1-1-1991

Evolution in the design of Islamic cities

Shabana Hameed

Iowa State University

Follow this and additional works at: https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/rtd

Part of the Architecture Commons

Recommended Citation

https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/rtd/17585
Evolution in the design of Islamic Cities

by

Shabana Hameed

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degrees of

MASTER OF COMMUNITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING and

MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE

Majors: Community and Regional Planning Architecture

Approved:

Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa
1991
DEDICATION

y Mother, Sufia A. Hameed
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization of Chapters</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER II. EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF &quot;ISLAMIC CITY&quot;</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientalist Scholarship</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent Scholarship</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER III. ISLAM AND URBANISM</strong></td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources of Islamic Law</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Qur'an and Urbanism</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadith and Urbanism</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER IV. THE NATURE OF ISLAMIC URBANISM</strong></td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral Unity, Social Relations and Ethical Responsibility</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Socio-spatial Context of the Traditional City</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER V. THE &quot;NEW CITY&quot; - THE CRISIS AND A CRITIQUE</strong></td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Built Environment</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desecularisation of Space and Society: The New Model of Urbanism</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The City as the Place of the Human Condition</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER VI. MODERN URBAN DILEMMA - A SEARCH FOR THE &quot;ISLAMIC CITY&quot;</strong></td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Physical Context</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ideological Context</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reconstruction</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BIBLIOGRAPHY</strong></td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>Pre-Islamic City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>Islamic City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Logic of Islamic space organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>Universal socio-spatial moral unity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td>Hierarchy of mosques in space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Progression of spaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5a</td>
<td>The House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5b</td>
<td>&quot;Skifa&quot; and &quot;Fina&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>The neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b</td>
<td>Hierarchy of streets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mosque and &quot;suq&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td>Proposed network to be superimposed on the old city of Isfahan in Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b</td>
<td>Dahran in Saudi Arabia, founded in 1935</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge the members of my committee: Charles Masterson, Mike Warren and Riad Mahayni for their patience and support. I wish to thank Charles Masterson and Riad Mahayni in particular for their friendship, guidance and inspiration at all times. This thesis would not have been possible if it weren't for them. Special thanks to Duane Shinn and Mary Kihl for making it possible for me to be here at Iowa State University. Without the love, faith and encouragement of my family I wouldn't have accomplished what I have, and I thank them for always being there for me.
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

"Journey's to relive your past?" was the Khan's question at this point, a question which could have also been formulated: "Journey to recover your future".  
-Italo Calvino (1972:29)

According to renowned anthropologist Clifford Geertz, the disordered sprawl and chaos of modern life makes "a certain idea of a city" more precious (Geertz, 1989:292). It follows that the more the conditions for the survival of a city become precarious, interest in it grows, and it becomes a source of inspiration.

The question what is an "Islamic City" has been around for a long time. In the academic field Orientalists, sociologists, anthropologists and political scientists have attempted over the years to resolve the question of whether Islam has an influence on the urban form of the city. Among the more recent scholars, urban professionals and Islamicists have been included in this quest.

Depending on the time of their study, the tools available, and the framework of their approach, scholars have continued to uncover layer upon layer of information; and in the process they exposed the myth and revealed the essence of the Islamic city.
The study of the Islamic city as a theoretical construct has increasingly contributed to its understanding as a socially functional unit. This has been largely due to sociological and anthropological studies of a secular nature. With time, not only has the Islamic city begun to unfold as a moral, social and communal phenomenon, but has also revealed certain fallacies that existed in the context of Islamic urbanism.

The focus of this study is to trace the evolution of the concept of the Islamic city. The premise here is that Islam does affect the way cities evolve, grow, and organize themselves. This is done through the teachings of Islam as documented in the Qu'ran, the holy book of Muslims, Hadith, and Sunnah.

The Qu'ran, the word of God, was revealed to the Prophet(PBUH) over a period of time. It contains guidance for Muslims on all matters from birth to the grave. The contents of the Qu'ran are not ritualistic; rather, they are prescriptive. Through these prescriptions moral-ethical codes for day-to-day existence are laid. Though the Qu'ran does not concern itself with specificities related to urban living, it implicitly rejects amoral and unethical existence. General behavioural principles that are contained in the Qu'ran have therefore been used as guidelines for living, and hence for shaping the environment.
Hadith, or sayings attributed to the Prophet(PBUH), are only second in importance to the Qur'an. While the Qur'an laid down general principles for existence, Hadith elaborate a way of life for the individual and the community. It also sets the foundation for social, economic and political institutions in a community. A strong urban imprint is visible in Hadith, and this is because it refers to the long phase in the Prophet's life while he was legislating for his community in the city of Medina, Saudi Arabia.

Sunnah, in Islam, refers to the events in the life of the Prophet(PBUH). It consists of his actions, physical acts or deeds, or his approval of others' deeds or actions through observation. In other words, it establishes a model of appropriate behaviour. Sunnah and Hadith play complementary roles in guiding living in any environment through references to the life of the Prophet(PBUH).

The Qur'an, Hadith and Sunnah are the basis for all legislation in Islamic urbanism. Therefore, through studies of the Qur'an, Hadith and Sunnah it is possible to search for means of establishing the link between Islam and urbanism.

With the new trend in the study of Islamic urbanism, as an inseparable factor of the Islamic way of life, a wholly new perspective of the Islamic city has been uncovered. In the study of the Islamic city, specifically
through the framework of reference of Islamic urbanism a study of Islamic texts has been intensified. The Qur'an and Sunnah have become the inexhaustible source of information on the subject of appropriate living and subsequently the resulting appropriate space. In this manner a connection is established between urbanism, Islam and human existence.

The developments taking place in the evolution of the Islamic city as a concept are, in this period of time, of immense importance in the context of the perceived urban crisis of modern cities in Islamic countries. It is pointed out that planners and architects "with a new found respect for the great achievements of the past are searching for ways to reproduce in today's cities some of the patterns of city building that have been identified as Islamic" (Abu-Lughod, 1987). These attempts in trying to deal with the urban crisis in the modern city have been limited largely to the physical domain. These methods have been in the past unquestioningly accepted and uncritically passed.

More recently there has been a growing realization that changes that have taken place have been fundamental and not cosmetic. The reality of the "new urban" environment designed currently for largely Muslim population is viewed as a clear digression from the implicit relationship of Islam and urbanism. The disconnection with the past in terms of the physical structure is tremendous. Besides the
obvious physical damage, there has also occurred a structural damage in which the underlying social and religious institutions have been severely undermined. Perhaps the most important factor has been the substitution of the Islamic ideology with other more secular ideologies.

**Hypothesis**

The thesis is based on the premise that the traditional Islamic city was the product of the Prophetic model of urbanism. This model, it is believed, was developed by the Prophet (Peace be upon him, PBUH) for his community in Medina, Saudi Arabia. It outlined a way of life based on the moral, ethical and communal principles contained in the Qur'an. The city that resulted thereafter was the manifestation of this model. While the physical structure reflected relational space, its care and control reflected a decentralization of power and autonomy of communities that could only have been possible through a strict adherence of ethics and responsibilities incumbent upon urban living in Islam. This model can be described as a behavioral model based upon the principles of moral unity, social relations and ethical responsibility.

The modern city in Islamic countries seems very removed from the behavioural model prescribed by the Prophet (PBUH).
It appears that a new urban model is operating, and that underlying this new model are a set of principles that generate a different kind of space. New conditions for living are being satisfied through the built environment in these cities. The relationship between the city and the inhabitants seems to have changed, giving way to concerns among urban scholars and professionals about the human condition in these cities.

In light of the present crisis in the "new" city, a true understanding of the nature of Islamic urbanism is assuming an inherent role in its resolution. Confusion with regard to the definition of "Islamic" itself has led to an instinctive choice between its religious and secular definitions. Is it something that is a "direct expression of faith" (Bokhari, 1980), or are we looking at a semiological interpretation of urban structure? This question has recently developed larger dimensions in the context of the present urban crisis in modern cities in Islamic countries.

**Methodology**

The thesis takes an interdisciplinary approach by the use of architectural, planning, sociological, anthropological and theological sources. Historiography, as
well, is an implicit part of this thesis. The reader is led up the historical path of the theoretical development of the Islamic city from the Orientalists onwards up to the present. The cue for the next step is taken from where recent urban scholars have left off. The readers are then referred to the original sources, the Qur'an and Hadith, as articulated in these most recent works. This is essential not only for a true understanding of Islamic urbanism but also to wipe out the memory of the fallacies left behind by past academic efforts.

The traditional city is studied in a socio-spatial context in order to link it with the Prophetic model of urbanism. The crisis in the "new city" is analyzed in terms of space and society and the new model of urbanism that has replaced the traditional model. Finally, the resolutions proposed by urban scholars and professionals in the context of the present urban crisis are laid out in the order of their suggestions.

Organization of Chapters

The second chapter traces the evolution of the concept of the Islamic City beginning with the Orientalists upto the present. It distinguishes this evolution into phases
leading to a better understanding of the city and the specific "Islamic" perspective it is striving to revive.

In the third chapter the Qur'an and Hadith are studied in the context of urbanism. The chapter refers to fallacies committed by scholars on the subject of Islam. It makes specific references to the city, nomads and city dwellers, congregational prayer and emigration in the Islamic context. The chapter is basically an attempt to establish the moral and ethical character of Islamic urbanism.

The fourth chapter returns to the traditional city in an attempt to find the connection between the Qur'anic principles, their exemplification, and the specific form of urbanism. It elaborates on the principles of moral unity, social relations and responsibility as enjoined on urban existence in Islam.

The fifth chapter develops a critique of the contemporary city in Islamic countries based upon the knowledge and information contained in the earlier chapters. The changes in the city are analyzed in terms of the built environment, institutions and the human condition.

The sixth chapter discusses and analyses the ensuing search for the meaning of "Islamic City" and its reconstruction. Solutions proposed by urban scholars and professionals are studied in the physical and ideological context. The reconstructions suggested by them are analyzed
and their participants identified. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of the theoretical and practical evolution of the Islamic city. Its current situation is weighed in the context of its past.
CHAPTER II. EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF "ISLAMIC CITY"

The study of the "Islamic City" as a theoretical construct developed recently a new intensity. Such efforts are directed toward exposing the "myth" and revealing the "essence" of these cities. Orientalists have continued to influence our impressions on urbanism and Islam, and Orientalist literature remained the authority on this subject until recently. Abu-Lughod points out that scholars are becoming aware of the limitations of Orientalist scholarship (Abu-Lughod, 1987).

Certain movements can be identified in the study of the city in Islam: "first we had the Orientalists, then the revisionists and now we have the nationalists" (Al-Sayyad, 1988:65). This brief yet potent summary of the trends in scholarship is not complete nor conclusive. The casual references to the various phases of literature seem to undermine their contributions to the concept of the Islamic city. Undoubtedly the limitations of some of these works is obvious. However, they are an implicit part of an evolutionary cycle in the growth of our understanding of the city in Islam.

Studies on Islamic Cities tend to be mostly inter-disciplinary in nature. Each discipline avails for its use specific approaches and sources which are related to
the subject of research. Many of these scholars have focused on various aspects of Islamic cities, including their morphological structure, early literature, class and mercantile structure, general social structure, political structure, Islamic legal structure and theological literature. An historical trend can be detected however, and it began with morphological studies of the early Orientalists.

"Orientalism" is described by Edward Said as the corporate institution dealing with the Orient, "dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Said, 1978:3). In academia, therefore, Orientalism unilaterally determined what could be said about the Orient. Perhaps the most important realization being that it "governs an entire field of study, imagination, and scholarly institutions- in such a way as to make its avoidance an intellectual and historical impossibility" (Said, 1978:14). In other words, it is identified as a field of study that is contained and represented by dominating frameworks. An Orientalist in this context is "anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient" (Said, 1978:2).
The access by Orientalists to early Islamic literary works supported initial assumptions that Islam was responsible for trends in urbanism and urban form (Al-Sayyad, 1988). Their approach was a simplistic approach based on observation and deduction. It represents the first phase in the study of the "Islamic City", and includes works by early scholars William and George Marcais, Le Tourneau, Brunschvig, Spies, Sauvaget and Berque (Abu-Lughod, 1987). Recent Orientalist works, like those of Von Grunebaum (1976) are referred to as "revisionist". They continued the Orientalist trend of descriptive studies, but in addition they formulated a compilation of a "typical form of a city" in terms of institutional structures (Al-Sayyad, 1988:63).

Along with this emphasis on morphological studies came studies of urban power and mercantile structures. These studies were conducted as comparative studies within a framework of European society (Brown, 1986). Within anthropology, for example these studies represent an earlier trend where a culture was examined not within itself but through external comparative standards (Davies, 1988). Earlier Orientalist studies were supplanted in this century by empirical studies by anthropologists (Gilsenan, 1982; Eickelman, 1981), sociologists (Abu-Lughod, 1980, 1987), historians (Hourani and Stern, 1970), and political scientists (Lapidus, 1967; 1969). They focused mainly on
societal social structures and networks and covered various parts of the Middle East. Their approach was a strong improvement on earlier approaches and they attempted a deeper understanding of family relations, kith and kin and neighborhood ties. An expose of social processes increased the understanding of anthropological space, and earlier theories were exposed because of their limitations.

One of the problems that has dogged most of the early research is the use of generalizations. They liberalized the use of the word "Islamic" as a prefix. On some occasions the use of "Morrocan", "Egyptian" or "Arab", depending on the context, might have been preferable. This search for formulating conceptual basis of Islamic cities was not based on theological grounds. Historical, regional, or behavioral studies were equated with studies on Islamic cities.

Theoretical research directed specifically at the built environment in Muslim societies led to a change in this focus. The emphasis here on city as the creation of social processes created an interest in the city as a framework of Islamic legislation. This represented a demystification of the "Islamic City", and a link between legislation and behavioral models in Islam. The proponents of this group are identified as the "nationalists" and include works by Hakim (1986), Hathloul (1981) and Akbar (1988), who worked
mostly on the connection between urban space and Islamic legislation (Al-Sayyad, 1988).

Khalidi was one of the first scholars to look at cities as articulated in the Qur'an and Hadith. He initiated the study on the premise that excessive attention to the city as a problem of history and society had tended to neglect its theoretical construct. The study, Khalidi points out, was a response to the allegations of early scholars, including the Orientalist William Marcais, who denied flatly the existence in Islam of any theoretical conception of the city (Khalidi, 1984). Khalidi's study is isolated in its focus on the literary implications of the city in the Qur'anic context. Its engagement in polemics of analyzing urban and rural biases in Islam through time are useful to the historical study of Islamic urbanism. In fact, it lays the foundation for a hypothesis that the Islamic view of the city is contained within a moral-ethical framework of urbanism.

