



# DE-PLACING DIFFERENCE

*Architecture, Culture and Imaginative Geography*

camea

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Editor  
Samer Akkach

Associate Editor  
Hamish Lindsay Barrett

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## **CANNIBAL TASTES: The Architecture of Non-European Migrants in Australia**

The buildings of non-European migrants provide a lens through which to study the concrete results of cultural diversity in Australia. The production of their architecture gives form to the ongoing negotiation between identity and locality that is part of the settlement process. Architecture is contestable ground on such an account, as it not only renders tangible the extent of difference that is being lived in the city, but it anchors such difference in place. However, given the extent to which cultural diversity is intrinsic to Melbourne's self-image, it is surprising that a glance through architectural publications—whether glossy magazines or professional journals—reveals a general absence of culturally specific buildings. From this lack of interest, it would appear that the possibilities of evolving multicultural identities for building lie outside the present boundaries of Australian architectural discourse. While there has been increasing interest in the material and environmental aspects of different locations (such as with “critical” regionalism), architecture remains aesthetically and spatially bound by the self-referential and totalising rhetoric of European modernity. Architecture that traces its ancestry from elsewhere is peripheral to this central tradition. Nevertheless, a trip through suburban Melbourne reveals that there is a great deal of building by minority communities, and so the physical nature of the city *is* being affected by the diversity of cultures that inhabits it. In this contestation of identity within the city, I would argue that the buildings produced for or by Australia's non-European migrants have a particular importance. They are in a position of ambiguity in regards to identity, in that they lie between overlapping narratives of nation and diaspora, tradition and modernity.

The theoretical background for the following text draws upon ideas that could be broadly described as postcolonial, (though, as will later be discussed, this is not an entirely unproblematic frame of reference). Peter Hulme states that the usefulness of “postcolonial” as a term is its reference to a “*process* of disengagement from the whole colonial syndrome which takes many forms and is probably inescapable for all those whose world has been marked by that set of phenomena.”<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, Stuart Hall maintains that the imperialist legacy is still a force due to the continuing demarcation that exists between what is considered inside or outside systems put in place by colonial rule. In Australia this demarcation is

played out in persistent centrality of Anglo-Celtic (or as Ghassan Hage puts it more bluntly “White”) culture as normative, in comparison, firstly, to indigenous culture, and, secondarily, to the diversity of migrants from other backgrounds.<sup>2</sup> The conflation of “Anglo-Celtic” and “White” serves here to suggest that while the idea of what constitutes “Australian” might be broadening (from Anglo, to Anglo-Celtic, to Northern European, to Western), this does not mean that the core of such an identity has been displaced by this process. Hage uses the term to signify that this core identity remains a fantasy heavily derived from European imperial expansion.<sup>3</sup> In this respect, Hall sees one of the missions of the “postcolonial project” as a re-presentation of present societies to acknowledge the true extent of difference, differences that lie within “the sutured and over-determined ‘unity’ of that simplifying, over-arching binary, ‘the West and the Rest’”<sup>4</sup> The important factor in this dissection and reconstitution of culture is that it is *political*. It is the battle against forms of essentialism *in practice* that is sought, looking under the apparently unified surface of postcolonial societies to find the disruptions and inconsistencies that give clues to other, more repressed existences.

Before elaborating on these assertions and their relation to architecture, I would like to draw on two examples of the substantial numbers of public buildings constructed for or by non-Western communities in Melbourne.<sup>5</sup>

### **Religion, Politics and Diasporic Settlement**

The Dhamma Sarana is a Sri Lankan Buddhist *vihara* (temple/monastery), in the suburb of Keysborough, which is in the municipality of Greater Dandenong in Melbourne’s outer south-east. The building is constructed in a similar manner to the new suburban residences of its outer Melbourne suburb: light timber frame, rendered masonry cladding, corrugated metal roofing. It is differentiated from them in the form and disposition of these elements. The single building on the site is formally composed as two pavilions connected by a mid-section (figure 1). Inside the octagonal front pavilion is found the shrine, the centrepiece of which is an altar with a seated Buddha figure. In front of the Buddha are offerings and other ritual objects, the main one of which is a white *stupa*, the traditional receptacle for containing relics of the Buddha.

