthly income ranges from 500-1,000 rupees. A majority are *mohajirs* who were in a constant state of flux before these plots were made available.



FROM ABOVE, L TO R: Public buildings are built by people, for example, the cinema theatre; weaver's workshop; courtyard of a house; shoe repair shop





Linguistic groups are presently 70 per cent Sindhi and 30 per cent Urdu speakers, 85 per cent are Sunni Muslims, and the rest Shi'a. In each sector block, the residents choose community leaders, who liaise between the community and the authorities.

The Khuda-ki-Basti concept is centred around the home, the implication being that a better home leads to an improved life. It has stimulated and generated interest in many professional groups who deal with housing, especially because affordability is the basic concept. SA-R

*Completed 1989 and ongoing  
Clients and Planners: Hyderabad Development Authority, Tasneem A Siddiqui*



*FROM ABOVE, L TO R: Floor plans and axonometrics of typical utility-wall housing; courtyard of a house; greenery adds life to the established houses creating settled neighbourhoods*

# ARANYA COMMUNITY HOUSING

*INDORE, INDIA*



■ This project brings the attention and talents of a signature architect to bear on the problems of housing the poor and improving social harmony at a time of rising social strife.

Aranya replaces the insensitive grid plan so frequently associated with sites and services projects with a more suitable urban design, and attempts to provide an architectural vocabulary suitable to both the socio-economic circumstances and the climate. With the architectural vocabulary developed by the architect and a small utility core, opportunities are provided to build incrementally and affordably. The architect's demonstration units, while following standardised requirements for utilities and foundations, can be varied endlessly and provide a rich and provocative statement about low-cost housing.

But perhaps more important than the design goals this project has achieved are the social goals that it promotes, by creating common spaces where Muslims, Hindus, Jains and others in these neighbourhoods can mix, the project promotes co-operation, neighbourliness, tolerance and cohesive social relationships. In addition, it actively provides a socio-economic mix that allows for cross-subsidies and financial viability.

This is an unusually sophisticated scheme that should be widely studied. In a world of intolerance and strife, it is a beacon of enlightened and socially responsible architecture.





■ Indore is a commercial city with an acute housing shortage. Its many slum settlements are unplanned and crowded, consisting of clusters of huts forming neighbourhoods with small shops and streets that accommodate various social, economic and domestic activities. There are usually no utility services and virtually no infrastructure in these settlements, which adversely affects the health and environment of the inhabitants. In 1983, the Vastu-Shilpa Foundation was entrusted with preparing a master plan for the development of a new township in Aranya, situated on the Delhi-Bombay highway, six kilometres from the centre of Indore.

Aranya township, with a net planning area of 85 hectares, was designed as a site and services project laid out in six sectors that converge on

a central spine, known as the Central Business District. The plan was informal, imitating that of the slum settlements: the town centre consists of four clusters of shopping, residential and office complexes, and at the end of the central spine, two mixed-use clusters. Residential clusters that open on to a street are comprised of ten houses, each with a rear courtyard for use as a play and service area. Open spaces and pedestrian pathways intersect and connect the clusters to the central spine. Internal streets and squares are paved, and the major roads and arteries that link the town centre to other parts of Aranya are tarred.

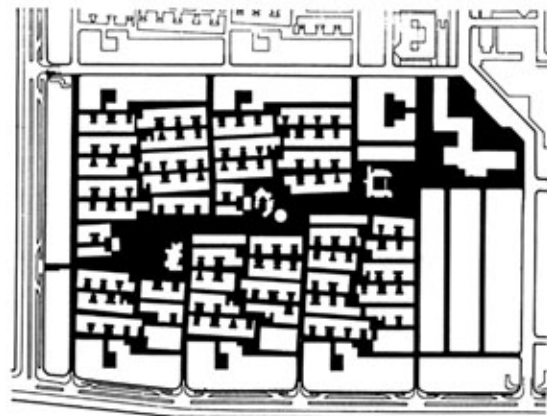
The Vastu-Shilpa Foundation used a computer-aided design program to create the most efficient, cost effective, and low-maintenance technology for the utilities. Every 20 houses are

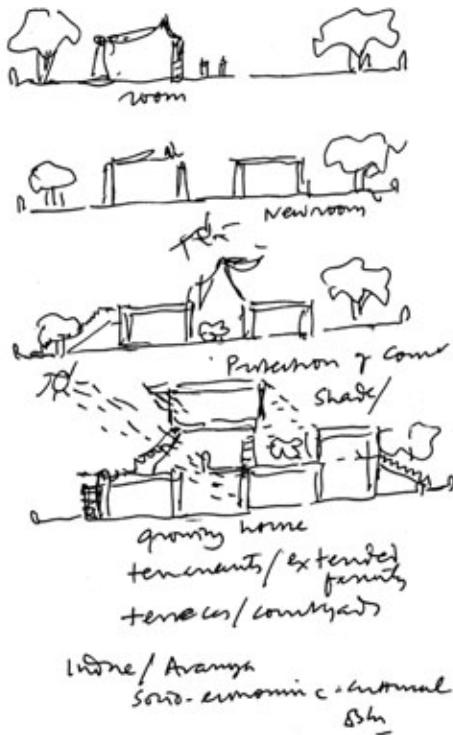
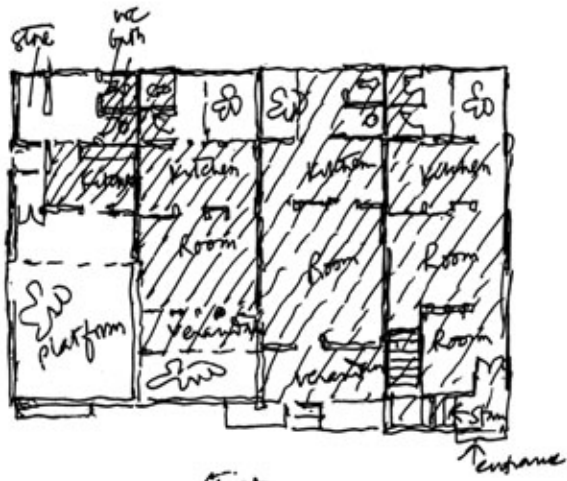
*Streets provide active outdoor spaces for the residential clusters*





*ABOVE: Over time, residents decorate and alter the demonstration houses;  
BELOW, L TO R: Demonstration houses were built as the first phase of the project; sector plan*





LEFT: Sketches by Balkrishna Doshi of Aranya floor plans and socio-economic culture; FROM ABOVE: Layout of foundations; service cores containing different sanitary elements are provided for each plot; outdoor spaces

connected to one septic tank. Three reservoirs, each serving two sectors, were built at the high points of each and interconnected to provide water for the entire area. Overhead electricity distribution was installed for the higher- and middle-income groups, and an underground network was installed for the lower-income areas.

The site plan integrates a variety of income groups. The poorest groups are located in the middle of each sector; higher income plots are along the periphery and the central spine of the settlement. A hierarchy of payment schemes reflects the income levels of the various groups, and makes available a variety of site and service options that can accommodate the financial resources of such a mixed community. The demonstration houses, designed by Balkrishna Doshi, illustrate the array of available options, from one-room shelters to more spacious houses, and emphasise a sense of family and neighbourhood while striving to encourage adaptation and personalisation according to individual needs and resources.

For most of the income groups, only a house plot was sold. The lower-income groups were provided with various options, including a site and plinth, a service core and one room, depending on how much they could afford. Owners were free to use any material for their house construction and decoration; brick, stone and

*BELOW: Street/house interface; public spaces provide a place for social gatherings in each cluster*





cement are all available locally. The down payment was based on the average income of the family, and the loan balance paid in monthly instalments. A monthly maintenance charge of two rupees was fixed for all plots owned by the lower-income groups.

The potential population of each of Aranya's six sectors ranges from 7,000 to 12,000. All of the plots have been sold, and commercial and institutional groups have begun to build in the town centre. The 80 houses designed by Doshi and the streets that define those houses are noteworthy. The remaining plots have been developed by their owners, built and embellished in a personal manner that does not follow Doshi's models. A number of the original owners have either sold their plots or are offering them for sale through a broker. The resale price of a 35-square-metre plot is currently 700 dollars, ten times its original price.

Nevertheless, the impact of Aranya is one of tolerance between income and ethnic groups. It appears to be a thriving and vital community where a family can live in their own house, in a friendly atmosphere – conditions that are not typical in slum settlements. *SA-R*

*Completed 1989 and ongoing*  
*Architect: Vastu-Shilpa Foundation,*  
*Balkrishna V Doshi*  
*Client: Indore Development Authority*

*FROM ABOVE: Larger public spaces are used for outdoor activities; new buildings are decorated according to owners' tastes; spaces designed between houses provide areas for social interaction*





*ABOVE: Terraces and balconies act as intermediary spaces between the house and street; LEFT: House interior*



# ARCHITECTURE BEYOND ARCHITECTS

*The following conversation is excerpted from the Master Jury's five days of debate in June 1995.*

**Luis Monreal:** What is positive and unique about the Sana'a conservation is two things: good planning and the capacity to encompass the efforts of governmental, inter-governmental, private, multilateral and bilateral organisations through UNESCO and through the co-operation between various countries and Yemen. In that respect it is a model approach. The local people have undertaken, from the very beginning, the direction and management of the project, and this is essential for its success: the utilities problem, water, paving the streets, and giving a new look to the urban face that results in a change of behaviour of the inhabitants. The restoration of a critical mass of buildings is the core of energy that will spread this good example throughout the city. So I think the strategy of the project is excellent. There are, of course, problems that remain to be solved. One has to recognise that the number of buildings restored is limited; one would like to see more private housing restored by the inhabitants. There are questions of traffic and garbage which are difficult to solve. They do not require infrastructural measures, they require a change of mentality, an education of the population, but I think this process is in motion. I think we have to take some risk, because the message to be sent through awarding a project like this is very important. I think that for many issues the Sana'a project is a lot more relevant than the two Uzbekistan projects. Sana'a has more methodology and more elements that would help to spread a message of good urban conservation and rehabilitation throughout the world.

**Ismail Serageldin:** Everything you said about Sana'a applies to Bukhara. It is a community-driven exercise, not a bunch of foreigners who are doing it. Some of the problems that Sana'a hasn't been able to tackle yet have been successfully tackled in Bukhara. I am trying to see your

judgement as to the differences between Sana'a and Bukhara. Would it be fair to say that some of the problems that Sana'a has not yet successfully tackled have been successfully tackled in Bukhara?

**Monreal:** One of the major differences in context between Bukhara and Sana'a is that Sana'a has a problem of over-population which is probably not the same in Bukhara. Secondly, the amount of resources obtained from external sources in Sana'a seems far superior to that in Bukhara.

**Peter Eisenman:** I thought that Hafsia, if anything, was the maintenance of an historic infrastructure: even though it may have been added to, it was trying to maintain the infrastructure. It is really a matter of rejuvenation of the historic city, not the restoration of a city. What you see in Hafsia isn't a single historic monument. It is a kind of urban development scheme. I would like to talk about Hafsia in relationship to these other two projects, because if we are going back to the notion of trying to find an alternative to western influence or architectural fundamentalism, restoration would play into the hands of traditional discourse. Hafsia seems to be an alternative that doesn't merely stabilise the old but transforms an existing texture into a contemporary condition.

**Serageldin:** What is at risk in Hafsia is the encroachment of the modern city into the old city – the medina – and destroying it. The result of successive efforts has been to bring back a different pattern of people and economic activities with a mixture of low-, middle- and high-income groups and, ultimately, architectural expression. Hafsia is also dealing with the link between contemporary economic activities and a traditional city core, which in most of these cities has been under attack.

**Eisenman:** The issue is precisely that. The reason more of these towns are not being saved is because, in one sense,



people who are interested in restoration are seen to be standing in the way of progress. The Hafsia model is far more interesting than the restoration model because it is an attempt to be progressive while holding on to the existing fabric. The fabric, I think, is what we are after, as opposed to the 'monument'.

**Serageldin:** Except that in most of the Muslim world today, the patrimony of the heritage that we have, in terms of monuments, is under tremendous assault. This is one of the biggest concerns. Our patrimony is being destroyed. In Cairo, for example, we had 522 listed monuments in 1948, and more than 140 have disappeared over the last forty years because conservation efforts are not sufficiently recognised. The people who struggle for them are not seen as doing something worthwhile. The Aga Khan Award has done a tremendous amount throughout the Muslim world in raising consciousness about restoration.

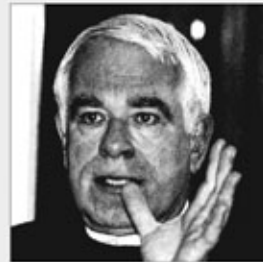
**Mohammed Arkoun:** In discussing Hafsia, it is interesting for conceptualising how tradition or conservation can be used today, but I remind you that Hafsia has already received an award.

**Serageldin:** The incremental scheme in Pakistan is the only scheme that has convincingly reached the poorest segments of society, that has successfully been able to help the homeless – of whom there are millions throughout the Muslim world – and given them property and the right to shelter. The very nice Aranya scheme may have more architectural merit, but the ability of the incremental scheme to screen the homeless in a reception area and then bring them in – in a way that keeps speculators out – actually empowers the poorest people. It is unique.

**Charles Jencks:** Quality in architecture also has to do with the design of a good programme. You can't have good architecture without a good programme. That is why the



*Serageldin*



*Eisenman*

METU programme for re-forestation is also important. Architectural policy is as important as quality.

**Monreal:** Here we are not talking purely about iconic architecture but about conceptual architecture. The merit of the incremental scheme is the concept that works; not architectural quality, but conceptual quality. This is a situation in which architecture goes beyond architects. This is a new situation. The architectural profession has a hard time understanding it, which we should recognise.

**Eisenman:** The conceptual level we are talking about is beyond the aesthetic or the iconic. The question is whether you premiate something because it has a concept without achieving any other goals. I was on a jury at Princeton and one student put together a cemetery and a shopping centre, and the ideologues said, 'Oh that's fantastic,' this new concept of commerce. I said, 'What about the architecture?' And the argument in this academic circle was, 'It's not important what the architecture is if they get the concept right.' We have to be very careful not to go overboard and say, 'Yes, the concept is right and the architecture doesn't matter'.

**Serageldin:** Can we go back to the two low-income housing schemes? Aranya is very interesting in its wilful efforts to deal with low-income community building, integrated with other groups to create an architectural language and to give it an infrastructural context. But I am not convinced it does quite the same thing as the incremental scheme. Although it has a physical incrementalism, it has not been able really to reach the bottom layer, which is the biggest problem that we are seeing and are going to see. We know that population growth over the next twenty-five years will be two billion, almost ninety per cent of which will be in the urban areas of the developing countries. Most of them are in Africa and Asia, and a very large number of these people will be homeless, traditionally the most difficult

groups to include and to reach. The incremental scheme is unique because it has actually reached the homeless, not those who have a shelter and a shack. And it has reached them in a way that from all accounts is financially viable, which is important. Many of the earlier awards on social schemes turned out to be totally dependent on subsidies, so the model was not viable and could not be replicated. The incremental scheme is capable of replication on a large scale, and it reverses authority from government to the people. In that sense, it deserves recognition. On the other hand, I see the added architectural value in the case of the Doshi scheme at Aranya, but I see them as two separate schemes, in the same way as Sana'a and Bukhara are two separate schemes, each of which brings something different to the table.

**Eisenman:** If we want to have a category of 'the poor', some of the other projects that addressed the poor found a better architectural solution. I am worried about the message in terms of, 'Is this a project of excellence?' or, 'Is it only excellent in the sense that it reached the poor?' which is a social message. I am not against that message, but I am curious about it.

**Serageldin:** Providing shelter for the masses, the tens of millions who are going to overrun the cities, is a major challenge. I think that of all the projects we have seen, in terms of ability to reach the poorest, the incremental one is best. Hafsia is doing something very different. Hafsia is creating the dynamics which bring in a mix of enough middle- and high-income people into the old medina and therefore generate the subsidies that enable the whole thing to function.

**Jencks:** If we reward policy things, we must make it clear that we are not rewarding the architecture. We must make that clear.

**Mehmet Konuralp:** The incremental scheme is a far

better choice, in my opinion, because it covers most of the aspects that we are concerned with, and it is a very successful scheme, addressing a far broader communal periphery than Aranya does. I have doubts about the architecture of Aranya, because the end result isn't really anything we can speak of.

**Monreal:** Aranya, besides having some architecture, also has successfully created a social fabric between different religions and the trans-social structure. We don't have to choose between the two, because it is no less superior.

**Konuralp:** When people are poor, they have far fewer choices of living in their own ghettos than do the rich. Whether Muslim, Christian or Buddhist, their primary concern is shelter. Does the Aranya project really blend these different religions in one scheme, or did it just happen because everybody is poor and everybody is looking for shelter? Religion or clan always comes after the need for shelter. It is like hunger; people are hungry before they subscribe to any group identity.

**Nayyar Ali Dada:** The incremental scheme delivers the social programme; Aranya gives guidance beyond that in trying to provide aesthetic quality, but in poor societies the life-saving part of shelter is more important than aesthetics.

**Konuralp:** The incremental scheme is a far better prototype, or at least is bound to be a better example in various aspects of covering the problem. It has more to communicate to similar programmes in Turkey and other parts of the world where we are facing this kind of problem. Doshi's is a limited exercise, with more architectural merit than social and organisational aspects, which I think are more important.

**Darmawan Prawirohardjo:** They are quite different problems, and each has its own merit.



*Konuralp*



*Monreal*



## A CRITICAL ARCHITECTURAL AND URBANISTIC DISCOURSE

The language of architecture is more than form and aesthetics. It evokes the past, prefigures the future and articulates the present for all people. The language of architecture is an integral part of manifesting a society's image of itself, and architects are both the custodians of our heritage of architectural and urbanistic forms and spaces, as well as the creators of tomorrow's heritage.

Architecture is the most localised of the arts. It is rooted to site – to the extent that location dictates context, and user needs dictate the functional requirements, architecture is specific to a particular society and locale. But to the extent that architecture responds to universal values and to the challenges of evolving globalisation, it must transcend the limits of its locale and in effect symbolise a state of being.

In the Muslim world, the crisis of identity is manifest in the choice of architectural vocabularies. These tend either to reject contemporary models and repeat the iconic forms of the past, a position ideologically charged by a kind of traditionalist architectural fundamentalism, or attempt to break out of the confines of site by importing western modernism as an expression of 'progress'. Both approaches tend to be heavy-handed and devoid of a sensibility to either time or space. They fail to achieve a critical discourse about contemporary architectural language and expression.

The 1995 Master Jury selected three projects that exemplify three facets of the contemporary challenges in the Muslim world. In the quality of their solutions they also contribute to an architecture of humanism that transcends the boundaries of place.

Rasem Badran rearticulates the central urban core of Riyadh with a series of

well-proportioned open spaces that connect the Great Mosque of Riyadh to its surroundings. The project is a success in its response to a harsh climate that requires special attention to both human needs and the circulation requirements of a modern metropolis. The architect's effort to reinterpret the language of Najdi architecture goes beyond copying past details or sounding the occasional echo. It is an effort to incorporate and interpret the past in contemporary terms. The space of the mosque is inviting, and the technological solutions are skilfully unobtrusive.

The Menara Mesiniaga in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, is a bold attempt to give meaning to tall buildings in tropical climates. Eschewing the box-like curtain-walled structures so common in corporate office buildings, it promotes a new language that punches out parts of the structure and wraps a series of interactive open gardens in a spiral around the building's core. It raises the kind of architectural debate in which the corporate world generally, and the Muslim world more specifically, can fruitfully engage.

The Kaedi Regional Hospital in Mauritania demonstrates remarkable sophistication in the manipulation of architectural forms, spaces and volumes. The domed brick structures are not only functionally successful, but also pleasing to the eye and sensitive to social needs in providing spaces for the families of patients. It is innovative in the creation of oval, ribbed and doughnut-shaped structures that add new wealth to the vocabulary of forms for these construction methods. The elegant winding and petal-like plan contrasts sharply with the banal, rectilinear buildings of the earlier, main hospital complex.

## CRITICAL ARCHITECTURE IN A GEOPOLITICAL WORLD

*Peter Eisenman*

There is a new condition of ideological politics today, one which no longer deals with the class struggle of communism versus capitalism, of First World versus Third World, but with an ideological condition based on geopolitics. Geopolitics involves two conditions: one, that despite the increasing mediation of the globe as a single entity, location has become an important political factor; and two, since western capital finds itself unable to continue to provide for the economic, social and political infrastructure that evolved in the nineteenth century, the emerging Pacific Rim and Muslim world countries, and their geopolitical positions, are no longer necessarily dependent on the western world for capital.

The idea of western capital evolved gradually over 200 years; it grew out of the revolutionary and ideological politics of the class struggle against the *ancien régime*. Most manifestations of western colonialism were grounded in this ideology. When colonialism is no longer a dominant ideology, class politics is replaced by a politics of location. Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong are examples where a politics of place is evident. An aspect of this concerns the survival of a secularism which is no longer dependent on a western colonial condition. Since western capital is no longer able in its economic framework to provide for its own infrastructure, it can hardly support an iconic structure, that is, a critical structure for architecture. In such a context, architecture is no longer seen as relevant. Instead, information-age capital is being invested in an infrastructure necessary to maintain a high level of services that has nothing to do with architecture and iconic symbolism.

In Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore, the idea of a critical architecture has little relevance because there is no enabling mechanism to support such an idea. This gap in society's sensibility as to what would even constitute a critical architecture and its purposes, leads to a fracturing of architecture away from its social, ideological and iconic purposes. And since the ideological mechanisms which sustained a critical architecture in the West for 200 years are no longer in place, the questions that must be asked are, what is the nature of a critical architecture in the context of the geopolitical, and if such an idea of the critical could be formulated, what would be its relevance today?

The idea of a critical architecture began in the late



eighteenth century, and was always related in the western world to an ideological politics. Two figures, Immanuel Kant and GB Piranesi, are important. Kant formulated the critical as that condition of being which speaks of the possibility 'in being' of knowledge. The idea of the possible deals with both the present and the future. In succession, therefore, the ideas of the future, the avant-garde and the modern became linked with the critical. In the late nineteenth century, the rise of an avant-garde was an attempt not only to protect art from capital, but also to protect the system of the critical from erosion by capital. For while the critical evolved in tandem with the ideology of capital, the critical as it concerns the possibility of knowledge was always against any accommodation with the *status quo*. Thus, for a time the critical and the avant-garde were synonymous.

Also in the late eighteenth century, Piranesi translated Kant's discourse into a manifestation in architecture. In his drawing of the Campo Marzio, Piranesi presented, in the forms of both ancient and invented building types, a city plan that stood as a critique of the existing hierarchical structure of centralised axial cities that symbolised the central authority of the *ancien régime*. In Piranesi's drawing, buildings were jammed one next to the other, creating urban spaces that had never before been conceptualised. His drawing was not merely a new iconic representation of city, but also contained the possibility of city in its critique of the existing order. Succeeding generations of architects, from Ledoux and KF Schinkel to Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe, conceptualised architecture in a similar critical manner, always in relationship to an ideological politics.

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, critical architecture has always been seen as part of the ideological struggle of the emerging classes, whether in the form of new countries or in new building types, against the established order of things. It was transgressive of the existing politics and embodied that transgression, however, in order to be so, a critical architecture needs an enabling mechanism. When there is no longer an ideological class struggle, what is there for architecture to symbolise? And if architecture is no longer symbolic of any ideology, capital asks, for what reason is architecture necessary? The present condition of capital does not seem to provide the enabling

mechanism for the critical, but its tradition remains. At present, there is no tradition in the emerging geopolitical politics of such an enabling mechanism. Rather, the reverse seems to be true, that is, to build in the emerging countries requires accommodation rather than transgression. In the face of geopolitical reality, critical architecture becomes accommodating. Whether the populations of these countries understand this or that style, Post-Modernism from Modernism, High Tech from Low Tech, deconstruction from no construction, is not the issue. What is at issue, is that they intuitively know the difference between an architecture of an ideological politics and an architecture without one. The critic Walter Benjamin said that the perception of architecture for most people is a casual phenomenon; they do not see architecture in the same way that they see art. In one sense it is true that people absorb architecture casually, without study. However, this does not mean that they are casual about it. Any power structure finds critical or transgressive architecture clearly problematic; they do not like to confront the destabilising idea of architecture as a critical discourse.

The relevance of the critical for emerging nations is that it is the one aspect of knowledge that examines the conditions of its own possibility. This is parallel to the self-examination necessary to the development of the geopolitical in emergent nations. In architecture this examination is not merely the possibility of knowledge itself, but the possibility of self-representation. The critical deals not just with meaning and symbolism, but with the possibility of symbols and their capacity to act critically. In other words, not what knowledge is, but rather the conditions for representing its possibility.

Therefore, the critical in architecture has always been the possibility of both the self-representation of the possibility of architecture's being, and of its being something other than merely being. This self-reflexivity is important to the philosophical or theoretical condition of the idea of the critical; that is, architecture is always understood to be concerned with being understood as the metaphysics of process. Its being always incorporates function, iconography, et cetera, whereas the critical in architecture examines the conditions of the *possibility* of being. It was this examination that sustained the ideological framework of architecture as a critical discourse from 1760 to 1960. Clearly the issue today is,

whether there is any need for architecture to examine the possibility of being, when in fact it has a difficult time merely sustaining being itself. In other words, when 250,000 housing units need to be built in eighteen months, does one need to examine the question of the possibility of meaning? Is there the time, energy or support system for such an examination? And if so, does it need to be manifest in the architecture?

The aspect of the discourse of the critical that becomes important in the context of the geopolitical is the idea of the self-referential. This idea concerns not how one reflects being or the possibilities of being, but how one deals with the possibility of this being in architecture. That self-referentiality has been the fundamental condition of modernism. According to the writer Umberto Eco, modernism stands as the single operating principle of an ideological politics against what he calls an 'ur-fascism'. What distinguishes modernism from any classical western discourse is, first, the notion of turning back on one's self to ask internally about one's own possibility of being, and second, the idea of the reconciliation of opposites and their reinscription into being of the concept of the opposite or the other in the thing itself.

The problem that modernism confronts today is that of its own success. The notions of standardisation, reproduction, replication and repetition were ideological constructs in modernism. Today they have lost their critical content because they have become absorbed by consumption. The success of modernism has been lost, and with it, its critical ideological function, because it became consumed by capital. Rather than transforming capital, capital has transformed the modern. Today the modern has no capacity to support a critical architecture, rather, a self-reflexive alternative to modernism must be found. This is media.

In the latter part of the twentieth century, another (third) political discourse has emerged, focusing on the condition of media. Media today has become a self-generating body rather than a condition related to critical thought. It has been disconnected from a critical attitude and therefore forms its own generating mechanism. Media generates media. Media, because it is allied with a consumer society and the politics of the new, has taken the idea of the new away from the critical. Media is against the notion of any kind of enabling mechanism within an architectural



*Menara Mesiniaga, view from the southeast*

phenomenon, since media continues to consume and regurgitate anything that is attempting to remain. And yet it is precisely media which contains the possibility of a critical architecture versus an architecture of accommodation.

From the time of the Gothic cathedral, architecture was strong media. People understood the Latin liturgy by comprehending the sculpture and artefacts on the walls and facades of the buildings. With the advent of the printing press, media itself became more dominant, and architecture became less important as media. While architecture in one sense will always mean, today it has become a form of weak media. Because the stronger other media becomes, the less important the mediating influence of the iconic structure of architecture becomes. Most people gain their idea of social and political structures today not from architectural iconography but from media. If architecture is to sustain ideas today, and if ideas in some way reflect knowledge in architecture, then these ideas must concern architecture's possibility to be media. In order to understand the relationship of architecture as media to knowledge, one must examine the possibilities of the conditions of knowledge in a mediated architecture. How does knowledge maintain itself in presence? In opposition to all other forms of media, architecture maintains a presence through an affective relationship to the physical experience of the body. Where conventional media has trivialised the body, critical architecture restores the relationship between the mind and the body.

Media formerly generated a critical architecture. It sustained itself through critical architecture. One has only to look at the importance of manifestos and contemporary journals to the development of modern architecture in 1920s Europe to demonstrate this point. Today, media has become disassociated from the idea of critical architecture and merely generates mediated architecture. The postcard view of architecture has nothing to do with the critical discourse of a building.

Internationalisation has been brought about by media. To most of us, this would mean the resolution of seeming difference, but in fact, internationalisation and media are creating new differences. Media has provided a new means for coalescing fundamentalist activity in both the West and the East. There is paranoia among white fundamentalists in

the United States that the 'world' is trying to take over their government, while the paranoia in the rest of the world is just the reverse. This double paranoia creates difference that is not between West and East, but a difference over the discourse of the international. This directly affects the idea of western capital in relation to the East, because western capital as we have known it is no longer able to support infrastructure, health services, education, science, research and capitalisation in the United States and other western countries. The idea of architecture as a critical discourse based on ideological politics – as it was in modernism – is no longer sustainable. What we begin to see in Seoul, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, Singapore and Shanghai is the recolonisation through economic capital of the influence of westernity. But this recolonisation is no longer in the spirit of confrontation between old and new, as modern architecture first was, but rather concerns an architecture of accommodation. An architecture that allows anything to be read by anybody; a 'Teflon' architecture. It is a new conservatism dressed up to look modern, without the sustaining ideology of politics, and with the ideology of capital accommodation.

It is possible today to make signature architecture without being avant-garde, new or critical, but simply by being a product of media. This creates a public confusion regarding both the relevance of architecture as well as its relevance to any kind of critical thought. This issue is important. In the production/consumption world, if capital can no longer sustain the infrastructure necessary to maintain a critical discourse, and if, traditionally, part of the capital production and consumption cycle was about the production of an ideological discourse, then the critical becomes an even more important concept today.