It is only most recently that theories of the built environment in the context of general Islamic principles came into being. This has been the result of the development of a far more radical wing of urbanists than we have seen in the past. They generally recommend a return to the original sources, i.e., the Qur'an and Hadith, as a guide to the subject of the built environment in Islam. The group consists of a variety of professionals including

The following sections attempt to give an analysis of the evolution of how Islamic cities have been considered and assessed by the Orientalists and the new urbanists.

**Orientalist Scholarship**

Orientalist Scholars approached Islamic cities in two ways, one focused on morphological structure of these cities and the other on their social structure. Morphological studies followed empirical methods of observation and measurements. The second set of studies was derived from literary sources. The morphological data has in most cases remained a useful and undisputed source of information. The sociological and anthropological data, however, has been either uncritically included or critically excluded by more recent authors (Abu-Lughod, 1987).

**Morphological Studies**

The earliest works in this category are attributed to the Marcais brothers, William and George, Jean Sauvaget, Berque, and Roger Le Tourneau, among others. These scholars
basically presented the "three desiderata" of the city: the jami (mosque), the suq (market) and the bath (Abu-Lughod, 1987:159). Some studies also included the "mahalla" or "hara" (residential quarters) as a feature of the Islamic City (Greenshields, 1980; Eickelman, 1981; Gilsenan, 1982). The Orientalists did not necessarily establish a conceptual framework for understanding Islamic cities but they merely documented the physical form of these cities. Despite the limitations of this approach, the documentation made available through Orientalist is not to be neglected. It represents the first step in the evolution of the concept of the Islamic city, and therein lies its value.

In her "deconstruction" of Orientalist thinking on the Islamic city Janet Abu-Lughod refers to their accomplishments as having resulted in a "model of outcomes rather than one of processes" (Abu-Lughod, 1987:172). Orientalist work preoccupied with descriptive manifestations of physical urban form rarely concerned themselves with broader socio-economic and political questions of society.

Geertz came to the same conclusion when he described the approach to understanding the Islamic city as a "sovereign division in Western thought between Meaning and Materialities" (Geertz, 1989:301). This reinforces the view that Orientalism is a school of interpretation whose material happens to be the Orient (Said, 1978) studies of
this nature have contributed to the belief that Islam is pro-urban, and they formed a prescriptive image of Islam (Eickelman, 1981).

Use of Early Literature

The Orientalists made considerable use of early works of Muslim scholars of the 9th through the 14th century (Abu-Lughod, 1987; Blake and Lawless, 1980; Said, 1978). Of these, Ibn Khaldun, whose contributions will be presented later, was undoubtedly the ultimate source for many studies that emerged on Islamic urbanism (Geertz, 1989).

Some of the problems that arose with the use of this literature was that the sources employed were not very dependable. Most secular literature, as compared to religious one, that emerged in the two centuries after the Prophet's death and later, was not free from prejudice and fabrication. The socio-political conditions leading to instability and turmoil during this period naturally influenced the style and content of the literature. Most scholarly writings of this period were works of urban Muslim scholars who had a low opinion of country people and belittled their intellectual and spiritual character (Faruqi, 1979; Khalidi, 1985).

Another important source for the Oriental scholars has been the work of early Geographers such as Muqaddisi and
Yaqut (Grunebaum, 1976; Ismail, 1972; Wheatley, 1976). The opinions of early Western scholars were colored by the content of these sources. It can be deduced that this information, which was later disseminated, would carry over these errors of misunderstanding.

**Historiography**

The tradition of the Qur'an in exhorting the faithful to learn a lesson from history created a strong history-consciousness among the Muslim people. It also led to the development of sacred history in the form of Hadith, the compilation of the sayings of the Prophet (PBUH) by his followers. With the growth of the Muslim empire and the increase in Jewish, Greek, Persian-Indian influences a secular branch of history developed (Khalidi, 1985). Islamic historiography, protected for two centuries from external influences, opened itself to new methods of inquiries and the discrepancies and prejudices that came along with it. The new branch of literature incorporated Biblical material as well as information from Greek, Persian-Indian and the Jewish and Yemenite sources (Faruqi, 1979).

Earlier, "Isnad", the law of witness, referred to the line of transmitters wherein citation of chains of authority was incumbent upon every scholar. They were expected to document their historical statements through generations of
witnesses. This enabled the detection of forgery through information available on personal character, religious belief and political loyalties of these witnesses and their consistency with each other. Circumstantial problems that arose later prevented the obtaining of authentic testimony to material used. Methods of authentication, such as "isnad", used in historiography were therefore abandoned in favor of reasoning and deduction (Faruqi, 1979; Khalidi, 1985). Works of history dealt with a province or state issues, or with specific events. This phase of literature utilizing reasoning and deduction, and including the writings of Yaqubi and Masudi were reinforced by the work of Ibn Khaldun (Khalidi, 1975, 1985).

Due to the increase of the non-Arab influence emphasis on genealogical studies grew. It became a form of historical literature by itself and the first professional genealogists emerged in the Umayyad period (Khalidi, 1985). Within the historical literature, depending on the authors background, certain tribes were glorified and others degraded. Yemenite scholars that came from the highly urbanized regions of Yemen had seen urban civilization earlier than most Arabs of Saudi Arabia who were mostly nomads. Among the rivalries that developed were Arab versus non-Arab and urban versus rural. Much of the anti-urban and anti-nomadic literature associated with Islam originated
with these rivalries (Faruqi, 1979). Considering the use of these early sources by these scholars one can deduce their role in creating a false discrimination of nomadic people that gradually came to be associated with Islam itself.

**Geography** There are two reasons why Geography received great impetus during the early period of Islam. Firstly, the interest of Muslims in recording dates and locations of events in the Prophet's life. Secondly the widening of horizons as a result of flourishing trade and commerce which made a sound knowledge of geography necessary (Lapidus, 1967, 1969, 1973; Khalidi, 1985).

The subject of Islamic geography is complex and its evolution and logic is very specific to the needs of the people at the time. For example, the unit used commonly by geographers was the region and not the city. There was really no absolute boundary to a city, which consisted of numerous urban and agrarian suburbs and bedouin camps. Sometimes there were twin cities with their peripheral agrarian supports. Villages also had elements that could be found in cities, such as mosques, suqs and baths. The flourishing trade led to the categorization of a region in terms of what they export and the type of their mercantile activities (Lapidus, 1969).
An example of the method adopted by the geographers is visible in their description of a "madinah". "Madinah", or city, featured in their vocabulary as an administrative and jurisdictional unit irrespective of the size and location of the settlement. Due to an early association in Islam of politico-religious functions a "jami" was likely to be found in a "madinah". This did not however preclude the possibility of finding a "jami" elsewhere, since they were also found in villages, garrison camps as well as caravan sites (Eickelman, 1981; Lapidus, 1969). It is clear from this that for the geographer it was not the presence of a "jami" (mosque), but the position of a settlement in an administrative unit, that increased its importance in the urban hierarchy. In much of the literature available however, an impression is conveyed that a "madinah" was the only rightful place for a "jami" to be located, indicating the mistaken belief that Islam favors city dwellers (Eisenstadt and Shacar, 1987; Wheatley, 1976; Grunebaum, 1976).

The most common fallacies that arose from the use of these sources were: that Islam is pro-urban, that Islam disparages bedouins and their existence, that it encouraged a wholesale exodus from country to city, and that the jami was a feature of cities only thereby excluding the nomads from the rituals of faith.
While the contents of some of the early material itself contributed to certain fallacies that emerged in Orientalist literature. These were popularized, and were created in the first place by the limited understanding of the users.

Use and interpretation of Ibn Khaldun's work

It was to Ibn Khaldun that most scholars turned to for material on early urbanism in Islamic regions of the Middle East and North Africa. Ibn Khaldun was a 14th century sociologist, historiographer and statesman. He came from a class of scholars called "falasifa", philosophers, i.e., Islamic followers of Plato (Mahdi, 1964). This group had abandoned the traditional method of research through 'isnad' and 'khabar', methods of authentication used in early sacred literature (Faruqi, 1979; Khalidi, 1985). The undependableness of information in their times and the secular nature of their work encouraged them to turn to more rational methods such as analogical deduction. The Greek influence is visible in Ibn Khaldun, and it led to his inclusion in the category of "Islamic Platonist" (Lacoste, 1984).

Ibn Khaldun's writings appear ambiguous due to the contradictory nature of his intellect. Though his scholarship was based on scientific methods, the Islamic-theological influence within him was equally vociferous
(Mahdi, 1964; Lacoste, 1984). This part of his character however is one we rarely come across in references made to his work.

The "city" as it emerges from his discourse assumes the character of necessary evil. Most authors using his works refer only to his emphasis on "necessity" of cities, and ignore his more critical stand on them. In his rational study based on observations and predictions the city occupies a pragmatic position in the cyclical evolution and rise and fall of nations (Mahdi, 1964; Lacoste, 1984). The turmoil and socio-political crisis of the Maghreb in the 14th and 15th centuries deepened his commitment to resolve this political trauma. His interest in urbanism must be understood therefore as an analytical venture rather than as a narrative one. The city being an object of rational inquiry and not praise.

Common errors committed by scholars have been in interpreting Ibn Khaldun's analytical efforts. For example, his mention of the cultural mood and intellectual atmosphere of cities is quoted as the superiority of urban civilization over nomadic civilization. It is important to know that Ibn Khaldun considered nomads to be an integral part of the evolution of urban civilization. Nomadic solidarity was the only hope in his opinion for a rejuvenation for cities sinking into degeneration through a passion for comforts
Nomadic existence was in fact in his opinion the basis for renewed urban existence. In the latter part of his work moral-ethical accusations against city-persons seem to be contradictory to the Greek pacifist in him. Some authors attribute these attacks of vituperation to political pessimism and frustration that Ibn Khaldun experienced in his later years (Lacoste, 1984). Authors that support the Islamic streak in his nature however, identify the inconsistencies in his work as a sign that his "pragmatic pursuit of earthly goals" was in fact a resignation to his existence in an imperfect world of which the city formed a necessary but despicable part (Lacoste, 1984:190). Some scholars have tended to neglect mention of the exact character of his work, its context and the dual nature of his intellect. This has contributed greatly to the common fallacies that we find on the subject of Islam and urbanism.

Orientalist Scholarship - Its Influence on Current Thoughts on Urbanism in Islam

The "chains" of authority similar to "isnad" continued to allow an "uncritical inclusion" of earlier information (Abu-Lughod, 1987:158). Pro-urban views of Islam that refer to its encouragement of urban living surprisingly continue to exist (Ateshin, 1989; Brown, 1973), and an impression is
still conveyed that the way of life prescribed by the Qur'an "is most appropriate to the urban milieu" and more specifically to commercial communities (Eisenstadt and Shacar, 1987:204). The influence of the early Orientalists remains, and this influence was reinforced by taking their conclusions as given without serious analysis of these conclusions. Berque, one of the early Orientalist scholars is quoted in 1984 article by Abdulac (1984:2): "a hostile attitude towards nomadic-bedouin life clearly appears in many Qur'anic verses and Prophet's sayings". Following the footsteps of Orientalist Sourdel, other recent scholars suggest that Islam is essentially the child of sedentarization (Mechkat, 1987; Hassan, 1972). Grunebaum's popularization of the notion that Islam is an urban religion, and that the city is the only correct place to live as prescribed by the Qur'an and as per Hadith is still his most quoted line (Grunebaum, 1976). It is still widely believed that urban and nomadic peoples were non-convergent and Wheatley (1976:358) claims that "in his Revelation to one Allah had de facto excluded the other", meaning the bedouins.

Similarly, Ibn Khaldun is often quoted through the works of Orientalists when it becomes necessary to portray nomadism as a step child in Islam (Hassan, 1972, Eisenstadt and Shacar, 1987). The other fallacy related to the subject
is to define urban as the place where there is a Friday mosque (Eisenstadt and Shacar, 1987). In fact to all purposes "madinah" and "masjid-al -Jami" are still interchangeable for some people (Wheatley, 1976). It might be fair to suggest that Orientalist scholarship did have limitations given to any field of study in its nascent stages. However, its uncritical use and proliferation by later scholars is what continues to undermine any valid contribution it might have made.

The Orientalist contribution to the notion of the "Islamic City" has been of urban documentation; i.e., the identification and labelling of urban physical elements. Their attempts to go further in understanding the nature of urbanism through the use of early literature were not so successful. The direction of their research was determined by the lack of suitable theoretical tools for analysis and restricted access due to limited knowledge of the language. Subsequently, the documentation of urban form was more successful than any explication of the character of urbanism. Emphasis on the pro-urban nature of Islam resulted in two trends: one expending its efforts in proving that Islam could not be termed "pro-urban", and another that intensified the pro-urban image of Islam by repeatedly quoting earlier works. These trends largely inhibited
actual progress in an understanding of the true character of urbanism and its historical roots.

Recent Scholarship

A significant number of anthropological and sociological works have been completed in the latter part of the century with references to the Islamic city. These studies have focused mainly on empirical studies of socio-cultural and ethnic ties where the city serves as their backdrop but it does not occupy a position of primacy (Eickelman, 1981; Gilsenan, 1982; Geertz, 1979; Brown, 1986).

Some of the problems encountered with these studies are that, first, they are dealing with specific areas and second, that their concerns are primarily focused on a particular discipline (Brown, 1986). Their non-comparative nature makes the line between what is "Islamic" and what are "regional", "historical" or "structural" studies very thin. A review of such studies however, enhances an understanding of Islamic cities.

Socio-Political and Anthropological Studies

Many of the socio-political and anthropological studies have been successful in describing the city through socio-
political processes in varied Islamic regions of the Middle East and North Africa. One of the best known work is Lapidus's study of 14th and 15th centuries focusing on Aleppo and Damascus of the Mamluk dynasty. Lapidus's primary contribution has been his change in method of inquiry by discontinuing the study of city as "artifact", and focusing on the interrelations and interactions among residential, commercial and religious communities in medieval Muslim society. Lapidus analyzed the city as consisting of communities and sub-communities. He indicated that space extended as far as social and religious relationships and was not a matter of fixed geographical boundaries (Lapidus, 1967, 1969, 1973).

