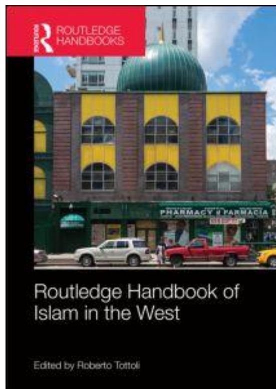
This article was downloaded by: *10.3.97.143*
On: 03 Oct 2023
Access details: *subscription number*
Publisher: *Routledge*
Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: 5 Howick Place, London SW1P 1WG, UK



Routledge Handbook of Islam in the West

Roberto Tottoli

Landscapes of Muslim art and architecture in the West

Publication details
https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315794273.ch18
Eric R. Roose
Published online on: 20 Aug 2014

How to cite :- Eric R. Roose. 20 Aug 2014, *Landscapes of Muslim art and architecture in the West from:* Routledge Handbook of Islam in the West Routledge
Accessed on: 03 Oct 2023
https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315794273.ch18

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR DOCUMENT

Full terms and conditions of use: https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/legal-notices/terms

This Document PDF may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproductions, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The publisher shall not be liable for an loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 00:38 03 Oct 2023; For: 9781315794273, chapter18, 10.4324/9781315794273.ch18

Part 2.2

Contributing to the Western world

This page intentionally left blank

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 00:38 03 Oct 2023; For: 9781315794273, chapter18, 10.4324/9781315794273.ch18

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 00:38 03 Oct 2023; For: 9781315794273, chapter18, 10.4324/9781315794273.ch18

18

Landscapes of Muslim art and architecture in the West

Eric R. Roose

From Medina to Andalusia: a new look at copying in the historical dissemination of Islamic architecture

In 1989, the architectural historian Jonathan Bloom published a detailed study of the origins of the minaret in which he contested the widely held idea that Islamic architecture, since its assumedly functional beginnings in Medina, had always been automatically influenced by, or simply modeled on, the pre-Islamic architectures in the newly Muslim lands:

> They [scholars] have explained its [the minaret's] purpose as announcing the presence of Islam to non-Muslims. The common denominator of all these theories is that the minaret is always explained in terms of other cultures and scarcely ever in terms of the culture that produced it. This book attempts to correct that fault and to challenge the received view.
>
> *(Bloom 1989: 7)*

At the same time, the author shifted methodological focus from a passive process of formal-stylistic evolution to an active process of politico-religious patronage:

> Any investigation of the influence of antique Mediterranean, South Arabian, Mesopotamian, Central Asian, or Indian tower traditions on the Islamic tower is wrongly conceived, for it reverses the roles of the agent and the client. … none of these cultures was in any position to *influence* Islam directly, because they all preceded it. Rather, Islam could only have adapted, misunderstood, copied, addressed, paraphrased, emulated, parodied, distorted, referred to, drawn on, resorted to, appropriated from, reacted to, differentiated itself from, engaged in a meditation on, responded to, or even ignored the tower traditions of the past.
>
> *(Bloom 1989: 18)*

Using an abundance of architectural and documental case studies from the rapidly expanding Muslim territories, Bloom showed how the various building elements of mosques – such as minarets – had strategically been copied from both Islamic and non-Islamic buildings by

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 00:38 03 Oct 2023; For: 9781315794273, chapter18, 10.4324/9781315794273.ch18

competing claimants of the Caliphate and their supporters. Their specific choices could be shown to have followed the shifting associations that came to be attached to these elements in changing contexts, and the particular selection, transformation, and removal of elements could be traced to the varying Islamic hierarchies in which the patrons positioned themselves.

Spanish Andalusia, commonly regarded as the first zone of architectural contact between Muslims and non-Muslims in the West, turned out to be no exception. Bloom treated the situation under the header "Minarets as signs of conflict in the Maghrib" (Bloom 1989: 99–124). In his opinion, for a greater intelligibility of the Islamic architecture freshly arrived in this European region, you had to stop looking at it as if it had been meant as something generally Islamic, developed with a Christian antagonist in mind. Instead, you should start with studying the architecture of the applicable Muslim competitors, for example the mosque of the Shi'i ruler al-Mahdi, the first Fatimid caliph, in his new capital Mahdiyya in North Africa. It was a close copy of the mosque of nearby Qayrawan, on a smaller scale, but the most prominent feature of the latter, the massive tower opposite the *mihrab*, had been ostentatiously replaced by a monumental portal modeled on Roman prototypes. To the Ismaili Fatimids, Bloom showed, mosque towers had become a sign of the religious power of the Abbasid usurpers and their recently deposed representatives, the Aghlabid emirs. They vehemently opposed the minaret on religious grounds, based on a produced 'Alid *hadith*, as an impious innovation. To them, the original call to prayer as requested by Muhammad had been performed, not from a tower, but by 'Ali at the entrance to Muhammad's mosque, and they had therefore chosen to transform the extant mosque type into a combination with an imperial portal, as a more genuine manifestation of Islam and their claimed leadership over it. This inevitably had its repercussions for the situation in Spain, where Umayyad descendents had also come to claim Caliphatic leadership, after Abbasid rule had been established over their former and faraway power center in Syria. Thus, although the Minaret of Cordoba had been generally attributed to be a manifestation of Islam amidst non-Islam, Bloom firmly contested this perspective. In his argument, 'Abd al-Rahman III built it, not as a symbol of Islam Triumphant towards the Christians, but as a sign of opposition to a much more threatening enemy, the Shi'i Fatimids, in the struggle for supremacy in the Maghreb. The Umayyads readily monumentalized the tower because the Fatimids had abhorred it: in their own context, its former Abbasid connotations had been lost and that had made it appropriate for the Umayyad patrons in their claim to be the authentic champions of Sunni Islam.

