

**Dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in Architecture  
at the University of York**

**FOCUS ON DETAIL**

**The Critical Role of Architectural Elements in Representational  
Architecture; the case of British Buildings in Jerusalem  
1849- 1939**

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APRIL 1996**

## ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with representation in architecture within the framework of British imperialism. It concentrates on British buildings constructed in Jerusalem between 1849-1939, and focuses on their architectural elements (parts, details and ornaments), regarded as a means for gaining and sustaining hegemony. It combines a theoretical investigation with first hand examination of buildings.

It sets out to accomplish a twofold aim: universal and particular. On the universal level it introduces an interdisciplinary methodology of 'reading' buildings within a given cultural and historical framework, using the building themselves as the departure point for investigation and discourse. On the particular level it explores, analyses and evaluates the case of British architectural enterprise in Jerusalem.

The theoretical and field work is presented to support the main argument of this research:

*The special representational power ascribed to architectural elements by British Imperial architects matches and reflects Western cultural dependence on comprehensive representational systems of objects as a principal ingredient of that culture, being the culture of a society motivated by consumption.*

This dissertation intends to understand the nature of British imperialism as an integral part of British culture, indicating that gaining hegemony over the subordinate cultures was an aim in itself. It shows that the preoccupation of pre-modern architects with details and ornaments, was parallel to the prevailing phenomenon of collecting objects in Western society.

It then investigates in detail three phases of the European encounter with the physical environment of the Levant: first was its 'reading' - producing visual and literary narratives; next was considering its built environment as a source of inspiration and reference; and last was acknowledging Islamic architecture as architecture proper, although mainly in regard to its mastery in ornamentation.

Finally it examines in detail eleven British buildings in Jerusalem, which takes the form of case studies, using a method of 'analytical drawing' which corresponds with the centrality of architectural elements in those buildings, showing their major representational role.



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# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks are due to many people for their assistance in the research and preparation of this thesis.

First and foremost I am indebted to Mr. Charles Cockburn for his guidance, critical comments, advice and, above all, openness and support.

Special thanks must be expressed to Dr. Sultan Barakat for his valuable comments and useful advice.

I wish also to acknowledge and thank Prof. Moshe Sharon from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem for his inspiring comments about Islam and Islamic architecture. I would also like to thank Dr. Raia Shani who introduced me to interesting views about Islamic architecture as well as valuable literature.

I would also like to thank the staff of the Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, and especially Mr. Keith Parker at the IAAS library who was ready to answer a number of unusual requests.

Special gratitude must be expressed to Dr. Ran Sapoznik, Head of the Bezalel Academy, for his support and efforts to obtain financial assistance provided by Mr. Richard Camber, of the Friends of Bezalel in the UK.

Special thanks must also be expressed here to Mr. Zeeve Drukman, Head of the Department of Architecture at the Bezalel Academy, for his support, encouragement and, most of all, patience.

Helpful assistance was also received from the following: Mrs. Kelly Roberts of the IAAS staff; and Mr. Avner Sasoon, from the Computer Unit of the Hebrew University, for his great help and patience.

Finally, I am greatly indebted to my family, my parents and most of all my son Eden for his sacrifice, support and humour, without which this work could not have been accomplished.



## **DECLARATION**

None of the material herein has been published previously.

Anat Almog April 1996.

# INTRODUCTION

## I.1 An Interdisciplinary Study

This study is about buildings, focusing on their architectural elements, regarded as responsible for representing images and conveying messages. It is neither a structural investigation, nor a study in architectural history, rather it is an exercise of testing out theories about culture in buildings, within a given historical framework. It is an interdisciplinary work, combining a theoretical investigation with first hand examination of buildings.

However, the task of selecting theories originating in realms other than architecture, to be tested out in buildings, could become a vague notion - on the verge of being a subjective interpretation. Hence, it was necessary to look for parallel parameters in architecture and in the general realm of culture which could stand a rational examination. The individual architectural element (part, detail and ornament) on the one hand, and the representational object in Western culture on the other, are assumed here to match and reflect each other within the framework of imperialism, in this case British imperialism. This study will show how special representational powers were ascribed to architectural elements, beyond their conventional role in the building.

The author goes along with those who consider the systems of representational objects as a basic ingredient of Western culture, as a culture based on consumption which is wholly dependent on its capacity to absorb a constant flow of new elements (R. Ferguson, 1990; 11). It is also believed here, following E. Said, that studying Western imperialism of the 19th and 20th centuries is not only studying the "unequal relationship" between the West and its dominated cultures, "but also a point of entry into studying the formation and meaning of Western cultural practices themselves". Furthermore, imperialism, unlike colonialism, which embodies "...the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominated metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory" (Said, 1993; 230,8), implies the existence of a message to be conveyed and an image to be represented. In other words, apart from being a ruling mechanism, British imperialism was also a form of gaining hegemony over its subordinate cultures, which became an aim in itself, so that "...the subordinate groups are, if not controlled, at least contained within an ideological space which does not seem 'ideological', which appears instead to be permanent and 'natural'..." (Hebdige, 1991; 16). Buildings, which comprised a considerable part of the British imperial enterprise, are considered here to be amongst the principal means of gaining and maintaining that hegemony, rather than being a manifestation of power alone.

As an exercise of gaining and sustaining hegemony it was dependent on a thorough and extensive knowledge of the dominated cultures. That knowledge, which was acquired from an external point of view, and often conditioned by preconceptions and prejudices, was based on representations by which various items were ascribed the power to represent



entire traditions. Great diversity had characterised these items, which ranged between simple artifacts to 'samples' of the 'natives' themselves. The notion of obtaining knowledge was equivalent to the collection of items, to be owned, classified and ordered, sometimes exhibited or sold - forming global representational systems such as the encyclopedia and the international exhibitions. As in any good collection, a clear differentiation between the authentic and the fake was considered a must, which often led to an obsessive preoccupation with objects regarded as authentic representations of entire exotic and alien cultures.

For reasons which will be stated below, the Levant was chosen as the region of which the Western perception was studied, and the city of Jerusalem as the place where British hegemony through buildings was tested out.

## **I.2. Motives and Aims**

The motives for undertaking this study, as well as its aims, are personal and professional at the same time. Although born a second generation Israeli, the author regards the notion of locality and integration within the milieu of the Levant as still far fetched. Governed by a split identity - as predominantly a Western person, yet one whose homeland is in the Middle East, the precedent of the British experience in the region, with its positive and negative effects, seems a worthwhile lesson to be learnt.

As an architect, whose main concern is architectural education, the aim of this study is twofold: universal and particular. On the universal level the intention herein is to introduce an interdisciplinary methodology of 'reading' and understanding buildings in their broad, cultural and historical frameworks, using the buildings themselves as a departure point. By focusing on individual *Architectural Elements* as defined below, and by identifying their parallel components in a particular culture of a certain period and place, it is assumed here that the reciprocal relationship between architecture and culture would be better recognized and commonly accepted.

On the particular level the aim is to investigate the British mandatory architectural enterprise which had determined to a great extent the pattern of development of many urban and rural settlements in the region. Town planning schemes, whether fully or partially implemented, and various mandatory building regulations became part of the judicial systems of the countries formerly under the British Mandate. Moreover, a considerable part of the British mandatory buildings are presently reused, sometimes for official and representative tasks. In Israel, or Palestine of those days, very little was built until the late 19th century, and was predominantly foreign. British buildings which were constructed in the country at that time are part of the country's architectural heritage, and some are considered today by Israeli architects and by the general public alike, as important landmarks to be preserved.



This called for special attention: first was its evaluation - whether British buildings could be considered good architecture - as a model to be followed. Second was the need to understand the causes for the particular actions undertaken by the British in Jerusalem, which determined its future development. The few studies which were made about the City are predominantly historical, including those which deal with architectural matters, entirely leaving out the cultural aspects involved. Furthermore, the majority of those studies are confined to short periods within a limited geographical scope. Hence a broad perspective of the global political and cultural processes is avoided.

Having said that, primary issues such as the Western perceptions of the Levant, in this case its physical environment, should be seriously looked into. Their significance exceeds the framework of imperialism and denotes an important facet of the region itself. E. Said's argument that the Orient was "Orientalised" because it could be *made* Oriental (Said, 1978; 6), is of major significance herein, to be tested out through a detailed examination of the recordings of the region undertaken by Western writers, artists and architects.

### I. 3. The Architectural Element

The term *Architectural Element* is used herein to denote three categories of building ingredients: *Parts*, *Details* and *Ornaments*. The main criterion for identifying each of those as an individual *Element*, is that when broken into its smaller components it loses its identity as that particular *Element*.

1. *Parts. Architectural Elements* such as an arch, a column, a dome etc., are termed here building *Parts*; when dismantled into their smaller components, for example, the stones of an arch, the arch as such ceases to exist. A door, a window, a balcony etc. are also building *Parts*, yet less specified, as they may appear in various shapes: a door might be rectangular or arched, it might have different proportions, it may be single or double winged, etc.; a balcony might be round, rectangular or polygonal, it might have a massive or light balustrade, and so forth.

2. *Details.* On certain conditions the smaller components of the *Part* might be transformed - affecting the *Part* in which they are contained, by which it would become a different *Part*. For example, a column might become a pilaster, and a balcony might be turned into a porch, a terrace etc. These smaller components, which play a critical role in determining the form and shape of the *Part* are termed here *Details*. They are to be found in the more specified *Parts* such as an arch, and in the less specified such as a door. In an arch its critical components - its *Details*, are its *Keystone* and *Springers*. The *Details* of a door are its frame, its wings, its hinges, its handles and so on.

Summing up the above, the properties which are stated below are suggested here to be recognised in an architectural *Part* or *Detail*: (a) It must be of small size relative to the whole that it constitutes; (b) It must either have a name or the potential of being named.



Indeed, a name of a thing or an object is an efficient tool to distinguish it. People concretise things by calling them by names; it is not merely a tool of orientation but rather the admission that certain qualities exist in the named thing. (c) It must maintain its own unique and separate identity, even if taken from its original context in the building. In some cases, it is possible to reconstruct an entire structure if given a sufficient number of critical *Parts and Details*.

3. *Ornaments*. Whereas *Parts and Details* are in detachable from the building which they form a part, an *Ornament* "...by contrast is detachable", not physically but rather aesthetically (Scruton, 1983; 211). *Ornaments* are perceived as added to the form, whether to the *Part*, the *Detail*, or to the entire building, and are deliberately used "...to attract the observer" (Harris, 1977; 390). Even more significant herein is the fact that an *Ornament* also relates to something outside the context of the building, i.e. that it may relate to disciplines other than architecture. Those may be art, or other forms of culture which an *Ornament* responds to. True, the debate over the exact role of ornamentation in architecture had occupied the minds of architects and architectural historians and theorists from a very early stage. In making a distinction between beauty and *Ornament*, Alberti claimed that beauty exists only when no part is detachable, when no alteration can take place in one part without affecting the whole. Since *Ornament* can be added or removed from a building, it does not become, aesthetically speaking, a proper part of it (Alberti, Book VI, 112-113). It was only much later, that the theorists of the crafts movements in Europe had considered it intolerable to regard any architectural *Element* as detachable from the true structure of the building. (The definitions suggested above were developed as part of a study undertaken by the author between 1988-1989 for a MA degree, submitted in Vermont College of Norwich University, USA, supervised by Prof. Fr. M. Dubois, Prof. A. Goldreich and Dr. T. Pearce. See Almog, 1989; 9-12, 59-66)

In any case, this study considers all *Architectural Elements*, whether detachable or non-detachable, as responding to and representing culture whether directly or indirectly.

#### I. 4. Scope and Methodology

The scope of this study was dictated by its methodology. That is because the point of departure herein were the British buildings themselves, as they exist in Jerusalem today. Their special characteristics, which were identified through first hand examinations on site undertaken by the author, could only be explained by using a twofold strategy: first, by going back in time to the beginning of a process which led to their construction; second, by considering the Levant at large as the geo-political and geo-cultural setting for this study.

Hence, the chronological framework of this investigation, which includes the two phases of the British Empire (before and after World War I) as a continual process, was



determined by cultural trends and not only by historical factors. Consequently a rather long period of over ninety years had to be studied. Based on the assumption that British imperial enterprise was also a cultural exercise of gaining hegemony, it was necessary to expand the framework of discourse and to look into some cultural matters.

The perception of the Levant, both as a place and as a concept, is regarded here as essential to the understanding of the architectural attitudes of architects whose buildings were examined herein. Egypt and the Holyland, or Palestine, are the focus of this study. This is mainly because the two countries were the main attraction of European travellers, and to a great extent had represented and symbolised the entire region to those who remained in Europe.

The preliminary programme of this study included a section of British buildings in Cairo to be compared with those in Jerusalem. In spite of some similarities between the two cities, as well as their common role in the European perception of the region, this possibility was ruled out after visiting Cairo and examining its British architecture, and realising that the two cities are not comparable in terms of their scale, diversity of architectural styles and periods, as well as the differences in the framework and nature of the British rule over the two countries. However two buildings were chosen to be presented herein, in Appendix Three below. Other possibilities for comparison, such as British buildings in Malta, were also excluded after visiting the Island and observing its architecture, being too remote geographically and conceptually. Some British buildings in what was then known as Trans Jordan were considered (such as the Government House in Amman), though not presented herein as they were mainly utilitarian rather than representational.

The selection of literature relevant to this study had been a difficult task, mainly regarding the wide scope of the study. Hence, the choice of material was a continual and gradual process by which the 'main' sources led to others within the relevant realm of interest. By 'main' sources it is meant here the principal theories which were studied and tested out herein, such as E. Said's writings, and some publications edited by J. MacKenzie and R. Ferguson. Another source, though not purely 'academic' yet comprehensive and inspiring, is J. Morris' writings about the British Empire.

Apart from following the bibliographical entries which are introduced in the few studies undertaken about related topics, in cases where it was possible sources were selected 'backwards': for example, C. R. Ashbee had included an extensive list of sources - historical, architectural, as well as some literature, in his publication reviewing the operations of the Pro-Jerusalem Society which he headed. This publication, which is a primary source in itself, led to other primary sources which were found in various archives and museums in London and Jerusalem, as presented in the main Bibliography at the end of this dissertation.

A major section of this dissertation takes the form of case studies. A special method of 'analytical drawing' was employed for this purpose. This method, which was developed by the author over the recent years, is used as a tool to enhance the ability of architectural students to 'read' and understand buildings. Although it is *not* a descriptive graphical



technique, its effects are also in improving the visual descriptive ability of the viewer. It is an empirical method which was developed through practice and no scientific support for it can be suggested by the author.

This method focuses on the individual *Architectural Element* as defined above (see I.3.), and is comprised of several stages. In the first stage the viewer is asked to observe carefully the entire building and to identify its critical *Elements*. In the next stage the *Details* of those elements should be identified and then sketched. For example, if an arch was identified as a critical *Element* of the building its *Details* - the *Keystone* and *Springers* should be sketched first. In this case another important task would be outlining the basic block of stone, from which those *Details* were carved. This of course would be an imaginary block, *assumed* as the shape of the original one. And yet experience has shown that when compared with genuine documents, great similarity can be recognised between the imaginary and the actual block. (This will be demonstrated below, compare Plate no. 7 with Plate no.12, Chap. 9). After completing sketching and drawing the *Details*, the entire *Part* should be sketched. Following the same sequence, the rest of the important *Elements* of the building should be described. The last stage would be outlining the entire building from different angles as necessary. In most cases this task is reported to be easier to accomplish compared with the conventional methods of sketching and drawing.

The advantage of this method is its analytical virtues. It frees the observer from being trapped in stylistic classifications of any sort and shifts the attention to the inner logic of the building as a structured ensemble of elements. By using this method it is easier to recognise the original attributes of the design and makes its assessment a rational exercise. However, it must be emphasised that the benefits of such a method is exclusively in regard to pre-Modern architecture. This is for the simple reason that the major concern of the latter was with architecture as the art of building, whereas Modern architecture was concerned with space and structure.

## **I. 5. The Structure of the Study**

The study is comprised of three parts - each forming the grounds and framework for the discourse in the next one - arranged in chapters. Part One discusses the topic of British hegemony as an integral part of British imperialism. The main views, which regard British imperialism as a major ingredient of British culture, are presented and discussed. It is shown how the territorial expansion of the Empire, as well as its ideology and spirit, were nourished by cultural notions such as the idea of "*having an empire*" (Said, 1993; 10), (Chapter 1). Representation as a cultural attribute is discussed by focusing on the total dependence of Western society on objects, and shows its manifestation through the representational frameworks of display and description (Chapter 2). This Part concludes by reviewing architectural attitudes in regard to the concept and practice of the Empire. The



crisis of style and its collapse had led to the emergence of the European crafts movements. Their ambivalent attitude to the idea and reality of the Empire are discussed in particular (Chapter 3).

Part Two deals with the attractions of the Levant, concentrating on its physical environment. Since it was entirely the endeavor of individuals, it begins by looking into the phenomenon of Europeans who tied their lives with the region, by which it became their life mission and career (Chapter 4). Three phases describing the European encounter with the Levant are suggested herein. The first one shows how the Levant was grasped as having some latent meaning which was conveyed through visual and literary narratives (Chapter 5). In the second phase, when the built environment of the Levant was extensively explored and documented, an entirely new world was revealed to European architects as a source of reference and inspiration (Chapter 6). In the third phase Islamic architecture was acknowledged by architects and architectural historians as architecture proper, yet mainly in regard to its mastery in ornamentation and surface decoration, overlooking its other virtues (Chapter 7).

Part Three consists of British buildings in Jerusalem as the case studies of this dissertation. They were built along the two phases of the Empire, corresponding with the different status of the British in the City. They exemplify two forms of representation in architecture, by which the individual architectural element was regarded as a means of gaining and maintaining hegemony. The first form, which is termed here *Direct Representation*, is comprised of the buildings which were built between 1849-1917. Here architectural elements and consequently the whole building were simple British transplants, i.e. British culture is *directly* represented (Chapter 8). The second form, which is termed here *Indirect Representation*, is comprised of buildings which were built between 1917-1939. Here, local architectural elements, mainly Islamic, were reproduced, sometimes transformed, and incorporated in the buildings. British enlightened ideology and image was *indirectly* represented as an attempt to fit and adapt in the region's milieu (Chapter 9).

Anat Almog

Jerusalem, April 1996



*Part One*

*THE BRITISH HEGEMONY*

*Chapter One*

**IMPERIALISM AS A CULTURAL INGREDIENT**

**1.1 Introduction**

Since the 1980s, attention has been drawn to various cultural aspects of nineteenth and twentieth century Western imperialism. Until then, imperialism was considered almost entirely within the political and economic frameworks, overlooking its influential role in many realms of Western culture. The historical perspective of a decade aroused the awareness of historians and intellectuals of a vacuum which existed in the discourse about the social and cultural history of ex-imperialist nations.

Four major works, individual and collective, which provide complementary views about the centrality of imperialism in Western, English speaking cultures have been chosen to be discussed here, and to support the main argument of this study which concentrates on cultural aspects of the architecture of the British empire.

The first individual work which has been extensively discussed, quoted and identified with throughout this study is E. Said's *Orientalism*, 1978, and *Culture & Imperialism*, 1993. His critical analysis of Western culture provides ethical and aesthetic grounds for many arguments herein, as it is an attitude presented from a unique position, being Western and non-Western at the same time. The second individual work, which is an aesthetic view of the British Empire, is J. Morris, *Farewell the Trumpets*, 1978, part of a trilogy describing the rise and decline of Queen Victoria's Empire. Though it cannot be considered a critical analysis, nor is it scientifically argued, it is considered here as an important document presenting both historical circumstances of the Empire as well as its ideas and cultural flare. Its significance also lies in the fact that it is an introspection by a British intellectual into what has up to now been denied to be an important part of British culture. The ambivalence towards the Empire and its ideals is fully described. Confessing that seeing the Empire go is "...tinged nevertheless with an affectionate melancholy" (Morris, 1978; 12), gives the book special credibility as it reveals deeper cultural under-currents concerning the Empire.

In many ways the collective work edited by J. M. Mackenzie, *Imperialism as a Popular Culture*, 1986, 1992, confirms what is described by J. Morris, underlining the popular aspects of British culture and showing the centrality of Empire in British social structure



and domestic politics. MacKenzie argues that dealing with imperialism while considering mainly political, strategic and economic aspects had been a convenient point of view for those historians who wanted to distinguish the British from the aggressive, imperial minded Germans. It was meant to show that imperial concerns played a very limited part in British elections, and were essentially irrelevant to domestic British history (MacKenzie, 1992; 2).

The anthology edited by R. Ferguson, M. Gever, T. T. Minh-ha and C. West, *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, 1990, discusses the problematic notions of centre and periphery, inclusion and exclusion, majority and minority, as they operate in artistic and social practice and are influenced by the great impact of Western imperialism over non Western countries. To a great extent, contemporary problems of mainstream culture, defined by Audre Lorde as "...white, thin, male, young, hetero-sexual, Christian and financially secure" (R. Ferguson, 1990; 9), has its origins back in the imperial era. The place from where the power was exercised had clearly been the Western imperialistic nations.

This study goes along with the view which argues that the British imperial framework had never been a mere ruling mechanism, and that the imperial ideal and experience became an integral part of Western culture from a very early stage. Architecture, like other forms of culture, had never been "...mechanically determined by ideology, class, or economic history", but is very much in the history of society, "...shaping and shaped by that history" (E. Said, 1993; XXIV).

In order to clarify this point, some definitions of what is meant by 'culture' should be suggested at this stage. Since the scope of this concept is beyond the extent and objectives of this study, only the main trajectories were chosen to be presented here, within which architecture can be comfortably included. One trajectory led back to the past; to the feudal ideal of a hierarchically ordered community. Here, culture assumed an almost sacred function and was positioned against the "...wastelands of contemporary life" (D. Hebdige, 1979; 6). A second trajectory led towards the future; to a socialist Utopia where the distinction between labour and leisure was to be cancelled. Two basic definitions of culture emerged from this tradition, though these were by no means necessarily similar to the two trajectories outlined above. The first was essentially classical and conservative. It perceived culture as a standard of aesthetic excellence, and derived from an appreciation of a 'classic' aesthetic form (opera, ballet, drama, literature, art). The second, traced back by Williams to Herder and the eighteenth century thinking, was rooted in anthropology. Here the term 'culture' referred to "...institutions and ordinary behaviour", where culture is "...the clarification of the meanings and values implicit and explicit in a particular way of life, a particular culture" (Williams, 1965, in Hebdige, 1979; 6). Williams' broad definition was an attempt to uncover "...general causes and broad social trends which lie behind the manifest appearances of an every day life" (Hebdige, 1979; 7).

There were, then, in the early stage of the cultural discourse, two opposing definitions: one by which culture was a standard of excellence, and another which perceived culture as



a whole way of life. Amongst the problematic meanings of 'a whole way of life' had been the exact position of literature and literacy as representatives of lower class culture. In part, the work of the French writer Roland Barthes, based upon the work of Ferdinand Saussure, was an attempt to solve that problem, through uncovering the latent meanings of everyday life and exposing "...the arbitrary nature of cultural phenomena". (Hebdige, 1979; 9) Barthes was not concerned with distinguishing the good from the bad in modern mass culture, but rather with extending the notion of culture beyond the library, the opera-house and the theatre, to include the entire notion of everyday life. For Barthes the concept of everyday life was at once more destructive and more systematically organised. To his view it depended on the representation which the bourgeoisie has, and makes us have, of the relations between man and the World. His application of a method rooted in linguistics, was transferred to other realms such as fashion, film, food, etc., and opened up new possibilities for contemporary cultural studies. It was assumed that through semiotic analysis, the gap between the alienated intellectual and the real world would disappear. Moreover, Barthes' semiotics promised a reconciliation of the two conflicting definitions of culture, through a synthesis between moral conviction (Barthes' own Marxist beliefs) and popular themes - society's total way of life (Hebdige, 1979; 9).

E. Said's views about the concept of culture are in line with the first trajectory leading to the past, or with the first definition of the second one, being "a standard of aesthetic excellence". He suggests two meanings for the word 'culture'. The first includes those practices as the "...arts of description, communication, and representation, that have relative autonomy from economic, social, and political realms and that often exist in aesthetic forms, one of whose principal aims is pleasure" (Said, 1993; XII). The second meaning he suggests for the concept of culture, following Matthew Arnold (1868), includes a "...refining and elevating element, each society's reservoir of the best that has been known and thought" (Said, 1993; XIII).

Architecture has not been mentioned in the above trajectories or definitions, neither by Said nor by others. Although it is autonomous, being closely linked to social and economic realms, it is clearly a form of cultural expression, shaping and shaped by society, and pleasure is amongst its important considerations. Furthermore, good buildings can definitely be included in what Said calls "...society's reservoir" of excellence.

Architectural historians and critics have not yet reached the recent awareness of historians and intellectuals regarding the significance of cultural aspects of imperialism, and still consider the architecture of the British Empire predominantly as an obvious manifestation of imperial political power and administration. For Kenneth Frampton, the founding of New Delhi in 1912, "...was nothing if not an elaborate ideological gesture, designed to mask the sheer expediency that lay behind the British removal of their Indian capital from Calcutta to Delhi...". They hoped, Frampton continues, that "...they might still pursue their contradictory policy of welcoming home-rule while maintaining their colonial economy." He also suggests that the commissioning of New Delhi "...inaugurated a period of



building in which architecture would once again be exploited in the cause of the state" (K. Frampton, 1985; 211, 212).

This is neither to suggest that Frampton is entirely wrong, nor to deny the evils involved in establishing the Raj's new capital. Yet it is argued here that it needed more than sheer political conviction for Lutyens to arrive at such "...a level of abstract precision and balance" (K. Frampton, 1985; 211). In other words, Lutyens' incorporation of native traditional architectural elements in New Delhi had been part of a trend which he came to accept, influenced by the changing cultural attitudes towards non-European traditions. Unlike his collaborator Herbert Baker, he was not an imperial architect and promoting the imperial ideal had never been his concern.

A more recent work, *An Imperial Vision*, by T. R. Metcalf, 1989, about British imperial architecture in India, suggests that: "To study colonial architecture, is therefore to study the allocation of power, and the relationships of knowledge and power, that made up the colonial order". Metcalf examines individual buildings "...only as they illuminate the larger themes of culture and power". Even when a certain power of influence over social and political matters is ascribed to them, imperial buildings are regarded merely in the service of the state: "At its heart is an analysis of the distinctive architectural forms that sought to manifest the ideals of imperialism and which took as their objective the enhancing of the hold of the Empire over ruler and ruled alike" (Metcalf, 1989; XI). This is not to say that Metcalf's work is irrelevant or to put in doubt his arguments, but rather to suggest that the imperial ideal and doctrine were far better manifested in the realm of planning and urbanism, where the British administration had established an immense infrastructure throughout the empire. This has been extensively developed by Antony King, who provides useful groundwork for a typology of European-imposed colonial cities, which recognises the diversity of factors affecting such settlements. (King, 1976, 1990) The "power to colonise" in T. Mitchell's words, (Mitchell, 1988; IX) is more evident in forms of urban planning by colonial administrations than in any architectural enterprise. Mitchell discusses the case of Cairo, radically altered in the nineteenth century, considered to be amongst the boldest actions of imperial power.

It will be shown below how the Empire's territorial expansion, as well as its spirit and ideology, were dominated by cultural drives and not merely by political and economic interests.



## 1.2. Territorial Expansion

### 1.2.1. Colonialism and Imperialism

British territorial expansion had been a gradual process, beginning in the days of the Normans, undertaken mainly by individuals, for profit, for raw materials, for promising new markets and investments. To protect ports, hinterlands had to be acquired; to protect trade routes, bases were needed; and so one possession led to another, and larger footholds of British dominance were established. Yet the mere fact that Britain had a strong economic interest in an overseas country did not necessarily make that country her colony. As free traders the British had seen it their duty to keep protectionists out of under-developed markets, and they were proud when they acquired territories and made them open for trade to all nations.

Though those economic achievements had to be sustained by a strategy, this period however had not yet become 'imperialism', meaning the practice, theory and attitudes of a "...dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory" (Said, 1993; 8), but rather 'colonialism', which is "a policy of having and retaining colonies, of keeping them dependent" (Oxford Dictionary). Said's argument, that 'colonialism' "...is almost always a consequence of imperialism" (Said, 1993; 8), is not accepted here, since this particular process of territorial acquisition lacked, in its early stages, any clear policy. Yet, along with its consolidation into an empire, which took place later, ideological and political formations were put to work, which provided moral, social and political justifications for territorial acquisition, followed by the establishment of an imperial framework.

Imperialism as an ideology was described in 1899 by the liberal imperialist Lawson Walton as a formula for interpreting the duties of government in relation to the Empire; as such, he argued, it was comprised of emotion, conviction, determination and creed. Lawson suggested that the British were imperialists in response to the compelling influence of their destiny - what J. A. Mangan interprets as race being the basis of imperialism. Its genius would find scope in developing and extending its possessions. (Mangan, 1986; 115)

Whether accepting or rejecting this interpretation, at a very basic level imperialism meant thinking about, settling on, and controlling land that you do not possess, which is distant, lived upon and owned by others. This attitude was clearly expressed by John Seeley, the nineteenth century historian and imperial spokesman of that age, presenting a historiographic approach supporting the idea of Empire being a natural historic phenomenon "...a natural outlet for superfluous population, the resource by which those who find themselves crowded out of the mother country may live at ease without sacrificing their nationality" (Seeley, 1869, 1971; 59). This argument had later become a theory of Empire: "Britain is really the enlargement of the English state; it carries across the seas not merely the English race, but the authority of the English government" (Seeley, 1869, 1971; 37-38).



Moreover, the entire enterprise of the Empire depended upon the idea of "...having an empire" (Said, 1993; 10). A fundamental factor is the formation of Western consuming societies, which will be further discussed later, implying that, in many respects, Western attitudes towards non Western cultures stemmed from a passionate desire to have and own things. Native people, their land and their culture was something one wished to have, that is, to own and control, and sometimes to cherish and develop.

### 1.2.2. Informal Rule

Until the middle of the nineteenth century there had been no definite policy of ruling the Empire, a period which is frequently called the 'informal rule' or described as a spontaneous process. At the peak of its unchallenged prosperity the government in London did not need to push that process by formalising a policy, as it was self-contained, a matter of private enterprise - dominating the mechanism of penetration. During the years 1840-1850 intervention occurred despite the reluctance of the Foreign Office to employ the machinery of the state in service of commerce. Victorians did not always like what had happened, but they wanted the thing which made it happen. (Porter, 1985; 5)

The legacy of Disraeli's policy of commitment to the imperial idea could not be easily dismissed. The imperialists' insistence that Britain should remain a positive force of world affairs was the concept common to both parties in Parliament. Disraeli's world, which the liberals thought illusory, was in fact the real world: one of zealous nations competing for favourable territorial possessions. People who did not believe in the necessity of those interests found themselves forced to fight for non-intervention. Many of those who objected to overseas expansion were strong humanitarians, and the term 'honour of England' was always more easily distorted than defined (Thornton, 1959; 50-51).

Once it had been accepted that a territory was a colony, and would remain as such for some time to come, some organizational framework was needed, as well as a policy concerning the government of its people. This had led, for example, to the establishment of the East India Company, which by 1833 generally followed the policy of the government in London. Through free trade Britain found a method of dominating the world without paying for it. It was assumed to be the natural way of dealing with foreign countries without harmful side effects. Consequently, maximum benefits were gained with minimum guilt feelings (Porter, 1985; 22,24).

By the end of the nineteenth century the general direction of British imperial expansion was north-south. The English-African financier, Cecil Rhodes, foresaw a British axis running from Cairo to the Cape, fed by access lines to the east and west coasts, giving the Empire domination over the whole of Africa. The French, on the other hand, thought transversely, east to west. They concentrated their attention across the continent, and they dreamed of establishing their supremacy throughout central Africa, which ultimately led to



clashes with the British.

The Empire was immense around the turn of the century. Britain ruled a quarter of the world's population, and nearly a quarter of its land surface, and included territories of every geographical formation, climate, language, density of population and development, and diversity of culture. Yet it was never unanimous. There had always been opposition to the imperial idea: there were humanitarians who thought imperialism was a sin, moralists who thought it was a fraud, radical politicians who thought it an error, and economists who regarded it as an unnecessary fiscal device. One principle of British expansion, common to all parties, was that the British should expand by trade if they could, and by imperial law if they must. (Robinson, 1967; 10)

### 1.2.3. Straightforward Imperialism - the Trauma of India and Egypt

The great Indian mutiny of 1857 had challenged the loose concept of 'Informal Rule', and is considered a traumatic event in both Indian and British history. Despite the fact that in the early days, at least on the surface, India was governed by a commercial company and not by the state, relations became particularly close and mutual dependence grew - so-called foster parent relationship towards the 'natives'. As a result of changes in Indian society a new class of British-educated Indians emerged, who eventually rebelled against the fallacy of the Empire being a 'family' (Porter, 1985; 22). In 1857 the Bengal Army revolted throughout northern India. Hindus and Muslims alike, landlords and peasants, princes and merchants, threw off the British yoke and sought their own independence. Without going into the complex structure of actions, motives, events, and moralities, the British brutally and severely put the Mutiny down. Fighting lasted until the end of 1858, when the East India company was abolished, and the Crown rule was instituted.

Determined to prevent any further instabilities, the British undertook a more thorough and systematic government of their possessions. Roads were driven into the heart of Indian cities, and with the erection of military and civil stations, an order was imposed. With the construction of a network of railways, completed by 1870, India was completely subordinated to the commercial and military needs of the British Empire. And so in 1876 Queen Victoria was declared Empress of India and her viceroy Lord Lytton was sent there and greeted in 'traditional' celebrations all over the country, as if her rule was not mainly a matter of power, but rather an old age custom. Reality, however, was fundamentally different. As pointed out by Edward Thompson in 1925, the Mutiny had been a symbolic event, by which the two sides, Indian and British became conscious of the opposition to each other, reinforcing the difference between coloniser and colonised (Said, 1993; 177-178).

After the Mutiny, a new concept of Empire was constructed by which Britain became the legitimate ruler of India. This could be justified only by portraying a picture in which the



Indians themselves supported such a notion. Doubtless, some Indians believed that British officials knew the country better than themselves, and that such officials - rather than Indian rulers - should govern the country. That concept, which will be elaborated upon later, was to dominate both the political and cultural attitude of the British towards their imperial rule for many years to come, by which 'knowledge' was perceived as means of control.

Post-Mutiny India was described by Francis Hutchins as "...an India of the imagination", which conceived Indian society as "...devoid of elements hostile to the perpetuation of British rule, for it was on the basis of this presumptive India that Orientalisers sought to build a permanent rule" (Hutchins, 1967; 157).

Some similarities to the Indian affair can be found in the establishment of British hold in Egypt, also considered the second life-line to India, regarding the opening of the Suez Canal (1869). In 1882 Britain had invaded the country using severe military force, whose climax was the bombardment of Alexandria. Within two days the city was turned into rubble and ash; and within eight weeks the Egyptian army was completely defeated. The country was invaded under the pretext of re-establishing law and order and restoring financial stability. Like in India, the brutal military intervention was justified by the urgent need to defend the European population from Egyptian violence.