The requirements of the design were essentially twofold; to facilitate the functional needs of the Buddhist Association and, within the limitations of using local building techniques, give the building a recognisably Sri Lankan aspect. It was desired to have a building that would be representative of its Buddhist identity and cultural origins, but also expressive of its Australian location.<sup>6</sup>

Sri Lankans are Theravada Buddhists, adherents of a stream of Buddhist thought that is closely related to Buddhism as originally practised in India. Its basic precepts, as outlined by the “Three Jewels” (*Ti-Ratana*) or the “Three



Refuges (*Ti-Sarana*) of Buddhism, are: reverence for the Buddha, adherence to the *Dhamma*, and membership of the *Sangha* (strictly, the monastic order, or more broadly, the community of Buddhists).<sup>7</sup> The name of the building, Dhamma Sarana, thus encapsulates its meaning in a religious sense. Correspondingly, the Buddha, the *Dhamma*, and the *Sangha* are each embodied within specific components of the *vihara*.<sup>8</sup> Of these, the elements that represent the Buddha are the *stupa* or *cetiya* (*stupa*/temple) and the *bodhi*ghara.<sup>9</sup> Each of these spaces is represented in some form in the Dhamma Sarana, and so it transports to its site the essential institution of the *vihara*.

Certain elements of the *vihara* also have specific formal antecedents. Senake Bandaranayake describes each of the ritual forms of the *vihara* as conforming to the nature of the objects that they house or commemorate.<sup>10</sup> As such, the *stupa* is circular, the *bodhi*ghara *hypaethral* (open to the sky). The image-house is square, as symbolic of its status as a “residential” space for the Buddha. The most notable departure from such form-object correlations in the Dhamma Sarana is the shape of the image room. As just described, it is octagonal in plan.



Figure 1. Dhamma Sarana, front of building showing octagonal double-pitched roof (photograph by author).  
 Figure 2. Dalada Maligawa temple in Kandy, Sri Lanka (M. Westman: [www.travelpix.nu/Srilanka/020.htm](http://www.travelpix.nu/Srilanka/020.htm)).

Within this use of the octagon more complex cultural and political meanings might be read into the building. Octagons are not normally used in the planning of *viharas*. However, there is one notable precedent. An octagon is part of the pre-eminent religious site in Sri Lanka, the Dalada Maligawa, or “Temple of the Tooth” in Kandy, Sri Lanka, so named because it traditionally houses a tooth from the Buddha himself (figure 2). At first glance it should not be surprising that the form of the Dhamma Sarana should be derived from such an eminent source. What is intriguing, however, is that the *pattirippuwa* (octagonal pavilion) at the front of the Dalada Maligawa has no symbolic or ritual purpose for the practise of Buddhism. The *pattirippuwa* was a late addition to the temple, added to the building by Sri Vikrama Rajasinha—the last king of Kandy prior to colonial control of the island—for the purposes of allowing the royal party to watch the

celebrations in front of the temple.<sup>11</sup> The importance of the octagon lies in the fact that the Temple of the Tooth is more than just a religious shrine. It is, in many ways, the political as well as the theological centre of power in the country.

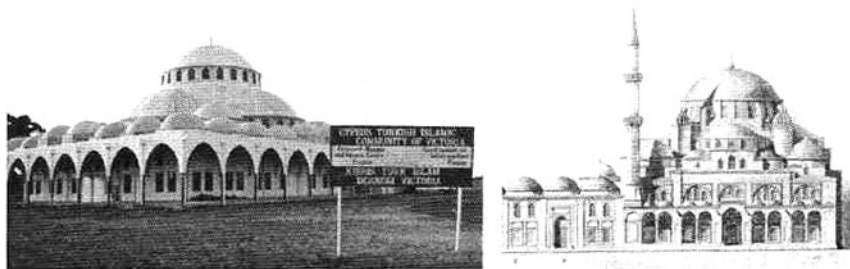
H. L. Seneviratne describes the *Dalada* as being the “legitimiser of political power” for Sinhalese kings, who participated in public rituals there to reinforce their terrestrial authority. While this is no longer so directly the case, the Dalada Maligawa continues to embody a potent combination of terrestrial and divine power.<sup>12</sup> As one of the main symbols of power of past Sinhalese kings, the octagon transfers legitimacy not only to present Sri Lankan Governments, but potentially also to other organisations of Sri Lankan origin who become identified with it. The use of the octagon on an Australian building implies a conflation of Sri Lankan identity with Sinhalese ethnicity and Theravada Buddhist tradition.