That the target group of such Islamic architectural transformations cannot be assumed to have been a generalized environment of non-Islamic "contemporaries" or "viewers" was shown by Bloom in a case study of the original spiral tower at the mosque of Ibn Tulun in Cairo (Bloom 1989: 125–8). Modeled, on a smaller scale, on the great mosques in Samarra, its patron had declared himself independent of Abbasid control from Samarra, while deliberately appropriating Abbasid court style. Whereas he and his courtiers had come from the originating Iraqi region, the Egyptian population never picked up on the intended architectural similarities, inventing all kinds of reasons for the estranging form and its concrete peculiarities. For example, its typifying brick piers were functionally explained as a precaution against fire or flood. Other contemporaries chose to interpret them as a manifestation of an Islam Triumphant – indeed, as an attempt to eliminate the use of columns, which had supposedly been tainted by their Christian use. And the tower's peculiar spiral form would have been the result of a discussion between the patron and his builders, who, when they had asked for instructions, were supposedly given the example of a twisted piece of paper that the disinterested governor had been toying with. The political goal was completely lost on the great majority and on critical observers, who could not have understood the reference and who could make no sense of the newly developed building

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 00:38 03 Oct 2023; For: 9781315794273, chapter18, 10.4324/9781315794273.ch18

other than from their own experiences, expectations, and significations. As Bloom put it, "Intention and performance were clearly at odds" (Bloom 1989: 128). However, since "no institution was able to control and channel any one particular meaning or association that a tower might acquire" (Bloom 1989: 176), such newly acquired meanings and associations always determined whether, why and how a structure, once built, might itself be transformed by a new patron in a newly commissioned Islamic building.

After his research on the intentions behind the presence or absence of building elements such as minarets, Bloom extended his argument by focusing on their particular iconographies, in an article from 1993 on the transmission of designs in early Islamic architecture (Bloom 1993). As a case study, the author took the Great Mosque of Damascus, which continued to provide a model for other buildings for at least six centuries after it was built. In this, example had been the primary means of transmission, and builders had seen either the mosque itself or one of its copies. Bloom noted that they had abstracted the principal elements of its design, and that it was not so much an exact likeness that was striven for, but rather a reference to one or several of its aspects. As the author found out, very similar processes of iconographic transformation had already been discovered half a century before, in a study of the early dissemination of European church architecture, by the architectural historian Richard Krautheimer (Bloom 1993: 28, n21). In two very influential articles, the latter empirically dismissed the contemporary formalist perspective of seeing ecclesiastical architecture as having always progressively followed a neat pattern of styles, determined by the creative genius of designers that had more recently become the ideal. Instead, the author turned attention to the continuous process in which rival Christian leaders had been using contemporary religious connotations of venerated historical prototypes by reshuffling and recombining strategic aspects of the latter, as well as of buildings with a more local importance, into wholly new and creative iconographies that served to legitimize their own claims to power versus those of contested Christian patrons. With an endless variation in politico-religious circumstances and prototypical connotations, historical examples from the Near East and from below the Alps had thus come to be transformed in the Western European context in such divergent ways that any intended connections between origins and end-results would have been recognizable only to the limited groups of allies and opponents positioning themselves in a local struggle for power. Interestingly, the verbal and visual depictions that had been used as examples for construction had themselves already consisted of such transformations (Krautheimer 1942a, 1942b). In similar vein, Bloom showed that, for instance, the Spanish Umayyad Caliph al-Hakam II, still threatened by the Ismaili Fatimid counterclaim, sent an ambassador to the Byzantine emperor requesting him to send a workman to decorate the Mosque of Cordoba with mosaics. In this, he explicitly wished to imitate the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid, who had built the Great Mosque of Damascus and decorated it with mosaics. Not only did al-Hakam identify with his Syrian forebears and wish his mosque to emulate theirs, he also wished to get his mosaics and mosaicists from the same source, which in the tenth century was believed to have been the Byzantines. This conscious recapitulation by the Spanish Umayyads of their real or imagined Umayyad past in Syria led Bloom to believe that other features of the Mosque of Cordoba had also been modeled on the mosque of Damascus. Thus, the three ribbed domes over the *maqsura*, for which no local precedent could be found, could be explained as a transformation on the basis of an enthusiastic, but inexact, description of the three domes of the Damascus mosque. As Bloom concluded, the absence of notational systems and paper in the early Islamic period would have meant that no single dynastic style of architecture could be precisely followed, while their existence in later times would have facilitated an impressive uniformity of some subsequent imperial architectural cultures, such as applied by the Ottomans and Safavids.

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 00:38 03 Oct 2023; For: 9781315794273, chapter18, 10.4324/9781315794273.ch18

In-depth case studies and thick descriptions: developing iconology in the field of Islamic architectural history

Inspired by both Bloom's and Krautheimer's iconological works, the architectural historian Finbarr B. Flood then called for a similarly comprehensive study of the phenomenon of copying in Islamic architectural history. As an example, Flood published a case study in an article in 1997 on Mamluk tombs in Cairo (Flood 1997). He showed how a whole assembly of forms, ornaments, and material media had been strategically transposed and transformed by the Qalawun sultans from the much earlier Umayyad Dome of the Rock and Damascus Mosque, instead of having been the assumed result of Byzantine influence, traveling Syrian builders, or a continuous technical application. Moreover, in their accounts of Umayyad architecture, medieval authors had singled out exactly those characteristic and celebrated features that came to be copied in the new Cairene setting. The author stressed that researchers should always study the prototypical buildings as they stood at the time when their copies were conceived and not in their later state, since relevant elements would potentially have disappeared or been changed. Even if some of the "Umayyad" features copied from the venerated prototypes had actually been added to the latter only after the Umayyad period, what mattered was that they provoked an appropriate Umayyad association. Thus, copying was indicative of a chronological eclecticism, or a perception of architecture as accretional rather than chronologically discrete. That the presence of all these features must have represented a deliberate Qalawunid revival of archaic forms became most apparent in their chronology: as suddenly as they reappeared, they disappeared again with the Qalawunid reign itself. The reason for recombining these prototypes Flood placed in the contemporary religious politics applied by the new rulers: a chronic political instability, the result both of external pressures and of internal frictions generated by the struggle for power, led to a search for symbolic legitimization that culminated in the formal re-establishment, now in Cairo, of the Caliphate. As Flood put it, "In a climate in which the issue of legitimacy was compelling, the trappings of that legitimacy were often acquired by forging (in every sense) links with the historical past and by fabricating a continuity with that past" (Flood 1997: 72). Altogether, the function of the references was to service internal Mamluk needs, and that function was inextricably linked to the perception of the prototypes, associated with supreme sanctity, with the Muslim conquest of Syria, and with aesthetic beauty. The paradisiacal or eschatological allusions in the prototypes were still contemporary associations, even if the intertextual references in Mamluk architecture were related to a contemporary interpretation of Umayyad iconography. In their new contexts, Flood concluded, these highly charged forms served equally as expressions of religiosity, if not strictly orthodox, and secular glorification.

