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Saudi National Identity versus Makkah Transnational Identity, 1932-64

This paper investigates the impact of the rise of the nation-state on the urban transformation of Makkah during 1932-64. The making of Saudi Arabia aimed to build a solid nation by unifying the scattered different regions of Najd in the middle, Hassa in the East and Hijaz in the West, and to promote a universal status of Makkah. The Saudis' approach to modernisation incorporated a hybrid formation of developing architectural aesthetics through cultural transfer to relate architecture to wide range city's Muslim heritage with the use of modern materials and technology. Regional and nationwide migration was adopted as a strategy to reconcile national and transnational identities in Saudi Arabia. However, the process was affected by indirect postcolonial approaches of neighbouring countries. This paper will analyse the aforementioned urban transformation within the framework of post-colonial discourse, linking this hybrid process to the economic system of the period. The aim is to demonstrate how the religious status of Makkah added another dimension to the ways in which urban architectural form can be imagined, articulated and represented with an attempt to delineate a particular spatial quality that differs from those of any other of the post-colonial societies during their respective periods of history.

Introduction

In 1932, the Makkah people celebrated the declaration of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in an historic ceremony. The declaration was a result of the unification process of the region of Hejaz, in the west, and Najad, in the middle; the unification included Hassa, in the east, Asir in the south and the northern region of the Arabian Peninsula. 'Abdul-'Aziz who was given the authority of the western region by the Hejazi National Party seven years earlier was announced King. *Um AlQura*, the first official Saudi newspaper wrote:

"It is one of the happiest days in the history of the nation ... it was Thursday one of the exceptional days ... flags rose above government buildings, institutions, houses, stores, and companies ... there were grand celebrations everywhere ... no wonder; they emerged from true love and strong sincere."¹

The declaration put an end to long battles between tribes in most of the Arabian Peninsula and marked a new chapter of history for the region that is now unified for the first time since the fall of the Ottomans. Many nations in the Middle East were either under the Ottomans or under the domination of colonial projects (English and French), thus the rise of the nation-state and the independence from colonial power shaped their national identities. However, Khaldoun Samman, who specializes in the sociology of religion and classical and modern sociological theories, claims that concomitant with the rise of the nation state, that is, the making of Saudi Arabia, the transnational identity of Makkah was localized.² This is because nation states operate within their boundaries at the local level while religious centres, as pilgrimage destinations, function at the universal level. For example, the construction of Iraqi identity under the Hashemite assumed linear historic formation relating Iraqi identity to both the Mesopotamian and Abbasid periods.³ Egypt under Gamal Abdel Nasser was "socialist at home, panArab in the region and anticolonial in the Third World arena".⁴ The formation of identity in Egypt was based upon a panArab formation linking its representation to international modernity; there were a few attempts to borrow from Mamluk architecture, but little courage to mix both approaches.⁵ In the homeland of the Ottomans, national modernisation in secular Turkey under Atatürk in the 1930s and then under the Democratic Party (DP) during the 1950s, aimed to prepare Turkish architects to participate in the international arena by adopting the international style.⁶

1 *Um Al-Qura*, 23 September 1932.

2 Khaldoun Samman, *Cities of God and Nationalism, Mecca, Jerusalem and Rome as Contested World Cities* (London: Paradigm, 2007).

3 Magnus T. Bernhardsson, Visions of Iraq: Modernizing the Past in 1950s Baghdad," in *Modernism and the Middle East: Architecture and Politics in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Sandy Isenstadt and Kishwar Rizvi (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2008), 83.

4 Gwendolyn Wright, "Global Ambition and Local Knowledge," in *Modernism and the Middle East*, ed. Isenstadt and Rizvi, 237.

5 Nezar AlSayyad, "From Modernism to Globalization: the Middle East in Context," in *Modernism and the Middle East*, ed. Isenstadt and Rizvi, 259.

6 Sibel Bozdogan, "Democracy, Development, and the Americanization of Turkish Architectural Culture in the 1950s," in *Modernism and the Middle East*, ed. Isenstadt and Rizvi, 121.

