

*The "Image" of
the West in Con-
temporary Arab
Architecture?*

It is problematic at this point in time, at the end of the twentieth century, to speak of the "image" of the West in contemporary Arab architecture. This would have to assume a scenario in which the East, of which the Arab World is part and the West are two independent distinct entities. This is no longer a valid premise, especially where architecture is concerned. A truer picture emerges when reviewing some of the facts. Much of the built environment was achieved during the twentieth century under conditions of military, economic, and cultural domination of the West. During the first half of the century, colonial powers imposed Western models of physical planning, which continued to operate later through the inherited institutions and regulations. From the earliest established school of architecture until today, architectural education and training programs were modeled after those in the West.⁽¹⁾ The

Howayda Al-Harithy

(1) Formal training of architects in the Arab World began in Egypt in 1880 at Cairo University. Its program was initially modeled after the Germanic Technische Hochschule but fell under the influence of the French Beaux-Arts soon after World War I. For further discussion on architectural education see Suha Ozkan, «An =

building industry has always relied heavily on construction material and technology imported from the West.

Influences in the arena of cultural production, such as art, architecture and music, are expected and are common throughout history. Artists fall under the influence of a school of thought or a stylistic trend as they strive to innovate and change. Cultural exchange has often enriched cultural production and protected it against stagnation and decline. Cultural centers, such as Cairo of the fourteenth century and Rome of the sixteenth century, emerged under stable political rule and prosperous economic times to acquire a leading and influential position in artistic production elsewhere, a role that at times extended beyond the contemporaries to succeeding generations, who looked up at them as precedents of style, technique or quality. Architecture is a cultural product that does not operate within fixed boundaries, such as language or religion, which act as barriers in the process of cultural exchange. It is, therefore, more easily receptive to foreign influence.

Contemporary architecture of the Arab World has not occupied itself with the «image» of the West. The West is a physical reality in the making of cities, an ideological reality in the educational programs, and an economic reality in the building industry; it was very much a part of everyday architectural production. Nor has contemporary Arab architecture fallen under the influence of the West, not if influence, however strong or weak, entails entering new notions into an existing tradition. During the course of the twentieth century, the existing architectural tradition in the Arab World was not simply influenced by Western technical or stylistic notions that strengthened or weakened it as a cultural product, rather it was give up by governments and practitioners alike in order to adopt another. That is what has amounted to a loss of identity in Arab architecture thus the debate on modernity versus tradition, one with which leading Arab architects have been occupied

= Overview of Architectural Education in Islamic Countries», in *Architectural Education in the Islamic World*, 1986.

It is quite important to acknowledge at the outset of this paper that different Arab countries had different types of contact with the West, under changing political and economic conditions and with varying results. It is not the intent here to tackle the particularities of one or each of the countries within the Arab World, but to risk the danger of presenting the more general trends in the architectural practice relevant to this particular issue of identity. This will then be represented through individual architects or projects.

The earliest examples of using western urban planning models and architectural styles predate the colonial era and are found in Egypt. The period between 1870 and 1930 witnessed radical transformations in the urban fabric of major cities in Egypt under the leadership of the Minister of Public Works at the time, Ali Pasha Mubarak. Both Alexandria and Cairo were remodeled applying the planning model of Haussman in 19th century France. The period also witnessed a shift in taste towards European-style buildings such as Viennese and Italian. Many buildings in Cairo and Alexandria dating to the early 20th century show an Art Nouveau influence.

But a more serious impact and physical planning that shaped the principal cities of the Arab World occurred at the hands of the former colonial powers of Europe, particularly Britain and France as they took an active role in the building industry as part of their «civilizing» agenda. New cities were erected, master plans were imposed on existing ones, European style buildings were constructed, and planning policies and building laws were implemented.

The post-independence period was always marked by a renewal of a country's identity. The model of the rationally planned urban utopias that emerged in the West as a reaction to the ills of the nineteenth century industrial city reemerged in the Arab World as a reaction to the colonial city. This was often accompanied by large-scale urban and architectural projects that were meant to reflect an identity of a modern nation. Gigantic programs of industrialization, housing, edu-

cational buildings and airports were central features, were almost always executed with the help of international architectural firms, and were meant to serve as signs of progress.

