Americanization of Islamic Cultural Design: Erasure, Orientalism/Exoticism, and Americanization

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Americanization of Islamic Cultural Design: Erasure, Orientalism/Exoticism, and Americanization

This capstone is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Honors Program of the Department of Landscape Architecture in the Fay Jones School of Architecture + Design

by

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**ABSTRACT:** Islam arrived in North America primarily through the importation of Muslim African slaves. Subsequent suppression of the slaves, and by extension their religion and places of worship, generated a lack of understanding and misunderstanding about Islam. Over time, this misunderstanding evolved into xenophobic and orientalist representations of the religion. This Capstone project researches Islam’s roots in colonial America through the period before the Columbian Exposition of 1893, and its evolution after the Columbian Exposition, with defining time periods expressed as Erasure, Orientalism/Exoticism, and Americanization. With the help of cultural trust organizations such as the Aga Khan Foundation, the contemporary Americanization era is now approaching Islam and Islamic cultural design more authentically. This capstone then addresses how contemporary design is working towards breaking away from past exoticized and Orientalized ideas and how it attempts to engage the non-Muslim populations through design more adequately.

**CENTRAL ARGUMENT:** Architectural design can be used as a means to present and represent Islam and Islamic culture to populations unfamiliar with it. The Columbian Exposition was one of the first public events to try and bring awareness of Islamic cultural identity to North America. Since then, the contemporary era of design has taken steps towards representing Islam and Muslim culture in current works. Some of these designs work toward breaking away from past exoticized and Orientalized ideas of Islamic culture. While modernization of Islamic cultural identity has begun to occur in North America there are still steps that need to be addressed before representation through design can move past exoticized and orientalist influences.
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Introduction

The practice of Islam in America is fairly recent compared to the Christian religions that have been freely practiced since the American colonial period. Political, racial, and religious disputes have resulted in xenophobic responses and produced negative views of Islam and Muslim culture as a whole. Although Islam has been present in the Americas since colonial days, early Muslims had no power or rights because of the color of their skin, in essence, their religious culture and traditions were erased. Following centuries of near invisibility in North America, Cairo Street, Moorish Palace, and the Turkish Village at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition offered an exoticized and orientalized depiction of what America may have been like if Islam had not been suppressed and was treated with tolerance.

Edward Said became a leader in the categorization of orientalism and is credited with creating the basis of how it is understood today. As a Professor at Columbia University in New York City, Said has been recognized for his literary and cultural criticisms. He presents themes that consistently remain subject to nationalism, the individual versus society, moral choices, majority versus minority rights, and political oppression.¹ Said defined orientalism as the specific patronizing of Middle Eastern, Asian, and North African societies by western European and American societies. These patronizing attitudes implied that the ideas of western societies are more developed and superior. Within this framework, as proposed by Said, the depiction of Islam and Muslim culture at the Columbian Exposition becomes problematic in that it caused more xenophobia and misrepresentation. Is orientalism of Islam and Muslim culture still being

encountered today as it was at the Columbian Exposition, and, if so, how? Learning from past mistakes, contemporary expression of Islamic cultural identity through architecture and design can avoid unrealistic and altered representations.

Traditional Islamic design lacks presence as a design style in America which can be traced back to the beginning of the colonial era. The presence of design in religious places has led the way for the adoption of certain architectural styles throughout history and explains the heavy influence and use of classical elements in the American built environment, with classical architecture resounding solidly with Christianity. Christian religions lacked tolerance for any Islamic design which can be traced back to the 15th century European belief that Islam was a misguided version of Christianity. 2 Exoticized Moorish revival architecture was introduced to America in 1848 with the construction of the large mansion known as “Iranistan” and became a popular design type for privately owned mansions for the wealthy elite. 3 In 1893, the Columbian Exposition became the first major public venue to attempt to give the American people a depiction of an “accurate” representation of Islamic culture and tradition. However, this exoticized exhibit of Islamic Culture was far from a fair depiction of an Islamic community in the early 1900s. Roughly at the same time, some of the first Islamic communities were being established around the Ford factory in Detroit and other industrial factories, contrasting immensely with the orientalist exhibit at the 1893 world’s fair.

3 Iranistan was an exclusive mansion designed by Leopold Eidlitz (founder of the American Institute of Architecture) for P.T. Barnum (Barnum and Bailey Circus) but was short lived because of a disastrous fire nearly ten years later.
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More recently, at the 2018 American Society of Landscape Architecture national convention held in Philadelphia, a lecture was given on the subject of “New Landscapes of Pluralism: Contemporary Influence of Islamic Gardens and Culture.” The lecture discussed how Islamic culture contains a rich tradition of garden design, yet it remains largely outside the practice of Western landscape architecture. OLIN and Nelson Byrd Woltz Landscape Architecture firms presented The Aga Khan Garden at the University of Alberta, Canada as an example of contemporary landscape architectural design that includes these rich Islamic traditions in a western setting. Detailed in the garden is the historic ancient Chahar Bagh form: Which consists of four gridded gardens separated by a waterway with a fountain at the center. The Aga Khan Foundation funded this project with the belief that public parks enrich and enlighten communities and, in this capstone, is studied as an example of an Americanized traditional Islamic cultural form.

By focusing on the orientalist version of Islamic culture evident in past and present architectural designs, the impacts of the orientalist vision on contemporary developments and new communities will be discussed in ways it has stayed the same and changed over time.

Edward Said, Orientalism, and its Expression at Cairo Street

After writing Orientalism in 1978, Edward Said transformed the meaning of the term such that it no longer referred to a field of scholarship focusing on aspects of the Eastern world but an expression of power relations. Said defined orientalism as the specific patronizing acts and opinions projected upon Middle Eastern, Asian, and North African Societies that came from mostly Western Europe and America, implying that the ideas of Western societies are more developed and superior: in short, Orientalism is a Western style for dominating, restructuring,
and having authority over the Orient. His work has generated a prolific response from academics and commentators in fields such as postcolonial studies and histories of imperialism. In creating a new basis of what orientalism is now, Said is the primary source of orientalist thought.

In his explanation of the Orient, Said depicts it as being similar to the theatre, employing the concept of the stage as the representation of an unusual culture. With the stage representing the East as “the Orient” it then represents the audience as Europe and the West regions. Between the middle ages and the 18th century, major authors such as Ariosto, Milton, Marlowe, Tasso, Shakespeare, and Cervantes drew on the Orient’s riches for their productions.