Subsequently, an interesting attempt to combine architectural iconology with the ideal of thick description from the social sciences was made in a book on the transformation of Islamic art published in 2002 by the cultural anthropologist and art historian Yasser Tabbaa (Tabbaa 2001). He found Islamic art to be a field that still suffered from "patchy scholarship" and "thin description," permeated by essentialism and positivism instead of a focus on transformational change and dynamics (Tabbaa 2001: xi). In his perspective, transformations in Islamic art did not develop smoothly within a predetermined set of religious prescriptions, as if they were direct emanations from a central, all-encompassing dogma or system of representation. Neither were they natural developments from early or pre-Islamic art, as if everything in a certain locality automatically assumed a Persian, Turkish, or Arabic quality. Rather, their difference from what had preceded them and their selective adoption in various parts of the Islamic world strengthened the case for their specific associations and sectarian or ideological, rather than pan-Islamic, message. When studied at close range, the field of Islamic art underwent fairly abrupt

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 00:38 03 Oct 2023; For: 9781315794273, chapter18, 10.4324/9781315794273.ch18

transformations that were largely prompted by internal or external challenges to the central Islamic polity or system of belief. These political and theological challenges elicited visual or architectural responses and reactions that were intended to buttress the system of belief or power, to embody a new concept, and to establish its difference against the challenging force: "Art, like cultures and even religions, defines itself against its opponents, and the more intense the conflict, the sharper the self-image" (Tabbaa 2001: 7). Since interfaith conflicts had been perceived as defining moments in Islamic history, in the study of Islamic architectural history this axiom had been mainly applied to conflicts between Byzantium and the early Muslims, or between the Umayyads and Christians of Spain. Much less had been done, however, with the political upheavals and sectarian schisms that had divided Islam since early times, and the impact of these conflicts on the development of Islamic art had barely been touched upon.

Instead, Tabbaa proposed to perform in-depth case studies, for instance of the epoch of the Sunni revival in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and to focus attention especially on the works of one patron, for instance the Syrian sovereign Nur al-Din. The author first made explicit the political and religious context of the Sunni revival, culminating in the religious politics of Nur al-Din, essentially a war of propaganda by him and the Maghrebi Almoravids against the Fatimids and other Shi'i, in support of the revived Abbasid Caliphate. Then Tabbaa moved on to a detailed analysis of the visual manifestations of that Sunni revival, to be discerned in the transformation of Qur'anic writing, public inscriptions, decorative patterns, and *muqarnas* domes and vaulting. He showed that their strategic application, at the instigation of Nur al-Din and as thus far unrecognized, was intended politically to distance the Sunni state from its Fatimid adversary while embodying some exoteric aspects of orthodox Ash'ari theology, regarding the atomistic and occasionalistic nature of the universe, against the esoteric dualism of Ismaili cosmologies. Even if this architectural manifestation of religious politics resulted in a proliferation of *muqarnas* domes and, subsequently, in what might be perceived as their "Islamization," apparently even Muslim patrons in situations such as in Andalusia, although *in abstracto* looking for ways to distinguish themselves from Christians, *in concreto* still searched for modes of expression that reflected their own particular creed and worldview (Tabbaa 2001: 130). As the author approvingly quoted the architectural historian Gülru Necipoğlu: "Rather than visual similarity, it was difference that communicated contested religiopolitical ideologies within the extensive Muslim domains, whose internal boundaries were marked by constantly shifting abstract sign systems, capable of conveying semiotic messages to insiders who were familiar with culturally determined codes of recognition" (Tabbaa 2001: 164).

Good mosques, bad mosques: the perpetuation of formalism in the study of contemporary Islamic design

However, the very essentialism, positivism, patchy scholarship, and thin description that have recently come to be contested in studies of Islamic architectural history seem to be exempted from methodological problematization as soon as the field touches on objects created in modern times. Thus far, the architectural design of contemporary Islamic buildings has received scant analytical attention by architectural historians, leaving it to be studied mainly by architectonically trained designers, understandably upholding their assumptions on the factuality of stylistic progress and on the responsibility of the artistic creator in this process. The abrupt cession of scholarly authority on modern Islamic architecture from the iconological to the critical realm is visualized on the very last page of Bloom's book (Bloom 1989: 191). Here, the author claimed that "only in recent times has the minaret become truly pan-Islamic in its presence, as regions quite unused to mosques with towers began to adopt a neo-Ottoman or neo-Moghul hybrid as

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 00:38 03 Oct 2023; For: 9781315794273, chapter18, 10.4324/9781315794273.ch18

the international 'Islamic' style. With rare exceptions, present-day architects have repeated the familiar formulae of the past" (Bloom 1989: 191). In the captions of the two accompanying pictures (one an example of the multitude using an "Islamic style," and the other of one of the "rare exceptions"), as well as in a last footnote, Bloom referred his readers to a publication of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture in which the architect Ihsan Fethi had presented what may arguably be called the mother of all critical analyses of modern mosques (Fethi 1985).

Through Fethi's eyes, the architectural history of the mosque still definitely showed a continuous evolution from the supposedly austere and utilitarian house of the Prophet in Medina, to a basic number of stylistic types following the variety of cultural and ethnic characteristics within the newly conquered Muslim lands: the Arab hypostyle, the Persian cruciform, the Seljuk pillar and dome, and the Ottoman centralized dome. In his opinion, however, the arrival of modern technology and a general liberalization in architectural design had resulted in the breakdown of tradition and in a new permissiveness that was the cause of "some sound innovation" but also of "much misguided experimentation," resulting in what he saw as "stylistic transplants" and "strange hybrids" (Fethi 1985: 54). Although he found it difficult, therefore, to define the typology of modern mosque design, he saw five broad stylistic design trends emerging.