Iraq's renewal of identity began before the revolution of 1958. International planning firms were invited to participate in the process. Doxiadis from Athens was invited to work out a master plan for Baghdad and to build low-cost housing schemes as model cases. A number of internationally renowned architects, such as Alvar Aalto, Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier, and Pier Luigi Nervi, were invited to develop major projects intended as symbols of modern architectural development. Most were, however, not realized. The design for the University City in Baghdad, which was designed by Walter Gropius and his team, The Architects Collaborative (TAC,) was only partially built but remains not fully executed. Eastern European countries were major players in the architectural development of Iraq after 1958. The technological assistance programs from the USSR, East Germany, Romania, and others were significant.⁽²⁾

After the independence of Algeria from France in 1962, six university campuses were commissioned and designed by famous international architects: Oscar Niemeyer in Constantine, Kenzo Tange in Oran and Algiers, Skidmore, Owing and Merrill in Blida and Setif and Jakob Zweifel in Anaba (Fig.1). The modernist urban proposals for the city of Algiers made by Le Corbusier in 1932, 1933 and 1938, which did not prevail during the colonial period, proved very influential after independence. A large number of French architects, who practiced in Algeria in the 1950's and 1960's, were clearly dependent on the models of Le Corbusier.⁽³⁾

(2) Udo Kultermann, «Contemporary Arab Architecture. The Architects of Iraq», *Mimar* 5 (July-September 1982) pp. 54-61.

(3) For a more detailed discussion see Udo Kultermann, «Contemporary Arab Architecture. The Architects of Algeria, Tunis and Libya», *Mimar* 9 (July-September 1983) pp. 59-65.

The modern principles of urban planning that were practiced extensively in Europe as part of the urban renewal and postwar reconstruction efforts, especially after World War II, were similarly adapted by many governments of the oil producing countries in the Arab World. With the oil boom came another determined effort to embark on large-scale development programs sponsored by the state to assert its position of wealth and power. This in turn entailed the transfer of Western technology and institutional prototypes, schools, hospitals, transportation terminals, etc.

The building boom in Saudi Arabia of the 1970s and early 80s is the largest the Arab World has ever experienced. International firms were commissioned to design and execute gigantic projects, including the building of new towns, government centers, educational institutions as well as palaces for the royal family. In an effort to set the country's modernization process, foreign architects were invited to design major urban landmarks. The Royal Palace in Riyadh was designed by the German architects Frei Otto and Rolf Gutbrod in 1978, the Hajj Terminal in King Abdulaziz Airport in Jeddah was designed by Skidmore, Owing and Merrill of New York and Chicago in 1974 (Fig. 2), the King's Palace in Jeddah and the Palace of the Crown Prince were designed by the Japanese architect Kenzo Tange in 1977. Kenzo Tange also designed the King Faisal Foundation Headquarters in Riyadh. This is only to name a few.⁽⁴⁾

On the one hand, the imported models and technology responded quickly to the demands of the state but offered little in terms of adapting themselves to the new context. Some may even argue that «an alien landmark cannot promote community identification, and the message it conveys will not be understood.»⁽⁵⁾ The rapid growth of

(4) Udo Kultermann, «Contemporary Arab Architecture. The Architects in Saudi Arabia.» *Mimar* 16 (April - June 1985) pp. 42-53.

(5) Mona Serageldin and Francois Vigier, «Changing Roles and Procedures in the Design of Public Buildings,» in *Architecture and Community Building in the =*

the population of Arab cities, the demands and pressures of modern life, and the speed with which modernization took place intensified the reliance on such imported models. Rational planning and functional zoning accompanied with the provision of wide thoroughfares, the large scale housing projects and concrete technology were readily available formulas. But that in turn multiplied their negative repercussions on cities throughout the Arab World. High-rise housing projects were built, wide streets were cut through the historic parts of cities, glass boxes inappropriate for the local climate were erected, historic areas were either demolished or left to deteriorate, and cities lost their characters under a heap of concrete.

Examples can be found in all cities of the Arab World. In Algiers, during the French rule, which began in 1830 but was firmly established in 1902, a new city was built in accordance with European planning strategies outside the old *medina* where the indigenous population lived. After independence, the upper and middle class families moved into the colonial city leaving the older *medina* to deteriorate. In Baghdad, the modern road network began with the construction of a major avenue, al-Rashid Street, in 1914 followed by al-Kifah Street in 1938, both of which cut right through Rusafa, the most historic part of the city. In Jeddah, a government-sponsored housing project with two thousand apartments for low-income families stands empty today due to a planning scheme that was found inadequate for the social habits of the people.

After awakening to this sad scenario, governments attempted to remedy the situation in two major ways. Projects that are national symbols were to reflect an Arab national identity. This time they were assigned to foreign architects claiming to sustain Arab architecture identity, when they merely and to varying degrees of success incorporate elements of «Arab» or «Islamic» architecture within the high

= Islamic World, Aperture (1983) p.51.

technology and functional sterility of the «International» style. A good example is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Riyadh designed by the Danish architect Henning Larsen in 1982 (Fig.3).