Kant talked about knowledge as the critical examination of the conditions of its own possibility, that is, the possibility of the being of knowledge. A critical architecture which attempts to transcend accommodation can only do so through a critical examination of its own conditions of being, its own possibility of existence. This condition of the critical examination of the possibility of an architectural knowledge can only be done through the discipline of architecture to enable or empower the discipline to become again a relevant ideological instrument in an emerging world.



**UNKEPT PROMISES**  
***WHY ISN'T GOOD ARCHITECTURE***  
***BEING BUILT?***  
*Ali Shuaibi*

A Bedouin goes to the market in the city. Salesmen ask him what he wants. 'I don't know,' he says, 'show me everything you have. If I see it, I will know it.' Criticism in architecture today doesn't seem any different. Mainstream architectural criticism seems to be content with the stylistic aspects of form in architecture. International architectural magazines agree on a 'new' direction or style and its heroes, and a few years later they conspicuously agree, again, that the direction was wrong. Practising architects and students, in poor and rich nations alike, rush to imitate what they see in the media with various degrees of failure. The direction keeps changing, but the aim is not clear.

The majority of architects are fascinated with industrialisation; they prefer metal cladding, tube structures and shiny glass buildings to humble stone and earth buildings. Progress is associated with manufacturing and automation.

Industrialisation of buildings is often promoted and taught in schools as the means for lowering cost, controlling quality and reducing the time of construction. However, countries that attempt to build manufactured precast housing projects, often achieve exactly the opposite; expensive, monotonous projects that are sometimes catastrophic failures. There is something in building that defies industrialisation which is so successful in the automotive and electronics industries. This attitude probably emphasises the view that architecture is more of a process than a product, which is exemplified by the sheer success in the manufacturing of primary materials and small components – such as cement, reinforcing bars, electrical cables, metal profiles, light bulbs, door knobs and similar components.

Recently I designed a government building to be made with locally abundant porous lava stone, which seemed to be the perfect material for the project. The bids came in high for the stone, and a reinforced concrete post and beam system was chosen. The contractors had no previous cost records or experience with stone, thus they preferred the 'conventional' system. We could have used stone only if we hired the labour directly and provided the minimal necessary on-site training. But government procurement procedures do not permit such processes, and we lost the opportunity to use an inexpensive material that both has excellent thermal properties and requires very little energy to produce.

Another material lost to modern building methods is adobe, recently shown to possess the potential to solve most of the cost, climatic and environmental problems of low-rise buildings in urban and rural areas of most arid countries – as Hassan Fathy claimed decades ago. This strategic material is either discouraged or ignored by schools of architecture and engineering, which favour concrete and steel. There are no professors who specialise in adobe, and illiterate masons cannot serve as professors. In the municipalities of many countries adobe is not permitted in new construction, because of the absence of building codes to check its use.

Today's modern systems are slow to react to problems or seize opportunities. New subdivision plans in cities may take decades to be approved, built and then their successes or problems evaluated. It takes years to bring a building from inception to completion, due to a long chain of specialised clients, officials and professionals who must become involved at various approval levels. Yet those who face the problems or see the opportunities in a project do not have responsibility to correct them or the authority to seize them. Is there really room for good architecture under these conditions?

An architect friend recently complained to me about what a client did to one of his designs: 'First he changed the structure from clay bricks to concrete block, then he changed my picture windows to standard small ones, and in the end he changed my beautiful white and black interior to Technicolor in every room,' he said, 'and all because he wanted to take advantage of materials available at a discount in his locality.' I was amazed by the flexibility and creativity of his client, given that our rigid modern institutions harass individual initiative. It is the liberal attitude of the traditional system that gave individuals the opportunities to collectively contribute to the quality that we still find in traditional environments – a quality that used to be the most cherished modern value.

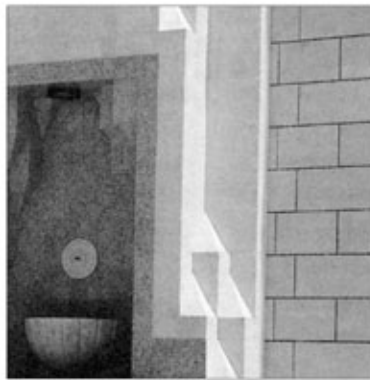
When the first cycle of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture was announced in 1980, I, among many others, was disappointed to see that elevated water tanks and a kampung improvement programme were not only called architecture, but also premiated as excellent examples of architecture. Later, as a member of the Award Master Jury and then the

Steering Committee, I watched the same initial disappointment of other leading international figures turn into admiration and commitment to the pursuit of good architecture. The vision of the Aga Khan Award concerns the social mission of architecture and the role it plays in improving the quality of the environment at large, from the significance of humble masons to institutions never before recognised.

In the search for replicable qualities in projects, in the ability to see architecture beyond styles, in the search for excellence in projects as small as the Corniche Mosque, as invisible as the improvement programmes, in technologies as varied as earth in a mosque in Niono, Mali, and tension cables in the Hajj Terminal in Jeddah, there is space for freedom, the essence of quality and a multiplicity of attitudes demonstrating that there is still room for good architecture.

# GREAT MOSQUE OF RIYADH AND OLD CITY CENTRE REDEVELOPMENT

*RIYADH, SAUDI ARABIA*



■ The project addresses the problem of urban space in the centre of a modern metropolis, and is acknowledged more for its role in urban development than for its architectural quality. Intended to revitalise the centre of Riyadh, the programme consists of a variety of functions around a mosque, a typical pattern in Muslim societies.

The architect has met the complex demands of a new programme on an old site with a solution that responds to the local lifestyle, climate and physical surroundings. The spatial character and iconography of the project provide a sense of continuity with the historical context, and the reinterpretation of the language of traditional Najdi architecture demonstrates a mastery of building techniques and a deep understanding of the culture of the area.

The use of modern materials and technology, such as air conditioning, is unobtrusive and does not detract from the quiet sense of spirituality inside the mosque.

The sequence of open courtyards is skilful and sensitive. The architect's success in creating a modern urban complex while still retaining the essence of its traditional frame is a remarkable achievement. The sustained efforts and commitment of the clients, the Arriyadh Development Authority, are especially noteworthy, and point towards the essential role that informed clients can play in the creation of architecture and urban environments.



■ Riyadh, one of the fastest growing cities in the world today, was only a village in the Arabian province of Najd when it became the capital of the Saud family in 1810. Until the 1940s it remained a small fortress town, but since then its area has expanded 100-fold and its population grown from 25,000 to over three million. The traditional Najdi style of architecture is characterised by simple adobe or mud houses designed to provide insulation against the fierce heat of summers and bitter winds of winter. Decorative elements are limited to crenellations, mouldings, and elaborate finials rendered in mud and then plastered or whitewashed. Roofs are flat and consist of tamarisk tree trunks plastered with mud. This traditional style of building was virtually wiped out by the growth of the new city, which features a panoply of new steel and concrete structures built in a ubiquitous international style.

The Qasr al-Hokm District Development Programme was conceived to revitalise the central core of the old city of Riyadh. This programme was carried out by the Arriyadh Development Authority (ADA), which set out to balance new construction and the preservation of traditional elements. This project was conceived in two distinct phases. In Phase I, the Riyadh Governorate Complex and buildings for the municipality and police were built. Phase II, completed in 1992,

*BELOW: Courtyard between mosque and Justice Palace; entrance to mosque as seen from courtyard*





*ABOVE: The exterior walls of the prayer hall contain arcades, shops and offices, integrating the mosque with its urban setting; LEFT: Entrance to al-Adl, a main public square in the Qasr al-Hokm district*



*ABOVE: Worshippers in the main prayer hall; BELOW: The colonnaded courtyard of the mosque accommodates the overflow of worshippers from the main hall*

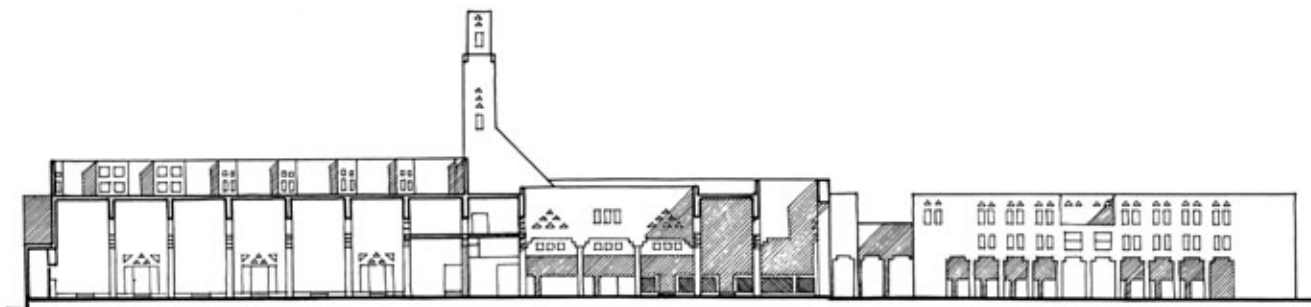
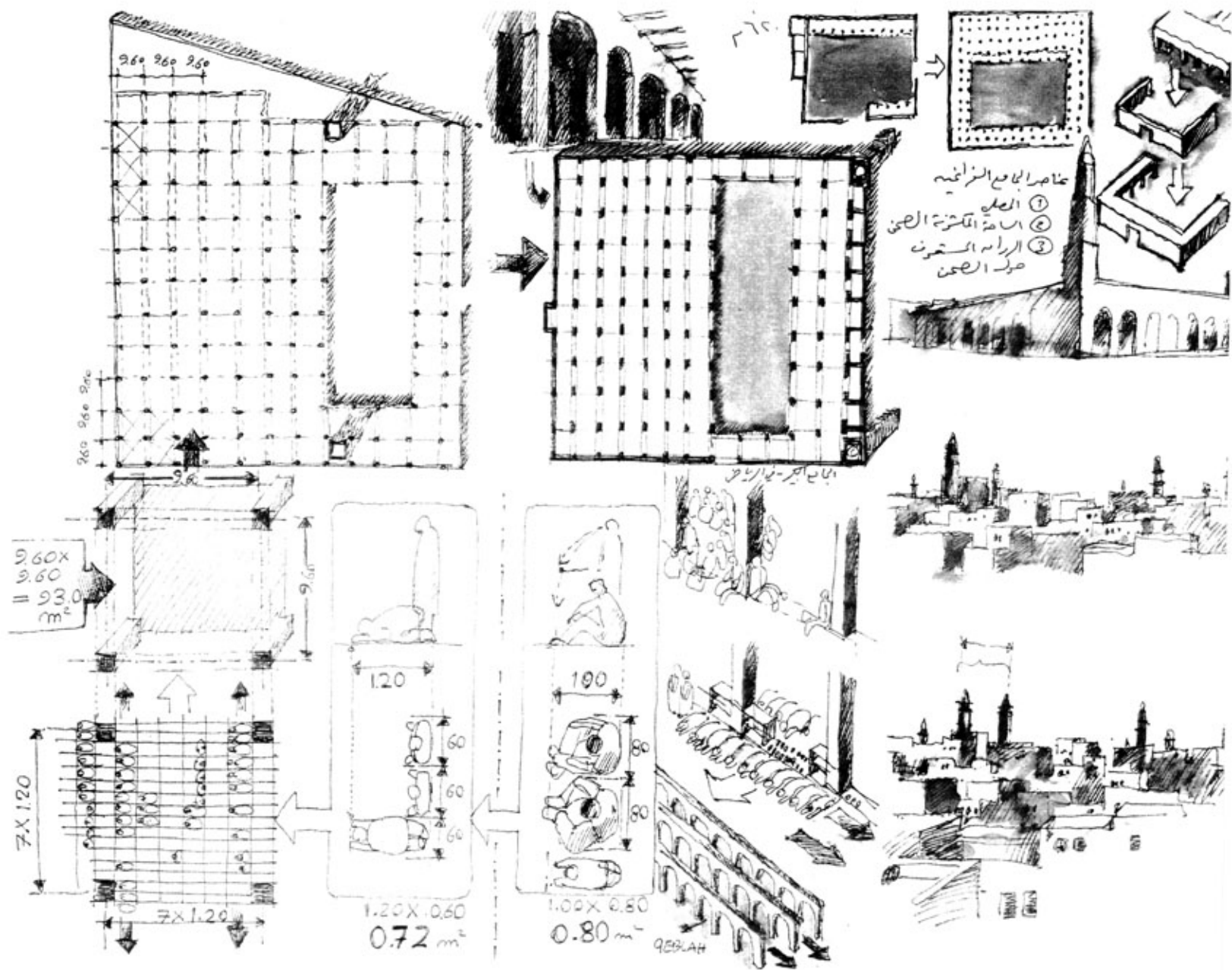


included the construction of the Great Mosque and the Justice Palace, as well as public squares, gates, towers, parts of the old wall, public streets and some office and commercial facilities. This network of buildings, squares and arcades forms an urban complex in an indigenous environment.

Jordanian architect Rasem Badran, who designed the mosque, Justice Palace and the open area and enclosures that form Midan al-Safah, analysed the environmental, climatic and cultural factors, as well as local traditions and social patterns of behaviour, in order to re-create the spatial character of the Najdi architectural idiom without copying it. The mosque, set within public areas, re-creates the traditional place of worship as part of the urban fabric. Traditional components, such as courtyards, arcades and the prayer hall, are emphasised, and two square minarets indicate the qibla direction on the skyline.

There are no domes over the prayer hall; columns on a nine-by-nine-metre grid evoke earlier palm trunk constructions and support a flat roof. Openings for natural light and ventilation are provided above each column head, and columnar structures and beams contain the ventilation ducts of the air-conditioning units on the roof. Each unit can be controlled individually to adjust cooling needs according to the occupancy of the mosque, resulting in reduced operating costs.





FROM ABOVE: Architect's sketch studying the prayer patterns, which reflect the local spatial tradition and the place of the mosque within the city fabric; section



ARCHITECTURE BEYOND ARCHITECTURE







*LEFT TO RIGHT: Internal courtyard of mosque; the north arcade is used by street vendors; the courtyard fountain; BELOW: Al-Adl square is dominated by the two minarets of the mosque*



The exterior walls of the mosque are clad in local limestone, and the restrained use of small triangular openings organised in patterns both resembles traditional building practices and helps to diminish the harsh glare of the sun in the interior spaces.

Courtyards and open squares are aligned towards the qibla so that they can be used as additional prayer areas during feast days and Fridays, when the size of the congregation exceeds the capacity of the main prayer hall and courtyard. Granite seats and benches, as well as drinking-water fountains, have been provided for the general public, and the area is landscaped with palm trees to provide shade. It is a popular place for families and children.

The massing of the buildings and the articulation of spaces and courtyards evoke a traditional character, even though the construction materials and the design of the buildings are completely modern. The project has elicited interest from the intellectual and academic communities, and its underlying methodology is likely to impress professionals. *SA-R*

*Completed 1992*

*Architect: Rasem Badran*

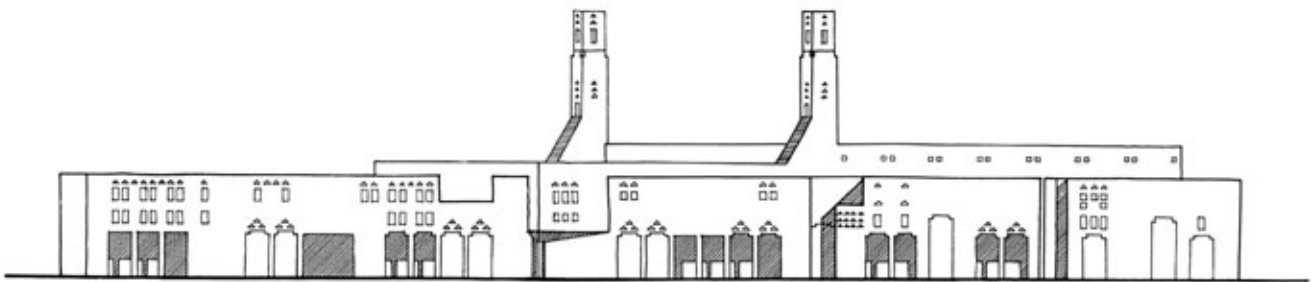
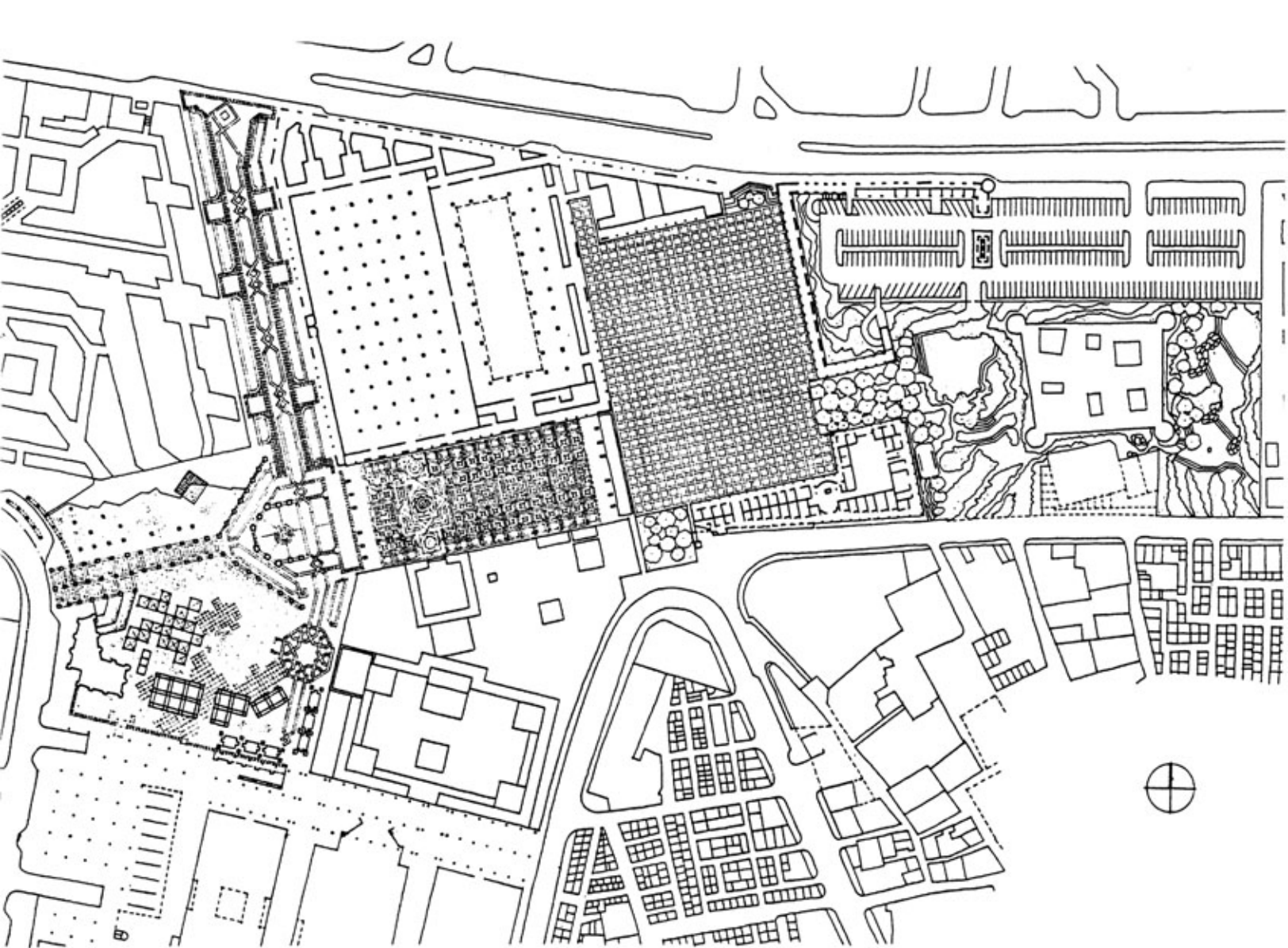
*Client: Arriyadh Development Authority*



*ABOVE: Aerial view of the mosque (left) and the Justice Palace (right) in the core of the Qasr al-Hokm district;  
BELOW: The sahn of the mosque*





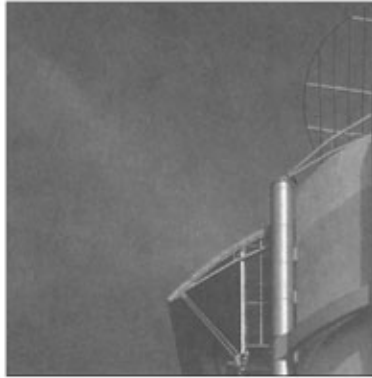


FROM ABOVE: Site plan; elevation



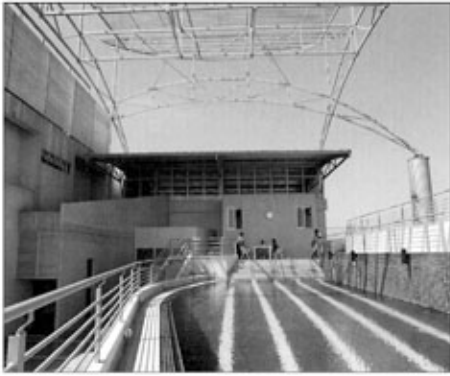
# **MENARA MESINIAGA**

*KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA*



■ This striking interpretation of the corporate 'landmark' skyscraper explores a new direction for an often pompous building type. Instead of a typically authoritarian and introverted statement of a multi-national corporation, the IBM tower is a robust, informal and open expression of an emerging technology. The architect calls this new type the 'bioclimatic tall building' and provides it with sensible, energy-saving climatic controls. Most notable are the two spirals of green 'sky gardens' that twist up the building and provide shade and visual contrast with the steel and aluminium surfaces. The reinforced concrete frame is further punctuated by two types of sun-screens and a glass and steel curtain wall, which, along with the sloping base and metal crown, make the essentially High Tech image much more organic; one of the jurors termed the building 'organitech'. Further ecological sensitivity includes the placement of the core functions on the hottest (east) side of the tower and the extensive use of natural light, ventilation and greenery.

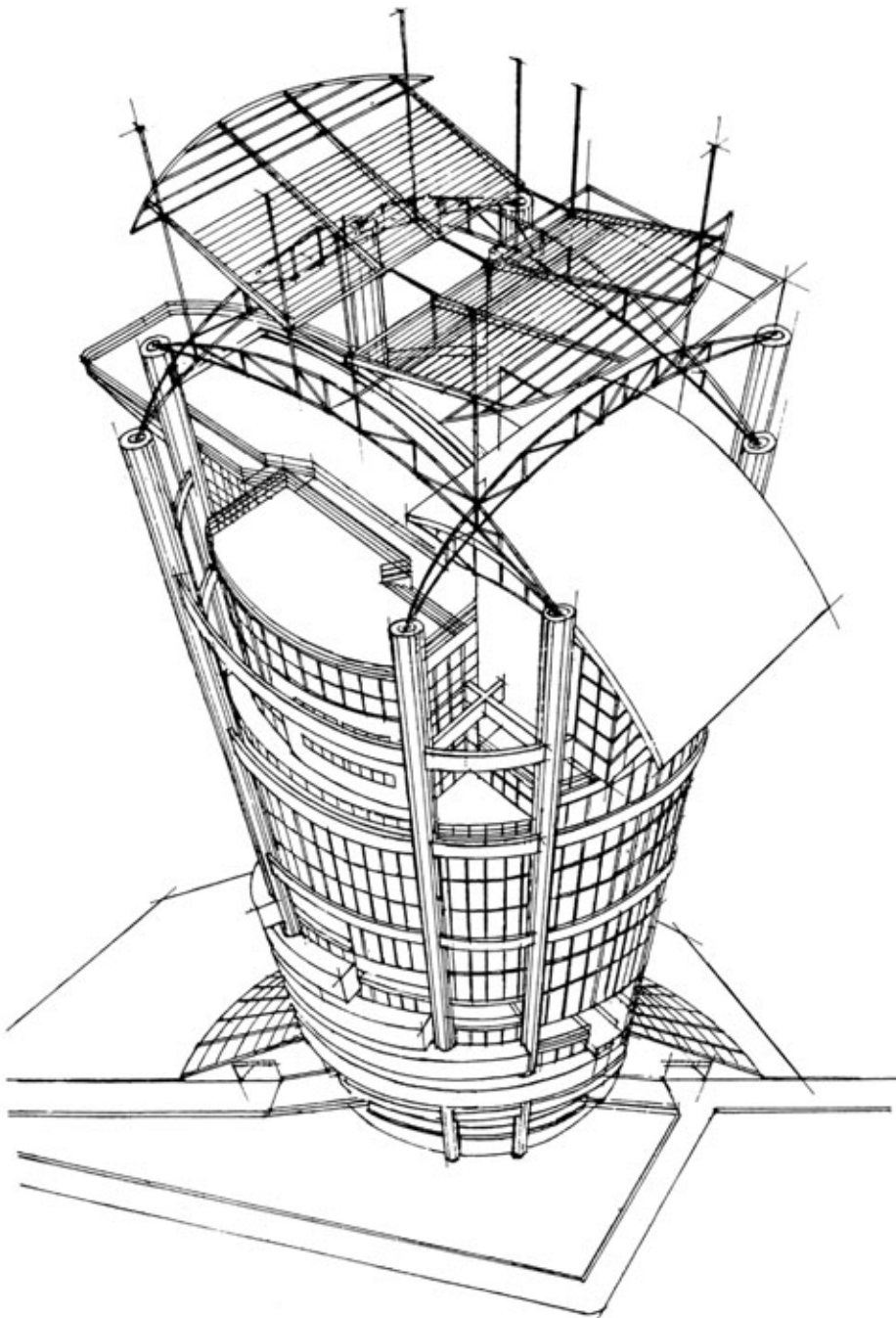
Kenneth Yeang's 'bioclimatic architecture' recalls the climatic architecture of the 1950s and Frank Lloyd Wright's skyscraper projects, in a move towards a new architecture for the 1990s. The result is an alternative to the reigning mode of corporate towers and a new synthesis for contemporary architecture that is responsive to the climate of a particular place and finds inspiration for a new architectural language from forces that are ultimately cosmic.



■ Menara Mesiniaga is the headquarters building of an IBM franchise in Subang Jaya near Kuala Lumpur. 15 storeys tall with a floor area of 12,345 square metres, the tower was designed by the architect Kenneth Yeang and his firm, TR Hamzah and Yeang Sdn Bhd. The client commissioned Yeang to build a High Tech corporate showcase that would also provide a suitable and comfortable atmosphere for employees. A convenient corner site with high visibility was selected, and the building design was approved in 1989. Construction was completed in August 1992.

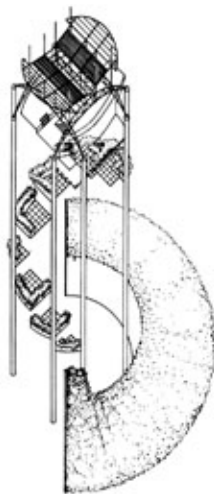
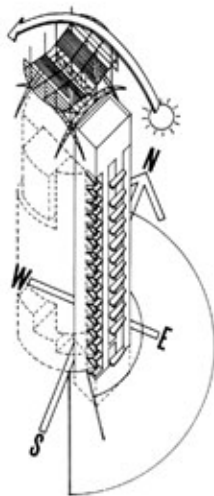
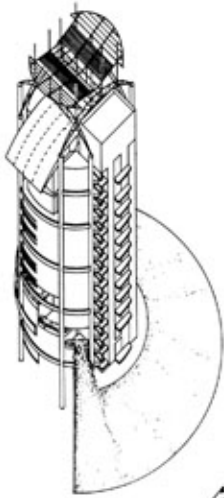
Local architectural styles in Kuala Lumpur are mixed: British colonial, Chinese influences and various European and Malaysian styles are all found in the city, but the overall look is contemporary. The area immediately around the Menara Mesiniaga is an unplanned mix of residential quarters, town houses, office buildings and a mosque. A large shopping centre is located nearby, as well as a large office block and two hotels.