### **Pan-Islam on the Highway**

My second case study is the Cypriot Turkish Mosque and Community Centre, in the western suburbs of Melbourne. Though incomplete, it is the largest mosque in Victoria. The finished building will consist of a mosque, an assembly hall, and, linking these two major spaces, a series of ancillary spaces around a central courtyard, including a community room, meeting rooms, and a library. At present, only the central ancillary spaces have been fully completed. The mosque is close to completion (and is already being used for worship) and the assembly hall has not yet commenced construction. All of these components are planned in a rectilinear fashion, and aligned according to a bearing to Mecca, placing them at a slight angle to the site boundaries.

The mosque is by far the most prominent portion of the building, being the largest, closest to the street, and most elaborately composed. It consists of a series of cupolas of escalating size and height, constructed of pre-cast concrete, and supported on a steel frame. Compositionally, it culminates in a central dome (twelve metres in diameter) supported on four half-domes. An external colonnade topped with another row of cupolas fringes the south and west sides (figure 3). A minaret is planned to balance this colonnade on the northern side of the mosque, but this is yet to be constructed. Inside, the *mihrab* (indicating the direction of prayer) is centred on the northern wall (perpendicular to the bearing to Mecca).

The disposition of the cascading domes alludes to the distinctly Anatolian style of mosque design, in particular the Ottoman *ulucami*, or “great mosque”. The Cypriot Turkish mosque appears to draw some inspiration in particular from the grand tradition of Ottoman mosques, such as the Süleymaniye or Sehzade Mosques in Istanbul (figure 4). The most specific aspect of this is the way in which the central dome is supported via the half-domes to a square structure, originally an innovation of the great Ottoman architect Sinan.<sup>13</sup>



**Figure 3.** Front view of Cypriot Mosque (photograph by author). **Figure 4.** Şehzade Mosque, Istanbul (Behçet Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic Architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman Times 1071-1923* (1959), 60).

Besides these specific influences, the composition can also be interpreted in the global context of contemporary mosque building, in which the use of “traditional” forms has become increasingly prevalent. This building exemplifies a growing tendency for mosques, in both Islamic countries and among the Islamic diaspora, to use elements such as domes and minarets to provide the building with a recognisably Muslim aspect.<sup>14</sup> This may appear a surprising trend in light of the *lack* of need for religious specificity in mosque design. Indeed, questions have been raised by Islamic scholars as to the relevance of such forms to Islamic faith and practice.<sup>15</sup> In trying to understand this, the Canadian Muslim architect Gulzur Haider talks more positively about the increasing need for “visual authenticity” in the mosque, linking it to the assertion of a global “Muslim identity”, in which members of the Islamic diaspora wish to signal their part in a global *umma* or Islamic community.

Overtly “Islamic” mosques function, in this respect, as a reminder to non-Muslims of Muslim presence and establishment, a marking of space and ground in an unequivocal manner. As well as this, such a proclamation of identity is also coincidental with the postmodern turn in the West, and a general renewal in appreciation of the value of decoration and the representational. This, for those designing such buildings, has given legitimacy for what Haider calls “tactile knowing”. Religious concepts become less important than a visceral sense of belonging that is imparted in viewing cultural products (such as buildings) which are emphatically Muslim. The Cypriot Turkish Mosque, while being in traditional in its evocative form, calls on its traditions for contemporary reasons; to both cater for a community of people with a particular cultural history, and also to take its place in a globalised Islam. Its traditionalism is self-conscious. It is both a source of reassurance for its users and a projection of diasporic and religious identity to the wider world.

### **Ambiguity and “Dirt”**

The mixture of traditional form, social/political content, and local constructional technique, in the two examples, gives these buildings a disturbing ambivalence in purely “architectural” terms. The antecedents for their architectural expression appears traditional, even hyper-traditional, in expression, and furthermore, these traditions are ones unfamiliar to European-oriented eye. Consequently they cannot easily be classified according to Western preconceptions of architectural development. Neither, however, can they be easily positioned as anthropological subjects in the Western tradition of categorising the Third World.<sup>16</sup> Firstly, they are situated in the putative “West”, outside the area of their origins, and secondly they show the impact of newer technologies and materials on their “original” form. Their architecture represents responses to particular temporal and geographical circumstances in ways that are contingent and strategic rather than “natural” or organic. Because of this they question the “natural” placement of architecture by muddying the self-other distinctions that master narratives of nation, diaspora, and modernity attempt to maintain. They have drifted from any anthropologically “pure” architecture.