In Fethi's narrative, "Traditional/Vernacular Mosques" had distinctive regional characteristics and were essentially continuations of traditional building techniques. The majority were in rural areas and unmodernized regions of Islam. "Conservative/Conventional Mosques" largely adhered to existing regional building characteristics, using familiar and stereotyped forms, with some modern architectural materials and services. They tended to be quite modern in their structure, but conservative in the architecture and liturgical imagery. "New Classic Islamic Mosques" showed an adapted classic Islamic architectural vocabulary, especially in forms, patterns, and signs. They were essentially modern, but an attempt was made to make them fit in with the locality by the use of a traditional vocabulary and symbolism. They could not be called conservative, because they were adaptive and innovative, and they could not be called contemporary, because they clearly departed from the usual internationalist architectural idiom. In "Contemporary/Modern Mosques" a contemporary International Style vocabulary predominated in usually abstracted forms and streamlined geometry, using modern structural construction techniques, services, and materials. Consequently they did not necessarily attempt to attain a specific local identity architecturally. They were perhaps more innovative than the previous categories and some showed a remarkable degree of originality and purist simplicity. In "Eclectic/Arabian Nights Mosques" whimsical and often bizarre combinations of Islamic forms and symbols had been used. The eclectic use of symbolic elements from various regional architectural styles, such as multifarious onion domes and frilly minarets, curious arches, and excessive use of decoration, evoked Hollywood images of the Arabian nights. As such, they tended to be imaginative but often clumsy in proportion and lacking in overall discipline (Fethi 1985: 55–7).

The hundreds of badly executed and strangely hybrid mosques that Fethi saw built every year all over the Islamic world, he explained by the fact that good, experienced masons and craftsmen must have been hard to find and in any case prohibitively expensive. Some examples, in particular the Eclectic/Arabian Nights category, he found difficult to accept as serious contributions to religious architecture. He was tempted to dismiss them and to regard their proliferation as a degenerative trend in Islamic architecture if it were not for their genuinely popular appeal. But whereas he found that this manifestation might be acceptable in the design of small rural and urban *masjid*s, it could not be considered appropriate for the large-scale *jami'*s, which were architect-designed and officially sponsored and which therefore had to display a

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 00:38 03 Oct 2023; For: 9781315794273, chapter18, 10.4324/9781315794273.ch18

degree of dignity and gravitas. However, although the current approach to mosque design by architects all over the world seemed to favor a modern style, Fethi did recognize that the majority of mosques actually realized were in fact conservative. Thus far, few new mosques were being built in a truly contemporary style. The evidence showed a remarkable attachment to familiar and stereotyped forms, "due perhaps to the resistance of the Islamic clergy and *awqaf* to formal innovation" (Fethi 1985: 59). The author found it difficult to imagine a mosque designed in an exposed steel frame with clips and gaskets ever being acceptable to the Muslim clergy, let alone the people.

Fethi concluded that the architecture of the mosque was generally in a stagnant state. As he saw it, the resistance of the clergy to all design innovation had made most architects thus far adopt a conventional approach and the use of familiar imagery as the safest path to client satisfaction. Despite its shortcomings, Fethi found that the contemporary approach could produce bold and original results. A truly contemporary approach would have to take into account the needs and aspirations of "the people for whom the mosque was built," and the choice of technology, to be appropriate, would have to depend on "the conditions of a particular place." "It is through an honest response to such considerations rather than through a literal expression of past styles that the mosques of the future will retain their difference and remain close to the spirit of Islam" (Fethi 1985: 62).

Closely following Fethi's example, a series of publications on contemporary mosques has since come to be produced by architecture critics and architects attached to design institutes in which selective overviews of iconic objects still superseded the politico-religious penetration of newly created iconographies, and in which buildings were still formally classified into an evolution of types and styles moving towards a higher level of modernity (e.g. Salam 1990; Frishman and Khan 1994; Serageldin and Steele 1996; Holod and Khan 1997). They were expected to organically adapt to their otherwise progressing architectural environments, and the multitude of unartful pastiches that did not were largely attributed, without a foundation of empirical research, to a conservatism among "the Muslims" behind them. At the same time, the numerous variants of these quasi-historical copies on the American and European continents were firmly positioned in a generalized culture clash between Islam and non-Islam, and their perceived refusal to adapt and modernize was, again without any foundation of empirical research, blamed on the marginalized position of displaced Muslim minorities in the West – a manifestation, as it were, if not of an "Islam Triumphant," then of an "Islam Defiant," be it based on the unfortunate inheritance of colonial views of the East. The few exceptions that were perceived to have escaped such a process of "self-Orientalization" were heralded as a first glimpse of a future made possible by innovative architects. Indeed, it seems safe to conclude that in the academic field of modern Islamic architecture the empirical complexities are still believed to form part of a continuous progression, the locus of creativity is still placed in an artistic genius, and the will to understand content is still subordinated to a need to qualify form.

Thus, the architect Gulzar Haider, designer of several mosques in North America, suggested a causal relationship between the Westerner's Oriental obsession, the way in which Islamic architecture had subsequently been represented in North American movie theaters and casinos, and the kind of buildings that his Muslim patrons had carried in their minds when bringing their "mosque calendar pictures" to the drawing table. During design sessions he had sometimes felt "like a volunteer nurse in a room full of Alzheimer's patients at various stages of their condition." Consequently, in his commission for the community of the Bait ul-Islam Mosque in Toronto, which in his account quite simply wanted to "express its Islamic presence in Canada," he had creatively used the prayer rug as a conceptual inspiration and as a source of

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 00:38 03 Oct 2023; For: 9781315794273, chapter18, 10.4324/9781315794273.ch18

formal and decorative discipline (Haider 1996: 33, 41–2). Before he was able to do so, however, he suggested that he had confronted an overly ambitious committee, grandly imagining planting "the seeds of a Muslim town in North America on the model of the Prophet's Medina" (Haider 1990: 157). "The mosque will have to attain its rightful and self-assured place in world society, so that later generations who choose to come to North America will not be faced by a theater garbed in Moorish dress" (Haider 1996: 42).