Menara Mesiniaga brings to fruition the architect's decade-long research into bioclimatic principles for the design of tall buildings in tropical climates. It features strong spatial organisation with a specific hierarchy. The building has a tripartite structure that consists of a raised 'green' base, a spiralling body with horizontal, terraced garden balconies and external



FROM ABOVE: Twelfth-floor pool; axonometric





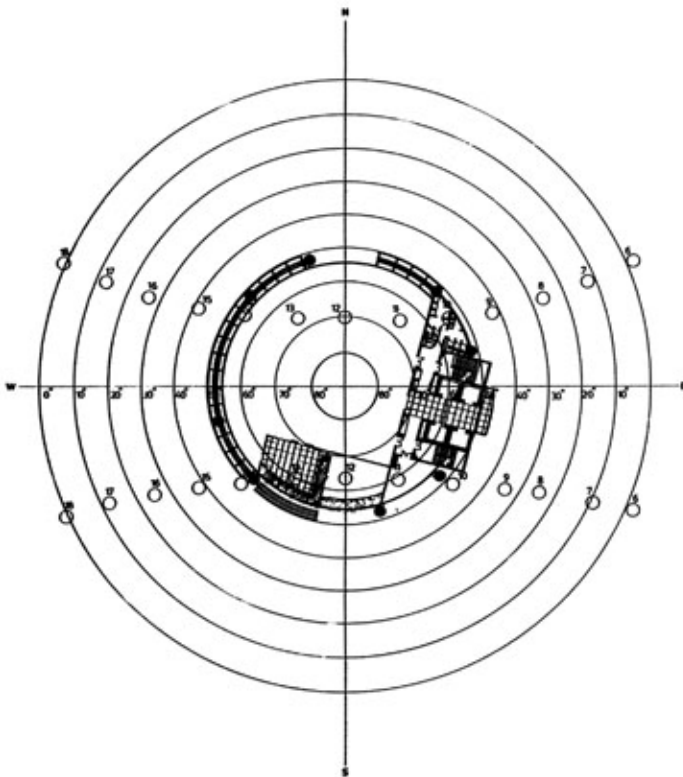
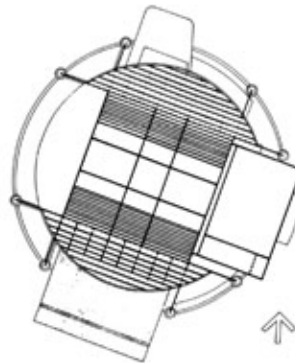
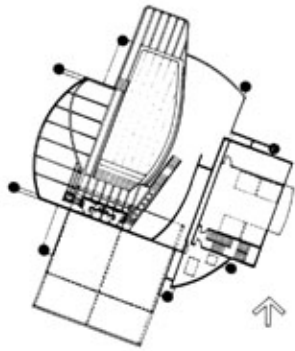
*CENTRE: Axonometrics showing the architect's bioclimatic principles; ABOVE AND BELOW: Sunshade details*





Mesinaga





*OPPOSITE: Main approach to the building from the north; LEFT: Upper and lower twelfth floor plans; roof plan; floor plan in relation to the sun path; ABOVE: The services and stairs are grouped on the southeast side of the tower*

louvres that shade the offices, and an uppermost floor that houses recreational facilities, a swimming pool and sunroof. The reinforced concrete and steel-frame structure of the building is completely exposed; the tower is cooled by both natural ventilation and air conditioning. The distinctive tubular composition that crowns the tower will provide for the future installation of solar panels to further reduce energy consumption. But, despite its many achievements, Menara Mesiniaga is not problem free. Due to the high levels of humidity, some leakage and rusting of materials can be observed, especially on the flat roofs.

Yeang's interest in experimenting with ecologically and environmentally sound tall towers – the bioclimatic skyscraper – is to reduce the costs of a building by lowering its energy consumption and to develop benefits for the users by emphasising ecological values, that is, designing with the climate in mind. Yeang believes that a climatically responsive building is a successful building, and both client and users of Menara Mesiniaga attest to the success of his approach.

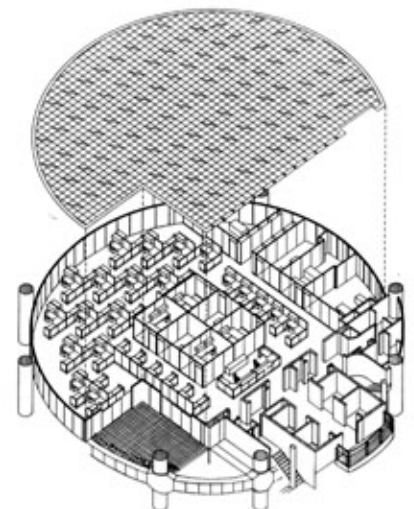
The design features of the tower are bold, and are not intended to blend with the immediate physical environment, even though its climatic adaptation is a priority. The tower has also become a landmark, and has increased the value of the land around it. *SA-R*

*Completed 1992*

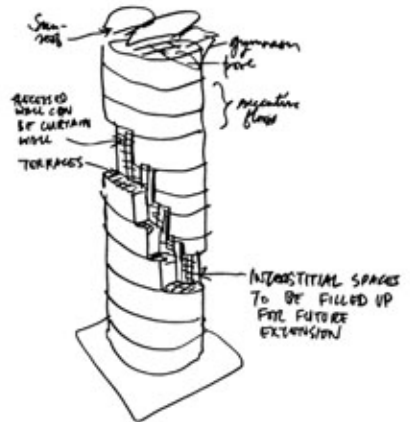
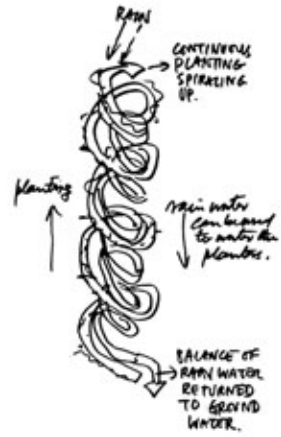
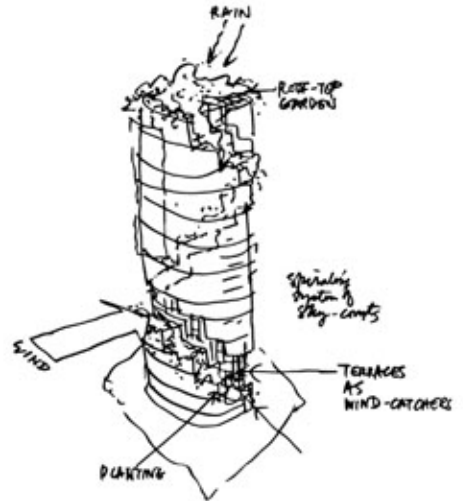
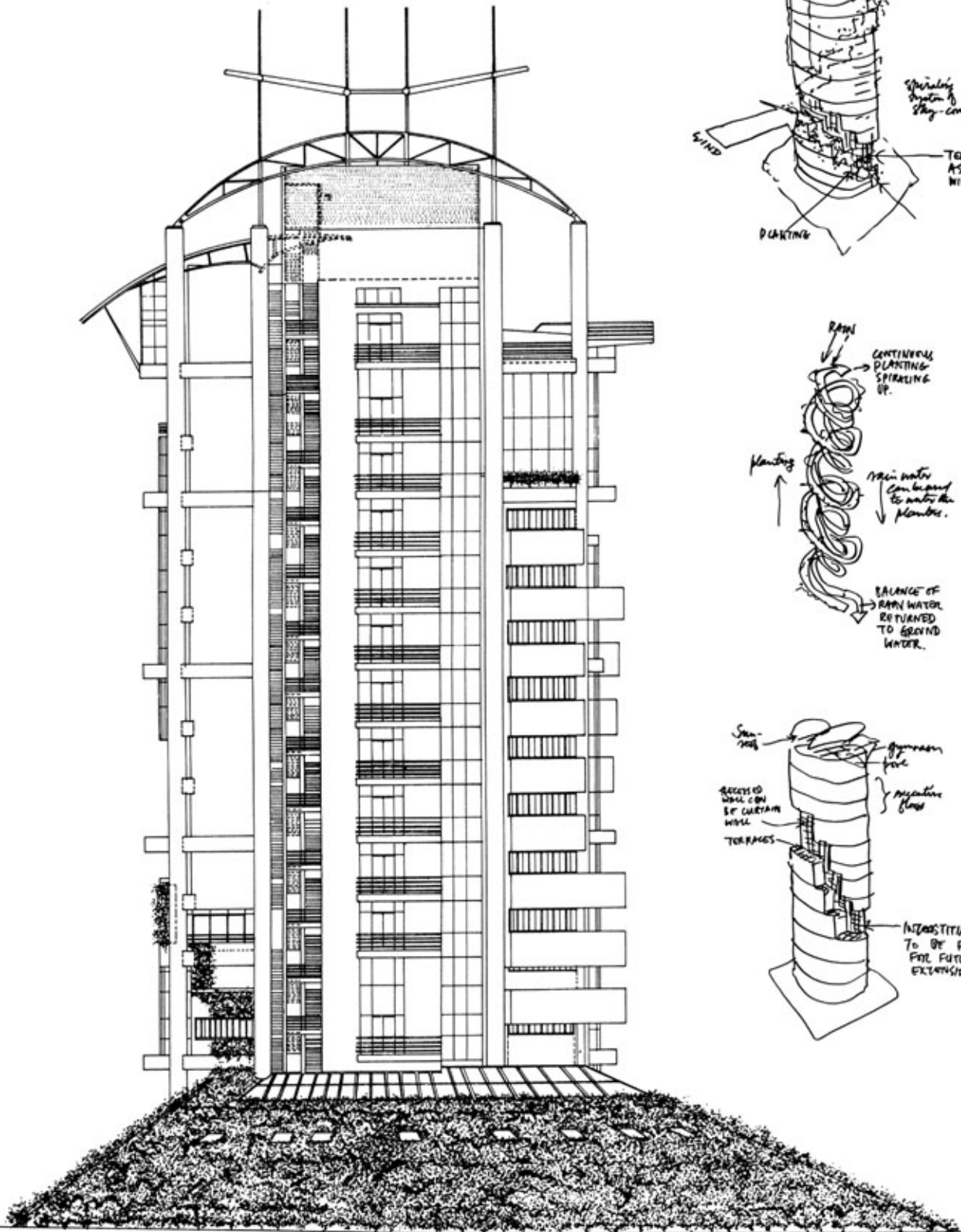
*Architect: TR Hamzah and Yeang Sdn Bhd*

*Client: Mesiniaga Sdn Bhd*

*BELOW: Entrance drop off; main lobby; office floor partitioning; OPPOSITE, L TO R: East elevation; architect's studies for 'vertical landscaping' into the facades and the 'sky court'*







# KAEDI REGIONAL HOSPITAL

*KAEDI, MAURITANIA*



■ The Kaedi Hospital annex is an inventive project that enriches the vocabulary of brick-vaulted and domed building without using timber or reinforced concrete. After two years of experimentation with local materials and building forms and techniques, the architects created ribbed structures, pointed vaults and new shapes to match the needs of the various parts of the building. The doughnut, ovoid and other shapes are all new to this type of construction; they demonstrate a mastery of technique together with a development of architectural form.

The learned informality of the design is remarkable. The unfolding petals of the organic plan are not only beautiful but functional, serving to isolate the different wards and thereby reduce the risk of contamination. To ensure sterility, the operating theatre is the only fully closed and air-conditioned part of the building. The rest of the project depends on natural ventilation and generally shows sensitivity to climate and social custom by providing shaded areas for the families of the patients.

The response of users is unreservedly positive; they refer to the extension with pride, knowing it was built by local people. The concept of introducing innovative construction techniques, forms and spaces in a public building in Kaedi was itself of some significance.

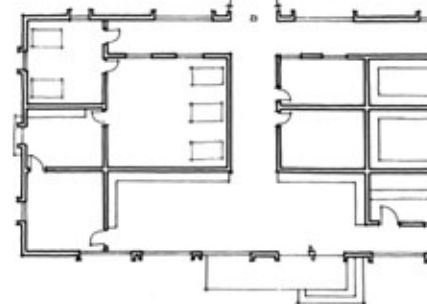
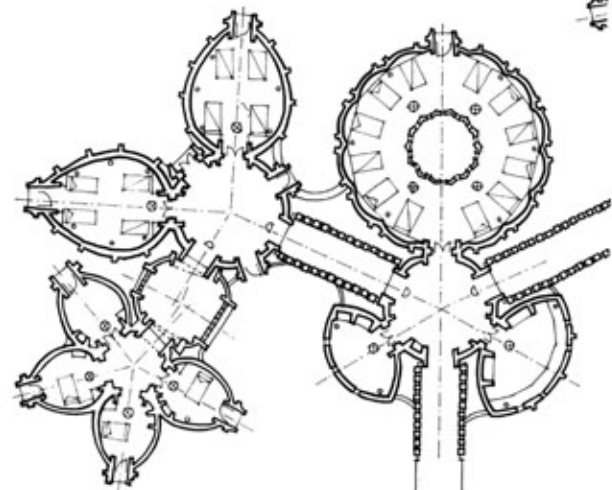
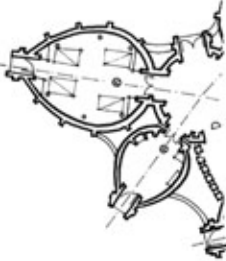
The overall effect is memorable, far removed from the projects that imitate the vaulted and domed structures made famous by the late Hassan Fathy. This is not a copy but an outstanding original, a lasting contribution to the art of building with brick structures.



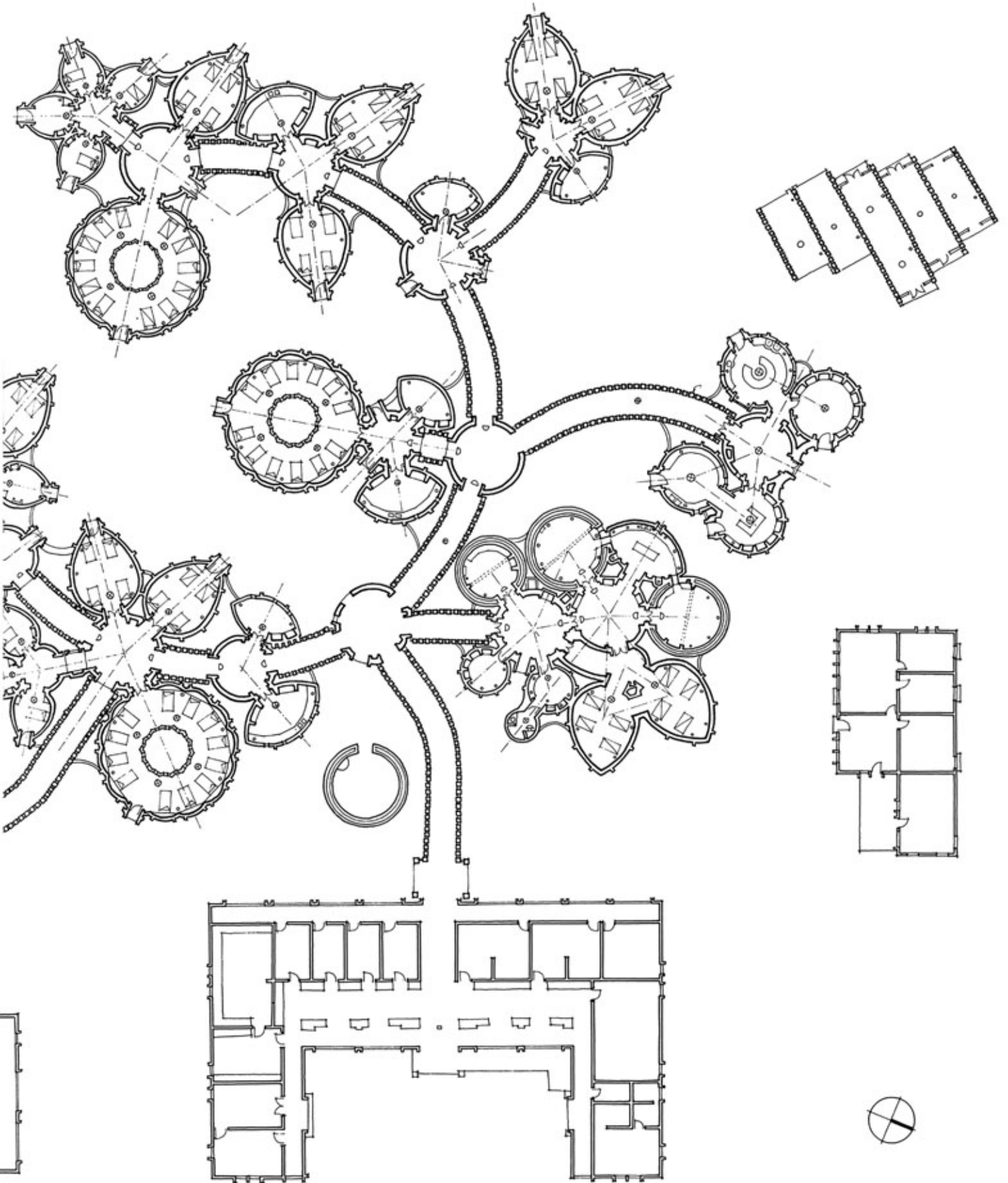
■ Kaedi is a frontier town located 250 kilometres southeast of Nouakchott, the capital of Mauritania. The Kaedi Regional Hospital serves the population of the remote Gorgol province. The recent extension to the existing hospital was designed by the Association pour le Développement naturel d'une Architecture et d'un Urbanisme Africain (ADAUA) to add 120 beds to the existing facilities. It was built to the west of a range of conventional concrete-frame buildings which now provide outpatient services.

The architect's brief was to build an affordable extension that would house facilities for preventive medicine. It was also to serve as a new form of public building which could be replicated in the future. Thus, the brief included developing 'low-cost' techniques of construction that would be of economic and practical benefit for the population and use local materials and skills.

With on-site experiments, the architects of the ADAUA, principally Fabrizio Carola, assisted by Birahim Niang, developed a structural vocabulary that would make effective use of brick, even though it is not generally used as a local building material. A number of experimental domes and vaults were built to explore their potential for the building. The structural repertoire that emerged included the following forms: ogives (simple domes) built without formwork on a circular plan; complex domes (with



FROM ABOVE: Overview of the hospital extension; the connection of the new extension to the original hospital building in the background; MAIN PICTURE: Site plan



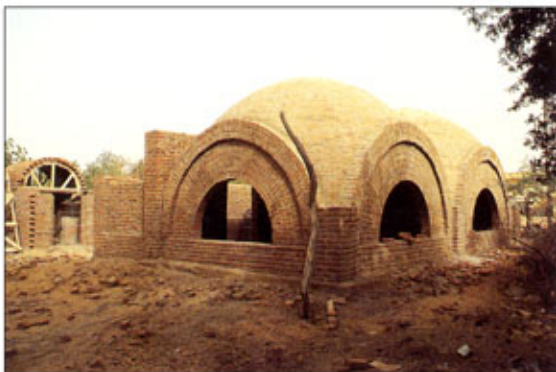
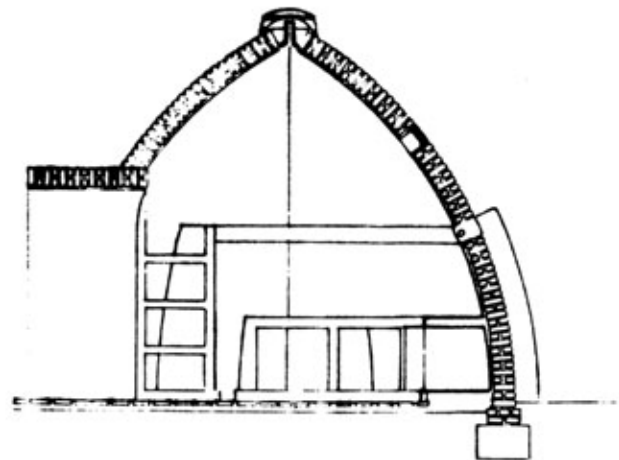
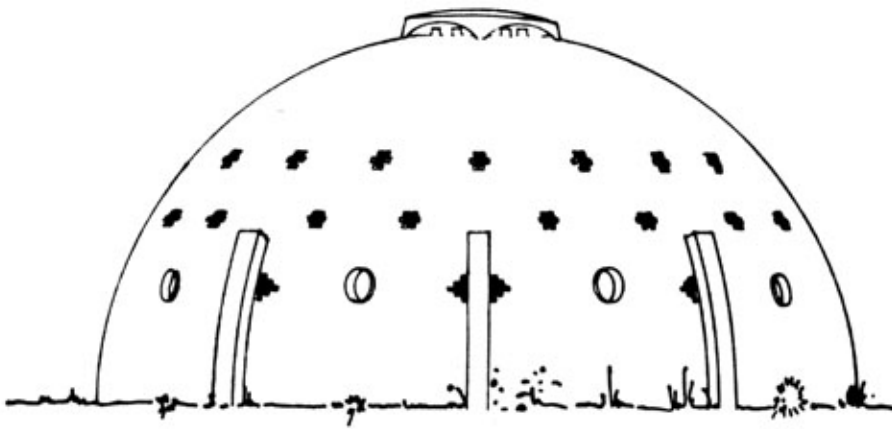
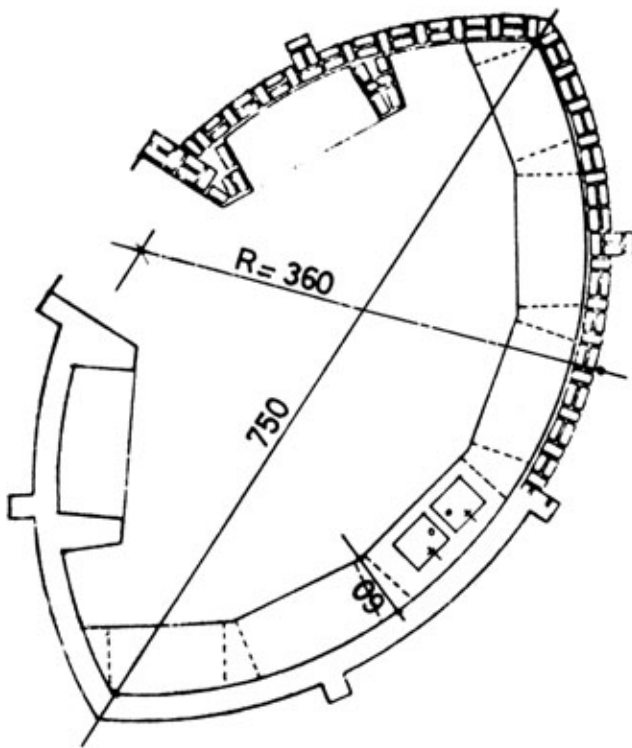
multiple radii), including oves, or tear-shaped spaces, made up of conventional half-domes combined with two flatter sections; *lentilles*, or pod-shaped spaces, made up of two sections of part-domes; a repetition of slender, self-supporting pointed arches that cover corridors in a variety of configurations; a series of radiating pointed arches, built with formwork and then filled with shallow brickwork to form a 'doughnut' plan; and a series of smaller, niche-like forms that radiate from a simple central dome. The evolution of this structural repertoire led to the development of the overall plan for the hospital extension.

The bricks were made from locally available soils and fired in kilns built nearby. Forty brick-makers made 2.5 million bricks by hand for this project. Locally fired lime was used as an internal finish where special hygienic conditions were required, such as in the operating theatres and sterilisation rooms. Cement plaster was used for external rendering of the inhabited spaces to improve the thermal performance, but brickwork over the circulation areas was left untreated. All cement was imported and used as a mortar and in the foundations. Floors were finished with mosaic-type tiles laid on cement screed. The local labour force was trained on site for the skilled work and innovative techniques used in the project. Professionals who

*BELOW: Firing kilns produce the brick for the hospital; storage areas and workshops were the first structures to experiment with new forms*







ABOVE, L TO R: Plan of a lentille; masons constructing a dome with bricks, using a rotating guide; CENTRE: Lentille elevation and section; LEFT: Guardian's house



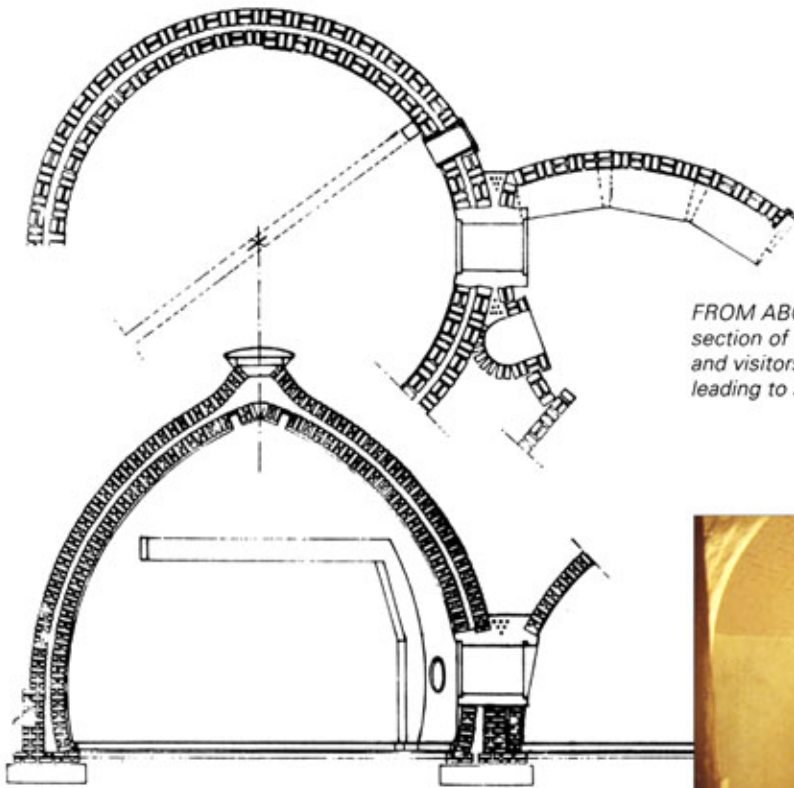


took part in the development of the new construction solutions were both African and expatriate; architects, engineers and other consultants came from Mauritania, Senegal, Italy, France, Spain and Switzerland.

The hospital extension comprises a number of units reached through two principal entrances. These units are grouped along a main circulation route, which in turn leads to secondary systems within each department, among them an operating theatre complex, paediatric, surgical and ophthalmic departments, and a maternity and general medical unit, as well as a laundry, kitchens, stores, garage and a workshop. The innovative design of these spaces seems well-suited to the hospital's functional requirements; for example, the doughnut-shaped, 12-bed wards enjoy cross-ventilation. The plan also provides vantage points for the



*FROM ABOVE, L TO R: Connecting ribbed corridors; twelve-bed ward in a 'doughnut' plan; chief medical officer's residence; satellite housing for patients' families*



FROM ABOVE: Partial plan and section of operating theatre; patients and visitors in the ward; corridor leading to surgery block



effective monitoring of patients by the medical staff. The spaces between the units serve as isolation zones, reducing the risk of infection. Interior lighting comes almost entirely through glass brick set into the masonry and intentional gaps between the brick arches. The use of natural light eases the strain on the expensive electricity generators that supply air conditioning to the operating theatres. Minor cracks in the domes, the need to replace sections of flooring, and slight deterioration of brickwork have posed some problems, but to date, maintenance has been relatively minimal. *SA-R*



*Completed 1989*

*Architect: Association pour le Développement naturel d'une Architecture et d'un Urbanisme Africain, Fabrizio Carola*

*Client: Ministry of Health*

*Sponsor: European Development Fund*





*Connecting ribbed corridors*





Circulation hub, with corridors to paediatrics and radiology



# THE QUESTION OF SYMBOLISM

*The following conversation is excerpted from the Master Jury's five-day meeting in June 1995.*

**Mehmet Konuralp:** It is impossible to consider the mosque, the tower and the hospital only on the basis of architecture, because each has a different function. If we are going to consider the contextual and the thematic sides of each project, I would say that architecture is a part of it, but not all of it.

**Peter Eisenman:** Clearly, these projects have different functions. They are linked together because we are talking about architecture's symbolic value to the contemporary discourse and not whether it functions as a hospital or a school. We don't care whether the Franco-Sénégalaise project functions. Is the auditorium there good? Do the offices work? Are the bathrooms convenient? We don't care about the functional discourse, we are talking about an iconic role that these buildings play both in Muslim society and in the greater discourse of architecture. I disagree that we need to make these functional distinctions.

**Luis Monreal:** I disagree. I think that the notion or the criteria of public function is also to be taken into account, not to be forgotten. You architects too often tend to view buildings just as *un geste*.

**Charles Jencks:** Obviously, these have different qualities. We are defending the mosque, in so far as we are not attacking it, because it is a conceptual breakthrough. We like it because it is conceptually rigorous and interesting, but no one likes its historicism. Kaedi is a functionally good hospital, but I wouldn't defend it for functionalism.

**Darmawan Prawirohardjo:** Is Kaedi not contextual as well, functionally contextual?

**Eisenman:** If we premiate Kaedi Hospital because it

functions well as a hospital, that is a patronising gesture. It will be seen as such, because people in the hospital world will say, 'What are they talking about?' It is the symbolism of Kaedi in the community that is important, not whether it functions well as a hospital.

**Konuralp:** I was trying to ask whether given a budget and a problem and the situation of available materials, the hospital meets these various parts of the problem adequately and, in addition, is an acceptable piece of architecture.

**Monreal:** Kaedi Hospital is not a substandard solution at all. First of all, you have to see where this hospital is located. You cannot expect modern ward conditions because, among other things, electricity is sometimes unavailable; the safest way to run that hospital is to work within the local conditions. This architecture is effective in meeting these conditions. In terms of architectural form, it is interesting not only because of the use of local materials, but because in some respects, this is a very successful reinterpretation of forms that exist in that area. I see echoes of Islam and echoes of Maghreb architecture. It is a remarkable project in all respects, both iconically and functionally.

**Nayyar Ali Dada:** I would like to point out that guests are accommodated here. This too shows the quality of the project. It is not based on a European model but is looking after the local problems.

**Jencks:** Kaedi was admirable because it tested a new, innovative brick technology in an area which has a shortage of timber. In that sense, it is functionally progressive and innovative. The language of architecture which stems from this use of brick is introduced in these lens forms, parabolic dome forms, various rib forms, and what I would call 'petal' architectural language, which makes it cutting edge. It was most innovative in using brick because it invented

new forms. It has also had a very enthusiastic public response. But in spite of being an absolutely key building, it hasn't yet been sustainable because the local population hasn't copied it.

**Konuralp:** If it is an ingenious piece of architecture it cannot be defended on those sentimental values. I am very interested in the hygienic side of Kaedi, so we can defend it on the bases of what it is doing in the given community, given the standards, money and materials available.