Unlike many other nations in the region, the building of Saudi Arabia had one agenda, that is, to build its identity based upon its Islamic heritage with the advocacy to mix tradition and modernity. Regional and nationwide migration was adopted in a bid to reconcile national and transnational identities, but the attempt failed. Meanwhile, the economic improvement experienced by Saudi Arabia elevated the state in a global context: migration and spatial perception started to be seen in a totally new light. Urban development in Makkah had inherited a postcolonial dilemma of mimicking others' architecture as an approach to urban modernisation. In this paper, I analyse the aforementioned urban transformation within the framework of colonial and post-colonial discourse, linking this hybrid process to the economic system of the period. I stress the point that Saudi Arabia has never been colonised; notwithstanding, that the impact of post-colonial regulations was transmitted to the country's urban development via Egypt. The impact of the rise of the nation-state on the urban transformation of Makkah will be investigated followed by an examination of the changes in Makkah's architectural identity. I attempt to delineate a particular spatial quality that differs from those of any other of the post-colonial societies during their respective periods of nation building.

Building the Nation

The Saudi's approach to urban modernisation was different from that of any other nationalist movement, such as Iraq, Egypt or Turkey. In Iraq during the Hashemite era one representation of national identity was constructed upon a pan-Arab formation invoking the city of Baghdad's glory during the Abbasid period.⁷ Frank Lloyd Wright's design of the Opera House in Baghdad recalled *A Thousand and One Nights* of the Abbasid.⁸ However, the shift of power during Qasim was a shift in the way Iraqi identity was perceived as Muhammad Makiyh stressed an environmental approach.⁹ In Egypt, in 1952, the national movement led by Gamal Abdel Nasser claimed independence from the Faruq monarchy. The modernizing approach provided two obvious choices, either to develop modern architectural aesthetics based on international styles or to go back in history to premonarchy, which was the Mamluk period. Modern aesthetics were welcomed in Egypt, especially the work of architect Salah Zayton.¹⁰ However, some Egyptian architects continued to develop architectural aesthetics based upon Mamluk architecture, an approach advocated by Hassan Fathy.¹¹ In Turkey, the approach to modernity led by secular Ataturk, was underpinned by a break with the past Ottoman architecture. Because there was no Muslim administration prior to the Ottomans, Turkey developed

7 Bernhardtsson, "Visions of Iraq: Modernizing the Past in 1950s Baghdad," 82.

8 Bernhardtsson, "Visions of Iraq: Modernizing the Past in 1950s Baghdad," 88.

9 Bernhardtsson, "Visions of Iraq: Modernizing the Past in 1950s Baghdad," 88. Muhammad Makiyh, the founder of the first architecture school in Iraq in 1959.

10 Abdel-Baqi Ibrahim, *The Islamic Perspective of the Architectural Theory* (Cairo: Center of Planning and Architectural Studies, 1986). Zayton had spent time in Illinois, in the Taliesin studio, working with Frank Lloyd Wright.

11 Ahmad Hamid, *Hassan Fathy and Continuing in Islamic Arts and Architecture: The Birth of New Modern* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press), 2010.

its own modernity (*Mi'mary inqilab*) based on international styles.¹² The canonical Hilton Hotel reflected this ambition where Turkish people shaped Turkey's national identity.¹³

In the case of Saudi Arabia, constructing transnational architecture based on international styles would have evoked criticism due to the sacred status of Makkah. The only other option was to revert to the time before Ottoman architectural influence, that is, to Mamluk architectural aesthetics. But, this would have limited the development process to one specific architectural style. Therefore, the Saudi approach regarding urban modernisation was upon mixing local architecture with the use of modern materials and techniques. However, when building the nation, Saudi Arabia had to face unprecedented challenges. How could it develop a traditional way of life, architectural techniques and urban process? How could modern technologies be incorporated into the local cultures?

The Holy Mosque to build Transnational Identity

In 1953, King Saud succeeded King 'Abdul-'Aziz, and encouraged the development process but suggested employing different strategies. Leaving Makkah as the religious capital, he moved government institutions and ministries from Makkah to Riyadh, officially establishing the latter as the political capital.¹⁴ His transfer of the government institutions to Riyadh left the Holy Mosque the only building representative of the Saudi attempt to build Makkah's transnational identity. After two decades of relatively insignificant urban interventions, Makkah became the showcase for massive modernisation projects.