Egyptian finances were admittedly in a mess and needed sorting out. Huge debts had been incurred through the lavish spending of the Khedive. The British determined to put things right through a brief occupation. As in India, bold operations of urban renewal were undertaken. In Cairo, the layout of new streets was designed to give the appearance of a plan. Such a plan was a manifestation of order by which the city was entirely transformed by levelling the wasteland around it, by opening up main streets, surfacing roads, constructing drain and water systems and planting trees. This spatial ordering did not leave the existing city intact. Along a route of two kilometers hundreds of large and small houses, a number of mosques, mills, bakeries and bath-houses were destroyed. These operations, originating from a typical Western point of view, regarded the disorder and narrowness of pre-colonial cities as a principal cause of physical disease and crime (Mitchell, 1988; XII,65).

In spite of all that, there had been no question of a long stay or of annexing Egypt to the British empire. The solution had been simple: British presence was to be temporary, represented by an agent and consul-general who would advise the Egyptians how to run their country. This situation worked - from a British point of view. Financial stability was restored and numerous Britons were brought in to help run the country. Only after World War One did Britain formalise the situation by declaring a protectorate over Egypt and deposing one Khedive and appointing another as Sultan, while the British Consul-General became High Commissioner.

The Indian and Egyptian affairs, with their similarities and differences, were both cases where Britain was dragged into a situation of political intervention, using extreme and brutal force, followed by the establishment of an imperial framework. In both cases, it preceded a gradual, informal colonisation process. Thus such territorial acquisitions and the great



investment in their administration cannot be explained by political interests alone, and motives should be looked for in other realms of British historical structure. In other words, Max Beloff's theory that "...the British were not an imperially minded people" because "...they lacked both a theory of empire and the will to engender and implement one" (Beloff, 1969; 19, in MacKenzie, 1986; 2), can neither explain the preliminary process of colonisation, nor the use of such military and administrative power for restoring imperial control. Furthermore, the principal justifications given for those actions denote the existence of deeper currents in British society. The first was that Britons and Europeans living in those countries deserved the protection of their mother-land, as settling in those countries was perceived as normal and legitimate behaviour. Next was the commitment to preserve the local frameworks of those countries, while introducing modern civilisation.

It is suggested here, that both attitudes stemmed from the same notion of 'having an empire' as mentioned above. That is, a strong desire of acquiring and owning things. After things were obtained, in this case lands and peoples, the owner gained control, being responsible for their well being and preservation in proper order, in this case - imperial administration.

#### 1.2.4. Post World-War-One New Order

After the first World War the British Empire moved out of the old order, which it had dominated and to some degree moulded, to a new and unfamiliar world. The German Kaiser had lost the War, but had achieved a shift in the pattern of power. British hegemony stood the challenge, and the doubts of the 1900s were momentarily ignored by the great defeat of the enemy, especially after so many sacrifices and triumphs. The Empire's status seemed unequally privileged, and grew stronger and greater than ever before. It had more than survived the war, no territory was lost and much had been gained. Convinced imperialists had been influential in the conduct of war, as well as in shaping the peace - the coalition government formed in 1919 included Lord Curzon as Foreign secretary and Milner as Colonial secretary.

Though straightforward colonisation was now as unacceptable and distasteful to the mass of British people as it was to the world at large, in practice the British empire took important advantage of the peace terms to extend its power and strengthen its security. A new system of mandate was introduced, which was trusteeships over former enemy territories. Nearly a million square miles were added to the Empire, together with 13 million new subjects. In the Pacific most of the former German colonies went to Australia and New Zealand. In Africa the Empire gained control not only of the south-west, but also of Tanganyika, fulfilling the vision of a corridor from the Cape to Cairo. In the Middle East, Iraq, Transjordan and Palestine became British Mandates and Persia was virtually a British



protectorate, so that India was linked to Egypt and the Mediterranean by a continuous block of British controlled territory. On the face of it, the Empire seemed safe and solid as never before, as these great new acquisitions seem to complete a whole structure, and realise an old dream.

Yet Britain as a nation lost the strong spirit of Empire, and people resisted attempts to make them imperialists again. It had changed over the war, and was in no mood or condition for a revival of the New Imperialism. The grand exhibition at Wembley (1924), the biggest Britain had ever known, could not revive the old spirit of grand imperialism. It was derided by intellectuals, who treated it as nothing more than "...fanfare by the populace" (MacKenzie, 1986; 7). An atmosphere of failure seemed to be confirmed by British economic decline. Dominion nationalism, especially India, and imperialism as an intellectual construct, had failed. This atmosphere of ignorance and indifference prevailed at the more popular level of the British public at large, which was never that involved or interested in the principles or practice of imperialism and knew very little of the territories or of their peoples (Morris, 1978; 208-209,300; MacKenzie, 1986; 7-8).

However, the role of Britain as a world imperial power continued to exist for twenty years to come and was still projected to the British public after the First World War. This would not have occurred unless some commitment to the imperial ideals still existed. It was a more generalised imperial vision rather than any sophisticated concept of empire which was maintained. Though transformed into a less confident, less widespread adherence among the British public, it had become the domain of the men who ran the Empire, many of them ex-servicemen who shared the new national attitudes. To some of them it was apparent that the British Empire was not eternal after all. Despite resenting this prospect, not merely because it might cost them their jobs, but also because they still believed in the British mission, they thought they knew more about the true state of things around the Empire than leaders back home knew about their own country.

Here again, in the second phase of the Empire, the imperial ideal, and to a great extent its practice, had returned to the hands of individuals, who became the catalysts and patrons of many imperial operations. In order to better understand the nature of that change, and the preceding phases, it is necessary at this point to discuss the notion of the imperial ideology and spirit in a separate manner.

### **1.3. Ideology and Spirit**

#### **1.3.1. In the Name of Progress**

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century British people regarded themselves as an 'improvement society' dedicated to the elevation of mankind. Raised to the summit of the



world by their own system, they believed in progress as an absolute. The people who had the conviction to bring light and progress to the remote places of the Empire were those who already bore the real 'white man's burden': the removal of ignorance and darkness that blinded the world, the grounds of Europe's civilisation, was the spur of their power. Technology and purpose lay in the hands of the European, and the way he handled them was the challenge of civilisation which could not exist without the appropriate frameworks (Thornton, 1965; 155).

One of their central principles was that a civilised state must possess a fixed organisation and the capability of maintaining and defending it. Commercial relations were considered generators of the progress of civilisation, which is "...a revolution in the manners of the people". Only force could bring this about, as it "...would never generate itself spontaneously" (Thornton, 1965; 156). That was an acceptable principle, despite some reluctance, not about its meaning but about the ways of its implementation. J. A. Hobson suggested two tentative principles of the legitimacy of enforcing political and economic control:

First, that all interference on the part of civilised white nations with 'lower races' is not *prima facie* illegitimate. Second, that such interference cannot safely be left to private enterprise of individual whites. If these principles be admitted, it follows that civilised governments may undertake the political and economic control of lower races, in a word, that the characteristic form of modern imperialism is not under all conditions illegitimate (Hobson in Thornton, 1965; 204).

Lord Salisbury, the statesman, had no doubts that the civilised nations had a mission to perform in the world - a responsibility to protect, equip and educate the peoples of the colonies. In doing so a great service was also performed to the idea of civilisation itself, since new recruits to it, properly guided and guarded, would enlarge and enrich the area of civilised life (Thornton, 1965; 158).

The case of Cairo, mentioned above, shows the scale and extremity of that 'responsibility'. In the name of progress and modernity, based upon scientific knowledge, the entire city was reorganised. A medical hygienic argument was given according to the theory of contagion, which in nineteenth century Europe had temporarily superseded the revival of germ theory as an explanation for the transmission of diseases. What was required then was 'tanzim' a word often translated as 'modernisation', though it means something like 'organisation' or 'regulation'. That meant elimination of all places of rotteness and decomposition, by building up a system of sewage disposal. The demolition of houses allowed the passage of air and light. Such medical reasons became political arguments in favour of open towns, where lit streets were a benefit for commerce, visibility and inspection - easier to police, and artificial lighting of streets enabled night life to take place. By introducing such systems, it was said, the government would realise the value per capita of human product (Mitchell, 1988; 65,67).



The battle fought between those who wanted to preserve the context of native life and those who were determined to get rid of it was long, hard and never resolved. The stand of moral superiority is well expressed by John Lawrence, who remarked that in India it was impossible to fulfill a 'duty' as well as the expectations of the public: "...in doing the best we can for the people, we are bound by our conscience and not by theirs" (Bosworth Smith, 1885; 440, in Thornton, 1965; 165).

Such attitudes were not confined to statesmen alone but also to culture-heroes like John Ruskin. Ruskin's aesthetic theories, mainly concerning the Arts and Crafts Movement, will be discussed in various stages of this study. Yet his ethic and moral views about British, or rather English imperialism, are most relevant at this point, though absent in many discussions of his theories. Ruskin believed that England is to rule the world because it is the best, being "...still undegenerated in race; a race mingled of the best northern blood" (Ruskin, 'Inaugural Lecture', 1870, ed. by Cook and Weddenburn; 41, in Said, 1993; 123). Colonies, according to Ruskin, are to increase and prosper, yet remain tied to Britain. By saying that, he "...connects his political ideas about British world domination to his aesthetic and moral philosophy", by which the political aspect guarantees the aesthetic and moral ones. Furthermore, England's "art and culture" depends, in Ruskin's view, "...on an enforced imperialism" (Said, 1993; 125,126).

As will be shown later, a central dilemma of Ruskin and his disciples regarding the art and craft of the colonies was the conflict between the necessity felt to preserve it, while exposing it to the powers of 'progress'.

### 1.3.2. Christian Ideals

Christian ideals, revived and most popular in the nineteenth century, were amongst the principal drives of the English imperial spirit and ideology. Evangelicalism in particular opened English eyes to the remote, exotic and underdeveloped countries, as a vast field for social and spiritual reform. A strong conception of authority and personal example rooted in the Evangelical cult succeeded to a degree unknown in England since the Middle Ages. The moral power of the Christian message, with the moral power of the messenger, emerged as a doctrine, with the Victorian idealist acknowledged by his equals and adored by his inferiors. (Tidrick, 1990; 4)

Evangelical Christians, of whom John Lawrence was one, founded a school of thought that wished to purge in order to purify. The government role, according to their view, was to protect society but not to shape it. (Thornton, 1965; 165) It was not enough to own an Empire, one had also to formulate a policy to deal with it. That was the basis for ideas of free marketing and Christian morality to become one, by which territorial expansion was a moral necessity. The political legacy of Evangelicalism was the idea of a society in which the governing classes inspired the lower classes, where obedience should be based not only



on duty but on love. It was a belief in the changing power of personal example and in its power to control.

Parallel to the Evangelicals, in their beliefs and activities, were members of the different missionary societies, though founded earlier - around the turn of the eighteenth century. It was members of the Clapham sect who in 1786 founded a new colony in Sierra Leone to provide a new home for slaves recently liberated by the Somerset Judgment. It was meant to be the base for the progressive civilisation of the whole of Africa. 'Civilisation' to the humanitarians in Africa meant the same as it did to those in India: all that British, industrial Protestant culture could offer. It was civilisation with conditions: the good life was possible only within the framework of Western culture. The greatest blessing which could be conferred on the African therefore, was to make him more like an Englishman: "...to wash the Blackmoor white". (Porter, 1968; 21) That superior attitude towards alien cultures was intrinsic to the missionary's attitude. His methods were altered in time but not his basic point of view.

The number of highly educated Englishmen operating overseas out of conviction and faith in the ideology of imperialism, inspired by Christian ideals, has always been few. Yet their great impact on the British imperial enterprise has been beyond their number. The aim of this study is neither to judge their attitudes ethically and morally, nor to investigate it separately as a cultural phenomenon, but rather to examine the results of their operations in terms of architectural performance. As has been shown above, the British empire never had a clear and consistent policy of government, and in most cases it had been a response to, and an affirmation of, actions already taken out there in the colonies and dominions. It was the best possible grounds for individual initiative which actually moulded and tailored the framework which the imperial government had used as a ruling device. It was a unique process, where grand national and spiritual ideals were interpreted and realised by devoted individuals, and it was often their initiative which eventually generated a governmental policy.

In this connection, architects and engineers were amongst those individuals who occasionally initiated and promoted projects, interpreting both Christian spirit and the ideology of progress as ultimate aims. Railways, roads, bridges, dams and buildings were the highlight of their deeds, a central contribution to the imperial infrastructure. They were amongst those widely experienced people, patriotic, paradoxically bound together by the English class system, who over the years had also created an imperial elite to whom the Empire was a true vocation. As products of the English Public School system, they regarded man as disciplined, tough, uncomplaining, a reserved person, a perfect team member and easily acclimatised to order. They carefully developed codes of behaviour with the strain of the imperial ethic. (J. Morris, 1978; 28)



### 1.3.3. Hegemony and Knowledge

This study will show that British imperial architecture was more an expression of hegemony over subordinate cultures than of power, in contrast to Metcalf's views as mentioned above. (Metcalf, 1989; XI). It is also suggested here, inspired by E. Said's views, (Said, 1978) that knowledge of the 'other' cultures, meaning non-European, was an important means of gaining that hegemony.

The term hegemony refers to a situation in which a provisional alliance of certain social groups can practice "...total social authority over other subordinate groups", not simply by force but by "...winning and shaping consent so that the power of the dominant class appears both legitimate and natural" (Hall, 1977, in Hebdige, 1979; 16). Hegemony can be maintained when the subordinate groups are, "...if not controlled then at least contained within an ideological space", which does not seem at all ideological but rather appears to be permanent and 'natural', beyond any particular interests. Furthermore, hegemony has to be won, reproduced and sustained (Hebdige, 1979;16).

There were two types of knowledge as means of control. The first was that of the colonial settler, who was compelled to study the habits of the 'natives' and the nature of their land in his own interest, in order to survive. But once secured, he saw no point in doing so, and stayed indifferent to the culture within which he lived. (Thornton, 1965;187-188) This type of knowledge is excluded from this study as it was simple, unconscious and lacked a rational process of introspection and choice.

The second type of knowledge; far more sophisticated, was obtained for reasons other than existential. For John Ruskin it was something England was obliged to do, as "...she must guide the human arts, and gather the device knowledge, of distant nations, transformed from savageness to manhood, and redeemed from despairing into peace" (Ruskin, 1870, eds. Cook and Weddenburn, 1905; 41-43, in Said, 1993; 125). Knowledge, in other words, becomes synonymous with domination, backed by imperialistic ideology. E. Said goes even further in his more specific views regarding the Oriental knowledge. He argues that Orientalism had evolved from a system of inspired observation into a regulated college of learning, and reduced personalities such as Richard Burton "...to the role of imperial scribe". Moreover, "...from being a place, the Orient became a domain of actual scholarly rule and potential imperial sway" (Said, 1978; 197). Another facet of knowledge, central to the argument herein, which will be discussed later, is the notion of representation as a cultural attribute, emphasizing its centrality in European perception of non-European cultures.

It is suggested here that imperial buildings are perfect manifestations of hegemony, being what has been defined above as "an ideological space" which appears to be "permanent and natural" within which subordinate groups are contained. For that to be accomplished, an extensive, methodical, empirical and scholarly knowledge had been accumulated. The architectural approach which advocated the adaptability and integration



of buildings into various types of environments of the Empire was based upon such a type of knowledge. However, there had never been complete consent about it. A central question had been whether, in their buildings, the British ought to look to their own, or to the native architectural tradition. In a debate about British architecture in India, in the RIBA, London 1873, T. R. Smith, a practicing architect in Bombay, had said:

As our administration exhibits European justice, order, law energy and honour ... so our buildings ought to hold up a high standard of European art... as a rallying point for ourselves, and as a symbol for our presence and even with admiration by the natives of our country.

W. Emerson, who also practiced in India had a different view:

The British should not carry into India a new style of architecture but rather should follow the example of those whom they supplanted as conquerors, as the Muslims, who seized upon the art indigenous to the countries conquered, adapting it to suit their own needs... It was impossible for the architecture of the West to be suitable to the natives of the East. (R. Smith, JSA, 21, 1873; 278-287. ESP, 286-287, in Metcalf 1989;1)

During the second phase of the Empire, that is after World War One, the latter approach was to prevail, and British transplants were not accepted any more. This shift of attitude is regarded here as most important, what will be termed later direct and indirect representation, and will be analysed in detail in the case-studies of this work.

#### 1.3.4. Popular Imperialism

The picture of ideology and spirit of the Empire would not be complete without discussing some of its popular aspects. To talk about popular imperialism is to denote some general vision rather than a clear concept. As has been mentioned earlier, its existence has been excluded from the historical discourse of the period, or its time scale was compressed to be insignificant. Some attempts have been made to confine its class appeal, and to associate it mainly with the lower middle class. Many historians saw imperialism as essentially irrelevant to British domestic history, and most have agreed that any residual popular imperialism had ended by World War One.

Nonetheless, as suggested by J. MacKenzie, it would be a mistake to concentrate too much on popular reactions to specific events, as those were expressions of much deeper intellectual and social currents set up by the second half of the nineteenth century. The elite had promoted the emergence of new nationalism, which in Britain took an imperial form in the defense of colonial interests. It was still possible for the British to retain a world view of cultural and racial superiority, a common ground of national consent on which most people



could agree. Consequently, a whole range of traditions was invented through which the imperial ideal could be communicated to the public. Architecture, public ceremonies, parades, displays and other means of publications were all part of this endeavour.

It is suggested here that buildings had been inspired in different degrees by government propaganda and their most important influence was not in reaching the domestic public, or the native peoples of the Empire directly, "...but in maintaining the elite's concern with imperial values" (MacKenzie, 1986; 12). In other words, it was an exercise of gaining hegemony, both over the lower classes, and over the peoples of the Empire, rather than being a simple and direct manifestation of control.

Yet it is essential to point out that in order for the imperial ideal to be transmittable, it had to be placed in the context of a heroic and romantic vision of the Empire, and speak about optimism and pride. This was in effect chivalry, massively revived in the nineteenth century, as part of the whole Romantic reaction to the classicism of the eighteenth century. The image of the gentleman was reformulated as a latter-day version of the medieval knight - brave, loyal, courteous, and modest. Chivalry was deliberately promoted by key figures of the time in order to produce a ruling elite for the nation and for the expanding Empire. Public Schools were central in the propagation of the new chivalry, pushing it through the crisis of the First World War, and after.

Baden-Powell relied on it to be the code for his Boy Scouts, who were originally called 'Young Knights of the Empire'. The similarities between ideas of Empire and those of chivalry removed it from economic and political powers, placed it on a higher and nobler level, by which it became a "...timeless vehicle for adventure" (Richards, 1986; 159). A vital factor which enabled popular ideals of imperialism to be maintained was their adaptability. Baden-Powell's early writings, for example, had been adapted and made more international and multi-racial. Consequently the Scouting and Guiding organisation could expand and be part of a process whereby the ideal of a genuine union of peoples of different races, colours and creeds could be realised (Warren, 1986; 250-251). This adaptability and change, which evolved away from the centres of policy-making and imperial control in London, also took place in other realms such as films - monitoring national mood, public opinion and popular tastes. "The box-office never lies, and the Empire throughout the thirties was big box-office" (Richards, 1986; 162).

Architects, mostly of the upper middle class, products of the Public School system, grew up into that milieu, whether before or after the post-World War One shift of opinions. Although their identification with the imperial ideal varied, and so did their interpretation of it, they shared some general consensus about it. Many had practiced in the colonies alone; others maintained their main practice in Britain while being commissioned for specific projects around the Empire. The differences between those two groups will be considered later, but as far as the popular aspect of imperialism is concerned, it can be stated that the overwhelming majority of architects throughout the imperial era embodied in their designs many of the dilemmas and conflicts intrinsic to the imperial experience. Yet, in contrast to



other sectors of British society, their involvement had a double sided commitment: to convey the imperial message to the subordinate peoples of the Empire and to represent it to their own people back home. In other words, hegemony was not merely something to be gained but also to be represented.

#### 1.4. Summary

Whereas British imperialism has been recently acknowledged as part of the British culture, its architecture is still considered predominantly as a manifestation of political power. Architecture, shaping and being shaped by society, being an integral part of culture, was also a significant ingredient of the culture of imperialism. It should therefore be discussed as any other architecture, while underlining those ingredients which were characteristic of imperialism.

It has been shown how the Empire's territorial expansion became a theory and ideology, stemming from cultural undercurrents of the British society at the height of the imperial era. In this connection 'colonialism', as a form of territorial expansion was excluded from this study since it lacked any theory or ideology, and naturally had no message to convey. Imperialism on the other hand, meaning the theory, the practice and the attitude of dominating another country and its people, was discussed here principally regarding its messages and the means of their conveyance.

- The consolidation of Britain's territorial expansion into a ruling mechanism, a theory and ideology of an empire, was a long process. It began as an 'Informal Rule' which then led to a form of 'Straightforward Imperialism', at times enforced by extreme military force, and sustained by large administrative frameworks. The principal justifications for those actions, given by the British government to its domestic public, denote the existence of other motives besides political and economic interests. It was thus suggested that the notion of "having an empire" was part of the Western notion of owning things that had been an important generator for the entire British imperial enterprise.

After World War I, Britain as a nation had lost the strong spirit of the Empire. It became the domain of individuals who still believed in Britain's mission to introduce advanced civilization to underdeveloped regions of the Empire. Christian ideals, and Evangelicalism in particular, had been an important inspiration for those individuals. Although they had been few, their impact went beyond their number. They believed in progress as an absolute of which the concept of 'order' had been its most important manifestation. Architects and engineers were amongst those individuals who often initiated and promoted projects, inspired by Christian ideals and notions of progress, regarding them as ultimate aims.

A central argument herein is that British imperial architecture was more an exercise of gaining hegemony over subordinate societies, than one of power. This is because imperial

buildings were considered an effective means of control and influence, being an "ideological space", usually won by consent, and appearing to be legitimate and natural.

In this connection it was suggested above, inspired by E. Said's views, that the extensive knowledge of non-European cultures was an essential pre-condition for accomplishing that hegemony. Representation as a central ingredient of Western knowledge, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, had played a major role in the British perception of the culture of its subordinate nations, and in the attempts to gain hegemony over them.



## REPRESENTATION AS A CULTURAL ATTRIBUTE

### 2.1. Introduction

In discussing the cultural grounds for the evolvment of imperial architectural attitudes, representation is considered central herein, for three principal reasons: first, representation has been the way by which the Western individual could perceive 'other' cultures; second, representation of both imperial ideals and native subordinate cultures had been a main concern for British architects practicing throughout the Empire; third, and most important, is that architectural elements were ascribed with special representational power to stand for an entire culture, and to convey messages. It is suggested here that the increasing dependence of Western culture on representational systems of objects through which the world could be grasped has intensified the importance of architectural elements beyond their traditional faculties, whereby they become an influential vehicle for restoring hegemony.

The first assumption, following E. Said, which is critical to the understanding of the centrality of representation in any cultural discourse and exchange, is that "...what is commonly circulated by it is not '*truth*' but representations" (Said, 1978; 21). Moreover, cultures have always tended to impose complete transformations on other cultures, that is, to interpret them not as they are but as they ought to be, for the benefit of the interpreter. This is done by changing reality "...from free-floating objects into units of knowledge" (Said, 1978; 67). Other scholars who also deal with the issue concentrate on the dynamics by which cultures are made by those who define them as such. James Clifford suggests that cultures do not have a "scientific" objectivity; they are "produced historically" (Clifford, 1986; 18, in Celik, 1992; 10). Roy Wagner argues that the anthropologist "invented" the culture he studied on the basis of his own culture, that is, he examined man's actions in universal terms in order to understand them. (Wagner, 1981; 2,4,8-9, in Celik, 1992; 10)

The tendency to use universal terms as a basic means for understanding has always been typical of Western perception, which presupposes a process of generalisation and schematisation, from an exterior point. The principal product of this exteriority is representation (Said, 1978; 21). It is argued here that representation through objects is an even more prominent expression of exteriority, for one who is normally bigger, is by necessity set apart, and consequently superior. This had been critical in the European perception of any new culture or place.

Representation as a cultural ingredient is discussed herein concerning two aspects: the first examines the two notions of collecting objects and consumption, as central



attributes determining Western cultural perception; the second deals with patterns of display and description by which non-Western cultures were represented and perceived.

## 2.2. Objects-Collecting Consumer Society

### 2.2.1. The desire to have and collect

The desire to have and collect stems from deeper drives concerning the notion of the possessive self and culture. Thus it is worthwhile at this stage to present in brief James Clifford's review of several works discussing this issue. The main works are: J. Fenton, 1984; 81-84, C. B. Macpherson, 1962, R. Handler, 1985, in *History of Anthropology*, vol. 3; 192-217, D. Haraway, 1985 in *Social Text*, 20-63.

In Western cultures, the need to collect objects traces back to the seventeenth century, to the emergence of an ideal self as owner - the individual surrounded by accumulated property and goods. The same is true about collectives in the making of their cultural "selves". In "having a culture", selecting and cherishing an authentic collective "property" is involved. This identity presupposes acts of collection, gathering up possessions in arbitrary value systems which change historically. To a certain degree, "gathering" around the self and the group some sort of material "world", marking-off a subjective domain, is universal. Yet, the idea that "...identity is a kind of wealth (of objects, knowledge, memories, experience), is surely not universal", and is characteristic of the West, where collecting has long been a strategy for the deployment of a possessive self and culture. All collections reflect wider cultural rules such as gender or aesthetic. An excessive need to have is transformed into rule-governed meaningful desire. "Thus the self that must possess but cannot have it all, learns to select, order, classify in hierarchies - to make good collections" (Clifford, 1990; 143).

The good collector is expected to label items, to know their dynasty, to tell interesting things about them, and to distinguish copies from originals. In Susan Stewart's analysis, the miniature becomes the bourgeois longing for "inner" experience. She shows how collections, mostly in museums, create the illusion of adequate representation of a world, first by cutting objects out of specific contexts and making them "stand for" abstract wholes. Next, a scheme of classification is elaborated, for storing or displaying the object so that the reality of the collection itself conveys specific histories of the object's production and appropriation (Stewart, 1984; 162-165, in Clifford 1990; 144). To appropriate: "to make one's own", from the Latin *propius*, "proper", "property". Finally, for Baudrillard, "The environment of private objects and their possession - of which collections are an



extreme manifestation - is a dimension of our life that is both essential and imaginary. As essential as dreams." (Baudrillard, 1968; 135, in Clifford, 1990; 144)

### 2.2.2. Authenticity, knowledge and representation

Before the 20th century objects were collected and valued for reasons other than their beauty. The pre-18th century, unclassified, collection of 'curiosities' was a microcosmos, a "summary of the universe" (Clifford, 1990; 149). During the 18th century more serious concerns were put to work and complete series were introduced. It was associated with scientific naturalists, and objects were valued because they exemplified systematic categories: food, clothing, building materials, agricultural tools, weapons etc. By the end of the 19th century evolutionism began to dominate the arrangement of exotic artifacts.

In whatever category objects were presented, a story of human development was told. The object had moved from being an exotic attraction, and became a source of information, integrated in the world of the Western person. The value of exotic objects was what had turned them into important evidence of earlier stages of human culture - a common past, confirming Europe's present achievements. The main emphasis was given to representing the "authentic" context of the collected objects. This preoccupation with authenticity, rather an obsession, was produced by removing objects and customs from their current historical situation. By the turn of the 20th century, objects were valued because they served as an objective witness to the multidimensional life of a culture. Moreover, cultural or artistic "authenticity" was more involved with an inventive present as well as with a past, its objectification, preservation, or revival (Clifford, 1990; 146).

In the West, where time is regarded as linear and irreversible, collecting also serves as a phenomenon of rescue from inevitable historical decay or loss. Thus the collection contains what 'deserves' to be kept, remembered and treasured. "Artifacts and customs are saved out of time" (Clifford, 1990; 152). In order to arrive at some valid criteria by which it would be possible to value-judge separate things or entire collections, and to decide which will be preserved or exhibited, a great body of knowledge was necessary. During the nineteenth century the organisation of scientific and learned fields which took place was both rigorous and comprehensive. Research became a regular activity; there was an exchange of information, and agreement on what the problems were, as well as a consensus on the appropriate paradigm for research and its results. Yet the notion of knowledge was not merely a means of judgment, but also an aim in itself - of presenting complete and total data, that of the Encyclopedia, capable of capturing and explaining an entire world view (Greenhalgh, 1988; 20,87).

However, to study Western knowledge of any non-Western culture is to study the



representation of the latter, inseparable from the political power they express. Late nineteenth century writers, such as Kipling, Conrad, Gerome or Flaubert, had always interpreted reality and animated it (Said, 1993; 120). Handler argues that the collection and preservation of an authentic domain of identity cannot be natural and innocent. It is tied up with nationalistic politics, with restrictive law, and with the encoding of the past and the future (Clifford, 1990; 143).

Knowledge of the Orient, which constituted the greater portion of knowledge of Non-European cultures, had become, as Said has shown, an expertise institutionalised in the centres of colonial administration, in government ministries and in universities. This expertise, combined with images of the Orient in popular writing, entertainment, the press, government reports, guide books, travelogues and memoirs of colonial officials, became a broad field, a "...vast theatre, or an exhibition of the real", within which "...elaborate representations of the 'objects' of colonial authority could be produced" (Mitchell, 1988; 168).

In order to proceed and examine some of the phenomenal aspects of World exhibitions in the imperial era, it is worthwhile to conclude the above by saying, following T. Mitchell, that Western culture perceived the world as though it were divided into two: into a realm of mere representations and a realm of the 'real'; into exhibitions and external reality; into an order of mere models, descriptions or copies, and an order of the original. In other words, notions such as "the real", 'the outside", "the original", were actually effects of the world's apparent division into two. This distinction corresponded to another division of the world, into West and non-West (Mitchell, 1988; 32).

### 2.2.3. World Exhibitions and Consumption

Russel Ferguson's enlightening observation about the structure of contemporary "mainstream" culture is equally relevant and true about the cultural-economic structure of pre-modern, imperial European society:

One of the great strengths of the existing structure is its capacity to absorb a constant flow of new elements. In any system based on consumption, new products and new styles must be perpetually supplied. Such a flow is essential to its health and survival. The vital, independent cultures of socially subordinated groups are constantly mined for new ideas with which to energize the jaded and restless mainstream of a political and economic system based on the circulation of commodities (Ferguson, 1990; 11).

It is suggested here that the world exhibitions of the mid-19th century, should be considered as the climax of this trend in their straightforward manifestation of it. It was in those events



where a process of "...delivery of continual novelty to the market" took place, "...while at the same time alternative cultural forms" were, and are still today, "...drained of any elements which might challenge the system as a whole" (Ferguson, 1990; 11).

The basic collection of gathered artifacts - whether in private cabinets, museums of ethnography, folklore or fine art - also functions within a developing capitalist as a "system of objects" (Baudrillard, 1968, in Clifford, 1990; 144). It follows then, that to become a citizen of such a world, one of commodities and representations, is to become a consumer of things and meanings. The exhibition had been a perfect ground for the development of such a new type of citizen.

International exhibitions had evolved slowly for almost a century before the grand event of 1851. During that preliminary period of the industrial revolution, institutions were formed in Britain and France aimed at promoting a specific display. In the beginning it was a device for merely enhancing trade, promoting new technology, educating the ignorant middle class, and developing political views. Early establishers of art exhibiting, who were backed by government, had invented the preliminary pattern - a system of presentation as a way of showing manufactured objects which became "...meaningful beyond themselves" (Greenhalgh, 1988; 3). The first exhibitions both in France and in Britain were national events, yet strongly motivated, economically speaking, by international interests. This was mainly because of the fear in France of English industries, as cheap English goods, mainly textile and ceramics, had penetrated the French market and became an economic threat.

The exhibition in Paris (1786) had been a significant example of the strange combination of carnival and ceremony, circus and museum, of populism and elitism, which was a basic pattern to be followed by the later tradition of international exhibitions. Towards the end of the 18th century exhibitions became popular events amongst the middle class, for whom art was the focus of civilised life. Several institutions, like the Royal Academy (1769) and the Mechanics Institute, were founded, concerned mainly with the leisure and education of the working classes.

Up to 1847 the British had not seen any advantage in national exhibitions becoming international. At that time the emphasis had been on exhibiting English technological advance, and foreign participation would not be of any profit. Yet, while the preparations for the 1851 Great Exhibition were already on their way, a decision was taken to invite all nations of the world to participate. The main reason for that was that British industry, though still in the lead, had also recognised the beginnings of growing competition and sought to overcome it by selling it out in "friendly competition" (Greenhalgh, 1988; 10). It was expected that the exhibition would encourage market expansion abroad. Though originally the idea of an international exposition had been French, its realisation was left to the Englishman, Henry Cole, the main organiser of the Great Exhibition of 1851. Cole, who had managed to involve the President of the Royal Society of Arts, Prince Albert, established a most fruitful collaboration in which the royal impact was to be an important



catalyst (Gibbs-Smith, 1951,1981; 7-13).

The size of the exhibition was its most impressive feature. A single building covering nineteen acres, located in central London's Hyde Park, was to become a symbol of consumption and prosperity throughout the world. The building itself - the Crystal Palace, had been a point of attraction for six million visitors.

It was in the Great Exhibition of 1851 that a framework of four categories had been established, which later was to become a standard: Manufacture, Machinery, Raw Materials and Fine Arts. Yet, more importantly, it was the concept of trade as a means of control which had then been founded. Literature about the Great Exhibition explained the hegemony of Europeans and their descendants over all 'other' cultures by their ability to control and manipulate trading systems; or the capitalist's method of creating and controlling markets. Thus there was nothing wrong in conceiving the Exhibition as a shop, a concept of "...gathering together of the commercial travellers of the universal world, side by side with their employers and customers, and with a showroom for their goods..." (Helix, 1851, in Greenhalgh, 1988; 23). Trade became timeless, according the Victorian perception, and the exhibition had provided the ground which allowed the marriage between the mystical exotic, the practical and material.

Technology as a means of achieving progress was a central theme in all the world expositions after 1851, intensified in the exhibitions of the early 20th century. The Western obsession with the ability of the machine to transform the world traces back to the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. The machine had given the West world power, and a degree of protection from natural forces. That had been the point when the notion of comfort was introduced. Life without the machine became inconceivable, and so the future had to be invented in terms of progress and technology. Cultural and social progress were assumed to be measurable qualities, as materialistic worth had dominated the Western frame of mind.

## **2.3. Display and Description**

### **2.3.1. A framework of Representation**

As has been shown above, everything in the exhibition was set up before the observer as a picture, representing some reality beyond itself. In world exhibitions this notion had become a system, a framework, where different methods were employed. At the basis of those methods and techniques, there lay some conceptual principles, shaping the exhibition as well as being shaped by it.



First were the effects of order and structure. The hierarchical arrangements, the creation of programs, marking out time into schedules, all contributed to creating a world which appeared to consist of special order. Methods of order and organisation created the effect of structure, which seemed as a framework within which activities could be observed and controlled. It appeared as a plan, which somehow stood apart from individuals and gave a framework to their lives (Mitchell, 1988; XII-XV,14). In other words, modern life could only be conceived within certain frameworks, where the relationship between meaning and representation is essential. This structural effect existed both within the exhibition itself, and in other realms of life, and generated the experience of capitalist modernity, whereby the world was perceived through a distinction between physical reality and its representation.

Another conceptual principle was that of endless, empirical, encyclopedic data, what has been previously termed a total concept of knowledge. When it became part of a more systematized framework of representation, it was felt that every aspect of the Empire had to be portrayed as realistically as possible, making the presence of objects, and occasionally of people, imperative. Moreover, scientific credence was given to the idea that everything under the sun was measurable and knowable, together with faith in a finite world, which could stimulate absolute truth.