The second effort was directed at the rehabilitation and conservation of the historic core of cities that came under assault as a result of neglect during the colonial period, grandiose projects of the post-independence period, or the rapid development of the oil boom. Efforts to rehabilitate, restore and conserve the old cities constitute one of the major trends in architectural development of the Arab World also driven by political ambitions to construct a national identity. Two cases can be cited here.

The conservation of Old San'a is an important example. In 1969, as the civil war ended in Yemen, the new republic was formed, and San'a was made the capital, the city experienced a major urban expansion during the 1970's and the 1980's. The old city of San'a, which had been protected for centuries, fell under the threat of rapid development fueled by the oil boom. Efforts to restore the old city began in 1984 when the General Organization for the Preservation of Old San'a was established. In 1987, it became known as the General Organization for the Preservation of the Historic Cities of Yemen (GOPHCY) as a result of the expansion of its role to encompass all of Yemen. Both the UNESCO and the UNDP contributed to the plans for the conservation of the city of San'a while financial and technical assistance were offered by the Yemeni government and by Italy, The Netherlands, North Korea, Norway, South Korea, Switzerland, and the United States.⁽⁶⁾

Another example aimed at reversing such negative trends is found in the reconstruction project of the Hafsia quarter in Tunis. Tunisia gained its independence from France in 1956. Tunis, like its sister ci-

(6) Cynthia C. Davidson, ed. *Architecture Beyond Architecture* (London, 1995) p.

ties in the Arab world, became the subject of large scale planning efforts to modernize the city. The Municipality of Tunis adopted grandiose projects in 1967. Fortunately, in some instances, parts of the city were saved. For example, when bulldozers moved into the quarter of Sidi El Bechir they were met by public opposition, which caused the project to be halted. Soon after, the Association de Sauvegarde de la Medina (ASM) was founded with the intent of rehabilitating the fabric of the old city and improving the living conditions of its inhabitants.⁽⁷⁾ With the aid of the Municipality of Tunis and the Agence de Rehabilitation et Renovation Urbaine (ARRU), it devised a successful scheme of resettlement which helped to reduce the density within the old city. In addition, it launched efforts to revitalize the economic base and diversify the inhabitants of the old medina of Tunis. Among such efforts were architectural projects aimed at reversing the damage of earlier misguided efforts at large-scale projects in the old city. Covered souks were built connecting the two parts of the old city, and inserted housing units were built to the traditional scale and style.

The most important reactions, however, are those manifested in the work of Arab architects. In the midst of the successive waves of cultural invasion from the West, a number of schools of thought emerged, all of which occupied themselves with the question of identity and aimed at bridging the gap and restoring cultural continuity. The first was a nationalistic reaction to Western influence, as it was considered a serious threat to the cultural integrity of the Arab World. This brought about the revivalist school of thought that branched off as different approaches to tradition were adopted. Second were the post-modernists who aimed at the reconciliation between old and new, traditional and modern. Third were the regionalists for whom architectural identity is not one of a Pan-Arab, or Pan-Islamic, scope but far more localized.

(7) Ibid. p.50.

The Egyptian architect Hasan Fathy was the leading figure among Arab architects in the discourse on cultural identity and architecture. He practiced architecture between 1928 and 1985. He was the first to call attention to the dangers of blindly following Western models, challenge imported material and technologies and to argue for the value of architectural heritage as a source of cultural identity. «We have been subjected to the cultural domination of foreign rulers who had no proper concern for culture or civilization. They were fascinated by the technical, industrial and economic developments in Europe and decided to imitate them in everything regardless of values. The blind imitation has hit hard at architecture and the decorative arts.»⁽⁸⁾ He also criticized Arab architects for abandoning traditional building methods which compromised the industry of arts and crafts, both economically and as a source of identity, only to substitute it with a lesser quality architecture. «When Arab architects turned towards foreign architecture, they discarded all these groups of tradesmen and artisans. By doing so they wiped out all the arts in Arab architecture, which distinguished it as a presence. To rationalize this, it is called «international» architecture. All that has really been achieved is the creation of a low local style that is now well known as the «Middle East' style.»⁽⁹⁾ This is a man who has been brought up as an aristocrat within a «westernized» environment, educated in the Beaux-Arts system and is extremely cosmopolitan in his personal habits and tastes.⁽¹⁰⁾

Fathy's ideas, however, came at a time when the Arab World was busy constructing a progressive modern image for itself while bulldozers were getting the best of the historic monuments and fabric of its cities, which caused him to be marginalized to a certain degree. But

(8) James Steele, *Hassan Fathy* (London, 1988) p. 122.

(9) Hassan Fathy, «What is a City?» in James Steele, *Hassan Fathy* (London, 1988) p. 124.