Mary Douglas offers a useful starting consideration of this notion of the “pure,” and from which to consider the problems that individuals and communities that find themselves “between” the authoritative figures of master-cultures and nations. Douglas’ definition of “dirt” as being “essentially disorder” and “matter out of place” is the crux here.<sup>17</sup> By this she indicates that in any systematic classification or ordering there will be elements that do not properly fit the defined classifications. Consequently, these anomalous elements will be rejected. This is because all invented systems are inherently systems of purity, which attempt to make sharp definitions between different classes of matter or phenomena. Douglas draws upon Sartre’s writing on “stickiness” to illustrate the problem of elements that appear to be between categories:

The viscous is a state half-way between solid and liquid. It is like a cross-section in a process of change. It is unstable, but it does not flow. It is soft, yielding and compressible. There is no gliding in its surface. Its stickiness is a trap, it clings like a leech; it attacks the boundary between myself and it. Long columns falling off my fingers suggest my own substance flowing into the pool of stickiness ... Stickiness is clinging, like a too-possessive dog or mistress.<sup>18</sup>

The viscous material does not respect boundaries, and Douglas repeats Sartre’s argument that this makes viscosity be perceived as “an ignoble form of existence.” However, she suggests that anomalies can also be approached in other ways; including using them as a means of critically evaluating the set classification of reality. Speaking more specifically on culture, Douglas observes that as the product of a number of people, culture is a system that rigidifies



classifications, and given that its boundaries are more defined than those of an individual, needs to have a series of methods for dealing with the inevitable anomalies that it encounters. Douglas concludes that the definition of anything outside the system as “unclean” is a most useful method for dealing with anomalous elements. Thus pejoratively labelled, it cannot easily be argued that the system should be changed to include the anomalous element. As Douglas points out: “To conclude, if uncleanness is matter out of place, we must approach it through order. Uncleanness or dirt is that which must not be included if a pattern is to be maintained.”<sup>19</sup>

The role of “whiteness” within this cultural discourse of purity has perhaps been most forcefully elucidated in the writings of Frantz Fanon. Fanon speaks of how the history of subjugation of Black by White, as legitimised by Orientalist discourse, has on a global scale affected the everyday relations of Europeans and “others” in postcolonial situations. As Fanon explains, “it is not enough for the black man to be black, he has to be black in relation to the white man.”<sup>20</sup> As such, the world of a Black person is not so much created by his/her own sensations and perceptions but by the constructions and the narratives of White people. Nakayama and Martin have suggested, more recently, that whiteness requires non-whiteness to be visibly meaningful, as essentially it is a construction, contingent on its other.<sup>21</sup> The notion of constructed whiteness can be seen on the scale of global practice, and an integral part of the continuing dominance of world-views of the West. This global perspective locates whiteness geographically, not *in* the West necessarily, but in the structures of influence, hegemony and outright power, its control over how the world “knows” itself.<sup>22</sup>

However, it is not enough to just be aware of this. What is needed is to legitimate other histories, other narratives, to thwart a White attitude that, in Fanon’s words “feels the need to recall the times of cannibalism” when under threat from other world-views.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, how does this emancipatory rhetoric bear upon architecture? What is at stake is the power of marginalised (or indeed all) people to have agency in the construction of their identities, and part of this exercise is the literal construction of their physical environment. A work of architecture is, as Dutton and Mann suggest, an epistemological project.<sup>24</sup> The architecture that is produced in the wake of minority settlement is thus a formative element in such a project. Events such as the settlement, inhabitation and establishment of diasporic communities involve the occupation of space. Architecture provides the armature of this space, its form and its image. Because of the relatively enduring nature of buildings, architecture aspires to permanence, and in doing so helps to stabilise meaning.