Finally, a most important notion which dominated the representational framework of the Great Exhibition, and those which followed, was the concept of design. It stemmed directly from the Industrial Revolution, where the phenomenon of mass populace had first emerged, followed by mass-production, prefabrication, mass-communication and urbanisation. The number of artificial objects had dramatically increased, the travelling speed of ideas and people multiplied and cities, it was thought, had grown to their limits. There had been a struggle in every realm and discipline to cope with the new values of the age, which seemed to challenge the traditional basis of the issues involved. The most acute crisis was in architecture and design. It was a total change in every possible aspect: in materials, means of production, quantities, and speed of production, together with the social and cultural change of the target audience. The upper-working and lower middle classes, who had entered the market for the first time, were exposed to the phenomenon of affluence and consequently to the uniformity of detailed machine-pressed objects. Those had to be responsive, whatever approach they represented, and the criteria for their acceptance had been symbolic rather than aesthetic.

The notion of Design, as Paul Greenhalgh suggests, "...virtually invented itself through the industrial era", becoming a "...process whereby a prototype was made for mass production". Therefore the Great Exhibition of 1851 is often regarded as the beginning of design history, or as Greenhalgh proposes "...a starting point for the history of design criticism", as what was said about design was far more innovative than what had been actually designed (Greenhalgh, 1988; 142-143).

Since representational faculties of objects became a major concern for designers at that



time, the issue of style, that is the appropriate style, which could represent the spirit and ideas of the age, had dominated the experience of the exhibition. It was understood as a symbolic attribute which could render meaningful objects to their audience. Thus any choice was accepted, as it was possible to combine sources that could be termed eclectic or historicist. Though there had been opposition to those trends after 1850, they were rather isolated incidents until after the First World War. The shift from historical to modernist forms is revealed in the exhibitions as a slow process, where historical styles were gradually disappearing, some remaining in the market long after they were considered dead by historians and critics.

### 2.3.2. Display Patterns - the Pavilion

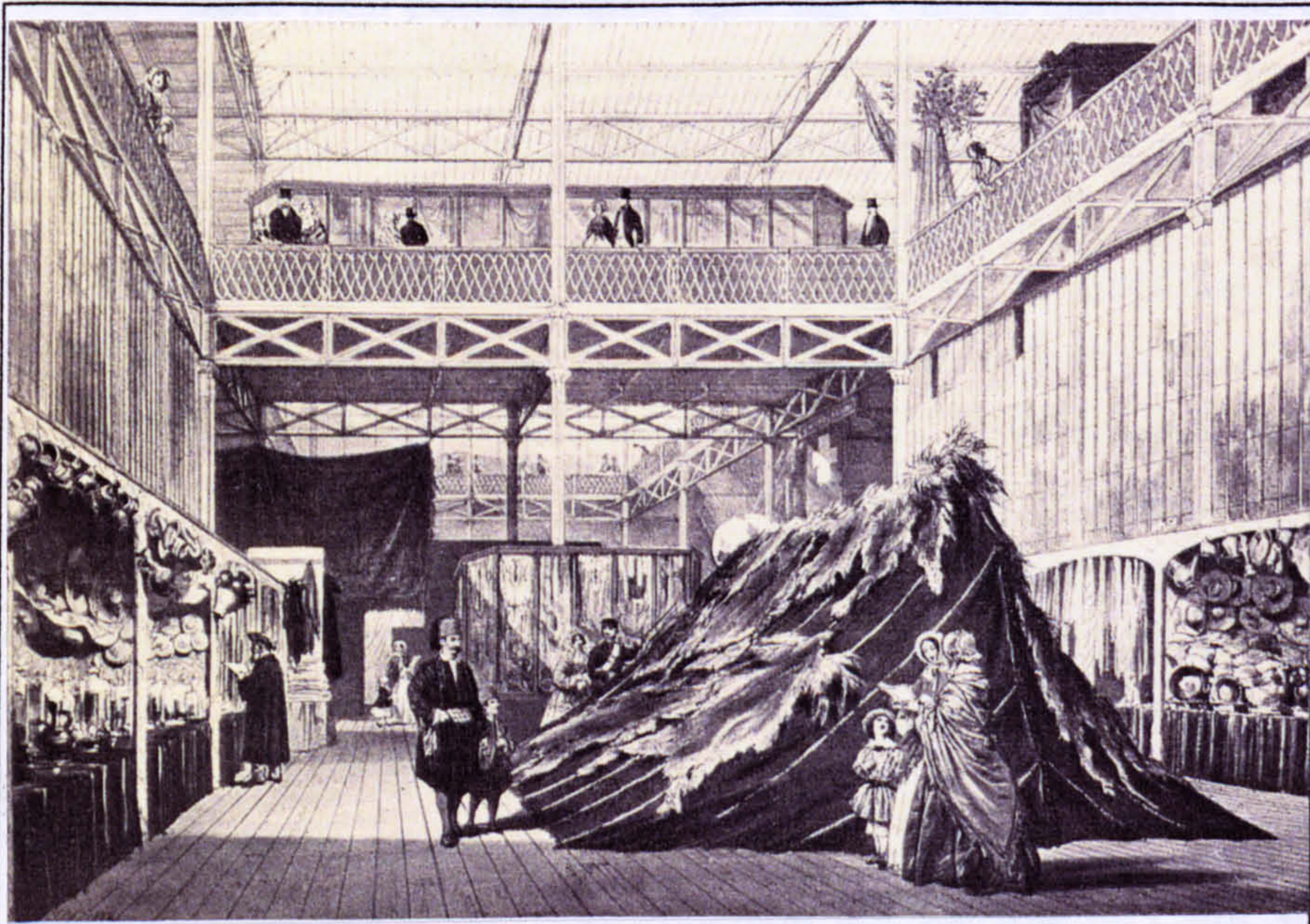
The world exhibitions, being the ultimate platforms where cultures could be encapsulated visually, were also the events where architecture became a dominant factor in two distinct ways, in mega-structural buildings which contained the exhibitions, and in the invention of a nucleus display unit - the pavilion.

The site-architecture had been more innovative than that of the pavilions, partly because the former included less-committed edifices, which were to entertain the crowds and work as dramatic 'spectacles'. Another reason was that they were designed by non-architects, mainly engineers, who employed advanced technologies and who operated outside of the architectural establishment and influence. Architects, on the other hand, were responsible for the actual display units, using more traditional materials, wooden models and plaster.

It was those units which were considered the central means of exhibition, critical parts of a simple scheme, established by Joseph Paxton in the Crystal Palace at the Great Exhibition of 1851. The scheme consisted of a long horizontal block, divided in the centre by a tall vaulted transept serving as the grand entrance. It also created an internal space which divided the building into distinct halves. A vast mezzanine was added over a third of the total floor space. The iron ribs framed the vision in every direction and gave a perspective effect of infinity.

By then, proper pavilions had not yet been introduced, yet the different categories of exhibits were located along the central and lateral axis, corresponding with the segments of the mega-structure, termed sections. This had created a sense of uniformity, as the structural elements remained exposed, and the sections were similar in size. (Fig. 1). Nonetheless, it was in that scheme that circulation inside the exhibition building was conceived as an urban-like system of 'streets' and 'avenues' rather than of corridors and aisles.





*Fig. 1 The Tunisian Section, the Great Exhibition of 1851*

It was partly because of the enormous size of the building and the penetration of natural light, which challenged, for the first time, the conventional concept of the 'building' as a sheltered enclosure. Furthermore, displaying replicas of entire well known buildings such as the Alhambra inside the main structure had generated an uneasy sense of having a building inside another building. That, together with the authenticity obsession, and the desire to create 'real worlds' within the exhibition compound, had pushed the sections outside the building, whereby they were transformed and became pavilions.

Separate pavilions for different nations outside the main exhibition hall were first built for the Paris Universal exhibition of 1867. By gathering architectural pieces from all over the world, the exhibition grounds provided an imaginary journey, which became an indispensable experience of every fair. Yet, its consolidation into a display pattern, consisting of pavilions, and streets, took place only in the exhibition of 1878, where a new linear organisation was erected - the "Street of Nations", ("Rue des Nations") which was a series of national pavilions. The facades of each pavilion were to be 5 meters wide, though Western nations were allowed more width. The main idea was to create a system of representation, whereby each nation would be displayed according its own tradition. But more important was the idea of a compact system - illustrating the architectural diversity of an entire world in a short span that intensified the representational role of any individual unit, whether the facade or the whole pavilion.

The commercial potential of the street was further developed in the Universal Exposition, Paris, 1889, where a number of associated themes were brought together. The most prominent were the 'History of Habitation' and the 'Cairo Street'. Urban and commercial life were incorporated in line with the 19th century main concern, which had



obviously made them places of great attraction. Charles Garnier, who designed the 'History of Habitation', intended it to be, amongst other things, an architecture of the spectacle, "...a moving panorama, where all habitations parade before us" (Garnier & Ammann, 1892, in Celik, 1992; 71). This sentence is rather telling evidence: though the street was meant to be experienced from within, as if in real life, it was still dominated by the typically Western desire to see it all at once, in a compact manner as in a miniature model, which consequently meant observing it from some exterior point. It will be shown later how the same trend had dominated all literal and visual descriptions of non-European places.

The street was presented as a historical 'survey', the dwellings were decorated in 'typical' ways, providing 'native' costumes for the visitors. Garnier had insisted that the dwellings themselves were historically correct, and that they reflected a "general type" based on a synthesis of critical elements. He argued that "...the resemblance to truth was truer than truth itself" (Garnier & Ammann, 1892, in Celik, 1992; 72)

Another highlight of the 1889 exhibition was the Rue du Caire. Its creator, Delort de Gleon, was a wealthy Frenchman who lived in Egypt for several years. His idea was to create a neighborhood street of 25 houses representing different periods and styles of Cairen residential architecture. With the collaboration of a young architect, Gillet, he used recycled architectural fragments from demolished buildings in Cairo, aiming at presenting all the "belles epoques" of Cairo's history (Gleon, 1889, in Celik, 1992; 75). Religious monuments were integrated into the street; although reduced in scale they contained all the surface details and richly decorated interiors, which included marble-covered walls, ceiling patterns and delicate woodwork.

Due to the specifications of the exhibition, and construction problems, the street was made wider than the typical Arab street and the general height of the buildings was reduced. Otherwise, the buildings were "absolutely exact" and "faithfully reproduced" (Gleon, 1889, in Celik, 1992; 76). Apart from being a representational enterprise, Gleon, like many other Western obsessive collectors, had seen his work as a rescue mission - saving beautiful parts from Cairo's old buildings. As has been discussed earlier, the collection was also a representation of the phenomenon of saving things from time (Clifford, 1990; 150). The street, it must be said, was admired by both Egyptian and European visitors, though some embarrassment was expressed concerning the use of the external form of a mosque as a coffee house, where dances were performed.

All architects commissioned to design national pavilions, whether of European or Eastern countries, had been Western, mostly French, including those for countries like Russia, Greece, China or Japan. By then, the basic drive for national representation was not nationalistic but rather commercial, propaganda for expanding each country's international market. Most of those architects were neither well known in their own countries, nor did they have any firsthand architectural knowledge of the countries they represented. Yet European training, mainly from the Beaux-Arts school, had led a few of them to undertake



impressive missions such as Leon Parville's documentation and analysis of Ottoman Monuments of Bursa. The "rules" of Ottoman architecture which Parville had 'discovered', approved by the well known architect Viollet le Duc, had strongly influenced Parville's design of the Ottoman pavilions of the 1867 exhibition in Paris. Parville, and Saladin, whose expertise was mainly Egypt, were exceptional for their serious detailed studies of Islamic architecture, while the rest depended on architectural publications.

A most prominent characteristic of all the pavilions designs had been a preoccupation with so called typical native architectural parts, details and ornamentation. Those, whether based on first, second or third hand knowledge, had been considered a major representational means. The design concept of the pavilion - the miniaturisation of a building, within the dense and limited compound of the exhibition, had encouraged its perception as an object. Its impact on the European mind had been greater than its exotic origins, as it had already been consolidated into a representational object, deeply rooted in Western culture, which could be, at least metaphorically speaking, collected, owned, preserved, cherished, and in more practical terms - controlled. It will be argued further on in this study, that this pattern of display, being also a pattern of perception, had dominated the design thinking of European architects, in this case British, when designing buildings for non-European lands.

The zeal of reproducing entire exotic worlds, through obsessive collection of authentic objects, had neither ethic nor aesthetic inhibitions. In the name of preservation, entire archaeological sites were practically robbed and valuable objects, regardless of their size, were 'rescued' and taken away from their original contexts, brought to Europe to be kept safely, exhibited and admired (Fig. 2).

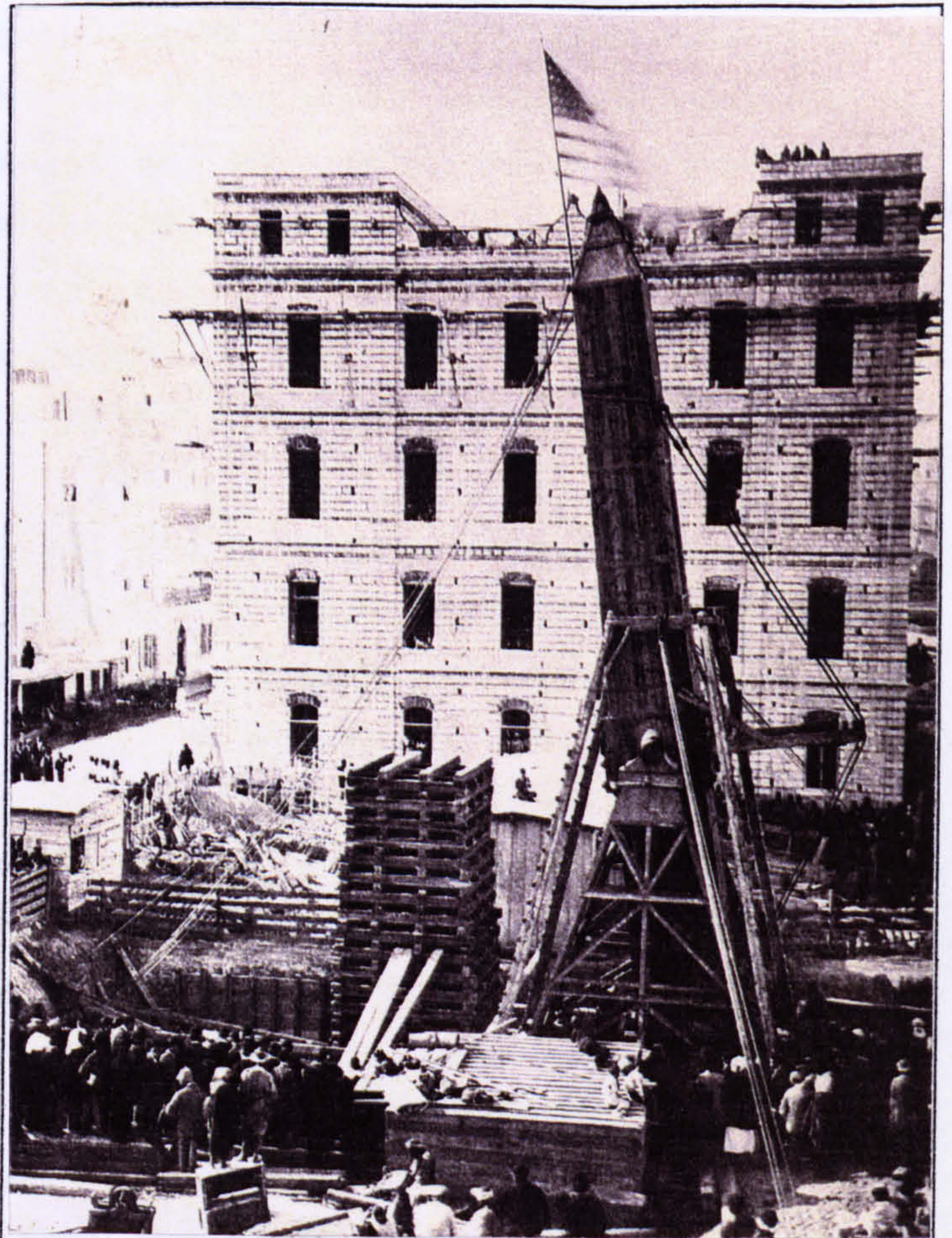
The obsession with the authenticity of the object and the rationale for its collection and exhibition had reached its peak in the displaying of peoples. Paul Greenhalgh points out that between 1889 and 1914, and to some extent even later until the early 1930s, the exhibitions became a "human showcase", as people from all over the world were brought to sites as exhibits, to be seen by "...an audience who would pay to come to stare". The regular form of display was a backdrop, where 'native' people were placed "...going about what was thought to be their daily business". It was then, and through that particular medium of display, that "...human beings were transformed into objects" or into anthropological exhibits (Greenhalgh, 1988; 82,94). As such they became understandable and, from a European point of view, predictable.

Analysing this genre, Greenhalgh suggests four types for its classification: the Imperial, the Educational, the Commercial and the Ambassadorial. Since this subject is beyond the aim and scope of this study, it will only be noted here that the moral problem lay in the two former types, and responded to imperial, scientific, philosophical, and moral discourses all at once, whereas the other types were not necessarily immoral.

As far as this study is concerned, the great importance of the international exhibitions,



mainly those until the mid-1920s, is in their display patterns, by which objects or other exhibits were ascribed with special representational power to stand for an entire culture or tradition. It was through that system of representation that architects were first introduced to foreign traditional architecture, which to a great extent shaped their perception and interpretation of it. As will be shown in the case-studies of this work, it also dominated their design concept when building in the foreign lands of the Empire.



*Fig. 2 The removal of the Needle of Cleopatra from Alexandria to Central Park N. Y. 1879*

### 2.3.3. Descriptive Patterns - the Panorama

Western descriptions of foreign and exotic environments, whether visual or narrative, seem to have been taken from some distance, as if from some exterior or elevated point, like in an exhibition. To the European the world was never presented directly but rather represented by something which was carefully selected, being part of some bigger whole. Since the world was conceived as a limited entity, something which forms a bounded totality and structure, all its descriptions aimed at reassuring it, whether of the Romantic-picturesque or Classicist-rationalistic trends.

Gustave Flaubert's first experience of Cairo might clarify this notion. At first the city seemed to be a complete visual chaos of colour and detail, which could not be perceived as a picture as it lacked any pictorial order. Walking along the narrow streets of the city, where "...each detail reaches out to grip you", no distance was allowed and one could not 'stand back' so to make a drawing or to take a photograph. Without that detachment between the self and the observed scene it was impossible to grasp "the whole" (Flaubert in Mitchell, 1988; 22). The equivalent situation in which the European was exposed to unknown,



strange realities was at the exhibition. There he would normally be separated from the exhibits, often being bigger than them and feeling secure. Naturally the whole could be easily grasped, as well as its structure and order. While travelling, however, when confrontation with reality was inevitable, descriptive patterns remained the same, like grasping a picture. Travellers were looking for that picture in the exotic lands they had visited. The real was grasped by the European in terms of a distinction between a picture and what it represents; and, being brought up in that representational world, Europeans had perceived it as a universal condition.

In many ways narrative descriptions of non-European places followed that trend. Reading travelogues of many European writers who flooded the East one frequently recognises both the experience of its strangeness, together with an effort to portray what they saw in words with the same accuracy and with a similar detachment. However, in contrast with T. Mitchell, it will be shown later in further detail that writers managed to portray a more authentic reality, including some of its subtleties, which visual artists had failed to do. One possible explanation amongst others might be that as a product, a literal description is basically different from the visual exhibit which it portrays. In other words, the confusion which occurs between a visual reality and its visual description does not exist when words are being used. And so Flaubert's metaphor of details which "reach out to grip you" manages to convey a truer sense of what it is like walking in the streets of Cairo than one could ever expect to draw or paint realistically. Moreover, it will be shown how various artistic restrictions also led artists to distort the reality they had seen, in part as a result of their commitment to stylistic conventions and also in an effort to satisfy the various demands of their audience.

Amongst those demands was a successful type of popular entertainment, the 'panorama' which had become a prominent part of life in European cities and later in America. It was a vivid means of putting the visitor directly in front of the nature and peoples of distant lands. Panoramic paintings could be both informative and imaginatively stimulating. The type of entertainment involving light effects, moving images and themes concerned with previous civilisations was already popular in the later years of the eighteenth century. As interest in such spectacles grew, buildings were erected or adapted for them - usually rotundas, such as Leicester Square (1794), in which more total illusions of space could be presented. For the Romantics, who emphasised personal experience, it was a perfect method of simulation of a 'live' situation by which the observer became central, positioned on a viewing platform, enclosed by a full-circle scene.

Some of the most popular panoramas were the topographical ones, of which Eastern subjects were most popular. Such were Calcutta and Constantinopol, which appeared as the subject for panoramas several times. Cairo was an obvious choice as interest in Egypt had grown after 1800. David Roberts' general view of it was presented as a panorama in 1847. Biblical attractions of the 1830s had made Jerusalem a popular subject. In 1835



Fredrick Catherwood made detailed drawings of the City which had been the base for Burford's panorama of Jerusalem in Leicester Square. Some public panoramas constituted complete static environments; others introduced movement to a seated audience by unrolling a continuous picture in front of them. The most famous of this kind was the Grand Moving Panoramic Picture of the Nile in the 1840s, by Joseph Bonomi and Henry Warren.

The panorama had accomplished two things at once: an accurate and vivid representation of foreign views and peoples; and at the same time a separation of oneself from that world that could only take place from a position outside of it. Consequently, the visitor became an observer and experienced the scenes as though in an exhibition.

## 2.4. Summary

Representation is considered central herein for understanding the development of imperial architectural attitudes, for three principal reasons:

1. Representation had been the way by which non-Western cultures were perceived in the West.
2. Representing Britain and its imperial ideals, whether directly or indirectly, was considered by British architects who were practicing in the remote countries of the Empire to be a most important task of their buildings.
3. Architectural elements were ascribed with the special representational power to stand for an entire culture and tradition, whether British or that of the native subordinate people.

It has been shown how Western culture is very much dependent on a representational system of objects, and suggested that it raised the importance of architectural elements beyond their conventional role.

Having said that, two principal issues were examined above: the first was the phenomenon of collecting objects, the desire to have, preserve and exhibit them as a central attribute in Western consumer society. The second was their display and descriptive patterns, which are assumed here to have a strong influence on architects with regard to the issue of representation in buildings.

It has been shown how identity, whether of the individual or of the group, being the wealth of objects and knowledge, is typically Western. The constant accumulation of things, led to wider cultural notions such as order and classification according to categories formed by the collector, which is based upon a wide spectrum of knowledge. It implied the distinction between the original and the copy, essential for any good collection, which had led to an obsessive search for the authentic.

Another notion which stemmed from the 'Collection' is preservation. Since the concept of time is regarded as linear and irreversible in the West, the collection also serves to rescue



phenomena from the inevitable historical decay and loss. A set of criteria was then needed by which it would be possible to decide what deserves to be preserved. For that to be accomplished a great body of knowledge was necessary, which became an aim in itself. The encyclopedia on the one hand, and the great international exhibitions on the other, were forms by which that aim was materialised. It was also an expression of the total dependence of Western society on its capacity to absorb a constant flow of new elements.

The international exhibition was an overall and compact organisational form of displaying the entire world in a single building or site, intended for a mass audience. Objects were the basic components of display, through which entire cultures and traditions were represented. The basic picture-like setting implied a situation by which the observer, normally bigger than the object, was set safely apart from it, emphasising his exterior point of view. As a framework of representation it implied the following by-products: the existence or the effect of order; a total concept of knowledge with scientific credence, meaning that everything was measurable and knowable; and a concept of design which invented itself with the Industrial Revolution.

Two important patterns of display and description were invented at that time - the pavilion and the panorama. Stemming from the 'Sections' of the Great Exhibition of 1851, the pavilion became a means of 'levelling-up' cultures, to be contained in a uniform display unit. It implied the choice of the 'most typical' building form to represent a certain culture. Yet, when compared with its original task, its internal space was used in different and sometimes contradictory ways. Foreign and exotic countries were always described from a distance, as if from some external and elevated point. The panorama, which had been its most characteristic expression, had also become a popular form of entertainment, being part of life in the European cities of the 19th century.

The exhibition pavilion and the panorama are considered here to be crucial factors in the development of design attitudes of architects who were practicing throughout the Empire. Being vivid representational frameworks involving a design process, they had a great impact on architects. Both the pavilion and the panorama encapsulated, in a most compact manner, an entire new world and through its transformation into an object it became perceivable and could fit into the Western structural world. As such it dominated architects' perceptions of non-European traditional architecture as well as their design interpretation of it.



## ARCHITECTURAL ATTITUDES AND THE EMPIRE

### 3.1. Introduction

Those architects for whom imperial commissions constituted their entire or partial practice, shared the same training and conceptions as their colleagues back home, but with distinctions stemming from their commitment to the imperial ideals and framework.

For most architects, as for other sectors of British society, it was the general notion of the Empire which dominated the collective cultural awareness, rather than its practical implications. And, as previously described, the exposure to imperial affairs, whether political, economic or cultural, had always been indirect, through most elaborate representational systems.

In fact, until the emergence of the Art & Crafts and Art Nouveau movements, architects in Europe were even less involved than other sectors in issues concerning the problems of social reform and industrial developments of their age. Most of them loathed it as passionately as the painters. They refused to take part in the general enthusiasm regarding the new opportunities created by the Industrial Revolution, and were mainly concerned with the destruction of the conventional order and of accepted standards of beauty.

New materials, such as iron, and after 1860 steel, made it possible to achieve wider spans, to build higher and to develop flexible floor plans. Glass in combination with iron and steel had challenged the traditional concept of enclosure; reinforced concrete, introduced at the end of the century, combined with the tensile strength of steel and the crushing strength of stone, were all things which architects knew very little about. With few exceptions, it was all left to be developed by the engineers. By about 1800, with the growing subdivision of professions, architecture and engineering became separate occupations, to be separately trained. Architects trained in the offices of older architects and in schools of architecture, and when they set up their own practice their clientele, at least in Britain, was mostly private. Engineers, on the other hand, were trained in special university faculties or (in France and Central Europe) technical institutions. Naturally, their practice concerned large scale projects associated with the state, or with well established institutions such as the Crystal Palace of 1851 or various bridges such as the Brunel's Clifton Bridge (1829-1836). Thus, it was more common for engineers to undertake most imperial building operations forming the infrastructure of the Empire, whereas the majority of architects secluded themselves and went deeper into their own crisis, mainly concerned with the breaking up of the stylistic frameworks.

That crisis of style, which had shaken the entire conception of architecture, had reached its climax in Britain with the controversy known as the 'Battle of Styles'. The first to react



was Pugin, followed by John Ruskin and William Morris. With the emergence of the Arts & Crafts ideology and theory, an alternative was introduced. Though problematic, and without adequate answers to the challenges of industrialisation, it had been the first attempt to link up social activities and aesthetic theory. On the Continent, the rationalistic theories of Viollet-le-Duc and the Art Nouveau movement had taken a somewhat different direction.

These avant-garde movements, whose theories and practice had greatly influenced architects of later generations, are generally considered by architectural historians to be antecedents of the Modern Movement. Yet, as will be shown below, Modernism was not necessarily its only natural interpretation. Through the pre-occupation of both movements with materials, details, ornamentation and craftsmanship, the individual element had taken over the role of the previous stylistic set of rules and become a generator of an alternative design framework.

During the first thirty years of the 20th century the Modernist abstract conceptions of space had not yet captured architects' minds, not at least until after the 1930s. Moreover, many practising architects at that time refused to follow those ideas. Inspired by the glorification of craftsmanship and the centrality of detail and ornament embodied in the avant-garde teachings, they created a different type of architecture. That architecture, which was called "New Tradition" by H. R. Hitchcock in 1929, (Hitchcock, 1968; 392) will be termed here 'Non-Modern'. This is to denote particular attributes which had developed parallel with the Modern Movement and not necessarily inferior to it. It will be suggested that most buildings built throughout the Empire during its second phase should be considered an integral part of that trend. The case of planning and designing of New Delhi (1912-1931), discussed separately, will concentrate on the principal attitudes which characterised that trend.

## **3.2. The Crisis of Style**

### **3.2.1. Battle of styles**

By 1830 architects believed that anything created during the pre-industrial centuries "...must of necessity be better than anything made to express the character of their own era" (Pevsner, 1943,1990; 377). Clients had lost all aesthetic criteria and demanded familiar associations which they could understand. This only could have happened thanks to the flourishing historical knowledge which characterised the nineteenth century and dominated all realms of thought. Instead of the study of ethics and aesthetics, a comparative study of existing philosophies was undertaken. Similarly, architectural scholarship abandoned aesthetic theory and concentrated on historical research. Since no time or desire were left



for developing an original style, a multitude of styles prevailed: Classical, Gothic, Italianate, Old English. With the emergence of pattern books by the 1840s for builders and clients, more styles appeared: Tudor French Renaissance, Venetian Renaissance, and others. In other words, what had distinguished architecture from building was the concept of style, being largely the consequence of distinctive ornamental systems.

Ornament provided a key component to be used in a wider architectural system built of it. Like other representational systems of that era which depended on objects, architecture became a system dependent on ornaments, ascribed with the power to stand for an entire larger whole.

By the mid-19th century there were essentially two basic classifications for all style: a Classical and a Medieval approach. The former was also termed 'Greek', 'Roman', or 'Italianate Renaissance'; the latter was also known as 'Gothic', 'Medieval' or 'Elizabethan'. These two modes grew to become ideological polarities, and mutually exclusive. This was largely because of the demand for an elaborate set of historical imperatives in which each conception of style was grounded.

The professional profile of each of these divisions differed substantially. In general, the senior segment of the profession continued to accept the Classicist repertoire of forms and planning systems sustained in architectural practice throughout the previous three centuries. The ideologies and actions of the opposite group, the 'Medievalists', must be regarded as a serious challenge to the uninterrupted Classical tradition. In other words, the Gothic revival of the 1850s had been the 'Avant-Garde', whereas the Classicists represented the architectural 'status quo'. (E. K. Morris, 1978; 8-13)

### 3.2.2 The choice of an imperial style

As a result of the consolidation of geography and government into an empire of unparalleled scope, the City of London became the metropolis of an uncontested political and economic status. Two important events enhanced its significance as a forum of architectural debate: the Great Exhibition of 1851, and the international architectural competition of Government Offices, in which the contest over style reached a new climax. By then, a most striking visible symbol of Britain's imperial status was represented by the Houses of Parliament, undergoing completion. The dispute over the appropriate style for the Government and Foreign Office buildings was not confined to architects alone. The dialogue at the House of Commons took the form of a controversy over the symbolic content of architectural style as relating to government buildings. The ideological contest over style involved significant associational elements in connection with the use of one style over the other. All other concerns were regarded as irrelevant.

Great importance was attached, by Parliament and the profession alike, to the stylistic means by which the Foreign Office could emphasise the image of Britain as an imperial



international power. This could be best represented by the form of a palace. It was the most dominant form which seemed the appropriate answer to the needs of Britain's imperial associations. Once the basic concept of the project was grasped as analogous to a palace, certain Classical modes could be linked with it, whereas other modes, namely Gothic, simply could not. The power of precedent had made the Classical style a forceful generator of imperial symbolism, as palaces from Diocletian to Louis XIV sustained that tradition.

George Gilbert Scott (1811-1878), who submitted a Medieval scheme for the Foreign Office, was appointed architect in November 1858. Yet opposition from the Classicist camp had been loud and forceful, arguing that Scott's competition design was not appropriate for a secular building, and that basically Gothic architecture was "...wholly unsuited to a public official building". And so in 1859, after a new national government was voted into office, Scott was ordered to transform his Medieval design "...after the Italian manner" (BN, v 5, 1859; 774 in E. Morris, 1978; 11,12).

Rather than resign his appointment as architect of the building, Scott finally capitulated. The result produced a transformation in the facade from Medieval style to one predominantly Romanesque. By early 1860 the revised design was finally approved by Parliament. It was noted in the architectural press: "The Battle of the Styles was fought and decided" (BN, v 7, 1861; in E. Morris, 1978; 12). As E. Morris suggests, the imperial status of the nation demanded a symbol of international acceptance which could only be achieved by the Classical style. Another cause might be that the Medieval camp was seen as avant-garde, something which an imperial government could simply not tolerate.

By 1870 Scott doubled the mass of the Foreign Office to accommodate a new Colonial Office, facing Parliament Street, the principal route to Whitehall. Over the centre of its facade Scott positioned an allegorical group of figures. Queen Victoria, the central element of the composition, posed as a Roman empress, with the British lion and unicorn at her side. The Book and the Sword, the Classical symbols of Knowledge and Power, attended her, demonstrating the means by which Britain retained control across the globe. The basic message of the Empire was embodied in that sculpture: Britain ruled by conquest and also by understanding. In other words, knowledge was in some measure, the means of control (E. Morris, 1978; 13, Metcalf, 1989; 5).

The significance of the Foreign Office episode to this study is threefold: first, it indicates that the dispute over styles was not confined to architectural circles, and reflected a major national concern. Second, the entire stylistic system was perceived as dependent on certain critical components which stood for a whole style, and determined its character as such. Therefore transforming a Gothic design into a Classical one could be done by changing the form of only a few architectural elements: lowering the high pitched roof, rounding the windows, replacing the roof of the tower with a Renaissance dome, and cancelling its corner turrets. The massing of the building and its plan organisation remained untouched.

Finally this episode shows that architecture was perceived as an important representational framework by which the historical and cultural link with Rome could be



manifested. In other words, for the domestic British public, 'having an Empire' or being imperialists implied an elevated cultural phase of a civilised nation. Notions of knowledge and power as means of control and rule were more the business of statesmen, whereas the general public was attracted to the image of greatness, represented through ancient artistic and architectural precedents.

### **3.3. The Collapse of the Stylistic Framework**

#### **3.3.1. Arts & Crafts Versus Art Nouveau**

In its spirit and ideology, the period of great inventiveness between the 1890s to 1905 is often regarded as avant-garde, the antecedent of modern thinking, being largely the interpretation of the teachings of Viollet-le-Duc, and to some extent, John Ruskin and William Morris. It was not merely a struggle against the decadent eclecticism of the second half of the 19th century, or just an attempt to overcome the Art-Industry paradox of the age, (Guerrand, 1979,1984; 13) but was also challenging the entire stylistic framework by searching for a total alternative - transforming streets, houses and everyday objects. However in its appearance architecture and design of that time, equally inspired by those theorists, had provided contemporary and later generations of architects with different reference sources and influences than those which are usually perceived as Modern. The preoccupation with detail and ornament in theory had also dominated the built environment of the expanding European cities.

The British Arts & Crafts and the French Art Nouveau were parallel movements. But whereas the influence of Viollet-le-Duc's rationalistic theories had been universal, that of Pugin, Ruskin, Morris and Crane had influenced mainly the British and architects of English speaking countries. Many of the formal devices of Art Nouveau, derived from the same search for new form in nature, prompted British designers. In architecture, however, they did not reach the same degree of creativity and inventiveness which could be recognised in Paris or Brussels. One of the reasons for that was the general British distaste for Continental stylistic experiments. From the Arts & Crafts point of view, progress should be judged in terms of sincerity and spiritual commitment. Style, according to that view, was too often bought at the price of its integrity. To the French, on the other hand, British design was too meager, perhaps because it tended to take taste to mean the simple forms based on construction, restricted, or rather limited notions of comfort.