Saudi Arabia continued its development process, and the nation needed experts with a broad knowledge of modern materials. However, there were no architecture schools in Saudi Arabia at the time. While the task of modernising many cities in the Middle East was assigned to Western architects, for example Frank Lloyd Wright in Baghdad and Le Corbusier in Istanbul, architects from neighbouring countries were commissioned to modernise Makkah. Egyptian experts provided experts in architecture, urban planning, and construction. At that time, Saudi-Egyptian relations were at their peak. In 1956, Muhammad Sorour AlSaban visited Egypt to celebrate the issuing of the new Egyptian Constitution. When asked if there was an agreement between the two countries in terms of economic projects for the future, he responded: "Egypt and Saudi Arabia do not need agreements, because they decided to build their economies across a broader scope for the mutual benefit for both countries ... I hope God will employ us for serving our countries."¹⁵ Egyptian experts were sent to Saudi Arabia to assist in the development process.

12 This was also advanced by the Ataturk vision of a secular Turkey, which undermined any nostalgia for the traditional Ottoman architectural system of building. See Sibel Bozdogan, *Modernism and nation building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Washington, D.C.: University of Washington Press, 2002).

13 Bozdogan, "Democracy, Development, and the Americanization of Turkish Architectural Culture in the 1950s," 121.

14 Jeddah was the commercial capital and Dhahran the petroleum and industrial capital.

15 *Um Al-Qura*, 27 January 1956.

Egyptian architects worked in the designing of the Holy Mosque in Makkah, the construction of which was assigned to the Saudi firm of Muhammad Bin-laden.¹⁶ The firm asked the Egyptian architect, Fahmi Moumen who designed the Prophet's Mosque in Madina to prepare a new design for the Holy Mosque in Makkah.¹⁷ The proposal was circular in shape, which was in contrast to the existing buildings. Muhammad Bin-laden then asked another Egyptian Muhammad Taher Al-Jouaini, who was trained by the wellknown Egyptian architect Mustafa Fahmi Pasha to provide a new design.¹⁸ Mustafa Fahmi Pasha was traditionalist in his architectural approach. According to Muhammad Saied Farsi, the mayor of Jeddah (1986), Fahmi Pasha was involved in the design at some stages.¹⁹ However, the new design was a heptagon shape in plan. Al-Jouaini recommended the demolition of the previous building that was known as the Ottoman corridor. After consultants met to approve the design they recommended minimum demolition of the western part of the previous Ottoman corridor.²⁰ Finally Prince Faisal, the Vice-President in Makkah at the time, approved the design on behalf of King Saud with the recommendation to retain the Ottoman corridor.²¹ The new design was submitted again by AlJouaini.²²

Knowledge of modern building materials was provided by other Islamic countries. In 1956, the Muslim world celebrated the announcement of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and approved its Constitution, which was based on the Shari'ah (Islamic law).²³ Makkah radio announced:

"In the past, Britain claimed that India [then including Pakistan] was the biggest jewel in the British crown ... today we and all Muslims say ... [the newly emerged nation of] Pakistan has become a priceless jewel [on] the head of the Islamic world."²⁴

Saudi Arabia, which participated in the celebrations, emphasised the relationship between the two countries, hinting at future cooperation in talks conducted by the official Saudi delegation.²⁵ The Union of the Consultant Engineers in Pakistan opened an office in Lahore and another in Makkah and acted as the consultant firm for redesigning the Holy Mosque in Makkah. The Bin-laden group, as it was later to become known, sent all of the drawings of the new design to the Pakistan office for further drafting and design detailing, the aim being for the Saudis to benefit from the Pakistanis'

16 Union of Consultant Engineers, *The Project of King Abdul-Aziz for the Expansion of the Holy Mosque*, (Makkah: Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques Institute for Hajj Research Centre archives, 2001), 45.