(10) James Steele, *Hassan Fathy* (London, 1988) p. 26.

the danger he warned against the most, the loss of identity, became the central concern among the succeeding generation of architects. «During the last decade our Franco-Arab cities and culture have given us a dual personality. To put a stop to this hesitation and bewilderment, we have to be very decisive about the cultural aspects of our planning and architecture. We have to make a choice. Either we will be Arab in which case we will have to evaluate our heritage and try to make our arts good enough to suit or even out-distance the present, or we will become European and follow the West. It is imperative that we face this decision right now. This does not mean that we ignore what goes on in the world, and I am not anti-Western. I am pro-science, for real knowledge and good logic. I am against fanaticism, but I am fanatic in my opposition to forgery, naïve imitation and incompetence, because the consequences of these are even worse than political invasion.»⁽¹¹⁾

Through his work, Hasan Fathy advocated the development of an indigenous architecture, which he conceived of as a comprehensive system responsive to local material, construction technique, climate control, human scale, and social habits, not as mere pastiche. He dedicated a good part of his career to finding an economically viable and socially appropriate solution to the problem of low-cost housing for the rural poor of Egypt. His solution was in the use of local material and an indigenous construction method. This was the subject of his experiment in the designing of the New Gurna Village in Upper Egypt in 1948 (Fig.4). In his architecture, Fathy reintroduced the traditional formal elements, such as domes and vaults, that are symbolic references to the past and architectural components, such as *qa'as* and courtyards that are functional echoes of the climate and social practices. Examples of that are projects like the School at Fares near Luxor (1957) and the Fuad Riyad House in Giza (1967).

(11) Hassan Fathy, «What is a City?» in James Steele, *Hassan Fathy* (London, 1988) p.129.

Fathy's school of thought was highly influential but his principles were interpreted differently by different people including architects who were directly influenced by his teaching. Abdel Wahed el-Wakil, for example, sought the potential historical monuments offer as a source for contemporary design and saw in this approach a valid solution to the problem of identity in architecture. «The pursuit of novelty» argues Abdel Wahed El-Wakil «and the disregard of traditional norms and principles bring forth the loss of identity because the tradition is always greater than the individual architect; his true identity lies not in his alienation from but in his alliance with tradition.»⁽¹²⁾ He goes on to say: «Designing within a tradition is not a pretence for repeating the old. It is not a mere imitation; for mimicry destroys the whole significance and meaning of the repetition of archetypes. Authentic traditional design is a complex process of careful adaptation and assimilation in an act of gestation.»⁽¹³⁾

Unlike the more comprehensive conception of tradition that Hasan Fathy adopted, El-Wakil's revivalism is limited to form, not necessarily involving material and construction methods. His is a formalist approach to traditional architecture, viewed as a set of elements that can be recombined and recomposed to generate new designs. El-Wakil's buildings quote historic monuments from the «Islamic» tradition of architecture, from Mamluke Egypt to Ottoman Turkey. An example can be found in the King Saud Mosque in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia (Fig.5). His is not a development of indigenous architecture with local roots reflective of a particular climate and way of life, but rather one with a grander sense of belonging. Therefore, the work of architects, such as Abdel Wahed El-Wakil, appealed to the growing anti-Western sentiment in the Arab World and the emerging notion of Pan-Arab or pan-Islamic identity, thus were commissioned to design a large num-

(12) Abdel Wahed El-Wakil's «Introduction» to James Steele, *Hassan Fathy* (London, 1988) p. 8.

(13) Ibid.

ber of projects throughout the Arab World.

Mohammad Makiya is an Iraqi architect and a leading figure among Arab architects of the second half of the twentieth century.⁽¹⁴⁾ He was born in 1917 and received his architecture degree in 1941 from Liverpool and his Ph.D. in 1946 from Cambridge University. He taught Islamic and traditional Iraqi architecture at Baghdad University between 1959 and 1968. «The change in the Iraqi attitude toward architecture in general,» writes Udo Kultermann, «can be attributed to the activities of a teacher, author and architect, Mohammad Saleh Makiya. In the liberation of Iraq's contemporary architecture from foreign influence and in his pioneering attempt to create an Arab identity in contemporary architecture, Makiya's importance can only be compared with the importance of Hasan Fathy in Egypt».⁽¹⁵⁾ Though compared here in importance to Hasan Fathy, Makiya belongs to an entirely different school of thought. He, unlike Fathy, does not reject modern influence and does not aim solely at reviving traditional architectural norms. Rather his projects reflect an attempt at striking a balance between traditional forms, contemporary needs, and modern building technology. This is manifested in his design for the Khulafa Mosque in Baghdad in 1963 (Fig.6). Outside religious buildings the balance seems to tip in the work of Makiya. In his attempt at combining the new and the old, western influence prevails. This is clear in his design for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Baghdad in 1967.