**Eisenman:** The Kaedi Hospital is not an examination of the sentimental and the nostalgic. I want to suggest the possibility of the critical nature of the award and using that as a standard. In his first critique Kant says that the critical is an examination of the conditions of the possibility for knowledge. Kant also suggests that since the 'ideal' is unrealisable in the present, the critical becomes the heuristic, to insinuate those negative characteristics that dispel the possibility of an idealised present back into the culture in a positive way. The ideal of utopia today is an impossibility. What we need is this critical view, which is the re-interpretation of the negative within a positive framework.

**Mohammed Arkoun:** With the premises of Kant how can I disagree?

**Eisenman:** Kaedi contains a critical dimension. Kaedi is far different from other projects we've seen in its critical dimension of existing discourses, in ways of forming. Kaedi transforms the existing discourse.

**Arkoun:** What would happen if Kaedi is imitated?

**Eisenman:** I do not believe a project like Kaedi is generalisable because it is so unique.

**Ismail Serageldin:** If Kaedi transforms a critical discourse, then Menara does much more so for me. It has a capacity for a much further reach than the hospital and, as such, all the arguments that we used for Kaedi would apply to Menara.

**Eisenman:** The tower says something about the possibility of a tall building in a tropical climate. We have to construct high-rise buildings. This one is provocative, it talks about something that I could defend architecturally anywhere in the world. It is not about the Muslim world or the western world or the Oriental world; rather, it says something about architectural quality.

**Konuralp:** Menara is a unique piece of architecture, but it is made with very expensive materials and a lot of money and big patronage. It is a sculpture, not an office block that we could see as a feasible, reasonable, inventive type of its kind.

**Eisenman:** I want to disagree with that for the basis of future discussion. First of all, no place else in the world has IBM occupied a building this radical. It is a unique building for IBM, which may be brought on by its unique situation. Number two, all of the corporate buildings in Malaysia are nightmares of colonial capital implanted in a society that shouldn't be doing that kind of thing. For example, the West is destroying Shanghai as we speak. But here we have an example of a replicable corporate high-rise building that is environmentally sensitive, that has sculptural features, is sensitive to local discourse, and is also forward-looking. As a model it is much more replicable than Kaedi, even in places like Phoenix, Arizona and Albuquerque, New Mexico.

**Monreal:** Because of the region where this building has been erected, and because the economy of that region (Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and so on) has a very good

prospect of growth, Menara would be a very good precedent for architectural quality in corporate architecture.

**Jencks:** It is important how we perceive and classify things. When I look at this mosque in Riyadh, I see the thousands of references in the 'ears', the flat roofs, the mud bricks, the little triangles; all of those signs. There may be ten signs that are quoted in a slightly new form, but not so new that they are not highly recognisable. I smell heavy symbolism here, but I support symbolic architecture. To decide what kind of architecture this is, I have to ask, who is it for? What is it? And what does it legitimise? To me this is an accommodating building; it is traditionalesque and Post-Modern. The common person on the street would say this is Post-Modern, and I would say it's PO-MO, which means a Post-Modernism that is corrupt. Maybe I'm wrong, but I don't see the slightest evidence that this isn't an accommodating building.

**Monreal:** It is a good idea for the buildings and spaces around the mosque to be reviewed together, because when we look at the plan, we realise they were planned together, as an urban ensemble in an area that needed re-development. What I consider positive is a good general concept of the space, the urban spacing of the palace and a good job of integrating and healing a scar in the city. This is positive. Second, this kind of architectural language is not a nuanced sensitivity to the traditional Najdi style, and it would be absurd to try to show a direct connection with a Najdi style. The materials, volumes, dimensions and requirements are all different. The old buildings worked with natural climate. This building is hermetic, to allow air conditioning. Nevertheless, there are interesting echoes of some Najdi elements which are nicely blended. In a city like Riyadh, what is the value of this type of architecture? The alternative is cheap corporate architecture for mosques or palaces or banks or whatever. Isn't this type of architectural solution and language preferable to that?

**Arkoun:** My feeling is that we should avoid awarding the mosque for the following reasons. Since the beginning, the Award has been given to several mosques. For me, we have to be very careful not to give any more awards to a mosque except if it brings a really modern, new approach to religious architecture as a whole. This is, for me, a very big point. This is one message that the Award could give on this matter, and that separates religious architecture from all other categories in architecture, because there is something to be achieved, to be said, in that category, which does not yet exist throughout the Muslim world. That is why I regret that the mosque in Ankara doesn't raise enthusiasm so that we can support it and give it an award. Riyadh doesn't express new symbolic language about the expression of religious spirituality through architecture today. I would say this even for Christian architecture. I don't see any achievement in Christian architecture which I would consider as raising new issues. So we are building a series of mosques, more or less reproducing what you call the stereotype of heavy symbolism, which is absolutely true. I would never award again any mosque if it doesn't bring this new language to new things in religious architecture. This is a very strong point. Creativity seems to be repressed in Muslim societies by structural reasons, 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. That is why we get so few projects which raise enthusiasm.

**Serageldin:** This poses the issue of architects working for authority structures all around the world and the freedom they have *vis-à-vis* clients. The question of the creativity of the architect and whether or not it has been suppressed is an issue that should not be assumed. In this particular case, the architect was not suppressed in terms of what he did for the mosque. He represents a clear line of thinking in that part of the world. What you have seen is one manifestation of that line of thinking, in the same way that





Arkoun



Jencks

El-Wakil represents a different kind of thinking. Both have been able to express their ways of building mosques in Saudi Arabia. I don't think we should overlook this particular project. Rasem Badran is building the same way, with his own language of reinterpretation and so on, whether he is building in Jordan or Saudi Arabia or elsewhere.

**Jencks:** I applaud your point. However, there is a problem here of self-imposed conventions which presuppose certain things. When I read that architecture, I see stereotypes and I see politenesses; it doesn't mean that Badran has censored himself consciously. It is unconscious self-censorship and politeness, and that's the danger for architecture.

**Serageldin:** Let's defeat or support this project on its architectural merits. It may lack creativity, you may not agree with the style it is trying to express, but I don't think you should overload it with ideological content. The Saudi government has sponsored the El-Wakil mosques; it has sponsored the Bin Ladin mosques and the mosques done by Badran. They are all different languages.

**Eisenman:** I still think you have to hear Arkoun's statement about the generic creative problem.

**Serageldin:** You find that generic creative problem all over the Muslim world. It has more to do with identity than with power.

**Arkoun:** Yes. Mine is a general statement, because we have disregarded religious culture as a whole. We are unable to have an architectural vocabulary to adapt the expression of religious experience today.

**Konuralp:** I want to try to analyse the architecture of the project. We must also be concerned with what the building is about, how it works, and what it brings to the city as a physical piece of architecture. In my opinion, this is a

good example of the ordinary. It is not making any breakthroughs in the evolution of the mosque concept, which we need in almost all Muslim communities. The architect's thesis of basing his initial concept on the historically existing mosque is a very good beginning to a project like this, but the previous structure looked far more ingenious and interesting. Yet, it is a good example of structurally adapting to quite advanced techniques. He is using column heads, but he doesn't hesitate to use them as outlets for the air-conditioning ducts. There also is this duality of trying to fit in the historical stuff, and yet putting up these prefabricated walls which look like the Damascus mosque, like something borrowed from somewhere else. Technology also has a language, or many ways to express itself, that precludes the need to go back in history and try to imitate an ornamental piece. It is like creating Gothic architecture in reinforced concrete, which I am very much against. This mosque has not been able to contribute anything like the breakthrough messages we are looking for.

**Serageldin:** The mosque is an expression of a serious architect trying to do a particular type of architecture. Whether we want to premiate that part of architecture is what I think the debate should be about. I think it does do certain things better than many other examples I've seen, but if I have to choose on the basis of an architectural breakthrough, I give my vote to the Ankara mosque, even if its architectural quality is not as moving as this one.

## INNOVATIVE CONCEPTS

Progress is hostage to innovation. Incremental improvements on past forms or solutions seldom respond to the needs of tomorrow. They do not possess the liberating contribution that innovative concepts can make in rethinking the content of our evolving world. Innovation requires breaks with convention that are seldom born in perfection. In their enactment, new concepts often fall short of their ambition precisely because they are untried. But this in no way undermines the value of innovative concepts in themselves, for through the risk of implementing a new idea, a better world might be possible. Innovators are risk takers who challenge us to rethink what we have long taken for granted. They must be recognised for their contributions, which are arguably far more important than just another well-functioning building.

To this end, the Master Jury identified four projects whose innovations deserve to be recognised with an award, even if their execution is frequently far from perfect. For the Muslim world today, indeed the entire world, the creative leaps of imagination, the daring to think what is unthinkable within the confines of conventional wisdom, provide us with avenues of possibility to reinterpret past experience in the creation of future environments.

The Mosque of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara is a direct challenge to the iconography and siting of mosques in Turkey. The mosque is modestly integrated with the parliament complex rather than aggrandised, and the minaret is simply abstracted from two squat balconies and echoed by a tree. The qibla wall is open to a meditative garden, reminding us that Muslims can pray anywhere. This challenge to the inherited conventional iconography of the mosque opens an important door for architects to provide new symbolism in the built expression of mosques.

The Alliance Franco-Sénégalaise in Kaolack, Senegal, raises important questions about the role of ornament in the age of media. It reintroduces ornament as 'text', which users of the building endow with their own references and connotations. Rather than imitating or illustrating traditional symbolic forms, this project attempts to transform these signs into a new kind of architectural text that is at once aesthetic, ornamental and symbolic. Here architecture is transformed from a background and receptacle for ornament and imagery to being the figural ornament itself at a time when we are being bombarded by images in the all pervasive media.

The re-forestation of the Middle East Technical University campus in Ankara is innovative in the scale and boldness of vision required to redress the impact of urbanism on ecology and nature. The vast scope of the project – the planting of 33 million trees over several decades, patient restoration of more than 250 species of fauna and 150 species of flora and the reintegration of wilderness into the fibre of a growing metropolis – pioneers new relationships between cities and nature in this era of growing urbanisation.

As a counterpoint to the macro-scale of the Middle East Technical University re-forestation project, the landscaping of the Jakarta airport shows the potential of new relations with nature in even the most functional High Tech spaces. By landscaping the air side of the terminal, as well as the land side, the project challenges architects to search for a proper balance between landscaping, nature and built form.

Each of these four innovative projects opens avenues for further research and essential service to the community concerned with the built form and our evolving environment.



**THE THIRD WAY**  
***BETWEEN FUNDAMENTALISM AND***  
***WESTERNISATION***

*Charles Jencks*

The Aga Khan Award for Architecture is unique among architectural awards for the seriousness and depth with which it examines architecture and for having built up an extensive archive of contemporary architecture in the Muslim world. But in one quite unexpected way it can be seen as part of a much wider, shared pursuit: the search for a new path between fundamentalism and westernisation (or tradition and modernisation), the construction of an alternative tradition, the 'space for freedom', or the growth of a new kind of Islamic plant.

The West hears most often about Muslim societies in terms of the Arab-Israeli dispute; it fears terrorism (and, to note an architectural context, associates it with such things as the bombing of New York's World Trade Center); today the West often demonises Islamic culture as 'Islamism' and acts without principle in Bosnia. For their part, Muslim cultures have suffered economic exploitation by the West, or the more subliminal Coca-Cola culture: that is, all the types of modernisation that can be summarised as 'westernisation'. But they have also benefited from western medicine, technology and Enlightenment ideas.

So much is known and probably granted by all sides of the cultural divides, north/south and east/west. Sociologists are now beginning to understand the paradoxical way seeming opposites can actually create each other. For instance, a modernising process which is too fast and unbalanced can actually lead to its supposed antagonist, fundamentalism. Successful modernisation – at least in its own terms – occurs in a few traditional cultures which are not completely colonised or uprooted by foreigners: Japan and Singapore are examples, with Hong Kong as an unusual middle case of permissive neo-colonialism (which allowed the traditional Chinese culture some autonomy and power). Where traditional values and customs are not lost faster than economic and cultural opportunities open up, as Ismail Serageldin has pointed out, modernisation does not lead to reaction. But where there are great inequities and no Faustian trade-off is possible, fundamentalism finds a fertile territory. Masses of the poor will find solace in absolutist restatements of traditional myths and religions. They can be retribalised, as we have seen with so many recent neo-nationalisms. In fact, pseudo-religion and nationalism were

typical by-products of modernisation and cultural Modernism in the 1930s (remember the use of Nietzsche and Darwin), and sociologists now refer to National Socialism as a form of 'Reactionary Modernism'.<sup>1</sup> Such a conjunction was impossible to think about twenty years ago when Modernism was thought antithetical to fascism.

### **Inadequate Words**

Such interesting conceptual dilemmas constitute the background as I, a westerner, think about the architecture of Muslim societies; but, in an important sense, they are severely limited by the words in which they are expressed. Consider the title, 'The Third Way': are there only two other ways? Absurd; there are probably twenty or, some would say, as many ways as there are cultures. Furthermore, the overtones of my title are equally negative and positive: 'The Third Way' was used occasionally in the 1930s to refer to the fascist alternative to liberalism and socialism, and 'The Way' refers to 'the true path of life' that many indigenous cultures follow (including the Tao). In any case, is it a 'way' or 'path' between the Scylla of fundamentalism and the Charybdis of westernisation? Would not the image of a 'bridge' be better, because – clearly – what is needed is some kind of conjunction, tension, opposition or, should we say, learning, between these alternative poles.

Metaphors and words matter, just as much as architectural expression; if they are tired and imprecise, or distorting and reductive, better ones need to be found. So, should my title be 'Walking the Tightrope Between X and Y'? This has several advantages over the other metaphors, because it suggests that the path *is* precipitous. It must include Islam *and* the West – even fundamentalism *and* commerce. There is no going back from development, just as there is no future without ethnicity and religion. Therefore there is nothing but danger, and a tightrope stretched between antagonistic but sometimes positive forces.

Yet neither path nor tightrope brings out a most important point, that it is a process, search, debate or new construction that is wanted – indeed something that is a growing tradition. What metaphor or word will encompass all these necessary points? None. Language fails to provide the compound entity, nor is there an institution in the political

lexicon which will do the job. Single words and traditional concepts are simply inadequate to describe what is needed – which is *not* to say the reality is not emerging.

### **Challenge and Confusion**

It is apparent in the award-winning projects presented in this book and my analysis of twelve different approaches to architecture (see table, overleaf) that there are many valid paths on the Third Way – a veritable multi-laned highway. There are also many international civil institutions which, similar to the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, are opening up the Third Way. Characteristically, these support transnational values while, at the same time, upholding regional, local and traditional values. Oxfam, the World Wide Fund for Nature, Amnesty International or, on a more activist level, Greenpeace, are engaged in this double activity – or the double-coding I find essential to the post-modern agenda.

On the one hand, there is respect for the Enlightenment project, universal history, liberation, technological and social development and, on the other, defence of local culture, traditional patterns of society, and ecology. These opposites constitute the post-modern double vision and lead to its dual coding, hybrid style and ironic politics (that accommodates and subverts at the same time). The new institutions, which have emerged since 1945, the non-governmental organisations and post-modern movements, are giving birth to a new world culture and to a new type of person who owes allegiance to global and local issues equally. Thirty years ago the 'world citizen' was a pious hope or a joke; today he is produced inevitably by world trade and new transnational civil bodies.

There is also a parallel growth within the Islamic world, challenging stereotypes and extending traditions. Abdol Karim Soroush, the Iranian scholar, is called 'the Martin Luther of Islam' because he shows that the faith must be based on two pillars: freedom to believe what one is persuaded is the truth, and the idea that the interpretation of religious texts is always in flux, never fixed.<sup>2</sup>

Freedom and reinterpretation are here to be understood as essential to Islamic faith. The great critical legacy of the first half of this century, the legacy of Muhammad Abdu, Iqbal, and Taha Hussain does not constitute a strict school, but it has kept alive the debate with the past and the right to

*ijtihād*, to reinterpret the text and tradition in the light of present needs. Many scholars and thinkers in different countries keep this tradition of free exploration alive, among them Mohamed Abed Al-Jabri in Morocco, Syed Hossein Nasr from Iran, Mohamed Salim Al-'Awa in Egypt, Nurcholis Majid in Indonesia, Azim Nanji from Kenya, Hisham Gait in Tunis, Fatima Mernissi in Morocco and Leila Ahmed in the United States. The new growth in Islamic thinking spreads across all national boundaries and specialisations.

The *Los Angeles Times* article 'Islamist's Theory of Relativity' argues for an emergent tradition which is both 'authentically Islamic without being fundamentalist and authentically modern'. Again, of course, the words are inadequate since the terms *authentic* and *modern* hide so much and contain too much, but an Islamic reformation may be underway, carried forward by those whom the article cites – Tunisia's Rashid Ghannouchi, Egypt's Hassad Hanafi and Algeria's Mohammed Arkoun. Democracy, freedom, equality and the empowerment of ordinary believers, 'a seed to grow' are the phrases used. The space of freedom, of choice, of error has to be opened and protected as a precondition for religious belief. On this point so many in the Third Way agree, even when they have different specific beliefs. Shifting back to architecture, the Award has developed a growing tradition by stressing different examples, giving different precedents, writing different rules for action and building laws. Pluralism of example is *the* rule.

The confusion that results from using labels, rather than examples, as standards can be shown in many ways. All the 'isms' show this problem, from Modernism to Post-Modernism, just as do all the 'ologies', from ideology to theology. Many people, particularly intellectuals, sometimes believe they have reached the bottom of a problem when they have formulated some connection between labels, and this leads to the kinds of oversimplifications which become habitual and then are turned into government policy. We find this in the West today in the tendency to conflate fundamentalism with the followers of Islamic religion. Journalists, government advisers and *The New York Times* sometimes use the two

interchangeably, as if they were synonyms. Thus, recent formulations of United States' policy have had recourse to the concept of 'Islamism'. As Michael Field, the respected author of *Inside the Arab World* and consultant on Middle East Affairs wrote in the *International Herald Tribune*:

The West, some tell us, should resign itself to living with a region that is increasingly Islamist and unfriendly, and even learn to do business with it. The term 'Islamism' is gaining currency because, more than 'fundamentalism', it conveys the meaning of Islam as a political movement.<sup>3</sup> Field (a typical expert?) is guilty of a double reduction here which is not unique: first, he reduces Islamic societies to Arab ones (when there are more than forty-four Muslim countries, and the largest is non-Arab) and he tacitly accepts the theologically questionable view that God belongs to a political party.

Such is the power of words and linguistic associations and the inadequacy of labels. If, as Field and other experts are now suggesting, we are stuck with calling political, revolutionary and populist movements in Muslim societies 'Islamism', then we might as well stop thinking. I am not, to underline the point, attacking Field's ideas and values, many of which are worthy, but again showing the common linguistic confusion within which we frame the debate on culture, and therefore on architecture. To return to my title, we have to fashion a third way *between* labels, between Islam and the West, while at the same time using them, accepting them, changing them. This is what is at stake in the metaphor of process and growth which constantly recurs in the debate – the growth of a third path.

Put another way it is to look at the positive, creative sides of the 'fundamentalism and westernisation' of my title, to take the energy invested here and deflect it to another purpose, a third alternative, an enigmatic 'other'. This is best illustrated with one of the award-winners, the Kaedi Hospital extension in Mauritania. Here is the architectural equivalent of fundamentalism – a brick dome construction reminiscent of several traditional techniques, some of which are common in Muslim cultures – and modern hospital



1995 Aga Khan Awards, January 1995 - Stylistic/Categorical Analysis of 86 projects

	POSITIVE VERSION	NEGATIVE VERSION	
1	Invisible Mend ( <i>Ultra-modest conservation</i> )	'Counterfeit-Trad'	15
2	Neo-Traditional ( <i>Reformist, in-keeping</i> )	'Club-Med'	15
3	Post-Modern ( <i>Double-coded, symbolic</i> )	'PO-MO'	17
4	Modern ( <i>Minimalist, Kahnian, High Tech</i> )	'Dumb'	13
5	Neo-Modern ( <i>Sophisticated revival</i> )	'Decor'	4.5
6	Emergent ( <i>Cosmogenic creative</i> )	'Cosmic'	2.5
7	Socio-Political ( <i>Activist, feminist, squatters</i> )	'Politically Correct'	3
8	Socially Worthy ( <i>Reformist</i> )	'Opportunist'	5
9	Urban-Worthy ( <i>Contextual, reconstructivist</i> )	'Boy Scout'	4.5
10	Eco-Worthy ( <i>Sustainable, re-forestry</i> )	'Girl Scout'	4
11	Pop-Commercial ( <i>Surreal imagistic, humorous vulgar</i> )	'Kitsch'	5
12	Craft-Worthy ( <i>Educative, architectural training</i> )	'Amateur'	2
		TOTAL	86

technology, western planning and Expressionist aesthetics; but all of these antithetical traditions are extended, distorted and combined in a unique post-modern hybrid. The innovative language of architecture includes hemispherical domes, parabolic domes, doughnut-plan domes, oves or tear-shaped spaces, pod-spaces, and an overall petal morphology organised roughly on a curved, branching plan.

One could commend this as a fractal architecture, a self-similar building which avoids the banality of a self-same Modernism; one could see in this both an ecologically sensitive response to the climate and local materials and a new version of the cooling, 'stack effect'; one can admire the village planning which does not slip into neo-trad, the style of Club-Med primitivism so dangerous in this sort of scheme. That the surgeons who operate here like it as much as the patients reflects the multiple-coding of the form language. Because of its innovative use of appropriate technologies in an 'other' aesthetic, one can say it fulfils the primary role of a spiritual architecture, that is, creativity, freshness, freedom from cliché. A hospital certainly is not a mosque and has no explicit religious purpose (although birth and death occur here) but the quality of this building has implications for a renewed Islamic tradition of spirituality – a point to which I shall return.

### Desiring Heterogeneity

If the Kaedi Hospital is a good example of 'inbetween architecture' – both Islamic and modern and neither explicitly – then it constitutes one type, one example and style from which to learn. A basic heuristic of the Award is to create a set of different exemplars and over the years it has done so, setting standards through the casebook method, showing principles through specific buildings. The decision to award not one but several buildings and directions, a goal from the start in 1977, affirmed pluralism, but did so in a way that was less apparent than real. The image of the Award, as purveyed in books and magazines, has gravitated toward seamless conservation, or what I would call 'Invisible Mend', because new and old are blended and mended in a way

which minimises difference. Other awarded approaches that have dominated the image of the Award (if not the reality) are neo-traditional, modern abstract and socially worthy self-building, or architecture for the poor.

Throughout I will refer to all of these identifiable 'schools' at first in positive terms because I presume a benign intentionality and quality; but there is also a corresponding negative usage associated with each of them, since they can be debased for commodification and entropy. So, again, it is necessary to steer a course between what can only be relative markers, plural guides on the road, not end points.

It is essential for Muslim architectures (to insist on the plural subtitle to this volume) to broaden the heterogeneity of value systems as they increase the range of building types. The development of Muslim cultures in a global framework will inevitably lead to a plethora of styles, functional types and urban morphologies, whatever anyone might say about it. The question is: can one develop a radical pluralism or differential scale of judgement or *discontinuous valuation* without slipping into absolute relativism?

The Award has been notable for developing different criteria for judging conservation and rehabilitation projects, and exceptional for promoting standards of housing for the poor; but it has not been very lucky at supporting the third of its three stated goals – the discovery of new architectural vocabularies – because not enough such work has been submitted (or perhaps exists?). With Ken Yeang's work, and others shown in this year's awards, that lacunae may be somewhat filled; but it strikes me that the whole question of the three privileged categories – a kind of Trinitarian unity – might be expanded to a more radical heterogeneity.

At the second meeting of the Master Jury the initial 433 submissions had been cut to eighty-six and, to gauge the existing plurality of these, I made a quick classification of each scheme in terms of its major themata. My analysis resulted in twelve distinct approaches and styles, a good measure of the existing heterogeneity in the architecture of Muslim societies, even if one disputes the rather superficial categorisation and the limited sample. The main types, listed



*Mukeet, Aeroplane Mosque, Dhaka, Bangladesh, 1990. Surreal juxtaposition or advertisement, ironic comment or whimsical bricolage – the framing of the incongruity is uncertain and therefore not a true example of pop-commercial; but the standards for judging such work is completely different from evaluating customary buildings*

in positive and negative versions to show that each tradition may degenerate into a caricature of itself, show that each approach demands the *sine qua non* of quality. I do not expect everyone to agree with the twelve, or fully understand them. The list is made to suggest existing variety and the categories that may still be missing, or under-represented.

As one might expect, these eighty-six projects show a majority of traditional, Modern and Post-Modern approaches, the kind of spread one might find in any large civilisation today. So far so plural. But under-represented by my standards are schemes which are ecological (category 10), feminist (7), cosmogenic (6), pop-commercial (11), industrial High Tech (4) and pluralist/heterogeneous (category 3, but not made explicit in my characterisation). Why do I say these are under-represented?

Take the pop-commercial category, with only half or part of a building. In Muslim societies, facing rampant commercialisation by both multinationals and small traders, it is absolutely necessary that architects forge a set of aesthetic and constructional rules which deal with this emergent reality and not simply give up and shout 'kitsch', as do so many critics in the West. Commodification may be ugly and venal, but there are still unique standards and opportunities for expression, ways of turning commercial forces in an inventive direction, as the work of SITE and, occasionally, Robert Venturi and Archigram have shown in the West. The closest the Award could come to a submitted example in this genre was the Aeroplane Mosque – a first essay in 'IslamPop'.

Many will find this building and my label questionable, and it raises all sorts of issues from secularisation to a fundamentalism that is ironic, but it also clarifies the issue of discontinuous valuation very clearly. One values pop-commercial for its surreal inappropriateness, vitality, incongruity, amplification and distortion of scales, juxtaposition, clash of references – all values which are counter to cultural integration, traditional harmony and mainstream aesthetics. There is no possible yardstick by which one can judge the Aeroplane Mosque along with Incremental Housing and, for instance, the Women's Library and Information Centre in

Istanbul, a feminist project whose architectural values are mostly involved with rehabilitation, but whose invisible values are clearly involved with activism, empowerment, a historical movement. One way forward for the Award and the architecture of Muslim societies is frankly to admit this radical heterogeneity and discontinuous valuation – to desire and reward difference.

### **Spirituality and Cosmogogenesis**

Such values of pluralism have been supported in the West, particularly since the 1960s and the rise of Post-Modernism, but they are clearly not enough to sustain either an urbanism or a coherent culture. While I would support the slow movement toward greater heterogeneity which is underway in Islamic societies, I also think that the basic traditions of equality before divinity and fraternity (or communal spirit) which are so palpable within these societies have much to contribute to the Third Way. It is true, and a cause for protest, that women are excluded from the public realm in most Muslim societies, but it is also true that Islamic communities are a lot less atomised than corresponding ones in the West.

There is an older tradition of Islamic culture which was universalist in the direct sense that it was oriented to the universe, the cosmos, the scientific and mathematical laws as revealed by researchers (and even architects). That tradition may be as attenuated in Muslim cultures as it is in western ones today, but it is nonetheless a possible source and inspiration for a public architecture. I have set out such arguments in *The Architecture of the Jumping Universe* subtitled 'How Complexity Science is Changing Architecture and Culture', and I will not rehearse them here.<sup>4</sup> Suffice it to say that contemporary cosmology and complexity science are giving us a new view of the universe as a single, creative unfolding event with the primary message that the universe is a lot more creative – jumping to new levels of organisation – than anyone suspected even twenty years ago.

Self-organising systems are found everywhere, even in non-living matter such as clouds or the Red Spot of Jupiter, and they are forever reorganising on higher (and lower)

levels through phase transitions, leaps, catastrophic falls, smooth slides and jumps. The story of the universe, from its beginning some ten to fifteen billion years ago, constitutes a new meta-narrative which can unite all cultures, all religions, if it is recounted as a single creative, still unfolding event. The implications are clearly spiritual, even for atheists, because they show we are fundamentally built into the laws of nature. The universe must – given enough time – produce sentient beings. It must produce culture, aesthetic feeling, ethical beings, discrimination, ever more sensitive levels of feeling, and a host of other values.

In the Award debates, Mohammed Arkoun raised the question of spirituality and architecture, as he does in an essay in this volume, and pointed out two necessary conditions for an authentic spiritual building; it must embody aesthetic feelings, perhaps of harmony and transcendence, and it must be creative. The fact that so much Islamic religious building fails on both these scores – as does Christian – has to be admitted from the start. The historic religions today are more concerned with the numbers game, doctrinal conformity and stereotype than they are with spirituality, so one has to look outside these traditional institutions to find it. ('The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life', as Corinthians 2 insists.) One recurrent, if intermittent, source is the avant-garde, especially that which has developed from Vassily Kandinsky and his writings, such as *The Spiritual in Art*. Another is the scientific community, or at least a small part of it, particularly those concerned with path-breaking discoveries in genetics, astrophysics, and chaos and complexity theories.

I would argue that to Arkoun's two criteria of spirituality in architecture – aesthetics and creativity – a third should be added: the presentation and representation of contemporary scientific laws as they unfold. As we discover the new laws, the new form languages, and ways of conceiving the universe, we discover basic, transcendent truths that are provocative, stimulating, creative and aesthetic; we discover more of our basic connection to the single, creative unfolding event. In short we discover the unity of the universe, a counterpart to the necessary heterogeneity of societies.

By this measure the most spiritual architecture the Award recognises in 1995 is, again, the Kaedi Hospital: harmonious without being clichéd, new without fetishising originality, scientific in being based on new techniques, and aesthetic in being consistently self-similar – petal-like. There is something transcendent in the handling of internal space and light – perhaps it is the use of simple means in an entirely fresh way. The strange ovoid/petal forms of the nurses' house and courtyard also have this quality: their enigmatic and suggestive forms provoke an empathetic response because they are both primary and new. Their organic qualities suggest growth, and this metaphor is a natural analogue of the creative growth of the scheme as a whole, not to mention the jumping universe.