Similarly, the librarian of the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, Omar Khalidi, found that North American mosques ranged from traditional designs wholly transplanted from Islamic lands, via reinterpretations of tradition, sometimes combined with American architecture, to entirely innovative designs. In his perspective, mosques and Islamic centers that tried to replicate the original mosques of the Islamic world lacked both the qualities and materials of traditional architecture:

> The distorted expressions of many of these buildings, their garish colours, and use of prefabricated industrial materials all deny the authenticity of the old monuments they aspire to imitate. Their generally crude aesthetics is also related to the low esteem in which a professional architect is held among American Muslims. Since the cost of re-creating a monumental mosque is beyond the financial means of the community, the clients will settle for a rough replica that any architect can provide simply by referring to photographs. … The results are always imitative and unimaginative buildings passing for "authentic" Islamic architecture and they can be found in the United States from coast to coast. … Attachment to traditional design principles is, however, by and large restricted to first-generation immigrant Muslims. Their descendants and American converts, who will eventually constitute the majority of the Muslim population, will probably tip the scales in favour of more innovative architecture.
>
> *(Khalidi 2000: 318, 322, 332)*

In the meantime, the architect Akel Ismail Kahera offered his own explanation for the American patrons' apparent love of the past:

> When building a mosque, the diaspora community ascribes emotional value to the utilization of a well-known convention or an influencing custom from the Muslim world. … In attempting to replicate extant features from the past, the architect invariably produces a de facto facsimile whose aesthetics are severely compromised. … In the American mosque, image is appropriated in an anachronistic manner; it is used as a display of ornament without regard to time or context. Image is essentially concerned with satisfying an emotional condition that has historical efficacy for the immigrant Muslim community. The appropriation of a familiar image vividly evokes a mental picture or an apparition that closely resembles an extant form, object, or likeness emanating from the past.
>
> *(Kahera 2000: 64–5)*

In the European diaspora, the architect Ihsan Limon also recognized three kinds of Islamic immigrants exerting their influence on mosque design. In his account, only a few had fully assimilated into the majority population, a small number had oriented itself to both the majority and their own group, and most had identified completely with their own ethnic origins and not at all with their new surroundings. However, none of their designs had used the "pure-cultural ('*in Reinkultur*') mosque types" shown in the literature on Islamic architectural history. From Limon's perspective, they generally looked like hybrid forms, consisting of European

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 00:38 03 Oct 2023; For: 9781315794273, chapter18, 10.4324/9781315794273.ch18

architecture mixed with building elements from the countries of origin. In his eyes, the "myth of returning" influenced mosque design in causing "culturally determined" nostalgic reactions among the first generation, expressing the need for a sense of security: "Since they have experienced discrimination, marginalization, spatial segregation etc. from the sides of politics and the majority population, … religiosity as a defensive, compensating attitude has led to a higher demand for newly built prayer halls and has also influenced their architecture" (Limon 2000: 63–8, 125).

Similarly, and following the perspective of postcolonial criticism as propagated by the architect and Aga Khan professor Nasser Rabbat (2004), the architect Nebahat Avcioglu saw the "standstill" in both North American and European mosque design as a continuation, by Muslim minorities themselves, of Western-Orientalist modes of Islamic architectural representation, originally set up to deny productive or creative hybridity to the subject:

> a certain essentialism about these mosques continues to hold the space of Islam (or for that matter Muslim cultures) as fixed and presents it as either unchangingly distinct from the "West" or identical everywhere in the "East." Even the most recently built mosques have failed to produce an alternative representation. … Indeed more and more purpose-built mosques in Europe and North America … seem to strive towards a "seamless national [Muslim] identity" inspired and guided by the colonial sense that the dome and minaret were the undisputed signs, not only of Islamic cultures, but Islam itself. … The existence of a minaret in this case is a neutral, easily manageable, generic trope, neatly tidying so many different cultures, habits, climates, and traditions.
>
> *(Avcioglu 2007: 99, 101–5)*

And finally, following Avcioglu's perspective, the architecture critic Christian Welzbacher also accused European mosque patrons of self-Orientalism:

> In so doing, Muslim immigrants confirm European clichés, taking on the "foreigner" role of their own accord. … The dome and the minaret … thus become visible symbols of the opposite of integration.
>
> *(Welzbacher 2008a: 43)*

> Across Europe, minarets are rising into the sky. All these buildings are the products of a traditionalist approach. They appear to reveal how much those responsible long for their home countries. In this way, the architecture of Euro-Islam becomes a symbol of the diaspora situation in which most European Muslims find themselves. They came as guest workers, live at the lower end of the social scale and have a minimal acquaintance with the language, culture and religion of their adoptive countries. This will only change with the Muslims of the third or fourth generation.
>
> *(Welzbacher 2008b: 60)*

Islamic authority and iconographical creativity: introducing iconology in the study of modern Islamic architecture in the West

Rather than scholars from the humanities and social studies keeping falling back on such formalist tenets and critical authorities whenever they are in need of an architectural perspective in their edited volumes on Muslim space in the West (e.g. Haider 1996; Khalidi 2000; Clark 2001; Jasarevic 2009; Welzbacher 2011), I propose it is time that they themselves switched to

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 00:38 03 Oct 2023; For: 9781315794273, chapter18, 10.4324/9781315794273.ch18

performing in-depth case studies of modern mosques in the making. Instead of clinging to the axiomatic victimization of displaced Muslim minorities supposedly manifesting a generalized Islamic identity towards a hostile environment of non-Muslim majorities through an unfortunate emulation of Orientalist architecture, this means concentrating on the contested religious policies, strategic prototypical selections, and creative iconographical transformations of concrete Muslim patrons. The great advantage that we have over studies of historical architecture is that in contemporary cases much more documentation will have been left intact, while many patrons may be found to be still alive and available for interviews. Since this is not the right place for a full-scale design reconstruction, I will refer to two possible examples from the Dutch Muslim landscape that I recently published elsewhere in greater detail, treating some of the earliest developed plans for Muslim architecture in the Netherlands as well as some of its most recent projects. I hope to show that what may initially seem to be Orientalist and even totally dissimilar Islamic iconographies in the West would have actually been based on mutually shared prototypes that were nonetheless verbally and visually depicted in such strategically selective ways that most observers, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, would never come to recognize the resulting transformations, let alone understand them.