An Example of drawing from the Orient’s riches is found in Shakespeare and Cervantes’s methods to create the stage around the Orient and tie the east together with the rich and recognizable cultural items such as the sphinx and Cleopatra. *Anthony and Cleopatra* by Shakespeare and *Don Quixote* by Cervantes and other similar literature are credited with embodying a “learned judgment” of Islam and the Muslim culture.

Political and religious instruments were created with purposes that often had the end goal of converting Muslims. These instruments included conferences that were held to introduce and place the Orient in front of Europe, referring to the west as the audience and the east as the stage and what is on it. Following these political and religious conferences, the

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4 Said, *Orientalism*, 3

5 Ibid.,63

6 Ibid., 61
public saw Islam as a misguided version of Christianity. Christians were now in open arms, vilifying Mohammed as “the disseminator of a false revelation, and the epitome of lechery, debauchery, sodomy, and other treacheries” after the conferences.\(^7\) Because the scope of orientalism was spread to the public primarily through poetry, learned controversy, and popular superstition, learned judgment through popular media in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance became regularized and the original early source of orientalism. Popular media today still reflects this lack of cultural understanding in the usage of terms like Arab and Muslim as being synonymous to each other despite being publicly defined unrelated after major political events such as the 1979 Iranian Revolution and other occurrences that have created more awareness towards the understanding that all Arabs do not practice Islam despite speaking Arabic.\(^8\) Today, media has been used as a prominent means of the patronization of Middle Eastern, Asian, and North African Societies, leading Western Europe and the United States to imply the false idea that western societies are more developed and superior. As Orientalism has been noted to having a historical beginning in the 15\(^{th}\) century, there was an even bigger surge of Orientalist beliefs near the beginning of the 20\(^{th}\) century.

Similar to how, in the Middle Ages, literature and poetry were used to create an orientalized perspective of many Muslims, architecture was used in the Americas in a way that lent itself to the exoticization of Islam and Muslim cultures. The past orientalized perspectives that began in the Middle Ages and were engrained into society by major authors like

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\(^7\) Said, *Orientalism*, 62

\(^8\) Earle H. Waugh, Baha Abu-Laban, and Regula Qureshi. *Muslim Community in North America*. (University of Alberta, 1983), 97
Shakespeare and Cervantes were strengthened when the authors and writers in the Americas began to do the same thing. Xenophobia became a growing issue as orientalism was engrained into the arts as a way of depicting these unfamiliar cultures. When the Columbian Exposition placed Cairo Street in the background of the White City it created a similar problem to when “the Orient” was used in literature and theatre as “the stage.” As literature and poetry were used to purposefully misrepresent early Muslims as misguided Christians, exoticization began to move through these arts until it placed architecture as a means of orientalist expression. Literature, poetry, and theatre paved the way for architecture to contribute to xenophobic movements against Islamic religion and culture.

**Analysis of xenophobic relationship to Islam in America**

The organizers of the 1890s World’s Columbian Exposition built the first mosque to exist in the United States and it was met with public ridicule, forming part of a theatrical sideshow to the White City. The Middle East exhibit on the Midway Plaisance included a replica of a minaret, a miniature mosque, a theater devoted to Cairo dancers, a Cairene barber, and Cairene merchants. To create more sensationalism toward the exhibits along the Midway Plaisance, several local newspaper commentators took note of the daily fistfights that occurred in the street exhibitions. Frequent verbal and physical disputes were staged on Cairo Street to attract attention to the exhibit and appeal to the theatrical side of the Columbian Exposition.

An excerpt from Eric Davis’ *The United States and the Middle East: Cultural Encounters* references how the newspapers commented on public reactions to these exhibits by saying: no ordinary Western man or woman looked on these performances with anything but horror, and at one time it was a matter of serious debate in the councils of the Exposition whether the
customs of the dancers of Cairo should be faithfully reproduced or the morals of the public faithfully protected. From the sensationalized performances and exhibits along Cairo Street, it became evident that a learned judgment was one of the hidden legacies of the Columbian Exposition. The legacy of Cairo Street leads to the key problem of orientalized thought, which is to create a patronization that implies the ideas of western societies are more developed and superior.

This ridicule at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition marked the beginning of numerous xenophobic reactions that were the result of orientalist representations of Islam. The Exhibition became the first major public influence of the Islamic faith in North America. This created a strong interest in the Middle East well before any economic and political interests in the Middle East began following World War II. With an America that had just been introduced to an unfamiliar culture through an exoticized stage at the Columbian Exposition, the economic and political interests in the Middle East that took place after WWII were tied to misrepresentations and false understandings that underpinned harsh xenophobic attitudes toward Islam and Muslim culture. In Argument I of this capstone I further discuss how Islam tends to become a focal point of the national conversation only after a tragedy happens involving someone of eastern descent although Islam has been a force in the New World for 500 years. Today this relationship or representation that is tethered to tragedy is rejected by local mosques and centers, including the Information Service of the Islamic Center of

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9 Eric Davis. Representations of the Middle East at American Worlds’ Fairs 1876-1904 in The United States and the Middle East: Cultural Encounters (New Haven: Yale Center for International and Area Studies, 2002), 13
10 Davis, Representations of the Middle East at American Worlds’ Fairs, 1
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Washington D.C., the Task Force on Christian Muslim Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ, and the Duncan Black Macdonald Center at the Hartford, Connecticut Seminary. These organizations have created programs that attempt to rebuild the public’s view on Islam and Muslim culture in an effort for better understanding. Along with all these organizations, the Aga Khan Foundation has created and supplied courses for university curricula that are being offered to remedy the harms caused by Islam’s erasure from American history.

ERASURE

Islam has been practiced in North America since the pre-Columbian and colonial era, with the earliest location traced back to the lesser Antilles. Muslim West African slaves were brought over during the colonial era and had little to no influence and contribution to the Christian based settlements due to their unjust situation in colonial America. Christians used a skewed interpretation of the Bible to validate early American slavery. The Christian church’s primary justification for the concept of slavery was based on the Book of Genesis and the story of Ham.