My inadequate metaphor of the Third Way is, as I have said, also meant to suggest growth, creativity, the construction of a new tradition across barriers and between cultures. The difficulty, and it has been a theme of Post-Modernism now for twenty years, is to keep the autonomy of the parts while the links are being constructed. I can imagine that as Islamic thinkers and architects come to terms with the new sciences and cosmogenesis, something quite new and beautiful will emerge.

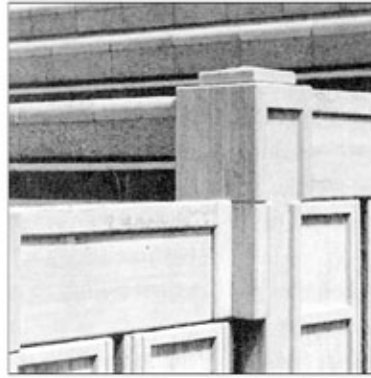
#### Notes

- 1 Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism, Technology, Culture and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich*, Cambridge University Press, 1984; David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, pp33, 209, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1989.
- 2 Robert Wright, 'Islamist's Theory of Relativity', *Los Angeles Times*, pp1, A10-11, January 27, 1995.
- 3 Michael Field, 'A Serious Democratic Alternative in the Islamic World', *International Herald Tribune*, p8, July 5, 1995.
- 4 Charles Jencks, *The Architecture of the Jumping Universe – 'How Complexity Science is Changing Architecture and Culture'*, Academy Editions, London/New York, 1995.



# MOSQUE OF THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

*ANKARA, TURKEY*



■ This is a remarkably important building – its very location in a parliament raises questions about symbolism and the state of being. The boldness of vision of the project concept is not fully realised in the architecture and detailing, but this in no way diminishes its power and innovation. The project courageously challenges the conventional vocabulary of mosque architecture, and defines new directions in urban layout and design.

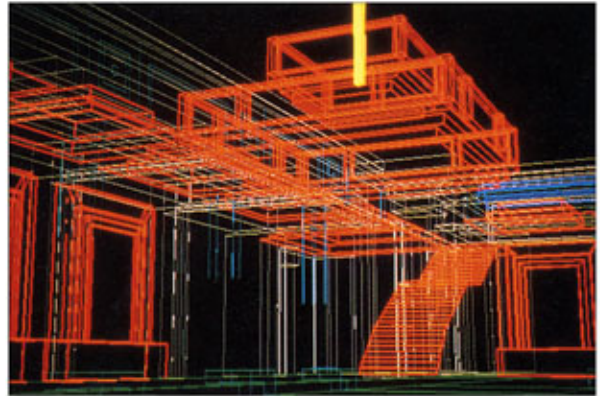
As urban design, the building introduces an intense dialogue between the mosque and the National Assembly, that is, between the sacred and secular, between the ‘house of God’ and the ‘house of the people’.

How is the dialogue between the sacred and the profane articulated in an architectural language? This is the central question that charges the discourse of the Muslim world with passion, and is at the root of so many of the confrontations, the current ‘revolutions’, that are taking place in so many parts of the contemporary Muslim world.

The layout of the Grand National Assembly mosque is remarkably modest, sensitively embedded in the landscape. Architecturally, it presents a new iconography for mosque architecture: the minaret is flattened into two squat balconies, losing its function as a vertical marker within the urban environment; the dome has disappeared completely, and the mihrab opens on to views of water and nature – elements that have always accompanied religious expression in Islam, but that have been supplanted by centuries of a building tradition employing a niche form for the mihrab.

By boldly challenging all the conventional conceptions of layout and architectural vocabulary, while remaining totally respectful of the requirements for prayer, this remarkable building opens the door for others to invent a new architectural language for the mosques of tomorrow, rather than mechanically copying the achievements of the past.

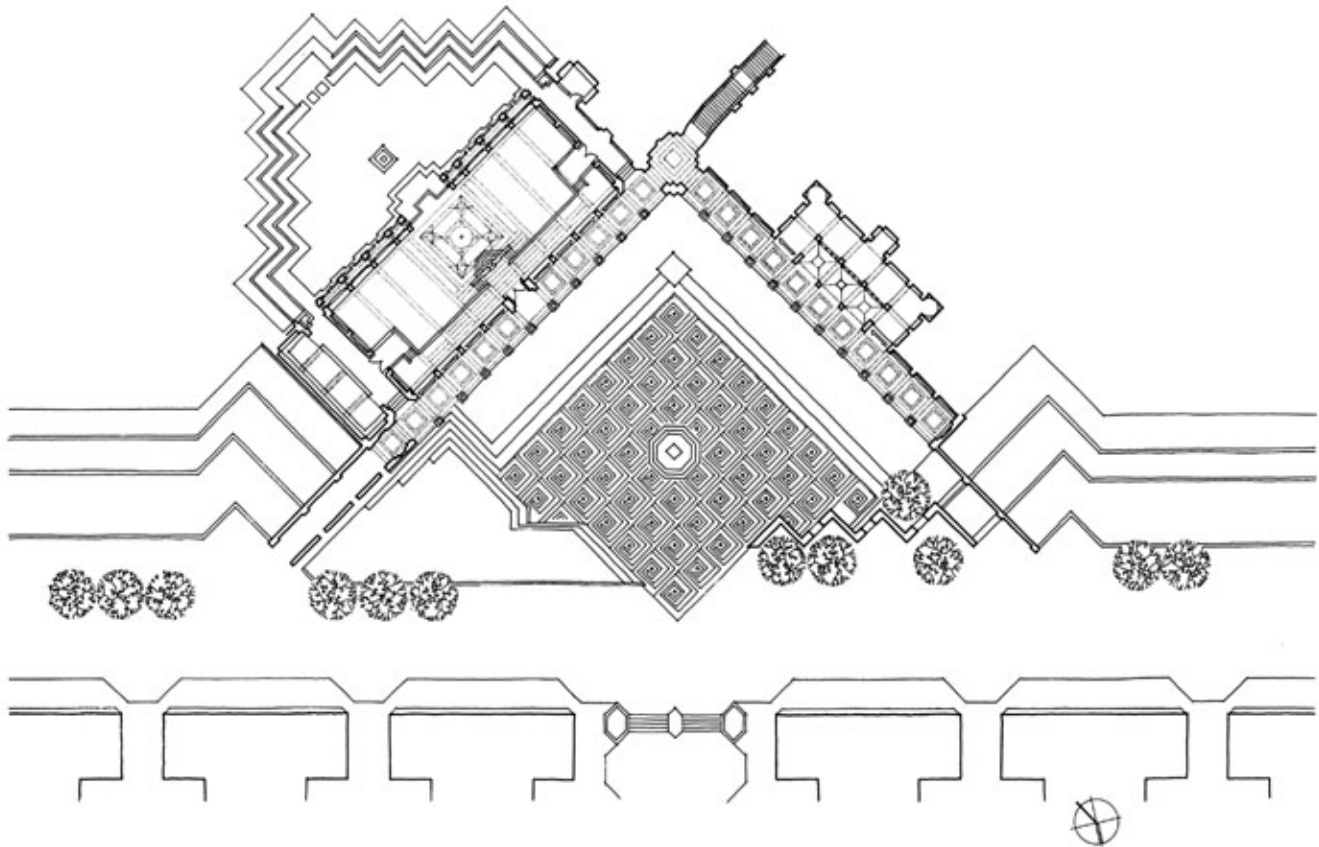
*FROM LEFT: The prayer hall with the open qibla wall covered by a stepped pyramid; computer-generated drawing showing the stairs to the truncated minaret; mosque sunken into the surrounding landscape*



■ Ankara has been the capital city of Turkey since 1923, when it was a small town, and is now a metropolis of over three million people. Its expansion was designed to reflect its new status as capital of the new secular Republic of Turkey. Today, wide tree-lined boulevards, massive public buildings and bland, international-style architecture give the city its characteristic look. The Grand National Assembly complex occupies over 475,000 square metres in the centre of the city. In theory, the assembly grounds are open to the public, but entry is controlled and the complex is heavily guarded. Members of parliament and ministerial and administrative staffs voiced their desire for a mosque in which to pray. Accordingly, the architects Behruz and Can Çinici were asked to design a prayer hall that would not be an official or congregational mosque, but would only





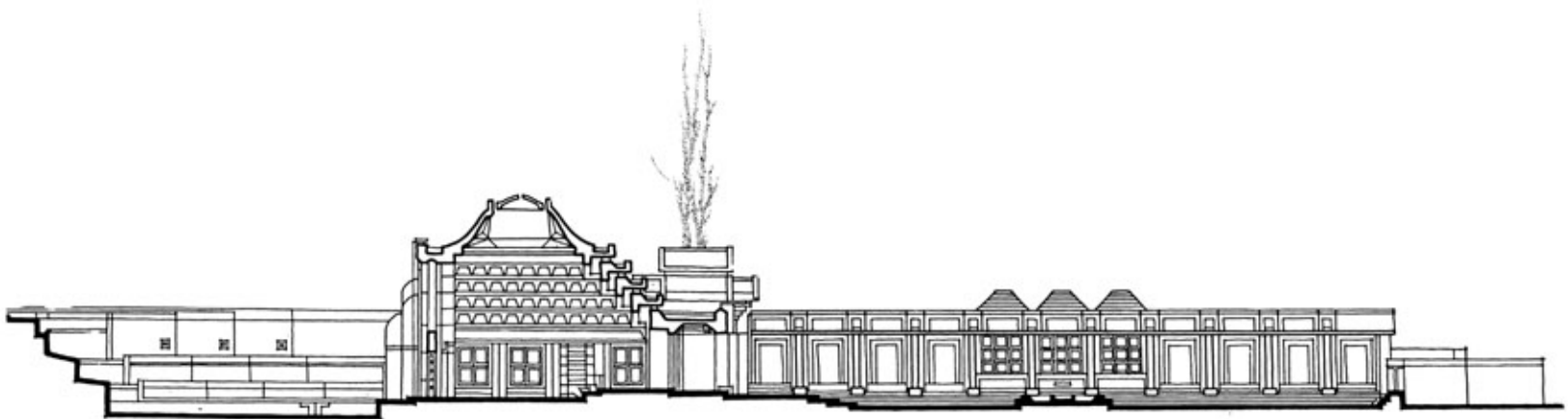
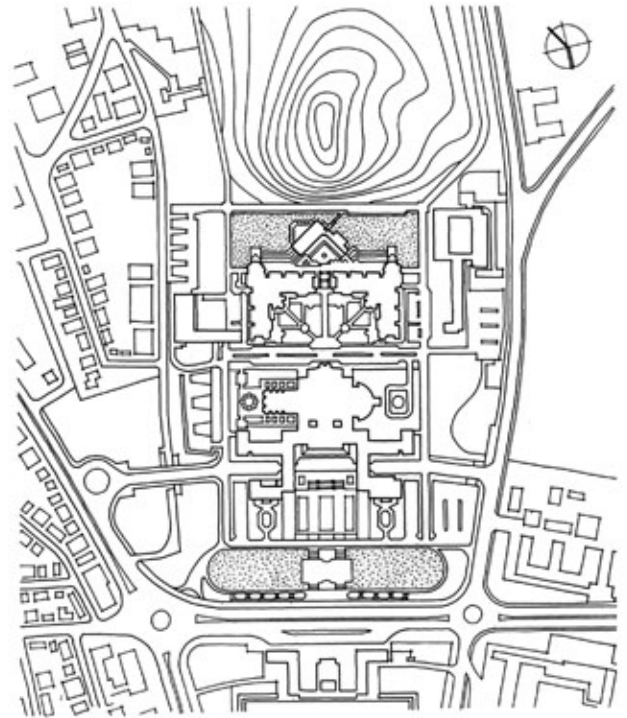


be used by approximately 450 people during office hours.

The mosque complex has three components; a triangular forecourt, a rectangular prayer hall and a triangular garden. The building is oriented along a north-south axis; porticoes border the three sides of the forecourt. The western portico leads into a library and the southern one leads to the mosque. The prayer hall is covered by a stepped pyramid, the central part of which steps up higher and replaces the usual Islamic dome. Indirect lighting filters through openings between the rafters that create the pyramid, and in the interior, large ceramic inscriptions contain the names of Allah, the prophet Muhammad, and the four Orthodox Caliphs, Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, and 'Ali. The entire qibla wall is made of glass; a centrally positioned, rectangular glass projection

acts as the mihrab. The view is of a serene, sunken terraced garden with a central cascading waterfall that empties into a large pool. This visual contact with nature alleviates the harshness of the architectural space created by the angles of the pyramid rafters over the prayer hall. A narrow elevated section along the north wall of the mosque acts as the women's prayer area; therefore, the separation between the prayer areas of men and women is simply one of elevation. A wooden minbar is located to the right of the mihrab. There is no true minaret. Instead, the architects placed two superimposed balconies that barely rise above ground level at the southwest corner of the forecourt where, along with a tall pine

*Plan of the prayer hall (left), connected through an open arcade to the library (right)*

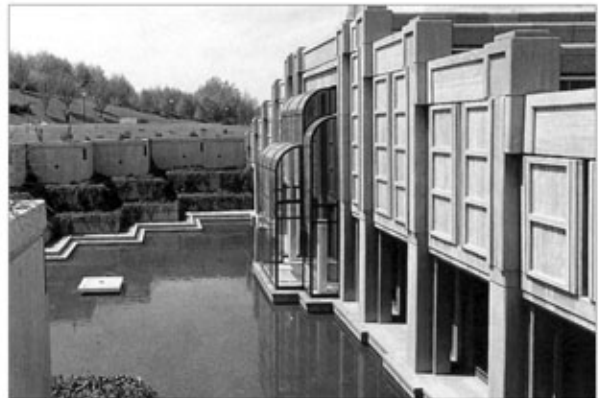


*FROM ABOVE, L TO R: The parliament building in the background, designed by Holstmeister, is separated from the sunken mosque by the MPs' offices building, designed by Çinici; the mosque is the pinnacle of the axial site plan of the Ankara government complex; section*

planted nearby, they abstractly substitute the traditional vertical elements of a minaret.

The technology and materials used throughout this project are common to Turkey today. The primary construction material is reinforced concrete, and both precast and cast-in-place elements were used. Exposed concrete is the dominant finishing material. Marble is used for the door and window frames, as well as for the floors. Ceramic tiles cover the library floor, and ceramic panels decorate the walls of the prayer hall.

The most interesting aspect of the mosque design is the manner in which elements from traditional Islamic architecture have been abstracted and fragmented. Instead of a full courtyard with porticoes, the architects have cut the courtyard in half along a diagonal line connecting the south and north corners; columns have been removed from the porticoes – only bases indicate their presence. These consciously incomplete references to the past are also found in other parts of the mosque, such as the truncated minaret, the dome replaced by a stepped pyramid (a pre-Islamic reference), and the opening of the qibla wall on to a sunken garden. Such features are not found in traditional mosques. These totally different visual and symbolic experiences remind worshippers that there is a separation between the traditional past and today's present,



*FROM ABOVE: The main approach to the mosque is through the triangular forecourt, where a tree and double balconies symbolise the minaret; the qibla wall opens on to a sunken garden, entirely covered by a pool*



and invite them to see the mosque as a place of inner peace, prayer and serenity, not as a symbol of the temporal power of the state.

The Mosque of the Grand National Assembly is a modern mosque in which the architects chose to abstract past forms and modify the spatial arrangements that have become fixtures of traditional mosque architecture. Their most interesting innovation is the transparent glass of the entire qibla wall to permit views to the garden and pool. This new arrangement completely transforms the act of prayer. The customary alignment of the qibla wall and mihrab towards the direction of Mecca is maintained, but by conceiving these elements in glass, with a landscaped garden beyond, worshippers are brought closer to nature. The structure of the mosque emphasises the secular environment to which it belongs while enhancing the acts of prayer and devotion that are central to Islam. The project makes an important contribution to the development of a suitable architectural vocabulary for the design of contemporary mosques. *SA-R*

*Completed 1989*

*Architects: Behruz and Can Çinici*

*Client: Turkish Grand National Assembly*

*BELOW: The glass mihrab projects into the sunken garden from the open qibla wall; view of the prayer hall from the sunken courtyard*

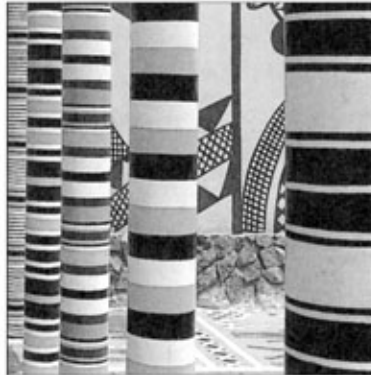




*ABOVE: The portico in front of the library and prayer hall is punctuated by columnless bases; LEFT: The mosque forecourt seen through the fragmented wall*

# ALLIANCE FRANCO-SÉNÉGALAISE

*KAOLACK, SENEGAL*



■ This cultural complex in Kaolack raises important questions about the role of ornament and ideas in the age of media. It integrates ornament with architectural design as a 'text' for users to interact with, to endow with their own references and connotations at a time when we are being bombarded by images from an all-pervasive media.

The project attempts to explore new ways of producing iconography, using ornamentation and imagery in a way not dissimilar to the means used in Gothic cathedrals to communicate visually with their communities. It recalls a time when architecture was seen as strong media, and suggests the possibility for architecture to confront the hegemony of media. Rather than imitating or illustrating traditional symbolic forms, this project attempts to transform these signs into a new kind of architectural text that is at once aesthetic (colourful and playful), ornamental and symbolic. Here architecture is transformed from a ground for ornament and imagery to being the figural ornament itself.

The project is neither colonial nor patronising in its imagery; rather, it is critical of kitsch imagery and nostalgia. It proposes a provocative new language that transcends the traditional confines of place or Muslim identification, and confronts the present practices and theories of western architecture and thought.

The only discourse that can come out of Africa today which is not patronising is one which is critical, that is, one which questions the possibility of knowledge in its own traditions. Architecture such as that displayed by the Alliance Franco-Sénégalaise can join in the struggle against accommodation both within and without the Muslim world. As a critical text, it also can elicit an affective and emotional response from users, who respond viscerally and immediately to the colour and form, as well as to the more complex iconic and symbolic messages that the building represents.





*FROM ABOVE: Interior view of the library; the external shaded study area is an extension of the library periodicals room*

■ The Alliance Franco-Sénégalaise is located in Kaolack, a medium-sized provincial town about 160 kilometres southeast of Senegal's capital city of Dakar. It was commissioned to house the Alliance Française and to provide a much-needed community centre with such public facilities as a library, meeting and classrooms, performance and entertainment areas. The brief was to design and construct a complex that would house the range of cultural activities envisioned for a centre whose mission is to promote knowledge and understanding of the French language and culture. The French architect Patrick Dujarric, who is an anthropologist, has lived for many years in Senegal. He decided to separate the different functions of the building and to group them on differing levels in an outdoor-like space, in keeping with the traditional style of grouping public structures in local villages.

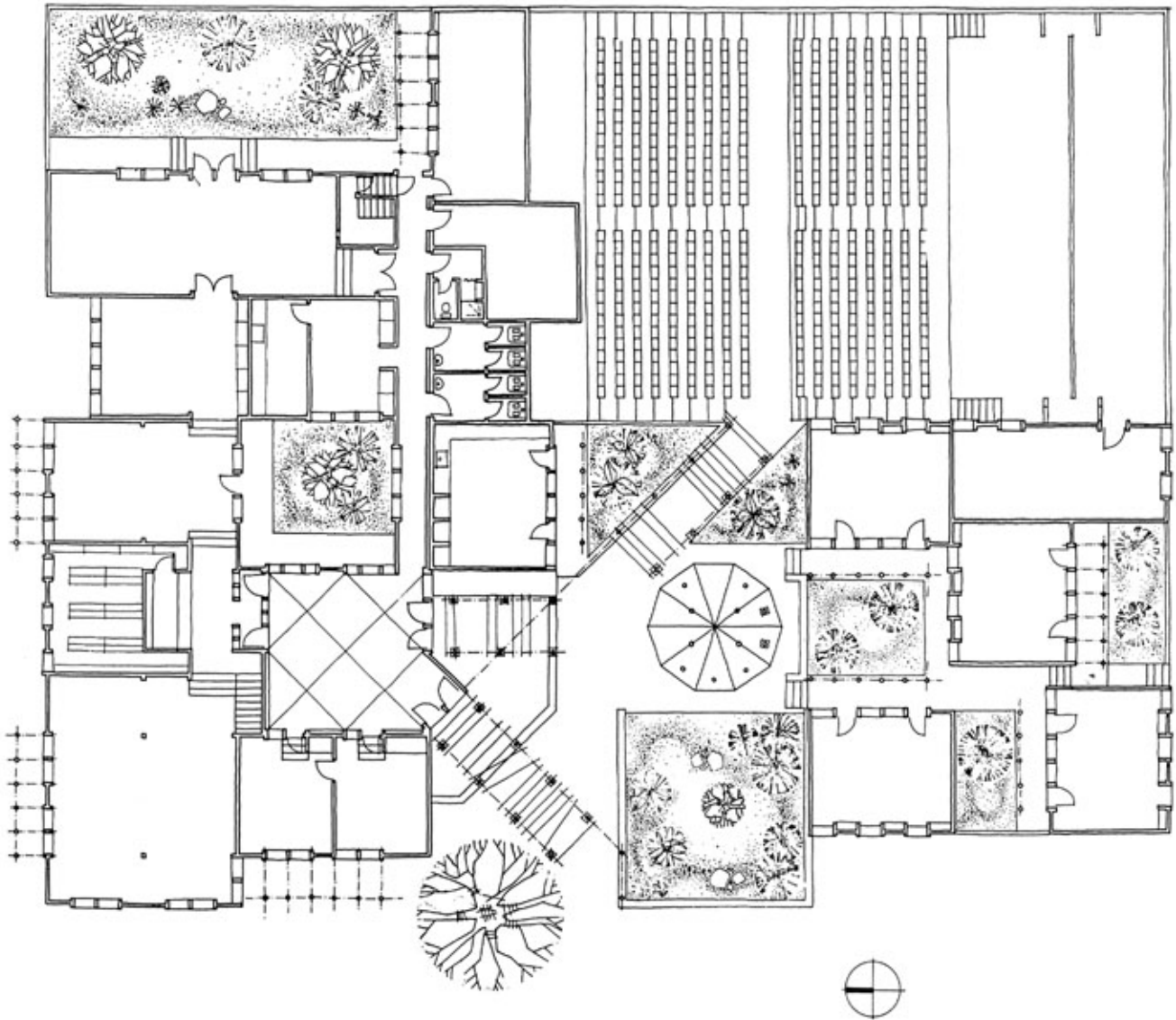
The site is 3,212 square metres, but the built area takes up only 750 square metres, or one quarter of the site, thereby giving emphasis to the external spaces. The principal wing of the three-part complex houses the exhibition space, study rooms, an audio-visual room, a press room, administrative offices and stores and two attached courtyards, one of which was converted into a shaded study area. The next block contains





*LEFT: View of the palaver hut, which provides a sitting area in the middle of the complex; BELOW: Pathway leading to the main entrance*





four classrooms arranged around a small planted area that provides a cool atmosphere for the students. Finally, there is the outdoor theatre.

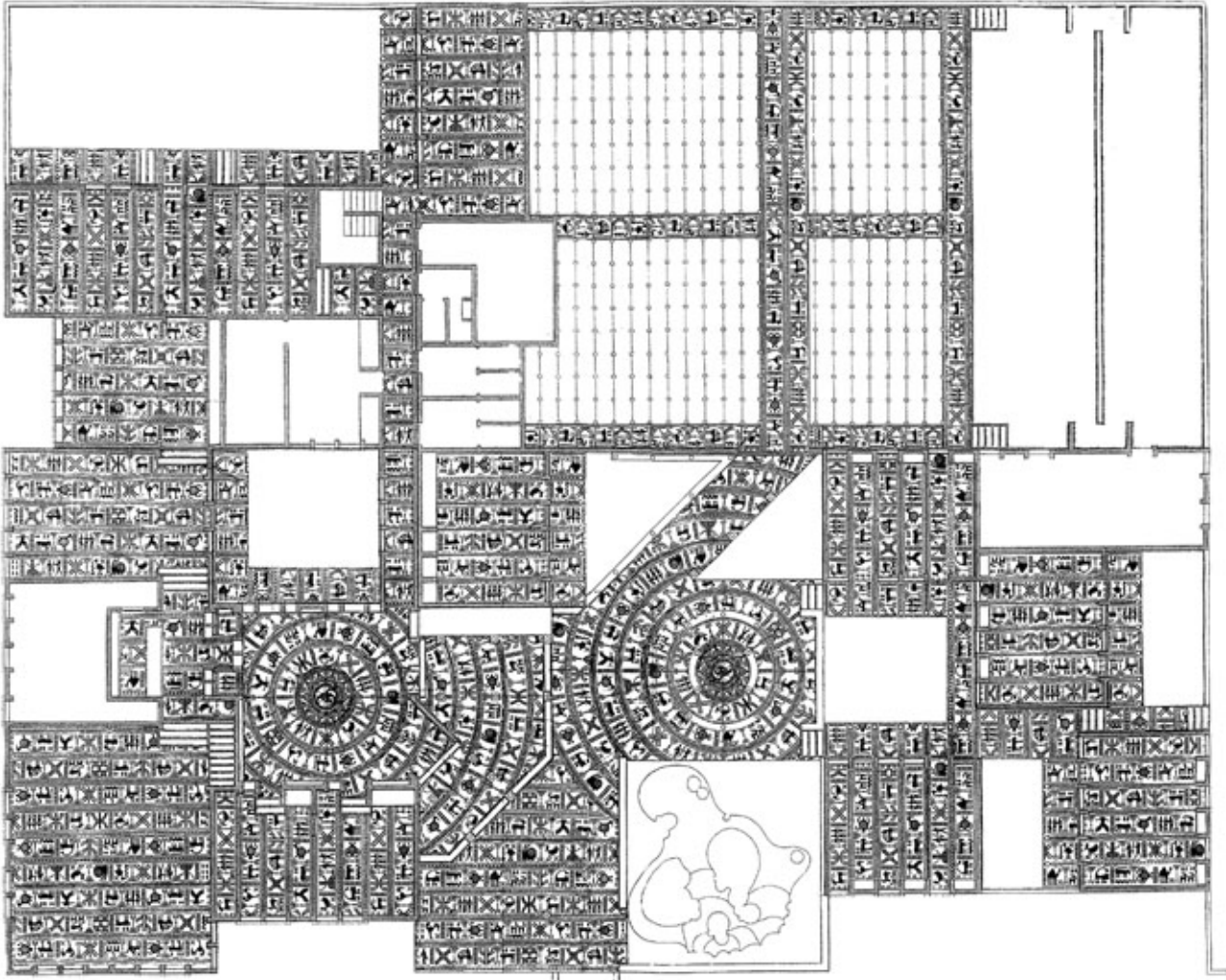
The architectural plan is simple and ingenious in its positioning on the rectangular site – the garden courts and pavilions fit neatly into the built sections. Having set the scene for the structure of the complex, the architect then exploited its surfaces for an exploration of painted iconography and motifs present in regional traditional crafts. He also adapted motifs from indig-

enous surface decorations (including calabashes) and reinterpreted them to suit a modern architectural context.

The building makes use of a contemporary technology that is familiar in the region. Load-bearing cement block walls support structural cement roofing, under which suspended ceilings are hung. The architect's unorthodox methods of using familiar components in innovative ways appear in his use of plastic (PVC) pipes, which are filled with concrete when they are used as structural members in the external







OPPOSITE, FROM ABOVE: Plan showing the open air theatre flanked by the classroom block to the west and by the library and exhibition space to the north; all walls are painted with motifs inspired by regional decorative elements; FROM ABOVE: Floor finishes in terrazzo, with decorative patterns, cover all interior and exterior surfaces; plastic PVC pipes prior to painting with characteristically bright colours





pavilions, and in the way the floor finishes are made of decorative terrazzo, with the addition of limestone, laterite and basalt as colouring agents. Cross-ventilation, louvred windows and ceiling fans help to cool the building, creating a comfortable environment in all the public spaces, even at midday. Artificial lighting is provided in the buildings, but the public spaces use natural light. There seem to be almost no maintenance problems.

The most striking aspect of this centre is its decorative designs, which synthesise traditional patterns in a totally new way. This is not pastiche, nor is it an imitative re-creation of motifs – it is the integration of art into the very structure of architecture. SA-R

*Completed 1994*

*Architect: Patrick Dujarric*

*Client: Mission Française de Coopération et d'Action Culturelle*

*ABOVE: The central courtyard with the palaver hut; the ceilings are painted with geometric patterns; OPPOSITE, FROM ABOVE: PVC pipe colonnade in front of the classrooms; palaver hut roof; approach to the main entrance leading to the exhibition area and the library*





**RE-FORESTATION PROGRAMME OF THE  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY**

*ANKARA, TURKEY*





■ Two of the greatest crises facing civilisation at the end of the second millennium are the disappearance of wilderness and the mass extinction of species, both indirectly caused by the great success of the human species. The scale of the problem overwhelms the imagination: we are losing biodiversity, and humans have colonised every corner of the globe. Wilderness recedes daily, and the negative aspects of urbanisation on the environment will continue to colour all architecture and morality for the next hundred years. Very few governments, institutions and individuals will want to face the magnitude of the situation; most may deny the negative impacts of current trends as less inviting, sprawling cities accompany the ‘end of wilderness’, as it has come to be known. The Middle East Technical University is virtually unique among institutions in dealing with these two issues directly. Over the last thirty years, it has instituted a programme of re-forestation that has planted some 8.8 million conifers and 22.5 million deciduous trees – mostly with non-irrigational species. As a result, once-indigenous flora has returned to this dry area as well as 150 different animal species. Thus wilderness is returning, albeit ‘man-made wilderness’, the only kind that may exist in forty years. This innovative concept and its realisation have not only benefited the overcrowded city of Ankara, but the life of the students who are so directly involved with recreating nature.