Architects, like Makiya, who attempt this dialogue between old and new, modern and traditional, enter the arena of the post-modern discourse. «On the one hand, there is respect for the Enlightenment pro-

(14) Mohammad Makiya is the author of a number of publications. Among them are *The Arab Village* (Cairo, 1951), and *The Architecture of Baghdad. Historical Survey* (Baghdad, 1969).

(15) Udo Kultermann, «Contemporary Arab Architecture. The Architects of Iraq,» *Mimar* 5 (July - September 1982) pp. 54-61.

ject, universal history, liberation, technological and social development and, on the other, defense of local culture, traditional patterns of society, and ecology. These opposites constitute the post-modern double vision and leads to its dual coding, hybrid style and ironic politics». ⁽¹⁶⁾

Many architects struggle everyday to bridge the cultural gap that was generated from the abandonment of local architectural heritage and the importation of western modern architecture. While Hasan Fathy called for a revival of older forms and techniques, most others attempted a synthesis between old and new. «This gap», argues Rif'at Chadirji, «cannot be bridged by a policy of narrow regionalism, vernacularism, or nationalism because of the characteristics of the internationalization of modern culture. There is no alternative therefore but to bring the cultural development of Iraq into harmony with this process of internationalization, while at the same time maintaining the country's traditional characteristics and qualities.» ⁽¹⁷⁾

Rif'at Chadirji is another Iraqi architect and an active participant in this movement. He was born in 1926 in Baghdad, received his degree in Architecture from the Hammersmith School of Arts and Crafts in London and returned to Baghdad in 1952 to practice in the firm Iraq Consult. Explaining the theoretical frame of reference for his projects, Chadirji states the following: «This work drew inspiration from two different sources, the combination of which seemed contradictory to colleagues from both East and West. Firstly, I was determined to produce designs which would satisfy complex needs of a contemporary developing urban society, in this case Iraq. These designs would be based on my awareness and acceptance of modern Western aesthetic values and technology as part of an international

(16) Charles Jenks, «The Third Way Between Fundamentalism and Westernisation,» In *Architecture Beyond Architecture* (London, 1995) p.119.

(17) Rifat Chadirji, *Concepts and Influences: Towards a Regionalized International Architecture*, (London, 1986) P. 41.

culture and global economics system. Secondly, and apparently incompatibly, I was determined to refer consciously to regional traditional values, to allow them to influence me, to produce designs that were congenial to the values of these ancient and traditional cultures and to experiment, with the aim of generating a modern regional architecture.»⁽¹⁸⁾

It may be said that while the emphasis of Makiya's work was to modernize traditional architecture, the emphasis of Chadirji's work was to localize modern architecture. This is what he refers to as modern regional architecture. Though his early career produced projects, mostly houses, of western style, his career took a turn in 1960 as he designed the Monument of the Unknown Soldier in Baghdad for which he chose the form of the Sasanid arch of the sixth century palace at Ctesiphon. Chadirji's approach is best manifested in his design for the Tobacco Monopoly Company in Baghdad in 1966 (Fig.7). Here, one finds a combination of formal elements borrowed from the Abbasid past of Iraq, namely the Great Mosque of Samarra and the Palace of Ukhaydir, modern office planning and concrete building construction.

Rasem Badran is the most active architect in the Arab World today and an advocate of regionalism. He was born in Jerusalem in 1945, received his architectural education in West Germany and graduated in 1970. He trained in Germany for about two years before his return to Jordan to practice in 1973. His work distinguishes him from other architects practicing in the Arab World. Though searching for identity in architecture, Rasem Badran does not look for Arab identity in architecture. He constructs identity in architecture by a contextual interpretation of architectural heritage. To arrive at that Badran analyzes formal characteristics and spatial qualities of traditional architecture that are particular to a place or a region, understands their inner logic, only to reinterpret them in his design, without blind borrowing

(18) Ibid. p.9.

and certainly without combining them with foreign elements.

In his design for the Great Mosque and the Justice Palace in Qasr al-Hokm district in Riyadh in 1992, Badran offers his interpretation of the Najdi architectural tradition according to the new functional requirements of the buildings (Fig.8). In an act of balance, Badran answers to local climate and social habits while at the same time meeting the demands of modern construction standards. In an interview with *Mimar* in 1987, Rasem Badran declared the following: «I did not import any European styles, or schools of thought, but I dealt with the design process as an extension of what I had started in Europe: to respect the environment with its socio-economic and political forces: to find a basis for a comprehensive intellectual dialogue, by analyzing the problems and diagnosing the causes, by seeking solutions that seem from that environment itself. A vocabulary is then devised which translates into built form the changing aspects and the continuities of civilization.»⁽¹⁹⁾

Despite the work of such architects and despite the public discourse on modernity and tradition, the efforts remain individual and not collective and the Arab World is left without an authentic expression of its contemporary self. The average architect in the Arab World remains either bound by a nostalgia to the past that produces pastiche architecture, or seduced by the fashions, trends, and the aesthetic values of the Western World.