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11 Waugh, Muslim Community in North America, 98

“1 Genesis 9:20–27. The Book of Genesis tells the story of Ham finding his father Noah drunk and uncovered in his tent. Ham informs his brothers Shem and Japheth. See id. They, walking backward so as not to see their father’s nakedness, cover Noah with a garment. Id. After Noah awakes from his drunkenness, he curses – not Ham, and not himself – but Ham’s son Canaan by pronouncing: “Cursed be Canaan! The lowest of slaves will he be to his brothers.” Id. He also said, “Blessed be the Lord, the God of Shem! May Canaan be the slave of Shem. May God extend the territory of Japheth; may Japheth live in the tents of Shem and may Canaan be his slave.” Id.”
Nadia Ahmad discusses how the Muslim presence in the Americas began at least since Cristóbal Colón’s maiden sea voyage, in which many Moors accompanied him in 1492. In her research on Islam’s influence on (pre)colonial America, Ahmad points out that Islam has only become a focal point of the national conversation post-9/11 despite being a force in the New World for 500 years. An inadequate historical narrative undermines the Muslim contributions to early America. Past events, such as those in the period of colonial conquest and control, offer insights into processes of resistance to the acceptance of Muslim Americans. As Muslim history was often brought up during times of great scorn, the Islamic faith and Muslim culture became associated with tragedy and violence in the United States.

Since Muslim slaves were either encouraged or forced to convert to Christianity, Islamic history in the Americas is minimally understood and its lack of representation resulted from the fact that many of the Muslim slaves were either encouraged or forced to convert to Christianity. Ahmad indicates that many academic circles ignored research that constituted a paradigm shift in the way Islam was practiced and perceived in early America. This shift suggests Muslim slaves were well-educated and literate and dismisses the myth of African slaves being uncivilized barbarians. The Anglo-Saxon Protestant control that defined the cultural and religious parameters of the slaveholding south considered it expedient to suppress all African religions of whatever kind. The fear of insurrection or revolt under cover of religion was deep and unremitting, and the common precaution was to disperse as widely as possible all those slaves that had a common tribal or language affiliation.\(^\text{13}\) Despite this, many of the

\(^{13}\) Waugh, *Muslim Community in North America*, 218
first-generation slaves remained steadfast in preserving their Muslim identity, but due to the
slave conditions at the time, this identity was largely lost among later generations.\textsuperscript{14}

For Islam to have endured and grown in America it needed to be passed on to the young
and to convert the unbelievers.\textsuperscript{15} As many as one-fifth of all slaves introduced to the Americas
from Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were Muslim.\textsuperscript{16} Muslims still faced
resistance towards acceptance as immigration officials commonly issued name changes
resulting in the erasure of Muslim identity and a more personal Islamic expression through a
name. Having a white name made things simpler as for the ease of running a business with a
familiar name.\textsuperscript{17}

Islam gave birth to a uniquely comprehensive and integrated cultural system that is
evident at all scales of the built environment in the Muslim world. In historic Islamic cities, the
influence of religious traditions can be found equally in city planning to the architectural
elements and gardens to the interior architecture. Anywhere it was allowed, this integrated
religious system ultimately influenced the design, and concepts driving the design, of the built
environments.

The Columbian Exposition became the first major influence of Islamic faith available for
public access in North America, it was also the first time Chicago had a perception of the Islamic
faith that was expressed within a built form in its urban landscape. Edward Said’s example of

\textsuperscript{14} Ahmad, \textit{The Islamic Influence in (Pre-) Colonial and Early America}, 926
\textsuperscript{15} Sally Howell. \textit{Old Islam in Detroit: Rediscovering the Muslim American Past}. (Oxford: Oxford University Press,
2014), 31
\textsuperscript{16} Y. Y. Haddad, J. I. Smith, K. M. Moore, & ProQuest (Firm). \textit{Muslim women in America: The challenge of Islamic
\textsuperscript{17} Waugh, \textit{Muslim Community in North America}, 13
orientalism as “the stage” meant for Islamic culture to be displayed to a western audience fits perfectly with the type of representation that occurred in Chicago. The Columbian Exposition displayed representation in the United States that were ahead of their time in the fact that it had a strong interest in the Middle East well before any economic and political interests had occurred following World War II’s introduction of the U.S. into the Eastern oil trade.\textsuperscript{18} With an America that had just been introduced to an unfamiliar culture through an exoticized exhibit at the Columbian Exposition, the economic and political interests in the Middle East that developed after WWII were tied to the misrepresentation that had recently occurred at the exhibit in Chicago. Recognition of the harmful misrepresentation was noted since the 1950s and 1970s with the efforts for better understanding that were exerted by local mosques and centres, including the Information Service of the Islamic Center of Washington D.C., the Task Force on Christian Muslim Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ, and the Duncan Black Macdonald Center at the Hartford, Connecticut, Seminary.\textsuperscript{19} Along with all these organizations, The Aga Khan Foundation has become an important part of promoting current university courses, since the early 2000s, that are taught to remedy the harms caused by Islam’s early erasure from American history.

**ORIENTALISM + EXOTICISM**

The first time there was an effort to represent Islam in America occurred in 1893. From Chicago to Istanbul, the tether of Islam and Muslim culture to America was rekindled at the

\textsuperscript{18} Davis, *Representations of the Middle East at American Worlds’ Fairs*, 1

\textsuperscript{19} Waugh, *Muslim Community in North America*, 98
Columbian Exposition. Compared to the mosque being built for Cairo Street, its precedent had already been in existence for 373 years. The Mosque of Yavuz Sultan Selim (Fig. 4) was finished in 1522 after being commissioned by the son of Yavuz Selim after his death. Even though the identity of the architect remains unknown, architectural credit is often given to Mamir Sanin, who is known for creating the Süleymaniye Mosque and responsible for converting Hagia Sophia from a Greek Orthodox Church to a Mosque with the construction of its four minarets. The Mosque of Yavuz Sultan Selim was created before any mosque had been created by Mamir Sanin meaning there are no records on who actually designed this mosque that was an important part in the creation of the mosque at the Columbian Exposition.

The Mosque of Yavuz Sultan Selim had a simplistic design that made it a great candidate to be recreated in the Columbian Exposition. (Fig. 3) The layout of the mosque consists of a square room that is 80-feet on each side and a 106-foot-high dome overhead. Similar to the Pantheon’s dome, this mosque’s dome uses less than half of a hemisphere to create a more spacious effect. Iznik tiles brought the interior to life by illuminating the lunettes of the side walls with turquoise, deep blues, and yellows. In the center of the Mosque’s front courtyard was the Shadirvan fountain that is commonly built at the entrance of mosques. Painted and gilded woodwork from the early 16th century bordered the ceiling under the loge. To the east and west of the mosque’s central room are annexes consisting of a doomed cruciform passage giving access to four small domed rooms. These smaller annexes consist of hospices for traveling dervishes or a member of a Muslim order who has taken vows of poverty and austerity.