17 Union of Consultant Engineers, "The Project of King Abdul-Aziz," 45

18 Union of Consultant Engineers, "The Project of King Abdul-Aziz," 45.

19 Abdul-Baqi Ibrahim. *Al-Ertiqaa Bi Al-Byaa Al-Umraniyah Lel Modun, [up-Grading of the Urban Environment of Cities]*. Cairo, Egypt: Center for Planning and Architectural Studies, 1986.

20 Union of Consultant Engineers, "The Project of King Abdul-Aziz," 45.

21 Union of Consultant Engineers, "The Project of King Abdul-Aziz," 46.

22 Union of Consultant Engineers, "The Project of King Abdul-Aziz," 46.

23 *Um Al-Qura*, 30 March 1956.

24 *Um Al-Qura*, 30 March 1956.

25 *Um Al-Qura*, 30 March 1956.

experience of using modern materials. In addition, skilled Pakistani workers were also employed in the construction of the Holy Mosque.

It is worth noting that the committee that was formed for reviewing the new design included: Muhammad Fiaddaen (India); Muhammad Ali Adibi (Iran); Ihsan Barbouti (Iraq); Maji Muhammad Basou (Marrakesh); Mahaj Azemadeen (Pakistan); Omar Azam (Saudi Arabia); Riha Massar (Turkey); and Muhammad Taher AlJouaini (Egypt).²⁶ This was a strong sign of Makkah's international significance and centrality in the Muslim World. Experts from all over the world were selected to review the design.

Consulting experts from abroad and forming international committee to review the design was the first step. The biggest challenge was introducing new building materials to the traditional industry of contraction in Makkah. Around that time, an extensive fire broke out, burning house after house until it reached the Holy Mosque's timber roof. As the *roushans*, which are the projected windows in Makkah houses were also made of timber; it provided fuel for the fire, making it difficult for the firefighters to control the spread of the blaze. It was only when the fire reached a house, which was made of concrete, that it was possible to limit the fire's spread by extinguishing it.²⁷

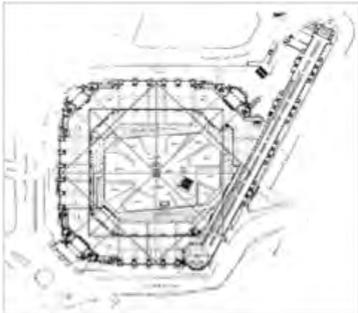


Fig. 1. The second design of the Holy Mosque; it is retaining the Ottoman corridor.

This experience convinced those who witnessed the fire to switch to using concrete. The government took further step as the Saudi Cement Company invested half of its stake in the share market, on 27 January 1956, so that Saudis could participate in building the nation.²⁸ Historian Muhammad Taher AlKurdi, stated: "Traditional methods of using stones and timber for building houses ... started to disappear."²⁹ He still recalls that concrete was first used in the year 1956. Using concrete to rebuild the Holy Mosque had become a matter of urgency.

26 Union of Consultant Engineers, "The Project of King Abdul-Aziz," 95.

27 FD and Wadia Albarqawi, "FD Interview with Wadia Albarqawi," (Makkah 16 July 2008).

28 *Um Al-Qura*, 27 January 1956.

29 Quoted from Abkar, 1999, 262.

On 9 March 1956, *Um Al-Qura* published the following breaking news on its front page: "King Saud issued a Royal Decree for approving the plans for the first Saudi expansions of the Holy Mosque."³⁰ The Bin-laden group submitted the drawings. The new design retained a portion of the Ottoman corridor: two new levels of corridors were added.³¹



Fig. 2. The Saudi expansion of the Holy Mosque.

Later that year, on the 6th of April, during an official celebration, King Saud laid the corner stone for the first Saudi expansion of the Holy Mosque. The work of expansion, which commenced with the removal of several houses and commercial buildings, was completed eight years later in 1964. AlSafa and AlMarwa became part of the Holy Mosque. The new design included two levels and the interior dimensions were 394.5 metres long and 20 metres wide.



Fig. 3. Map of Makkah after the Saudi expansion.