Most works that followed incorporated Lapidus's account of urban life and intensified the focus on social institutions of society. Eickelman and Gilsenan successfully used anthropological methods that have contributed to knowledge of kinship structure, social space and practices in the Middle East (Eickelman, 1981; Gilsenan, 1982). Eickelman's study based on Morocco, but covering other cultures in the Middle East, is emphatic in its rejection of stereotypical visions of the city. There is no radical innovation in these works though, and they repeated Lapidus's arguments. The main contribution of this work has been its reference to the residential quarters and the
communal and moral unity they enjoyed. Gilsenan's study refers briefly to religious traditions in Egypt, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Morocco. It is stronger in its focus on the religious dimension in the lives of the people. It documents the roles of religious leaders, illustrates the sacred-secular nature of space, describes radical grassroots movements within cities and identifies these as urban movements that have grown to combat alien influences that have deteriorating influences on moral and ethical standards in modern cities. This is one of the more successful works due to its inclusion of spiritual and ethical dimension of cities.

Clifford Geertz (1989) and Kenneth Brown (1986), anthropologists, working on specific cities in Morocco formed studies focusing on community networks and relations. These studies have provided information on the running of pious foundations in the city and the day to day business of markets. They also trace the evolution of change in community patterns in these societies.

Despite their effective descriptions of socio-cultural conditions of society the utility of most anthropological studies have had limited historical value. It is left to the reader of cities to extract from them the timeless values that guide the social behavior of societies. In
Islamic societies, particularly, observed behavior and attitudes have deeper roots in history than is obvious.

Hourani and Stern have had an immense influence on a growing understanding of Islamic urban institutions. The question they posed was "Did the cities in the Muslim world have any important features in common, and if so can they be explained in terms of Islam, or must we look for other types of explanation?" (Hourani, 1970:11). The importance of their work lies in their containment of social relations within the Islamic framework. They pointed out that the individuals in Islam belong to the universal community of Muslims as well as to the local Islamic community. Besides this they also are tied to family and kinship.

Responsibility and action were directed by an hierarchical structure of these social units (Hourani, 1970). Social relations, hierarchy and containment of relations in successive levels from the universal to the local led to the identification of the distinguishing factors of Islamic urbanism.

In the forefront of the war against Oriental literature the spirit of Abu-Lughod's work stems from an interest in the question of "intrinsic characteristics of cities" (Brown, 1986). Her belief is that the effects of an adoption of Islamic law as well as adaptation to individual socio-economic and political circumstances contributed to
the urban profiles of many Islamic countries (Abu-Lughod, 1987).

Beginning with Hourani and Stern, Abu-Lughod and Eickelman, a new phase in the definition of "urbanism" in Islam began. Studies about Islamic cities started to develop a new personality different from the earlier concerns with purely morphologic or symbolic value of the environment. A definition of urbanism began to evolve from focusing on the "artifacts", to deal with the institutions behind these artifacts leading towards the principles that support these institutions.

**Islamic Legal Studies**

Besim Hakim's "Arabic Islamic Cities" has been referred to as the "new Nationalist tradition in the study of Muslim urbanism" (Al-Sayyad, 1988:64). This work is based primarily on the reasoning that cities in the Arab world have been molded by Islamic legislation (Hakim, 1986). The study focused on Tunis and it is specific to the roots and origins of urban form in Tunis. Hakim documents that legislation is the social and legal tool that creates urban form in order to satisfy the socio-cultural and religious requirements of the region. This work involves a new kind of "morphological analysis" that combines both "the language
of physical elements" and the influence of social process (Al-Sayyad, 1988:64).

Hathloul's work follows the same theme of Islamic legislation, but includes some illustrations from Medina, Saudi Arabia, and he cites additional court cases (Hathloul, 1980). His special interest in the origin of private, semi-public and public spaces is an important feature of his work. A combined study of the two would be most useful in arriving at the extent of influence that Islamic legislation has had on certain cities.

The criticism directed at these works is that they are "formalist and static", in that they treat the city as an "assembly of physical elements" (Al-Sayyad, 1988:64). Another limitation is that they are local in their conclusions of "Islamic identity".

A more recent work by Akbar (1988) deals with the built environment in the context of property regulations and their spatial process. In this study aspects of ownership and traditional roles in maintenance and control of public, private and charitable properties are studied. The most important aspect of this study is its description of changes in the built environment as a result of changes and variety of ownership. It also attributes characteristics of the built environment to urban power structures and levels of intervention. The message however is, that bureaucratic
legislation and central authority do more bad than good. Since community power structures are broken, the aspect of conventional communal and individual responsibility deteriorates. He strongly emphasized the investigation of "societal process" rather than analyzing the "end product", and stressed the role of inhabitants in creating their environment (Akbar, 1988).

Hakim, Hathloul and Akbar's work form another step in defining social process in Islamic urbanism. Here legislation presents the expansion of basic principles through applications contained in an institutionalized rigid framework. Most legislation however, if studied closely reveals timeless principles of individual and communal responsibility and application of morals and ethics in everyday behavior.

Return to Original Sources

Khalidi's construct of the "City" in Islamic thought is a rare and unusual work that uses not only the Qur'an and Hadith but also other early sacred and secular literature (Khalidi, 1984). It was written as a response to allegations that Islam lacked a theoretical conception of the city. Contrary to most other works, it conveys an unwillingness on the part of Islam to unconditionally promote city life. In spite of many references to anti-
urban sentiments in Islamic literature his study does not elucidate the quality of life implicated in the anti-urban sentiments expressed.

Earlier studies such those by Hakim (1986) and Hathloul (1981), that had been limited to institutional and legislative structure gradually moved towards an inclusion of timeless values and goals that form the Islamic framework.

The eighties have witnessed radical changes in the approach to the built environment in Islam. One of the first works to set this trend was architect Haider's "Habitat and Values in Islam" (Haider, 1984). In this work Haider strongly emphasized the need to develop an ideal Islamic environment based on principles such as: Faith (iman), Law (shariah), Human responsibility (khilafat), Community (ummah). The city then is conceptualized on fundamental images of community (Dar-al-Iman), Qur'anic (Dar-al-Qur'an) and the Prophetic model (Dar-al-Sunnah). Haider's theory of the environment is based on ethics and most important on human behavior and the human attributes of responsibility, justice, purpose, care and cultivation of nature, knowledge and creativity. Haider identifies the Qur'an as the source of spiritual energy for the Muslims and the Sunnah as the guiding light. The source of strife in the Muslim psyche, he points out, is the basic difference in
the image of the society created by the Prophet(PBUH) in Medina, Saudi Arabia, and the reality of the Western present. He urges a move towards an Islamic alternative in the context of the built environment, resulting in "The City of Islam: a concrete expression of the belief and action structure of our ideal Islamic society" (Haider, 1984:181).

In the same league, Islamicist Sardar (1984, 1985, 1989) suggests a lessening importance of form and increasing emphasis on promotion of values inherent in Islam. He stresses the need to re-establish the basic social institutional units of the Islamic community: the family, the mosque and the neighborhood.

In the latter part of the eighties, more works began to emerge with the same message. Ateshin, another architect, refers to secularization in Islamic society as the root cause of problems. His sources like his predecessors are also the Qur'an and the Hadith. Ateshin provides an Islamic perspective of the built environment in which meaning is to be found in the purpose of human life on earth. He presents us with a purposeful universe, with a value centered framework within which man may construct a purposeful environment. The interaction between man and his environment takes place within the moral and ethical limits of man's responsibility (Ateshin, 1989).
Malik, an architect and planner reiterates the earlier message of reviving a value-based environment to replace the disequilibrium and inequalities that exist today in the Muslim countries. He sees this as the result of a break with tradition and history that had earlier nourished the Islamic model of urbanization. He calls for nothing short of a radical reassessment of the existing priorities and the renaissance of the Muslim society if any renaissance of the Muslim City is aspired (Malik, 1989).

Serageldin makes a formal commitment to a return to general principles of Qur'an and Sunnah through his work with Aga Khan Research Foundation (1983, 1989). He points that while the Qur'an provides the eternal message of inspiration and guidance, the Sunnah provides the exemplary example of the Prophet (PBUH). Similar to Haider's efforts Serageldin compiles a set of principles that emphasize care, responsibility, and justice, among others. A clear line separates the high priority social interaction has and dismisses the commonly held belief in prescriptive form associated with Islam (Serageldin, 1989). Serageldin emphasizes the role of human interaction as the basis for defining physical environment. He also encouraged a re-establishment of communal and institutional practices that implied reinstation of the traditional role of the mosque in Islamic society (Serageldin, 1980, 1983).
Arkoun, historian and Islamicist, also part of the Aga Khan research group asked for a return to the ontological path of the Qur'an that would facilitate a return to Islamic ethos (Arkoun, 1983, 1989a). He refers to the ethical force in Islamic urbanism comprising religious values and attitudes. These forces, he points, are necessarily transmitted through social and religious institutions, whose role in urbanization is presently being undermined.

Hossein Nasr, Islamicist (1987) also strongly recommends a renaissance of Islamic society and built environment through an understanding of the Qur'an and the Hadith. He reiterates the belief that Islamic architecture and planning are related to Islamic revelation which provides the social and human background for both. Hathloul, architect and planner, stresses the importance of religious and socio-cultural values and criticizes the obsession with form (Hathloul, 1984).

Summary

An understanding of the "Islamic City" has not remained static but has been the subject of evolution and periodic change. In our study of the Islamic city we seem to have progressed from a preoccupation with physical elements and structure. Firstly, toward secular social interpretations
and later toward a more Islamically defined existence as
directed by the Qur'an and exemplified by the Prophet(PBUH).

The "artifact" or city manifest gives way to the
"institutions" that define it. The search for these
institutions leads up to the principles that lay the
structural framework for their creation, which in this case
is the Islamic way of life. In other words, we look past
"zahir", the overt, to experience and understand the
"batin", or the hidden.
CHAPTER III. ISLAM AND URBANISM

The Qur'an and Hadith provide a perspective on the earliest and most authentic views on the city in Islam. In the previous chapter fallacies related to Islamic urbanism were reviewed. In this chapter, certain concepts and ideas are clarified in order to support earlier arguments made against these common fallacies. Urbanism is studied in two contexts, Divine and Prophetic. Implicit in both the Qur'an and Hadith is the emphasis on moral and ethical purpose in Islamic urbanism. The Hadith and Sunnah emphasize the communal aspect through the Prophetic model of an ideal community as practiced in Medina.

Sources of Islamic Law

The Qur'an, Hadith and Sunnah are the basis for all legislation in Islamic urbanism. Islamic legislation was further derived and legitimized through a study of Qur'anic principles and the set example of the Prophet(PBUH). All these efforts clearly imply a strong conviction which was applied according to Qur'anic purposes. The emphasis laid on human responsibility, ethical behavior and communal solidarity enhanced the participation of local inhabitants in the creation of their immediate environment.
The "shariah", meaning the totality of Islamic law, and "fiqh", a branch of it that contains among other things, urban legislation, are both derived from Qur'anic guidelines and the Hadith and Sunnah. Besides these formal tools designed for proper urban living, a third source of legislation is "Ijma", or community consensus. "Ijtihad" and "qiyas", i.e., individual reasoning and analogy support and guide human thought in order to make the decisions (Sardar, 1985). Both "Ijma" and "Ijtihad" are contained within the Islamic framework. The guidelines for urbanism fall into three categories in order of their importance: Revelation, Traditions referring specifically to the way of life established by the Prophet(PBUH), and community consensus, that allowed reason to guide any deviation that might arise from preceding cases.

**The Qur'an**

The revealed word of God as contained in the Qur'an undoubtedly is the most authentic Islamic view. It is identified by Muslims as the revelation of God, revealed to the Prophet Muhammad(PBUH) over a period of years on different occasions through the angel Gabriel. According to tradition, its cannon was established under Divine guidance by the Prophet(PBUH), prior to his death, and not by believers at a later time (Kassis, 1983).
The Qur'an was revealed to the Prophet(PBUH) first in Mecca where he first received the faith (610-622 AD), and again when he returned to conquer it before his death (632 AD). These parts of the Qur'an are known as Meccan revelations. Those revealed to the Prophet(PBUH) in Medina, where he migrated (622 AD) and attempted to establish an ideal Muslim community, are known as Medinian revelations (Kassis, 1983). It is with this knowledge that the time, content and mood of revelations changed. The conceptualization of "city" in Islam should be related to how the community developed with these changes. The subject matter of the Qur'an is not only narrative and doctrinal, but it is also historical. Its historical factor is significant in that it allows an understanding of the historical and social conditions of the period.

The creation of urban communities and their sustenance has been based on the early structure of a society which was based on "moral unity". The Medinian revelations, as they are referred to in this sense, differ from earlier Meccan revelations. Within these conditions a prescriptive framework for communal living is laid out.

The Qur'an contains 114 chapters referred to as "Suras", each of which has a title. Each chapter is divided into verses referred to as "ayah", a literary device used to identify smaller textual units within a larger literary
context. In order to identify the location of a particular text both the sura number and the verse number are used, for example (19:42) designates the 19th sura (named Maryam after Mary) and the 42nd verse.

**The Hadith**

While the conditions for morality were set by the Qur'an, the Hadith paved the way for day to day ethics and communal unity. It is constructed through statements made by the Prophet(PBUH).

The Hadith is only second in importance to the Qur'an, while the Qur'an sets the conditions for relations between individual and God, Hadith offers guidelines for relationships in a community. The nature of the Qur'an is abstract and calls for a high reasoning power, whereas the style of the Hadith is easy and contemporary.

There is a strong urban imprint in Hadith due to the fact that it refers to the phase of the Prophet's life when he was legislating for his community in Medina. The creation of Hadith collections was the response of a group of scholars seeking solutions to the socio-economic and religious problems that arose in the period after the Prophet's death. Through the doings and sayings of the Prophet(PBUH), behavioral mode for individual and community are established. The institutions of family, mosque,
neighborhood and religious community are defined and hence foundations for an Islamic society are set.