In today's «global village,» the question of identity is becoming increasingly more complex and the need to address it in a more critical fashion has never been more urgent. In the age of post-industrialization, universalization, information highways, and global culture, the notion of cultural identity faces new challenges. In this context, architecture has to define itself against two frames of references, one uni-

(19) Akran. Abu Hamdan, «On an Architect. Rasem Badran of Jordan,» *Mimar* 25 (September 1987) pp. 50-70.

versal and the other particular. The new generation of architects in the Arab World must attempt to answer to this duality and to strike a balance between universal and local dimensions of their identity. It is only through collective debate and individual search for appropriate self-expression that the answers will begin to emerge. Only then will the Arab World arrive at what Kenneth Frampton calls Critical Regionalism: «The fundamental strategy of Critical Regionalism is to mediate the impact of universal civilization with elements derived indirectly from the peculiarities of a particular place.»⁽²⁰⁾

Howayda Al-Harithy

(20) Kenneth Frampton, «Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance», in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, edited by Hal Foster (Seattle Bay Press, 1983) p. 38.

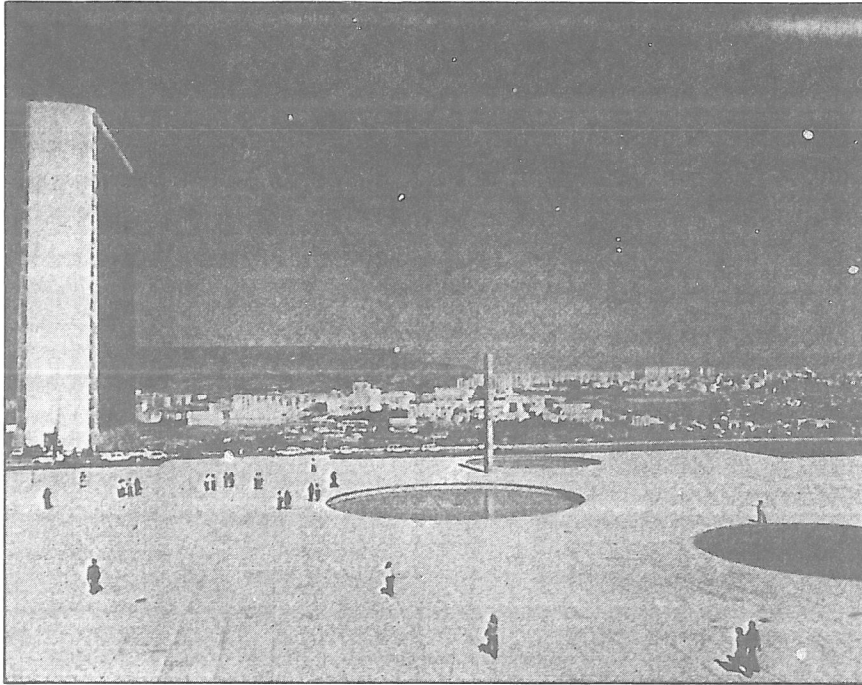


fig. 1 The Campus of the University of Constantine, Algeria, 1969. Oscar Niemeyer (Mimar 9, 1983).

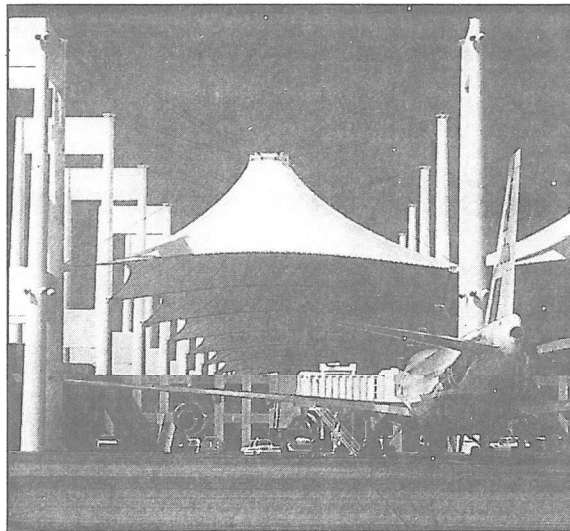


fig. 2 Hajj Terminal, Saudi Arabia, Skidmore Owing and Merrill (Maritz Vanderberg, Soft Canopies. Academy Group Ltd. 1996).