Sixteen doors were constructed, and a basement, which was 3.5 metres in length, was also constructed under the ground floor. The floor and walls were covered with high quality marble from Wadi Fatimah. The pillars and their capitals were decorated with artificial stone, and the ceilings were decorated with ornaments and mosaic inscriptions. The large King Saud Gate was built at the end of the extension. The gates in general were designed based on Mamluk architecture. The two polygonal minarets rising from both ends were reminiscent of the Mamluk towers. Green brickwork, similar to that found in houses in Andalusia, adorned the upper and lower parts of the minarets. The fivecentred arches reflected a new design based on Mamluk architectural aesthetics and were

³⁰ *Um Al-Qura*, 9 March 1956.

³¹ *Um Al-Qura*, 9 March 1956.

made of concrete. Five public squares were built around the Holy Mosque. It was a hybrid attempt to construct an architectural form that could be replicated at the international level.

Migration and Transnational Identity

Migration, which was mainly from rural to urban areas, had a marked impact on the nature of the urban fabric of Makkah. There were transit areas, e.g. Jarwal, AlMa'abdah and Al'Otaibiyah in which migrants could rest when they first arrived in Makkah. Local traditional houses in Makkah were made available to migrants, suggesting one model to adopt when they decided to build their own houses. However, these houses were expensive to build and it would be four years before they would be habitable. The only other option was to build a *Sandaqah*, which was only a shelter and could be built quickly and at a lower cost. The *Sandaqah* was basically a wooden truss structure with two layers of walls. The inside sheets were made of palm leaves creating a heatproof layer, the exterior sheets, which were made of tin, functioned as a waterproof layer. A *Sandaqah* was usually dark red to burgundy in colour, the colour of rusted tin. Historian and journalist 'Abdullah Abkar maintained that "Sandaqah is a developing model of the 'Oshash ... the tin which made the exterior is the only difference between them."³²

Although there was a widespread understanding among many scholars that the urban fabric in Makkah was a combination of official buildings and traditional houses, some scattered shelters ('*Oshash*) were found in nearby valleys. These '*Oshash* (singular form '*Osha*), which were made of light palm leaves, were used as accommodation for Bedouins and farmers, who traded goods with the people of Makkah. According to Abkar, "there was a market for vegetables and fruit in Ma'alah and farmers traded [different goods] with the people of Makkah ... then the market was moved to Jarwal."³³ The Ottoman military map shows '*Oshash* located within the urban fabric of Makkah; but they are missing from other photograph of the same period. Most of the migrants from the rural areas purchased subdivisions in the plots where the '*Oshash* were found in urban Makkah. They built walls to define their domains and then built a *Sandaqah* within their territories. In 1946, a resident went to court to obtain a deed for his property. *Um Al-Qura* published a description of the property as follows: "A rectangular plot surrounded by a wall made of mud and stone and *nora* [local building material]; and, two *Sandaqah* of wooden truss (timber and tin) and an '*Osha* and toilet'."³⁴ The *Sandaqah* typology started to replace the '*Osha*, forming a new urban fabric. In fact, the *Sandaqah* had suddenly become desirable: advertisements showing a *Sandaqah* for sale were found in *Um Al-Qura*, 1950: "For sale in 'Otaibiyah: *Sandaqah* of wooden truss and courtyard made of Javanese timber."³⁵

32 Abdullah Abkar, *Souwar Min Turath Makkah* (Makkah: Dar AIDTurath), 1999.

33 Abkar, *Souwar Min Turath Makkah*, 256.

34 *Um Al Qura*, 16 May 1952.

35 *Um Al Qura*, 15 December 1950.

By the mid-1950s, Saudi Arabia adopted strategies that it believed would stimulate its cultural diversity and sustain its economic growth. The regional migrants and pilgrims who decided to migrate could not support the population required to boost the economy. Additional migrants were required. It was basic economics; migrants had to become residents and would pay for services, this would increase the population and expand the region's urbanism out of the traditional urban fabric of the city. According to the regulations applicable to Saudi Arabian residency that were issued by the Saudi Cabinet in 1954, Saudi residency was given to whosoever lived on Saudi land and obtained Ottoman residency.³⁶ Those who lived continuously on Saudi land, irrespective of whether they had Ottoman residency or who had never obtained other residency, were eligible for Saudi residency.³⁷ Thus, Saudi residency was given to those who were born in Saudi Arabia, either of emigrant or Saudi parents, who met with the government's conditions and requirements.³⁸ Foreigners could obtain Saudi residency if they lived continuously in Saudi Arabia for five years and met the conditions and requirements.³⁹ These regulations were published in *Um Al-Qura*.⁴⁰ One year later, in 1955, *Um Al-Qura* published details of those who had obtained Saudi residency; included were Chinese, Afghans, Jordanians and Palestinians. It seems that the Saudi vision of nation-wide migration had come to fruition.