Authentication of Hadith

There is only one Qur'an, but there are numerous Hadith. Unlike the Qur'an which is accepted unquestioningly by the Muslims, the Hadith collections have different levels of authenticity or "sahih". The authenticity of the Hadith falls into an hierarchy: the Prophet's companions who quoted the Prophet(PBUH) directly assume a top position in the hierarchy. The followers of the companions did not live during the lifetime of the Prophet(PBUH), but related information about the Prophet(PBUH) conveyed by his companions. The level of authenticity or "sahih", therefore, depended on the period in which the transmitters of Hadith lived. Those that lived during the time of the Prophet(PBUH) are identified as most authentic, and those that followed them as less authentic. The ones that came much later are considered the least authentic of all. To check for possible fraud, a systematic method of authentication was established. The "isnad", a method developed through a "science of the tradition", could not, however, control fraud and fabrication. Because of this, only six Hadith are acknowledged, i.e., "Sahih Sitta", and only the Hadith by the two Islamic scholars, Bokhari and
Muslim are considered authentic (Faruqi, 1979). The information held within these two Hadith is held in high regard and is referred to most often for guidance on all matters.

It is expected that in a study of both the Qur'an and the Hadith some contradictions may surface. These discrepancies are a result of the "frailty of human understanding". Apparent rather than real, they may be traced to possible personal or societal objective that some author of an Hadith may have fostered. Examined within the larger Islamic framework, small differences are absolved due to their common long term goal. Both the Qur'an and Hadith are monolithic and complementary. And logically, there can be no contradiction between Divine revelation, i.e., the Qur'an on the one hand, and its exemplary interpretation, i.e., the Hadith, by the Prophet(PBUH) on the other (Khalidi, 1985).

**The Sunnah**

The "Sunnah" means the trodden path, methods or ways of the Prophet(PBUH). It consists of his actions, and physical deeds or acts observed by him and which gained his tacit approval through his silence. This model of behavior is set for all Muslims to emulate. The "Sunnah", therefore,
contains a total account of the life of the Prophet(PBUH),
including even the minutest actions.

**Sharia and Fiqh**

Particularly favorable to the development of urban life
has been the nature of post-Qur'anic legislation (Eisenstadt
and legal ethics originating in the source of divine
revelation, is rooted in the experiences of the
Prophet(PBUH). "Ijma", or consensus of the companions of
the Prophet(PBUH), was the other source of "Shariah" after
the Qur'an and the "Sunnah" (Sardar, 1985).

"Fiqh", the Islamic science of jurisprudence, is the
derived law, it is dependent on the social, material and
intellectual environments of each age and policy (Haider,
1984). The Prophet's experiences have been rooted in large
settlements where he was living and have, therefore, led to
injunctions related to city living. "Fiqh" literature was
developed within three hundred years of the Prophet's death.
It has a specialized branch dealing with building and
property rights in a community (Hakim, 1983, 1986). The
guidelines issued in it originate in Islamic values and
ethics and they are adequately supported through literature
from the Qur'an and "Sunnah". They arise from the day to
day activities of the Prophet(PBUH) resolving the problem of
relations in social space, both public and private. The contents of "Fiqh" convey responsibility of urban living as an act of faith. These recorded guidelines continued to direct urban growth for many centuries until about the 14th-16th centuries.

**Ijtihad and Ijma**

The third source of religious rules is contained in the consensus of the community, "Ijma". It is a legitimized tradition of the Prophet(PBUH) as a source of Islamic law: "My people will never agree on a lie" (Sardar, 1985:112). As the community grew, clarification and agreement of the community became an important factor in addressing new problems. The method employed here was "qiyas", or analogical reasoning through which two different cases could be solved by the same injunction, since the principle was agreed upon by the community. Communal consensus, however, must respect the larger goals of the Islamic framework and must be contained within its limits.

"Ijtihad" is identified as an additional source of guidance in human affairs referred to as "individual reasoning". It is defined as "the putting forth of every effort in order to determine with a degree of probability a question of the shariah" (Sardar, 1985:112). The use of "ijtihad" therefore involves the focusing of legal and
ethical principles of the Qur'an, along with its pragmatic applications in the Sunnah on the current problem.

The Qur'an and Urbanism

In an attempt to understand the Qur'anic mood on urbanism we deal with the subject of the "City". We also analyze Qur'anic sentiments on the nomad and city-dweller, emigration and congregational prayers. This is important in order to understand if and how the Qur'an distinguishes between urbanism in general and the quality of urbanism in particular.

The city

The word "qaryah" (village) occurs in the Qur'an 57 times; the city occurs 17 times and it is referred to as "madinah", and it occurs 3 times in the context of "l'tafaka" implying subverted cities (Kassis, 1983). It is important to note that almost all of the references to cities occur in Early Meccan revelations with the exception of a few Middle and Late Meccan ones.

The discussion of the city occurs in three contexts: the past, present and implications for the future. These are directly related to the manner and spirit in which all historical literature in Islam is to be understood. It
follows the Qur'anic way of referring to the past in order to exhort the faithful to learn from the mistakes of their predecessors. On a number of occasions the Qur'an makes historical references to cities from the Old Testament: "the people of Abraham, the men of Midian and the Subverted cities" (69:9). Most earlier references are to Cities of the Plains, Sodom and Gomorrah (Kassis, 1983). These were the cities where earlier prophets, beginning with Noah, had been rejected and later destroyed through calamities, and they offered a warning for the contemporary Meccan society at the time to correct their ways. The Meccan society was highly urbanized and commercialized. It comprised a self-satisfied and pagan, mostly merchant population. In its social degeneration, oppression, moral disunity and commercial malpractice it strongly resembled earlier societies. That the Qur'an rejected this kind of urbanism is clear: "a city We have destroyed that flourished in insolent ease" (28:58); "why was there never a city that believed and its belief profited it" (10:98). The presence of the word "ahlaka" meaning "to destroy" occurred 14 times with reference to the city, 7 times out of which it is made clear that only a certain type of city would be destroyed, not all: "yet thy Lord would never destroy the cities unjustly" (6:131; 11:117). On another occasion "how many a city I have respited in its evil doing" (22:48). An Islamic
concept of the city is gradually emerging that emphasizes moral purpose through a certain way of life, and code of behavior.

An additional factor that supports this theory is that during the time the Prophet (PBUH) was establishing his model community in Medina the tone and message of revelation changes. Verses referring to destruction are virtually absent. The Prophet's migration from Mecca to Medina is a powerful indication of the moral-ethical superiority of one urban tradition over another.

The Qur'an clearly distinguishes between urbanism in general and a prescribed quality of urbanism with moral-ethical intonations. Analogical reasoning would lead one to believe that it is not "the city" in the physical or geographical sense but a certain kind of human society that Islam concerns itself with.

**Nomad and city dweller**

Contained within the general belief that Islam is pro-urban is the impression that it is also anti-nomadic. Even in the literature of the recent past one finds naive statements to this order (Wheatley, 1976). This is due to a "chain" of authorship that continued the proliferation of certain notions that have existed from the beginning.
The Qur'an expresses equal lack of faith in the moral inclination of both nomad and city dweller: "how many a city turned in disdain from the commandment of its Lord" (65:8); "the Bedouins came with their excuses" (9:90). Similarly, doubts are cast over their sincerity: "some of the people of the city are grown bold in hypocrisy" (9:101); "some of the Bedouins who dwell around you are hypocrites" (9:101). The Qur'an does make a distinction between those who follow a certain pattern of behavior and those who don't: "some of the Bedouins believe in God" (9:99); "in the city there were 9 people that did corruption" (27:48). The Qur'an is equally disapproving about both attitudes and codes of behavior. The character of their rejection and that of Divine retribution is however controlled independently by their specific living conditions.

The character of their rejection emerges as a condition of their social existence: "the Bedouins are more stubborn in unbelief" (9:97); "some of the people of the city are grown bold" (9:101). The rejection of the bedouins is associated with characteristic stubbornness against change and conservatism associated with country people. The rejection of the city people, on the other hand, came from a kind of living that emboldened people living in large numbers to inspire corruption among themselves. Retribution
while it came for the nomad on a smaller scale came in the form of wrath against the city as a reward for their deeds.

**Emigration**

The subject of emigration in the Qur'an is very specific to the period of the Prophet's exodus from Mecca. This step was taken as an indication of his frustration and inability to affect change in Meccan society.

The Qur'an refers to the Prophet's followers as "those that emigrated in God's cause" (16:41). The narrative character of the Qur'an is obvious. A more analogous quote would be: "those who emigrate and struggle in God's way" (2:218). With reference to this particular injunction the Prophet (PBUH) had indicated that emigration after the Meccan incidence was not obligatory. An understanding of this within the Islamic framework would be any action, mental or physical, similar to emigration in "striving in the cause of Allah" (Khan, 1975:1). In the context of the city specifically it would mean moving away from a city if one is unable to affect moral and ethical change.

**Congregational prayer**

The subject of Friday prayer is dealt with in a special sura, "Sura Al-Jumu'ah". The spirit of the Sura is described by its translator as "stressing the need for
mutual contact in a community for worship and understanding" (62:9). It must be stressed that "Sura Al-Jumu'ah" was one of the revelations that came to the Prophet(PBUH) in Medina as a guide to conducting affairs in the Medinian environment. It does not however, specify the number of people that can form an everyday congregation or the one on Friday. Nor "jami", a mosque, to be especially constructed for a Friday prayer is indicated. Again it is not mentioned anywhere that "azan" (call to prayer) can only be proclaimed in the city.

The underlying theme, if interpreted within the universal framework of Islam would indicate that when it is time for prayers Muslims should abandon what they are doing and turn their attention towards God through prayer. Congregational prayer in the context of a city in particular has important socio-political functions which are not necessary in the middle of a desert. It is here that the community organizes itself for action against any kind of oppression. A number of the Prophet's sayings indicate that "azan" should be said even while in the desert, and they encourage nomads to unite in communal prayer even if there are only three people (Khan, 1975). This is indicative of the spirit of the Qur'anic verses. This character of the Qur'an is what makes revelation timeless and placeless and renders its message effective in any environment. The
Qur'an does not concern itself with specificities related to urban living; it does however implicitly reject amoral and unethical existence. While the Qur'an indicates the general mood related to principles of existence it does not spell out the method. Important to note is also that it does not continue with the same theme or mode of rhetoric throughout. The Qur'an is not ritualistic in essence, but prescriptive in nature. The Meccan revelations are clear in their warnings to society on their way of life and retribution in store. Medinian revelations, on the other hand, are doctrinal in essence and emphasize community responsibility, solidarity and pave the way for institutions in the Islamic society.

**Hadith and Urbanism**

Certain historical and structural factors led to the predominance of the city as the scene of much action. This was especially noticeable in the two centuries after the Prophet's death when armies spread Islam through the conquests of many cities. Legislation was then adopted and modified after the fashion of the Prophet(PBUH) in order to establish and guide the recent converts. The purpose of the Hadith was not historic or symbolic but of emulative value to the people.
The choice of a businessman and city-dweller as a prophet lent much impetus to the status of urbanite. Focus on the Prophet's life as a model for the Islamic community helped in creating a strong urban profile for Islam. Much of his life which was spent in the city of Medina was recorded by his followers in order to apply every detail of his behavior to their existence. They conveyed his opinions, approval, and disapproval of happenings in his immediate surroundings in order that all Muslims may apply them in their own lives (Ateshin, 1989).

The early spread of Islam was largely through conquest of areas that had already been urbanized extensively (Blake and Lawless, 1980; Abdulac, 1984; Lapidus, 1973). During the life of the Prophet(PBUH) and even more so after his death most conversions took place in the city. This led to an identification of adoption of the faith with living in the city (Eisenstadt and Shacar, 1987). It is understandable that during the time of the Prophet(PBUH) his followers would want to stay in close vicinity to learn about the new faith. In addition to this there has always been a tendency of members of new faiths to stay close to each other in the face of potential prosecution.

At the time of Islamic conquests urbanism was already an established phenomenon in the Near-East. Pre-Islamic cities, therefore, laid the foundation for cities in the
Islamic civilization (Lapidus, 1973; Brown, 1973, Ismail, 1972). In most Hellenic and Persian cities that were captured, the Agora and the temple were appropriated for purposes of communal prayer (Ismail, 1972; Blake and Lawless, 1980; Wheatley, 1976). These were almost always located centrally at the intersection of two main roads. The strategic location of the grand mosque was therefore a matter of convenience rather than pre-conceived thought.

Quairouan, Kufa, Basra, and Fustat are examples of garrison towns (Abdulac, 1984; Blake and Lawless, 1980). These emerged from camps consisting of a few invaders, their families, servants, and some merchants. The mosque and the army headquarters were placed at a central location to make them more accessible from all points of the camp (Akbar, 1988). The town grew around the original camp site and the mosque developed into the heart of an evolving city (Abdulac, 1984). This kind of town is referred to as a 'spontaneous' town and it is distinguished from the captured town (Von Grunebaum, 1976).

Ideology played an important role at the time when armies of converts overtook cities (Blake and Lawless, 1980). Religion provided the rationale for imbuing solidarity among people used to group loyalties (Hassan, 1972). Ideology maintained the stable life of the state, triggered its destruction and overthrew it at times of
crises. Bonds that led to solidarity within communities continued to prevail for a long time. Its foundations however were laid in the early periods of Islam.

Being a significant and irreducible component of any cultural order, the transference of ideology through time provides us with an indication of the relevance of historical events associated with it. Certain events during the life of Prophet Muhammad(PBUH), and within two centuries of his death, enhanced the strength of association of the city with Islam (Blake and Lawless, 1980; Abdulac, 1984; Lapidus, 1973). The Prophet's early experiences laid the foundations on which urban experiences of the future Muslim's were based for years to come.

The city

The Hadith do not record that the Prophet(PBUH), at any time, condemned or favored any particular environment, urban or rural. Any mention of the character of a city is made through the nature of encounters the Prophet(PBUH) had with the inhabitants. Naturally, the responses of the Prophet(PBUH) were not dissimilar to the character established in the Qur'an. As mentioned earlier they cannot be termed urban or anti-urban but a response against particular social conditions of living. An occasion reported wherein the Prophet(PBUH) forbade his followers to
enter a particular city due to its moral and spiritual disrepute supports this assumption.

**Nomads and city dwellers**

Hadith books and collections were not accessible at the time of conducting this study. It is safe to assume, however, that if a person picked up any Hadith randomly and went over a list of topics such as behavior, forgiveness, cheerfulness, goodwill and prohibitions, most if not all would apply to all Muslims regardless of whether they are nomads or city-dwellers.

Some specific injunctions related to graveyards, neighbors, fair dealing and mosques would apply to towns or villages only (Khan, 1975). Naturally, these do not apply to desert living and nomadic existence and are intended to instruct larger permanent communities.