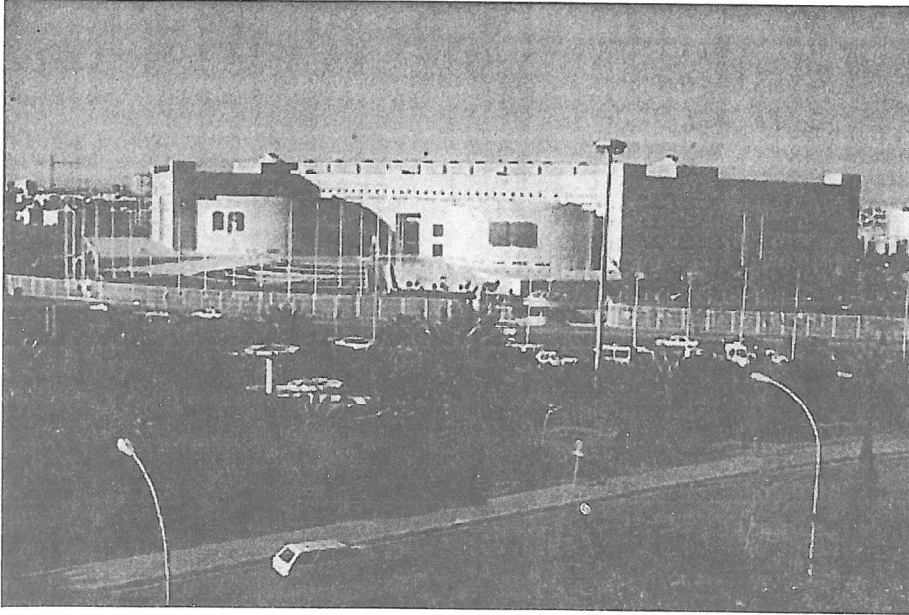


fig.3 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Riyadh, Henning Larson (The Aga khan Award for Architecture Slide Collection).

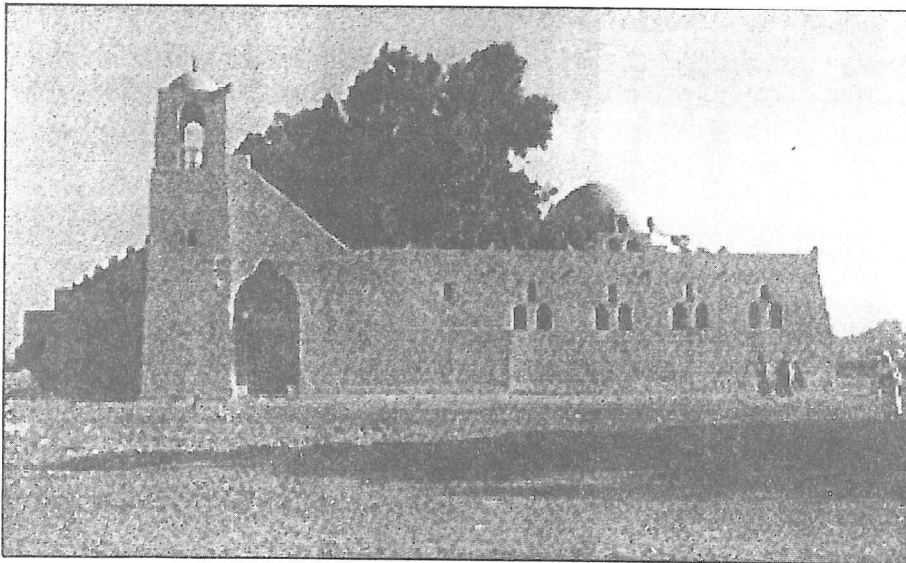


Fig. 4. Mosque at New Gourn, 1948, Hassan Fathy (James Steele, Hassan Fathy, James Steele, 1988)