The buildings discussed here illustrate just a couple of the narratives that are woven into the architecture of Melbourne. They illustrate the degree of cross-fertilisation between cultures and geographies that accompanies construction

under conditions of migrancy, and thus problematise the idea of discrete “cultures”. Their architecture could be said to exist on a number of overlapping levels. Firstly, they fulfil their programs, providing the envelope for series of spaces and elements that meet physical, ritual and symbolic requirements for their users. In this, they are local buildings. They serve purposes for members of local communities; they are adapted or designed, constructed and used locally. Secondly, they are buildings for particular diasporic ethnic or cultural groups. They represent certain traits, methods and histories that might be associated with them; they are expressions of allegiance, belonging, and diasporic identity. Thirdly, they embody particular religious/philosophical attitudes towards being in the world (as the two cases discussed here are both places of worship), and in particular towards the role of architecture in facilitating, embodying or symbolising their underlying cosmic schemas.

### **Prospects for a Post-Western Architecture**

The Dhamma Sarana and the Cypriot Turkish Mosque both use tradition, but not perhaps as it is conventionally understood. Traditions imply the existence of “formulaic truths,” known only to the insiders of a given group, and so provide a privileged view of time and space to sustain them.<sup>25</sup> Anthony Giddens argues that the distinction between the present situation and past times is that the impact of (Western) modernity and the access to other world-views caused by globalisation, has made *choices* about how to interpret traditions obligatory.<sup>26</sup> Giddens uses the term “post-traditional” to refer to the need for this process to be questioned in a world of competing and overlapping world-views, subverting the simple “handing down” of received conventions. Such conventional meanings are present, but there are also a number of conscious decisions that have been made, choices as to what to include, to emphasise, to replicate faithfully or to interpret freely. In this sense, Giddens implies that the traditional refers to pre-modern; or pre-enlightenment forms of thinking (within a European context). What this leads to, in his view, is the high level of reflexivity within contemporary societies, meaning that every practice has to be evaluated and actively decided upon.<sup>27</sup> For a diasporic community, this reflexivity implies that the future has to be actively imagined for it to be in any way influenced by cultural or social pasts.

Giddens recognises the globalising ambitions of such post-traditional movements, but ultimately finds them, like postmodern movements, essentially reacting to the project of modernity. However, this is to look at the globe from a fixed viewpoint, because, as Trinh Minh-ha suggests: “Tradition as past is a Modernist idea.”<sup>28</sup> Talal Asad takes this further, suggesting that regarding religious-political movements as reactionary, per se, indicates an assumption, “that Western modernity is not only the standard by which all contemporary developments must be judged, but also the only authentic trajectory for every tradition.”<sup>29</sup> Asad

instead posits the opinion that the development of such movements should cause a rethinking of the idea that secular modernity is a universal condition rather than a specifically Western one. He regards modernity and its adjuncts, secularism and liberalism, as aspects of Western historicity, and contends that even the idea of “the future” as something to be aspired to, is an outcome of this particular historicity. That the West itself should be wavering on this idea of the future—as evidenced in the postmodern turn in Western thinking—Asad sees as a valuable thing, but only if such thinking can divert itself from the Western philosophical trajectory that it seeks to critique.

By way of example, Metcalf considers that the commonly held view that Muslim immigrants to the West constitute a marginalised underclass, underestimates the ongoing importance, however sublimated, of the principles of the *da'wah*. *Da'wah* refers to the mission to spread Islam, in which one of the goals of migration is *hijra*, migration with a mission.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, Haider sees the process of settlement for minority Muslims as the opportunity for Islam in the West to redefine itself in the face of opposition, rather than being embedded in the inertia of traditionally “Islamic” societies. He likens such a time to Mohammed’s period of exile. In parallel to Turner’s interpretations of rites of passage, this liminal time of settlement causes defamiliarisation, and consequently a rethinking of the fundamentals of faith that leads to the possibility of greater profundity.<sup>31</sup> The “return” from exile will not necessarily be a physical journeying, but the migration to a higher plane of clarity and spirituality. Such a view is perhaps overtly optimistic, but makes an interesting counter to the more usual arguments that diasporic communities are innately conservative, trying to “hold on” rather than grow and develop. In this context Muslims are not merely subalterns of the West, but subjects in their own history, having their own supra-national, supra-economic imagined space.