**Congregational Prayer**

Congregational prayer in general and Friday prayer in particular were encouraged by the Prophet (PBUH). It followed the spirit of revelation, that prayer was incumbent upon every believer, and communal prayer upon any person not living alone. It was seen as a way to extend moral and political unity through the institution of the mosque. This directive can be understood by the Prophet's instruction
that no person should leave after prayer without having spoken to at least one other person in the congregation. The Hadith does not specify any number as a minimum required for Friday prayer or other congregational prayers. One Hadith mentions the Prophet(PBUH) saying "If there are three in a village or even in a desert and they do not join in prayer, satan would surely overcome them so always gather for prayers for a wolf would rend a solitary sheep" (Khan, 1975).

It is important to detect a contextual difference between Qur'anic injunctions and efforts of the Prophet(PBUH) and his followers centuries later. While urbanism in the Qur'an is a theological precept related to living environment, during the Prophet's time and thereafter urbanism became a socio-political factor of great importance. Maintenance of political unity under a religious umbrella was necessary to enhance the role of Muslims in the region. With time, moral emphasis waned but the communal emphasis stayed. This is visible through works describing social conditions even 300 years after the prophets up to the Medieval Muslim period. This was due to the ideological and political impetus that it received.
Experience in Early Islamic Communities

Some followers of the Prophet(PBUH) were "emphatic in their support for city life as a focus of the community" (Khan, 1975). After the death of the Prophet(PBUH) his companions and their followers strove to keep the Muslim community united at any cost. They saw it as a way to preserve the moral and political unity of the community and to protect themselves against their enemies. Abu Bakr, a companion of the Prophet(PBUH), is said to have advised followers to move away from an isolated existence to one in a larger community of believers, since isolated individuals may become an easy target for satan (Khan, 1975).

Like the Hadith, these experiences capture the socio-political mood of their times. The socio-political significance of community however, increased from previously proportionate amounts to dominate other aspects of community relating to moral-ethical behavior.

Controversial Hadith material and the emergence of fallacies

Despite all efforts to maintain authenticity, Hadith material was subjected to dogmatic interpretations and loyalties arising from social and political dissention. This was directly the result of socio-political significance of Muslim patriarchism. The inclusion of certain material was the result of desperate attempts of legal scholars who
strived to maintain communal unity at any costs. If encouraging sedentary existence would in any way contain the politically volatile tribes and incorporate them into the Muslim community they would do it. Especially during the Umayyad period nomadism always lay under the surface of urban existence, and tribes went back and forth from one way of life to another. This led to dissension between hard core urbanites and the nomads (Khalidi, 1985).

Another dimension of the nomadic-urban struggle was the Kharijite and Shi'ite revolt against the political domination of the urbanites (Faruqi, 1979). The Shi'ite's and Kharijite's were mostly rural sectarian militant movements that constantly disturbed the peace of mind of the city dwellers. False information was circulated in order to glorify one tribe and demean another through associations with the Prophet(PBUH). Due to this struggle and the danger it posed to the Hadith literature, genealogical studies developed in order to locate a scholar's tribe and his political loyalty. This only served to enhance the clannish problems and the effort to find a way to associate themselves with the Prophet(PBUH) to raise their status. Since a majority of scholars that contributed to Hadith comprised urban intellectuals from Medina and Baghdad the spirit of their work was urban, commercial and pragmatic.
The subject matter of Hadith never strayed away from Islamic moral and ethical essence despite occasional attempts at fabrication. Sometimes, things were overlooked if they enhanced community solidarity and served to control the rebellious elements in society (Khalidi, 1985). This element of fabrication remained associated with the particular Hadith however, and lowered its authentic value and its position in the hierarchy of hadith. When the situation got totally out of hand the development of secular literature protected the Hadith from further development in this direction.

Summary

It may be said that Islamic urbanism was guided by the principles of Revelation, the content of the Prophet's experiences that defined a way of life, and through the consensus of the community. This indicates that while the Qur'an established the moral-ethical base, the Prophet(PBUH) clearly built day to day existence on it, thereby linking Islam and urbanism.

In a study of the Hadith and the Sunnah a couple of important factors arise that are essential in understanding the connection between the Prophetic model and urbanism. The sayings and doings of the Prophet(PBUH) were the
elements upon which urban existence of future communities was legitimized as an accepted way of life through its institutionalization. In other words the Islamic model of urbanism constructed by the Prophet (PBUH) instructs life, or how to inhabit space through appropriate behavior. Through its shaping of human relations based on Qur'anic principles, the Prophetic model of urbanism implicitly instructs how to shape space and interact in it.

In conclusion, it might be said that though the Qur'an is the point of origin of urbanism in Islam, the Prophetic model is the shaping and nurturing force.
"Tradition carries with it more than ideas capable of logical form: it embodies a life that includes at the same time sentiments, thoughts, beliefs, aspirations and actions....

- Mohammed Arkoun (1989:241)

Strategies for survival in the process of creating the built environment are related to ecology and resources. In addition, space is established by a social code that results from a paradigmatic structure that is generated by the world view held by the society. A settlement, urban or rural therefore, is about agreement, by people, of common goals and beliefs that direct them.

Built environment embodies choices and decisions about social, economic, religious, communal and ethical factors. Organization of space in a society, reveals their values and purposes and the means designed to achieve them.

Pre-Islamic towns of Aleppo and Damascus were laid in a grid pattern with the temple and agora placed in central positions (Wagstaff, 1980; Ismail, 1972; Hourani, 1970). This controlled space organization represented a particular kind of society, its code of behavior and its mechanisms of control (Fig. 1a).

A loose network evolved over the grid pattern of these cities after their conquest by the Muslims. To an observer the Islamic city seemed to represent a chaotic space organization that lacked physical direction or focus. The
Figure 1a. Pre-Islamic city (derived from Elisseeff, 1970, p.169)

Figure 1b. Islamic city (derived from Elisseeff, 1970, p.166)
apparent lack of focus or strict definition of space indicated the operation of a different set of criteria and different mechanisms of control, that represent Islamic society (Fig. 1b).

The question that arises here is, if the Islamic city seems formless and appears to lack coherence, yet it survived for many centuries, what held these cities together? To understand the Islamic city it is necessary to go beyond mere spatial organization, in order to discover a social order that informs the logic of space.

**Moral Unity, Social Relations and Ethical Responsibility**

Three fundamental principles direct and shape space in the Islamic city. They are: moral unity, social relations and ethical responsibility (Fig. 2). Moral unity creates specific social and religious points of integration in the fabric of the city through the spatial organization of the hierarchy of mosques. Social relations direct spaces and paths in public, residential and domestic domains and lead to specific kinds of cluster formations around concentrated areas of use. Ethical responsibility guides responsible use of space and its maintenance as well as respect for the rights of others in the community.
Figure 2. Logic of Islamic space organization
Moral unity

According to Ansari and Shaheer "no other religious practice has been so instrumental in establishing basic physical frame of a Muslim city than that of facing Ka'aba for prayers" (1981:73). This physical frame manifests itself in space and time. To begin with, Muslims are required to pray in the direction of "Ka'aba", known as "qibla" to Muslims, which is a holy structure located in the center of the "masjid-al-haram", the Grand mosque of Mecca, Saudi Arabia. The "Ka'aba" represents the unifying factor for prayer at all social and spatial levels at all times for all Muslims around the globe. A universal socio-spatial moral unity is made possible through the Qur'an that instructs all believers partaking in the rituals of faith to orient themselves to the Ka'aba when they are praying (Fig. 3a).

"And now verily We shall make thee turn toward a qibla which is dear to thee. So turn (in prayer) thy face toward the masjid-al-haram and ye (O Muslims), wheresoever ye may be, turn your faces (when ye pray) toward it."

(The Holy Qur'an, 2:144)

The above suggests that mosques integrate the city in an hierarchic spatial organization, indicating the central role of mosques in the moral unity of Muslims and in how they organize their space and communities. In the words of Yaqub Zaki, "the Muslim world is spread out like a gigantic wheel with Mecca as the hub, with lines drawn from all the
mosques in the world forming spokes" (Zaki, 1978). A manifestation of this unity is experienced during the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. Muslims are encouraged to perform this pilgrimage at least once in their life. Again, the pilgrimage takes place during a specific period of time, once a year, and its rituals are performed in specific places in Mecca.

Hierarchy of mosques

The spatial distribution of mosques in any Islamic city reflect an hierarchical system for organizing the space in these cities (Fig. 3b). Every city has a grand mosque. Such a mosque is usually centrally located in the city, and it is the largest mosque in it. It is, in many ways, the mosque of the whole city.

Muslims celebrate annually two religious holidays, called Eids. The two major Eid's unite Muslims from the city and surrounding areas. Eid mosques can be considered as district mosques, since each district in the city will have one. Such a mosque is centrally located in the district and it is usually of a smaller scale than the Grand Mosque. This Eid mosque is used, of course, all the time, but it serves the additional function of bringing the people of the district together during the Eid prayer. In India and Pakistan, due to its limited use and ease of access to people from surrounding areas, the Eid mosque is located on the outskirts of the city.
Figure 3a. Universal socio-spatial moral unity

Figure 3b. Hierarchy of mosques in space
The third level in the hierarchy of mosques is represented by the Friday mosque. Muslims are encouraged to pray together, and they are especially encouraged to have a communal prayer at the noon Friday prayer. Friday mosques are smaller in scale than the Eid mosques, and they also tend to be centrally located in their communities.

The last level of this hierarchy of mosques is the local mosque which is much smaller than all previous ones. Friday prayer is not performed in it since the people of the neighborhood go to the Friday or the Eid mosque for this prayer.

Daily prayer, then, can be performed in individual houses or at any accessible mosque. Ansari and Shaheer indicate "the hierarchic distribution of mosques performing the role of integration, of man with God and of the whole community itself" (1981:73). It should be obvious from the above that the mosque is the chief organizing factor of space in a Muslim city. It represents a space for social interaction that characterized traditional Islamic cities.

Other public functions such as the market and school linked themselves to the various levels of mosques. The regional market was placed by the city gates along the chief transportation routes that led outside and into the city, and also in the vicinity of the Eid mosque. This allowed travellers and merchants to conduct their business without disturbing the city and its inhabitants. The city "suq", or
market, was in close proximity to the Grand mosque and it provided a shopping area to the local inhabitants. Similarly, smaller neighborhood shops were to be found in the vicinity of the Friday mosques and allowed the local community to fulfill their daily shopping needs (Hakim, 1986).

**Social Relations**

While moral unity created a mosque hierarchy, this hierarchy generated social relations networks in the traditional Islamic society through developing a space structure that enveloped it. Level of social relations, therefore, defined the progression of space from private to semi-private and, then, to public spaces (Fig. 4). In the words of Shaheer and Ansari, "physical form of the traditional city exhibits a progression of urban spaces extending hierarchically from the public domain to the smallest unit of the city" (1981:74).

Domestic space or individual houses represent the most private and sacred space in the city. Within the neighborhood these spaces gradually move out into the semi-private space of the cul-de-sac, and then on to the chief residential street. Relationships among and within quarters led to specific creation of social spaces and pathways (Hassan, 1972).
Figure 4. Progression of spaces
As one emerged from the neighborhood and proceeded towards the Friday mosque, the "suq" space became increasingly public. Public areas are represented by spaces in which "by definition everything is visible and seen" (Gilsenan, 1982:171). This social hierarchy of spaces was a clear indication that in a Muslim city spatial organization corresponded to social organization (Lapidus, 1967; 1969).

**Ethical Responsibility**

Besides shaping space, Islamic behavioral principles gave rise to a specific kind of legislation based on urban living as an act of faith. Developed through Qur'anic principles, the Hadith, and Sunnah of the Prophet(PBUH), Islamic legislation achieved contemporaneity through public consensus on legal matters.

Social relations, ethics and mutual responsibility were the fountainhead for all legislation, and many regulations originated in the social practice of privacy (Hathloul, 1980; Hakim, 1986). In Abu-Lughod's words "it was legal notions of proper behavior in space and legal regulations in property relationships that created over and over again certain recurring solutions to the question of urban spatial organization" (Abu-Lughod, 1987). Rules were value-centered and sought the promotion of moral-ethical values in the community (Llewelyn, 1980). They were based on an assessment of injury to oneself, injury to neighbor, injury
to society and injury to creation as a whole. Adherence to social and religious beliefs and ingrained respect for religious authority prevented anarchy in urban space. Urban processes were supported by self-regulatory societal behavior and communal responsibility. The unique character of space was therefore made possible through consensus and localized problem-solving.

The Socio-spatial Context of the Traditional city

In the traditional Islamic city prescriptions about social relations defined space. In response to these social criteria, three types of spaces can be identified: private, semi-private and public. These spaces correspond to the three central institutions of Muslim society, the house, the neighborhood and the mosque (Sardar, 1984). Level of privacy in space is defined by the social relations of persons using the space. In this way it is possible to delineate a socio-spatial progression beginning with the individual dwelling, the most private space in the city, towards semi-private, and progressively to more public spaces. Circulation at the city-level, within the neighborhood and in the individual dwelling developed through consideration for these levels of social inter-mixing and nature of activity. Of particular interest are
the mechanisms that define boundaries and facilitate transitions between these types of spaces.

The house The dwelling within a neighborhood connotes the most sacred of relations - the family (Fig. 5a). Family life according to the Qur'an affords the highest level of privacy, and requires visual protection from outsiders. The house is especially seen as the domain of women, and their movements within the house were maintained so as to avoid contact with strangers. To ensure the highest levels of privacy within the house, a double circulation system within the house was developed. The "salaama laik" area was reserved for use by male members of the household and their guests, while the "haraama laik" area was restricted to the women in the family and their guests. This led to the evolution of specific housing types that facilitated the criteria for privacy. In houses which have one courtyard the "haraama laik" occupied the upper level. In houses with two courtyards one was used by women and the other by the male members and their guests (Ismail, 1972).

Concern for privacy and Islamic restraint against ostentatious display led to a concentration of spaces inward (Wheatley, 1976). Facades were bare and had limited openings to the exterior. While the facade presented an impenetrable structure the interior was lavishly decorated. Windows that opened out into another person's property or
the street were raised so as to prevent visual access from
Doors that opened out into the street were never placed
opposite each other. This not only prevented physical
obstruction, but also ensured privacy. Roof tops if
intended for use were protected by high walls. The height
of buildings was also limited due to the danger of visual
exposure of activities on the roof-tops and courtyards of
houses from neighbors (Hakim, 1986).

