A Mosque for Brooklyn
by
Karl Prescott Munkelwitz
B.S. in Art and Design
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Signature of Author

Department of Architecture
January 16, 2004

Certified by

Ann Pendleton-Jullian
Associate Professor of Architecture
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by

Bill Hubbard, Jr.
Adjunct Associate Professor of Architecture
Chairman, Department Committee on Graduate Students
Thesis Supervisor

Ann Pendleton-Jullian
Associate Professor of Architecture
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Thesis Readers

Nasser Rabbat
Associate Professor
Aga Khan Professor of the History of Islamic Architecture
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Brian Healy
Visiting Professor of Architecture
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the design of the urban mosque within the
context of the American city. It engages ideas about the typology
of the mosque, its functional and religious requirements as well
as its cultural variations, and looks at how these are translated
and merged across cultures. It traces the history of the mosque
in New York City and attempts to identify emergent forms for the
American mosque. The ultimate goal is a design that is connected
to the cultural landscape of Brooklyn and specific to the Muslim
community.

Thesis Supervisor: Ann Pendleton-Jullian
Title: Associate Professor of Architecture
The Muslim population in New York has undergone a significant expansion since the mid-1960's, but instances of Islamic practice in the city's history can be traced much earlier. The first recorded Islamic institution in New York was the American Moslem Brotherhood, established by Alexander Russell Webb in 1893 on East 23rd Street in Manhattan. Interestingly, Webb was an American who converted to Islam while serving as US counsel to the Philippines and became somewhat of a reverse missionary in his efforts to propagate the religion within the United States through his newly established Moslem World Publishing Company. The enterprise lasted only two years before a financial scandal forced Webb out of operation, leading to headlines in the New York Times relating the “Fall of Islam in America” and the “Story of a Mussulman Propaganda That Came to Grief.”

Another institution, the American Mohammedan Society, was founded in 1907 by Russian, Polish, and Lithuanian immigrants in the Williamsburg neighborhood of Brooklyn. Like many of the emergent mosques that exist in the city today, the congregation probably rented worship space until reaching a point of economic stability and social presence in the neighborhood and by 1931 were able to purchase three contiguous buildings on Powers Street. This remained a close and somewhat insular community through the 1950's until many of the members started moving out of the city and the neighborhood slowly turned over to Hasidic Jews and later to Puerto Ricans and African Americans.
Paralleling the Powers Street mosque, in 1939 the Moroccan-born Sheik Daoud Ahmed Faisal, who had immigrated from Grenada, established the Islamic Mission of America in a rented brownstone at 143 State Street in Brooklyn Heights. Similar to Webb’s earlier attempts, this organization served as a mission for Islam and it explicitly set out to convert Americans and to change the perception of Islam within American culture. One of its more positive results was to increase contact between the city’s African American and immigrant Muslim communities.

The real watershed event for Muslim immigrants in the city came in 1965 with the ratification of the Hart-Cellar Act, a change in Federal immigration policy that significantly increased quotas from non-European countries, many of which had been effectively excluded by law since 1924. In New York, this started a large influx of immigrants from Guyana, Africa, the Middle East, and the Indian subcontinent, but this result was starkly different from the original intention of the legislation. With a new maximum annual quota of 20,000 people per country, “the expectation was that backlogged European nations would fill their expanded quotas, and relatively few other Old World immigrants would apply for visas.” At the other end, because ten percent of visas were set aside for immigrant scientists and professionals, this policy resulted in a significant ‘brain drain’ from the countries of origin.
As the Muslim population grew, in part due to further conversions and high birthrates, there was also “a discernible effort to revel in their heritage and spread Islam to a wider audience in the mid-1970’s.” Having established a stable, if at times tentative, foothold in the community, Muslims were starting to feel more comfortable with the outward expression of their religion in New York. But in addition to adapting to their new local context, Muslims had to overcome a long legacy of negative media stereotyping as well as a strange Orientalist obsession with ‘arabesque’ forms, a significant image imprinted onto the collective American subconscious.