Above all, the scale of the programme challenges conventional thinking about ‘greening the city’ with a few small neighbourhood parks, or even large public open spaces, that are anything but wilderness. The boldness of the vision and tenacity with which it has been pursued over the decades invites us all to rethink our views on the relationships between nature and what humans have wrought.

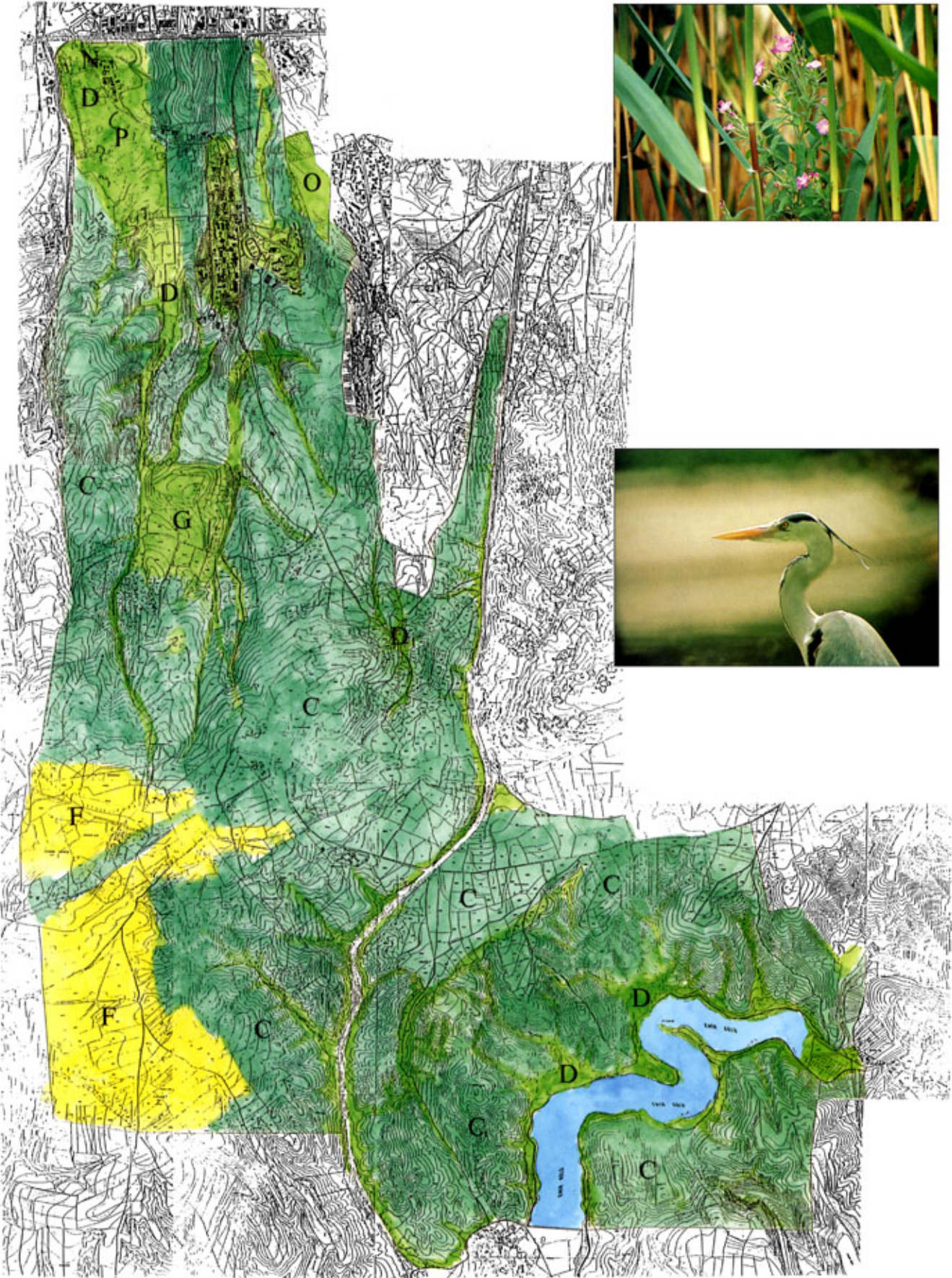
■ The Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara was established in 1956 on land donated by the Turkish government. Surrounded by hills, the Turkish capital of Ankara suffers from heavy air pollution; green areas were considered the most effective means of ameliorating the situation. Between 1958 and 1960, a classification map of the campus land was prepared which indicated that 75 per cent of university land should be cultivated by general landscaping to prevent erosion. Another strong incentive for creating a green zone close to Ankara was the provision by Turkish law that forest land could not be expropriated, thereby precluding future urban sprawl. By 1960, the university's department of landscaping had tested tree species that would be appropriate and, in 1961, the re-forestation programme of 4,500 hectares of barren hills commenced.

Between 1961 and 1992, nearly nine million conifers and over 22 million deciduous trees were planted. The re-forestation of non-irrigational plantings covers 3,100 hectares. As rainfall is scarce in the area, terraces following the contours of the hills were built to help preserve surface water. Plants that require irrigation cover only 800 hectares of the vast site and basically consist of a landscaped pedestrian network within the grounds of the university. The remaining 500 hectares comprise lakes and ponds.



FROM ABOVE: Looking east to the METU campus with the city of Ankara on the horizon; view to the south-west, over a main motorway; aerial view over Lake Eymir; OPPOSITE: Plan showing re-forestation programme; D – deciduous trees; P – poplar grove; C – cherry orchard; F – grain fields; G – almond groves; inset images – details of flora and fauna







Every year, a million more trees are planted.

The re-forestation programme consisted of compulsory transplantation, general re-forestation and cultivation, periodical plant care, cultivation and propagation facilities. To facilitate the process, two landscaping centres were created, one near Yalincak and the second to the northwest. Seedlings are planted in plastic bags filled with earth and remain at the first centre for three years; they are then transferred to the second centre, where the healthiest specimens are selected and tended for another three years, when they are considered ready for permanent plantation. Every spring this centre prepares 40,000 trees for planting. The Ministry of Forestry also provides the university with more than 40,000 trees a year at no cost. The major tree species include pine, cedar, oak, poplar, almond and prune; reed beds have been planted along Lake Eymir. There is also an orchard where 4,500 cherry, pear and apple trees have been planted. The varied habitats created by the forests and lakeside areas provide excellent conditions for a variety of mammals and reptiles; wolves, foxes, rabbits, snakes and turtles abound, as do birds (over 140 species) and fish in the lake and ponds. The flora is equally rich and consists of more than 250 species, some of which are native, others

*Since the first plantation campaign in 1961, every year the faculty members, students and university employees participate in the re-forestation programme*



introduced from different regions of Turkey.

Today the METU campus is the largest green area in Ankara. The re-forestation programme has changed the climate of the city, helping to temper the dry summers and severe winters. Ankara is now less dry, less polluted, and less humid – a better place to live. The problems that still need to be solved are the culling and rarefying of mature trees, rubbish collection, and the control and extinguishing of forest fires that occur every summer. Initially the policy of the university was to open the area to the public, but this policy had to be modified. The heavy use of the area, especially the shores of Lake Eymir, made it difficult to maintain and protect. Entry to the recreational areas is now carefully regulated.

This re-forestation programme is Turkey's, if not the world's, largest man-made forest ecosystem in an urban area. Other universities in the area have emulated the project and begun their own forestation programmes. Indeed, the whole of Ankara is now involved in 'greening' the city. The development of this project, designed as a policy of the university, has had the full support and dedication of the staff and students. This has made it easier for the administration to face the encroachment and violations that are being attempted by new projects. *SA-R*

*Completed 1960 and ongoing  
Client and Planners: Middle East Technical  
University*



*The barren land around Lake Eymir  
was prepared for plantation in 1961*





*Anagallis arvensis*  
*Dipsacus laciniatus*  
*Anchusa azurea*  
*Anthem. cretica*



*Quercus cerris*  
*Ranunculus brutius*  
*Ranunculus neapolitanus*



*Bellevalia clusiana*  
*Bellis perennis*  
*Brassica nigra*



*Salvia suffruticosa*  
*Salvia verticillata*  
*Salvia virgata*



*Centaurea piccolini*  
*Centaurea solstitialis*  
*Centaurea rugosa*  
*Centaurea urvillei*  
*Centaureum erythraea*  
*Cerinth. minor*  
*Cercis siliquastrum*  
*Chenopodium album*  
*Chenopodium tomentosum*  
*Chron. viridula*  
*Cichorium intybus*  
*Cirsium arvense*  
*Cirsium arvense*  
*Cirsium benedicti*  
*Heliotropium ellipticum*  
*Holostium umbellatum*



*Senecio vulgaris*  
*Setaria viridis*  
*Silene vulgaris*  
*Silene vulgaris*

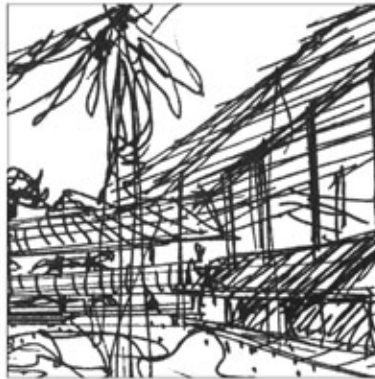
*Teucrium chamaedrys*  
*Teucrium chamaedrys s. s. ssp. siculum*  
*Teucrium parviflorum*  
*Teucrium polium*  
*Tragopogon dubius*  
*Tragopogon longirostris*  
*Tribulus terrestris*  
*Trifolium pratense*  
*Trifolium repens*  
*Trifolium retusum*  
*Tripleurospermum sevalvatum*  
*Typha latifolia*  
*Urtica dioica*  
*Valeriana dioscoridis*  
*Verbena officinalis*





# LANDSCAPING INTEGRATION OF SOEKARNO-HATTA AIRPORT

*CENKARENG, INDONESIA*



■ We live in a time when the built environment is increasingly composed of hard surfaces. Designers generally provide only token reminders of nature. It is therefore rare and remarkable for an architect to successfully integrate landscaping into one of the most functional and technological buildings – an airport.

The design introduces landscaping on the air side of the terminal as well as the land side. The departure gates are connected by links that then separate courtyards and patio spaces. This also allows the architect to produce smaller spans yielding a more human scale of building, and designs reminiscent of the local architectural vocabulary. But it is the introduction of landscaping throughout the airport that is most notable. The green areas are instrumental in creating a meaningful relationship between interior and exterior spaces, and providing a human scale and visual relief in a complex facility.

This is a noteworthy innovation in that its introduction into an airport suggests that landscaping can be more effectively included in the designs of other building types, from housing to offices to shopping malls.



■ In 1977 the Government of Indonesia acquired 1,800 hectares of paddy fields at Tangerang, about 20 kilometres west of Jakarta, for the construction of a new airport. It commissioned Aéroports de Paris to produce a master plan that could be developed in phases and that would serve the needs of the city into the twenty-first century. The first phase was completed in 1985 and the second in 1992, raising the airport's capacity to 18 million passengers a year. Both terminals were planned by the French architect Paul Andreu, who based his design on the premise that an airport should reflect the culture and traditions of its place. He proposed to build low-cost terminals that would visually reflect the building and social traditions of Java, which are clusters of small, shingled houses with inclined roofs scattered among expanses of flat fields.

The architect's research into local building traditions yielded a keen understanding of the adaptation of architecture and social customs to the intense conditions of a tropical climate. His integration of traditional values and approaches is a radical departure from typical design solutions for contemporary airports.

The architect determined that visitors arriving at Jakarta would immediately gain a sense of the place by experiencing – even at the airport – the integration of building, nature, and climate that is unique to Indonesia.

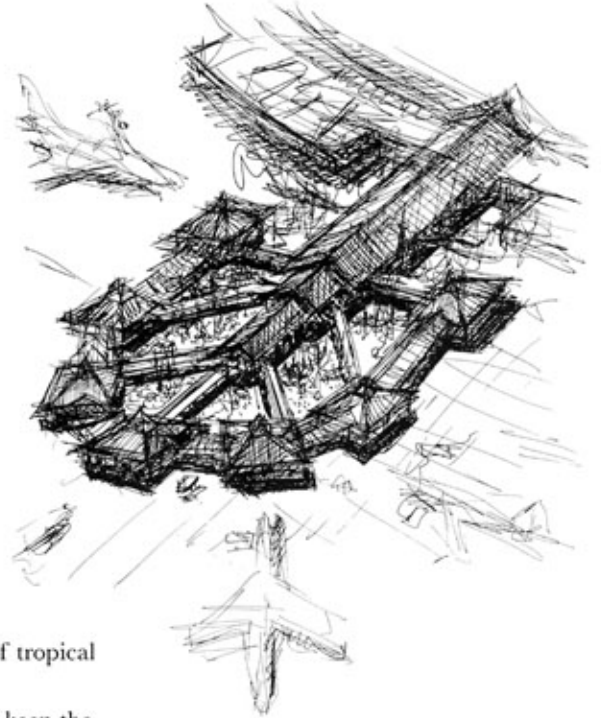
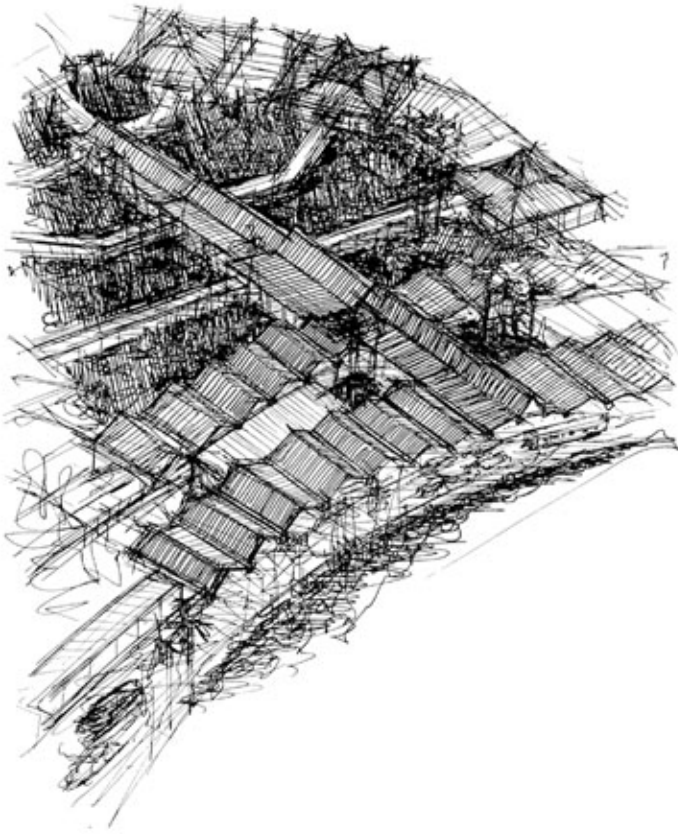
*Terminal 2, entrance above landscaped garden; architect's sketch*





*ABOVE: The road access is situated between the two crescent-shaped terminals; LEFT: Car parks*





Thus the buildings, set in a lush green environment, are open pavilions that provide shade, shelter and ventilation. Even while meeting both the technological demands of a sophisticated airport, with its complex administrative and functional services, and the needs of arriving and departing travellers, the architect conceived of the terminals as a unique introduction to the open landscape. His approach was not limited to the environment, but encompassed the social and cultural dimensions of central Java. Thus, the airport provides passengers with a variety of facilities, or pavilions, for gathering and contemplation, alone or in groups, which are completely unexpected and different from most airports, where the efficient movement of large numbers of people is the principal concern. This functional objective is successfully achieved in Soekarno-Hatta Airport, but in an innovative manner. The courtyards formed by the pavilions are landscaped

and planted with a variety of tropical plants, shrubs and trees.

Andreu's original idea to keep the pavilions and circulation spaces beyond the check-in areas completely open to the exterior landscape was fully realised in Terminal I, but in Terminal II the airport authorities requested that he provide air conditioning, necessitating the installation of windows throughout the pavilions and circulation corridors, and causing a separation between cultivation and construction. This was offset by providing larger windows (visual openings) that increase the views of the landscaped areas. The lush courtyard gardens portray to the visitors an enchanting interpretation of the natural landscape of central Java.

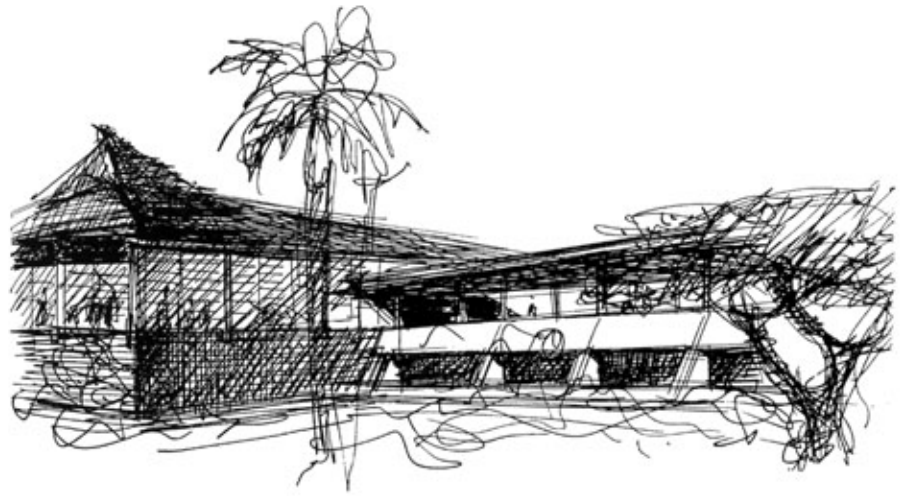
*SA-R*

*Completed 1985 (phase I); 1992 (phase II)*

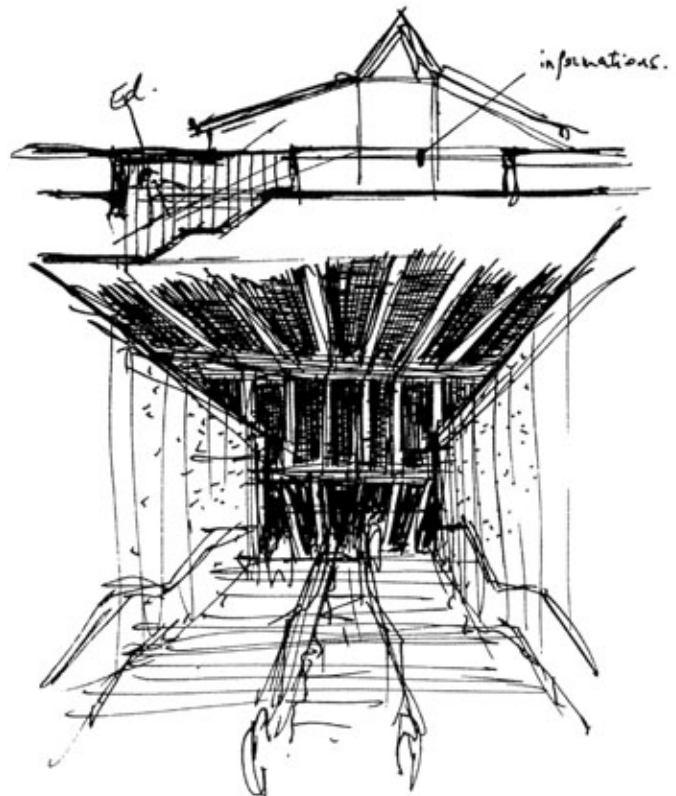
*Architect: Aéroports de Paris, Paul Andreu*

*Client: Ministry of Communications*





*OPPOSITE: Architect's sketches, showing perspective of the boarding area; ABOVE: Large windows on both sides of the corridors provide visual access to the lush gardens; RIGHT: Architect's sketches*



# NEW WAYS OF THINKING

*The following conversation is excerpted from the Master Jury's five-day meeting in June 1995.*

**Charles Jencks:** The three categories that the Aga Khan Award traditionally settles around, like conservation, new architectural expression and social concerns, should be opened to include some kind of urbanism/ecology category that encompasses new ways of looking at problems. We know that all the global cities, and Ankara is one, are suffering the same or similar kinds of problems of pollution and of diminishing wilderness. In other words, the wilderness doesn't exist anymore, and that is one of the most important things, culturally, that we can support. Therefore, for categorical reasons I refuse to give this one up. I am just going to keep on lobbying until you all give in.

**Nayyar Ali Dada:** I agree with Charles. The emerging eco-projects are now becoming more important than the conservation ones because those are established. But if the project is not supported by design excellence, you will have a flood of horticulture projects that will expect a prize as well. It has to include some design excellence, which is unfortunately lacking in this project.

**Mehmet Konuralp:** In that case we should add a category for pioneering, because when you are pioneering something you don't necessarily reach the point of excellence. But one has to begin somewhere. The selection should really contain a pluralistic approach and as many topics as possible, regardless of this question of excellence.

**Jencks:** METU has very big implications on a global scale. Here is the first example that I know of man-made wilderness on this level next to a city. The architectural implications are that they have provided the lungs for the city. This is very architectural. I agree that the landscaping itself is not done well, but it's a question of whether we can defend thirty million trees as a strategy for the city. In other

words, it is eco-city or 'urban lawning'.

**Luis Monreal:** It would be extremely important to send this kind of message, but let me tell you my reservations. I don't see a technical assessment of the long-term viability of this space or any criticism of the ecological validity of this approach. How are these species going to survive in the long term if the varieties introduced do not create new ecosystems? The short-term impact is very good, both in terms of the community, in terms of some micro-climatic effects. But can this project be judged in just twenty-five years?

**Konuralp:** If we drop it, we would not be able to send a message, which I think it is time to do.

**Jencks:** It must be self-sustaining, because it has survived for the last thirty years in this position. It would encourage further efforts if we give it an award.

**Monreal:** We don't know how the long-term survival of this very vital and courageous effort will be affected by the population and the exhaust fumes that both industry and vehicular traffic produce in an urban context like this. This is what I am concerned about.

**Peter Eisenman:** Is it an experiment in design? Is it an urban design project?

**Konuralp:** It is an urban intervention against the negative intervention of these modern villas encroaching on the other side of the road.

**Ismail Serageldin:** The Jakarta airport landscaping is a perfect counterpoint to the METU project. It challenges the conventional architectural methods of landscaping at the scale of the building. It is most innovative in landscaping the air side of the terminal, where we normally

see nothing but tarmac. The architect broke open the gate areas to allow for landscaped courtyards that are effectively introduced between the gates. If an architect can do so much more in terms of integrating nature into the most high tech of buildings, an airport, this sends a message too, to architects who are doing buildings as ordinary as office blocks and shopping malls. This complements the message of METU on a completely different scale.

**Jencks:** In order to defend Franco-Sénégalaise to the hilt, I would need to know from all of you whether you think that what Peter has been saying about the critical is important, because I would defend it as a critical intervention on a world level, as a hyper information-loaded building in an information world. This building is not imitative, it is illustrative, and that is the difference between pop and popular. The pop artists in the 1960s made a big thing about the difference between illustrative and imitative – they were not trying to make a marriage of tradition and the present, they were trying to use tradition in a way that is contemporary. This thing clearly uses PVC pipes and acrylic day-glo paints that are really of our time. Any anthropologist could date it within a ten-year period. There is no question that this is not traditionalesque, because it is uncompromised hyper-trad, which is important for the Post-Modern movement. It sends a double message that says not only is it possible to speak about the past, because the past is part of our memory and culture, we also have to speak about the past as over. It has to be said in a new way. You do that through quotation marks or through the manipulation of the sign, which in this case is clearly something that would stimulate the indigenous African population to see their traditions in a new light. I think this is all of a piece. This is very good pop or hyper architecture.

**Eisenman:** This building is neither imitative nor illustrative. It is not dealing with the polarity of pop or popular. This building is what Arkoun would understand to be textual, in

the sense that it presents a simulacrum in a media world in three dimensions. In other words, it is a text about reality, rather than presenting reality itself. At this level it is a unique project, because it is not talking in traditional architectural terms; it is talking in ways that architecture can respond to media. If there is one project that speaks to the Muslim world and contributes a cultural perspective to an international cultural debate, it is this project. This project is significant because it is text in a media age. Text in the pre-media and mechanical age was something very different. The Post-Modern texts were illustrative texts. This is something new and different that has no precedent in what I would consider to be 'westernity'. This is not something from past art forms, but something new and original that springs from a unique set of circumstances in the late twentieth century. It's not a Muslim circumstance, nor an African circumstance; rather, it is a unique circumstance for architecture that happens to be Muslim.

**Dada:** If the building has no root in the vernacular, in history or in socio-economic circumstances of the place, then it is an expression of art for art's sake, and not the more serious pursuit of architecture in an economy such as the one in which it is built.

**Serageldin:** This three-dimensional simulacrum of text is in many ways an interesting point. I would argue against what Charles said, but I have a harder time with Peter's point. Hyper-pop and so on may well be appropriate on the jaded world architectural stage. But if that were the only dimension, I would be vehemently against it. Senegal today doesn't know whether it is African or French, and is debating its identity in a number of forms. I am not convinced that the Franco-Sénégalaise centre is that appropriate voice. It may contribute to finding a voice, but it is not there yet. In that sense, I am not even sure it is providing an architectural language *per se*, but it may well be saying something very different from the mediation of ornament



to the role of expression in society. Peter raises a different dimension. It may well be making a contribution that is different from that of architectural language. But if we consider the ability to express oneself in society, the ability to create a new language and not be a slave to the past, then I see a different kind of messaging.

**Jencks:** I think that hyper and illustrative are versions of taking the traditional and amplifying it or distorting it to recreate a language on a different level. It is setting the double sign, and that is the point of it.

**Monreal:** When I first saw this project I was strongly against it. After the technical review, I understood the positive aspects of the Franco-Sénégalaise centre. The Africans understand it as a sort of ceremonial gathering centre. In that region, for that kind of community, it is something which fulfils a very important role. It is interesting to have this paradox of a pictographic text transformed into an art installation. We are talking perhaps about a building that works like a contemporary work of art, made by a westerner in an African country. In spite of its pop aspect, this is a highly intellectualised and falsely vernacular creation of somebody who knows the country well. My concern is that by awarding something to this, we will appear as frivolous, fashion-influenced people. Having said that, this centre indeed fulfils a very important role in that community. But it is not something that can be or should be replicated because it is the sensitive intuition of this Frenchman.

**Darmawan Prawirohardjo:** This project has been repostulated as a critical discourse. That is where I have problems, because it could be perceived as being paternalistic and colonialistic in handling these issues, and thus we could be sending a wrong message to the population of Africa.

**Konuralp:** Would the building have been as popular without this colour application, or does this basically very personal

painting of the building add something for the users? For me, this is a crucial point. It is not a pastiche application of local figures, but a personal selection of motifs from the architect's research. This is not to be taken as an exercise in the vernacular of the country in Senegal. It is full of African messages but it is not African.

**Mohammed Arkoun:** There is in this project a great sense of freedom of expression to approach a level of cultural expression in African societies. I like the fact that it is made by someone who is an anthropologist. Anthropologists are the only ones who have addressed this specific issue of cultures that have been repressed by colonialists who came later, which is a big struggle in Africa. This building enables these cultures to be expressed. This being said, I feel reservations, also divided, precisely because it is made by a Frenchman who has been living there. He is an anthropologist, but his may be a subjective interpretation of all these issues, which are important issues, but expressed by someone who comes from outside. We need sociological information here. How people really use and see it. Would it have been successful if it were built in Dakar? It may have been successful here because this small village needs this centre for meetings and cultural activities, not necessarily because they feel the message delivered by this kind of centre.

**Serageldin:** On the whole, the people like the ornament. That is clear, above and beyond the fact that the centre is used extensively.

**Arkoun:** Did they like the space to meet in, or did they like the building because it raises issues we are discussing?

**Serageldin:** That's not the issue. The population's emotional response to the building was positive. Secondly, I want to clarify the 'hyper' issue. There is a big difference between how people dress and how they decorate their

buildings. The bright colours you have seen are mostly the colours that people wear. But if you look at the decorations they have done on buildings, as opposed to the calabashes and the objects they are making, there is no such decoration. This is an innovative interpretation.

**Prawirohardjo:** We have to ask ourselves whether these people really like those colours on their building, or whether we are thrilled that the colour is being used by a French architect on their building.

**Eisenman:** Luis said that this was a highly intellectualised process. I agree, but this is precisely what this world needs, and rather than be frightened of it, we should encourage such intellectualised processes, because it is the only way in an information and highly technical society that these societies are going to get past being patronised; in other words, to develop their own internal, organic, intellectualised processes. Nayyar said this was art for art's sake. I do not believe this is art for art's sake, any more than art in a cathedral was art for art's sake. The art in cathedrals was for the people attending mass in the middle ages who couldn't speak Latin. The only way they could be communicated to was through art – the sculptures, the frescos, etc. In those days, architecture was strong media, used carefully and skilfully by the church to convey its message to society. I believe that is what this building is doing, using media in a dimension to reach its constituency. Their only response to this kind of discourse is an emotional response, but that emotional response may, in fact, be something much deeper than they can express in words. If they were rejecting it, I would say it is too intellectualised. But it is clear that these people are not rejecting it. It has achieved a double level, both the grass roots level and the highly intellectualised level. Now Darmawan says we would be sending the wrong message if we gave an award. The only message we can bring to these awards that is not patronising is a critical message.