**Transition from private to semi-private space**

The "skifa", "driba" and "fina" are spatial elements
exclusive to traditional Islamic houses (Fig. 5b). They
describe levels of privacy within the house and its
immediate vicinity. The "skifa", the secondary vestibule,
is the space between the courtyard and the "driba", which is
the primary vestibule. The "skifa" prevented a visual
connection from the street into the courtyard of a house by
its position. A house could have from one to three
"skifa's". Each level of entry exhibits a level of
familiarity of visitor with the inhabitants. Tradesmen, for
example, did not get further than the first "skifa" (Hakim,

"Fina" is the term used for the interior courtyard of
the house and the exterior space immediately adjacent to the
exterior wall of the house. Exterior "fina" was treated as
Figure 5a. "Skifa" and "Fina" (derived from Hakim, 1986, p. 28 and p. 126)

Figure 5b. The House (derived from Hakim, 1986, p. 97)
a semi-private space by most jurists. Its use by the owner was dependent on the width of the right of way and for temporary use, such as loading and unloading. Since in many cases houses adjacent to each other were occupied by persons belonging to the extended family this semi-private space was used for communal activities (Hakim, 1986; Hathloul, 1980; Akbar, 1988).

The neighborhood

The concept of extended family among Islamic societies led to the enhancement of social and communal ties. The neighborhood in the Islamic city represented a multiplicity of families (Fig. 6a). Only those clusters of households evaluated as sustaining a particular quality of life were defined as a neighborhood (Eickelman, 1981). The families within it presented not only a tightly structured physical unit, but also a social and communal one. Private family space gradually moved into the semi-private extended family space that allowed for freedom of inter-mixing between kith and kin.

Complex network of spaces developed from a strong social hierarchy generated by norms of social behavior and relations. In the words of Kenneth Brown they are "sharing a contiguous moral unity" (Brown, 1986). Houses in the neighborhood respected the notion of privacy that prevailed by turning their design inward. Besides the streets there
Figure 6a. The neighborhood

Figure 6b. Hierarchy of streets (derived from Hakim, 1986, p.66)
was not much open space between them. The houses were structured so as to fit tightly against each other resembling the cross-section of organic cells. Each neighborhood had its own mosque, and local social and communal activities centered around it. In close proximity with this mosque was a small "suq" that served daily needs of the local community. The mosque played an important role in bringing all the heads of the families in the neighborhood together. Besides a social, religious and educational role, the mosque also served as the political rallying point for local inhabitants. The local mosque served as the local administrative center for such administrative duties.

As space became more private, its control became more limited to the people that used it. Small residential streets were primarily the concern of the residents that lived along it. In this way every inch of space within a neighborhood always had implicit ownership responsibilities attached to it (Abu-Lughod, 1980). Larger public and administrative functions of a neighborhood fell under the jurisdiction of locally appointed leaders. Local communities understood the consequences of certain developmental growth and controlled its direction (Hathloul, 1980). Besides social, political and administrative roles the local neighborhood community enforced police functions and ensured security in their homes and communal spaces.
The community enjoyed large consensus about matters pertaining to their immediate environment while the state confined its activities in the city to a minimum. This control exercised by these localized groups is visible in the unique and inimitable quality of space in each neighborhood. These levels of administrative and control signify and represent a decentralized decision making process that is characteristic of Islamic urbanism.

**Transition from semi-private to public space**

The width of a street within a neighborhood is an indication of its level of privacy and limited access (Fig. 6b). Dead-end streets, or cul-de-sacs, emerged either as a result of incremental growth or by an initial subdivision by extended family that designated part of it as a dead-end (Akbar, 1988). Depending on the relations of people occupying the houses along it, use and access of the cul-de-sac was determined.

Within the neighborhood the dead-end street and the cul-de-sac represented a limited access path for use only by the families that were contiguous. Semi-private spaces led into larger communal streets which were more busy in comparison. If the local residential street was wide enough it sometimes housed small commercial type activities. Public thoroughfares were referred to as "shari" or "tariq-al-muslimeen", indicating their common use by everyone in
the city (Hakim, 1986). They were divided into two types according to the order of their importance and use. The first order of streets connected the main gates of the city with the city center. Boundary streets that ran along the outside of the neighborhood made up the second order of streets. They allowed strangers to get to points on the other side of the neighborhood without having to pass through it. The layout of the neighborhood itself was a deterrent to anyone that wasn't familiar with its intricacies, and it discouraged anybody except residents to use the streets (Hakim, 1986).

Residential and commercial streets assumed ethical dimensions in Islam through injunctions on their use. It is quoted in one of the Hadith that the use of the street entailed such obligations as "restraining looks, removal of obstructions, reciprocation of greetings, enjoining good and preventing evil" (Khan, 1975:49).

**The city center**

As one emerges from the neighborhood one leaves the private domain and enters the public domain. All transportation arteries that run outside the neighborhood lead to the central mosque or to the Friday mosque. On the urban scale religious, commercial and social activities were intimately interwoven together. Moving towards the mosque one necessarily had to pass the "suq" or market that was
immediately adjacent to the mosque and formed an almost inseparable part of it. Together the Friday mosque and "suq" represented the busiest and most public part of the city (Fig. 7).

In the city center the local commercial community assumed responsibility for street lighting and general upkeep of the street. They maintained the space outside their individual shops and ensured a standard of cleanliness in the commercial area. In some cases local commercial communities contributed towards the upkeep of the mosque and ensured its smooth running.

**The Grand mosque**

The mosque represented to the inhabitants of the city not only the religious center, but also the social, educational and political center. This pluralistic nature of the mosque is traced to the Prophet's house that fulfilled a multiplicity of functions, both sacred and secular.

The Grand mosque usually has a vast courtyard that announces the primary public function it has assumed over time. It was here that announcements were made and large public meetings were held. This public function of the mosque caused the development of a more ambitious and large scale mosque, "jami", meaning to assemble, from its original
Figure 7. Mosque and "suq" (derived from Hakim, 1986, p. 85)
"masjid", from its root "sajada" meaning "to prostrate oneself" (Hillenbrand, 1985; Kuban, 1974).

There existed a wider identity of the mosque due to its easy incorporation into the "suq". This easy integration of both gave space in the "suq" a bipartite quality of sacred and secular, i.e., an intimate spatial intermingling of social relations of production with way of life.

The mosque had more of the character of a community center than of a place strictly separated for prayer. One of the most important functions of the mosque in the traditional city was education. Besides religious instruction which included studying the Qu'ran, Hadith and Sunnah a variety of other subjects were also taught. This function was later assumed by schools.

It was very common to find shopkeepers from the "suq" resting in the cool interior of the mosque during the siesta hours in the afternoon. The mosque thus provided an opportunity for the local commercial community to socialize. Limited membership guilds were discouraged in the city since they posed a threat to the larger moral unity of Muslims (Lapidus, 1969; Hourani, 1970). Mosques provided a common ground for group association based on wider interests and identity. This included persons from various crafts and trades who would meet in the mosque to discuss their problems and plan collective action.
The **suq**

Within the "suq" area in the city center a complex land-use pattern was in effect that permitted only the most clean and respected of activities in proximity with the mosque. Close to the mosque were located bookstores, perfumers and carpet shops. As one moved outward gold smiths, silver smiths, clothiers and cobblers could be found. Food stalls were located further away since they were messy and therefore came lower in the hierarchy of commercial activities in relation to the mosque (Hakim, 1986).

The presence of the mosque in the "suq" area not only organized the use of space within it but also created an atmosphere of ethical business relations. It was common to find businessmen setting appointments for business deals after the Friday prayer believing that both parties would approach it with a pure mind.

The strong link between religious, social, educational and commercial functions within such a small area led to greater mobility in space. It also made possible an undifferentiated lifestyle of the people.

The placement and function of lower level suqs in the vicinity of the Friday mosque and the local community mosque resemble the main mosque but at a smaller scale. In these suqs the commercial activities are limited in terms of the smaller populations they serve. In the neighborhoods the
suq and mosque complex represent the highest level of public activity within it, limited however, to inhabitants of the neighborhood.

**Summary**

The traditional Islamic city is commonly referred to as the place of "social agreement" or "tacit agreement" and sometimes as the "relational space of social solidarity" (Mechkat, 1987). These spatially communal properties is what distinguished Islamic urbanism from other types of urbanism. The Islamic city was in fact a physical manifestation of the Islamic community (Eisenstadt and Shacar, 1987).

Social consensus and the spirit of co-operation enabled the neighborhoods to maintain autonomy from the government. This had a decisive effect on where governmental power and duties stopped and the community took over. This attitude of collective responsibility in urban affairs displayed a strong connection between urban settlement and human affairs (Serageldin, 1980).

Regulations were based on the emphasis on respect for the rights of others and primary consideration for community over individual benefit. All this served to establish a code of "social cohesion" and "compulsory co-operation" in the Islamic city, wherein residents had an obligation in
terms of concrete social, economic and environmental responsibilities (Mechkat, 1987).

All actions related to individual and community living had a sacred dimension through its origin in the Sunnah of the Prophet(PBUH). Responsibility and social relations were maintained according to the Prophet's prescriptions and reinforced community solidarity.

There is a strong correlation between traditional urbanism and the Prophet's ideals of space, social, economic, religious and judicial institutions. The "Prophetic model of urbanism", basically a behavioral model outlining social relations, was constructed on Qur'anic principles. The spatial logic that was assumed in Muslim cities that followed embodied this model of urbanism. Many traditions of the Prophet(PBUH) that were recorded in the Hadith and Sunnah became the foundation of urban space, its use and regulation in the traditional city. Injunctions of the Prophet(PBUH) in the context of family, kith and kin structured the framework for social existence and its physical manifestation. These space conceptions were derived from a behavioral model, and they generated hierarchies that were not physically obvious.

Moral unity, ethical behavior, and individual and communal responsibility were the prescribed behavioral principles that directed space and its use in traditional Islamic cities. The traditional city therefore reflected
integration and unity of sacred and secular. These principles articulated spatial hierarchies that gave specificity to Islamic urbanism, and distinguished it from other kinds of urbanism.
"When all possible scientific questions have been answered, the problems of life remain completely untouched"

-Wittgenstein (as quoted by Relph, 1983:89)

Our interest in the Islamic city has been prompted by more than a fleeting curiosity in its past. Islamic society, as a rule, has held great regard for history with the belief that the key to its future lies in the past. The Qur'an refers to past events as a constant reminder of the mistakes committed by previous generations in disregarding the Divine word and the prescribed way of life. The Prophet(PBUH) set a behavioral model to guide life and its organization. In other words he designed a program for living that has been for many centuries a point of reference for all Muslims. This model gave the Islamic city in the past a distinct personality and a living quality of spaces.

The Islamic city in the 20th century appears to have severed its connection with the past. The urban grid pattern of the pre-Islamic city which was so effectively revoked by the first Muslims in order to create a relevant socio-spatial structure has reasserted itself in the modern Muslim landscape (Fig. 8a). In the words of anthropologist Geertz, "there is by now scarcely a city or town in the whole of the Middle East, however ancient, that presents a historically coherent face to the world" (Geertz, 1989:292).
Figure 8a. Proposed network to be superimposed on the old city of Isfahan in Iran (Blake and Lawless, 1980, p. 201)

Figure 8b. Dahran in Saudi Arabia, founded in 1935 (Blake and Lawless, 1980, p. 217)
In this article Geertz further comments, that this progressive disarticulation of the urban landscape is true of both Asia and Africa, but seems especially more visible in the Arab-Islamic cities (Fig. 8b).

The concerns expressed about the "modern city" as opposed in character to the "Islamic city" of the past takes special significance in the context of the unprecedented physical and economic growth witnessed in the region of Middle East and the Gulf region. Rapid transformations have occurred without allowing the time for contemplation or speculation as to the nature of urban growth. Urban growth, and rate of urbanization have been integral to the process of modernization that has occurred in this region (Blake and Lawless, 1980). Population increases are associated with rural to urban migration, inter-Arab migration and migration of labor from outside the region (Saqqaf, 1987). Oil wealth has not only increased the capacity of oil producing states to increase their scale of urban development, but created a multiplier effect over the entire region. Oil money from migrant labor being invested in their home countries has led to escalated land values and large scale urban development in surrounding countries as well (Osman, 1987).

Unprecedented economic power and increased mobility presented the ideal conditions for the introduction of Western technology. Technology, initially limited to the sphere of production gradually enveloped the entire urban
landscape, which became a vast building site (Serageldin and Vigier, 1981). Economic prosperity besides transforming the built environment "transformed lifestyles and enhanced aspiration towards large scale consumption of material goods" (Zulficar, 1981:22).

Practical decisions in the context of "major governmental policies, development strategies and even legal codes", ultimately affecting the structure of society and the shaping of its environment were taken according to Western models (Bianca, 1981:36). In effect what happened was that Islam was confined to private life contained within the microcosm of the house.

The Built Environment

**Dichotomy between the traditional and the modern**

The contemporary built environment in most Islamic countries is obviously a rejection of traditional environment (Rowe, 1983). This rejection is visible in the dichotomous nature of cities that contain a historic Medina rubbing worn out shoulders with tall buildings that gleam in the sunshine from their newness. The rupture between the two distinct forms of arranging space in the city has been described as a takeover by conventional western planning techniques, "with the effect that they have overthrown the authentic traditional pattern of Islamic cities" (Bianca,
As a result of this the historic city has either been left to decay or has been completely wiped out.

One of the most influential factors in changing the quality and character of the built environment has been the motor car. Most of the growth visible in the new city has been based on movement of traffic and long straight roads which according to Bokhari were "often destroying much of the intimate tissue of the old town" (Bokhari, 1981:80). Traffic interventions were the first step to the disintegration of the old city. Bereft of its spatial protective devices and controlled movement networks, it was exposed to the new types of transportation which, in turn, brought in development pressures and speculation (Bianca, 1982).

The "old city" has been in effect trapped at the urban core since it was physically and economically ill-equipped in preserving itself and at the same time dealing with the new demands made on it. This dichotomy is described as the result of the new image of progress perceived by the Muslim society, which is distinctly western and antithetical to Islamic tradition. This notion of progress is referred to as one which tends to separate the social, religious aspect from the material side of human existence (Serageldin, 1983; Zulficar, 1981).
The building process: a new approach to growth and development

Malik narrates the growth of mankind and its evolutionary assimilation of new ideas and technologies, and he points out that they "come through alterations and adjustments to what was there before and in a way that continued to allow each place its own expression of culture and society" (Malik, 1979:188). In other words he purports that progress must necessarily be rooted in established culture, history and identity of a place.