Another factor specific to New York was the fiscal crisis of 1975. Author Roger Sanjek describes three distinct economies at work in New York: the “speculative-electronic economy,” related to Wall Street and the exchange of global capital; the “real economy,” with a focus on physical goods and services; and the “underground economy,” which includes street-peddling, sweatshops, flea markets, livery vans, gypsy cabs, or any other type of employment that is generally “off-the-books.” After 1975, this underground economy exploded due to funding cuts for city inspectors and police officers as well as a general decline in service market jobs. By 1986, according to the IRS, a total of $40 billion per year, accounting for 20 percent of New York City’s economy, went unrecorded.
Much of this underground activity was based within the immigrant communities in Brooklyn and Queens, areas that were traditionally marginalized in relation to the core economy centered around Manhattan. In one example, "the marketing of brand-name 'knockoffs' involved ethnically diverse chains of producer, distributors, sellers, and customers, including the Chinese-Pakistani-Latin American linkages that sold bogus 1994 World Cup soccer merchandise."\(^\text{12}\) The invisibility of a workforce, where people have "vanished from the economic radar screen,"\(^\text{13}\) has a crucial correspondence, I would argue, to a community’s outward expression of visual identity. In the specific case of Muslim communities in New York, the visibility of the mosque is one such endangered identity.
The mosque, even transplanted to a context such as New York, retains many of its traditional functions. It must, of course, provide a place for prayer, but often has the following roles as well: an Islamic school, a community center, housing for poor Muslims, the collection and distribution of charities, and often as an informal point of introduction to city culture for new immigrants. As an architectural typology, the only four essential constraints seem to be “gender separation, provision for ablutions, restriction of images, and the establishment of the qibla.” Beyond this it could be argued that there are no architectural requirements for a mosque.
The qibla has an added formal significance within New York’s relentless grid. The orientation toward Mecca “disengages each of these mosques from the urban grid, giving each an object-like autonomy...the image of a place loosed from the normal bonds of urban routine.” This reorientation allows for a symbolic detachment from the more secular, commercial side of the city as well as a potential outward formal expression that distinguishes the mosque from its context. As one congregant explains, “We do not pray to Atlantic Avenue...we pray to Mecca.” In conjunction with the qibla, the majority of New York’s mosques have lines of masking tape on the floor that reference the direction of Mecca for worshippers.
The number of mosques in New York has grown from eight or nine in 1980, to 37 in 1991, to over 100 mosques as of 2002. But of these, "no more than half a dozen can be said to have been designed as mosques from the outset. The rest are storefront buildings, lofts, stores, warehouses, or private homes." Starting with the establishment of a core congregation, the mosque tends to go through a somewhat predictable sequence of stages. According to an outline developed by Louis Cristillo and Lorraine Minnite, this begins with a core group, typically from the same country, establishing a masalla, or a place of communal prayer, in a single room within one of the member's houses. Once the group has financial stability, they can rent or purchase a basement space or a storefront and transform it into a neighborhood masjid. Eventually they can expand their weekday services to include a Friday worship, as well as opening a part-time Islamic school. At this point, the mosque can start to assume some of the larger community responsibilities such as housing for new immigrants, marriage counseling, etc. A final stage would probably be the establishment of a full-time Muslim day school.
Distribution of the Muslim community by function over the five boroughs, courtesy of the Muslim Communities in New York City Project [red square denotes proposed site location]
Physical improvements to the mosque often parallel this sequential growth, including “interior space gutted, transformed, and even acoustically reconfigured to Muslim sacred space” as well as exterior facelifts and adornments such as domes, minarets, and crescent moons. In many cases these additions are purely ornamental, but the act of adaptation and reuse of spaces that have completely changed in function is for me what is so architecturally compelling about these buildings. Mosques in New York have been converted from a former mansion, the basement of an abandoned school, a dentist’s office, a theater, and the former rectory of a Protestant church. In one case, the “Al-Fatima mosque occupies the basement, rent-free, of a commercial building and storefront owned by a Pakistani, who runs a fleet of taxis from the rest of his building.” It is precisely this sort reappropriation that is such an ingrained part of New York culture, a response to an urban density that is part necessity and part subversion.

Al-Farouq Mosque, a building conversion on Atlantic Avenue
The 'Storefront' mosque, an overarching category that in this discussion is meant to include all of these other forms of readapted space such, is typically an early stage mosque and accounts for the majority of structures in the New York area. One author relegates these spaces, which are often makeshift, bare, informal, restrained, austere, provisional, or muted, to a form of “non-pedigreed architecture,” as defined by Bernard Rudofsky. Most of the emphasis is initially placed on the interior, “since experience is privileged over expression in the early foundations.” These simple, somewhat ad hoc beginnings often give way to more formal and traditional decoration as a congregation expands and increases its resources. But in these early stages there is an overwhelming sense of practicality, a definite preference for functionality over aesthetics.