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Along with a hospice area, the Mosque Complex of Yavuz Sultan Selim contained the tomb of Selim I, Suleyman the Magnificent’s four children, and the tomb of Abdul Mecit I which were all located in the garden behind the Mosque. The tomb structure is an octagonal building with domes deeply ribbed on the outside that includes porches on either side of the door with Iznik tiled panels. The interior of the tomb has lost its original decoration and is now covered with embroidered velvet created by the great catafalque of the sultan. The mosque complex also contains a primary school that is one of the few buildings that remains of the former buildings that surrounded the Mosque. The primary school remains in the north-west corner of the outer courtyard.  

The rich history, intricate interior detailing, and simplistic structural design gave the Mosque of Yavuz Sultan Selim a character that made it suitable to be recreated at the Columbian Exposition. Once it was reconstructed on a smaller scale in Chicago, visitors at the Columbian Exposition remarked how many pious Muslims on the Exposition grounds would feel lost if they did not have a house of prayer in which to turn to twice or three times a day. Scaling back from the Mosque of Yavuz Sultan Selim, the replica only contained one dome and one minaret with one main prayer room under the dome. Figure 7 shows Muslims gathering and praying on the site, underneath the replicated dome. Other than the Muslims using the mosque for prayer, Exposition visitors were only allowed to enter when the hour of prayer was over, as the mosque was not considered just a showpiece but an actual place of worship. The newly  

21 Freely & Baker, A History of Ottoman Architecture, 190
constructed mosque contained a minaret used by the Muezzin that was ascended at regular intervals to perform the call to prayer and, in the interior, there was a pulpit for the Imam (prayer leader). Within the interior of the recreated mosque, there were no seats for users, most of the walled interiors were dressed in a variety of interesting objects brought to Chicago that were originally from the Eastern countries that the exposition performers were from.

Examining the Turkish village within the larger scale of the Columbian Exposition, it has been argued that there was a favored promotion of exhibits and it was most evident in the order and way these exhibits were laid out. As was true for many exhibits on the Midway Plaisance and the Columbian Exposition, the first Mosque was intended to showcase the Muslim faith in a hierarchical display of the world’s civilizations. Located far away from the countries like Great Britain, France, and Germany, the Middle Easterners were placed among the states that were so-called “primitive” or “savage.”22 In the end, the short-lived mosque was torn down and the performers and staff that had been imported as objects were sent back to the Middle East where there would be no questioning of their religious rituals. It was noted in the past and is still true today that the Muslims created a lifestyle that was strict to ritualistic religious practices, this was one of the major reasons that, during slavery times and into the early 20th century, Muslims were rarely converted to Christianity by Christian missionaries.23 This is one of the xenophobic reactions that the Muslims at the exhibit experienced and was no different from the colonial era and start of slavery that occurred centuries before this.

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22 Davis, Representations of the Middle East at American Worlds’ Fairs, 5

23 James W. Shepp, and Daniel B. Shepp. Shepp’s World’s Fair Photographed: Being a Collection of Original Copyrighted Photographs ... All Described in Crisp and Beautiful Language. (Chicago: Globe Bible Publishing, 1893.) 500
The minaret, a miniature mosque, a theater devoted to Cairo dancers, a Cairene barber, and Cairene merchants were all located in the highlighted areas in (Figure 1). Along with the representation of many new countries, the first Ferris wheel was introduced at the center of the midway located just steps away from the first mosque. The Midway Plaisance assigned a hierarchical order to the way countries were exhibited. Located far away from the European countries like the United Kingdom, Middle Eastern cultures were placed among the countries that were so-called “primitive” or “savage.”24 Even in the presence of unequal representation, the Muslims that were visiting remarked on experiencing a sense of place at the fair when in the presence of the house of prayer and the Muezzin (prayer caller). The exhibit was a temporary stage set for an important Islamic cultural tradition that was meant for gathering the visitor’s attention. Although many aspects of the exhibit were authentic to the culture, the negative attention due to the foreign performances and misrepresentations created an altered take away from what the exhibit originally intended.

In a similar way to how the Columbian Exposition became a method to show the American people new cultures, the newly represented cultures were also introduced to America. After October 30, 1893, the performers at Columbian Exposition went back to their home countries, mainly Egypt, Morocco, and Palestine, and conveyed what they had learned during their American experience to their homeland. Tales of “progress and opportunity” observed at the Exposition became fuel for groups wanting to leave their current situation and

24 Davis, *Representations of the Middle East at American Worlds’ Fairs*, 5
come to North America, leading to an influx of migrants leaving their homeland searching for an opportunity in this new country.\textsuperscript{25}

**AMERICANIZATION**

Following the first exoticization of Islam at the Columbian Exposition which laid the ground for an orientalist perception of Muslims and Muslim culture, the influx of Muslim immigrants from abroad became more prevalent throughout the American landscape, Islam was still the minority, and was misunderstood by many. Muslims were the victims of religious prejudices because of these misunderstandings, even as action from public relations efforts of various organizations to counter these prejudices were taking place.\textsuperscript{26}

The rapid spread of Islam can be traced to two groups: 1) the immigrants coming to the Americas and 2) the large population of African Americans that had already been in America, each group facing different prejudices stemming from their origins. African American Muslims became known as Bilalians because they held the Islamic figure known by the name of Bilal in high importance. Bilal was the first Muslim muezzin and had a favored status under Muhammad, these positions made him an important symbol of black honor and dignity which were major themes of early African American Islam. ("Bilalians." In the *Oxford Dictionary of Islam*.) This return to Islam is responsible for a conversion that takes up three to four percent of the growth per year in the Muslim Population in the United States.\textsuperscript{27}

The Muslim African American population began to see an increase as the Black Liberation movement developed in 1963. Fifty years before this an important figure to the