The building process in the traditional city was incremental, additive and irregular (Rowe, 1983). The process of development was intimately connected and evolved with community growth. This process is indicative of a particular kind of social structure and its needs and intentions. In other words space and the direction it took was in a continuous dialectical process with society (Abu-Lughod, 1987).

The new model of development which entailed the introduction of a new building process, is seen by many as failing miserably to establish a connection with the society for which it was intended. Mechanistic approaches undermined the social context by isolating space from human activities and, linked space with functional criteria independent of the social context. This process has resulted in the division of urban space into areas defined
for housing, recreation, commerce, industry and other land uses. This means that to restore the spatial and functional connection between these entities high speed communication networks have to be established.

The logic of land use in the modern city is unlike that of the traditional Islamic city. In the old city mosques created fixed points around which the socio-spatial structures evolved. Residential land use was determined by the size and the use of ethnic groups that determined details of neighborhood space according to social behavior and ritual (Abu-Lughod, 1980). Commercial land uses arranged themselves around mosques in an hierarchy of functions, the cleanest functions closest to the mosque and the noisy and smelly ones further away. Roads were allocated and sized according to their level of public use, where public roads being wide and semi-public ones being narrower. The allocation of roads was subservient to the allocation of residential and commercial land uses.

The traditional method of land allocation has been inverted in the contemporary city, wherein roads play a deciding role in allocating land uses. The logic of land uses is not related to institutions and society as it was traditionally, instead it is a response to projected economic and physical growth. Residential planning is based on economic factors unlike the social factors that determined residential land use in traditional cities (Abu-
Lughod, 1980). Planning is conceived in the contemporary context as the arrangement of functions in order to achieve economic and functional efficiency.

Tools for development - new participants in the creation of space

To aid the building process and facilitate a rapid transformation of the built environment, there has been large scale importation of technology, materials and expertise. The major reason for this was due to the short transitional period, in some cases forty years or less, from old to new. The second reason is identified as the shortage of indigenous, trained planners and urban designers (Bokhari, 1981). According to Rowe, a "plausible alternative explanation for extensive rejection of traditional practices may also be preferred in the light of the sheer difficulty of relating these practices and institutional processes to the practical exigencies and procedure of large scale modern building" (1983:27).

Standardized building materials and construction technology were imported to enable construction of multi-storey housing, industry and corporate offices. This was done at a rapid pace in order to accommodate large numbers of rural population that poured in within a short period of time as a result of urbanization to assume a productive role in the economy. The rapid pace of absorption of new
technology made a process of selection and adaption of these innovations, in order to integrate them meaningfully, next to impossible (Bianca, 1981).

New standardized regulatory mechanisms were viewed as technical devices, and they were introduced to control the modern urban machine in order to make it run smoothly. These regulations were adopted and enforced based on the premise that "regulations are neutral things that have nothing to do with culture or with society" (Reda, 1984:114). These regulations, unlike traditional regulatory mechanisms, were not based on communal relations, communal consensus, communal responsibility or communal welfare. They removed control of the immediate surroundings from the hands of communities and placed them in centralized bureaucratic hands, leading to a bureaucratic interpretation of peoples needs (Serageldin and Vigier, 1983). This totally eliminated any flexibility in regulations as opposed to those that characterized the unique character of space in the traditional city. Besides the use of standardized materials and technology, this has been one of the main factors that has led to monotony and sterility in the built environment.

Communities, in the process of modern development, have been disenfranchised from the process of settlement and habitation (Rowe, 1983). In modern developments, new participants in the creation of space are developers,
financial corporations and speculators. Participatory processes that existed earlier were abandoned due to their practical irrelevance to the scale and scope of new construction projects.

New conceptions of urban space

One of the primary results of the adoption of technical standards for development was that space became a raw material to be dissected and consumed. It came to be regarded as a resource to meet growth requirements or merely a location. Rational approaches and quantitative methods in planning space have eliminated the humanistic perspective (Bianca, 1981). Space has assumed a uniformity and interchangeability and an undifferentiated character that permits manipulation of objects and activities on its surface. The urban landscape has taken on the character of a large drawing board on which diagrammatical schemes are blown up and placed (Zulficar, 1981). Instead of experiential or lived space we have the space of cognitive mapping. Compared with the traditional city in which living and social behavior was organized, in the modern city materialities are organized to maximize profit, comfort or status. This has led to the substitution of the organic unity of space by its compartmentalization.

Besides organization of space its character has also changed substantially. Earlier there existed intimate
relations between people and social and religious institutions and the surrounding spaces. Spaces derived a polysemic character from containing and preserving the traditions, behavioral mode and activities that had a historical reference in the Sunnah and Hadith of the Prophet (PBUH). This ascribed a sacred character even to spaces that would normally be categorized as secular (Gilsenan, 1982). The value of space therefore, lay in its capacity to contain and reflect the beliefs, ethical and moral values. In contrast, the value of space in the modern city lies in its developmental potential and access in terms of functionalism.

Social relations and spatial gender segregation in the traditional city were responsible for the creation of relational space and gender space. The loss of these concepts has resulted in the elimination of semi-private spaces, leaving only public and private space in the new city. This has been largely a result of valorization and ownership and frequent changes in ownership requiring strict, defined boundaries. The most important factor though, remains breakdown of community structures leading to breakdown in relational space.
Institutions

"the connection between the quality in our lives and the same quality in our surroundings is not just an analogy. The fact is that each one creates the other"

-Christopher Alexander (1979:53)

The family, neighborhood and mosque have traditionally been the central institutions in Islamic society. According to Malik "recent developments in the Muslim cities have been achieved at considerable expense to the quality of its social cohesion and organization" (Malik, 1979:187). He points out that in this process of development, the historic ambience of the city, its community structure, its social balance and lifestyle have depreciated considerably.

The house

In the process of modernization Islam has lost its use as overall social order and has been limited to private life (Bianca, 1982). Consequently, the family by itself as a social unit, has not been damaged. The physical structure of the dwelling unit, unlike the social structure within it, has been subjected to much change.

The house has turned itself inside out, the facade displaying wealth and social status. Space has been inverted, by eliminating the familial space of the courtyard in the traditional house and placing the house in the center
of a large plot. Treating the house as a manipulable object in space, isolated and exposed.

Traditional elements, like the proper placement of doors and windows that supported the sacrosanct role of family and preserved the privacy of family have been ignored.

The neighborhood

According to Zulficar, "the architectural coherence of traditional neighborhoods was supported by strong communities" (Zulficar, 1981:40). The clustering of households, corner to corner, and the communal spaces between them, were an indication of the close relations that extended into space. Territoriality lent an integrity to space that protected it from violation, leaving no gaps in the fabric of space that could render it meaningless (Bianca, 1981). Though the family as a unit has not lost its unity, the extended family characteristic of traditional settlements has been lost in the process of modernization. Individual house and private space represent the individual and public space represents the state, the community and communal space is non-existent.

The lack of communal space has also eliminated the need for communal association in order to fulfill environmental responsibilities invested in them. There has been an introduction of public space in the neighborhood that has
replaced community space. This is unlike the old city in which neighborhoods comprised primarily private and semi-private space. Lighting, maintenance and landscaping in neighborhoods, were traditionally maintained by the community. In recent times this has become the responsibility of the government.

The new process of settlement has led to the loss of the neighborhood as a spatial and social unit. Earlier definitions of the space in the Islamic city being "relational space" and "space of social agreement" are no longer valid (Mechkat, 1987). The containment of the individual in Islam, firstly within the family and then within the community, is no longer a legitimate criteria of existence in the modern urban environment. Neighborhood space is now an undifferentiated space of anonymity.

The mosque

Traditionally the mosque provided for the community a fixed socio-religious point, around which communities arranged themselves. The hierarchy of mosques played a vital part in organizing space in the entire city (Hakim, 1986). The hierarchical mosque core structure was an implicit representation of a decentralized power structure that centered around autonomous communities, as opposed to the present social structure of individual or corporation versus state. The pluralistic political, social and spatial
order has been replaced by the monism of the modern city and a strong central bureaucracy.

The new spatial and socio-religious function of the mosque has been described by Serageldin as the "churchification" of the mosque (Serageldin, 1980:45). This refers to its role singularly as the place for worship, unlike the earlier wider pluralistic social identity it enjoyed in society.

The mosque has lost its central position as the neighborhood base, and urban central core, and the point around which major commercial activities were centered. It has instead assumed a peripheral position in the modern city, while the CBD or the modern corporate enclave has replaced its central position as urban core. The neighborhoods on the other hand have a school or a shopping complex as the place where people socialize during their leisure time.

The important role that the mosque in traditional cities played in ordering the land use and hierarchy of roads has also been forsaken for economic developmental concerns.
Desecularization of Space and Society - The New Model of Urbanism

Islamic traditions produced an urban paradigm which accorded high value to a prescribed way of life. It was a qualitative model that elaborated Muslim identity in space. Gender spatial segregation and social relational space conveyed messages about territoriality. The sacred character imbued in the act of prayer and its spatial orientation and the moral-ethical dictates of daily life imparted a sacred character and an overall moral unity in the city. Space besides sustaining life and activity, became a constant reminder of a strong spiritual presence and the purpose of life itself.

This model of urbanism was based upon the principles of moral unity, communal relations and ethical responsibility. The central institutions it established were the family, community and the mosque. The principles of Islamic existence reflected themselves first in attitudes, then in social rules of conduct, individual patterns of behavior and finally materialized in the built environment (Bianca, 1981). It, therefore, established the Muslim way of life in space, confirming the human values and spiritual values it holds dear. This model of urbanism is derived from the Prophetic model of urbanism that established the ideal.
Muslim community in Medina, Saudi Arabia. It explicitly emphasizes urban living as an act of faith (Rowe, 1983).

The introduction of Western technology and simultaneously, western lifestyles, political and regulatory systems, was initially not seen as a threat to Islamic identity. This is because modernism was viewed as neutral and value free. However, recently many scholars have pointed out that they "imply a value system and an ideology of their own which is inseparable from corresponding techniques" (Bianca, 1981). In other words, modernism is a process of ideological reconstruction, aimed at reconstructing the very basis of life, social structure and physical fabric.

This model of urbanism does not reflect either the Muslim way of life or Muslim values. It has, therefore, ruptured an integral and continuous interaction of the Muslim with his/her environment. The socio-religious content is absent from spaces that result from this model. In Bokhari's opinion this model is representative of transient values rather than the eternal values of the traditional model (Bokhari, 1981).

According to this model architecture and planning are seen as appropriate solutions to the problems of modern day built environment. Planning is conceived of not in terms of territorial collectivity but as development and arrangement of materialities in space in relation to potential consumers
of space. This model is devised on a universal principle of mankind that assumes a uniformity of cultures, geography applicable to everyone everywhere. The urban institutions are not explicitly defined in this model of urbanism, but the state and corporate institutions assume the role of shaping space and controlling it.

The City as the Place of The Human Condition

"The city is its people" is an old saying that goes back so long that its origins are forgotten. The relation between space and living has been a condition of human existence from the beginning of life.

In the modern city, it is almost impossible to establish the connection between human life and space. The condition and quality of life seems to have been usurped by economic criteria and efficiency in terms of production, distribution and consumption. The loss of relational space concomitant with the loss of communal relations is an indication of the lostness that can be experienced in modern urban space. The sense of belonging that came with strong institutional structures has been destroyed and replaced with individualism.

In the context of the new city in Islamic countries people feel disoriented with their surroundings (Saqqaf, 1987; Zulficar, 1983; Rowe, 1983; Antoniou, 1981; Serageldin
and Vigier, 1983). An alienation has set in that has a socio-religious character besides a spatial one. This alienation has manifested itself through a number of ways. It includes the disconnection of the inhabitants with the process of habitation, their lack of power over their immediate environment, the breakdown of community structures and the absence of a spiritual center in a community as represented by the mosque in traditional society.

In the words of Nisbet, "interpersonal relationships do exist even now. But it is more and more apparent that for more and more people such relationships are morally empty and psychologically baffling. For more and more individuals social relationships have lost much of their historic function of mediating between man and the larger end of our civilization" (Nisbet, 1953:52). Further, Nisbet points that contemporary alienation is due to the problem of institutional functions and relations that communicate purpose and integration to individuals. In traditional society, the individual was conscious of being a member of a family and a society. The adoption of modern societal standards based on the belief that the individual's well being is best served by allowing the largest area of moral and social autonomy has only added to the state of anomie of the individual. In this light loss of community is the essential phenomenon through which alienation must be considered.
Summary

Perhaps the most important change in the lives of the people in the contemporary city has been the desecularization of life and the confrontation between Islam and modernity. The displacement of Islam from its all-encompassing role of providing the framework for urbanism and existence has only given way to a foreign ideology and code of existence. Alienation has been the direct result of the adoption of a foreign model, that has entailed changes in social and communal structures in addition to replacing the traditional process of building and tools of development.
CHAPTER VI. MODERN URBAN DILEMMA - A SEARCH FOR THE "ISLAMIC CITY"

The physical, social and moral conditions of contemporary Islamic urbanism have given way to growing concerns among urban professionals and academicians. The "myth of modernism" and its technology and tools have recently come under scrutiny, criticism and attack (Malik, 1979; Zulficar, 1981, 1983; Serageldin and Vigier, 1983).

Concerns for preservation of the historic city and the continued use of Islamic architectural and space principles and symbols have been around for a long time. Present spatial characteristics in new cities have been criticized. Space consciousness has been identified with personal, individual idiosyncracies and theoretical assumptions by designers. The aspect of adoption of western models and critique of its influence on physical character of cities has developed over the years.

This critique has recently been overshadowed by a powerful movement that first started to develop in the early eighties. The movement pushed for a rediscovery of the Islamic intellectual and ethical identity, beginning with the development of a critique of the dominant western model of urbanism. Disruption of the Islamic way of life and the destruction of its ideological expression of existence have been attacked repeatedly by all proponents of the movement (Ateshin, 1989; Haider, 1984; Malik, 1989).
Doubts have also emerged concerning centralization and the total elimination of community mechanisms by which inhabitants of traditional cities exercised control over their surroundings. Serious concerns have been expressed about the suitability of the western model of centralized bureaucratic structure to the Islamic context. These concerns can, according to their nature of query and solutions proposed be divided into two categories, physical and ideological.