*The historical connection of the urban Mosque to commercial activity and its evolution into the ‘Storefront’ Mosque*
“walls are stripped bare and painted luminous white, or pastel green”
“a pulpit made of kitchen cabinets”
“a women’s prayer room, completely hidden behind smoke glass”
“the carved wooden door leads to an enclosed porch with shelves for storing shoes”
“a calendar of color photos of Mecca and Medina is the only adornment”
“60s modernist mosaics cover the columns”
“a frieze of silhouetted domes is picked out with contact paper along the bottom of the prayer hall windows”
“garish colors, and use of prefabricated industrial building materials”
“no mihrab niche, just a depression in a side wall”
“a rickety office chair with a gaudy plush rug draped over its back acted as the minbar”
During the renovation of the Madina Masjid in the East Village of Manhattan, the interior prayer space, which had bright windows and wood detailing typical of a New York brownstone, was covered up with drywall and a suspended acoustic ceiling with fluorescent lighting panels, a style more evocative of a corporate office space. But, as Jerrilynn Dodds points out, there is an "austerity born of this initial exigency...meanings that cling to New York mosques even as social, economic, and political pressures ease." Perhaps this simplicity of meaning is a mechanism for reinforcing faith within a complexity of material influences.
The exterior of the building is often left unchanged, retaining the marks of the building’s previous function. Many have an invisible presence, an underground quality that only those who need to will know that it’s there. In Astoria, for example, “only a scrawl on building bricks in magic marker pointed to this basement mosque.” At another mosque in Queens, a dome, minaret and crescent moon that had been painted on a side wall were interspersed with graffiti from the neighborhood, a sort of unanticipated contextualism. These subtle markers, as restrained expressions of identity, point to both a hesitancy and a desire for some sort of visual representation of Islam to the rest of the city.
One outlet for this expression is the Muslim World Day Parade, an annual event that begins at the corner of Lexington and Thirty-Third Street with a morning prayer in the middle of the intersection. As worshippers lay down rolls of paper and canes to orient themselves, the direction of Mecca becomes unmistakably visible in its contrast to the Manhattan grid. There is a sense that this act is independent of anything around it, a mark of the immutability of Islam even within the rigid context of New York, but also a sense that this strong demarcation is ultimately contingent on the rectilinear backdrop of the city.

The parade itself inherits much of the language typical of American parades: banners, signs, floats, balloons, megaphones, school groups and community organizations marching down the middle of the street, concessions and food carts along the route. One characteristic that distinguishes this parade from others, according to one author, is the "visual importance and legibility of banners and signs...Signage identifies specific Islamic organizations and sites unknown to the spectators." But even more revealing is that the parade "explicitly draws upon the iconography of the mosque." Floats carry scale models of the Ka’ba in Mecca, the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, and the Masjid Al-Haramm in Medina, three holy sites that appear repeatedly throughout the city on pamphlets, calendars, and tapestries.
The 'Icon' for the mosque in New York City, apart from these distant symbolic representations, is the Islamic Cultural Center at 96th Street and Third Avenue in Manhattan. It is the most visible mosque in the city, sited on a slight hill between the Upper East Side and Harlem and fashioned with the "rational massing of Ottoman architecture, though the architects generally attribute its geometry to universal modernist values." Plans for this mosque were initiated by a group of Islamic governments, particularly from the Persian Gulf region, soon after the United Nations moved to New York in 1952. After nearly forty years of fund-raising and planning changes, the mosque was finally completed in 1991.

Initial plans by Iranian architect Ali Dadras were traditional in scope and included a courtyard and gardens. Dadras was eventually replaced by Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill, a New York based architecture firm that was likely chosen based on the projects they had already completed in the Middle East. Paralleling the design process were "two advisory committees, one composed of 'prominent members' of the Muslim community in New York, the other of architects, mostly non-Muslims." While the community members wanted "to reproduce the style of a traditional mosque with literal versions of historic motifs", the architects and academics argued for "a mosque that belonged to the 21st century." The debate resulted in a modern building, with a provision pushed by the Muslim representatives that it include both a dome and minaret.
A second architecture firm was given the commission for the minaret, "the unenviable task of having to satisfy the perception of what minaret should look like to the nearly fifty Muslim countries represented in the New York community." At a cost of $1.5 million, this non-functional minaret delayed the construction of the school and library and "demonstrates to what lengths some are willing to go to express their identity." As a landmark and image-making device for Islam in New York, the Cultural Center was a success, especially for the diplomats and foreign nationals who funded it. Even Imam Osman at the Center acknowledged its representational role:

"This building was conceived to receive visitors... We are in America now, where people are interested in judging people through their architecture. This is not really our way...the mosque should be made in an architectural language that Americans understand. But that has nothing to do with Islam."