\textsuperscript{25} Howell. *Old Islam in Detroit: Rediscovering the Muslim American Past*, 31
\textsuperscript{26} Waugh, *Muslim Community in North America*, 93
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., 93
black Muslim cultural identity began to preach his beliefs on Islam in New Jersey and later Chicago. Timothy Drew was one of the first to preach about African American roots in Islam. Drew noticed the relationship between what you are called and how you are perceived to the way you are treated. He began to push away from the title of African American and toward Moorish-American instead. To identify with the Moors would strengthen the historical tie that black people already had with Europeans and civilizations that existed among other white societies. The moors were a group of Islamic Black Conquerors from Africa who once ruled much of the Iberian Peninsula. During a time when being African American was looked down upon, he began to identify with a group that was once African but followed a route, unlike the many Africans that ended up in the hands of the slave trade. Renaming himself after his Moorish heritage, he left the Christian name of Timothy and titled himself, Noble Drew Ali.28

Strengthening Moorish American heritage in America is what lead to several followers making explicit their Islamic Heritage that had been erased by the cruel terms of slavery. Noble Drew Ali’s movement was essentially a combination of Black nationalism and Christian revivalism with a somewhat confused mixture of the teaching of the Prophet Muhammed. “It was not Islam, but it was a significant recovery of the awareness of Islam.”29 This reawakening of Black Muslims to true Islam was a spectacular phase in the history of Islam in the United States. This conversion resulted in there having been 156 mosques, as recorded on October 24th, 1980 by the Bilalian News, compared to 110 in the U.S. for other ethnic groups.30

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28 Waugh, Muslim Community in North America, 220
29 Ibid., 221
30 Ibid., 95
Among the millions who were made involuntary immigrants due to the slave trade, there were inevitably numbers of Muslims from the Islamic kingdoms of the west coast of Africa such as the Moors in Morocco. The actual number of Muslim slaves will never be known because of the slave master’s disinterest in recording any cultural and spiritual histories. By not keeping any records of slave religions there was never any embarrassment of the possibility of selling an occasional Black Christian and could just tie them all together with Islamic slaves that were considered to be the supreme cabal of infidels. This lack of recording religion made it even more of an excuse for the slaves to be targets for spiritual rehabilitation.

“Immigrants are religious—by all counts more religious than they were before they left home—because religion is one of the important identity makers that helps them preserve individual self-awareness and cohesion in a group ... In the United States, religion is the social category with clearest meaning and acceptance in the host society, so the emphasis on religious affiliation and identity is one of the strategies that allow the immigrant to maintain self-identity while simultaneously acquiring community acceptance.”

-Raymond Williams on identity formation

Muslim Immigrants that came to metropolitan and industrial environments found it more difficult to maintain their faith when compared to those Muslim immigrants that ended up in a more agricultural environment. In the 1920s, Detroit became one of the first major cities to host a large population of Muslim people. As part of adapting to the American lifestyle, many Muslims were faced with new and unusual work hours. It has been stated that Detroit was the first authentic Muslim community that was able to build a mosque in North America.

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31 Waugh, *Muslim Community in North America*, 217
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid., 95
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This mosque was built in Highland Park, Detroit in 1921 and was intended to represent Islam to American observers in an authentic way. Compared to the Islam that was represented in the Columbian Exposition, the Islam in Detroit was an accurate Islam, not to be an exotic foreign spectacle, but a new American faith tradition that was unlike any found in a church or synagogue.\(^{34}\) The highland park mosque’s mission for representation was to create an authentic Islamic space that would attract worshipers that were American citizens.

The Ford factory, which opened in 1914, became a key part of Muslim population growth in the Detroit area. The word of a $5 workday became something that was used to lure men and women into the city to work for Ford. This new population included large amounts of foreign immigrants and also southern black people escaping Jim Crow segregation laws in the South. As the population began to settle in Detroit, Muslim immigrants began to see their commonalities through national and cultural origins as compared to their new American environment which led to the establishment of ethnically distinct communities but never going as far as developing into ghettos. Highland Park had a population of just over 4,000 in 1910 and 47,000 by 1920. It is difficult to estimate the Muslim population of Detroit during this time because of the unreliable Immigration statistics. Many Turk and Kurdish Muslim immigrants that arrived in the United States during World War I identified as Armenians due to the American prejudices against the Ottoman Empire, being that they we at war with the United States.\(^{35}\) Detroit as a whole saw a population increase that doubled during this same decade, with reports of the population jumping from 465,000 to 993,000, but Muslims were a small part

\(^{34}\) Jennifer Williams, *A Brief History of Islam in America*. (Vox, 2015)

\(^{35}\) Howell. *Old Islam in Detroit: Rediscovering the Muslim American Past*, 34
of a much larger influx of immigrants ending up in Detroit. Southern Black Americans that found themselves in Detroit were integrated with the new Muslim Immigrants.

The development of an Islamic community in Detroit created close Muslim relationships through coffeehouses and the creation of social clubs. These coffeehouses became an important venue for the predominantly single and married male population of Muslim immigrants, being that some married males moved from their homeland in search of wealth that could be collected for their family back home. The most important social institution to develop in Highland Park and Detroit in the first decades of the 20th century was not the mosque but the coffeehouse. Muslim coffee shops were distinctive in their décor. Notably, they tended to feature Arabic calligraphy from the Qur’an, usually the Shahada or Fatiha (the opening verse of the Qur’an), that was often visible from the outside of the shop. Several shops made prayer rugs available to patrons and many of the businesses were said to have set aside a corner or back room for collective prayer on special occasions. These coffeehouses were the first step in the progress of creating the first American mosque in Highland Park. They provided all immigrants, including ones that may have been Christian, Muslim, Afghan, or even Hindu with a place for solidarity and mutual acquaintance. These social spaces routinely served as platforms for the organization of more formal associations between specific nationalities, and different social clubs/societies.

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36 Howell. *Old Islam in Detroit: Rediscovering the Muslim American Past*, 32
37 Ibid., 36
38 Ibid.
Like the coffeehouses and social clubs and before the mosque was built, the households of many Muslims became important sites of religious and ethnic identity formation. These households became popular ways to maintain faith for the already Islamic practicing community but were little help to the task of representing Islam to non-Muslim Americans and even less of a move toward announcing the presence of Muslims in the urban landscape. Muslims in Highland Park and Detroit were well aware of the new churches built in Detroit by Syrian Christians. In 1909 St. Maron’s Catholic Church was already established and the construction of St. George’s Antiochian Orthodox Church began in 1918. As the coffeehouses and household were used to grow the first Muslim community in America there became a need for an actual house of worship and after many years of proposals for a mosque in Detroit, there were finally enough donations from all around the world to begin the construction of America’s first mosque in 1920.