This contrast sums up the fundamental difference between the thinking of the two movements: the Continental view regarded Art Nouveau as a fully formed style - a new visual language (Magne, 1902; 10, in Benton, 1979,1984; 16). The British Ruskinian



thinking on the other hand, rejected any attempt of creating a new style, and considered it dangerous: "...those false forms of decoration... being legal and accepted. The barbarism of individual fancy are as countless as they are contemptible; they neither admit attack nor are worth it" (Ruskin, 1849,1988; 112). Perhaps it was also because British artists in general had difficulties in dealing with the problem of originality, which was according, to T. Benton, among the reasons for their hostility towards European Art Nouveau in virtually all of its forms (Benton, 1979,1984; 16).

The teachings of four people closely associated with those movements were chosen to be discussed below. However, since the scope and diversity of their activities - theoretical and practical, are beyond the intention and scope of this study, the discussion will concentrate only on issues relevant herein, yet often overlooked - not being regarded as the seed of Modern thinking in architecture. These are the following: first, the conception of architecture as being the art of building; second, the potential of the individual architectural element to define the character of the whole building of which it forms a part; third, ornamentation as an integral part of the building and as a means to which the potential to represent culture, and to convey messages is ascribed.

### 3.3.2. 'Contemporary Gothic' - Pugin

The Arts & Crafts movement grew up in the heart of the Gothic revival, amongst the members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. A. W. Pugin (1812-1852) and the Scottish philosopher T. Carlyle were amongst the first to spark the discontents of the second half of the nineteenth century and both shared a strong antagonism for their materialistic age. Pugin had transferred the equation of Christianity and Gothic into architectural theory and practice. For him, to build in the forms of the Middle Ages was a moral duty. He claimed that as the Medieval architect was an honest workman and a faithful Christian, and since medieval architecture is good architecture, you must be an honest workman and a good Christian to be a good architect (Pevsner, 1990; 381-382, and Frampton, 1987; 42-43).

David Watkin considers Pugin as one of the most influential thinkers about architecture in the 19th century. He argues that Pugin's principal aim in acquiring brilliant and impressive knowledge of Medieval architecture was to construct a theory of contemporary architecture and a justification for his own design. "Pugin the historian was ultimately subservient to Pugin the designer." However, he was the first in Europe to identify a "...desired style with a desired way of life", in a series of widely published books between 1836 and 1843 (Watkin, 1980; 69-70).

Pugin addressed the issue of ornament as early as 1841 in the two "Great Rules of Design", published in his *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*. He stated



that "...all ornaments should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building." Quite surprising for a modern reader is his first rule: "There should be no features about the building which are not necessary for convenience, construction or property" (Pugin, 1841; in Durant, 1990; 26). Amongst his publications were two chromolithographic books on ornament. The first was *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament* (1844). In his introduction to "Symbolism of Art in Society", he stated:

Ornament in the true proper meaning of the word signifies the embellishment of that which is in itself useful, in an appropriate manner. Yet by a perversion of the term it is applied to mere enrichment... un-meaning detail dictated by no rule but that of the individual fancy and caprice. Every ornament... must possess appropriate meaning, and be introduced with an intelligent purpose, and on reasonable grounds (Pugin, 1844; in Durant, 1990; 26).

This was to be developed thirty years later by Viollet-le-Duc. In another book, *Floriated Ornament* (1849), which exerted a powerful influence, he declared his loyalty to nature, which was to be a main concern of many others who followed him.

### 3.3.3. God, Nature, Man and Ornament - Ruskin

This new concept of ornament was to be developed much further during the mid-19th century by John Ruskin (1819-1900), the "prophet of cultural doom and redemption" (Frampton, 1987; 42). His two most famous books, *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and *The Stones of Venice* (1853), were not intended as practical manuals for architects but rather as vehicles to convey his doctrines on the relationship of art and society. Ruskin's admiration for nature went deeper and further than Pugin's. In 'The Lamp of Beauty', he states that "...the value of architecture depended on two distinct characters: the one, the impression it receives from human power; the other, the image it bears from the natural creation" (Ruskin, 1849, 1988; 100). That image should be carried out by the ornament which must consist of forms "...imitative or suggestive of those which are commonest among natural existence, that being of course the noblest ornament which represents the highest orders of existence" (Ruskin, 1849, 1988; 112). Yet, for Ruskin nature was God and "...the proper material of ornament will be what God has created". Thus it was only Christianity, recognising the "...individual value of every soul", which would allow a workman the freedom to express himself and only Gothic could tolerate the labours of "inferior minds" (Ruskin in Durant, 1990; 26,28).

Such statements were to become central in the doctrine of the Arts & Crafts Movement. Forty years later, C. R. Ashbee, in his position as the Advisor of the British Military Governor of Palestine, attempted to implement that doctrine.



Ruskin's definition of ornament and its relation to the building as a whole, challenged the conventions of his age about the role of ornamentation in architecture. Like Pugin and Viollet-le-Duc, who believed that ornament should not be divorced from structure, Ruskin was also an advocate of ornament being an indispensable part of the building which it formed. Yet, for Ruskin this was something beyond structure, whereby the beauty of the ornament is wholly dependent upon its place in the building:

The especial condition of true ornament is, that it be beautiful in its place, and nowhere else, and that it aid the effect of every portion of the building over which it has influence; ... Every one of its qualities has reference to its place and use: and it is fitted for its service by what would be faults and deficiencies if it had no special duty (Ruskin, 1853, 1985; 113).

This is not to say that Ruskin was not concerned about structure, but rather, that he perceived construction and beauty, "...the two virtues of architecture", as equally important (Ruskin, 1853, 1985; 32). Ruskin did not address technological challenges simply as solving technical problems, but as "...the intelligence and resolution of man in overcoming physical difficulty ..." and that it is "...less the actual loveliness of the thing produced than the choice and invention concerned in the production which are to delight us" (Ruskin, 1853, 1985; 32). Production was for Ruskin a moral issue. An elementary building element such as a brick could stand for truth in design: "...since that is known to be originally moulded, there is no reason why it should not be moulded into diverse forms. It will never be supposed to be cut, and therefore, will cause no deception" (Ruskin, 1849; 57).

Since he totally rejected the concept of style as a design framework, Ruskin was obliged to suggest an alternative. Thus some primary element, a generator of various types of architecture, had to be suggested. The individual architectural element, instead of a conventional set of rules, was conceived as having such capacity, being able to adapt and transform. Ruskin had chosen to discuss the issue by describing the development of the wall cornice, as it has "...one of two offices" to be the "roof" of the wall "...and defend it from the weather;" or, "...if there is weight to be carried above the wall, the cornice is expanded to carry the said weight" (Ruskin 1853, 1985; 54). The different undercuts and curves of the former case (where there is no weight to support) which are determined by climatic constraints, "...to keep the rain from running back upon the wall", is also "...the fittest place to receive the decoration" being "...inclined towards the spectator". In other words, through the adaptation of the original form another function became possible: decoration. Further transformations took place in northern climates where the cornice "...loses its character as the crown or honor of the wall, and takes the office of its protector and is called a drip stone". Thus it is the natural characteristic of Gothic architecture, whereas "...the true cornice is the attribute of Southern buildings, and therefore of Greek and Italian architecture" (Ruskin, 1853, 1985; 57).



This of course was highly revolutionary thinking, as it entirely changed the focus of the design process: instead of being confined to stylistic manipulations, architects were provided with freedom to assemble basic elements the way they thought appropriate, according to what they considered necessary. Furthermore, it allowed the interpretation of the architect to commence at a very basic level - in the manipulation of the element itself.

However, Ruskin had probably foreseen the potential danger of such freedom. Taking into consideration all the different factors which determine the curves of the cornice, including "aesthetic laws", he states that "it is in these infinite fields that the invention of the architect is permitted to expatiate, but not in the alteration of primitive forms". (Ruskin, 1853, 1985; 57) It seems, then, that this 'conservative revolution' could not tolerate total inventiveness, which is why perhaps the Modern avant-garde movement could never have taken place in England.

#### 3.3.4. Materials, Design and Man-made Production - Morris

The next stage in the development of the Arts & Crafts Movement was closely associated with William Morris (1834- 1896). As mentioned above, Morris was the first who attempted to link up aesthetic theory with social activity. His hectic biography, as well as his intellectual and professional development are difficult to follow. Although all of those had great influence on both his contemporaries and on later generations of architects, only a few issues, directly concerned with architecture and design will be discussed below.

Morris was first exposed to Pugin's and Ruskin's influence as an Oxford undergraduate as early as 1853. He had always regarded architecture as the master art, however after a short while in an architect's office he gave it up for the 'lesser' arts. He found that architecture was a second hand skill, whereas to achieve control of the whole process of design and production, first hand experience was necessary. He wanted to realise that control, not merely for maintaining continuity between the drawing-board and reality, but to create a workshop where the work itself could be enjoyed. Like Ruskin he believed that beauty lies in the expression of man's joy in everyday work. The "Firm", which he founded with a group of artists and architects, an association of Pre-Raphaelites, aimed at satisfying that need by producing what most interested them - a total work of art.

Not all products sold through the "Firm" were hand made in its own workshops, but produced by external manufacturers. Though Morris is known as a "violent machine-hater" (Pevsner, 1943, 1990; 390), his attitude towards the division of labour and to the uses of machinery is often misrepresented. It was not machinery or the division of labour as such he objected to, but the use to which capitalism put them: "We should be masters of our machines and not their slaves as we are now" (Morris, in G. Shankland, 1962, 1986; no page num.).

In any case, the use of hand workmanship and simple machines provided Morris with the



freedom to design as he pleased, with an intimate knowledge of materials, from which he became eager to try many crafts in succession, usually two dimensional. Pevsner argues that it was the only way he could successfully implement his social ideas in the practice of art (Pevsner, 1943,1990; 390). As a most creative pattern-designer he never overstepped the discipline of pattern into Victorian literary symbolism or into three dimensions beyond the limits of the material. Neither was he interested in abstract pattern per se. Though he admired Persian art, he regarded its preoccupation with abstractions as a shortcoming: "I as a Western man and a picture-lover, must insist on plenty of meaning in your patterns" (Morris in Shankland, 1962,1986). However, in spite of that, his work was amongst the most exacting abstract applied art.

His well-known architectural work was furnishing his own home - the Red House designed for him by Philip Webb (1859). Frampton suggests that the entire evolvement of English free architectural movement was associated with the creation of that house, and was the main catalyst for Morris to organise the "Firm" (Frampton, 1987; 44). It took its first public form in 1867 with the design of the Green Dining Room, which Webb designed for the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum). The room was entirely furnished and decorated by Morris and the artist-craftsmen of the "Firm".

In 1875 the "Firm" was dissolved and reorganised as Morris & Co. under his sole control. He increased the number of crafts according the new capacity of his company, which included dyeing and carpet weaving, and in 1877 he established a London showroom which was commercially successful. From then on Morris became gradually concerned in public matters, and less 'poetic' and crafts-oriented. In 1877 he founded the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. By 1883 he became involved with social issues through reading Marx and Engels, and founded the Socialist League, shifting all his energies from design to politics.

### 3.3.5. Architecture as the Art of Building - Viollet-le-Duc

Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) is considered by most historians as "...one of the most influential of all figures in the history of architecture" (Watkin, 1980,1983; 27). His teachings covered almost every aspect of architecture, and were made public property through various publications. In his very first publication, *Dictionary of French Architecture* (10 vols., Paris, 1854-1868), a distinctive theoretical direction was manifested, enhanced by its form of presentation. Unlike Ruskin's books, it was intended as a materialist and 'scientific' interpretation of Gothic architecture, in which every feature of a Gothic building is seen as a functional device. Function for Viollet-le-Duc could embody a wide range of political and social aspirations. That was to remain his central concern throughout his writings, of which the most famous is *Lectures on Architecture* (2 Vols., 1863-1872; in English 1877-1881).



This all-encompassing history and theory of architecture, beginning with the ancient Egyptians, advocates the supremacy of structure and engineering which in the Gothic had reached perfection. A comparison between the Gothic skeleton and the 19th century iron skeleton building was implied, where Viollet-le-Duc appears as a passionate defender of his own age, of engineering, and of new materials and techniques, especially iron structures.

Unlike Ruskin, Viollet-le-Duc provided more than a moral argument, by introducing not only models, but also a method which would "...theoretically free architecture from the eclectic irrelevancies of historicism" (Frampton, 1987;64). Thus his teachings are generally regarded as an important inspiration of the avant-garde of the closing years of the 19th century in countries influenced by French culture, and often as the antecedent of Modern thinking.

Nonetheless, with careful reading of his writings, one can also recognise close affinities with architectural thinkers of earlier generations, regarding architecture as a concrete work-oriented art of building, intimately engaged with materials, details and ornaments. The potential of this approach to be naturally interpreted in directions other than the Modern trend is evident. The following paragraphs will show the centrality of that attitude.

For Viollet-le-Duc, architecture was art, highly ranked, second after music in the following order: Music, Architecture, Sculpture and Painting. The reason suggested for this ranking is "...that man naturally uttered sounds before he built houses; built houses before he sculptured them, and sculptured them before he painted them" (Viollet-le-Duc, Vol. 1, 1877-1881; 11). Like Vitruvius and Alberti, he regards the act of building as a concrete and practical business, yet determined by some higher human considerations, which range between the moral, social, cultural, political and aesthetic. And so, for Viollet-le-Duc, what distinguishes elementary building activity from architecture is a sequence of human decisions concerning use, structure, and socio-cultural needs:

Building a hut with branches of tree is not art; it is merely the supplying of a material want. But to hollow out a dwelling in a declivity of soft rock; - to divide the excavation into compartments ... according to the number and habits of the occupants; - to leave pillars for the support of the ceiling, and to enlarge them ... [to] suspend the mass above; ... to cover walls and pillars left in the solid with engraving and signs intended to commemorate an event, such as the birth of a child, the death of a father or a wife, or a victory gained over an enemy, - this is Art (Viollet-le-Duc, vol.1 1877,1881; 12-13).

For Vitruvius, it was the three basics: durability, convenience, and beauty which make a practical building operation into architecture: (Vitruvius, 1st c. 1914,1960; 17) Alberti also saw architecture as a "...whole art of building consists in the design and in the structure", yet entirely dependent on a fitting mechanism. That mechanism, connecting the whole and



its parts, is "...the right and exact adapting and joining together the lines and angles which compose and form the face of the building" (Alberti, book 1, 1960 ed.; 1). Clearly, Alberti's main concern here was that fitting deployment of mathematical proportion, which critics tend to see as the single dominant idea behind Renaissance theories. For the masters of the Modern Movement, it was that proportional system, especially when combined with Pythagorean reflections about harmony of the universe, which attracted the main interest in Renaissance architecture (Scruton, 1979; 59).

The conception of architecture being the art of building implies that enclosures are generated through manipulation of built forms, consisting of separate elements. (Unlike the Modern method of manipulating space.) Thus the capacity to generate form and structure, and to serve as a means of portraying aesthetic and symbolic properties is ascribed to the individual element.

In this regard the size of the element is critical: the smaller it is, the easier it is to handle, adapt and transform. The advantages of employing small modular building parts such as bricks were first stated by Vitruvius: "They have therefore great advantages; for they are not heavy to use in building and, once made, they are not spoiled by weather" (Vitruvius, 1st c. 1914, 1960; 44). As previously shown, the same element was addressed by Ruskin, but from an entirely different point of view, stressing the moral advantages of its use.

Viollet-le-Duc dealt with the issue first by condemning the use of materials of great size and strength as being "...difficult to extract, to transport, to shape, to put in place". By using "...materials of moderate dimension", he argued, it was possible to "...get a building erected strictly in accordance with the simplest laws of statics, ... imposed on me by the program and nature of materials" (Viollet-le-Duc, vol.1, 1877-1881; 452). Moreover, he describes the experience of a building as wholly dependent upon contemplating its details:

Where a lintel is placed at right angles to another, the monolith is hewn with a projecting corbel to receive the bearing of that lintel. These are small matters I allow; but to architecture these small matters are very nearly everything; and the satisfaction we experience in observing them is greater than the pleasure we feel in looking at a facade covered with ornamentation, whose use and meaning we do not comprehend (Viollet-le-Duc, vol. 2 1877-1881; 186).

Clearly what Viollet advocates here is an honest use of materials and decoration based upon three factors: technical, functional and sociological. By emphasising consecution as an integral part of decoration, ornament is seen not only as a means of illustrating structure but also as a symbolic indication of the function of the building (Loyer, 1984; 104). Different principles of architectural ornamentation were evaluated by Viollet according to their degree of transformation, to be recognised as a deliberate act of human intervention:



The first, or oldest ... consists in deriving the ornamentation from the objects and materials employed in building. The second ... is the result of a more perfect state of civilisation: it consists in giving to the several members of the building forms not dictated by un-reflecting adherence to tradition, but to the contrary, by a thoughtful consideration; -- features deduced from the nature of the materials employed, the requirements to be satisfied and the exigencies of the climate (Viollet-le-Duc, vol.1, 1877- 1881; 173-174).

The second principle implemented by the Greeks represented for Viollet, as for many of his contemporaries, a most sophisticated mode of rationalism in architecture as in other realms. Unlike the Egyptians, he considered them as the first to create forms which were not a result of imitating natural forms. This, of course, is fundamentally different from Ruskin's stance, which advocated the imitation of natural forms (see above, 3.3.3.). Their employment of colour was considered by Viollet as most effective, since "...it served to distinguish the architectural members, and to give the several planes of the structure their due relief" (Viollet-le-Duc, vol.1 1877-1881;176).

Finally, Viollet's most important contribution to the debate about ornamentation in architecture was that it "...must be subordinated to the conception [of the building], in order not to weaken, disturb, or obscure its expression". It follows that an over-ornamented building could blur the clarity of its architectural idea. He thus stated that "...architectural ornamentation is, however, attractive only as far as it expresses an idea with great clearness". Or, that "...the best architecture is that which the decoration cannot be separated from the structure" (Viollet-le-Duc, vol.2, 1877-1881;192-193).

### 3.3.6. Non-Modern Architecture

As shown above, the creative avant-garde theories of the second half of the 19th century could also lead to various other interpretations. That is to say, Modern thinking in architecture was not necessarily its direct and sole deduction. Yet architectural historians in general tend to over-emphasise that notion, overlooking other interpretations and dismissing their importance. Although discussing the Modern Movement is beyond the intentions of this study, it might be possible to explain that tendency simply by saying that the latter had become what H. R. Hitchcock calls a "success story" (Hitchcock, 1968,1958; 393). And as such it dominated the historical perspective of previous periods. Therefore, the term 'Non-Modern' is suggested here to describe those buildings of the first thirty years of the 20th century, which cannot be defined as Modern and yet embody certain qualities which should be examined independently.

Hitchcock had addressed that problem, though from a different point of view. He termed



the majority of buildings designed and built before 1930 "New Tradition". He argued that most architects of the Western world, at least until 1930, would have mocked the title 'Modern' or, if they accepted it, would have defined it very differently from the way it is perceived today. The term "Traditional" reflects, to his view, an architectural approach which derives from traditions of the further past, although in fact its only real tradition is that of the preceding hundred years (Hitchcock, 1958, 1968; 392). Since this architectural trend of the 20th century is, according to Hitchcock, primarily an instance of survival, it lacked the vitality of new developments, and as such, does not usually interest posterity. The rise of Modern architecture, on the other hand, followed the same pattern of success as that of 12th century Gothic in France, or 15th century Renaissance Italy.

In discussing that architecture Hitchcock admits the problematic nature of his suggestion, as he finds it difficult to find general attributes which are equally applicable for this architecture. All the same, he claims that time lags recognised in various parts of the Western world usually denote different phases of architectural development in the early years of the 20th century, which the more advanced countries had left behind before 1900. Academically designed buildings of the 1920s can be found all over Europe which, according to Hitchcock, still intended to realise aspirations which were considered novel some forty years before. Hitchcock goes on to say that there have been few 20th century architects whose personal stylisation of borrowed forms and intense individualism offer real points of contact with such modern architects as Wright and Klerk. For Hitchcock, though blurred and overlapping, those trends indicate the existence of a transitional phase where some of the principal later trends of architecture were carried over from the 19th century into the early decades of the 20th century (Hitchcock, 1958, 1968; 393-394).

Kenneth Frampton objects to Hitchcock's attempt to distinguish a certain conservative trend from the works of modern pioneers. He disagrees both with the term "New Tradition", and with the attributes and chronology attached to this trend as being too vague to gain general acceptance. Nevertheless he accepts the need, as put by Hitchcock, to give some sort of account of buildings such as the Stockholm Town Hall, by Ranger Ostberg (1909-1923), or Gilbert's New York Woolworth Building (1913) (Frampton, 1987; 210, Hitchcock, 1958, 1968, 393).

These buildings stand for an entire body of architecture built until the 1930s, throughout the Western world and elsewhere. They can neither be evaluated merely according to abstract criteria as being "...outside the main line of the Modern Movement", regarded as "modernised historical style" (Frampton, 1987; 210), nor can they be considered an "instance of survival" (Hitchcock, 1958, 1968; 392). Instead, as Frampton himself admits, they might "...be taken as evidence of the failure of abstract form to communicate" (Frampton, 1987; 210).

As such they should be assessed in their own right, underlining their direct link with the teachings of Ruskin, Morris and Viollet-le-Duc, which they had attempted to implement. By so doing, the work of architects like Edwin Lutyens could be better analysed and



understood, being part of that particular trend. This trend, though a somewhat loose framework, heterogeneous in quality and character of its buildings, as well as in training and attitudes of its architects, had been a deliberate and conscious set of choices.

In this connection, it is no mere coincidence which kept Lutyens a forgotten hero from the late 1940s until the late 1960s. It was Robert Venturi who realised that the complexities and contradictions of Lutyens' work made him a figure of great significance in the story of the architectural development of the 20th century. In 1978 Arthur Drexler of the Museum of Modern Art in New York put on a small Lutyens exhibition. It was probably the right climate for a new look at Lutyens' Non-Modern work, as part of the Post Modern re-evaluation of Modern architecture.

As far as this study is concerned, by identifying buildings as Non-Modern it is possible to explain certain architectural attitudes of Imperial architects who had deliberately chosen not to use Modernistic conceptions. Thus their work could be regarded as a genuine attempt to use Non-Modern architectural modes which they considered most appropriate for their task.



### **3.4. Confronting the reality of the Empire**

#### **3.4.1. Applying stylistic frameworks**

Throughout the Empire's first phase, and to a great extent until the late 1930s, the Imperial ideal was closely associated with the precedent of the Roman Empire, as reflected in the controversy over the style of the Foreign Office building. (see above, 3.2.2.). Impressive grandeur was obligatory, both for the British public back home and as a representational means of controlling the subordinate population. As in the case of the Foreign Office, the concept of a palace, and consequently the Classical style at large, was considered the most appropriate for governmental buildings.

In this connection the British experience in India, though unique in many respects, had provided the models to be followed in other places of the Empire. Such was the Government House in Calcutta. Modelled after the 18th century Baroque mansion of Kedleston in Derbyshire (1760), it introduced the pattern of a secluded country house for a palace, to be found in many government houses throughout the Empire. The metaphor of a palace seemed crucial for conveying the Imperial message to the public back home, as expressed by Lord Valentia in the opening ceremony of the Calcutta Government house: "India", he said, "ought to be ruled from a palace, not from a counting-house; with the ideas of a Prince, not with those of a retail dealer in muslins and indigo" (Curzon, 1925; 71, in Metcalf 1989; 13).

The extensive use of the Classical style in India and elsewhere around the Empire was always charged with ambivalence: on the one hand, it represented the ideal of a proud, improved society controlling alien peoples, yet, on the other, it was meant as an 'educational' exercise by which the subordinate people were intended to be changed on Western lines, so that the Empire would no longer be necessary. Nonetheless, that "double-edged meaning" (Metcalf, 1989; 16) is embodied in any exercise of gaining hegemony. As previously defined, it is "...a situation in which a provisional alliance of certain groups can exert total social authority over other subordinate groups, not simply by the direct imposition of ruling ideas, but by the winning and shaping of consent so that the power of the dominant classes appears both legitimate and natural" (Hall, 1977, in Hebdige, 1979; 16).

These Classical stylistic connotations retained their relevance well into the early 20th century. Non-Modern British architects, who still identified with the Imperial ideals, considered classical architecture to be best suited for the declining popularity of the Empire at that period. It could stand opposite modernist movements of contemporary Europe and integrate regional building traditions, as will be shown later. But above all, this style made it possible to communicate effectively with the domestic British public, which at that time had shown increasing signs of reluctance towards the entire Imperial business. Herbert Baker, a



devoted imperialist architect, as well as a typical Non-Modern one, had been the first to use Classical forms for representing the Empire of the 20th century. His Union Buildings in Pretoria (1909) had been the first great monument of this Imperial architecture, which he also implemented in New Delhi and in 1920 in Nairobi, Kenya where he designed the Government House.

The height of this trend can be definitely marked with the collaboration of Lutyens and Baker at New Delhi (1912-1931) which will be discussed separately below. Nonetheless, buildings had continued to be built afterwards, in India and elsewhere in the Empire. Apart from the virtues discussed above, the Classical style was considered most suitable for regions of hot and humid climates.

### 3.4.2. Climatic Considerations

A somewhat exaggerated attention to climatic conditions was common to all architects practising in the Empire during its different phases. All those regions in Asia and Africa of strange, harsh climates and alien peoples were known as the "tropics". As the British climate was the norm, there had been a built-up fear of heat, humidity, sunlight and insect life. But these regions were more than just a climatic zone, they were also a cultural zone, charged with both attraction and anxiety. This hostile environment, however, was considered capable of being controlled and mastered to make it suitable for European life. It was only by the early 20th century that Non-Modern architects began to take seriously local traditional built forms, well adapted to hot climates, and integrate them into their own designs. Before that, the prevailing attitude was to look for a complete imported system as an answer, which was naturally been found in the stylistic frameworks.

And so in the Gothic camp the Italian version was accepted. It was argued that the most suited to be employed in India were those European styles which "...had grown upon the sunshiny regions," including among them "...the Renaissance and the Gothic of southern Italy or Spain, or the early Gothic of southern France" (Smith, 208, in Metcalf, 1989; 98). Another view was suggested by the architectural historian James Fergusson. Being strongly in favour of the Gothic style, he found similarities between the Gothic and Saracenic styles sharing some similar architectural forms: "...pointed arches, clustered piers, vaulted roofs, and many others". As such, he saw no reason why the lesson learnt by the Saracenic style which has been "...so completely adapted to the climate" would not be followed by Gothic architects, "...but by thinking, not by copying, that this can be effected" (Fergusson, 1891-1893; 296).

Yet Fergusson also admitted that climatic advantages were provided by the classical concept of the palace. Discussing the Calcutta Government House, he considered it as "...an arrangement combining convenience with perfect ventilation, and capable of being treated with very considerable architectural effect" (Fergusson. 1891-1993; 292). Some years later,



a rather similar approach was expressed by Herbert Baker in advocating the use of Classical forms in his Pretoria Union Buildings. Here Classical architecture, being developed in the warm and sunny Mediterranean, was in Baker's view already well suited to tropical buildings. His design of Villa Arcadia, Parktown, Johannesburg, 1910, had been his first experiment in the "Mediterranean manner" where he comprehensively used the "Italianate style" (Keath, 1991; 159-163).

### 3.4.3. Arts & Crafts and the Dilemma of the Empire

As has been shown in Chapter One, John Ruskin, the prominent theorist of the English Crafts Movement, had linked his political ideas about British world domination to his aesthetic and moral philosophy. England was to rule the world because it was for the best; power was to be used; its colonies were to increase, prosper and remain tied to it. "She [England] must guide the human arts, ... transformed from savageness to manhood, and redeemed from despairing into peace" (Ruskin, 1870, in Said, 1993; 125). This however, had never been a simple argument, as it embodied the basic dilemmas intrinsic to the entire experience of gaining hegemony over traditional alien cultures.

One dilemma was the ambivalent attitude of both attraction and fear towards those "savage" cultures. This meant that on the one hand, there was a lesson to be learnt from works of art such as the Indian: "...love for subtle design" which "...seems universal in the race, and is developed in every implement that they shape, and every building that they raise" (Ruskin, 1859; 13-14, in Metcalf 1989; 141). But at the same time it was that "barbarism" of the Indian mutiny which had shocked the entire British society. Ruskin, perhaps being aware of that conflict, attempted to explain India's "cruelty" by saying that it had abandoned "...knowledge of Nature" which "...under some distorted and monstrous forms... it will not draw a man, but an eight-armed monster; it will not draw a flower, but only a spiral or a zig-zag" (Ruskin, 1859; 19,25, in Metcalf, 1989; 142).

And so, as shown by Metcalf, India's art was attractive and repellent at the same time, and fitted at once the requirements of its Imperial rulers and the needs of the Arts & Crafts Movement. That need was basically seeking confirmation of their own critique of British industrial design. In this regard, both Ruskin the conservative and Morris the socialist had advocated a return to the creative individual, a self-sufficient workman who was proud in his craft. Through the Great Exhibition of 1851 Ruskin and Morris became aware of the fact that Eastern crafts oriented cultures had brought craft production to a high level of skill. And that, like in the Middle Ages, it was "...founded on the truest and most natural principles" (Morris, 1902; 19,21, in Metcalf 1989; 151). In other words, Eastern traditional cultures presented a model for putting to work the values which were propagated by the British crafts enthusiasts.

The other dilemma was the inevitable decline under British rule of traditional non-urban



societies which underwent the destructive influence of modernity. And yet, Arts & Crafts leaders could not resist the temptation of 'having' all that artistic wealth introduced by controlling those alien societies. Even Morris, who was against the extension of the Empire in war, found the concept of an empire which sustains traditional values most attractive. That concept was elaborated to become an ideology of preserving medieval societies. Being aware of the conflict embodied in such ideology, the crafts leaders admitted that such an enterprise required "a healthy state", namely a radical change in the English attitude towards work, greed and art. Thus they regarded their main task as educating their own public so that there would be people prepared for the job. And so they inspired many others - art teachers, museum directors, and civil servants, to take up the challenge. Amongst those were two prominent figures, whose activities had determined the character of contemporary Jerusalem - Roland Storrs, the city's first Military Governor, and his Civil Advisor C. R. Ashbee. Their radical operations in restoring what they perceived as the city's heritage will be discussed in detail in Part Three of this study. It will be shown how that dilemma, fundamental to any exercise of gaining hegemony, had never been resolved in Jerusalem, as preserving certain characteristics of the city's heritage was at the price of demolishing others.

#### **3.4.4. The case of New Delhi (1912-1931)**

Special attention is paid herein to the planning and design of the new capital of British India, for the following reasons: first, it was a clear attempt to gain hegemony through architecture, by which built forms were ascribed with the capacity to convey messages; second, it shows Non-Modern architecture at its best; third, since it was widely publicised, it had greatly influenced practising architects around the Empire.

It was definitely a clear case of architecture being "exploited in the cause of the state" (Frampton, 1987; 212). Like with the Foreign Office case forty years earlier, the concern about the appropriate appearance of government buildings in New Delhi was not confined to architects alone. Highly ranked Imperial officials were closely involved with purely architectural matters. Further, more than in any other case, architecture was ascribed with the power to solve complex political and cultural problems in addition to its other representational faculties. As Lawrence Vale suggests, the establishment of New Delhi, contrasts to that of Washington or Canberra, as it was an "...active and conscious decision to mediate among the claims of rival ethnic groups" (Vale, 1992; 88).

The decision to transfer the seat of British government in India from Calcutta to Delhi was taken principally in order to enable the government to escape the hostile political atmosphere of Calcutta, where public violence often took place. It was an attempt to renew the alliance of the Raj with the Hindu princes and the Muslims of northern India. In choosing Delhi as the administrative capital of British India, the British were moving away



from a port city with easy access for international trade to a place with deep historical connotations for the local population. Delhi, however, had some practical advantages as it was centrally located on the rail network and was not too far from several other major port cities of British India.

It was a complex political move, directly tied to the tensions in Bengal. Bengal had been divided in 1905, with Dhaka as the capital for its predominantly Muslim eastern part. The move to Delhi coincided with the reunification of Bengal that had again placed a large Bengali Muslim population under the provincial rule of Calcutta. In leaving Calcutta the British administrators were leaving an area of Hindu/Muslim unrest. Delhi was chosen for its sacred connotations for the Hindus and, as the Mogul's ancient capital, for the Muslims (Vale, 1992; 88). Yet as Robert Irving points out, Delhi's role as Islamic capital from the 13th century to the 19th century had been more significant than its remote Hindu heritage (Irving, 1981; 27).

As will be shown later, the decision of the British mandatory government in Palestine to make Jerusalem the capital city of the British Administration in the country was neither based on economical-strategic considerations, nor on any special geographical advantages, but rather on the City's deep and universal historical associations. That is to say, during the Empire's second phase the general attitude was to look for justifications other than the conventional political interests for restoring the Imperial framework. In other words, it was gaining hegemony which the British were aiming at, meaning winning the consent of all sides involved rather than merely enforcing a straightforward control.

The ambivalence intrinsic to any attempt of gaining hegemony had also dominated the entire process of establishing New Delhi. On the one hand, "...the sheer capacity to move the seat of British India by royal decree would be taken" as Vale suggests, "as evidence of the Empire's continued vitality". Since this wish was personally identified with King George V., any problems of cost were avoided (Vale, 1992; 90). Yet on the other hand, the move signified a frame of mind by which an Empire based on power was replaced by one which was derived from "the consent and support of the people". The ideal was to guide India's progress "...not by forcing Western forms on it, but by aiding its natural development". The question was, then, how to link "...our taste with what suits India best" (Oertel, 1913; 288-289,299, in Metcalf, 1989; 217).

The Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, was determined to make clear through the architecture of the new capital that Britain's Raj must be conceived as a joint Indian and British enterprise. Therefore he insisted that only a mixture of East and West, of Pathan and Paladian could be "...symbolical of the India of the twentieth century" (Harding, 1913; vol.111, p.350,vol.112, p.95. in Metcalf, 1989; 221). Still, there had been no consent at that stage about the exact architectural trend to be implemented in the design of the new capital. Lord Curzon, for example, had argued that "...a non-Indian, a foreign, and a Western system" of government could not be satisfied by Indian or Asiatic architectural forms" (Curzon Papers, 1900-1906 in Metcalf, 1989; 219). The Viceroy, on the other hand, was against building a purely



Western town. He insisted that the architecture of the new capital "...must be imbued with the spirit of the East such as will appeal to the Orientals as well as to Europeans". He described his preferred style as "Plain Classic" with a "touch of Orientalism" (Harding Papers 1912 vol. 110 p.105, in Metcalf, 1989; 219).