The first example is a comparison between alternate versions of the design for the "Universel," the Sufi temple in the dunes just South of the Dutch coastal town of Katwijk (Roose 2012a). Mentioned as an idea already in 1911, completed only in 1970, and still subjected to iconographical revisions in the following decades, it supposedly followed the precise architectural instructions of Inayat Khan (1882–1927), the renowned Chishti sage who left India with his brothers for the West in 1910. Based on a veneration of the Taj Mahal, he had verbally given some ideal temple descriptions that incorporated the Chishti notion of sacred tombs, or *dargah*s, being cosmic representations of their buried saints. The latter had reattained the Adamic or paradisiacal state of unity with god called Universal Man, and they were, in Sufi discourses, frequently pictured as sitting in meditation posture in front of their *dargah*s. Immediately after Inayat's departure for India and his untimely death there during a tomb pilgrimage in 1927, his highest initiates in the Netherlands, who were Theosophists steeped in messianic expectations of a World Teacher, steered his Taj Mahal descriptions towards a fourfold meditating Buddha. It had Inayat's bodily proportions and all sorts of religious symbols, figures, and colors, and it was to be built on the field just opposite his house in Paris where he had led a first stone ceremony himself. His brothers, however, despising the Theosophical hybridizations of what they interpreted as the essentially Islamic message of Chishti Sufism, claimed natural successorship instead and steered Inayat's descriptions back towards the mausoleal imagery of a *dargah* with a cubic substructure, an onion dome, and a paradisiacal garden around the relics of their brother. Since, in the years after the war, they blocked all of their opponents' attempts to build a meditating Buddha on the terrain in Paris, the field would eventually be lost to a public housing project. Meanwhile, they had started planning a *dargah* in the dunes of Katwijk, next to the valley where their brother was thought to have had a soul-shifting transcendental experience. It consisted of the simple cube-and-dome scheme and incorporated a number of sarcophagi for the brothers who had already died.

Inayat's son, however, had also started to claim successorship to the caliphate and as such had gained the support of the erstwhile Theosophists still opposing the brothers. He countered any attempts by the latter to remove his father's relics to Katwijk, but was countered himself by his antagonists when he later tried to have the meditating Buddha built in Paris after all, on a nearby plot. Subsequently, he versed himself in India in the Muslim Chishti fundaments of Inayatian Sufism, and started claiming legitimate leadership also from a perspective of authentic Chishti traditions. Then, after a permit was given for the construction of the sanctuary in

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 00:38 03 Oct 2023; For: 9781315794273, chapter18, 10.4324/9781315794273.ch18

Katwijk, the last of the brothers died. Responding to a growing undertow of anti-Islamic feelings among their constituency, the highest leaders denied Inayat's son's Chishti claims and appointed the son of Inayat's second son, both of whom had been hosted and taught by the erstwhile Theosophists. The new patron moved the organization away from any Islamic origins back towards a message full of symbology, astrology, and numerology. Even in mid-construction, he did everything he could to change the design back from a simple *dargah* scheme to a meditating figuration, shifting the idea of the sacred garden to a mandala of paths and terraces, and removing the sarcophagi from the plans. Confronted with an already finished permit procedure, however, as for forms he managed only to remove some minor mausoleum characteristics from the design and to slightly change the dome shape towards something more like a human head. After completion, the light, mausoleum coloration of the exterior was substituted by the different shades of yellow as prescribed by the erstwhile Theosophists, and anything hinting of Islam was firmly denied. The peculiar, compromised dome shape came to be poetically explained as a heart opening itself up towards heaven, and a pedestal inside the building originally meant for the sarcophagi came to be functionally interpreted as a facility for altar stowage and winter services.

The second example is a comparison between the recently completed Taibah Mosque and Essalam Mosque, respectively in Amsterdam and Rotterdam (Roose 2012b). Both of their patrons had used the venerated Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, itself a complex accretion of building elements commissioned by a long range of competing claimants of Islamic leadership. In Amsterdam, the Surinamese South Asian patron positioned himself under the Islamic authority of the Barelvi Sufi sheikh Noorani Siddiqui from Pakistan. The latter claimed Caliphal leadership through a series of holy men represented by their tombs, starting with Muhammad himself, and resulting in a fierce theological competition with the puritanical schools, mainly Ahmadi and Wahhabi. The patron selected the substructure from the Taj Mahal, in his eyes the perfect Sufi *dargah*, and combined it with form, coloration, and materialization of the domed mausoleum-cum-minaret over the Prophet's grave in Medina. He maneuvered Muhammad's dome into the center of his new mosque and multiplied his minaret into four new corner turrets. All the while, he explicitly left out most Wahhabi-associated building elements pertaining to the modern Saudi-built complex around the Prophet's tomb from the prototypical depictions that he and other Barelvi patrons would use as an example. That even the dome and minaret of the Prophet would have been built a long time after his demise, by Mamluk usurpers, was not an issue: they merely provoked the right connotations. Then, the patron took some crucial notions from Barelvi theology and worked these into an ever more creative iconography. Windows in both the dome drum and the outer walls were shaped in the form of the silhouette of the Prophet's dome, symbolizing the *Nur* ("light") of Muhammad falling into the mosque. He also requested sun shades over the outer windows, to be modeled on the metal grille in the doors to the Prophet's grave. He attached a gilded sculpture of these doors next to the *mihrab*. Moreover, the inner dome was provided with a multitude of starry lights meant to represent the Sufi saints, channeling the Light from heaven to earth. To the back of his entrance *Iwan*, he installed marble plates in the shape of those used in the area around the Prophet's shrine, here positioned in grouted layers that were to symbolize the channeling of Gods words, by Gabriel to Muhammad in the form of the Qur'an, from the heavenly to the earthly spheres. Throughout his building, he hung posters of the Prophet's tomb, and a large banner on the mosque's inner balcony imaged venerated Sufi shrines that represented important links in the chain from Muhammad to his beloved Caliph.

In Rotterdam, by contrast, the Moroccan patron positioned himself as a follower of the Islamic Movement headed by Yusuf al-Qaradawi, the Egyptian-born sheikh associated with the

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 00:38 03 Oct 2023; For: 9781315794273, chapter18, 10.4324/9781315794273.ch18

Muslim Brotherhood and propagating a pan-Islamic vision exceedingly popular among young Western Muslims. The latter were advised to return to the essence of Islam by dismissing nationalist theologies as are, for instance, embedded in the neo-Malikite fundaments of Moroccan royalty. They also had to reject the excessively held hatred of innovation by the purists, and the excessively practiced cult of the grave by the Sufis. Thus, the patron selected precisely the modern Saudi-built complex in Medina because it had supposedly incorporated all known Islamic building styles and builders: to him, it had pan-Islamic instead of Wahhabi connotations. Slowly but steadily he steered his mosque plans towards incorporating a multitude of building elements from the Medina complex, using detailed photographs and video stills and self-devised drawings in which he reshuffled, folded, and bracketed the modern Medina elevations around the municipally prescribed volume in Rotterdam. As for the central dome, in order not to provoke associations with the blasphemous cult of the grave, the patron did take the dome of the Prophet for a central roof structure, but transformed it into the non-green and modernized version that he thought abundant in the Middle East. On the inside, he prevented both Moroccan iconography and purist sobriety, instead using examples of a Middle Eastern shopping mall and the interior of the mosque in Dublin where al-Qaradawi's organization resided.