Accepting the existence of such ideas suggests that even postcolonial critiques do not escape the fundamental problem of remaining defined by Western-centred world view, in that they imply that the experience of colonialism should be the defining point of reference. Alternatively, David Simon and Dani Habudere suggest that despite colonialism, in many parts of the former colonial world, indigenous values, social structures, and identities have survived (admittedly to differing extents and with differing degrees of engagement with or transformations by colonial impositions).<sup>32</sup> As well as the ongoing legacy of Western domination, Simon and Habudere contend that colonised peoples are undergoing a re-evaluation and reinterpretation of their indigenous values and practices in the construction of their communities after colonialism. This process, they define as “posttraditionalism” (without the hyphen), as it asserts the primacy of precolonial ways of seeing and being, rather than the effects of modernity upon them. While such traditional practices have been overlaid with the experiences of

colonialism and modernity, present redefining of their meaning and practice is, in this evaluation, more a rethinking of these much older modes of being, more than a direct legacy of colonialism. Their also revival suggests a breakdown of the West's authority structure. Other peoples are reasserting their rights to not just express their world-view in the face of the West, but to do so *without* reference to the West. This suggests that, even in the aftermath of global imperialism "... there are certain experiences that have nothing to do with the West/non-West relationship."<sup>33</sup>

But what happens when these "posttraditions" migrate, taking this entanglement of practices into the Western metropolis? Buildings such as the Dhamma Sarana Vihara and the Cypriot Turkish Mosque are, in several senses, "in-between." They mediate between the demands of local siting and their positioning within global networks, between diasporic allegiances and national belonging, between the ideologies of the contemporary multicultural State and timeless or teleological religious beliefs. They are heteroglossic, "speaking" in different languages to different constituencies (good citizens, communities of belief, the diverse nation), but also imply a syncretic overlap of coexistent worlds within the same space (placement in metropolitan/national space versus orientation within Buddhist world-view/Islamic Mecca-directed space).

Such buildings seem to both hold difference at bay, and simultaneously be embracing of it. Difference is partially managed consciously, and partially seeps in through the altered geographical and social environment. The creation of identities that might be "post-traditional" or "post-Western," need to be grounded in self-consciously political acts of negotiating the parts of "traditional" culture or "Western" culture that can be used to define these new positions; ones that are, by their partial natures, "in-between". Additionally, both the Dhamma Sarana and the Cypriot Turkish Mosque provide evidence of syncretic creativity, or "thinking on the feet" as it were. Translations, entanglements and compromises may be negotiated, eluded, ignored or overcome as choices are made in their design and construction. This kind of thinking is intimately connected with the architecture; it is conducted explicitly through the forms and spaces of each building. It also bears reference to Homi Bhabha's notion of the in-between as a "third space", in which the boundary between contemporary cultures is not a line on the ground, as if neatly drawn on a map, but instead a fluid space in the heart of the metropolis.<sup>34</sup> This spatialised notion of the in-between, while sometimes accused of abstracting and depoliticising the actuality of minoritarian struggles over identity, allows for the productivity of the processes and rituals of everyday life (here expressed as architecture) to be recognised. Within such hybrid "third spaces" something new is being created.

The ramifications of taking these buildings seriously as architecture are manifold, as such a contention is ultimately an inquiry into the nature of the

discipline of architecture, and the limits of its field. Their increasing presence signals that the architectural cultures of the non-West are not simply reducible to the dead-end lower branches of Bannister Fletcher's famously Eurocentric tree. As such, they could, to borrow Richard King's suggestion for the need for Western philosophy to drop its hubris and engage with non-Western thought, be described as harbingers of a "post-Western" culture for Australia.<sup>35</sup> They look forward to a twenty-first century in which the globalisation of architecture does not merely mean the spread of Western (post)modernity around the world (with a little climatic tweaking to make it "regional"), but heralds a shifting of Western ideas about architecture away from the centrality that they have taken for granted since the days of conquest and colonialism.

#### Author's Details

David Beynon is a lecturer at the School of Architecture and Building at Deakin University, Victoria and has recently submitted his PhD for examination (undertaken at Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning, University of Melbourne). The focus of this research has been the intersection between migrancy and architecture, through a study of buildings in Melbourne for and by minority communities of non-Western origin. Apart from this, he is also a practising architect (a director of AlsoCAN P/L Architects in Melbourne).