*Prawirohardjo*



*Nayyar Ali Dada*

If we bring a message of iconography, technology or of culture, we bring those messages from our experience to the subject. The only experience that we can bring to Africa is in fact a critical message. This can never be a wrong message. I believe it is the only message we can bring.

We must remember that the origins of Modernism came out of African sculpture; the energies that Picasso and Le Corbusier and others saw in native expression were a strong part of the expression of Modernism. Is this project in fact a critical discourse or not? Is it a critical manifestation of the use of ornament in a particular time and place? Finally, Arkoun, the idea of 'place' today is different. Whether it has the same meaning in Dakar or Senegal or Mauritania or Mali is irrelevant, because we are all connected in some sense. I believe it is going to have as much impact in New York as it would have in Dakar, and that is a good thing, because though it comes from one original place, clearly its message is more universal. Therefore, I think we have to consider this in terms other than: 'Is it regional? Are the colours local? Would it play in Dakar?' Those things are formal terms that architects once used to judge things. To judge things today on those terms, we would be missing an opportunity to bring something of critical importance to this discussion.

**Jencks:** This is not an authentic return to tradition. We are not trying to form direct links. This is a meta-jump, and it is partly made because of media today. We exist in a media world in which it seems the Muslim world is just as much a part as we are in the West. If the Muslim world is going to be truly pluralist, truly industrial, it has to come to terms with vulgarity of the 'hyper' or the 'media-fied' world.

**Konuralp:** This is only one aspect of the problem. The application of this decoration and how genuine it is in relation to the community that is using it, and whether it could be copied badly in certain places was a question the Award considered in the early 1980s with another project.

This current project is a very personal message made by an anthropologist, and he has used this technique to make an otherwise so-so building more popular. If it is an organic part of the whole design, then the elements are there, and they could do without all this ornamentation.

**Eisenman:** We are talking about the ornament, not the structure. We are talking about precisely the new way of communicating through architecture.

**Konuralp:** This is a very particular decoration in a very particular place. Pictures tell everything, and this is what worries me. As a piece of a building, I like the painting, but when I read between the lines, I see things that scare me. If we have to include this project, we have to be very careful that it is not seen as African decoration applied to a building by an anthropologist because bright colours come with buildings in Africa. In fact, African dwellings are usually simple. To me, this is an interpretation of a westerner who might be making a folly in New York using mixed icons and motifs from all over Africa to present something that is 'high art', which would be welcomed in a city like New York or Paris, where an African mask goes for about \$100,000.

**Monreal:** My concern is that this project is inexplicable, and that the problem is how to explain the inexplicable. The project is intriguing because it also returns architecture to the arts, to the insoluble integration of art and architecture. I would argue that we must see this as a truly innovative condition that transcends ethnicity. At the same time, it is totally African. You couldn't replicate it in New York or Los Angeles. You couldn't say this comes out of Phoenix, Arizona. It is totally of its place. It is nothing to do with exotica. I believe it is talking about a response to a media age – an indigenous, in a sense unique and humble response that would reverberate in the use of ornament and decoration, or the integration of art and architecture, today. I think it has an enormous range of possible impacts



beyond the particular, specific, decorative motifs that we are talking about.

**Arkoun:** That this project has generated among us this very interesting exchange is, by itself, an indication that it is very worthy of consideration. Second, if this kind of debate is going to be generated by an award given to this project it would be wonderful, because a public debate going on in New York, in Paris, in Africa, everywhere, is one of the major functions of the Award.

**Prawirohardjo:** There are two things that I find very interesting about the mosque. First, the new concept of mosque design. Second, it fits well with the whole master plan of the complex, and it tries to be very low key, where traditional mosques have always tried to overload themselves. There are some weaknesses regarding the detailing, they are over-detailed, but the new concept outweighs the negative aspects.

**Eisenman:** I don't think in terms of pure architecture that it's done very well. There are many more examples of twisted axes and classical design and, since we are dealing with a classical parti, I am very problematised by the site plan. I am also problematised by the external architecture, which I find banal in its 'ziggurating'. I find the interior anything but spiritual. A glass wall at the qibla as opposed to a solid wall may be a radical gesture, but if you made a solid wall there, the architecture wouldn't get any better or any worse. I'm not the person to judge radical innovations of mosque typology, but architecturally it is at the low end. It doesn't come close to this other mosque. It doesn't even come close to the other projects we have looked at. It is architecturally very weak and that's why, even if it makes a departure from mosque typology, I find it very problematic to give it an architectural award.

**Arkoun:** There is a convergence between what an architect says about a piece of architecture and what a non-architect, just somebody entering a mosque, feels. When I see the pictures, I don't learn anything from the point of view of aesthetics. It doesn't appeal to anything and it doesn't raise any possibility for associating the forms I see outside, or that I discover when I enter, with my spiritual mood. I say this because religious architecture is something extremely important. It is not easy to make a breakthrough with architecture in the field of religious life, because it is not a matter of shocking the believers with something they are not used to. It is a matter of appealing to believers, to attract them, to send a message, to provide something which moves them on an aesthetic level, and, through aesthetics, they come to their beliefs and to their spiritual expression. That is why I am so disappointed. It is an attempt, but it is not a success. I am against the *reproduction au sens sociologique de Baudieu*, against any reproduction of ancient stereotypes and perceptions. This is what is done by so many architects, including our friends. I am not criticising their ability to be creative, but they didn't really make any breakthrough in this field of architecture, which we so badly need.

## LOOKING BACK, LOOKING FORWARD

### *THE AWARD IN PERSPECTIVE*

*Renata Holod*

1980

Titus Burkhardt  
Sherban Cantacuzino  
Giancarlo de Carlo  
Mahbub ul-Haq  
Muzharul Islam  
Aptullah Kuran  
Mona Serageldin  
Soedjatmoko  
Kenzo Tange



*Architectural Training Centre, Nianing, Senegal*

The story of the initial idea for the Aga Khan Award for Architecture has often been told. It bears retelling here because it lies at the core of the results of the sixth Award cycle which are presented in this volume. The promise of an award for architecture came in a speech made by His Highness the Aga Khan in 1976. Its establishment was a rallying cry to all those engaged in architecture, both architects and clients, to strive for an architecture more sensitive to its users than had been the case in the modernist scene from the 1950s through to the 1970s. The idea of good design for Muslims came directly out of the Aga Khan's own frustration as a client and patron during the process of building a new hospital at Karachi, frustration with the total absence of a contemporary programme and of a formal vocabulary best suited to that particular society. How one could begin to address these contemporary issues in architecture and sustain a dialogue with the best Islamic architectural achievements of the past became an ambition of an award programme. Thus, out of the exercise of preparing to build a hospital came two institutions, a new medical school and a triennial award for architecture.

Major transformations in the built environment were already taking place in all countries of the Islamic world. It was past the time to call for a thoughtful approach to building, whether on the part of state bureaucracies, private



*Medical Centre, Mopti, Mali*



*Courtyard houses, Agadir, Morocco*



*Sidi Bou Said, Tunis, Tunisia*



*Halawa House, Agamy, Egypt*



*Rüstem Pasa caravanserai, Erdine, Turkey*



*Erteğün House, Bodrum, Turkey*

clients or architects. In the previous decades, the newly independent, post-colonial states planned new capitals, new state buildings, including mosques, and new buildings for educational and social institutions; all emblems of statehood and the perceived necessities of modern life. The oil boom of the 1970s heated this building activity into a frenzy of mega-projects that engaged architects and labour forces from all over the world.

The era was also characterised by more far-reaching and turbulent change. At the same time that every state struggled to achieve stability, demographic shifts became a growing problem. Rural populations which had been bound to the land were both freed and dislocated by land reform, and lured to cities by hopes of employment and a better life. This surge of newcomers destroyed forever the old relationship and, more correctly perhaps, the perception of the relationship between urban enclaves and the countryside. It overwhelmed the historic fabric and strained the inadequate services. The new, massive, ruralised cities became, and continue to be, the loci of contemporary life and its fragmented social fabric, its surface display, its chaos and its opportunity, its poverty and its slivers of hope.

Within these dynamic and turbulent changes, there nevertheless lay a basic belief in the will and talent of individuals to shape the built environment. It was hoped that actual

examples would emerge from within the expanse of the Islamic world that would successfully resolve this struggle for contemporaneity, examples which at the same time creatively drew upon their own cultural roots and addressed the future, and examples which would serve as important models.

The process of organising the Award brought into its orbit key personalities who shaped the scope of its concerns and nature of its procedures. Hassan Fathy, who for years had struggled to be heard in his own country, was a tireless advocate of the poor and (as importantly) of architectural expression rooted in the soil and traditions of place. Nader Ardalan had just completed an investigation into the wellsprings of his own architectural past as a preparation for major new buildings. Charles Correa had assumed the vastly varied roles an architect was called upon to play in India, from the development of a new master plan to the creation of symbolic architecture for national purposes. Oleg Grabar brought the notion of the historic/monumental into view both as a model and as a caution against facile imitation. Dogan Kuban pressed for the recognition of the impact of cultural hegemony of the West as well as of the nature of cultural response. William Porter and Hugh Casson were voices of experience, particularly when it came to the question of competitions, procedures and the formulation of policies. The group coalesced into an electric ensemble



*Turkish Historical Society, Ankara*



*Inter-Continental Hotel and Conference Centre, Mecca*



*National Museum, Doha, Qatar*



*Water Tower, Kuwait City*

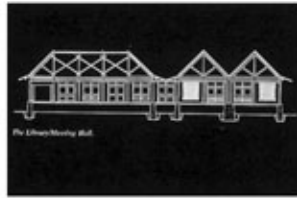




*Mughal Hotel, Agra, India*



*Kampung Improvement Programme, Jakarta, Indonesia*



*Pondok Pesantren Pabelan, Central Java, Indonesia*



*Ali Qapu Chehel Sutun and Hasht Behesht, Isfahan, Iran*

willing to give of itself and of its time and talents to lay the groundwork for an institution of cultural and social import, a space where no particular ideology reigned but where all opinions and solutions could be challenged and discussed.

With Hasan-Uddin Khan, I was given the task to bring the Award into existence. A survey of building activities generated information on the state of architecture and helped to lay the beginnings of a network of architects, planners and clients throughout the Islamic world. Key issues pertaining to the nature and meaning of the built environment were investigated in seminars dealing with the symbolising power of architecture, the meaning of the past for cultural survival, and the problems of and strategies for housing. What emerged was that no one, from minister to beginning architect, was clear about the nature of an architecture that would best fit their respective societies. Few, if any, had realised the overwhelming scope of the projects and the scale of the problems which were coming to the fore, from a growing awareness that there was no readily established continuity with past aesthetic traditions, to the massive issues stemming from the oncoming tide of population growth. No operating hypotheses or temporary criteria could be articulated that would describe, a priori, what nature of architecture would best fit the Muslim societies. It was completed and nominated buildings or projects that formed the matrix out of which

such qualities could be deduced. And, indeed, the first Master Jury, left totally free to make its selection, declared that there were fifteen completed projects which were representative of a search for excellence in architecture and which were still in the process of achieving their goals. And so the nature of the Award, forever mutable, has been determined and redetermined through the exemplars chosen by succeeding Master Juries.

It is now almost twenty years later. The Award has been up and running for six cycles. More than 1,600 projects have been nominated and documented by their architects and clients, and of these, sixty-nine have been awarded. The creators of these projects include scores of local, regional and national offices, specially organised associations and offices, commercial companies, communities and private individuals as clients, while architects have shared the stage with masons, restorers, conservation specialists, development and housing teams, urban planners and landscape architects. The scope of the Award remains inclusive of all efforts and its message polyvalent and many voiced.

In a real sense, we also continue to see concepts and ideas which were in the air at the inception of the Award, and which have now borne fruit for several cycles. Even in the currently awarded projects, there are several in which the intention of the client's programme and the inception of the



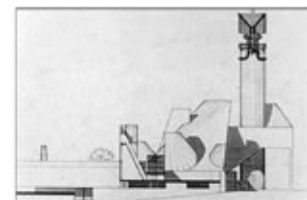
*Chariman's Award – Hassan Fathy*

**1983**

Turgut Cansever  
Rifat Chadirji  
Habib Fida-Ali  
Mübeccel Kiray  
Charles Moore  
Ismail Serageldin  
Roland Simounet  
James Stirling  
Parid Wardi bin Sudin



*Darb Qirmiz Quarter, Cairo, Egypt*



*Sherefudin's White Mosque, Visoko, Bosnia-Herzegovina*



*Résidence Andalous, Sousse, Tunisia*



*Hajj Terminal, King Abdul Aziz International Airport, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia*



*Ramses Wissa Wassef Arts Centre, Giza, Egypt*



*Tanjong Jara Hotel and Rantau Abang Visitors' Centre, Kuala Trengganu, Malaysia*

architect's design came as early as the 1970s. Here in particular, one should look at the landscaping and the housing projects. Also, the success of projects such as those built by Rasem Badran could not have come about without a similar amount of lead time. Not only were there costly lessons learned by clients about the relatively unsuccessful results of the first massive building campaigns undertaken with the rush of resources available from oil revenues, there was also the prolonged formal and programmatic search by the architect for a coherent vocabulary for a new urban centre and mosque. Contemporaneity can thus be measured at different rates.

Finally, the tone, though not the nature, of the Award is about to change. The cadres of architects, planners and clients which were formed in a post-colonial climate have matured into a crucial group of actors fully aware of the nature of their roles. This maturing has meant that not every effort at design performance, not every restoration or planning exercise can be recognised merely because it exists or because it has been put into motion. A tougher, more critical stance has been emerging. In the previous cycle, the 1992 Master Jury narrowed its categories to two, those which contributed to the enhancement of the urban environment and those which contributed to the development of architectural vocabularies. It also narrowed its final choices to nine.

In a radical departure, this cycle's Master Jury has moved to publish critiques of all the projects it has premiated and to open its deliberations through this volume. It has crossed the threshold from a sequestered body whose choices were only displayed, to an active generator of architectural discourse. Such a decision begins to generate a critical language about the winning projects, activating their lessons in a wider space of inquiry about architecture and society in the Islamic world. It dignifies all efforts and incorporates the chosen projects into the global discourse about the past and the future.



*Azem Palace, Damascus, Syria*



*Tomb of Shah Rukn-i-'Alam, Multan, Pakistan*

## THE ARCHITECTURE OF ARCHITECTURE

*Suha Özkan*



*Great Mosque of Niono, Niono, Mali*



*Hafsia Quarter I, Tunis,  
Tunisia*

Architectural discourse has established exclusivity in many domains of the built environment. The essence of this exclusivity is drawn from the profession's commitment and concern for quality and its preoccupation with aesthetics. Since it is a fine art, architecture can permit itself the privilege of exclusivity, as it has for centuries, but time has changed and is changing continuously. The realities which governed the 'classical' world of architects and architecture have become such a complex set of pressures and forces that it is often easier to deny their relevance to architecture than to struggle to accommodate them within the profession. Yet the profession comprises such strong ethics that many architects, even at the risk of being marginalised, have committed themselves to grappling with the vast problems of societal transformations. However, the boundaries of the profession have never been wide enough to encompass new approaches, and now, towards the end of the second millennium, the blind denial of pressing problems has led the profession itself to become marginal.

Even as the concerns to broaden the focus of the profession became evident, concern and unease with the present continued to mount. In 1980, when the winning projects for the first cycle of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture were announced, the architectural community worldwide reacted with surprise. It was not the quality of the winning projects but the Award's definition of 'excellence in architecture' that was communicated and that became the key expression of the Award's mission.



*Nail Çakirhan residence, Akyaka  
Village, Turkey*



1986

Mahdi Elmandjara  
Hans Hollein  
Zahir Ud-din Khwaja  
Ronald Lewcock  
Fumihiko Maki  
Doruk Pamir  
Soedjatmoko  
Robert Venturi  
Abdelwahed el-Wakil



Social Security Complex,  
Istanbul, Turkey



Dar Lamane Housing Community,  
Casablanca, Morocco



Mostar Old Town, Bosnia-Herzegovina

Among the 1980 winners, the improvement of *de facto* housing projects in Jakarta and the development of building and training skills in Central Java could hardly be placed in the dominating central discourse of the architectural profession; nor could they easily be accommodated within the traditional confines of excellence in architecture. Nevertheless, the 1980 Master Jury counted pioneers of social development among its members, and it courageously placed the world's newest and biggest architectural award on a new footing, with an expansive scope and committed mission.

Over the triennial cycles of the Award, each jury has continued to address issues that highlight new aspects of architecture, aspects which otherwise would not be included in the acknowledged scope of the architectural profession. In 1983, the jury recognised the living vernacular with the selection of a monumental mud mosque in a rural setting in sub-Saharan Africa, strengthening this attitude by also selecting the reinterpretation of an indigenous house on the Aegean Sea.

While maintaining a central core of architectural excellence, the Award has developed and sustained two major themes. First, every cycle has selected examples of either new expressions in or new contexts for architecture; second, the juries insisted on expanding the scope of architecture to embrace new solutions for the changing realities of both urban and rural existence. If not addressed by the Award, such issues today would not be included in the scope of 'architecture', not to mention within the scope of prestigious

international prizewinning achievements. The decisions of the juries define the Award as an institution that advocates new and changing priorities for the profession, and that informs the profession, clients, users and decision makers – in short, all those who are active in the formation of our built environment. In the process, sensitising the general public has also always been a focus. From the very beginning, when the Aga Khan announced the first set of awards, he demonstrated his commitment by defining them as an ongoing mission, a 'long journey', a growing process of validation and exploration.

There always are areas in architecture that elude the Award and its successive juries, but each cycle contributes to the growing scope of concerns. The 1986 jury highlighted the contribution of the popular expression of independent builders to the discourse, with the example of a mosque in Pakistan, and though the jury was challenged by some of its own members, it also refined examples of vernacular building and indicated a strong concern for contextual architecture.

The 1989 jury offered a selection of projects, ranging from a high-technology prestige building in Paris to rudimentary, secure mass housing in rural Bangladesh. The set of awards was an array of noted achievements in which world class monuments such as the Parliament in Dhaka were featured alongside a small classicist mosque in Jeddah. The message of plurality was clear, and again the jury constructed its discourse on the initial premise of excellence in architecture.



Al-aqsa Mosque, al-Haram al-Sharif,  
Jerusalem



Yaama Mosque, Yaama, Tahoua,  
Niger



Shushtar New Town, Iran



Kampung Improvement, Surabaya,  
Indonesia



*Ismailiyya Development Projects, Ismailiyya, Egypt*



*Said Naum Mosque, Jakarta, Indonesia*



*Historic Sites Development, Istanbul, Turkey*



*Bhong Mosque, Bhong, Pakistan*

The 1992 jury, for the first time, provided an integrated thematic throughout their discourse, and the central concern of the Award – the social responsibilities of architecture – became the binding substance of their argument. In this cycle, no project devoid of social content was premiated, and the integrated message marked a new era for the Award. Until 1992, masterfully designed small or single buildings, seen as examples of excellence with the potential to influence larger applications elsewhere, had been the continuous thread running between cycles; the 1992 jury loudly declared social concerns to be the central concern of the Award.

The 1995 jury brought a novel and rigorous approach by introducing a new perspective on the priorities of the built environment. It conceived a social discourse that makes no distinction between contemporary problems and the historical built heritage; by doing so, the social dimension was not only brought into an holistic reality, but also a temporal continuity. Thematic categories so often used previously to illustrate differences were avoided in order to confirm the continuity of space and time. The message of the jury by inclusion is unprecedented in its strength and meaning.

In this cycle, while bringing an holistic approach to the theme of social projects, the jury was particularly meticulous in expressing an equivalent discourse in architecture. The three projects it selected to exemplify current architectural discourse all take part in the cutting edge of contemporary debate. Aspects such as structural expression and formal integrity (Kaedi Hospital), relevance in terms of history,

architectural heritage and urban context (Riyadh Great Mosque and Old City Centre), and environmental comfort and advanced technology (Menara Mesiniaga) all received the jury's encouragement and admiration.

The jury also placed great importance on the need to encourage innovative efforts as the seeds for future developments in architecture, among them urban ecology, the importance of ornament as meaning, which had more or less been pushed into oblivion by Modernism, new interpretations of the mosque through new concepts and forms to enhance the qualities and messages of Islam, and finally, for an approach that brings not only a new form to airport design but also incorporates nature.

Even though the message of each Award cycle is conveyed by the winning projects, the messages expressed by exclusion are also significant. The juries of the past five cycles, sometimes expressly, did not consider a number of building categories, regardless of their architectural value, and the present set of awards also does not represent certain building types: for example, tourist destinations, individual houses and monuments. At the same time, even though they reflect the social commitment of the 1995 jury, the absence of industrial buildings, schools and mass housing is due to the insufficient number and quality of projects nominated in these categories. The Award has honoured the Courtyard Housing (1980) and Dar Lamane Housing (1986) projects in Morocco, and Shushtar New Town (1986) in Iran as examples of architect-designed housing in a contemporary design



*Chariman's Award – Rifat Chadirji*

**1989**

Esin Atıl  
Rasem Badran  
Geoffrey Bawa  
Charles Correa  
Kamran Diba  
Oleg Grabar  
Saad Eddin Ibrahim  
Hasan Poerbo  
William Porter



*Great Omari Mosque, Sidon, Lebanon; RIGHT: Asilah, Morocco*





*Grameen Bank Housing Programme, Bangladesh*



*Citra Niaga Urban Development, Samarinda, East Kalimantan, Indonesia*



*Gürel Family Summer Residence, Çanakkale, Turkey*



*Sidi el-Aloui Primary School, Tunis, Tunisia*

language. But as the number of architects and housing co-operatives, as well as construction technology, increases, it remains frustrating for the Award to be unable to identify more good examples of housing. There are increasing signs that good architectural design is being incorporated into the housing industry; but, since the industry is dominated by technology, land speculation and the desire for quick economic return at nearly every level, the field needs to identify and encourage good examples in this very important sector of building, the sector which would permit architects and society to interact most fully.

In all of the past awards, regionalism has implicitly been a discourse that juries have focused upon as the most relevant approach to embracing socio-environmental needs and contexts with contemporaneity. With the exception of Rasem Badran's mosque in Riyadh and the respect of local traditions that is a feature of the Hafsia Quarter project, regionalist solutions were not a focus of the 1995 jury. Instead, they signalled two polar references and concentrated their message on cultural relevance and uncompromising quality of architecture and design. This demonstrates how two architectural extremes – the Mesiniaga tower and Kaedi Hospital – were premiated alongside each other, both on the basis of quality as well as forthrightness of approach.

The absence of industrial buildings among the winning projects has been a continuing concern of the Award and, with the exception of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Riyadh (1989 Award), work spaces did not figure in the Award's first

five cycles. But this time, in 1995, even though we still lack industrial buildings, for the first time the jury has selected a work space. The tropical high-rise discourse of Kenneth Yeang is the first example of a public workplace to be awarded; it is also the first time the Award has been presented to a high-rise building. Not only the quality of the architecture, but also the novelty of the approach, offers the Award a new opportunity to engage in a discourse on a building type that has distorted the expression of the Modern Movement in architecture probably more than any other.

The Award has also continuously sought examples of landscape efforts but, with the exception of the Diplomatic Quarter Landscaping, Riyadh (1989) and Children's Park, Cairo (1992), few projects have displayed the concern and care which Islam traditionally accords to the natural environment. This area still remains unaddressed; however, with the Middle East Technical University re-forestation in Ankara (1995), the jury has sent a message to makers and planners to consider urban ecology and the regeneration of flora and fauna as a means of enhancing air quality and life in urban areas. The massive scale of the intervention, with thirty-three million trees planted over 5,000 hectares, may be regarded as beyond the scope of 'architecture', but the jury's decision to view it as a major design initiative was courageous and has tackled one of today's most important environmental problems.

Past awards have exhibited a pluralist attitude towards the design of mosques. The Niono Mosque in Mali (1983) and



*LEFT: Corniche Mosque, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia; ABOVE: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia*



*National Assembly Building, Sher-e-Bangla Nagar, Chaka, Bangladesh*



*Institut du Monde Arabe, Paris, France*



1992

Balkrishna Doshi  
 Frank Gehry  
 Renata Holod  
 Fumihiko Maki  
 Adhi Moersid  
 Azim Nanji  
 Ali Shuaibi  
 Dogan Tekeli  
 Said Zulficar



*Hayy Assafarat: landscaping and Al-Kindi Plaza, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia*



*Kairouran, Tunisia*



*Palace Parks Programme, Istanbul, Turkey*

the Yaama Mosque at Tahaua (1986) recognised the living vernacular, and the Corniche Mosque in Jeddah (1989) blended the vernacular with classicism; the Saïd Naum Mosque, Jakarta (1986) allowed the reinterpretation of the vernacular in a regionalist approach, while the Great Mosque of Riyadh (1995) blends regionalism with the best contemporary building technology and bases its forms on the Najdi architectural heritage of the region – it is a conservative interpretation of the mosque form, executed with talent and care. With Sherefudin's White Mosque, Visoko, Herzegovina (1983), the Award was given to probably the most atypical example of contemporary mosque design, as the usual configuration, axis, symmetry and light of traditional mosques are all reinterpreted in a new expression. The Mosque of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara (1995) maintains all of the configurations of conventional mosques, such as symmetry, a central space and access, but innovates new definitions for other components. The architects bring a new spatial experience to the act of prayer in an important mosque located within the precinct of the national parliament of a modern democratic and secular country. Innovations, this cycle, are further pursued in the Alliance Franco-Sénégalaise, Kaolack (1995), where architect-anthropologist Patrick Dujarric creatively reinvents ornament, based upon his anthropological research.

The strength of the 1995 Award lies in expanding the architectural and urban discourse. New priorities and directions for the Award are being suggested to accommodate all

of the innovative forces to relate buildings to their contexts and their times, and the urgent need and primary importance of community involvement has received attention. During the late 1970s when the Award was established, the climate was careless towards architectural heritage and, in this dreary context, even the smallest-scale restoration was regarded as exemplary. Now, however, the scope has expanded; contributions at the small scale, and individual restored buildings, though important, cannot resolve the massive extinction which threatens large portions of the urban heritage, not only as physical entities but also as vital, living communities. The Restoration of Bukhara Old City in Uzbekistan (1995) is an example of pioneers in Islamic scholarship who continue to care for their historic buildings, regardless of the political or economic restraints of their condition. This project, undertaken over long periods, was sustained by local resources and with an increasing degree of expertise to attain international standards of restoration. As a complement, the Conservation of Old Sana'a in Yemen (1995) also reveals an international campaign to which many governments and non-governmental organisations have participated and encouraged the commitment of local governments and residents. The third aspect of urban heritage discussed this cycle is an infill project in the Medina of Tunis: Hafsia Quarter II (1995) is the continuation of a project which had moved towards indecision and disbelief but which, following the stimulus provided when the first phase of the project received an Aga Khan Award for



*Cultural Park for Children, Cairo, Egypt*



*East Wahdat Upgrading Programme, Amman, Jordan*



*Kampung Kali Cho-de, Yogyakarta, Indonesia*



*Demir Holiday Village, Bodrum, Turkey*



Suwayda Elementary School,  
Suwayda



Panafrican Institute for Development,  
Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso



Entrepreneurship Development  
Institute of India, Ahmedabad, India

Architecture in 1983, gained the political support necessary for its continuation. In the second phase, the rebuilding has attracted residents of higher income groups, including intellectuals and professionals, that revitalise urban life. The success of these three projects has the potential of indicating three different alternatives for many other communities in the Muslim world which confront similar problems.

The Award juries have always sought alternative solutions for helping inhabitants of growing cities during the process of rapid urbanisation. The Kampung Improvement Projects, Jakarta (1980), Surabaya (1986), Yogyakarta (1992) and the East Wahdat Upgrading Programme in Amman, Jordan (1992) are several examples. The 1995 cycle has yielded two new approaches. The Khuda-ki-Basti Incremental Development Scheme at Hyderabad in Pakistan (1995) is different from previously awarded schemes, either *post facto* as improvement, or prior to settlement as sites and services. It offers hope and security for urban life through land tenure. The inhabitants demonstrate their commitment to urban life by moving in with their families and their belongings, and are given a plot of land on which to build, starting with the most rudimentary shelters and developing them incrementally as means allow. The priority is to provide economic opportunities for shelter – the most essential asset and privilege of people's urban life. Under stringent economic conditions, in a self-built environment, with the cheapest building materials and no architectural or design input, the settlement does not yet display any physical expression that

can be considered architecturally significant, but the model of adapting immigrant populations to urban life responds to one of the key problems which plague many of our cities.

The 'sites and services' model of infrastructure-based self-help housing is an alternative applied all over the world with differing degrees of success. Balkrishna Doshi and the Vastu-Shilpa Foundation's Aranya Community Housing at Indore in India (1995) is a *pro facto* effort to prepare residents for urban life, as opposed to *post facto* improvement-based projects. This approach, enhanced by the commitment and design expertise of a world-class signature architect such as Doshi, brings the discourse of low-income housing into the mainstream of the architectural profession, so that even the most deprived urban dweller may have access to the distinguished talents of this world.

The 1992 jury committed itself to indicating a direction for the Award by basing its priorities on social concern. The present jury has taken up this commitment and elaborated it into an integrated discourse. The societal definition of architecture will open new avenues for the Award to interact with similar concerns. This discourse also has the potential to address many of the problems of the contemporary built environment in Muslim countries in social, economic and cultural realms. By expanding the scope, the jury brings a sharper edge and finer focus to the issues that the Award must tackle. There is no doubt that it places the Award in the larger network of concerns, making possible new associations and collaborations for the Award.