The strategy of inviting skilled migrants created opportunities for many from the entire Islamic world to participate in the building of Saudi Arabia. The new migrants became part of Makkan society, despite having come from countries that were more open to the modern world than Saudi Arabia. Those who could purchase plots started to build relatively small houses out of the urban fabric in new plots designed and allocated by the government. At the time, the Ministry of Finance was responsible for the designing of neighbourhoods. The majority of new migrants opted to reside in units; and, because these units were popular in Makkah, they started to spread into the new neighbourhoods. Overall, there was little concern for the general appearance of buildings.

Local migrants, who inhabited these units, started to build new houses. Their incomes had improved in tandem with the economic improvement of the country and with the arrival of new building materials, for example, cement, from which they started to build houses. These houses had minimum living requirements. There seemed little concern regarding their general appearance and the exteriors walls were mostly made of brick. They lacked finishing and the openings, the square-shaped windows, were covered by wooden screens. Although these houses were located upon the deep slopes of the mountains surrounding Makkah, they started to become part of the city's perceptual image.

36 The Saudi Cabinet, "The Regulation of the Saudi Arabian Residency," 1954, Saudi National Archives.

37 The Saudi Cabinet, "The Regulation of the Saudi Arabian Residency."

38 The Saudi Cabinet, "The Regulation of the Saudi Arabian Residency."

39 The Saudi Cabinet, "The Regulation of the Saudi Arabian Residency."

40 The Saudi Cabinet, "The Regulation of the Saudi Arabian Residency."

Although concrete was viewed as indicative of a new trend in modern building, there was an attempt to include traditional elements. Concrete was used on a house in Jarwal, which is located to the northwest of Makkah, to develop the roushan system that allowed privacy, climate protection, and a connection between outdoor and indoor spaces. The wooden *roushan* were removed and replaced by concrete structures. Wooden screens remained on some parts of the buildings showcasing occasions where hybridity had occurred. However, the program of the street changed when cars started to dominate the urban fabric of the city. Thus, connecting outdoor and indoor spaces was rendered impractical and less meaningful.



Fig. 4. Hybrid architecture in Makkah. Note the use of concrete in the large opening that was formerly covered by a *roushan*.

Expertise for Building Transnational Identity

Economic improvement in Saudi Arabia occurred at a time when countries such as Yemen and Egypt were facing political and economic difficulties, countries that had earlier been colonized. Architects and urban designers who found work opportunities in Saudi Arabia brought with them both their inherited colonial regulations and post-colonial practices. Basing their approach on international styles, they superimposed concepts and ideas that were different from the traditional, by extension affecting Makkah's architectural identity. In Makkah, many officials and the elite, especially those holding senior positions, started to build large houses outside of the city centre on the nearby hilltops. These buildings' basic principles accorded with international styles: cubic in shape, with vertical and horizontal concrete beams and slabs. Balconies, for example, appeared on many buildings, reflecting solely Western values. They were useless in Muslim society, where privacy is highly valued.



Fig. 5. A house in Ajjad, Makkah.

Abkar, describing a house in Jarwal, stated:

“It was similar to [a] shack ... it had an open courtyard to the sky ... these houses are the nearest to create a spiritual richness ... not those mansions which are empty from values.”⁴¹

Although some attempts were made to match the elements found in the local houses, most of these buildings still failed to meet the nation’s desire to present Makkah as an Islamic capital.⁴² In an attempt to add local features, strips of decorated balconies were applied to some buildings. Other designers used a semi Kharjat shape in the upper parts of the houses. No trace was found of the local, traditional *roushans* in these new dwellings.