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Peter Hulme, quoted in Stuart Hall (1996), "When was the Post-Colonial?: Thinking at the Limit," in (eds. I. Chambers, L. Curti) *Post-Colonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons* (London: Routledge), 246.

<sup>2</sup> Ghassan Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society* (Annandale NSW: Pluto, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 19-20.

<sup>4</sup> Hall, "When was the Post-Colonial? Thinking at the Limit," 249.

<sup>5</sup> My survey of the Melbourne metropolitan area indicates over one hundred significantly altered or newly constructed public buildings for non-European migrants.

<sup>6</sup> Personal communication with Ven. Naotunne Vijitha Thero, Abbot of Dhamma Sarana (2001).

<sup>7</sup> Strictly, in Theravada Buddhism, *Sangha* refers to those ordained, though in Sanskrit the word "Sangha" simply means "society" and in contemporary usage, is often used to connote any group associated with Buddhism.

<sup>8</sup> Senake Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture: The Viharas of Anuradhapura* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), 4.

<sup>9</sup> The stupa is the most famous of Buddhist monuments, a solid, usually hemispherical structure, containing actual or symbolic relics of the Buddha or other teachers or leaders. As Eliade expresses it "[the stupa]... is the law (*Dharma*) made visible, the mystical, architectonic body of the Buddha." Mircea Eliade, *Symbolism, the Sacred, and the Arts* (New York: Crossroad, 1985), 135. The *bodhi*ghara also embodies the Buddha, its ancestry suggesting his Enlightened immanence. The *Dhamma* is satisfied by the *patimaghara* or image-house. This is the ecclesiastical part of the *vihara*, the spaces in which the monks assemble, worship, meditate, consult texts or preach the *dhamma*. Lastly, the *Sangha* is supported by presence of monastic accommodation, whether basic living quarters or an extensive complex of dormitory and educational spaces. (Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture*, 27).

<sup>10</sup> Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture*, 27.



- <sup>11</sup> H. L. Seneviratne, *Rituals of the Kandyan State* (London: Cambridge University, 1978), 22; also, Seneviratna Anuradha and Benjamin Polk, *Buddhist Monastic Architecture in Sri Lanka (The Woodland Shrines)* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1992), 133.
- <sup>12</sup> New Governments visit it as a first act after being sworn in, and foreign delegations are also taken there, as an integral part of inter-governmental interaction. (Seneviratne, *Rituals of the Kandyan State*, 1978), 121.
- <sup>13</sup> Chris Abel, "Model and Metaphor in the Design of New Building Types in Saudi Arabia," in M. Sevcenko (ed.), *Theories and Principles of Design in the Architecture of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge, MA: Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1988).
- <sup>14</sup> John Eade "Nationalism, Community, and the Islamicisation of Space in London," in Metcalf (ed.), *Making Muslim Space in North America and Europe* (Berkeley: University of California, 1996), 222-35.
- <sup>15</sup> Emandjera, cited in Eade, "Nationalism, Community, and the Islamicisation of Space in London," 226.
- <sup>16</sup> See James Clifford "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage' Paradigm," in H. Foster (ed.), *Discussions in Contemporary Culture* (Bay, Seattle: 1987).
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- <sup>18</sup> Jean-Paul Sartre, quoted in Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, 38.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.
- <sup>20</sup> Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (London: Pluto, 1986).
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- <sup>24</sup> T. Dutton and L. Mann, "Modernism, Postmodernism and Architecture's Social Project," in (eds. Dutton and Mann) *Reconstructing Architecture: Critical Discourses and Social Practices* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1996), 6.
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- <sup>27</sup> "Beyond Left and Right, 85.
- <sup>28</sup> Laleen Jayamanne, Leslie Thornton and Trinh T. Minh-ha, "If upon leaving what we have to say we speak: A Conversation Piece," in (eds. Russell Ferguson, William Olander, Marcia Tucker, Karen Fiss) *Discourses: Conversations in Postmodern Art and Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: The New Museum of Contemporary Art/The MIT Press, 1990).
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- <sup>34</sup> Homi Bhabha, "The Third Space," in J. Rutherford (ed.), *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference* (1990), 211.
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