The Physical Context

In the physical context the decline of "architectural quality of the city in Islam" is attributed to adoption of western norms (Al-Sayyad, 1987; Zulficar, 1983). The physiognomy of cities in Muslim countries is referred to as a "grotesque imitation of modern western cities" (Kuban, 1983). The structures of modern cityscapes are viewed as a rationalization of the new technological order that has already consumed other cities in the world (Malik, 1989; Rowe, 1983; Zulficar, 1983). Besides technology, the introduction of standardized regulatory systems are blamed for visible sterility and monotony. Similarly, the adoption of western prototypes for buildings with public dimensions is held responsible for prevention of their full and proper
use by the people they were intended for (Serageldin and Vigier, 1983).

The definition of problems in universal terms is identified as the cause of unresponsiveness to socio-cultural and religious codes. A swallowing up distinctive personality through a "contrived paradigmatic model" (Brown, 1973). The concern expressed in the context of the physical structure of the new city can be grouped into categories based on context and substantive concerns. They include:


2. Concerns about a reconciliation between the dichotomy of new developments and historic urban core (Bianca, 1983; Galantay, 1987, Mechkat, 1987).


4. Concerns about the uncritical adoption of Western models of urbanization. And its manifestation in the new "international" personality of cities, wherein it does not retain its exclusive character, and loses it to universal urban homogeneity (Malik, 1989; Brown, 1973).
This critique within the context of the symbolic, technical and historic contexts has recently been extended to the ideological domain as well. The concern for what is truly "Islamic" has gone beyond an interest in restoring physical character or architectural identity. This has come with the new definition of "Islamic" identity that is value-based and revives communal foundations for a full expression of the intended way of life.

In the new perspective modernization is equated with westernization which has led to the present "human predicament" (Rowe, 1983; Blake and Lawless, 1980). The predicament of the "modern muslim" is manifested in the limited choice the environment offers in terms of communal relations and the Islamic way of life. Besides the application of borrowed principles in design solutions it is believed that westernization has undermined the inherent value of "Islamic Thought" and broken with Islamic principles (Sardar, 1984; Arkoun, 1983, 1989a,b). The dilemma of modern day Muslim scholars of urbanism and urban professionals compared to the confrontation of Islamic scholars by Roman and Greek classical scholars in the 9th and 10th centuries (Arkoun, 1983, 1989a).

"Human Predicament" in the modern built environment assumes an Islamic character through its links with the
past. It does that by moving in a nostalgic direction and by reviving urban codes of behavior and urban hierarchical structures of control that previously existed. The conditions that have led to the "human predicament" manifest themselves in many ways. Emerging through these is the question of the "human condition" in cities. This has been expressed through the development of grassroots movements out to combat foreign influences in modern cities (Gilsenan, 1982; Eickelman, 1981; Zubaida, 1986). Besides grassroots movements, urban professionals have also expressed their concerns regarding the alienation experienced by inhabitants of the new city.

These ideological concerns can be grouped by type as follows:

1. Alienation:
   - from next to kin and neighbors (Saqqaf, 1987)
   - due to disenfranchisement from the process of settlement by adopting alien building practices (Rowe, 1983)
   - between users of building and buildings themselves through bureaucratic interpretation of public needs (Serageldin and Vigier, 1983)
   - due to loss of collective responsibility (Saqqaf, 1987; Gilsenan, 1982)
- due to dissociation from cultural roots and fossilization of heritage (Zulficar, 1983; Serageldin, 1989)
- due to disorientation arising from rapid changes in both habitation and society (Blake and Lawless, 1980; Rowe, 1983)

2. Reactions:
- to a confrontation between traditions and a modern way of life (Nasr, 1987)
- to the visible and deteriorating conditions of depravity, inequality and environmental neglect (Malik, 1989)
- against conspicuous consumption (Blake and Lawless, 1980)

3. Belief that:
- a split between religious identity and all other collective and individual dimensions of life is detrimental to the Islamic Ethos (Gilsenan, 1982)
- change and progress are the embodiment of Moral decay (Gilsenan, 1982; Blake and Lawless, 1980)
- colonial and post-colonial city are a flagrant demonstration of all we should struggle against (Gilsenan, 1982)
- the western model of urbanization is at odds with Muslim philosophy (Ateshin, 1989; Sardar, 1984;
Certain trends are visible in the critique of the physical structure and the human condition in contemporary cities. Some concerns are restricted to the physical condition of cities and its resolution by whatever means are available. Still others relate to the "human condition" and the Islamic way of life with its moral, ethical and communal dimensions. Whatever the differences, consensus seems to be converging on the matter of adoption of Western models and their destructive effects on these cities.

Reconstruction

The crisis in the contemporary Islamic city has resulted in the strong urge among Muslim professionals, i.e., architects and planners to push for an Islamic solution, an Islamic alternative to the urban crises of the present. In the attempt to resolve these crises academics and urban professionals have emerged with dichotomous solutions. For one group physical reconstruction is a primary objective, for the other communal and subsequently ideological reconstruction is the issue. In both approaches there is a clear difference in the identity of the participants.
There are clear differences among solutions suggested in resolving the crises. However, the critique of the prevalence Western models of planning and design is the converging factor in both physical and ideological domains.

**Physical**

Traditional building form, its preservation and integration into the modern urban fabric has been a continued effort of many professional. One the one hand the preservation of the "medina", i.e., the historical urban core, is stressed upon as a retention of the past. This is seen as the only way in which the exclusive character of the city can be expressed. Some refer to it as a means to encourage "Islamic tourism" (Galantay, 1987). One of the problems visualized by designers is how to prevent incongruous juxtaposition of "medina" and CBD since both are incompatible yet indispensable. And as the modern enclave has the tendency towards destruction in order to promote development effective policies are impressed upon to prevent it.

The incorporation of "something old" and "something new" has also been suggested in order to make the "old liveable" and "new meaningful" (Mechkat, 1987). A concern for "character" and the "loss of visual balance and harmony" has led to a strong reintegration of traditional elements in modern building (Galantay, 1987; Al-Sayyad, 1987; Zulficar,
Besides stylistic efforts typology has also been retained by designers as an assertion of "Islamic Unity". The symbolic factor present in most of these suggestions cannot be missed. For most clients and designers this is an effective compromise of the confrontation between tradition and modernity. Much of this is prompted by a concern for adopting "relevant form" in order to justify the "Islamic" element in cities.

Foreign consultants too have contributed to the efforts in projecting "identity" through "physical form". This has been advocated through a good combination of form, culture and technology (Porter, 1984, 1989). It is an effort that seeks a vocabulary relevant to modern life, a satisfactory combination of "regional" and "universal" (Curtiss, 1989).

Participants

The participants in this process are mainly the state through planning professionals and private consultants. The emphasis here is on the role of the professional in "articulating form". This is based on the premise that the professional is the right person to generate "cultural identity" (Chadirji, 1984; 1989; Makiya, 1983; Al-Sayyad, 1987). The professional here is the identifier and shaper of "collective image of society" (Serageldin, 1989). Both planners and architects are the product of an education that works within a paradigmatic framework. The new complex role
of the professional is advocating the re-education of urban designers and planners, in the hope that the professional should be competent at decoding the past through its relevance to the present. Armed with critical knowledge, the professional assumes the role of savior of the soul of the city (Porter, 1984, 1989).

The emphasis here is reinterpretation of inherited form through Design Process. In a way that tradition may be molded by competent hands into a vocabulary relevant to modern life.

Some professionals believe that the work of the architect-planner needs to result in an environment recognizable by the people as their own and reflective of their history (Al-Sayyad, 1987). In a sense a type of architecture and planning that is capable of revitalizing lifeless settlements (Zulficar, 1983).

These most optimistic suggestions are shadowed by fear of some that these may result in a "symbolic" rather than a "substantive" solution. These fears are based on the belief that for the solution to be successful relations must be established with the wider community. This complex role of mediator may be difficult for an outside force to achieve. One way suggested to overcome obstacles is the emphasis on an integrated planning approach not a purely architectural one (Bianca, 1983).
Communal and Social

In the past five years there has been a radical redefinition of what an "Islamic" environment is. It is based on the premise that a true "Renaissance of Muslim cities" cannot be successful without an accompanying "renaissance of Muslim Society" (Malik, 1989).

The development of the "Islamic" theory of the built environment in academic circles has been matched by parallel developments in proposing new solutions as well. The new future envisaged for cities is based on rebuilding Muslim communities and simultaneously reconstructing the moral-ethical basis of urban existence. Continuity here is not viewed in a stylistic sense as in the use of architectural elements in urban design. It is the transmission through time of ethical forces through social institutions and relationships (Arkoun, 1983, 1989a).

A new definition of "Islamic" that has replaced earlier typological ones entails the promotion of values inherent in the Islamic sources, i.e., The Qur'an and Hadith. Legislation is based not exclusively on physical or economic grounds but on concrete communal goals. The first points of reference in this solution are the principles contained in the Qur'an. Secondly in the prophetic model contained in the Hadith, then on "ijma", i.e., consensus, and finally "ijtihad", i.e., individual reasoning (Haider, 1984). Consensus receives much emphasis not only due to the
possibilities it opens to a discussion relevant to contemporary issues but also because through it a unified approach towards an Islamic way of life is possible. This, in a nutshell, is the "ontological model" that has recently begun threatening the "rational model". Wherein "fana" is the temporary and non-permanent, an acknowledgement of transient nature of existence and "baqaa" a reference to the perennial values contained in Islamic revelation (Arkoun, 1989a). Proponents of this approach stress on the importance of making the Qur'an and Hadith the points of reference in Islamic urbanism.

Participants

There is much skepticism about the sole control of people's immediate environment by bureaucrats and professionals. Some planners have themselves suggested that planning from above should give way to planning from below (Abdel Halim, 1983). There is a strong emphasis on decentralization of urban power structures and devolution of responsibilities through community structures (Serageldin, 1980; Serageldin and Vigier, 1983; Rowe, 1983).

The spirit of reviving traditional Islamic urban-social traditions appears in the emphasis on reviving community mechanisms. It refers to previous patterns of sub-communities that controlled and directed their relationship to public space and buildings. Reminiscent of traditional
settlement shaped by a particular process of urban development that was incremental and additive. There is an optimism of the synthesis by participants that would bring about a stronger sense of belonging and responsibility (Saad-Ed-din, 1983).

One way suggested for achieving this is the simulation of traditional methods of delegating neighborhoods the right to devise their own regulations and enforce them (Abu-Lughod, 1980; Serageldin and Vigier, 1983), a clear invitation to communities to participate in the planning process. An important suggestion has been the elimination of large scale control of residential development by single developers. In its place smaller systems of social and residential organizations have been suggested (Rowe, 1983).

These proposals are contained within the framework of past mechanisms. Based in the realization that neither legislation nor the perception of a professional, but mutual-ethical responsibility towards proximate neighbors can successfully revive the neighborhood spirit of the past (Abu-Lughod, 1980).

Conclusion

In the discussion of the "Islamic City", "Islamic" and "city" are two parts. "Islamic" is what defines the "ideas" that generate the appropriate "institutions", and "city" is
its manifest form through "space" and "artifacts". These layers have been uncovered over time by scholars researching the city from the time of the Orientalists upto the more recent Muslim urbanists.

Literature on the "Islamic city" has through time arrived at a definition very different from what was popularised by earlier scholars. The association of specific urban forms with Islam was representative of earlier trends in the history of urban research. This gradually moved towards the use of sociological and anthropological methods in studying the city.

Currently, the hypothetical location of Islam between urbanism and human existence as a framework for study is being encouraged. In other words earlier studies that emphasized only geographical form or social structure or both are being discarded.

As we are moving on in time in our discussion of the "Islamic City" our definition of "what is Islamic" is getting more focussed and specific. The "Islamic city" has been a construction of a number of factors: socio-cultural, climatic and technological. But the interest in these has been supplemented by what is perceived as the "Islamic essence", moral-ethical and communal factors. What we have right now is a point in time within the academic and professional world wherein the "city" in Islam is being established as a factor related to the Islamic way of life.
Urbanism is being linked with Islam in a way that differs from previous secular approaches. A more comprehensive approach has replaced secular approaches with religious meaning and way of life as the focus. In the professional field as well, architects and planners have in the last five years arrived at radical conclusions. These have been stimulated by the interest in the "human condition" in cities besides its physical structure.

In the debate between the urban professionals, there are many points of difference, there is consensus though on the criticism directed at the adoption of foreign models. There is now a conviction that tradition, besides offering inspiration for design solutions, can aid in reinterpretation of institutional practices and suggest alternative mechanisms.

It appears that the "Islamic City" is being subjected to several pull and push factors. The theoretical developments on the subject seem to draw it towards desecularization. Actual urban development of the city on the other hand seems to be pulling it towards a definition of urbanism that differs from its traditional sense.

The move towards a new definition of what is "Islamic" in the term "Islamic city" is loaded with references to traditional communal structures and their moral and ethical bonds. The suggestion of a revival of traditional urban
hierarchies through communal structures strongly undermines current urban secular- contractual agreements.

This definition apparent in recent scholarly works corresponding with visions of a few planners and architects is countered by the actual events in cities. While scholars and urban professionals are attempting to de- secularize the current notion of "Islamic Urbanism", the city is itself involved in a secularization process. This is visible through its strictly controlled spatial and bureaucratic structure.

This new definition of "Islamic" cannot be termed secular it is definitely moving towards a moral-ethical dimension. It appears that we have come through a full circle back to the crux of Islamic urbanism - community, ethics and morals that lay the foundation for an accepted behavioral model. This is an anti-thesis of what the actual city is itself is moving towards, which is secularization in both its power structures and articulated space.

The new expression of urbanism in the Islamic context is directed by an Islamic definition of progress in both academic and professional circles. In Lapidus's words "we must supersede our interest in cities as a crucial topic of historical, sociological and cultural investigation by a more differentiated conception of the relationship between social structure, geographical form and religious meaning" (1967:74). The location of Islam between Urbanism and Human
Existence is encouraged and it is seen as the mediator between the two (Arkoun, 1989a).

Just as in theory a point has arrived when we are establishing the "Islamic" in the "Islamic City" in a parallel effort planners and architects are pushing for more than mere physical solutions. The "Modern Urban Dilemma" is the search of a society left with the "artifacts" but without the supporting institutions that justified the title "Islamic".
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Khalidi, T. Some Classical Islamic Views of the City. American Univ. of Beirut, 1984(?) [photocopy].