Before examining the importance of creating this cultural design presence in the Western World, I will discuss and reemphasize the history of American Muslim representation and why there is a newfound but always present need for these types of representations in modern and contemporary designed spaces. Through reexamining the Columbian Exposition, it indeed became a memorable event in that it introduced the United States general public to a large and new representation of cultures. The legacy of the exposition that endured was largely impacted by the presence of bias in the hierarchical layout of cultures and civilizations being represented. The exposition was the first in that it garnered an initiation towards allowing Muslim immigrants to create and maintain a sense of self-identity while simultaneously acquiring visibility in a new community. As the exposition has been critiqued throughout the
many years afterward, the cause of orientalism can be argued to be rooted in the public eye as opposed to the actually built exhibit. It can be stated that the visitors that came to the Exposition have created more orientalized opinions towards Islamic Identity than Daniel Burnham would have ever intended in the creation of his design and planning. This spread of orientalized thought may have been somewhat been rooted in the hierarchical biased layout that Daniel Burnham and his team created, but it persisted longer because of the misinterpretation of the public that viewed the exhibit and left xenophobic comments. The Columbian Exposition created an awareness that has persisted over time, but it was created through a misrepresentation that placed held cultures at a grander scale than other “savage” and “primitive” cultures located on the Midway Plaisance.39

The translocation of culturally rich designs to a new context is often met with xenophobic reactions. When discussing translocated cultural representations, I am describing the cultural characteristic that has been taken from a culturally authentic location and placed in a completely different cultural setting. The translocation of cultural characteristics garner reactions that are very different compared to reactions of cultures being observed in their natural context. This example was evident in the public reaction that was noted when the female cultural performers in the midway, both at the “Street of Cairo,” the adjacent “Algerian Village,” and the “Persian Palace of Eros,” caused a great scandal.40 Eric Davis brings up in his essay representation of the Middle East at American World Fairs 1876-1904 that some Americans were recorded as saying “No ordinary woman looked on these performances with

39 Davis, Representations of the Middle East at American Worlds’ Fairs, 5
40 Ibid., 13
anything but horror, and at one time it was a matter of serious debate in the councils of the Exposition whether the customs of the dancers of Cairo should be faithfully reproduced or the morals of the public faithfully protected." By the use of ordinary in this quote there is already a presence of bias toward the cultural standards of an American woman of that time. Even with the theme of the performances being “love” the American audience was surprised by the “coarse animal passion of the east that was not the chaste sentiment of Christian lands.” The chaste people of Chicago were quick to label the whole east as illustrators of Animalism after its representation at the Columbian Exposition. This pre-20th century depiction of Arab people is one of the first creations of a wide-set of orientalized ideology. The lasting effects of orientalist opinion was present nearly one hundred years later in 1973 when much of what was belittled at the Columbian Exposition became the central character that was depicted in cartoons of Arab Sheiks standing behind gasoline pumps with sharply hooked noses and evil “mustachioed leers” as they were blamed for gasoline shortages.\(^{41}\)

The modern design world has begun shifting towards more inclusion that is rooted in culturally rich subjects. In recent decades, there has been more push for cultural representation as a result of the many years without any. This push for accurate representation is the result of the recognition and understanding that has come from the harm of misrepresentation. Islamic design has the opportunity to create awareness for a culture that currently has a lack of representation in the Western world.

This important realization and statement were addressed in a lecture given on the subject of “New Landscapes of Pluralism: Contemporary Influence of Islamic Gardens and

\(^{41}\) Said. Orientalism, 286
“Culture” at the 2018 American Society of Landscape Architecture national convention held in Philadelphia. The Panelists for this lecture included Shiraz Allibhai (Deputy Director of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture), Laurie Olin (Principal of OLIN), and Thomas Woltz (Owner and Principal of Nelson Byrd Woltz Landscape Architects). The lecture discussed how Islamic culture contains a rich tradition of design, yet it remains largely outside the practice of Western architecture and landscape architecture. Through case studies presentations this statement was showcased through complex and diverse Islamic tradition and contemporary examples. An important topic of this presentation was their belief that public parks enrich and enlighten communities with cultural awareness.

At the inauguration of the Aga Khan Garden in Alberta, Canada it was commented that the creation of the garden is an exemplary answer to how we can honor what is distinctive between two separate cultural identities as a positive element in our lives. The Aga Khan himself said it symbolizes not only the creative blending of the natural and the human – but also the beauty of multi-cultural cooperation. The contemporary garden contains the historic ancient Chahar Bagh form that consists of four gridded gardens separated by a waterway with a fountain at the center. This multi-cultural cooperation that the Aga Khan Garden addressed is something that has not been practiced much in Western History through past representations of Islamic and Muslim cultural design. Instead of poorly translocating cultural designs as the Midway Plaisance was notorious for, the Aga Khan Garden was designed with an Islamic influence that was created for a Western or Americanized context.

Bringing the Islamic based design to the mosque on Cairo Street displayed that an architectural design that was originally intended for a different context and climate will not
create the same effect if the design is placed in a distant environment far from where it was intentionally built and can easily be represented. The Aga Khan Foundation recognized this problem in the design for their Garden in Edmonton, Alberta, and mitigated this issue through the use of materials and plantings that were found near the site location. Fig. 13 depicts what the Aga Khan Garden looks like during the winter season. This winter climate is rare in the original regions of the 10th century Muslim World. The way the winter climate is handled in the Aga Khan Garden’s design displays new attention to a climate that was not adjacent to the historic garden forms that were used in the Muslim World and creates something new yet still rooted in the Muslim culture.

While the Columbian Exposition magnified Muslim Culture to an exoticization, the Aga Khan Garden represents the Muslim culture as a translocated design typology that has adapted to the American context. The Aga Khan Garden is a Mughal-Inspired garden that adapts to the new climate different from the usual regions where Moorish and Mughal designs are found. The accumulation of snow on the different hard and softscapes (Fig. 13) strongly exemplifies the cultural and historic design language that has been addressed in translocating cultural element to a new context. The Chahar Bagh form is one of the prominent elements found in many Mughal, and Moorish designs and is an important part and inspiration for the Aga Khan Garden in Canada. Along with the Chahar Bagh formation the garden includes many other smaller scaled Mughal-inspired garden features.