Lutyens' name as the architect of New Delhi was submitted by the RIBA for his well known and admired formal classicist conceptions. In the beginning his views about Indian traditional architecture were fundamentally opposed to the Viceroy's, as well as to his future collaborator, Herbert Baker. In his first acquaintance with India's architecture he saw no architectural value in it. Though sometimes picturesque and decorative, he regarded all Indian buildings as lacking any "intellect", pervaded by a "childish ignorance" of the basic principles of architecture (Hussey, 1950; 277-278). He expressed an even greater dislike towards the British Indo-Saracenic style. He described the buildings of Swinton Jacob, the most prominent architect of that style, as "...all made up of tit bits culled from various buildings of various dates put together with no sense of relation or of scale" (Lutyens, 1912, in Metcalf, 1989; 229). Since the Viceroy was determined that Indian elements should be incorporated into the New Delhi buildings, he sent Lutyens off to see ancient Indian sites and brought Sir Swinton Jacob to advise Lutyens on the Indian styles. Yet it was only after Lutyens' second tour that the Viceroy had "...found him much more adaptable ...quite ready to adopt Indian architectural styles" (Harding Papers, 1913, vol.111. p.155, in Metcalf, 1989; 236).

Coming closer to Herbert Baker, whose Pretoria Union Buildings reflected a similar perception to his own, the Viceroy asked Baker to take part in a collaborative project with Lutyens (his best friend and colleague). According to the terms of their agreement Lutyens was responsible for the general layout of the city and the design of the principal building - the Viceroy's House, while the two other secretariat blocks were to be designed by Baker.

Lutyens had never been an Imperialist architect. Integrating Indian forms in his master piece in New Delhi was neither undertaken to satisfy the Viceroy's demands, nor had it been a result of his acknowledgment of certain Indian buildings which he learnt to admire (Stamp, 1981; 33). It was gradually taking shape through moving from his earlier Romantic vernacular architecture towards the discipline of the Beaux Arts Classical framework. By this he reflected the common tendency of Western architects, evident from the 1890s onward, which are termed here as Non-Modern. It involved the re-examination, and to some extent the revival, of each country's native Classicism, while greatly influenced by the theories of the Arts & Crafts and Art Nouveau movements, as was previously shown.

Gavin Stamp suggests that Lutyens, without any formal training, had managed to grasp the geometrical and formal logic of the Classical tradition and - more than any other architect of the period - develop it into something new. His famous remark: "You cannot play originality with the orders" (Lutyens, 1911, in Stamp, 1981; 34), reflects his conception of Classical grammar, regarded as universal, monumental and disciplined. This was fundamentally different from Baker's view, for whom Classical tradition could be



"Orientalised" in order to serve the Imperial ideology and interests. Lutyens' vision of ordered humanist architecture implied that Classical architecture, as it had evolved over time, had the capacity to transform according to the character of the societies in which it had taken root. Like Christopher Wren who had "...made it sane for England", his own task was to "...make it sane for India, and Indian in its character" (Lutyens, 1912, in Metcalf, 1989; 231). Whereas Baker conceived his architecture in political terms: "It must not be Indian, nor English, nor Roman, but it must be imperial" (Baker 1912, in Stamp, 1981; 34), Lutyens was aiming at expressing "...modern India in stone," and developing "...some new sense of architectural construction adapted to her crafts", and so to initiate "...what may become a new and inspiring period in the history of her art" (Lutyens 1913, in Stamp, 1981; 37).

The original plan of the new capital by Lutyens consisted of one principal axis running from the dome of the Viceroy's House on the Rasina Hill towards the walled Mogul city of Delhi. At the angle of 60 degrees to this axis the principal ceremonial axis of New Delhi was stretched. On either of its sides, below the Viceroy's House, the Secretariat buildings were to be symmetrically disposed. The major change of plan was Baker's idea of raising up all central buildings atop the Rasina Hill, in order to symbolise the equality of governmental elements and thus creating a more impressive 'acropolis'. Although Lutyens was persuaded, and the Secretariats were elevated and the Viceroy House was pushed further back, he never fully appreciated the spatial implications of such an agreement that ended his relationship with Baker in a bitter controversy.

The principal traditional element which Lutyens had incorporated in the Viceroy House was the Mogul Chujja, a thin projecting cornice of stone. It surrounds the entire mass and was treated as a development of the dominant order, and casts a band of deep shadow. Above this cornice, the long straight lines of the parapet are broken by roof-top fountains and by Chattris - little Mogul pavilions which also appear in various positions in the building and in the garden. Thick railings and a great smooth black stupa which dominate the appearance of the building originated in Buddhist architecture. Other Indian elements are to be found elsewhere in the building: massive bracketed columns of the basement, recalling the Ajunta; and great red stone elephants carved out of the retaining walls.

Baker, on the other hand, employed Indian features in a much more literal manner. In his buildings there is no real synthesis and traditional elements are added on. These shortcomings of Baker's architecture, though it is remarkable in its own right, are emphasised when compared with Lutyens' Viceroy House. Such comparison is possible due to a common basic repertoire of built forms; both buildings are positioned on a massive basement of retaining walls of red sandstone, penetrated by rather small sunken openings; the principal floor of each building is characterised by grand calumniated porticos above which there is the Mogul thin projecting stone cornice, surrounding the entire mass. Finally there is the grand dome atop of both buildings.

It is beyond the capacity and intention of this thesis to produce a scholarly, reasoned



assessment of Lutyens' and Baker's architecture at New Delhi. However, regarding the buildings in terms of their capacity to produce responsive architecture which both appeals to the local population and embodies a universal value might indicate some interesting observations. As Lawrence Vale has shown, New Delhi has retained her value and appeal to Independent India in various conflicting periods. Mahatma Gandhi's successors preferred to appropriate the buildings of the Raj for themselves, rather than converting them into a hospital as Gandhi had wished. The Viceroy House became the residence of India's President, the Council House accommodated the Indian Parliament, and the Secretariats remained the accommodation of bureaucracy (Vale, 1992; 96).

Since this Non-Modern architecture of New Delhi also provides an opportunity to evaluate two versions of analogous building tasks, it may be possible to arrive at some significant conclusions. One might be that although both Lutyens' and Baker's buildings are, without any doubt, basically Western buildings, and although their choice and use of Indian features was carried out from a basically Western, external point of view - seeking the 'typical', 'representational' or 'authentic', the result was at least accepted, even if not loved or admired, both by Western and non-Western audiences. It follows, then, that the visual properties of those Indian features, even when integrated in Western buildings, was retained. Although they could not solve political and ethnic problems, they determined the character of the buildings of which they form a part, and portrayed a sense of familiarity. Moreover that capacity was retained regardless of the different contexts from which those elements were taken, the modifications, and even schematisation which they had undergone. Yet, following Ruskin, one condition was strictly maintained: "...that the invention of the architect is permitted to expatiate, but not in the alteration of primitive forms" (Ruskin, 1853, 1960; 57). In other words, the more radical synthesis of Lutyens had never been at the price of completely losing contact with the original feature, or with its traditional role or position.

Another conclusion drawn from the New Delhi experience concerns the issue of hegemony. As shown above, the objectives which were at the base of that enterprise perfectly fit the definition of what hegemony is. The architectural means are similarly exploited. Yet a valid question might be whether this was achieved at all. A possible answer would be that it was, though in a rather peculiar and indirect way. After the British associations had been dissolved, the juxtaposition of the buildings retains the British Imperialist's view of the relationship between executive and parliamentary power. Although India enjoys a full-scale democracy, the particular layout of the capital with its elevated central area emphasises the long legacy of Delhi as an administrative centre of empires. This is reinforced by the fact that Delhi, unlike Simla or Calcutta, had a glorious history before the arrival of the British. In other words, what has been defined above as an "ideological space", which appears to be permanent and "natural" (Hebdige, 1979; 16), had been Lord Hardinge's vision of British India. And yet what he could never conceive was that it would take place without the British.



### **3.5. Summary**

This chapter concludes Part One of this study by linking the prevailing architectural attitudes with the ideology and reality of the Empire in both its phases - before and after World War I. For architects, like for other sectors of the British society, it was the general notion of the Empire which dominated the collective cultural awareness through most elaborate representational systems. That period, which included the final phase of the so called "Battle of Styles", was a time when architects were mainly concerned about choosing the appropriate style for their buildings from a given repertoire of historical styles. This had often led to controversies, especially when public buildings were constructed. Such was the dispute over the suitable style for the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office buildings, which became a focus of interest for the entire British public rather than the concern of architects alone. It was a clear case of architecture as a representational framework that linked the ancient precedent of Rome with the British Empire, which was welcomed by the British public.

The collapse of the stylistic frameworks, both in Britain and in the Continent, gave rise to crafts oriented movements, which had directly related for the first time to the problems of their age, mainly technology and industrialisation. The teachings of four most influential architectural theorists were discussed above, focusing on the following aspects of their theories:

1. Architecture as the art of building.
2. The capacity of the individual architectural element to determine the character of an entire building and to represent culture.
3. The central role of ornamentation in buildings, ascribed with the power to represent culture and convey messages.
4. Qualified workmanship as the self-realisation of the individual and as a means for producing good buildings.

These aspects have often been overlooked by contemporary architectural historians, as they do not sit comfortably with the concept which regards those theories as the antecedents of the Modern thinking in architecture.

British imperial architecture was comprised of both the stylistic phase and that which had emerged after its collapse, corresponding with the two phases of the Empire. British imperial buildings, constructed during the first three decades of the 20th century, are regarded here as part of an entire body of architecture built throughout the Western world at that period of time. The term Non-Modern was suggested here for describing this architecture. It denotes the work of architects who consciously chose not to follow the Modern thinking in architecture, but were inspired instead by the theories and ideologies of the Arts & Crafts and Art Nouveau movements.

British architects for whom Imperial commissions formed their entire or partial practice, were predominantly Non-Modern architects. For them, confronting the reality of the



Empire implied additional and inter-related considerations:

1. Finding the appropriate architectural expression for the Imperial image, as a means of gaining and sustaining British hegemony.
2. Adapting their design to the harsh climatic and environmental conditions of remote and alien places, also regarded as a different cultural zone.
3. Bearing in mind the Arts & Crafts basic dilemma of the desire to preserve the untamed native person and his art, and the obligation to modernise him.

The case of New Delhi as the capital of the British Raj was specifically considered, being most relevant herein for the following reasons:

1. A clear case of an attempt to gain hegemony and control through architecture.
2. Non-Modern architecture at its best.
3. A widely publicised and debated project, exerting strong influence on architects in their Imperial commissions.

The encounter of Europeans with the remote lands of their Empires had also included those regions which were not yet under the direct control of European nations. The Middle East, or the Levant, had been such a place. Its attraction, mainly to artists, architects and archaeologists will be broadly discussed in the next part of this dissertation. It should be regarded as part of the global cultural exposure of Europe to the East, within the international imperial frameworks. As a basically one-way process of Europeans gaining control and hegemony over Eastern nations, it comprised all the cultural ingredients as described above, yet in the Levant it had different facets, as will be shown below.



## *Part Two*

# **THE ATTRACTIONS OF THE LEVANT**

## *Chapter Four*

### **THE LEVANT AS A CAREER**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

British rule was enforced over the greater part of the Levant only after the First World War, as a result of the peace agreements. Politically, Britain's involvement in the Middle East had been basically secondary to her other interests. It had been part of her global policy that arose directly from her position as ruler of India, by which the region was considered an important communication and trade link. Until mid-19th century these interests could be guarded within the loose framework of the Ottoman Empire, a policy which was largely the creation of one man: Stratford Canning - the British consul in Istanbul.

Until the war, the government in London maintained Canning's view that the danger of a hostile power controlling the eastern Mediterranean could be best prevented by persuading the Sultan to reform his administration, in order to avoid the intervention of other European powers in the crumbling Turkish Empire. In the second half of the 19th century, however, the obvious weakness of the Ottoman empire and the economic expansion of Europe led to the abandoning of Canning's conception. It was replaced by more assertive attitudes towards the region, which were intended to prevent the formation of a political void in the event of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire (Searight, 1979; 103,104).

Canning's influence, though exceptionally powerful, was not unusual. British interests throughout the Ottoman Empire were guarded by consular officials who were responsible for commercial and political affairs. In order to moderate this extremely powerful post, the system was revised by the division of power between the embassy - covering politics, headed by a Consul-General, and a consulate - covering trade, headed by a consul. In Egypt there was an even greater separation with the Consul-General positioned in Cairo and the Consul in Alexandria. In places such as Jerusalem, where there was virtually no British trade of concern, there was only the Consul in office. The main consulates were in Smyrna, Aleppo, Beirut and Damascus (Searight, 1979; 110-112).

The importance of this system herein is twofold. First, it was almost entirely dependent upon individuals who often had great influence on the government in London. This was especially true about Egypt, due to the strong personalities of most of its Consul Generals (at least Cromer and Kitchener). Second, the great freedom within which the consuls were operating had given them extra power to intervene in local affairs, through



private activities. Such were the cases of Canning in Istanbul and James Finn in Jerusalem (see below, 8.3.1.). Furthermore, under the rule of semi-independent Mohammed Ali in Egypt, and later in Palestine, and after the renewal of the Capitulation Agreement of 1839, the consulates (of the main European countries) became ex-territorial places, responsible for the security of their nationals. This had greatly boosted all forms of tourism in the region, whether pilgrims or secular tourists. The consuls played an important part in the tourists' life; they invited them to their houses, protected them on their journeys and acted as their bankers. Unofficially, some even supplemented their incomes by trading in antiquities.

Backed by their consuls, the hungry antiquarians, who gradually gave way to archaeologists, were involved in large scale deals, removing ancient objects from their sites and shipping them to Europe. This was based upon the theory that the natives were showing no interest in their preservation. Added to that was the involvement of trustees of national collections back in Europe: the British Museum, the Louvre, and the Berlin Museum (see above, 2.2.). Depredations on such scale had alarmed the Ottoman authorities, and Caunning had some difficulty in obtaining permission to remove the great marble frieze which had decorated the tomb of Halicanassus, once among the seven wonders of the world (Searight, 1979; 192-200). And so tourism in all its forms, Egyptology with its obsessive object-collecting, together with the awakening of religious and romantic feelings towards the Holyland, had all consolidated into a political imperial interest.

However, unlike in India or the various African and Asian countries, the British presence in the Middle East did not last as long, and involved only a small number of people. Except for a comprehensive judicial system and an extensive physical infrastructure, it left behind it, as Albert Hourani points out, "virtually no institutions, no armies with officers speaking in the accents of Sandhurst, no judges wearing wigs in court, no British Universities (except in the Sudan), and few British schools" (Hourani, 1989; XVI). And yet the illusion of intimacy and understanding which had characterised the British perception of their relations with the Arab world had motivated them while governing the region. Although that belief was confined to a handful of men and women, they had influence on the government's general attitude towards the region, and stood behind some important political moves.

This sense of affinity had involved, according to Kathryn Tidrick, two related phenomena: the fascination of the Arabian desert and its inhabitants, and the development of the notion that Englishmen had an "...intuitive understanding for Arabs which gave them a special right, even an obligation, to interfere in their affairs" (Tidrick, 1989; 1). Many aspects related to these phenomena, extensively examined by Tidrick, remain outside the framework of this study. Nonetheless, two of those are most relevant herein: one is the central role of individuals in consolidating the sympathy towards Arabs into a political conception. The other, closely related to the former, is the conception of knowledge, thorough and intimate, of the region and its inhabitants, as means of gaining hegemony and control. This enormous body of knowledge about the region was acquired, however, from a



typically Western point of view, where what was "commonly circulated" was "not 'truth' but representations" (Said, 1978; 21) (see above, Chapter 2.1.). Some of Said's observations of Western perceptions and interpretations of the Orient are presented here as a departure point for looking into the nature of the Levant as a magnet for Westerners.

The term 'Orient', which usually denotes the Middle East, has a long history of cultural connotations. Yet the name Levant was chosen to be used herein for various reasons: one is that it denotes those countries which were usually included in the Middle Eastern part of what was known as the 'Grand Tour'. Another reason is that it avoids any confusion with other countries in the Far East, India and North Africa, except for Egypt which was usually the place from where travelers embarked or terminated their Middle Eastern tours. However, terms such as 'Oriental', 'Orientalised' etc., are used here for describing the Western perceptions of the Levant, instead of Levantine etc. which sometimes have different connotations.

The special appeal of the region's natural and man-made landscape, as well as its inhabitants, to Western minds is deeply rooted in various levels of the psychology and history of European nations. Unlike other regions its special significance was far beyond just an exotic place, it was an idea and a tradition of thought. The Orient was "Orientalised", meaning that it was turned into a concept through which the entire region was perceived. It became a system of knowledge, a structure, through which information and knowledge could be filtered into Western consciousness, and enabled a differentiation between Europeans and non-Europeans. And yet, the Orient was "Orientalised" not only because it was discovered to be "Oriental" but also because it could be - i.e. submitted to being - made Oriental.

From the end of the 18th century there emerged a complex Orient suitable for study in the academy, for display in the museum, for theatrical illustration, in anthropological, biological, linguistic, and historical theses about mankind and the universe. A sense of familiarity is recognisable in all works which dealt with the Orient in various disciplines. In most cases previous knowledge was assumed, which was referred to and relied upon. Each work on the Orient affiliated itself with other works, with audiences, and with the Orient itself. Yet all descriptions, whether literary or visual, seem to have been taken from a distance, from some exterior point. The Orientalist had made the Orient speak, exposed its mysteries and simplified them for the Western audience. The principal product of this exteriority, as previously described, was representation (Said, 1978; 5,6,7-8,20,21). All representations were governed by some version of the truth, meaning that if the Orient could represent itself, it would be in that particular way. Perception was therefore wholly dependent on stereotypes, whether of people or places, as the representatives of the region. This schematic and generalised perception was built up over many generations, and tended to see every piece of land in the region, or its inhabitants, as a preserved image of the early days of Western civilisation. In other words, it was not entirely a new world that Europeans were describing, but rather they were reinterpreting the familiar - as outsiders.



This is an introductory chapter to Part Two of this study, where the phenomenon of the Orient/Levant being a life mission of individuals will be reviewed. As Samuel Smiles noted in 1862, describing the enduring contribution of engineers to the Imperial infrastructure, the British achievement was all the more remarkable in that it was made by "...private individuals without the aid of Government or the contribution of one farthing of public money" (Smiles, 1862; vol.3, 320-321, in Conner, 1983).

Since architects were amongst those individuals, it is believed here that through discussing the general phenomenon, some light will be cast on their motivation for travelling, exploring, analysing and designing buildings in the region. The brief review below will refer as necessary to the social, cultural and political circumstances with which those individuals had associated themselves, or which are found here to be linked with their deeds. The degree of their personal identification and involvement with the Levant, as an alternative to their European way of life, varied according to their personalities, which may have been somewhat eccentric in many cases. The scope of the phenomenon, in which almost every sector of European society was represented, is impressive. It is neither attempted here to cover the entire subject nor to explain its motives. Rather, the intention is to outline its extent, its principal characteristics and context, as a foreword to analysing the more elaborated and specified phases of the Oriental knowledge, which will be discussed in the next chapters. Two categories - Travellers and Arabists, were chosen here in order to classify the diversity of personalities and to show the gradual process by which the Levant became a career, almost a profession.

## **4.2. Travellers**

It was a time for travel. The European wars were over and rich Englishmen and other Europeans were free to go on what was known as the Grand Tour, which was part of a gentleman's education. In theory, and sometimes in practice, Eastern excursions were part of the Victorian desire for improvement. Some British travellers believed that the very fact of their presence in the area might lift it out of the degenerated state into which they believed it had fallen. Others had gone to the East searching for peace of mind, like the famous Lady Stanhope, or for other forms of self realisation (J. Morris, 1982; V, and Searight, 1979; 215).

The principal source of information about the Levant was travellers' recordings. To some extent, literature was more influential in determining the European's conception of the East than drawing, painting, or early photography (Perez, 1988; 37 see below Chap. 5). The Victorians loved reading about unfamiliar parts of the world, and literature about the Middle East was particularly rich. Every traveller attempted to give as much new, first hand information as possible. At an early stage of the second half of the 18th century there was no clear differentiation between scientific and narrative accounts. Later on, with the clearer



subdivision of information and knowledge, an immense quantity of written material was published. Close to a million European pilgrims and tourists visited Jerusalem during the 19th century. The result was an enormous quantity of books and travelogues about the city and the Holy Land at large. In England alone, the number of Holy Land travel books published between 1840 and 1880 is estimated at 16,000 (Elon, 1989; 141). Scientific accounts, mostly archaeological discoveries and historical geography of the region, were very accurate and highly informative. Books, particularly rich in illustrations accompanying the text, were the most common means of description and were central in planting Oriental stereotypes in European minds.

The notion of the Beduin as an independent, proud, faithful and hospitable race was an important part of almost all narratives of the Levant from the beginning of the 19th century. Once lodged in people's mind, it proved to be tenacious and long lasting. It became a fixed idea, which was not to be changed either by unpleasant experiences of travellers, or by the more subtle and sober writers as Alexander Kinglake and Gifford Palgrave (Tidtick, 1989; 22- 23, Searight; 1979; 173). Jean Louis Burckhardt, the Swiss traveller whose widely read notes were published in English in 1829-1830, had a great impact upon public opinion regarding this matter. He managed to produce detailed eyewitness accounts of Mecca and Medina at a great personal risk. Europeans like Burckhardt could be more learned in the culture and religion of the region than its native inhabitants, or at least they liked to see themselves as such. Burckhardt's main contribution was in elaborating the image of the Arab as a gentleman. It was that image which differentiated the Arabs from other Orientals, with whom Englishmen could identify and sympathise.

This image had fully blossomed in the writings of Richard Burton (1821-1890), Gifford Palgrave (1826-1888) and Charles Doughty (1843-1926), the most influential writers about the Levant. They, especially Doughty, were products of the same enthusiasm for the rigid discipline of medieval cultures as that of the members of the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood. Among the first to acclaim Doughty's *Arabia Deserta*, 1908, was William Morris. T. E. Lawrence, who edited the second edition, described it as the "...first and indispensable work upon the Arabs of the desert", and claimed that no one else had recreated the ugliness and beauty of the desert as effectively as Doughty (Searight, 1979; 188). They all enjoyed the pleasures of attempting to live like Beduins, adopting local dress and customs, and yet they were anxious to assert their own native identity. Moreover, their intimate knowledge of local culture and everyday life had encouraged their somewhat patronising attitude as keepers of that culture, condemning any sign of Western culture penetrating it.

The most eminent was Wilfred Blunt, Cromer's nagging opponent, who began his career in the Foreign Office. He came to Egypt on a holiday in 1873, but stayed there for the rest of his active life. In an estate he acquired outside Cairo, he and his wife received visitors in Arab dress and entertained them with Arab food and Beduin elders. He was influenced by what he had seen in Wahhabi Islam in Arabia, and believed that therein lay the Middle East's survival. Although he agreed with the view that the problems of the Middle East



stemmed from the importing of the Europeans and their habits, he maintained that the Ottoman sultans had been equally corrupted. He published his views of the British occupation, which he called the "veiled protectorate", in his book, *Secret History of British Occupation*, which made him popular amongst tourists if not among the British in Cairo and Alexandria (Searight, 1979; 127-128). Edward Lane, noted with disapproval that Egyptian officials were wearing European clothes as well as using European furniture (Conner, 1983; 149).

That knowledgeable and confident attitude had allowed Palgrave to argue that the Arabs of the desert were superior to those of the town. He did not even consider the inhabitants of countries except Arabia as Arabs at all. In his view, "Arabia and Arabs begin south of Syria and Palestine, West of Basrah and Zobeyr, East to Kark and the Red Sea" (Palgrave, 1865; Tidrick, 1989; 99). This attitude persisted long afterwards, and also implied that the language of the Beduin is "purer" than that of the city dwellers (Tidrick, 1989; 153-154). Influenced by the glorification of nomad life, Palgrave was particularly interested in enhancing the stereotype of the noble Arab, which was well established by 1860. That was reinforced by the general change of attitude expressed in travel writing of the 19th century which preferred the private and the personal over the rationalistic trend of the previous century.

The great interest in the region was closely linked with the tide of Egyptology, headed by the French, after the publication of the famous *Description de l'Egypte*, 1809- 1828, which became the basis of all Orientalist studies later conducted. French travellers expressed a fundamentally different attitude towards the Arabs from that of the English. Chateaubriand, in his narratives published in 1811, portrayed the Beduin as decadent and in no sense his equal. He was far more interested in describing the landscape of the region, yet always from a distance - he even had someone sent over to the Pyramids to carve his name (Perez, 1988; 36, 48-49). Victor Hugo expressed an imaginary and spiritual point of view in his poems *Les Orientals*, stressing the importance of the Orient for Europe. Later on, the French romantic genre was expressed by Gustave Flaubert and Pierre Loti, (see below, 5.8.) in their romantic historical novels.

More scientifically based material was published towards the 1840s. Sylvestre de Sacy, Ernst Renan and Edward Lane were amongst the first to do so. Lane's influential study, *Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians*, (1836) was considered the best serious description of both medieval and contemporary Arabs. An altogether different trend was taken by Alexander Kinglake in his book, *Eothen* (1844). It was clearly not a scientific description, yet nor was it a romantic one (see below, 5.5.). Although Kinglake was more concerned with subjective impressions of places and people rather than portraying their objective nature, it was the style which made it so popular amongst the younger generation (J. Morris, 1982; III,X,XII). Among the few who observed Arabs from within was Lady Hester Stanhope. She was the first extraordinary example of an English person who fully identified with the Arabs as her own people. A unique figure who became the object of a



romantic cult, her home in the Lebanon became a visiting place for many travellers. Her eccentric personality and provocative way of life evoked many legends, usually associated with her admiration for Arabs (Tidrick, 1989; 38-41).

Benjamin Disraeli spent a year in the Levant (1830-1831). His letters home testify his love and fascination for the region, but with a hint of racial theories which were later developed in his book *Tancred*. His imagination was overwhelmed by the Arabs, mainly by the combination of their pride and religious practice. He saw a possibility of revitalising the West through an Arab revival in the East directed by Britain, an idea which was taken up by Ernst Renan, T. E. Lawrence and many others. Whether it was Disraeli's synthesis, legitimising his glorious ancestry as a Semite who could claim racial affinity with Christ, or nostalgic pride in his Jewish roots remains unclear (Elon, 1989; 137, Tidrick, 1989; 42). In any case he seemed to have realised his vision of Britain controlling the Levant when in 1875 he managed to buy 44 percent of Khedive Ismail on behalf of Britain. Later, when Egyptian credit suffered further difficulties, it had led to setting up the system of 'Dual Control' which eventually led to the enforcement of British rule over Egypt in 1882 (see above, 1.2.3.).

#### 4.3. Arabists

World War One had transformed the British involvement in the Middle East in political terms, but also provided the opportunity for action for the so called 'Arabists'. These gifted amateurs of Arab history and culture - Gertrude Bell (see below, 5.7.), T. E. Lawrence, and Sir Mark Sykes, had influenced to a certain degree the course of political events. They were mainly involved with the implementation of regional policy, rather than with the global outlook.

The notion of the Empire held together by the British genius of understanding and subtly controlling native races fitted very well with the view of the new generation of thinkers, who saw themselves as the followers of Doughty and Burton. For a short while, new life was given to 19th century imperialist theories such as those of John Seeley (see 1.2.2.). In the euphoria after the capture of the Holyland by Allenby's forces in 1917, Lindsay Bashford wrote: "It is the nature of the Englishman continually to increase his responsibilities, and on the whole to govern other people's countries rather better than governing his own". Bashford goes even further by considering two characteristics of the English individual most fitted for undertaking the imperial mission: "...an inborn spirit of adventure which sends him forth to colonise" and "an inborn knack of governing that has given him prestige above other European nations among less advanced communities" (Bashford, 1920; 119-120).

Sir Mark Sykes was, as such, a late edition of the Victorian 'Travelling Gent'. He preferred the 'true' Arabs - the Beduins, over the 'un-authentic' inhabitants of the cities,



following the distinction made by Palgrave, Burton and Warburton. This had led to the conception, eventually implemented by the Sykes-Picot agreement (1915), that those areas which have already adopted European life style should have direct European control (Tidrick, 1989; 168-169).

Much was written about T. E. Lawrence, archaeologist, scholar, and enigmatic exhibitionist, of which the supposed abilities to bend Arabs secretly to his own will had become a legend. Regardless of the real truth about him the cultural impact of that legend, very often nourished by Lawrence himself, cannot be ignored. His actual position in the Arab revolt will probably remain unclear, but his influence upon British policy makers was unique. As advisor to Churchill towards the Cairo conference of 1921, he greatly influenced the settlements which eventually shaped the configuration of the new Middle East (J. Morris, 1978; 254-256, and Tidrick, 1989; 176). His conceptions about Arab nationalism were criticised as narrow - a limited vision of the Sherifian primacy in the Middle East. And yet he was able to create a sense of guilt amongst British officials regarding what was known as the betrayal, caused, according to Lawrence, by the British Cabinet who "...raised the Arabs to fight for us by definite promises of self-government afterwards". Furthermore, for Lawrence it was the personal aspect of the imperial adventure which mattered, and thus he ascribed his Arab partners with a similar attitude: "Arabs believe in persons, not in institutions. They saw in me a free agent of the British Government, and demanded for me an endorsement of its written promises" (Lawrence, 1926,1935; 23-24).

The only woman among the Mesopotamian British officials was Gertrude Bell - writer, Orientalist, explorer, and forceful advocate of the British presence in Iraq. (Her own perception of the region will be further discussed below, 5.7.) Unlike Lawrence, she had neither a grand theory about the Arabs nor a special influence on the Sherifians, simply a delight in their company and the glories of their past. But, when the opportunity arose she was eager to interfere in their affairs. Her reputation as an Arabist had already been established by two books published before the war: *The Desert and the Sown*, (1907) and *Amurath to Amurath* (1911).

She assumed that any independent Arab state that emerged after the war would be desperate for the help and advice of Britain. It was taken for granted that the Arabs, even if admirable in many ways, "...can't govern themselves" (Burgoyne, 1958-1961; vol. 2, 31-33 in Tidrick, 1989; 187). It was all part of an imperial confidence and eagerness to give to the Arabs the benefits of British rule, as in Cromer's benevolent despotism in Egypt which Bell admired. Her Romantic attachment to the Arabs and her admiration for their literature and ancient civilisation was similar to Burton's, Kinglake's and others. It was reflected in her peculiar lifestyle, in many ways resembling that of Lady Stanhope. Her battle with Arnold Wilson, the Civil Commissioner of Mesopotamia, against Lawrence's belief that the Sherifian rule could be imposed over Mesopotamia, was another example of local pro-Arab chauvinism. Like other Arabists, she felt a genuine, even if patronising affinity towards Arabs among whom she lived and whom she profoundly explored.



#### **4.4. Summary**

This chapter is a prelude to Part Two of this dissertation, prior to the main theme of this part, which is the Western perception of the Levant's natural and man-made environment. Since individuals had played a major role in portraying the region to their audience back home, it was considered necessary to begin by looking into the phenomenon of British men and women who tied their lives with the region, making it their profession and career. This is also because of the indirect British involvement in the region which had begun before the War and was predominantly the initiative of individuals. Their influence, which went beyond their number, had been primarily in consolidating their sympathy towards the lands of the Levant and its inhabitants into a policy of the state. They acquired enormous amounts of information and first-hand knowledge about the region, and persuaded the politicians back home that it could be used as a means for gaining influence and control.

In this regard some of Edward Said's observations about the nature and origins of that knowledge were presented as a departure point for the discussion in the next chapters, underlining the following issues:

1. Unlike other non-European regions, the Levant was grasped as more than just an exotic place, and was turned into a concept ("Orientalised" in Said's words) that had determined the way by which its various characteristics were perceived.
2. This could be done not only because the Levant was discovered to be Oriental but also because it could be made so, meaning that it had the potential of becoming a concept.
3. The principal products of that knowledge, which was acquired from an outsider's point of view, were representations - stereotypes of people and places, governed by a certain version of truth.
4. The Levant had never been entirely new to the European, but was perceived instead as a preserved image of the early days of Western civilisation.

The process of turning the Levant into a concept had several stages and many facets. It was much dependent on the people who became intimately familiar with the region and its people, and who presented their knowledge to their public back home. The brief review above outlines the principal trends of that process, subdivided into two categories: Travellers and Arabists. The distinction between them was not always clear, especially in the early days, dominated by people such as Burton, Palgrave and Doughty. Their knowledge had gradually become their 'profession' and career.

Both the Travellers and the Arabists produced enormous amounts of literature, widely published and exerting extensive influence. In their peculiar lifestyle they set a model to be followed by many members of the younger generation of the British society, both in the Victorian era and later, especially during the decline of the Imperial spirit. And yet, whereas the Travellers had often responded to the expectations of their audiences back home to confirm and enrich the conventional Western image of the region, the Arabists



were regarded as more at the fringe of the British society. They advocated an attitude which was not always in consensus with public opinion, but which eventually became the formal British Imperial policy, particularly concerning the Arabs.

In the next three chapters a detailed examination of the Western perception of the Levant's physical environment will be presented. An evolutionary process of three stages will be introduced, by which the region had gradually evolved from being a narrative to being a newly discovered architectural world, to be explored, inspired and a source of reference, and eventually to the acknowledgment of Islamic architecture as architecture proper.



### **5.1. Introduction**

In its beginnings, the European encounter with the Levant consisted of two chronologically parallel modes, which will be termed here 'reading' and 'exploring' the land. This chapter will discuss the phase of 'reading', meaning a condition in which the Levant was ascribed with some latent significance, like a story one ought to read in order to understand. Since it had never been grasped as just a place, its descriptions, literary and visual alike, were actually its narratives, telling that 'story'. (see above, 4.1.) Although this had become a trend which characterised mainly the early stages of that encounter, it persisted in travel writing until well into the 20th century.

The main concern herein is with the physical images of the land, meaning its natural and manmade environment, leaving out a wide range of subjects which had greatly attracted European visitors. As previously noted, all narratives - literary and visual, were taken from a distance, from a remote or elevated point. It was that external perception of the authors, combined with various other factors discussed above, by which the images of the region so often appeared as exhibits or objects, and not as descriptions of humanly habitable places. They became representations of an ideal or a myth associated with the place. And yet there was something about the physical reality of the Levant which made it possible, or even tempting, as Said argues, that could make it "Oriental" (see above, 4.1.).

This chapter will examine that phenomenon by presenting a selection of recordings, visual and literary, in chronological order, which also includes two pre-19th century works. All works were selected with regard to their acknowledged value and popularity, underlining those attributes which are considered here critical to the evolvement of a physical conception of the region. The route of most travellers usually included Egypt, the Holyland, the Lebanon and Syria. Only recordings of the Holyland and Egypt will be discussed herein, as those countries were frequently travelled in sequence, and their recordings together constituted the basic conceptions of the Levant to the English speaking world.

The matters which attracted the attention of all travellers regarding the physical environment of the region were significantly common. In the Holyland those were usually the following: (1) Biblical associations; (2) landscape which forms independent shapes, which can be wholly viewed from a single spot; (3) local limestone as the sole material making up both land surface and buildings; (4) harsh and glaring sunlight; (5) towns and buildings as objects in the landscape. In Egypt, attention was usually drawn to ancient remains, mainly as the cradle of European civilisation, and to contemporary Egyptian daily life, architecture and craftsmanship.



## 5.2 Jerusalem as a celestial object - Theoderich (12th c.)

The interest of 19th century Europeans in the Levant revived the interest in works of former generations, as it assumed some previous traditions linking Europe with the East (see above 4.1.). Such was Aubrey Stewart's translation (1897) of *Guide to the Holyland* written in 1172, by Theoderich, a German monk. Today it is considered the most complete medieval guide to the Holyland. It was then the best known guide and widely used by pilgrims. Written only fifteen years before the destruction of the Crusaders' state by Salahdin, it contains descriptions, history and legends about sacred places of the medieval state. Theoderich's work was produced from a long tradition of Christian geography carried over from ancient sources and supplements of the Bible. As early as the 12th century, guide books had become standardised, often copied from two main collections known as the 'Old' and 'New Compendium'. Although Theoderich had sometimes borrowed from these sources, his guide depended almost entirely on his own observations (Musto, 1986; XXI,XXXII).