Strikingly present in this analysis is the idea that there is an intended audience for this mosque, that this is a projected image, a mediation of Islam for the American public. But the admission that at its core, this image is detached from an understanding of Islam is very revealing of the cultural gap that the Muslim community in New York is trying to connect.
Related to the icon, or this notion of an ideal representation of Islam, is what I would refer to as the ‘Orientalist’ mosque. Marked by an abundance of domes, minarets, arches, and crescent moons, by an ornamented surface rather than a functional object, the Orientalist mosque is a reinterpreted, compound image of iconic mosques from around the world. Another layer of influence includes images from popular culture ranging from depictions of Islam in Hollywood movies to the ‘arabesque’ architecture of “Masonic temples, gambling casinos, Shriner halls, vaudeville theaters, and restaurants.” For some of the smaller mosques in the city that are attempting to increase their visual presence, this accumulation of kitsch, symbolic elements seems to be a popular direction.

An example of this is the Masjid Malcolm Shabazz, an older and more established mosque in Harlem with a predominantly African American congregation. Its design, with a “plump, carnivalesque onion-shaped dome,” seems more derivative of a Disney movie or a Las Vegas strip than any sort of real Islamic precedent. Given its blighted context, the dome is a distinctive anomaly and a “potent reminder...of Islam as a divergence from the hopeless norm.” Reflecting an imminent change in the identity of the mosque, and perhaps in the neighborhood as well, one member exclaimed, “The dome has served us well, but we are thinking that in our next mosque we might turn to West-African Islamic architectural style.”
In contrast, the Al-Fatih Cami in the Sunset Park neighborhood of Brooklyn is housed in an old movie theater originally designed as a Hollywood amalgam of Orientalist-Moorish-Arabesque fantasies. The ticket booth has become a religious bookstore, the lobby with its original Oriental décor has been enhanced with marble ornament crafted by a Turkish carpenter, original Iznik tiles are being replaced by "American-made plastic-based Turkish-styled tiles." As Susan Slyomovics comments, "do Turkish worshippers in a transformed Oriental-style movie house come to think of themselves as 'Oriental'?"

Many of these renovations would suggest that this image is being reinforced, but there is also a subtle subversion at work. As one example, the direction of the qibla forces worshippers to face the back of the theater, and the stage has been reappropriated as a screened area for the women to pray. In this reversal, the Muslim congregants "literally turn their backs on the space where the sex goddesses were once displayed on the screen."
Given all of these disparate notions about Islamic identity in New York and their complex layers of representation, it is not surprising that many mosques resist any form of outward expression. But there are a number of potential reasons for this general lack of visibility. First is the nature of the immigrant community itself. Limited financial means is certainly a big reason for a restrained visual identity, and an initial hesitancy on the part of first-generation immigrants as they adapt to their neighborhoods is another. Some immigrants are more temporary and plan to return home once they have made a certain amount of money, so their stake in a mosque’s development is much more limited.

Another major concern is bias against Muslims and, after the attacks on September 11, 2001 and the tightening of immigration policies, there is also a general fear in these neighborhoods of being arrested and detained by the government. The history of hate crimes includes an incident in 1979 following the Iranian hostage crisis when the Islamic Center of Corona was set on fire.53 In 1993, following the first bombing of the World Trade Center, a wave of incidents spread across the city. This was repeated during the Oklahoma City bombings when the media mistakenly attributed the attack to “Muslim Terrorists.”54 More recently, in 2001 “death threats were made to children attending the school of the Islamic Cultural Center in Manhattan, and bias crimes against Muslims were reported in several neighborhoods.”55
Nisar Zuri, a member of a mosque in Bayside, explains this ongoing harassment:

“kids would throw rocks at the windows. They wrote graffiti against Islam. We would clean it. They would repeat it. Finally we tried to write the name of the mosque so that people might not notice...We are in somebody else’s neighborhood and we feel like strangers.”