The problem occurs from ignoring the fact that constant migration to Makkah resulted in a hybridity that shaped Makkah’s architecture. Architectural historian Sami Anqawi argues that Makkah’s architectural style has been influenced and enriched by elements from other nearby and faraway cultures.⁴³ Only in Makkah did these elements come together, interact with each other and with local conditions, to produce Makkan architecture. A *roushan* is a large window with wooden screens; the Persian term *roushan* means ‘the source of light’. The *roushan* is representative of the most important elements in traditional houses in Makkah. The techniques and experience of the eastern and western Islamic worlds fused in Makkah to create this unique hybrid architecture. Tharwat Hijazi, a researcher from the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques Institute for Hajj Research, after studying the handicrafts industry in Makkah, concluded that the timber used in the construction of the *roushan* was generally brought from the Indonesian island of Java. The craftsmen were mainly from India, evident in their Indian decorating techniques. Given that the streets of Makkah are crowded most of the time, especially during the Hajj season, the large projection of the *roushan* enables better connection between the inside/outside spaces. The *kharjat* and *roushan* reflect the uniqueness of Makkah’s hybrid houses. They represent the infusion of different techniques resulting from cultural transfer based on constant migration. Looking back on their places of origin, no evidence of their existence can be found confirming that *kharjat* and *roushan* constitute a hybrid outcome of culture via transfer.

41 Abkar, *Souwar Min Turath Makkah*, 249.

42 Al-Mughatat Al Haykali Al-Shamel, Makkah Municipality Archives.

43 Sami M Angawi, “Makkah Architecture” (PhD diss., University of London, 1988), 367.

Architectural Representation and National Identity

In Iraq, history and culture made it difficult to determine which identity could represent the nations' ambitions to reflect themselves to the outside world. The shift of power from Hashemite to Qasim resulted in fluctuation between approaches to building local identity. Egypt assumed panArab national identity based upon Nasser socialist ideology. There was no attempt to represent Cairo of the Islamic Fatimid. Arab nations who shared the statement language, history, and culture but not necessarily, the same religion and ethnic heritage could join under panArab formation according to Nasser's ideology. Turkey as a nation did not see itself as an inheritor of the Ottomans. Their ethnic heritage was a representative of their national identity, which meant that the participation of architects in the international arena included the adoption of modernist manifestations including the international style.

Saudi Arabia attempted to embrace Islamic identity and to eliminate age-old traditions. A strategy of regional and nationwide migration was adopted to reduce the impact of urban domination, to fuse hybrid urbanisation and to boost the economy. The goal was to develop a transnational identity using modern materials and techniques. The redesigning of the Holy Mosque was one successful example on a global level. The Arab Summit in 1981 took place in the Holy Mosque after the new design was completed. Arab leaders gathered for the first time in the Holy Mosque to witness the Saudi achievement and success.

The irony was that economic improvement allowed the urban transformation to affect the architectural identity of the city. Critics argued that Makkah's architecture did not reflect an Islamic capital identifiable by all Muslims. People started to imitate international styles rather than to follow the example of the Holy Mosque, which exemplified how to mediate modernity and traditional concepts. The architectural outcomes that were employed heralded the 'contamination' of the identity of a city that had been a model for others since its emergence.

I would like to conclude this paper with a photograph of Ajyad St looking towards the Holy Mosque. In the left corner are the Sharifs' houses dominated by Egyptian *mashrabiya*. The Mamluk architectural style of the tower is apparent. The houses are adjacent to the Shoupra Hotel, which reflects modernity in its basic format: its vertical and horizontal concrete structures create light and shadow. On the horizon is the Holy Mosque. Its two minarets, which are reminiscent of the Mamluk architectural style, form King Saud's Gate, which has pointed arches made of concrete covered by marble, similar to the Mamluk style. It is difficult to declare which structures are modern and which are not: nor is it easy to state which are international and which are local. What we are witnessing is a post-colonial dilemma inherent in Makkah's urban development strategies where mimicry appears to be one of the few options. Future decades will shape its image.