It was by then that a fixed set of subjects for description was planted in the minds of European travellers to the Holyland which persisted for many generations to come. When they visited the country, they were looking for those images, so widely published, and to their delight they could be clearly recognised.

Such was the provoking position of Jerusalem in the Judean mountainous landscape. It was of major concern to all travellers to the country, not merely for its evocative Biblical associations, but also for its unique three-dimensional and environmental characteristics.

Theoderich, and the majority of travellers who followed him, had chosen to describe the secluded city as viewed from the Mount of Olives: "The Holy City rises into very lofty ranges, down to its aforesaid boundaries, just as, on the other hand, one ascends to it from them" (Theoderich, 1173, 1897,1986; 4). This unique position has retained its stunning effect to the present day, and thus should be further explained at this point. Since its position is considered here the most influential factor determining Western perception of the city, it consequently affects the architectural conceptions associated with it.

The city rests on a plateau - atop of a huge mass of rock - Mount Moriah, secluded by deep ravines on all sides except on the north and north-west, and surrounded by higher mountains. When viewed from these mountains - the only place from which the entire city can be seen, the image which is revealed is clearly and convincingly that of a celestial object, which seems to have landed on that particular spot. Its total isolation (particularly until the end of the 19th century) and the absence of any neighbouring settlements, roads, or any other life arteries such as rivers could not be rationalised. Neither could it be explained strategically, being so vulnerable from the north. Furthermore, when viewed from the east, especially from the Mount of Olives, some interesting visual effects occur: due to a tilt towards the east of the plateau upon which the city rests, the entire city is viewed at once.

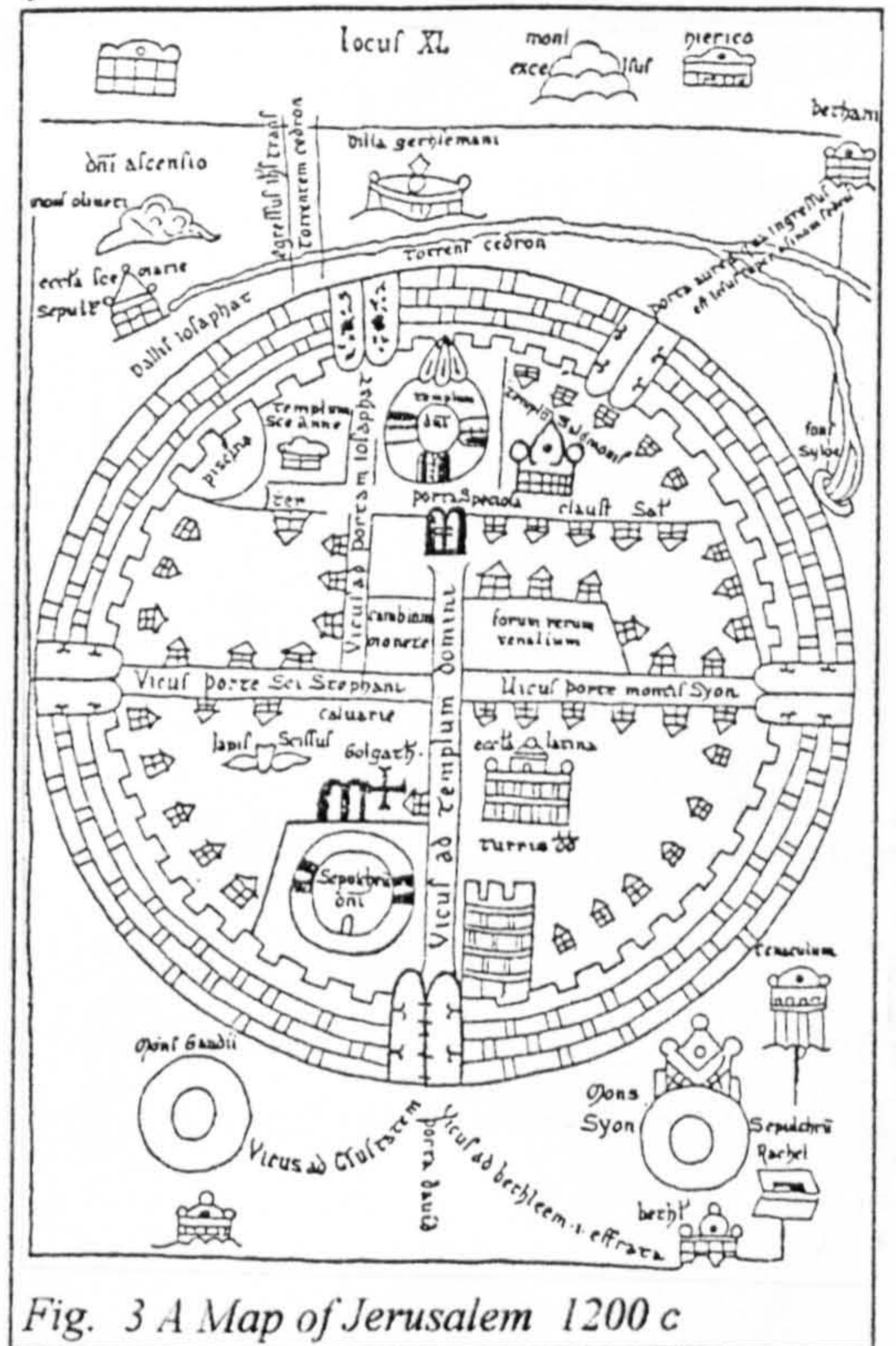


The vanishing lines of its perspective shorten, making it seem more dense and compact than it really is. Moreover, looking at the city from this spot, one has a sense of being observed by the city itself.

This unique environmental position naturally inspired many metaphors. A most famous one is that of the eye, described by Theoderich: "There, as an eye in the head, is placed the Holy City of Jerusalem" (Theoderich, 1172, 1897, 1986; 4). Over the years such metaphors and other imaginary visions were repeated and elaborated to the point where they became a myth, reappearing in literature and reinforced by tides of religious revivals.

Theoderich incorporated many illustrations in his guide, mostly first-hand, accurate drawings which later became a major source of information about medieval Jerusalem: mainly the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, with precise notations of its architectural elements, building materials, its styles, and accurate comparisons to buildings in Europe. However later editions of the guide were illustrated with visual material borrowed from sources of later periods, to satisfy the changing tastes which preferred less informative images. The following illustrations would demonstrate this tendency.

In this illustration (Fig. 3), a sort of map, the city is shown as a circle, the ideal form. It is 'oriented', that is, the east is at the top. Above the walls are the valley of Joshaphat and the Kedron Brook. Within the walls the circle is divided into four, by the crossing of the Temple street (bottom to top) and St. Stephen's and Mount Zion streets (left to right). The Temple of the Lord is the circle at the top; the Holy Sepulchre is the circle in the bottom left. Outside the walls below and above are important landmarks like the Temple of Solomon (top right), St. Anne's (top left), Tower of David (bottom centre), and Mount Zion (bottom right). Though most informative, and to some extent even relatively correct, it can be considered the beginning of a graphic schematisation by which the configuration of the city became a graphic symbol. Theoderich's text illustrated by this map is far more accurate and descriptive:



Now, the longest part of the city reaches from north to south, and the width of it from west to east, and it is strongly fortified by walls and bastions on the top of the mountain above the aforesaid valleys. There is also a barrier, or a fosse, placed outside the wall, and furnished with battlements and loopholes, which they call the Barbican. Since it has an oblonged form, the city has five angles, one of which is transverse (Theoderich, 1172, 1897, 1986; 6).



The next illustration, which decorates the cover (Fig. 4), shows how the following preceding generations became more attracted to the schematic symbol rather than to the detailed literary description. Compared with the former illustration, the circle, its orientation towards east, the walls and gates, as well as the Temple, had remained, yet it is much less informative. Furthermore, except for the slope towards east, its spatial faculties do not add information, nor does it better portray the character of the city. Rather the opposite: it is an imaginary description of a medieval European town.

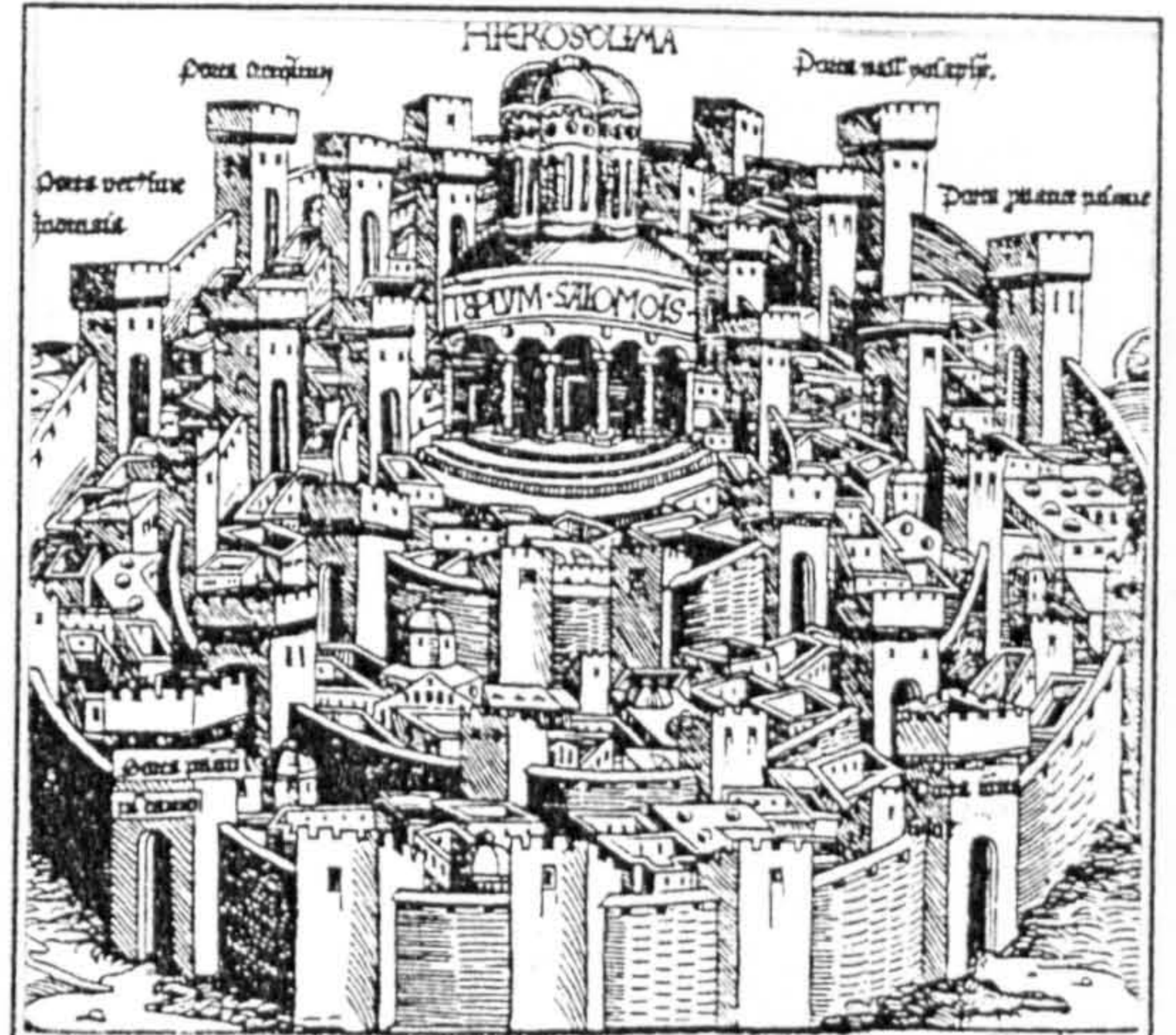


Fig. 4 A Bird's Eye View of Jerusalem

Another illustration, (Fig. 5), is a heavily interpreted view of the Temple Mount. Here again buildings are distorted, denying their Islamic character. And yet the peculiar sense of buildings and pavilions scattered upon the great plain of the Haram el Sherif, like small objects on a table, is surprisingly true. Both illustrations indicate the existence of a trend which persisted in later generations. Through a schematisation process, certain characteristics of the physical reality were exaggerated while others completely disappeared.



Fig. 5 The Temple of the Lord 1490 c

Visual artists of early 19th century, the phase which is termed here 'reading', were divided into those who were heavily 'brain washed' by those stereotype images, and others who aimed at producing new views. Yet even the latter group, some of whose works will be discussed later, were not free of prejudices, at least in their repertoire of subjects, and sometimes even in the angles they had selected for describing them.



### 5.3. Figurative scenery and vast panoramas - Henry Maundrell (17th-18th c.)

Another early guide book showing the development of European conceptions of the Holyland is by Henry Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, 1697. The book was first published at Oxford in 1703, republished in 1707, and seven years later a third edition appeared. By 1749 seven editions had appeared, by 1750 it was published in French, German and Dutch, and in 1847 it was republished. One of the reasons for this long lasting popularity was that it was used as a guide like the Baedeker or the Blue Guide. That was because it did not include any imaginative reconstructions or any strong personal impact, with which so many writers used to write. A precise picture was created in somewhat bleak prose, enhancing its credibility with the more rationalistic audience of the 18th century.

Some of the illustrations which accompany the text were reconstructions, which were probably not the responsibility of the author. These were added to the text by 17th and 18th century publishers, so as to "ornament the writings" - a fashionable stylistic book layout. By that time the work of other people was freely plagiarised for suitable "sculptures" or engravings. Several of those which illustrate Maundrell's text on Aleppo (Fig. 8) were found by the English architect Nicholas Hawksmoor, in a French architectural journal in 1670, before the publication of Maundrell's first edition. (Howell, 1963; IX- XI,XXXIV-XXXV) Other illustrations (Fig. 6) recall the drawings of the French visionary architect Ledoux, both in their style and in their dominant abstract geometric forms. In any case, regardless of their origin, the majority of illustrations are related to the text, supporting the literary descriptions.

Maundrell approached the Holyland from the north, departing from Aleppo in Syria, along the east coast of the Mediterranean to Acre and Haifa, and through Nazareth and Nablus to Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Jericho. The dramatic configuration of the mountainous landscape captured his mind. Though not grand or particularly monumental, it consisted of separate masses of different forms of manageable size, which could be wholly envisaged

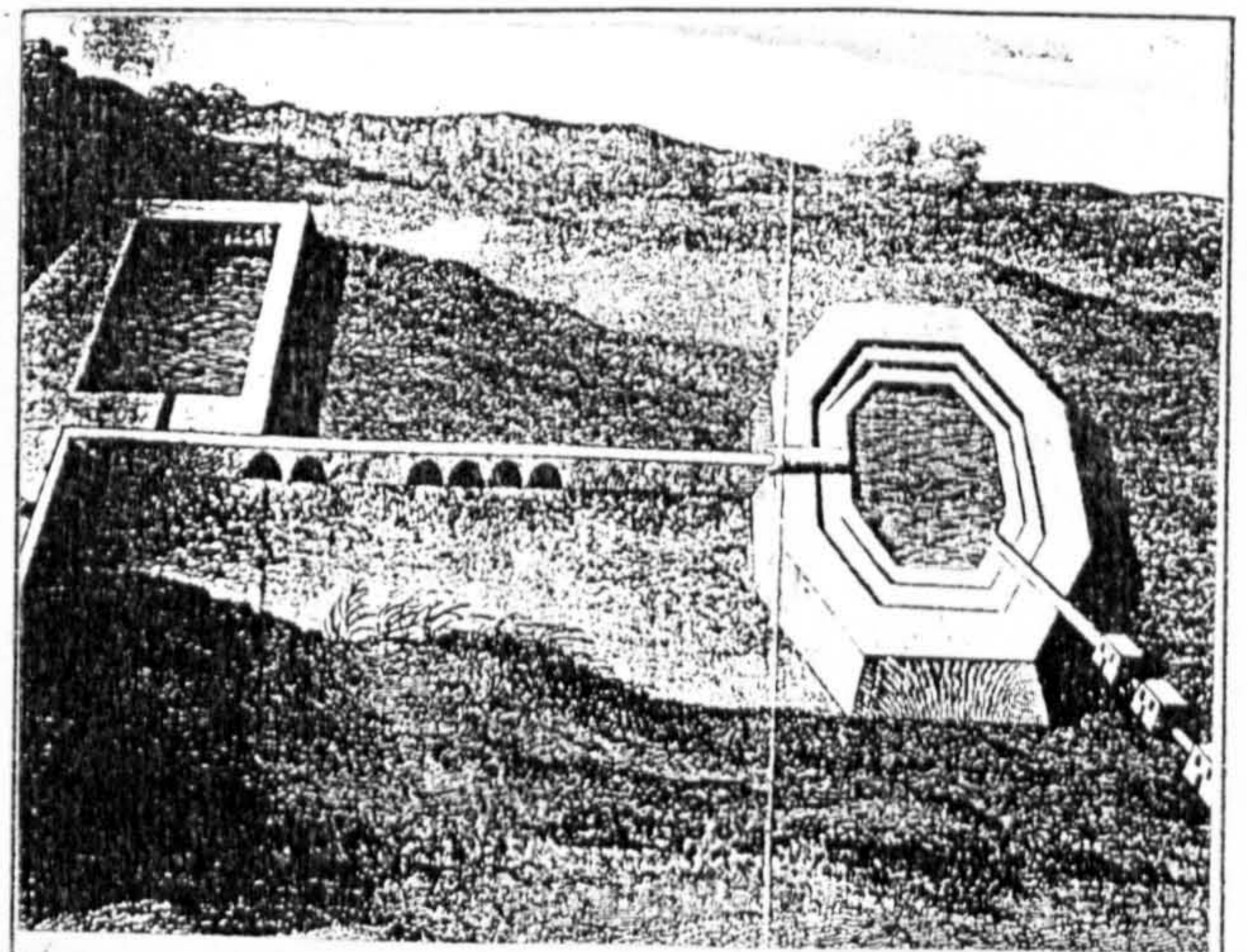


Fig. 6 Solomon's Cisterns

from a single spot. These might be grasped as theatrical exhibits, or as some divine objects.

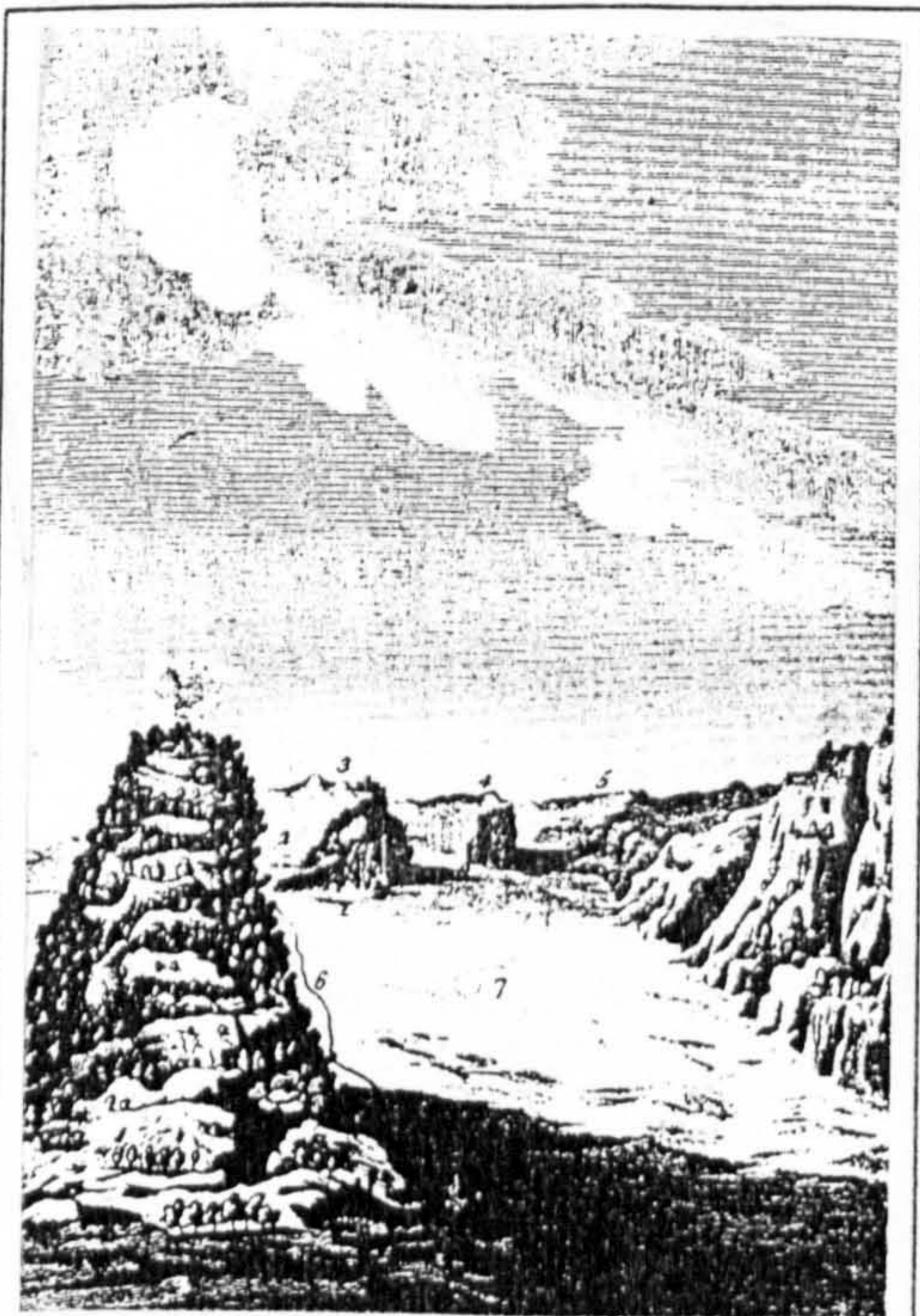
Such had been Maundrell's sensation approaching Mount Tabor: "Its being situated in such a separate manner has induced most authors to conclude, that this must needs be that holy mountain which was the place of our blessed Lord's Transfiguration" (Maundrell, 1810; 152). No less spiritual was the vast panorama revealed from the mountain itself which



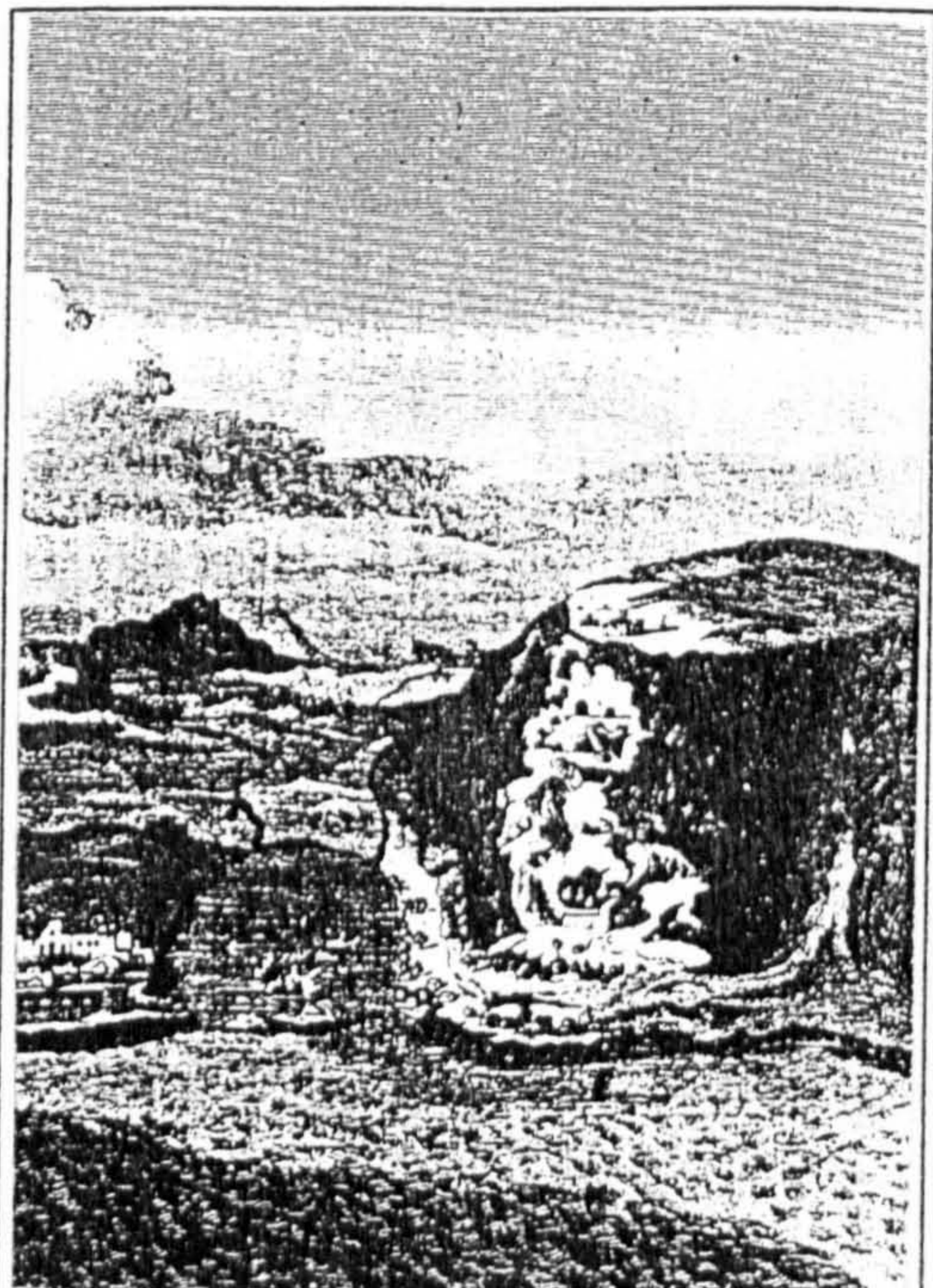
included many sites of religious importance:

From the top of the Tabor you have a prospect, which, if nothing else, well rewards the labour of ascending it. It is Impossible for men's eyes to behold a higher gratification of this nature. On the north-west you discern at a distance the Mediterranean; and all round you have the spacious and beautiful plains of Esdraelon and Galilee, which present you with the view of many places memorable for the resort and miracles of the son of God. Near this valley [at the bottom of the Tabor] is the fountain of Kishon. [...] eastwards you see Mount Hermon; turning a little southward, you have in view the high mountains of the Gilboah. Due east you discover the sea of Tiberias (Maundrell, 1810; 154-155).

The picture of Mount Tabor which illustrates this description, and another of Mount Carmel (Figs. 7,8), seem more like exaggerated volumetric maps where places of interest are carefully marked, than pictures or drawings. Indeed it had been a common genre of the time, but still, the impossible locations from which they were taken - over the sea, and from a non-existing mountain east to the Tabor, encouraged their perception as objects. And yet to some extent such an interpretation might be accepted regarding the sculptural nature of the land itself. It is this difficult distinction between exaggerated and genuine descriptions of the country's scenes which all visual artists of later periods were to confront.



*Fig. 7 Mount Tabor*



*Fig. 8 Mount Carmel*

Heading south towards Jerusalem, within a relatively short distance from the previous location, an entirely different vast panorama was revealed: "From the top of these hills of desolation, we had however a delightful prospect of the mountains of Arabia, the Dead Sea, and the plains of Jericho" (Maundrell, 1810; 107). Of all views, the scene of Mount Moriah



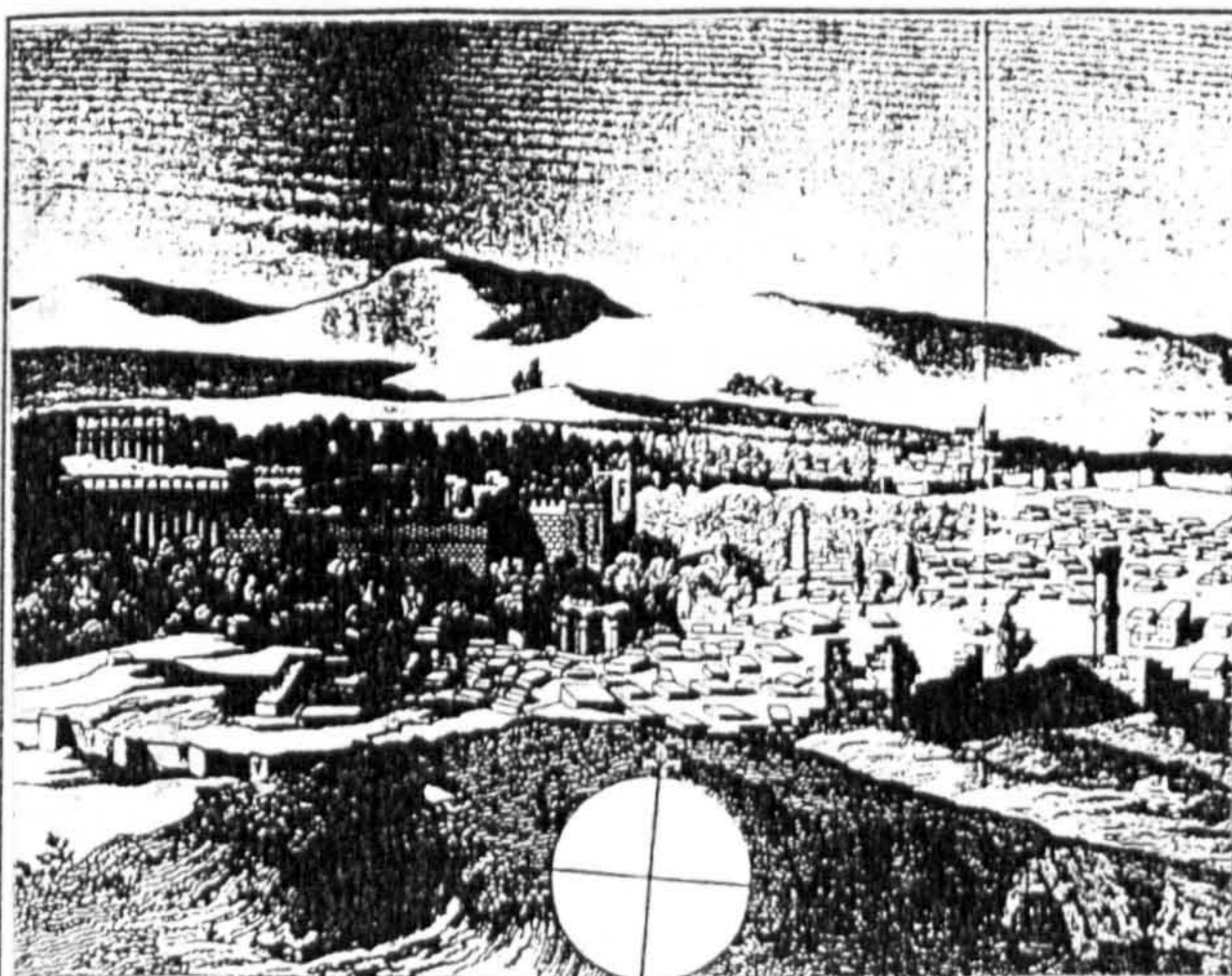
and the holy city viewed from the east had a stunning impact on Maundrell, as it had on many others. Here, the natural and man-made qualities are joined together and create a breath-holding experience. Even Maundrell, who hardly expresses any personal reflections, states:

A fitter place for an august building could not be found in the whole world than this area. It lies upon the top of Mount Moriah, over against Mount Olivet the valley of Jehoshaphat lying between both mountains. ...and one may still discern marks of the great labour that it cost, to cut away the hard rock, and to travel such a spacious area upon so strong a mountain (Maundrell, 1810; 143).

Analysing the particular attributes of the Dome of the Rock, Maundrell argues that its strong impact is primarily due to its rare position upon the deserted man-made plain, and not necessarily to its architecture:

In the middle of the area [Mount Moriah - Haram el Sherif] stands at present an octagonal figure ...It is neither eminent for its largeness, nor its structure; and yet it makes a very stately figure, by the sole advantage of its situation (Maundrell, 1810; 144).

The last illustration to be considered here is the south view of Aleppo (Fig. 9). Although taken from some elevated point, it is highly informative and accurately drawn. Compared with a much later view of the city taken towards the end of the 19th century (Fig. 10), some important differences can be noticed. Although both views were taken from a distance, in the earlier one of Maundrell's it is possible to recognise some small architectural details of the ruined city, and there is no attempt to reconstruct its image, whereas in the later view, taken from a further point, other parts of the city are included, producing a compact picturesque image. Indeed the expansion of the city over the generations must not be overlooked, still, Maundrell's view is by far more relevant to the scientific aspirations of 19th century explorers such as those of Colonel Wilson.



*Fig. 9 Maundrell - View of Aleppo*



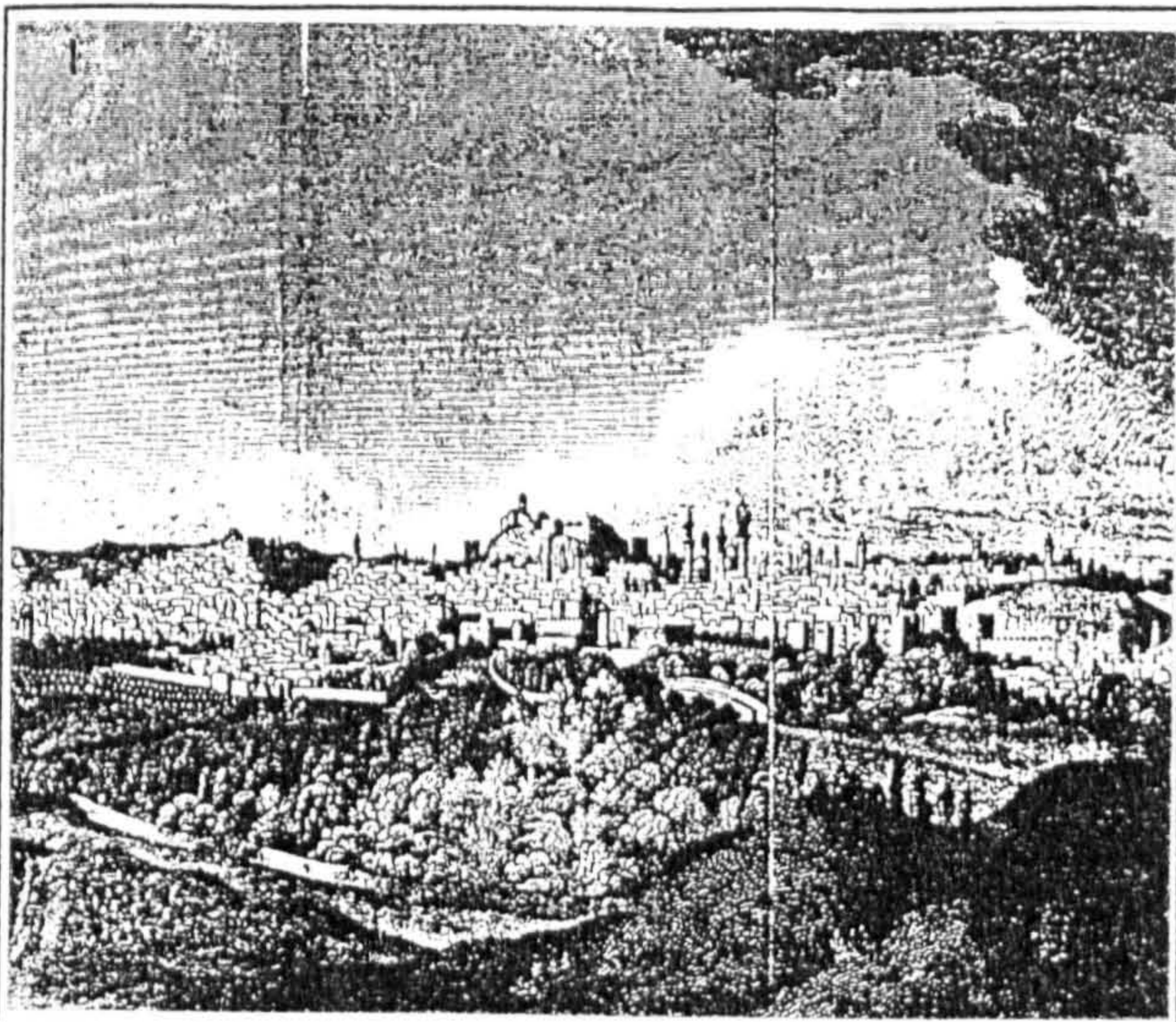


Fig. 10 Aleppo in Wilson's Picturesque Palestine

#### 5.4. Picturesque scenes and silent peoples - David Roberts (1796-1864)

Amongst 19th century visual works about the Levant, the paintings and prints of David Roberts are considered here to be the most influential regarding the evolvment of a false image about the Levant. Roberts did not 'read' the Levant for the sake of telling its story, but rather exploited it for purely artistic purposes. It might be rightly argued, however, that this has been a legitimate artistic interpretation, just like many others, whether about the Levant or of any other region or subject. Nevertheless it will be shown below that it was the content, style, and vogue of that interpretation which was so critical to the emergence of misconceptions about the region and its peoples.