Conclusion: avoiding pitfalls and self-dug holes in the iconological analysis of religious buildings

Logically, what is crucial in order to understand the iconography of a religious building is not so much to know how people saw and experienced it after its completion, but rather how its particular patron saw and experienced the prototypes that he selected for transformation, before his ideas ever reached the drawing table. Whether he actually visited them or not, they would have held certain connotations for him that were steered by his choices in religious politics. A consequence is that researching the meanings attributed to a religious building by its users and observers does not by definition result in any relevant facts for explaining the object's imagery. This may be hard to accept for those interested in the social life of religious buildings, used as they might be to the idea that a study of the experiences and performances in and of these objects is a *sine qua non* for making the buildings more intelligible to the outside world. From an iconological perspective, it still carries the danger of basing a thick interpretation on a thin description, since one would potentially be describing the architectural habitus of the wrong people, not those who actually made the iconographical choices. Ideally, the two perspectives would be supplemental, as long as the temptation can be withstood to explain the reason behind certain building elements *a priori* from the ways in which they were mentally or physically used after their construction. What is indeed, and by definition, interesting from an iconological perspective is when such a *post factum* attribution of meaning starts playing a role when a new building is being created in the thoughts of a new patron. After all, the meanings of the historical prototypes to the modern patrons treated above had also long superseded any possible original intent. In this way, one takes into account the phenomenon that the expanding landscape of religious buildings continuously gains new layers of meaning and thus new transformations, without losing oneself in the idea that the unlimited number of mosque visitors are all as relevant to the analysis of the Muslim architectural landscape in the modern West as its limited number of actual patrons.

However, in order to come to know how these patrons saw and experienced their selected prototypes, it is not enough to directly ask them. Since scholars and journalists, as much as the general public in the West, would have been irrelevant as a target group of a patron's chosen

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 00:38 03 Oct 2023; For: 9781315794273, chapter18, 10.4324/9781315794273.ch18

iconography and the political strategy behind it, the researcher will first have to extract the actual chronology of the design process from the archives of those involved: the patron himself as the initiator and coordinator of the project, the architects he hired and fired in order to turn it into an official drawing, and the municipal bodies that facilitated and restricted his ideal iconography. In fact, within modern Western discourses of minority–majority relations, the axiom that physically diverging religious buildings must manifest some sort of a communal attempt at cultural identification towards their antagonistic social surroundings has become such an accepted "fact" that any Muslim spokesman will readily call his mosque just that, no matter how many publicly unrecognized bells and whistles it carries. Only when the textual and visual depictions of the actual prototypes, collected and fabricated by the patron as examples to be incorporated, have been accessed and recovered, will a meeting be accompanied by a more fruitful and enthusiastic conversation on his particular architectural recombination and religious policy. Each of the cases treated above would have been limited to a narration, be it extensive, of only the most superficial of social, aesthetic, and functional rhetorics if it had not been for the subsequent months of plowing through archival materials, followed by return visits to key informants. Thus, a historical study is still a definite *sine qua non* for the iconological analysis of any religious building, whether age old, shining new, or even only in the planning phase.

Finally, having found out that a patron possibly reshuffled certain aspects from certain prototypical buildings, and that he did so because these selections provoked certain associations in him from a certain politico-religious perspective, perhaps the most demanding step is to accept the counter-intuitive phenomenon that both the prototypes and the end-results were not intended to be recognizable save to a limited group of insiders, leaving not only the surrounding non-Muslims but even the great majority of Muslims in the West largely in the dark. Only after the discovery that strategically selected aspects of the Taj Mahal and the Mosque of the Prophet were involved in the construction of the objects treated above, will the observer be able to, as it were, open his eyes and see these prototypes reappear in the end-results, making them more intelligible and less arbitrary. Similarly, as he was only enabled by relatively recent studies to recognize the earliest mosque architecture in Andalusia as a creative recombination of prototypical building elements for an internal Muslim market, only when his gaze is pointed in the right direction may he be expected to recognize the modern Basharat Mosque near Cordoba, the first purpose-built mosque in Spain after centuries of Christian rule, not as an "Islam Defiant" incarnate, but as a creative recombination of selected building elements from the Noor Mosque and the Minaret of the Messiah in Qadian, North India, completely obscure to critical outsiders but nonetheless of tremendous politico-religious importance to its Qadiani-Ahmadi patrons. Many Qadiani missionaries in Europe and in the non-Western parts of the world had reworked the variation of holy buildings associated with Ahmad, their founder and claimed prophet, into consistent iconographies, both in exemplary photography (retouching a picture of Ahmad's mosque as if it formed one structure with an outlying minaret) and in mosque design itself (see Roose 2009: 39–65, 322–4, and the rich photo gallery on www.alislam.org).

In similar vein, even though the architect Gulzar Haider focused attention on his use of the prayer rug as an inspiration for the Bait ul-Islam Mosque in Toronto, it is again towards its Qadiani patrons that we have to look for an explanation of the conspicuous dome and minaret obviously towering over this then-largest mosque in North America. Over time, a growing number of Ahmadi patrons shifted from merely referring to Qadian, where Ahmad's early construction had already referred to what was then known of the Prophet's mosque, to incorporating features of Medina itself as an even more authentic prototype, following the motto "Mosques will be constructed on the model of the Prophet's Mosque and make every land the