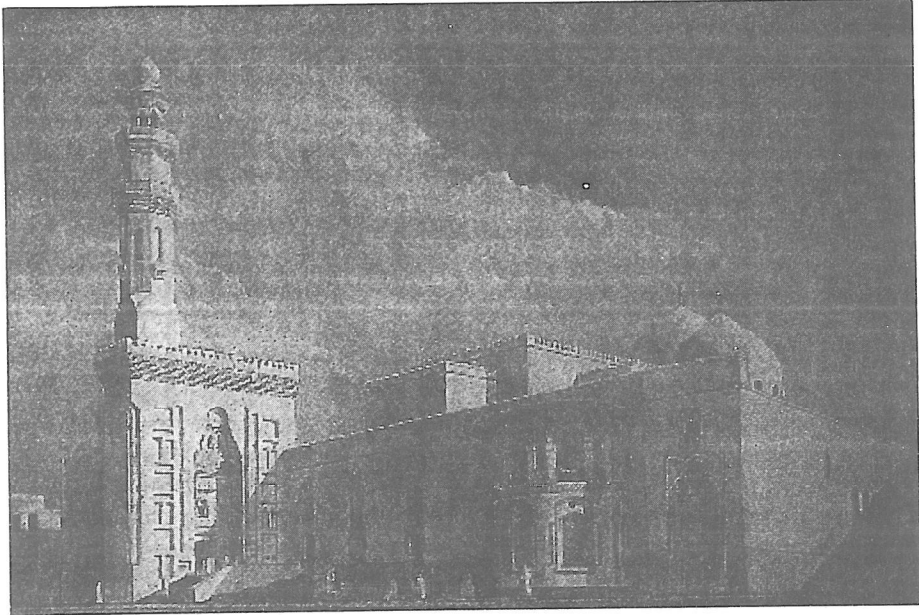


fig. 5 King Saud Mosque, Abdel Wahed el-Wakil (1. Serageldin and J. Steele. Architecture of the Contemporary Mosque, Academy Group Ltd. 1996)

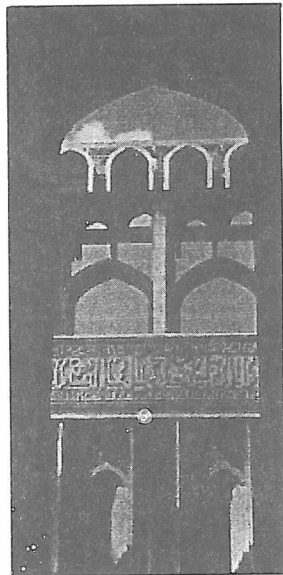


fig. 6 Khulafa Mosque Baghdad, 1963, Mohamed Maklya (Mimar 3 - 1982).

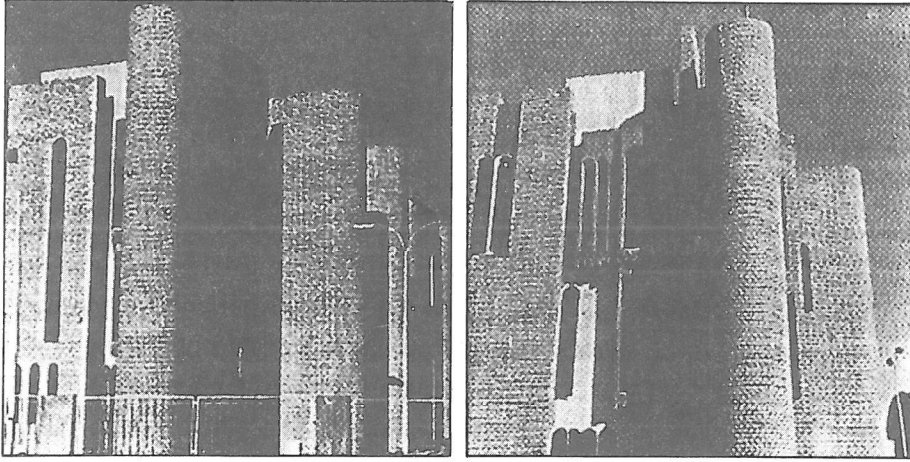


fig. 7 Tobacco Monopoly Company Building, Baghdad, 1967, Rifat Chadirji (Rifat Chadirji, Concepts and influence: Toward Regionalized International Architecture, Rifat Chadirji, 1986)

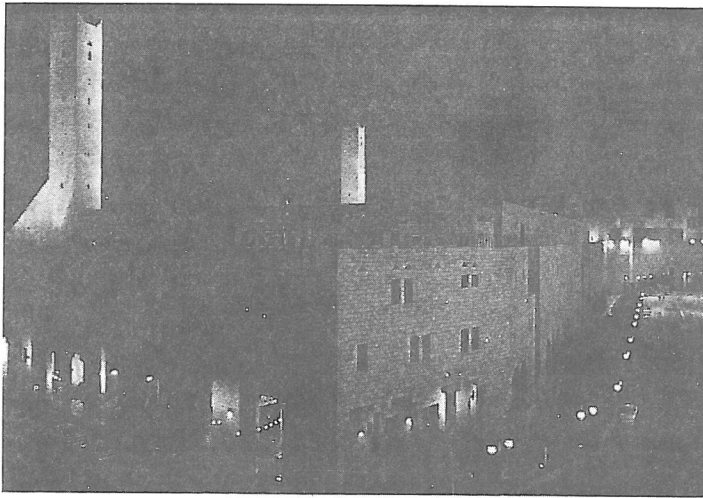


Fig. 8. Great Mosque of Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. Rasem Badran (C. Davidson and I. Serageldin. Architecture Beyond Architecture, Academy Group Ltd. and the Aga Khan 1995).