The Chini Khana, Chadar, and Chabutra as seen in Fig. 12 at the Aga Khan Garden are early forms of Islamic design that can be found in Islamic Mughal Imperial Gardens that date back to the 14th century. To describe the elements of these Islamic Mughal Gardens, I will be
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focusing on Shalamar (Fig. 14) and Nishat Bagh (Fig. 15) for their variety of Islamic oriented
garden qualities that are found in the Aga Khan Garden as well. These landscape features
contain many historic elements that define the character of many eastern Mughal Imperial
Gardens. Shalamar (Fig. 14) and Nishat Bagh (Fig. 15) are 15th and 16th century Mughal Gardens
located in Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir. The most evident characteristic that links the Mughal
and Aga Khan garden plans together are the four gridded gardens separated by a waterway or
Chahar Bagh form.

The axial relationship that divides that garden into four parts can be traced back to early
Islamic gardening practices. This important archetype is a diagrammatic representation of
paradise that became popular in the 11th century with the Moorish population and then spread
throughout the Muslim world until the 17th century with the Mughal empire. This axial
relationship is a depiction of the common story of paradise in Islamic history. The circle or
square boundary is used to represent earth and two axes are used to divide it into four parts,
one representing the equator and the other to represent elements of the earth. 42

Unlike the Aga Khan Garden, which is designed for the public, Shalamar Bagh and
Nishat Bagh were created with a hierarchy of private and public spaces. The waterway flows
downhill from the private garden space furthest north to the southernmost public garden space
and finally ends in the southern lake. Both the Aga Khan Garden and Shalamar Bagh use Chini
Khanas as a historic Islamic garden feature used as a way of handling elevation change. The
Chini Khana is a small niche behind a waterfall in which flowers or oil lamps could be placed.

Near the Chini Khana on each site is the Chabutra (Fig. 12 + Fig. 16), which are raised stones in the waterway leading to sitting platforms. Along with these two features, the Chadars are commonly used in Mughal Imperial Gardens and can be found in Nishat Bagh (Fig. 17) just 1.5 miles away from Shalamar Bagh. Chadars are angled cascades of patterned masonry that animates water, enhancing light and sound.

The Zodiac calendar is a common theme of the Islamic garden as well. The astrological relationships can give meaning to the shapes and forms using ternary or three-part relationship of astrological signs. Nishat Bagh (Fig. 15) used the zodiacal relationship to influence the number of terraces in the garden design, twelve terraces for the twelve astrological signs, further solidifying the argument that astrology is an important part of Islamic design and has been used throughout the Islamic world and is slowly being introduced into the Western world.

The Aga Khan garden plan provided by Nelson Byrd Woltz depicts the garden in a hand-drafted and detailed site plan (Fig. 10). The axial formality of the garden is deeply rooted in Islamic symmetry that references astrological and Euclidian geometries. Common Islamic and Muslim shapes were created and formed with references linked to the Zodiac calendar. Fig. 9 shows a fountain form that uses many triangles and squares symmetries that give reference to reoccurring Astrological elements and geometries connected to Zodiac relationships and solar cycle plans. This ternary or three-part relationship of astrological signs overlap to make the full astrological calendar compiled of every ternary relation that is present at the Aga Khan

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43 Sevcenko. *Theories and Principles of Design in the Architecture of Islamic Societies*, 52
garden (Fig. 18). This similar geometry is also linked in the designs of the ground tiling near the fountain and the Baluster screen design located next to the northeast lake and runnel fountain.

In *Theories and Principles of Design in the Architecture of Islamic Societies*, there is a chapter that recognizes the importance of learning from vernacular design to understand the simplest remedies to build in harsh environments. Designs from the 10th century Muslim World addressed climates that were usually constructed in a Mediterranean environment and climate, some of the vernacular architecture address rocky soil, dry air, high amounts of solar radiation, and a variety of landscape topography. These historical Architectural designs addressed these environments along with rich cultural elements through the creation of a unique architectural style unlike any other.

The relationship that currently exists between the Aga Khan Garden, Shalamar, and Nishat Bagh is proof of progress that was due ever since Colonial America was founded. From the Moorish introduction of Islamic design to the Iberian Peninsula to the evolution of grand Mughal gardens further east, these are all examples of the type of designs that were erased from America’s beginning and are now being addressed in contemporary design without orientalized characteristics. Like the Aga Khan said in the inauguration of the garden in Edmonton, Alberta, it is in the Multi-cultural cooperation that we can honor what is distinctive between two separate cultural identities as a positive element in our lives and symbolizes not only the creative blending of the natural and the human.

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44 Sevcenko. *Theories and Principles of Design in the Architecture of Islamic Societies*, 135
CONCLUSION: Erasure – Orientalism/Exoticism – Americanization

Islamic cultural design faces little representation and practice in Western architecture and landscape architecture. Despite having such a variety of cultural traditions and designs there have been very few accurate representations of this culture through the history of western design. The history of Islam in America offers many answers and reasoning behind the way Muslims have encountered xenophobia and suppression throughout the years going all the way back to colonialism and slavery. The religious suppression of Islamic Slaves from the west coast of Africa took away many things that would have allowed Islamic culture and design to be represented in American society.

Along with this suppression came the misrepresentation of the Muslims at the Columbian Exposition. The introduction of Muslim culture towards the beginning of the 20th century welcomed orientalist way of thought and exoticized depictions as accurate representations of ancient and developed civilizations. As the Exotic and orientalist representation at the Columbian Exposition led to more xenophobia it would take many years until enough Muslim Immigrants came to the Western world to defend their cultural image.

Immigrants in Detroit became the population that would do the hard work of creating representation in their city with the founding of the first mosque in America. As America began to grow with the acknowledgment of this old religion many Black Americans reidentified with their Islamic roots that were erased and lead the way for Islam to become a well-known religion and the Muslim culture to be recognized for its true history. Through the spread of knowledge and cultural understanding, the Aga Khan Foundation has provided resources that have
corrected the Islamic misrepresentation that was created at the Columbian Exposition and helped solve other issues that have been rooted in orientalist and xenophobic beliefs.