Images of the Near East had been seen in Britain before the publication of Roberts' lithographic engravings, *The Holyland* (1842-1849), and *Egypt & Nubia* (1855), but never on such a scale and in such picturesque style. Small black and white etchings or engravings from drawings did not have such an overwhelming impact on such a broad public. The immense success of the work was also due to the form of its circulation. Engravings of Roberts' paintings were prepared by the famous engraver Lewis Haghe, and were turned into lithographic prints by F. G. Moon, which then led to the publication of a magnificent edition of several volumes. Their popularity exceeded all expectations, and amongst those who ordered copies were Queen Victoria, heads of churches and European kings (Guiterman, 1986; 76, Ben-Arieh, 1993; 99,102).

The novelty about Roberts' work was that it represented a change of attitude - from the fantastic treatment of Oriental scenes, popular in the 1820s and 1830s, to the fashion of the picturesque. However, since the demands of pictorial effects often conflicted with the accuracy of the actual scenes, Roberts often used his artistic license to achieve a greater



drama, and to create a mood which he ascribed to the subject. Working within the pictorial conventions of his time, not all subjects could be easily moulded to conform to the picturesque rules. The following paragraph by Roberts, reflecting upon Egyptian scenes, expresses this conflict:

Ponderous as are the dimensions of those glorious remains there wants something beside the deep blue of an Eastern sky, the arid granite rocks, and the white sand of the desert -- strike the beholder with wonder but not with pleasure... I rather think of more pleasurable sensations than the land of the Pharaohs with all its wonders (Roberts to Hay, 1842, in Guiterman, 1986; 80).

As will be shown below, the various artistic means he used for achieving a picturesque effect were at the price of a genuine description.

Roberts began his career as a stage-set painter around 1820. In 1823 he settled in London where he gained high reputation in drawing cathedrals and other architectural monuments. He took part in preparing four engravings for the Finden Collection (1835-1837), based on drawings of other artists. Amongst those were scenes drawn by Fredrick Catherwood describing sites at Jerusalem, which had greatly influenced Roberts. He decided to go for a tour to the East, so as to produce first hand pictures of places of interest in the Holyland and Egypt. In 1838 he arrived at Alexandria, traveled around Egypt, sailed along the Nile, and approached the Holyland from the south after visiting the southern region of the Sinai Desert. In 1839 he returned to London with a crop of numerous sketches and drawings, which were the basis for his entire work of the region that he never visited again (Ben-Aries, 1993; 98).

The analysis below consists of the three principal ingredients which characterize Roberts' Eastern scenes: theatrical composition; misty-dreamy light and soft colors; and exaggeration.

#### 5.4.1. Composition

A similar compositional pattern makes up all Roberts' Eastern views. The frame is composed of three segments: the top, which consists of the sky; the middle, being the background; and the bottom segment, functioning as the foreground. The last two are clearly distinct: the background consists of the main theme of the work, whereas in the foreground, a set of native figures is always positioned, drawn in great detail. This was done for the following reasons: to arrive at a desired scale of the main theme; to provide a sense of drama, and, to soften the massive starchiness of the main theme. The figures appear like actors in the theater, as if acting some biblical roles with their costumes, their postures and the typical objects scattered around them (Fig. 11).





*Fig. 11 Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, by D. Roberts*

However, closely observing these figures one realises that their tailored costumes were usually the property of the privileged, never of the poor local Arabs who had always accompanied Europeans in their Eastern tours. Furthermore, there is no real interaction between these figures; instead of facing each other, they face the view - the main theme, or us - the observers. They are rather like mute figure, ghosts of Biblical personalities. If given the opportunity, they would surely not speak Arabic.

The very fact that the main theme of the picture - a place or a building, constitutes the background, is crucial to the understanding of Roberts' Eastern works. Though the configuration of masses and details are accurately drawn, it is always viewed from a distance, through some mist, being somewhat vague. That was because it was basically conceived as a setting, showing some historical or biblical scene. In other words, what Edward Said describes as "Orientalising the Orient" is exactly what Roberts had been doing. That is, not necessarily describing the Levant, but rather its representations as the cradle of European civilisation. The uniformity of Roberts' Eastern views was strongly criticised by John Ruskin, who found too much similarity in the composition of the pictures, and regretted that "...the accuracy and elegance of his work should not be aided by that genuineness of hue and effect", and disregarded completely the reasons for their inclusion. (T. Coock and A. Waddenburn eds., 1903; vol.3, 223-226, in Guiterman, 1986; 81)

#### 5.4.2. Mists and soft colours

The chromatic characteristics of Roberts' work completely failed to portray the illumination conditions of the East. Under the cloudless sky (most of the year), in the strong and glaring sunlight, colours fade away, shapes are flattened, details disappear, and the configuration of masses remains the dominant pictorial theme. Sharp contrasts between lit



and shaded areas enhance edges, and textures become more visible and often dominate the surface. All these attributes are absent in Roberts' work. The dramatic effects which do exist as a result of the natural illumination conditions in the region were neither exploited nor portrayed.

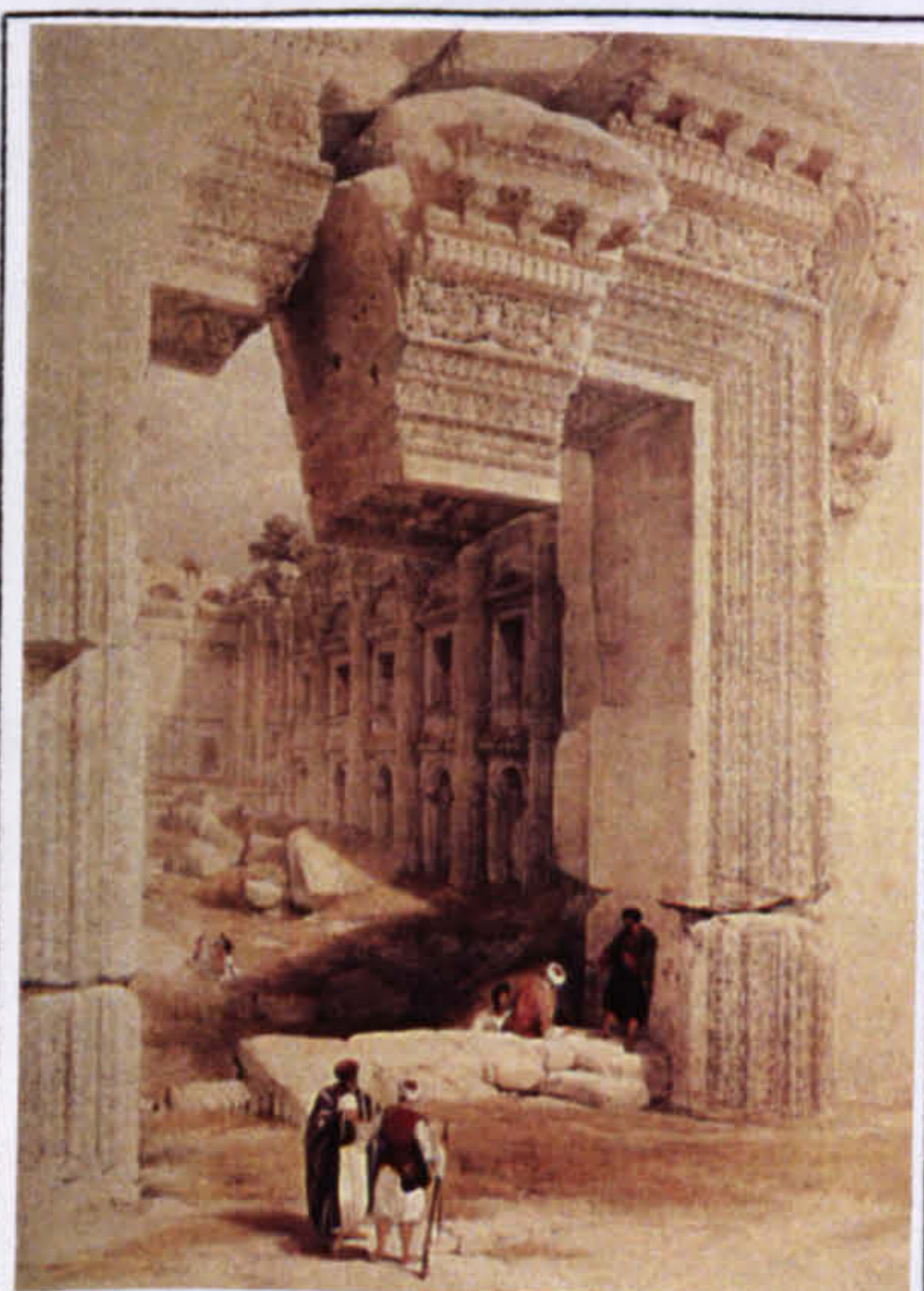
The conflict between satisfying the demand for multiplicity of exotic ornaments and details on the one hand, and portraying the correct effects of light and colour of the East on the other, could not easily be resolved. It can be clearly recognised by comparing photographic views of Damascus Gate (Figs. 12 A,B) and a doorway in Baalbec, (Figs. 13 A,B) with Roberts' interpretations. In reality, it is difficult to distinguish between the texture of the limestone and its ornamentation. In Roberts' interpretations, however, there is no indication of any building material, let alone its texture, which allowed him to elaborate the description of the few architectural elements and ornaments which do exist.



*Fig. 12A, Damascus gate by D. Roberts*



*Fig. 12B, Damascus Gate*



*Fig. 13A, Baalbec Doorway by D. Roberts*



*Fig. 13B, Baalbec Doorway*



Illumination was further manipulated by Roberts in a purely theatrical manner. Since it is only at sunset that a wider range of tones is revealed, many of Roberts' Egyptian scenes, were described as if taken at that hour, as that had been the most desired picturesque view, greatly demanded by the audience back home (as indicated by Edward Lear, see below, 5.6.). Moreover, certain areas in the picture are fleshed with strong light, from some imaginative point (like in the theatre), while others remain in the shade. The lit areas however, are not necessarily associated with the main subject of the picture. (Fig, 14).

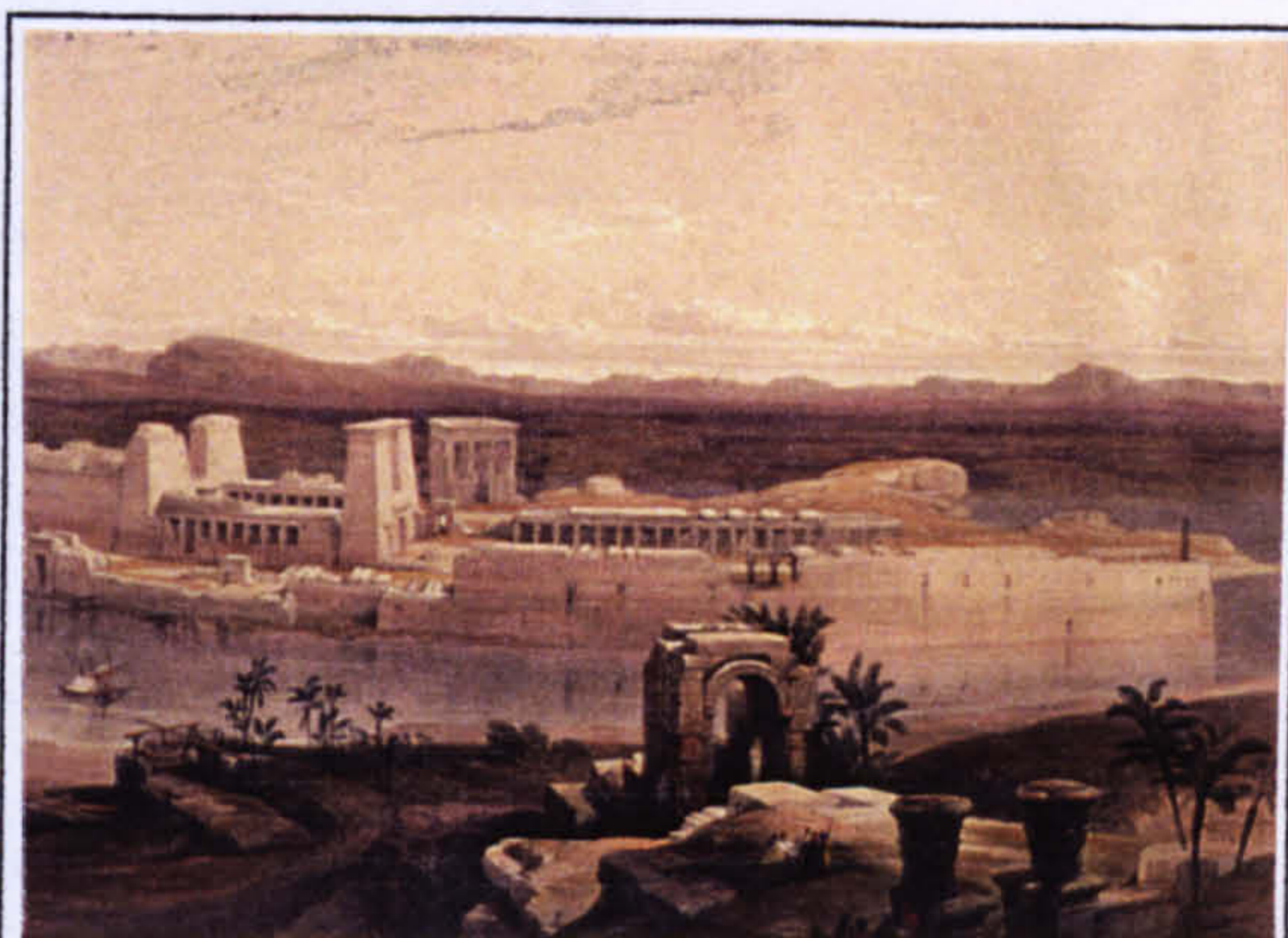


Fig. 14 *The Island of Philae, Nubia* by D. Roberts

#### 5.4.3. Exaggeration.

This method is more difficult to detect, as it was used in a most subtle and sophisticated manner. It was usually achieved by altering proportions. In the Tower of David, (Figs. 15 A,B) the rink was reduced in height, so as to better show a cluster of vertical masses, which appears less monumental and more pictorial. Far bolder examples are those of Baalbec, (Figs. 13, A,B).



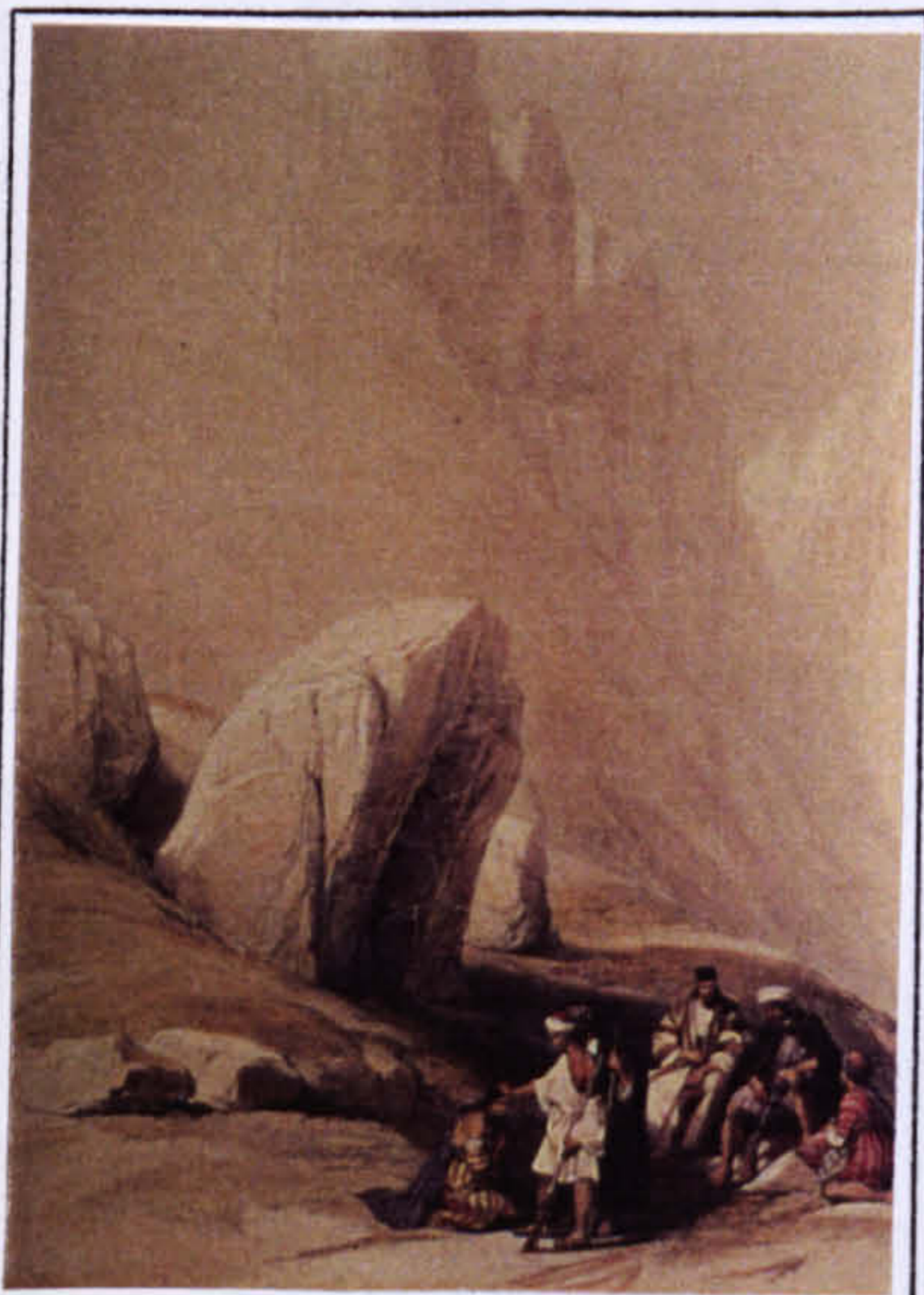
Fig. 15 A, *The Tower of David* by D. Roberts



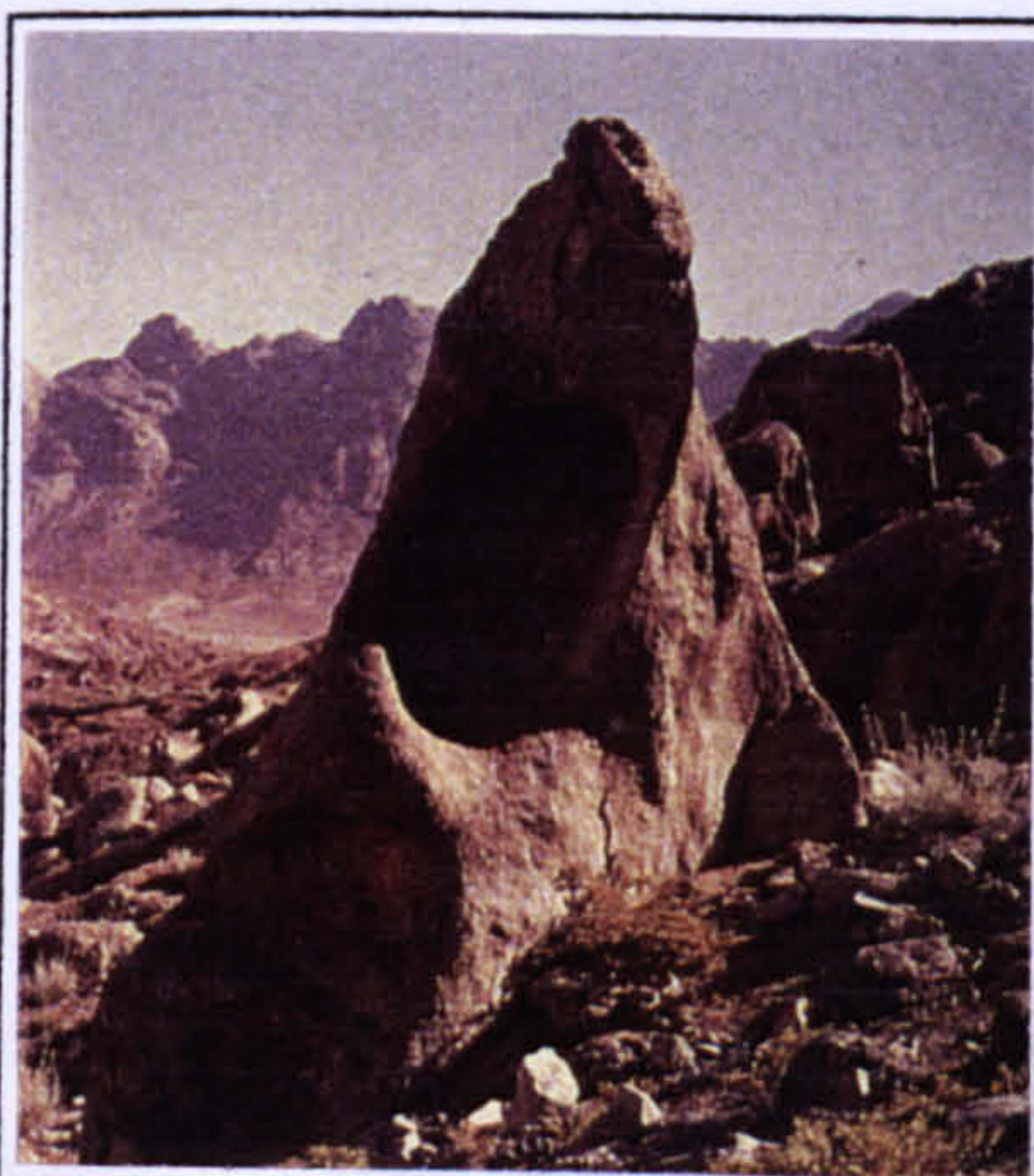
Fig. 15 B, *The Tower of David*

In most scenes exaggeration was achieved by highly elaborated methods of perspective drawing. Those were often bird's eye views, by which the observer is always positioned above the gigantic monumental surrounding, that is outside the scene, feeling bigger and safer, where normally the human figure is dwarfed and overwhelmed, such as in the view of Moses' Rock (Fig. 16, A,B).





*Fig. 16 A, Moses' Rock by D. Roberts*



*Fig. 16 B, Moses' Rock*

Regarding Jerusalem, exaggeration can be recognised in its overall views, mainly in those taken from the south-east (Fig. 17) and from the Mount of Olives. (Fig. 11). Here the tilt of the city towards the east (see above 5.2.) is increased, and buildings at the far west which normally cannot be seen from those locations clearly appear. Consequently the city appears to be dense and compact, more like an object than an ensemble.



*Fig. 17 Jerusalem from the south-east, the Dome of the Rock by D. Roberts*

Like many artists before and after him, Roberts had never produced pictures of scenes inside the city, as it conflicted with its ideal image, and did not appeal to his European audience. Real life was taking place there which had not been a pleasant experience for Europeans, even for an artist, as Roberts noted in his diary:



An amateur artist said the other day, that 'Proust would never get out of this city, for there were no streets to bother him, but narrow, crowded streets, with the most grotesque-shaped houses in the world.' These narrow crowded streets render it very difficult to make drawings, for in addition to the curiosity of Arabs, who, although they are picturesque in appearance, are ugly customers to jostle (Roberts diary, ed. by Ran, 1989; 19-21).

The only scenes inside the city painted by Roberts are of important landmarks such as the Site of the Temple (Fig. 18), the Holy Sepulchre, and few others, all of which seemed to be situated in most spacious locations, much more than they really are.



Fig. 18 *The site of the Temple*

The artistic value of Roberts' work is irrelevant herein. Rather, its significance to this discourse is in its great impact on a broader cultural level. It is one of those rare cases where a certain work of art is produced in the most suitable time and place for it to be so influential and to appeal to such a wide audience. It indicates an attitude by which the Levant was readily perceived through stereotypical images of both its lands and its

peoples. Roberts' work was sharply criticised by contemporary scientists, as having no scientific value, and that his only concern was satisfying the desire of the rich upper-class for magnificent picturesque views. (Tobler, in Ben-Arieh 1993; 105) In contrast with Roberts' work, the work of W. R. Bartlett, (discussed in the next chapter, see below, 6.4.) though similar in various aspects, is a far more correct and genuine representation of places in the region, though also committed to the picturesque conventions. The theatrical sham of Roberts' pictures, their uniformity and their format of publication, introduced a popular system of representation by which the wild views of the Levant were tamed and transformed into fashionable objects, which one would like to own and exhibit.

### 5.5. Intellectual perception: Alexander Kinglake (1809-1891)

Kinglake's *Eothen*, subtitled: "Traces of Travel brought home From the East", had successfully accomplished that particular aim. And yet, it is neither a description of a journey, nor an interpretation of a concept. Rather, it is "...subjective and selective, more immune to the orthodox demands of descriptive reportage" (Morris, 1982; IX). In fact, the idea to write *Eothen* (the Greek word meaning 'from the East') came to Kinglake after he was asked for advice by his friend Eliot Warburton, who was planning a similar journey. He decided to expand his advice into a book, based upon the notes he kept during his travels.



The book which was "addressed 'By the Author to One of his Friends'", enabled Kinglake to tell his contemporaries "of similar origins and similar tastes" (Morris, 1982; XI) the things he thought were important - his own narrative about the Levant.

Hunger for life had brought Kinglake to the East. It was natural that a young man in Kinglake's position - upper-middle class, early Victorian English gentlemen, about to enter his life career, should like to take a few months off to wonder in the foreign lands of the Empire. He wanted travel that would take him beyond the popular guide books, some exotic experience, perhaps with a bit of danger. It was not fulfilling a mission that he was after, but rather satisfying a personal-cultural need.

The Near East was chosen as the destination of the journey for its political and historical interest. It was an intellectual's drive, neither scientific nor religious, which produced a unique work of art, distinguished and new in form, in selection and in style. *Eothen* was Kinglake's main significant written work, which he wrote and rewrote for several years. It was first turned down by John Murray, but once in print in 1844, it has been in print ever since the first edition. Kinglake was not particularly interested in buildings, literary remains, works of art, or ruins. He skipped what did not interest him; Bethlehem is just briefly described, the Great Mosque of Damascus is not mentioned at all, and Baalbec is just briefly noted. And unlike many other travellers, he was not concerned with local crafts or traditional manufacturers.

### 5.5.1. The Holyland

Like Maundrell long before, Kinglake approached Palestine from the north. Impressed by the vast panorama revealed to him from the Galilean mountains he could actually see, in a most concrete manner, the difference between Western civilisation and the pure pre-civilised world of the East:

That farthest shore was the end of the world that belongs to man the dweller  
— the beginning of the other end veiled world that is held by a strange race,  
whose life (like the pastime of Satan) is a 'going to and fro the face of the earth'  
(Kinglake, 1844, 1982; 116).

It was a line, so tangible and simple - the Jordan river, which was "...that boundary between the people living under roofs, and the tented tribes on the farther side" (Kinglake, 1844, 1982; 119). In other words, this particular nature of the land, being so pictorial, could be easily simplified and turned into schematic or even graphic symbols. Even these sober reflections indicate how fragile was the distinction between the real thing and its stereotypical representation.

Although the exterior view of Jerusalem had a strong impact on Kinglake, who like so many other travellers approached the city from the east, it was less spiritual for him than his sensation at Nazareth and was further diminished by earthly Jerusalem, experienced from



within: "In the stead of the solemn gloom and deep stillness rightfully belonging to the Holy City, there was the hum and the bustle of active life" (Kinglake, 1844, 1982; 143). It was, however, that heavy burden and intensity of religious life of the city by which he was repelled:

to find yourself so entirely surrounded in all your daily pursuit by the signs and sound of religion. Your hotel is a monastery -- your rooms are cells -- the landlord is a stately abbot, and the waiters are hooded monks ...Your club is the great church of the Holy Sepulchre... your Pall Mall is Via Dolorosa ...and if you inquire for the manufacturers of the place you find that they consist of double-blessed beads, and sanctified shells (Kinglake, 1844, 1982; 156).

### 5.5.2 Egypt

Egypt was the attraction of secular travellers - archaeologists, architects, visual and literary artists. The country had two faces: there was the Egypt of Muslim Arabs within the magnificent and monumental ruins of the other Egypt - the kingdom of the Pharoes.

Kinglake approached the country from the east, through the sand dunes of the Sinai desert. The journey in that part of the world had been unlike any other experience familiar to the European traveller: "Over all the heaven above -- over all the earth beneath there was no visible power that could bulk the fierce will of the Sun" (Kinglake, 1844, 1982; 185). Thus the moments when the first signs of human settlements appeared as "...a dark line upon the edge of the forward horizon" were an unforgotten emotional and an aesthetic experience: "Soon the line deepened into a delicate fringe that sparkled here and there as though it were sown with diamonds. There before me were the gardens and minarets of Egypt" (Kinglake, 1844, 1982; 185).

Kinglake did not want this lifting sensation to be ruined by the unpleasant scenes of reality. (It must be noted however, that Kinglake had visited Egypt soon after the terrible plague of 1835.) And so, like many other Europeans, before and after him, he climbed the Citadel of Cairo. From there he could enjoy "...the fanciful and elaborate gilt work of the many minarets gives a light, a florid grace to the city as seen from this height". And yet he does not spare the reader of the terrible scenes inside the city: "I saw within the fortress many yokes of men... I say yoke of men, for the poor fellows were working together in bounds... In the open slave market I saw about fifty girls exposed for sale..." (Kinglake; 200). And so even Kinglake, who had a most open-minded conception of the Levant for his time, could not, or did not want, to penetrate into the real Eastern reality, and his perception of the region had also been an exterior one.

Visiting the sites of ancient Egypt was, for Kinglake, meeting his own cultural origins: "Familiar to one from the days of early childhood are the forms of the Egyptian Pyramids".



And yet it was not until he came closer that their immensity overwhelmed him: "...almost suddenly, a cold sense of understanding the Pyramids' enormity came down overcasting my brain". (Kinglake; 214). As a rational and secular man, Kinglake could not be satisfied by spiritual narratives concerning those structures, and states that "...the pyramids are nothing more nor less than a variety of sepulchral mounds so common in most countries". Some questions however, remained unsolved: "...the impossibility of finding earth sufficiently tenacious for a mound" (Kinglake, 1844,1982;216).

Nevertheless, Kinglake was amongst the few Europeans who realised that Western aesthetic measures could not hold for evaluating the quality of such creations as the Sphinx. Although "...a deformity and a monster to this generation", yet one could realise that it was "...fashioned according to some ancient mould of beauty now forgotten -- forgotten because that Greece drew forth criteria..." (Kinglake, 1844,1982; 217). This is a rather revealing observation indicating the antagonism towards the dominance of the Classicist tradition in so many realms of life. Kinglake had gone beyond those aesthetic conventions, for he recognised the universal value and timelessness of monuments like the Sphinx:

Herodotus yesterday, and Warburton to day -- upon all and more this unworldly Sphinx has watched... And we shall die, Islam will wither away, and the Englishman striding far over to hold his loved India... and still that sleepless rock will lie watching and watching... with those same earnest eyes... You dare not mock the Sphinx" (Kinglake, 1844,1982; 218).

## **5.6. Artistic interpretation: Edward Lear (1828-1888)**

The work of Edward Lear, the painter, illustrator, caricaturist and poet, is more an interpretation of the region than its 'reading'. Nevertheless, his work was selected to be discussed herein, first, because his interpretation, both visual and literary, was among the closest to the reality he described; secondly, being strongly influenced by the Pre-Raphaelites and the English Crafts Movement (see above 3.3), it provides some indication about the Movement's attitude towards the Levant besides Ruskin's criticism of Roberts' work. (see above, 5.4.1.)

Lear had the aspirations of an artist, and regarded his work as independent work of art. Nonetheless, he was faithful to the reality he drew, painted and wrote regarding their overall layouts and those few details he had chosen to describe. His interpretations and reflections about what he had seen and experienced were a little ahead of his time. He was capable of bold simplifications of line and of creating a mood by simple means (Lehmann, 1977; 90-96) (Fig. 19). Unlike the picturesque genre, most of his paintings lack detailed descriptions of small parts and were produced by broad and simple outlines. The figures which appear in some of his paintings and drawings are small, roughly drawn and do not affect the scale or atmosphere of the pictures of which they form a part (Figs. 20,21).