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 00:38 03 Oct 2023; For: 9781315794273, chapter18, 10.4324/9781315794273.ch18

land of Hejaz" (Rehmatullah 2001). The model was taken to be the building as it stood before the anti-Ahmadi patrons in Saudi Arabia extended it, with elements from its substructure, its multiple domes, and its variegated turrets visualized both in exemplary photography and, at times combined with the North Indian prototypes, in actual mosque design (Khan 1994). Recently in North America, the prototype has come to be represented, in exemplary Ahmadi photography as well as in mosque architecture, as particularly consisting of the Prophet's dome combined with its Ottoman corner minaret (Khan 2008; www.alislam.org/gallery2/v/mosques/). The latter was perhaps less adjacent to the dome than its Mamluk counterpart, but also less tainted by the inappropriate religious connotations vested in the latter by anti-Ahmadi patrons such as the Barelvi. In Canada, case examples are the Ahmadi mosques in Calgary and Toronto, where we can now better place, both historically and formally, Haider's patrons' ambition to plant "the seeds of a Muslim town in North America on the model of the Prophet's Medina." Coming full circle, even the plan for the Ismaili center in Vancouver, commissioned and co-designed by the Aga Khan, seems not to have escaped the religious politics of Muslim leaders claiming Islamic authority through architectural authenticity, particularly by building New Medinas in the newly established Muslim territories. It shared its most obvious features – especially its monumental portal and its ostentatious lack of a minaret – with the mosque of Mahdiyya, treated by Jonathan Bloom and built by Shi'i ruler al-Mahdi, great antagonist of the early Sunni caliphs and grandest among the Aga Khan's Fatimid predecessors.

A harsh conclusion would be that most of our scholarly knowledge on the formation of Islamic buildings in Europe as well as in North America has thus far been based on projections, constructed both by our sources and by ourselves. A more positive message might be that exploring a more iconological perspective on modern Islamic architecture in the West could open up a whole new, and ever-expanding, field of research for the humanities and social studies.

Bibliography

Avcioglu, N. (2007) "Identity-as-Form: The Mosque in the West," *Cultural Analysis* 6: 91–112.

Bloom, J. (1989) *Minaret. Symbol of Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

——(1993) "On the Transmission of Designs in Early Islamic Architecture," *Muqarnas* X: 21–8.

Clark, P. (2001) "Van Fantasie naar Geloof: Islamitische Invloeden op de Openbare Ruimte in Groot Britannië," in Douwes, D. (ed.), *Naar een Europese Islam? Essays*, Amsterdam: Mets & Schilt, pp. 163–86.

Fethi, I. (1985) "The Mosque Today," in Cantacuzino, S. (ed.) *Architecture in Continuity: Building in the Islamic World Today*, New York: Aga Khan Award for Architecture/Aperture, pp. 53–62.

Flood, F.B. (1997) "Umayyad Survivals and Mamluk Revivals: Qalawund Architecture and the Great Mosque of Damascus," *Muqarnas* XIV: 57–79.

Frishman, M. and Khan, H.-U. (eds.) (1994) *The Mosque. History, Architectural Development & Regional Diversity*, London: Thames & Hudson.

Haider, G. (1990) "'Brother in Islam, Please Draw Us a Mosque.' Muslims in the West: A Personal Account," in Powell, R. (ed.) *Expressions of Islam in Buildings*, Singapore: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, pp. 155–6.

——(1996) "Muslim Space and the Practice of Architecture. A Personal Odyssey," in Metcalf, B.D. (ed.) *Making Muslim Space in North America and Europe*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 31–45.

Holod, R. and Khan, H.-U. (1997) *The Contemporary Mosque: Architects, Clients and Designs since the 1950s*, London: Thames and Hudson.

Jasarevic, A. (2009) "Anders! Das islamische Forum in Penzberg. Meine Erfahrungen als Architekt einer Moschee," in Beinhauer-Köhler, B. and Leggewie, C. (eds.) *Moscheen in Deutschland. Religiöse Heimat und gesellschaftliche Herausforderung*, Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, pp. 99–111.

Kahera, I. (2000) *Deconstructing the American Mosque: Space, Gender and Aesthetics*, Austin: University of Texas Press.

Khalidi, O. (2000) "Approaches to Mosque Design in North America," in Haddad, Y.Y. and Esposito, J.L. (eds.) *Muslims on the Americanization Path?*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 317–34.

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 00:38 03 Oct 2023; For: 9781315794273, chapter18, 10.4324/9781315794273.ch18

Khan, A.M. (ed.) (1994) *Mosques around the World: A Pictorial Presentation*, Ahmadiyya Muslim Association USA.

——(2008) *Mosques Around the World: A Pictorial Presentation*, Ahmadiyya Muslim Association USA,.

Kraft, S. (2002) *Islamische Sakralarchitektur in Deutschland. Eine Untersuchung ausgewählter Moschee-Neubauten*, Munster: Lit.

Krautheimer, R. (1942a) "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture'," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5: 1–33.

——(1942b) "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," *The Art Bulletin* (March): 1–38.

Limon, I.D. (2000) *Islamische Kultstätten des 20. Jahrhunderts im europäischen Raum*, dissertation, Kaiserslautern.

Rabbat, N. (2004) "Islamic Architecture as a Field of Historical Enquiry," *Architectural Design* 74(6): 18–23.

Rehmatullah, N. (2001) "Building of Mosques Worldwide: An Ahmadiyya Priority," speech delivered at Jalsa Salana USA, June, www.alislam.org/library/articles/new/building-mosques.html.

Roose, E.R. (2009) *The Architectural Representation of Islam: Muslim-Commissioned Mosque Design in the Netherlands*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

——(2012a) "Dargah or Buddha? The Politics of Building a Sufi Sanctuary for Hazrat Inayat Khan in the West," *Journal of Sufi Studies* 1(2): 193–223.

——(2012b) "Constructing Authentic Houses of God: Religious Politics and Creative Iconographies in Dutch Mosque Design," *Material Religion* 8(3): 280–307.

Salam, H. (ed.) (1990) *Expressions of Islam in Buildings*, Singapore: Aga Khan Award for Architecture.

Serageldin, I. and Steele, J. (eds.) (1996) *Architecture of the Contemporary Mosque*, London: Academy Editions.

Tabbaa, Y. (2001) *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

Welzbacher, C. (2008a) *Euro Islam Architecture: New Mosques in the West*, Amsterdam: SUN.

——(2008b) "The Architecture of Euro-Islam," *A10, New European Architecture* 19 (January/February): 58–60.

——(2011) "Nieuwe Moskeeën in Europa. Pleidooi voor een Euro Islam Architectuur," in Kanmaz, M. (ed.) *Nieuwe Moskeeën in Vlaanderen. Tussen Heimwee & Werkelijkheid*, Brussels: MANAvzw, pp. 29–37.