As contemporary design welcomes in historic Islamic forms there is an opportunity for Islam to be recognized in the demonstration that it deserved had it never been erased from western society. As society attempts to better itself from orientalist thought in the way of learning to understand other cultures there still are misrepresentations that causes similar effects like the ones seen at the Columbian Exposition.

With help from organizations like the Aga Khan Foundation, Muslim cultural identity is on the right track to becoming a part of the Western landscape. Today we can imagine what it would mean for a group of culturally diverse people to visit a university and see the culture that has been the reason for living as a minority only to be represented on a large scale. We can also imagine the opportunity other cultures would have to see and learn about the history and tradition of their underrepresented neighbors. This is what is occurring today in Canada at the University of Alberta Botanical Garden in the city of Edmonton. Major steps toward acceptance and inclusion have taken place for the 43,645 Muslims that live in Edmonton and there is still many more Muslim populations in North America that need this representation.\textsuperscript{45} The Aga Kahn Garden creates the opportunity to present a broader and more precise image of the historic beauty and brilliance of Muslim culture. It has become an example to the answer of how past

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misrepresentations can be remedied in a less problematic way and cure the Xenophobia and prejudices that come from the Orientalist way of thought.
Figures

Figure 1: Organization of the Midway

Figure 2: Turkish Village

46 Photographic Archive: The University of Chicago.
Figure 3: Moorish Palace and Ferris Wheel

Figure 4 Mosque of Yavuz Sultan Selim

47 Shepp. Shepp’s World’s Fair Photographed: Being a Collection of Original Copyrighted Photographs ... All Described in Crisp and Beautiful Language, 505
Figure 5 Plan of Yavuz Sultan Selim Mosque

Figure 6 Cairo Street Mosque

Figure 7 Interior of Turkish Mosque


51 Shepp. Shepp's World's Fair Photographed: Being a Collection of Original Copyrighted Photographs ... All Described in Crisp and Beautiful Language, 501
Figure 8 Poster used to raise funds for the Moslem Mosque in Highland Park\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{52} Howell. \textit{Old Islam in Detroit: Rediscovering the Muslim American Past}, 46
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Figure 9 Aga Khan Garden Fountain\textsuperscript{53}

Figure 10 Aga Khan Garden Plan\textsuperscript{54}


\textsuperscript{54} Ibid.
Figure 11 Baluster Screen in North East Lake

Figure 12 Chini Khana\textsuperscript{56}

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Figure 13 Winter at the Aga Khan Garden

Figure 14 Shalamar Bagh in Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir


58 Erdman, Kimball D. “17th century Mughal Gardens” History of Landscape Architecture, Fall 2017, university of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Slide 5
Figure 15 Nishat Bagh\textsuperscript{59}

Figure 16 Shalamar Bagh Chini Khana and Chabutra\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{59} Erdman, “17\textsuperscript{th} century Mughal Gardens” History of Landscape Architecture, Slide 11
\textsuperscript{60} Erdman, “17\textsuperscript{th} century Mughal Gardens” History of Landscape Architecture, Slide 9
Figure 17 Chadar at Nishat Bagh

Figure 18 Islamic ternary zodiac relationships

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61 Erdman, “17th century Mughal Gardens” History of Landscape Architecture, Slide 16
Edward Said has produced an encompassing overview of the history and definition of orientalism. *Orientalism* by Said is a fundamental resource for modern development on the meaning of the current definition of orientalism. This work has been a guide to the analysis of the misrepresentation that was displayed at the Columbian Exposition. Said’s definition provides a foundation to the Orientalist thought that places the East up as something that can become a means of profiting the Western cultures. Examining records provided in Eric Davis’s *Representations of the Middle East at American Worlds’ Fairs 1876-1904* and the Shepp Brother’s photos of the Columbian Exposition, the orientalist relationships through images and descriptions of the middle eastern exhibits on the Midway Plaisance became a common theme.

Using Edward Said as the basis of understanding Orientalism, the resources written by Sally Howell and Earle H. Waugh became important in understanding an authentic history on the beginning of Islam in America. *Old Islam in Detroit* by Howell and *Muslim Communities in North America* by Waugh led the way in understanding the history of Muslim African American and the Muslim Immigrants from the East. These resources provided in-depth research on Islam in America following the dates after the Columbian Exposition leading into the latter half of the 20th century. These resources became key to understanding the black liberation movement and the creation of the first Mosque in Highland Park, Detroit.

Margaret B. Sevcenko, *Theories and Principles of Design in the Architecture of Islamic* was used to understanding modern practices of Islam in North America. This resource was provided by the Aga Khan Foundation and displayed the effort put forth by the Aga Khan Foundation to bring awareness of Islamic Culture to the masses. These resources by Sevcenko,
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John Freely, and Anthony E. Baker were used in the case study analysis of the Mosque of Yavuz Sultan Selim and the Aga Khan Garden in Edmonton, Alberta. These resources were primarily used in the Americanization section to develop an understanding of the current modernization of Islamic cultural design in North America.

Development Plan

This capstone research focuses on the soft sciences of Islamic design, including a focus on the built Islamic cultural environment through the study of its development, structures, and society. This written scholarship details how Islamic Design has been used in spaces to create cultural awareness. I will be looking at the cultural and social aspects of Islamic histories and equate them to modern times by examining Islamic concepts that have been set in the Islamic cultural design to determine a set of values and practices that have been addressed in modern times. This capstone includes a case study of selected historical works that use Islamic forms such as the Chahar Bagh form, Chini Khana, and Chadar in gardens like the Aga Khan Garden in Alberta, Canada, and the Mosque of Yavuz Sultan Selim is analyzed as a precedent for the mosque at the Columbian Exposition. This capstone is a qualitative research based on the soft sciences through a case study of past and present Islamic built forms. This system of inquiry will focus on the social impact of the Islamic culture through a study of its development according to the architectural environments.

The development of this capstone was space into three parts in Fall 2020

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- starting investigation between the relationship concerning modern and traditional Islamic design.
- Identifying Islamic design in precedents and the creation of the Middle Eastern Exhibits on the Midway Plaisance at the Columbian Exposition.

- Identifying how the architectural environments that have been identified are examples of multi-cultural and religious cooperation.

The end of this investigation will identify how historical traditions are being both maintained and changed due to the Americanization process and how the modernization of Islamic cultural designs could create awareness for Muslim populations and move past orientalized and exoticized understandings of Muslim environments.
Bibliography