Also of concern is the assimilation of Muslims in the United States and the possibility of diluting their Islamic culture. New York City, in particular, “exposes its residents to the most concentrated dose of American culture and vice available,” and its “secular lures have always attracted second-generation immigrants from around the world to shed tradition and identify with the generic aspects of American culture.” As a defense mechanism, many communities become insular enclaves of Islamic culture that try to limit their exposure to a perceived onslaught of materialistic and morally debased values. Institutions such as mosques remain hidden in an attempt to maintain a separation from this secular society: “The mosque shuts out the commercial world, the world that tempts you to buy, to be wasteful.”
Finally, there is the question of architecture’s role in the visibility of the mosque. If one believes that “a mosque within four walls and a ceiling is not a requirement for a Muslim community to offer prayer, because God has made the whole earth a sanctuary for worship,” then architecture is thrown into crisis at its most fundamental level. In the New York mosques, there is a distinct separation between the building and the act of prayer, because during prayer “one submits completely to God… it is not considered possible that any physical surrounding might hasten or encourage this spiritual engagement.” So not only is there a detachment from any external secular influences, but there is also a meditative distancing from the mosque itself. If “the architecture of the mosque has no meaning,” as Imam Osman of the Islamic Cultural Center suggests, then this implies either a complete liberation for its design or, as has occurred in the case of New York’s most invisible mosques, a silent rejection of architecture’s cultural power and an undermining of its authority.
The site for the mosque is on Flatbush Avenue in Brooklyn near the intersection with Schermerhorn and 3rd Avenue. This is about a block away from the Brooklyn Academy of Music and, according to a plan by the Brooklyn Planning Office, is part of an emerging 'cultural' district. The city's larger intention is to revitalize the Downtown Brooklyn Business District and extend development along the Flatbush core to Times Plaza, a block past the site. Times Plaza, marked by the tower of the Williamsburg Savings Bank, is already experiencing some of this development. Atlantic Avenue is one block south of my site and has a series of stores specializing in books, clothing, and groceries for the local Muslim community. There is also the existing Al-Farouq mosque and an Islamic library.
Williamsburg Savings Bank tower

Baptist Temple, directly across the street

Brooklyn Academy of Music

Retail along Flatbush Avenue

Aerial site view, downtown Brooklyn and Manhattan in the distance
The Atlantic and Pacific station in Times Plaza has five subway lines and a terminal for the Long Island Railroad. Two other subway lines pass through the area, making it very accessible to the rest of Brooklyn. There are strong Muslim communities in neighborhoods such as Bay Ridge, Sunset Park, Coney Island, Bedford-Stuyvesant and Flatbush, all accessible to the subway, so it is conceivable that a new mosque could become a destination for Friday prayer. There is also a local concentration of Muslims and proximity to those who work in Downtown Brooklyn.
First Floor / composite land use map for the neighborhood
Office

Residential

Religious

Institutional

Retail

Third Floor / composite land use map for the neighborhood
Fifth Floor / composite land use map for the neighborhood
Scale
An early investigation overlaying the site with an existing plan of the Suleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul, Turkey as a comparison of scale. The plan was then cut and collaged to fit the site, revealing some early possibilities for programming on the site.
A series of models for the site made of plexiglass and basswood:

plexiglass
[commercial uses, office space, etc.]

basswood
[prayer space, ablutions, etc.]

With a series of constraints:

split
shielded
stratified

And then filtered through a series of mosque precedents:

Perle
Ardabil
Sfax
Malaysian mosque
Voids cut into the model allow light to penetrate down into a vertically stacked prayer space. The orientation of the Qibla wall (line at right) defines the direction of prayer toward Mecca. The courtyard (at left) separates a community youth center from the rest of the program.
Based on the form of the hypostyle mosque, this model is set up with two structural systems. One for prayer that is oriented toward Mecca and the other aligned with adjacent buildings on Schermerhorn Street. The collision and resolution of these two systems has the potential for dense, structural overlaps or an open series of voids.
1/32" basswood 'cut' model + 1/16" basswood 'hypostyle' model
Early ideas about program overlaid with the two spatial models. Retail along Flatbush Avenue continues on the first floor of the mosque and turns the corner to frame a more protected entrance on Schermerhorn Street. The idea of the 'hanging mosque' where the prayer space and other mosque functions are suspended above a floor of commercial space is one that allows financial security for the mosque by using the rent from the real estate to fund the maintenance of the building.
Third Floor Plan
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Endnotes

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