#### 1995

Mohammed  
Arkoun  
Nayer Ali Dada  
Peter Eisenman  
Charles Jencks  
Mehmet Konuralp

Luis Monreal  
Darmawan  
Prawihardjo  
Ismail Serageldin  
Alvaro Siza

# RELEVANCE, EXCELLENCE AND OTHER CRITERIA

*In January 1995, the Master Jury deliberations included lengthy discussions of possible ways to frame the awards, and ways to situate the types of projects that the Jury was reviewing. Excerpts from that discussion are presented here to open up the debate to a broader community.*

**Peter Eisenman:** We need a clear strategy for the Award. Menara Mesiniaga is one of the few projects that contributes new thinking to the general culture of architecture. Whether I like it or not, whether I agree with its symbolism or not, it would be provocative in any context. That provocation is particularly contextual, because it couldn't have come out of Morocco, Australia or Canada. It came out of a particular set of cultural intersections in Malaysia which promote this kind of activity. I don't think you could say that about some of the other projects, which recast western ideas or Islamic motifs without breaking out of a tradition and showing an alternative strategy. I'm looking for five or six projects that allow us to make that discourse.

**Ismail Serageldin:** We can find among these works projects that are truly unique in terms of their contribution to an international architecture discourse, while recognising that part of their uniqueness is also their context, whether physical, psychological, cultural or intellectual. Architecture is the most rooted and social of all the arts. Good architecture should fit and function well in its society, but also transcend it and make a statement of relevance. If it also contributes to the international architectural discourse, we eliminate two extremes: the extreme of the transplanted western idea that you have seen in the Gulf architecture, and the reverse extreme, the implantation symbolised by the Washington Islamic centre, a Mamluk cum Moorish architecture in the middle of Washington DC, as a form of expression of authenticity.

**Eisenman:** We need to define the Award's contribution to the international architectural discourse. This is what has

been lacking, for me, in the way the awards have been previously framed. Although architectural excellence alone is not enough, we must be careful not to choose projects that would eliminate mere architectural excellence.

**Mohammed Arkoun:** Excellence alone is not a criteria. But we are going to face double opposition to your categories. The academic establishment will be opposed when we say we're not interested in your way of presenting things that originate from the Islamic world, which is in a state of total social disintegration. Then, if we give the tower the importance you want to give it, we will have strong opposition from the fundamentalists, because they will perceive it as typical western aggression. How can we have a breakthrough against these two extremes?

**Eisenman:** Do we truly believe that there is an alternative to westernity, either as an option to fundamentalism, or fundamentalism as an option to westernity? Let's say there is a third road. That's a very difficult discourse to find. If we can encourage young people to search in their own cultures, in their discourses, not to regurgitate the past or copy the West but to use their own conditions to find a new architecture, that would be an amazingly wonderful result. That is what I call radical, which means 'to the root'; a radical expression that would not merely rely on the past but transform it, because no society grows by merely imitating the past. The transformative power of architecture, the way architecture lasts, I would argue, is its capacity to sustain non-absorption into the culture. In other words, good architecture has always been attacked by the cultural normative as being something 'outside'. Le Corbusier's Ronchamp and La Tourette are two examples. La Tourette still stands as an enormous symbol of the capacity of the Catholic church to reform itself in its own discourse, and to take a risk. We're asking the young architect in Jakarta, in Penang, in Kuala Lumpur, to take those kinds of risks from within their own cultures, to be neither



traditionalists nor western. I think we fail if we don't at least attempt that message, and arm ourselves against the critique.

**Serageldin:** Let's assume we have an agreed set of projects in which we are satisfied that we read a meaning that is relevant to the discourse you are talking about. How are we going to convey that message? You have one audience at Princeton, or the Sorbonne, and another in Tehran. We hope to have an intellectual impact where people yearn for this kind of discourse, but you cannot ignore the social, political and cultural impacts on the discourse.

**Luis Monreal:** Within the dynamics of this jury, we have reached a basic consensus on conservation projects, on social housing projects and so on; but when it comes to architecture, we don't have enough examples of architectural design.

**Eisenman:** Charles made a very poignant statement to me, and we ought to consider it. He does not believe that the contemporary Islamic tradition contains a 'high art' that is conditioned, that is high architecture, or that is in the tradition of the avant-garde. What we are trying to promote, I believe, is, among other things, a high art, avant-gardist, risk taking tradition. I cannot vote for projects that are neither high art nor risk taking.

**Serageldin:** How are you going to promote high art? I take your point very seriously. But if you do not find the risk taking, do you take something and say, 'This is half right, but it went wrong in the following way'?

**Charles Jencks:** That's mid-cult (middle art). Saying something is 'on the way' will never produce high art. You've got to hit mid-cult because everybody can do it. It is produced naturally by our system, so we have to attack it. It erodes high culture. We cannot award mid-cult.

**Eisenman:** The Menara Mesiniaga is one of the few examples of the possibility of high art culture, of an avant-gardist, risk taking culture. The only way you are going to raise the bottom is to have a top. If the top is always seen to be mid-cult we're never going to get to the top. This jury should in some way take this as a mandate. The reason we don't have any great architects in the tradition of the 1920s and 1930s, is because the attitude today is much more conservative toward taking risks in art. At this moment in history, it is important to suggest that what Islamic culture needs to promote is the possibility of a high art, avant-garde culture. This could be the third way, as opposed to westernity, of approaching fundamentalism.

**Jencks:** In considering these awards one also has to be more particular about what pluralism means. Deeper pluralism means a lot of different things. It means self-consciously choosing categories which are oppositional. And dealing with oppositions and, therefore, with juries like this one of nine men who don't necessarily like things like eco-feminism. In other words, there is inevitably a built-in set of prejudices in this room. To support Islam as an emergent world civilisation means that we have to consciously go out of our way to look for things to come in the future. For example, I have noted that under-represented here, by my standards, are ecology, feminism, pop-commercialism and industrial High Tech. We do lack 'otherness' within the Islamic world.

We can rule out completely any mid-cult architecture, or say we are not going to award anything unless it has a social programme. Or we can award programmes which are 'great' building; we can say this is a 'great' scheme, but not good architecture. It's an old distinction, philosophically. This is part of pluralism, part of admitting that judgements are conflicted and even oppositional. The result of this approach would be that the muddiness and fuzziness of the Award, which I think has been a necessary problem, would continue.

**Arkoun:** Another point, which we and all other juries always face, is the reference to Islam. We have not yet mastered the way we actually use this reference. We keep thinking that we want to support Islam as a civilisation, but this is not the mission of the Award. Rather, we want to identify what is happening in societies where the majority of people are Muslims. But we look to these societies, with their history, their problems, etc.; we do not look primarily to Islam. The expression 'Islamic architecture' should never be used because it is misleading. It is misleading for us in our own evaluation and for the people to whom we are addressing ourselves.

Another point is the impact and overwhelming importance of western architecture, western conceptions, and western problematics about architecture which are dominating our discussions in this special jury. We have not addressed what I call 'disintegrating societies'. You dream of 'integrated and integrating societies', but architects in the Muslim world are obliged to look to disintegrating societies for a vocabulary and for categories which are intellectually and technically irrelevant to our discussions here. We have not mastered these two dangers.

**Jencks:** Do you think western societies are (a) integrated and (b) integrating?

**Arkoun:** Western societies have a history, functioning cultures and political regimes that are supporting, enabling, commanding, commissioning, et cetera. In the societies in which we are working, none of this is a given. This history about which we are speaking doesn't exist, even in the mind of the élite.

**Eisenman:** Not only do Muslim societies not have the enabling mechanisms of western societies which allow for a discussion to take place, but at present they have a disintegrating force which is counter to any possible integrating mechanisms.

**Arkoun:** Exactly. There are terribly disintegrating forces at work. It is extremely difficult to provide a language that would satisfy the architects struggling in their way to do something, yet these societies are awaiting something. They need to be helped, in a way. But this is difficult to do.

**Serageldin:** There are large numbers associated with a search for solutions that would be replicable at a large scale and would empower people while providing both a necessary diversity and a sense of identity. In parallel you have a search for the identity of the individual. These problems are fairly common across the Third World, whether Muslim or non-Muslim societies. We are superimposing on these cultures a double element of universalism. One is the nature of the discourse and the value that you attach to it in terms of a search for excellence – qualitative standards we want to apply and that contribute to a universal discourse. The other is that, today, the definition of a certain society can no longer simply be isolationist, but is also part of a larger universal. And in the universal, there is a very strong predominance from western societies.

**Jencks:** Basically, what I call the post-Islamic society is Islam in hybrid societies and the problems it is facing, in both continuing the traditions of Islam as well as hybridising itself as part of world civilisation. It is post-Islamic in the sense that it grants that the religious basis for its society is no longer an adequate basis on which to move forward. Yet that basis is a defining part of its identity. Therefore, it is post-Islamic in as strong a sense as the world is post-Christian and Post-Modern. Where we come from is an important part of our identity which we will not give up. We are really looking at the Islamic now because by definition it is the departure point of this Award. But it is not the end point.

**Monreal:** I suspect that we are trying to find a message that we all can agree with. I completely disagree with what

you said. Yes, we are in a post-Christian society, but history tells us that cultural evolution is not a cliché that you can apply to all societies at the same chronological moment. For many reasons we are far from seeing a post-Islamic society. We are in a post-Judaeo-Christian society in the West, but the West is also in the position of becoming a basically secular society. Even political ideologies are becoming obsolete. Whereas Islam, for at least centuries to come, will have a meaning. Even lack of beliefs in the industrialised western societies will somehow be a further stimulus, a *bouillon de culture* for a strong Islamic culture.

**Serageldin:** One could say that the evolution of identity in Muslim societies translates some elements and transcends others. We are no longer just repeating or trying to return to the past, so there is some process of transformation. Another issue is one's choice of language. Mohammed has more than once chastised us for not using words precisely enough. But more important is how a language is expressed and how it is received. The moment you say 'post-Islamic' it means that Islam is passé, and that's when most Muslims stop listening to whatever you have to say, regardless of your meaning.

**Eisenman:** If we look at the post-western condition or hegemony of architecture, I believe we find ourselves in the 'post-mechanical' age. That is, we are in an age of media technology, which in fact threatens the whole fundamental iconic structure of architecture, itself the condition of stability and enclosure, the *sine qua non* of the mechanical paradigm. Faced with this, consider Singapore, which is a 'post-technological' society where neither land nor race nor technology, in a sense, is the informing essence. The informing essence of Singapore as a power, as the second most powerful nation in the Pacific Rim, is information. All societies – western, eastern, Muslim, Christian – are going to have to deal with this information technology as it mediates our society. To exclude this from our

discourse would be a mistake. This jury has an obligation to at least say, 'Look, we have not seen the effects of this post-mechanical, post-industrial condition.' We are beginning to see it in the Islamic world in the break-up of the political societies that sustained the mechanical era, ie, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, the USSR. In other words, with the demise of the western solution for a political condition to contain the rising proletariat, we are faced with a new political condition in the world that is pre-French revolutionary without any pre-French revolutionary models. For example, the Bosnians, the Chechnyas, the Slovaks, et cetera, are searching for models of political, economic, and social viability. This struggle, which is predominantly in the Muslim world, seems to me to be an architectural problem as well as a societal one. All of these post-revolutionary conditions were political attempts to sustain the development of mechanical societies, the development of a proletariat. In other words how do you define polis and state in a pre-French revolutionary society, without going back to the models of the *ancien régime*? The western models, the colonial models, seem to be collapsed. And the twentieth century has witnessed this collapse. We can point this out, in our document, as a hopeful condition. This disintegration that you talk about, Mohammed, is also an enormous disintegration in the West. I do not believe the world can look to westernity any longer for these models. Islam could play an international role in the proposition of models that are nothing to do with the French Revolution at all.

**Arkoun:** The Award, since its creation, has established that Muslim societies are striving to complete new achievements. What they have achieved until now has been done with western technology, western vocabulary and western architects, which means that your criticism of western societies applies to what is done, is being done still, and will be done in the Third World. Muslim societies cannot yet produce any kind of answer.



## THE 1995 AWARD STEERING COMMITTEE

### His Highness The Aga Khan, Chairman

**Sir Bernard Feilden**, 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, 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.

**Frank O Gehry**, 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. Gehry was a member of the 1992 Award Master Jury.

**Arif Hasan**, Pakistani architect and planner, social researcher and writer, studied architecture at the Oxford Polytechnic, UK, from 1960 to 1965, and established an independent architecture practice in Karachi in 1968. A consultant to the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, various United Nations agencies and the Aga Khan Foundation, Hasan is renowned for his involvement with low-income settlement programmes and is 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 Hasan with its International Year for the Shelterless Memorial Award.

**Professor Renata Holod**, 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. She was convener of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture from 1978 to 1980, member of the 1983 Steering Committee, and chair of the 1992 Master Jury. Professor Holod is currently at work on *The Isfahan City Project, and Architecture in Greater Iran in the Fifteenth Century*.

**Professor Nurcholish Madjid**, 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.

**Ali Shuaibi**, Saudi Arabian architect and planner, is the co-founder of Beech Planners, Architects and Engineers, based in Riyadh, with projects in Saudi Arabia, Oman, Yemen, Pakistan and Djibouti. He 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 Organisation of Arab Towns in 1990. With his office, Beech, 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, Tunisia. Shuaibi was a member of the 1992 Award Master Jury.

**Dogan Tekeli**, Turkish architect, has been in private practice with his partner, Sami Sisa, since 1952, when they graduated from Istanbul Technical University. Tekeli lectured in architectural design at the Maçka School of Architecture and Engineering of Istanbul Technical University, and was president of the Chamber of Turkish Architects in 1957. Tekeli and his partner have won more than twenty design competitions in Turkey, and most of them have been built. Among their works are the environmental design for the Fortress of Rumelia, a market complex in Istanbul (Manifaturacılar çarşısı), Lassa Tyre Factory in Izmit and the Halkbank Headquarters in Ankara; they are presently working on an international passenger terminal for the Antalya Airport. 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. He served as a member of the 1992 Award Master Jury.

## THE 1995 AWARD MASTER JURY

**Professor Mohamed Arkoun**, French academician of Algerian origin, is 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 concentrates 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. Professor Arkoun served as a member of the Award Steering Committee from 1983 to 1992.

**Nayyar Ali Dada** is a Pakistani architect whose numerous works have been recognised both at home and abroad. He has also 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. Dada is actively involved in the creative arts in Pakistan, both as an artist working in the medium of watercolour and as the director of a private gallery, as well as board member and advisor to many cultural institutions. In 1992, he was presented with the President's Pride of Performance Award for his services to Pakistan.

**Darmawan Prawirohardjo** 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.

**Peter Eisenman** is an American architect and educator. He is the Irwin S Chanin Distinguished Professor at the Cooper Union and the principal of Eisenman Architects in New York City. Among his built projects are the Wexner Centre for the Arts and Fine Arts Library at the 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 centre in Columbus, Ohio and construction has begun on the Aronoff Centre for Design and Art in Cincinnati, Ohio. 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.

**Professor Charles Jencks**, American architect and architectural historian residing in London, is well-known as the critic who actively defined Post-Modernism 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, including *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*, *What is Post-Modernism?* and *The Post-Modern Reader*. His work on cosmogenic architecture and complexity theory was recently published in his book *The Architecture of the Jumping Universe*. He lectures widely in the United States, Japan, and Europe, has made a number of television programmes on architecture, and has designed buildings, furniture and landscape gardens.

**Mehmet Konuralp**, 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.

**Luis Monreal**, 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 such projects 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. 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. Monreal has participated in numerous archaeological expeditions to the High Atlas Mountains (Morocco), Nubia, Abkanarti (Sudan) and Masmara (Egypt).

**Dr Ismail Serageldin** 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*. He was a member of the 1983 Award Master Jury, and of the Award Steering Committee for the 1986, 1989 and 1992 cycles.

**Professor Alvaro Siza**, 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 Bogotá 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 of 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).

#### TECHNICAL REVIEW MEMBERS 1995

**Dr Mohammad Al-Asad** is a faculty member of the Department of Architecture at the University of Jordan, and an associate of the Arab Architects, an Amman-based architectural firm with offices in Houston and Dallas.

**Dr Selma Al-Radi** is an Iraqi archaeologist and research associate at New York University. She has excavated in Iraq, Egypt, Kuwait, Cyprus and Syria, and is a consultant to the National Museum in Sana'a.

**Dr Shukur Askarov** is the former head of the Department for Town Planning and Building at the Uzbekistan Town Planning Institute. He is a professor of town planning and architectural theory and history at the Institute for Architecture and Building and head of the department of architecture at the Khamza Fine Arts Institute, both in Tashkent.

**Lailun Nahur Ekram** is the principal architect and managing director of Engineers and Consultants Bangladesh Limited, an architectural and consulting firm with numerous important projects throughout Bangladesh and the region.

**Dr Rawia Fadel** is professor of planning and architecture at Tanta (Egypt) University. She has practised and taught architecture in Egypt, the United States

and in Saudi Arabia, where she founded and directed the first architectural programme for women at King Faisal University in Dammam (1982-84) and at King Saud University in Riyadh (1984-86).

**Mukhtar Husain** is the chief architect of the Karachi firm NESPAK. He is also active in urban design and airport planning, and has worked in the UAE and in Turkey as well as in Pakistan.

**Jolyon Leslie** has worked extensively in post-disaster and post-war construction in the Middle East and in Asia. His present position with UNDP involves the management of a national resettlement programme for Afghanistan which promotes the use of traditional vernacular techniques for housing.

**Kamran Safamanesh** is an architect and professor of architecture, urban design and history at the Tehran University of Science and Technology and at Azad University of Tehran. He is also a visiting fellow and lecturer at Oxford University, England.

**Dr Gunawan Tjahjono** is a senior lecturer in architecture and anthropology at the University of Indonesia, and a research fellow at the Centre for Research in Social Sciences and Humanities, as well as an architect in private practice.

**Professor Yildirim Yavuz** is professor of architecture at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara. He has also taught at King Faisal University, Dammam, Saudi Arabia and at Bilkent University, Ankara.



LEFT TO RIGHT, FIRST ROW: Princess Zahra Aga Khan, His Highness The Aga Khan, Nurcholish Madjid, Arif Hasan, Sir Bernard Feilden, Charles Jencks; SECOND ROW: Ali Shuaibi, Ismail Serageldin, Peter Eisenman, Dogan Tekeli; THIRD ROW: Mohammed Arkoun, Mehmet Konuralp, Luis Monreal, Darmawan Prawirohardjo, Frank Gehry; FOURTH ROW: John de Monchaux, Nayyar Ali Dada, Suha Ozkan; (not pictured: Renata Holod and Alvaro Siza)

## TECHNICAL DATA

### Restoration of Bukhara Old City, Bukhara, Uzbekistan

*Client:* Municipality of Bukhara, Karim Kamalov, mayor; Shurat Sharipov and Kamal Ajilov, assistant mayors.

*Restoration:* Restoration Institute of Uzbekistan, Batir Usmanov, director; Firuz Ashrafi, A Bogodukhov, V Filimonov, Z Shelekht, V Shvartz, K Tokhtayev, T Babaev and I Zhukova, collaborating architects.

*Restoration Office of the Municipality of Bukhara:* Nassim Sharipov, chief architect of the province of Bukhara; Tuygun Babayev, assistant chief architect; Mahmud Ahmedov, chief architect for Bukhara city; Sa'adullah Khojayev, administrator and financial manager; Mahmud Rashidov, chief engineer; Bakhtiar Parsayev, site supervisor.

*Inspectorate of Restoration for Monuments:* Khairallah Salamov Aminoglu, director; Barno Mansurova, assistant director.

*Craftsmen:* Mubin Mu'uminov, mosaics; Jurakul Fatahov, master builder; Ahmed Bobomuradov, master restorer.

*Research and Design:* late 1960s; restoration: 1970 and ongoing; completion: 1975 and ongoing.

### Conservation of Old Sana'a, Yemen

*Conservation:* General Organisation for the Preservation of the Historic Cities of Yemen (GOPHCY), 'Abd al-Rahman al-Haddad, former director; Ahmed al-Ibbi, Abdullah Hadrami, architects; Ali Oshish, Jamal Mobarak, civil engineers.

*Craftsmen:* Mohammed al-Rawodi, Mohammed Zatra, Abdullah al-Rawodi, Ahmed al-Hamm-dani, Ali al-Emad, and Mohammed Saleh, masonry and stone works; Mohammad Joila and Abdullah al-Tababi, earth construction; Hassin al-Namrani, Ahmed al-Namrani and Salah Ahmed, plaster; Ahmed al-Tiayri, stained glass windows; Ahmed al-Mini, Aziz al-Driam, Ahmed al-Arasi, Atiq Asad, Ahmed al-Hemi, al-Taib al-Arasi and Yahi Ahmed Salah, qadad works; Mohammed al-Siri and Ahmed al-Asta, woodwork.

*Sponsors:* UNESCO, UNDP, and the governments of Italy, The Netherlands, France, North Korea, Japan, Norway, Switzerland, the United States of America and Germany.

*Design:* 1984 and ongoing; construction: 1986 and ongoing; occupancy: 1987 and ongoing.

### Reconstruction of Hafsia Quarter II, Tunis, Tunisia

*Client:* Municipality of Tunis.

*Planners/Architects:* Association de Sauvegarde de la Médina de Tunis (ASM), M'Hamed Ali Boulayman, Mayor of Tunis, president; Abdelaziz Daoulatli, former vice-president; Samia Akrouf-Yaiche, director; Achraf Bahri-Meddeb and Amor Jaziri, lead architects; Zoubair Mouhli, Faika Bejaoui, Abdelkerim Gazzah and Amor Bouz-guenda, associate architects; Khaled Ben Abdallah, Khaled Bouzid and Lotfi Bouzouit, architects; Denis Lesage, research co-ordination.

*Developer:* Agence de Réhabilitation et Rénovation Urbaine (ARRU), Ali Chaouch, former director general; Chadli Karoui, director general; Mohamed Ali Gaigi and Tahar Ben Amara, management; Inchirah Hababou, architect; Habib Abichou and Kacem Ben Halima, administration and finance.

*Consultants:* Soutetec et Team and Cover Entreprise, infrastructure studies; Taoufic Ben Hadid and Mounir Hakim, architects.

*Contractor:* Maghreb Etudes, infrastructure; Sandid et Engebatrap, construction.

Phase I: 1972-80; phase II: 1982-93 and ongoing; preliminary studies: June 1982; design: June 1983; construction of infrastructure: Nov 1984; construction of

new structures: April 1985-May 1986 (first phase, 40 housing units and one hotel), Oct 1986-July 1988 (second phase, 56 housing units, 31 shops), June 1989-Jan 1992 (third phase, 68 housing units, 26 shops), Dec 1990-July 1993 (fourth phase, 54 housing units, 37 shops); rehabilitation programme: commenced 1986; 90 per cent completed in 1995.

### Khuda-ki-Basti Incremental Development Scheme, Hyderabad, Pakistan

*Clients and Planners:* Hyderabad Development Authority, Tasneem Ahmed Siddiqui, former director general; Mohammed Azhar Khan, director of planning and design; Mohammed Akhtar Khan, land officer. Sindh Katchi Abadis Authority, Amir Jamal, planning officer. Saiban, NGO; Shahid Hossain, project officer; Akhtar Ali Khan, community organiser; Saghir Khanzada, office assistant; Altaf Hussain, sub engineer.

*Consultants:* Rehman Architects, Jamilur Rehman, director.

*Commission:* 1986; plot occupation and construction: 1987 and ongoing.

### Aranya Community Housing, Indore, India

*Architect:* Vastu-Shilpa Foundation for Studies and Research in Environmental Design, Balkrishna V Doshi, director; Yatin Pandaya, deputy director; Himanshu H Parikh, project co-ordinator; Utpal Sharma, project manager; Smruti Bhagwat and Kajri Mishra Rajendra Puri, team members; Muktiraj Sinhi Chauhan, research associate.

*Consultants:* Deepak Kantawala, infrastructure consultant; Vishu Joshi, engineer.

*Client:* Indore Development Authority, Ashok Das, chief executive officer; Mohan Lal Bhatt, chief city planner, CM Dagaonkar, executive engineer.

*Commission:* 1983; design: 1983-86; construction: 1985-89; occupancy: 1989 and ongoing.

### Great Mosque of Riyadh and Redevelopment of the Old City Centre, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

*Architect:* Sba Architect Rasem Badran, Consultants, Rasem Badran, principal-in-charge.

*Consultants:* Buro Happold Consultants, engineers; BBW Wagenfeld & W Boedecker, landscaping; Saudi Consulting Services, infrastructure.

*Contractor:* Keang Nam, main contractor; Mabco, prefabricated concrete.

*Client:* Arriyadh Development Authority, HRH Prince Salman Bin Abdul-Aziz, Governor of Riyadh, chairman; Muhammad bin Abdul-Aziz Al-Shaikh, former president; Abdel-Latif Al-Shaikh, president; Zahir Othman, director of planning.

*Commission:* 1985; design: 1985-86; construction: Feb 1987-Oct 1991; occupancy: Feb 1992.

### Menara Mesiniaga, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

*Architect:* TR Hamzah and Yeang Sdn Bhd, Kenneth Yeang, partner-in-charge; Too Kah Hoe, project architect; Seow Ji Nee, design development; Heng Jee Seng, design architect.

*Consultants:* Reka Perunding Sdn Bhd, civil and structural engineering; Norman Disney & Young Sdn Bhd, mechanical and electrical engineering; Baharuddin, Ali & Low Sdn, quantity surveyors; TR Hamzah and Yeang Sdn Bhd, interior design; Lap Consultancy, landscape architects.

*Contractors:* Siah Brothers. Sdn Bhd, general contractors; Sediabena, steelwork.

*Client:* Mesiniaga Sdn Bhd, Ismail Sulgiman, director.

*Commission:* 1989; design: 1989-90; construction: Dec 1990-Aug 1992; occupancy: August 1992.

### Kaedi Regional Hospital, Kaedi, Mauritania

*Architect:* Association pour le Développement naturel d'une Architecture et d'un Urbanisme Africains

(ADAUA), Jak Vauthrin, former secretary general; Fabrizio Carola, principal architect; Birahim Niang, assistant architect; Shamsuddin N'Dow, engineer. Serge Theunynck, architect and Luc Differdange, engineer, completed the project. Alhassan Samba Niang, Emile Cissokho and Amadou Leye, technicians.

*Craftsmen:* Konate Bocar, Sow Moussa, Demba Soumare, Sow Samba Ould Ahmed, Samba Baidy N'Diaye, Diallo Mika, Sow Mamadou Abdoul, Sow Elhadj Samba and Sow Mamadou Yero, brick production; Lamine Samb and Rougui Ba, ceramics; Diaw Bocar, Ahmadna Ould Mara, Hamet Fall, Abou N'Diaye, Oumar, Mamadou Diallo, and Malick Fall, masons.

*Client:* Ministry of Health through Société de Construction et de Gestion Immobilière en Mauritanie (SOCOGIM).

*Sponsor:* European Development Fund.

*Commission:* 1982; design 1981; construction of most structures: 1982-84 under the supervision of the principal architect. Work recommenced in 1987 and was completed in 1989; occupancy 1992.

### Mosque of the Grand National Assembly, Ankara, Turkey

*Architects:* Behruz and Can Çinici.

*Consultants:* A Kutay, civil engineer.

*Contractor:* Molin and Vakıflar AS.

*Client:* Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi (Turkish Grand National Assembly).

*Commission:* March 1985; design: May 1985-86;

*Construction:* July 1987-89; occupancy: April 1989.

### Alliance Franco-Sénégalaise, Kaolack, Senegal

*Architect:* Patrick Dujarric.

*Consultants:* Veritas, quality control.

*Contractor:* Batisahell.

*Client:* Alliance Franco-Sénégalaise, Patrick Mandrilly, delegate for Senegal; Louis Maclou, director of Kaolack branch. Local committee of the Alliance Franco-Sénégalaise à Kaolack: Mathar Barro, president; Eugene Haroun, Makhone Diaw, Issa Ndoeye, Amary Fall, Mamadou Baidy Dieng, Momar Faye, Armand Diop and Segou Toure, members.

*Sponsor:* Mission de Coopération et d'Action Culturelle, Government of France.

*Commission:* May 1991; design: June 1991-June 1992; construction: March 1993-May 1994; occupancy: April 1994.

### Re-Forestation Programme of the Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

*Client:* Middle East Technical University (METU), Kemal Kurdas, former president; Süha Sevik, president.

*Landscaping:* ODTÜ Ağaçlandırma Müdürlüğü (METU Re-Forestation Directorate), Alaatin Egeman, director.

*Plantation:* Volunteer students, faculty members, university employees, and citizens of Ankara

*Conception:* 1958; first planting campaign: 1960; plantation: ongoing.

### Landscaping Integration of the Soekarno-Hatta Airport, Cengkareng, Indonesia

*Client:* Ministry of Communications through the Directorate General of Air Communications, Zainuddin Sikado, director; Soetomo Adisasmito, project manager.

*Architect:* Aéroports de Paris, Paul Andreu, principal designer.

*Consultants:* PT Konavi, PT Cakar Bumi, PT Dacrea Avia; Titi Wuryantari, landscape architect.

*Commission:* 1977; master plan design: 1977-79; first phase construction Dec 1980-Dec 1984; occupancy March 1985. Phase two: design: 1986-87; construction: March 1987-June 1991; occupancy: June 1991.