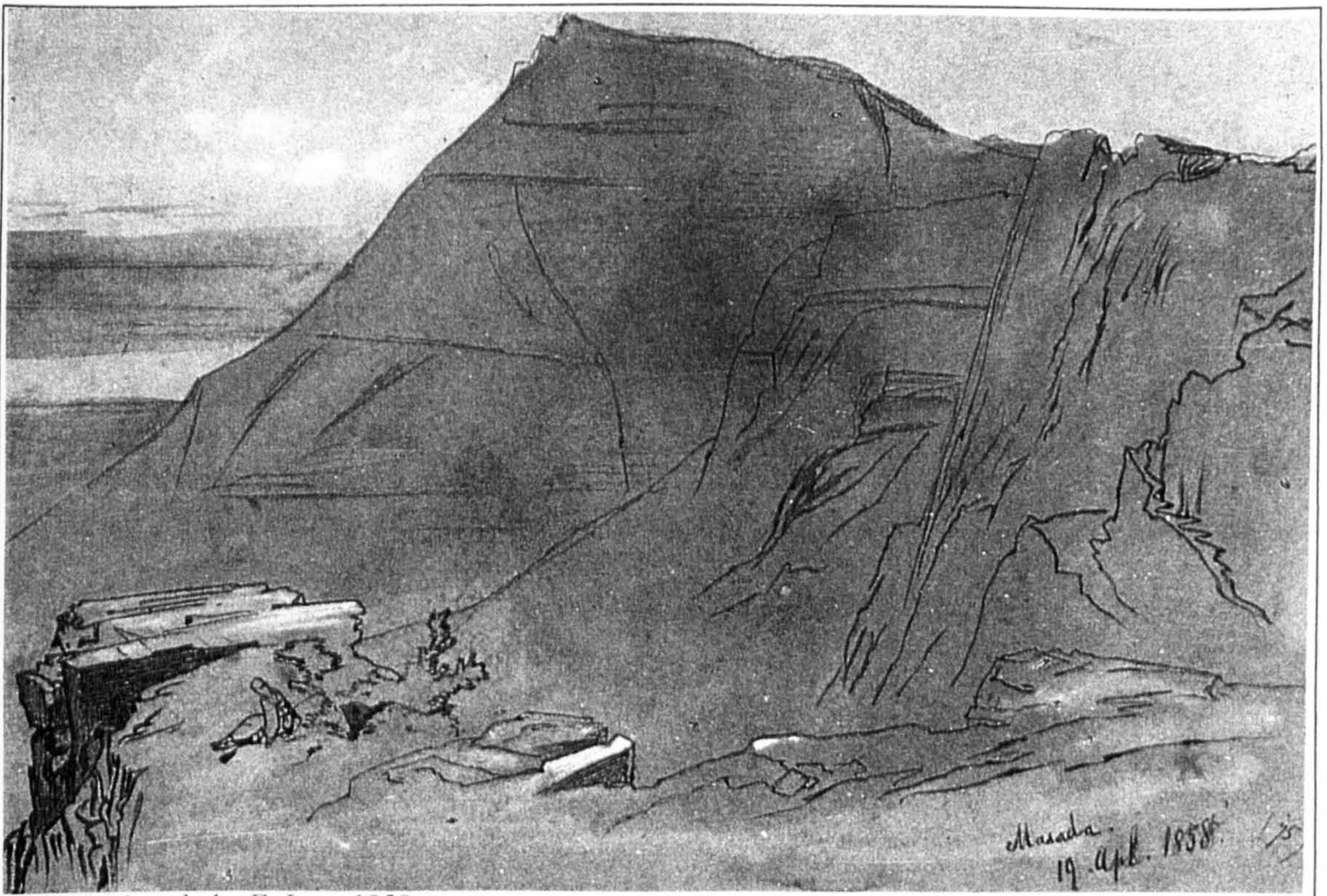


Fig. 19 Masada by E. Lear 1858

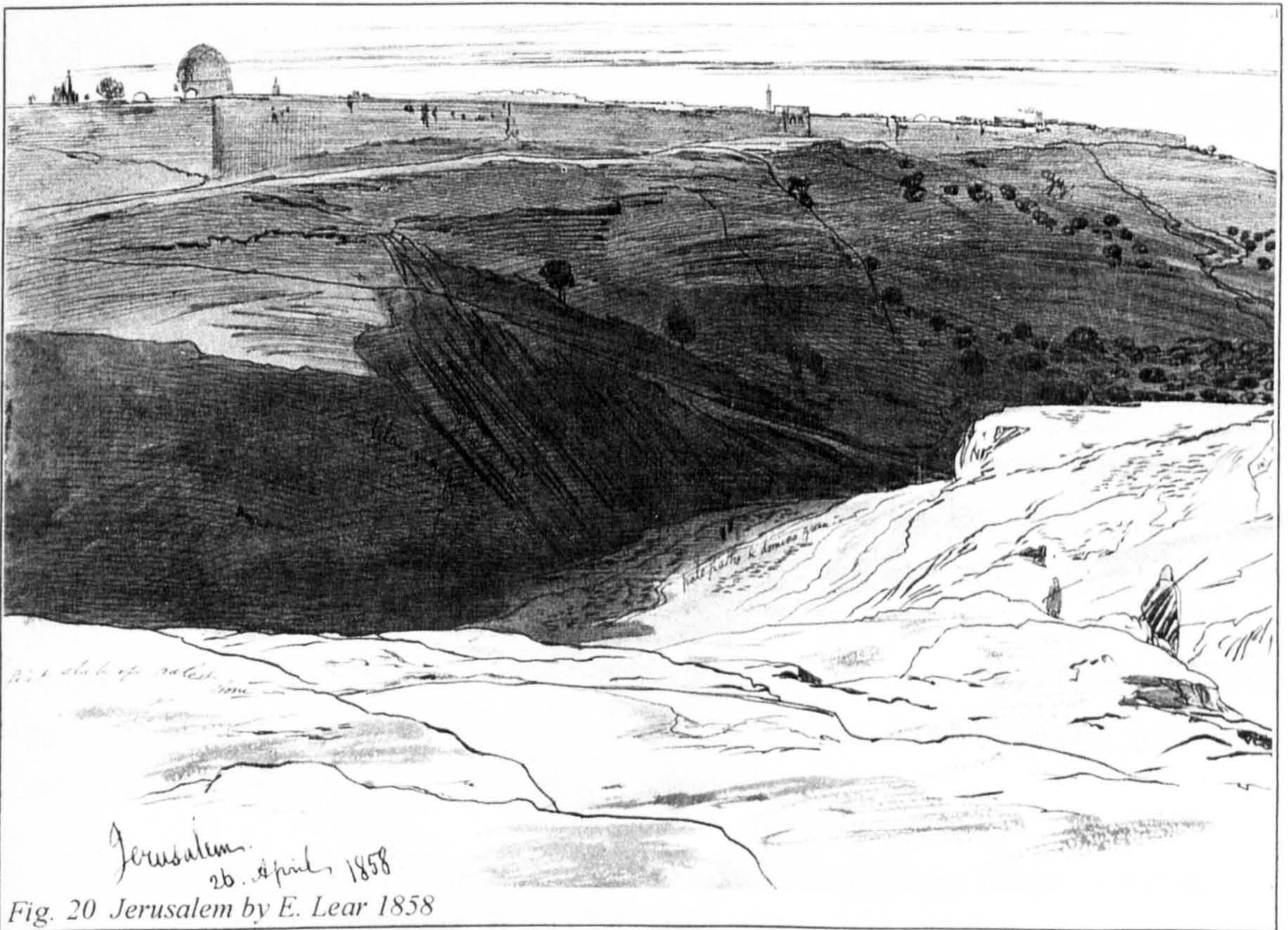


Fig. 20 Jerusalem by E. Lear 1858

Although his reputation was mostly as a humorous writer, Lear's main ambition was to become what was then called a 'topographic' painter of the first rank. Unfortunately, his fame and reputation rose only after his death, when two volumes of his letters were published in 1907 and in 1911. In 1929, at a series of auction sales in London, a large



number of his drawings appeared and drew wide attention. By 1938, revived interest in Lear's watercolours had emerged. Since then his artistic competence rose in popular esteem.

Lear became interested in landscape painting around 1835. His tours to the Lake District and Ireland had encouraged him to abandon detailed animal drawing (because of increasingly weak eye sight), for landscape painting. In 1837 he left England and moved to Rome. After publishing three albums of Italian views (1841, 1846) he decided to head further east, to Albania, Turkey, Malta, Egypt, Sinai and the Holyland, and in 1873 he even reached India. He spent most of his life out of England, mainly in Italy and in the island of Corfu, from where he travelled extensively as he was commissioned to paint desirable views of the East.

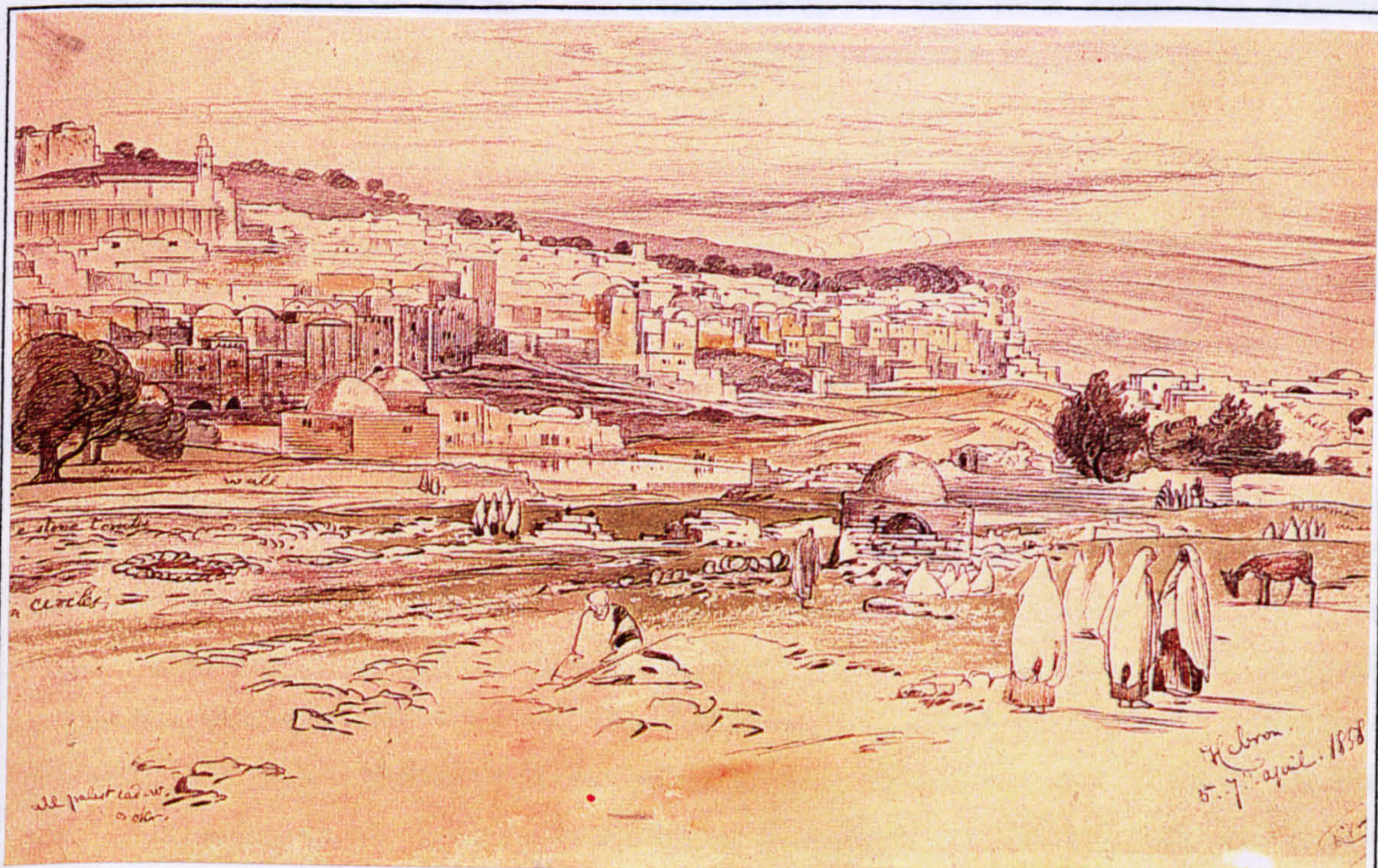


Fig. 21 Hebron by E. Lear 1858, 1869

Lear first arrived in Egypt in 1849. As a painter his principal interest was aesthetic. He was neither interested in ancient remains, nor in contemporary Egyptian life. He claimed that he "...cannot describe it, -- & Lane's works give a better account of it than I can" (Lear, letter, in Noakes, 1988; 97, see below, 6.4.3.). As an artist, he was intrigued by the unfamiliar chromatic effects of Eastern light. On his second visit to Egypt in 1854, he wrote to his sister about the rare colour scheme during the short hour of sunset, describing in words what is almost impossible to convey on canvas:

It is not much of a sunset itself, -- as the sun here is very bright; -- but the half or three quarter of an hour afterwards, which is so amazing. The sky was all in broad stripes of lilac, green, & amber, & it is impossible to describe the effect of this, which only lasts a short time" (Lear to his sister Anne in Noakes, 1988; 124-125).



He was to face another aspect of this phenomenon later in 1858, when he was commissioned by Lady Waldgrave to make two paintings of scenes in Palestine, one of Jerusalem, another of Masada. Here it was a more complicated problem, as Lady Waldgrave requested that Jerusalem be painted at sunset. Lear found that an impossible task due to its position, because the only place from which the entire city could be envisaged at once was from the east - a result of the tilt towards east of the plateau upon which the city rests. (see above, 5.2.) Since the request insisted on "...the whole form of Jerusalem", it could only be viewed at sunrise. "But alas!... at sunset, because the sun goes down behind the higher western hills", the whole city remains in the shade and loses its charm (Lear to Waldgrave, in Noakes, 1988; 150).

Lear who illustrated his letter to Lady Waldgrave with most meticulous drawings, marking each location he mentioned, had eventually compromised on a north-east view:

It does not take in the whole city but... it includes the site of the temple & the two domes, -- and it shows the ravine of Jehoshaphat, on which the city looks: -- and Abshalom pillar -- the village of Siloam... all included in the landscape. And besides this the sun, at sunset, catches the sides of the larger Eastern buildings, while the upper part of the city is in shadow (Lear to Waldgrave, in Noakes, 1988; 151).

This episode of selecting the most desired view of Jerusalem indicates how important was the conception of the city as a compact, glorious object - to contemplate, to admire, and to own - if not the city itself, so at least its image, produced by a respectable artist. Lear, who had always been financially broke, knew very well that it was only that particular image of a jewel-like city which had the chance to sell. The country was full of scenes of this sort, which he extensively wrote about to Lady Waldgrave and to other potential patrons in order to get further commissions. Since Biblical and historical associations always had a very good market, Lear suggested another option for a painting commission: "...but in case you should not like this [meaning Masada], there is Hebron, which is very particularly a Hebrew antiquity, -- and is besides sufficiently picturesque to form a good picture" (Lear to Waldgrave, in Noakes, 1988; 152), (Fig. 21). Obviously, there had been no market for scenes inside Jerusalem. Lear, like all other Western visitors to the city, was overwhelmed by the sharp contrast between its depressing interior and its magnificent exterior:

Physically Jerusalem is the foulest and odiouset on earth. A bitter doleful soul=augment comes over you in its streets -- and your memories of its interior are but horrid dreams... But the outside is full of melancholy glory -- exquisite beauty and a world of past history of all ages" (Lear, letter in Noakes, 1988; 156).



## 5.7. A life mission: Gertrude Bell

Gertrude Bell, the archaeologist, who originally went to the East on a scientific exploration mission, was eventually trapped by the magic of the region, overwhelmed by her own experience of it. She reflected upon this in her letter to her father: "One doesn't keep away from the East when one has got into it this far" (Bell, letter, 1900, in Bell ed. 1930; 106). She became an influential Arabist, (see above 4.4.) who was able to affect British officials with her intimate knowledge of the region. She was neither a traveller, nor a gifted writer, but rather one of those British expatriates totally involved in the affairs of other nations, who saw her life in the region as a mission and as a self realisation.

Her narrative of the Levant has neither special artistic merit nor great scientific value. But through her 'reading' of the region it is possible to follow the state of mind of other Arabists in their perception of it. Her accounts are a combination of first hand empirical data dominated by a strong sense of spiritual wonderment. She was not a religious person, but traces of Biblical associations can easily be recognised throughout her 'readings'. Approaching Palestine from the east, she could identify with the legend of Moses: "I stood on the top of Pisgah, [of Nebo mountain] and looked over the wonderful Jordan valley and the blue sea... and thought it to be the most pathetic story that I had ever been told" (Bell, letter, in Bell ed. 1930; 66).

Unresolved dilemmas about the religious-historical heritage of the region constantly occupied her mind:

And yet the wilderness of Judea has been nurse to the fiery spirit of man. Out of it strode grim prophets menacing with doom a world of which they had neither part nor understanding; the valleys are full of caves that held them nay, some are peopled today by a race of starved and gaunt ascetics, clinging to a tradition of piety that common sense has found it hard to discredit" (Bell, 1908; 10).

On some occasions, such as viewing Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, there was only a slight distinction between spiritual and aesthetic wonderment, and simple religious feelings:

Here I paused to recapture the impression, which no familiarity can blunt, of the city on the hill, gray in a gray and stony landscape under the heavy sky, but illuminated by the hope and longing of generations of pilgrims. Human aspiration, and blind reaching out of the fettered spirit towards a goal where all desires shall be satisfied and the soul find peace, these things surround the city like a halo, half glorious half pitiful, shining with tears and blurred by many a disillusion. (Bell, 1908; 7).



## 5.8. Secular perception: Pierre Loti

Among all the accounts presented in this Chapter, the Eastern travelogues of the well known French writer Pierre Loti are the most realistic. It is a secular and aesthetic view of the region and its inhabitants through the eye of a European intellectual. The discussion herein will concentrate only on his reading of the physical environment, leaving out, with regret, considerable parts of his travelogues which relate to other aspects of life in the region. Loti's inquisitive eye enabled him to point out most of the characteristic elements of the region's natural and manmade environment. This is not to say that sensations were put aside, nor that he avoided a personal view, rather the opposite. He is accused by Amos Elon of antisemitism in the manner in which he described the Jews living in Jerusalem, and by Edward Said of being tendentious in his Indian travel narrative, where only the natives are to be seen ignoring the British - (*sans les Anglais*). (Elon, 1989; 197, Said, 1993; 228) And yet, as will be shown below, unlike the majority of European writers about the Levant, in his readings the region appears the closest to being a place rather than a myth or a concept. Although his repertoire of themes was similar to that of other Western travellers, his outstanding descriptive power of purely visual and aesthetic scenes is far more convincing than many visual descriptions, drawn or painted.

### 5.8.1. Jerusalem and its environs:

Although not a painter, Loti had grasped the typical subtleties of the country's natural illumination conditions. True, he visited the region during spring time, when sunlight was not as glaring as during the long and dry summer and it was still possible to see a somewhat wider range of colours. Yet even in this season the chromatic effects are dominated by the sharp contrast between light and shadow, combined with the effects of light reflected from the various types of stone surfaces. In his description of what was mistakenly called King Solomon's Cisterns, he specified this phenomenon: "...two of its sides are rose coloured, and the other two -- those in the shadow -- bluish" (Loti, 1909; vol.1, 24). Such effects seemed even richer when approaching Jerusalem from the east: "...the mountains will take on a tint of green. At this moment, instead of being whitish as they appear from below, they have become tawny" (Loti, 1909; vol.1, 141-142).

The overwhelming stony landscape of the country had amazed Loti. The land seemed "...nothing but brambles and stones... a soil literally consisting of stones". So dominant a phenomenon it had been, that "...one can scarcely distinguish the real rocks from the debris of human buildings". Furthermore, entire towns such as "Hebron, built with the same materials as the endless walls with which the country is filled. A mass of stone cubes that compose the town, the profusion of stone walls that cover the mountain". What appeared most peculiar to him was the form of buildings, which seemed to take the form of small



cubes, like the stone blocks themselves, and, "...the general effect is cut-clean and hard, with a surprising uniformity of outline and colour". This was a common configuration of the majority of towns and villages throughout the country. It lacked any visible order or structure, just "Passages, narrow and dark... high blunt walls, with very few little arched windows" (Loti, 1909; vol.1, 10-11,20,26).

It drew only little attention amongst 19th century explorers and architects, who were mainly looking for monuments, preferably from the ancient past, which could somehow fit the conventions of European architecture, or as further indications of historical events. It was only later, when the country came under British rule, that this vernacular architecture attracted attention, seeming so fitting to the ideals of the English Crafts Movement.

Loti recorded the different stages of his gradual approach towards Jerusalem. He does not deny the emotional impact of this experience on him, and yet he presents a truthful and explanatory description of the city's layout, avoiding any of the conventional myths usually associated with that experience. "Gradually revealed", it straight-away appeared as a city, rather than as an object: "...a collection of scattered buildings, convents and churches, of every style and every country". Furthermore, it has various forms when viewed from different directions: "...on the left side of the mountain [facing west] the buildings are nondescript and disappointing; but on the right [facing east] . Old Jerusalem endures still, such as we have seen it in the pictures of the simple missals" (Loti, 1909; vol.1, 38-39).

A most splendid view of the city was revealed to Loti when leaving it, from Bethany over the valley of Jehoshaphat, when "...Jerusalem itself reappears, unspoiled on this side, superb and desolate, outlining very high the sky its Saracenic wall, which overlapped by its gray copulas" (Loti, 1909; vol.1, 148). The offensive situation of the inner city looked ugly and repulsive to Loti, as it appeared to many others. Like Kinglake before, he regarded religious extremity being the main cause, as the "...city which has been twenty times besieged, which has been sacked by every form of fanaticism, seems one vast accumulation of debris" (Loti, 1909; vol.1, 46-47).

His aesthetic and secular conception of Islam is what fundamentally distinguished him from other Europeans and determined his attitude towards what he had seen in the Levant:

And for me it is the refuge most fitting today -- as that Islam to which I once upon a time inclined might have understood in a certain way, had become later on the form of an exterior religion, compact of imagination and art, in which my unbelief would find home (Loti, 1909; vol. 1, 196-197).

Thus his 'readings' of Islamic monuments concentrate on their universal faculties as works of art, eliminating religious prejudices. Such are his detailed recordings of the Damascus Gate and of the Dome of the Rock. Compared with Roberts' painted views, Loti's literary descriptions are far more genuine as well as poetic:



...outlining its ogive in the great sombre wall. It is flanked by two gloomy towers and is crowned bristle indeed with points of stone, sharpened like lance heads. ...under the shine of the tinkling water, an intense colour of old bronze stained with verdigris... (Loti, 1909; vol. 1, 41-42).

With the same sense of marvel and aesthetic admiration, he describes in great detail the Dome of the Rock:

In the centre of the enormous square stands, solitarily, a surprising building, entirely blue, of a blue exquisite and rare, which looks like some old enchanted palace... The mosque, octagonal in shape, is supported by two concentric rows of columns; the first also octagonal; the second, supporting the magnificent dome, circular. The capitals of these columns are gilded, and the columns themselves, each of a different material, are all priceless... (Loti, 1909; vol. 1, 64-73).

### 5.8.2. Egypt, ancient and contemporary

Loti's Egyptian readings are critical impressions of a country at the summit of its popularity amongst European travellers. It was directed to the educated European referring to the two faces of the country: the glorious ancient, and the contemporary Islamic. A sharp criticism of European misconceptions about local inhabitants and their culture is interwoven throughout the text. Loti condemned the Europeans' perception of Islam as "merely a religion of obscurantism" and accused them of "...absolute ignorance of the teaching of the Prophet, and blind and forgetfulness of the evident of history". But his main concern was the conflict between imported modern civilisation, and local traditions. He saw no advantage "...in that march to the unknown which we call 'progress'. The truth is" he argued, "...that nations have their day; and to the period of glorious splendour succeeds a time of lassitude and slumber" (Loti, 1909; vol.2, 72). Referring to the foreign European architecture built in Alexandria and Cairo, he said:

What is this? where are we fallen? Save that it is more vulgar, it might be Nice, or the Riviera, or Interlake, or many other of those towns of carnivals... The new Cairo, the Cairo of sham and elegance and of 'Semiramis Hotels', does not deserve to be mentioned except with a smile (Loti, 1909; vol. 2, 25,30).

Loti was fascinated by Egyptian sunsets. Like many visual artists and writers, he could not resist the temptation of describing the most popular scenes of Thebes. Here again, Loti's literary descriptions are far richer and more revealing than most paintings and prints of the place:

Slowly the sun descends; behind us the granites of the town-mummy seem to burn more and more. ...an amaranth violet, begins to encroach upon lower



parts, spreading along avenues and over the open spaces. But everything that rises into the sky -- the friezes of temples, the capital of the columns are still red as glowing embers. ...and continue to glow and shed rosy illumination until the end of the twilight (Loti, 1909; vol. 2, 202).

Following the conventional tour of Cairo, Loti climbed the top of the old citadel from where the entire city unfolded. It was from that spot that the immensity of the city was revealed. An "...endless multitude of its houses" dominated by "...thousands of its minarets ...spread out simply in a plain surrounded by the solitude of the desert". Compared with other Islamic cities such as Istanbul, in Cairo minarets "...are complicated by arabesques, by galleries, clock-towers, and little towers and seem to have borrowed the reddish colour of the desert (Loti, 1909; vol.2,18,22). The spell of "a very fairyland" city vanished when one entered the inner city. And yet, unlike the majority of Europeans, Loti had found in Cairo, what he could not find in oppressing Jerusalem - a great deal of charm. His rather modernistic aesthetic conception enabled him to recognise and appreciate other types of beauty, even if chaotic, unclean or decayed:

...the old town of Cairo, a maze of streets still full of charm... Passing through streets which twist at their caprice, beneath overhanging balconies covered with wooden trellis of exquisite workmanship... And when in the gathering gloom, which hides the signs of decay, there appear suddenly, above the little houses, so lavishly ornamented with mushrabiyyas and arabesques, the tall aerial minarets, rising to a prodigious height into the twilight sky, it is still the adorable East (Loti, 1909; vol.2, 24).

Yet, unfortunately, this sort of attitude had some morally unpleasant implications. Also being basically an exterior view, it led to a state of mind where aesthetic criteria dominate ethical measures, where places of misery may still seem beautiful.

Describing ancient Egyptian monuments, Loti underlines two of their most important architectural attributes: their monumentality, and their voidlessness - architecture of mass. He found that the monumentality of the pyramids is enhanced by their position on the endless flat plains: "...as if upon a misty horizon". Coming closer, "...the feeling, almost, that you have grown suddenly smaller... that you are dwarfed to less than human size" (Loti, 1909; vol.2, 207,233).

Although not an architect, Loti had recognised a significant attribute of ancient Egyptian architecture - the absence of proper vault. "The want of clear space" was a rather oppressing sensation. Yet, being aware of the fact that by then "...the thing which to us today seems so simple -- namely the vault", had not yet been discovered, he considered ancient architects "marvelous pioneers" who were already exploiting important architectural rules:

...the idea of rectitude, the straight line, the right angle the vertical line... They employed symmetry with a consummate mastery, understanding as well as



we all, the effect that it is to be obtained by repetition of like objects placed on either sides of a portico... since there was a limit to the size of the stones... they recourse to this profusion of columns to support their stupendous ceilings (Loti, 1909; vol.2, 226).

Besides being a fascinating experience, Loti's encounter with ancient civilisation had given him a new perspective about the achievements of Europe:

It was here, seven or eight thousand years ago , under this pure crystal sky, that the first awakening of human thought began. Our Europe then was still sleeping, wrapped in the mantle of its damp forests... (Loti, 1909; vol.2, 194).

## 5.9 Summary

It has been suggested that the first phase of the European encounter with the lands of the Levant was 'reading' its latent narrative and spreading it. It was the cultural and intellectual basis for the more specific and professional interest in physical and environmental aspects of the region which will be discussed in detail in the next chapters. Since the Levant had never been regarded by Europeans as just an exotic place, but also as a historical and cultural entity closely linked with their own, their rediscovery of it in the 19th century had been a significant mental-cultural phase. The 'reading' of the land had produced a great body of literary and visual recordings, termed here 'narratives', i.e. that their principal aim was to tell the story of the region combined with some latent meaning associated with it.

The images of the natural and man-made places of the region had been described from a basically external point - physically and conceptually. This led to highly interpreted representations - extracts of that reality, which eventually became cultural objects in their own right, to which the capacity to represent the reality which they recorded was ascribed. As such they functioned as mediators between the Europeans and the Levant, and determined their perception of it.

Great diversity characterised those cultural objects, which ranged from travelogues, often illustrated, to paintings or prints occasionally accompanied by personal notes. Egypt and the Holyland were the focus of those recordings, a few of which were chosen to be discussed above. All of these, as early as the 12th century, whether literary, visual or both, indicate that the figurative characteristics of the natural and man-made places in the region attracted most of the attention, and were consolidated into compact images, especially those of the Holyland. It was also shown how purely visual recordings often failed to portray genuine images of the region, as those of D. Roberts, whereas literary recordings on the other hand, conveyed a more realistic picture, especially those of P. Loti.



The first stage of consolidating Jerusalem into an object, or rather a celestial one, took place as early as the Middle Ages. Presented here through the accounts of the German monk Theoderich, it was shown how the actual topography of the City had contributed to its perception as a compact entity rather than as an ordinary urban ensemble. The figurative and pictorial character of the Holyland's scenery at large was demonstrated through some of H. Maundrell's recordings. These also included some of the earliest examples of panoramic views of entire cities, a trend which was to become most popular in the second half of the 19th century.

The popularity of the Levant's views reached a climax with the extensive work of D. Roberts. It was suggested that the content, style, and vogue of Roberts' work had greatly contributed to the misconceptions of the region and its inhabitants, by producing stereotypical images of both its lands and its peoples. Roberts, of course, was definitely not the only one to produce such stereotypes, but his were of the best quality and their popularity was unabated. Amongst the reasons for that popularity, as well as the credibility of Roberts' work, was his ability to use only subtle modifications of the reality which could never be regarded as distortions of it. Thus his lithographs have retained their representational power until the present day.

The travelogues of Alexander Kinglake and Pierre Loti are considered here as intellectual breakthroughs, each in his own style and in regard to their different periods of time. They were amongst the few whose aim was not to represent the Levant, but rather to present their own subjective view of it. For Kinglake, discovering the Levant was an intellectual experience of meeting the 'pre-civilised' world. The borderline between the civilizations was revealed to him as a clear and sharp physical expression - the Jordan River. Even a sober intellectual such as Kinglake was fascinated by that fact. In other words, Kinglake's rational testimony shows again how fragile was the distinction between the physical reality and its potential to become a myth. Egypt was for him, as it had been for many other travellers, the 'secular domain'. Regarded as 'travelling back in time', it was considered the origin of Western civilisation. And yet, the form and scale of the Egyptian remains had challenged Kinglake's Western aesthetic conceptions.

The work of Edward Lear, which combined literary and visual recordings of his experiences in the Levant, is an important testimony about a number of the problems with which the visual artists were faced in their attempt to portray the scenes of the Levant. The unfamiliar qualities of light and the different colour schemes stemming from it were almost impossible to convey on canvas. Lear was well aware of that problem and expressed his difficulties in writing. His own literary descriptions of purely visual effects are far more accurate than his paintings. He had found some of his drawing commissions almost impossible to accomplish, not only for their peculiar chromatic scheme but also because of their topographic position and the configuration of their mass, such as Lady Waldgrave's request to have Jerusalem at sunset. The picturesque taste of his patrons back home was sometimes difficult to satisfy as Lear, unlike Roberts, was not ready to modify the reality he



had seen.

Some of the recordings of Gertrude Bell about Jerusalem and its surroundings were presented as an example of the fragile distinction between the scientist and the devoted Arabist; between the intellectual and the spiritual person who had been overwhelmed by the physical reality of the region.

The chapter concludes with the secular recordings of Pierre Loti whose aesthetic view of the region was the closest to reality, and his perception of it was more of a place than of a myth. His inquisitive observations reveal many subtle attributes of the physical environment of the region, and his knowledge of Islam had been the base for his appreciation of the Arab life style.

In the next chapter, the second phase of the European encounter with the Levant, its 'exploration', will be discussed, focussing on man-made evidence. Although its realms of investigation were more clearly defined, being so called scientific, their cultural-mental basis was similar to that of the phase discussed above - the 'reading'.



## EXPLORING MAN-MADE EVIDENCE: ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL DOCUMENTATION

### 6.1. Introduction

The publication of the *Description de l'Egypte* (1809-1828) marked the beginning of a scientific interest in the Levant by which it became a desired destination for highly motivated scholars. However this was not science in its ordinary meaning, as it lacked any assumptions to be proved nor any specific targets to be discovered. Rather, it was a great appetite for information about the land and its inhabitants, which is why the word 'exploring' was chosen here. It was undertaken by purposeful young men with great conviction who stayed for long periods in the Levant, some of whom had been overwhelmed by what they saw and were obsessed by it. It will also be suggested that their motivation was part of what was previously described as the desire to have and collect, by which the gathering of data and the collecting of objects became one thing.

Unlike the 'readers' - painters and writers who were conscious of the taste and preferences of their audiences back home, (see above, Chap.5) the 'explorers', in this case architects/archaeologists, regarded themselves committed to what they considered pure science. However it is evident by their repertoire of subjects and the manner of their expression that to a great extent they were also bound by the conventions of their time. Nonetheless by introducing an immense new body of knowledge about the region they also challenged those conventions.

They shared with the 'readers' a similar set of subjects about the physical environment of the region, often with the same pathos, so that their work is sometimes confused (as with the work of Bartlett and Roberts; see above, 5.4.). These subjects were the following: (1) vast panoramas; (2) strong glaring sunlight and its chromatic effects; (3) figurative layout of buildings and settlements in landscape; (4) stone as the sole building material.

As architects, or at least trained as such, they were extremely concerned, even obsessed, with details and ornamentation, that was to persist as the principal interest of all pilgrims/architects to the Levant in the later periods. This chapter will concentrate on this particular issue, referring as necessary to other subjects mentioned above. Indeed, a number of the comprehensive and important exploration works about the region, its natural and man-made environment, will not be discussed here at all. Although Colonel Sir Charles Wilson's *Picturesque Palestine, Egypt and Sinai* (1880) is considered amongst the serious illustrated books about the region, undertaken by respectable scholars, the scope and



diversity of its investigations, undertaken by non-architects, exceeds the framework of this study.

In its beginnings architectural exploration was part of Egyptology. Architects, like painters, were hired by the numerous archaeological expeditions or by rich travellers who wanted to document their journeys. In the pre-photographic period, paintings and drawing 'in situ' had been the only means of visual documentation. Later, in the early stages, photographic devices helped painters and architects to arrive at more accurate images, upon which they gradually became dependent (e.g. Camera Lucida and Camera Obscura). Amongst the first to use those devices in the East were Robert Hay, for his panoramic views in Egypt, and Frederick Catherwood, as a layout for his panoramic drawing of Jerusalem in 1833. With the invention of the Daguerreotype (1839), the Calotype (1840) and the positive printing methods of the Carbon Print (1855-1866), many of the visual impressions about the region were actually retouched photographs, which were then elaborated and turned into prints, intensifying various effects, adding figures and other objects. That was necessary since the photographs themselves, though of fair quality, had shown reality exactly as it was: dusty deserted places which often lacked any picturesque charm, that could not appeal to the taste of the European audience. As far as architects and archaeologists were concerned, photographic devices were used mainly for making the preliminary outline of views or objects, to which a great deal of information was added.

The pattern of exploring the Levant, which was to be maintained for many generation to come, was set up by Napoleon's grand expedition of scholars, scientists, and artists, which accompanied him and his military forces landing in Alexandria on July 1798. The principal idea behind this extravagant enterprise was to promote scientific research about Egypt, by founding research institutions in the country, concerned with various realms, so that all surveys and analysis would be first hand and from the actual site. This then led to establishing more expeditions, all aimed at collecting a vast amount of information in different forms, which also involved the removal of valuable objects and shipping them to Europe (see above, 2.3.2. Fig. 2).

Apart from setting up the famous Institute d'Egypte (which published the 24 volumes of the *Description de l'Egypte* 1809- 1829), other scientific institutions were established; hospitals, printing presses, libraries, schools and factories. Consequently many European scientists were present in Egypt, hunting for research work. After the French military defeat, they were encouraged to stay by Mohammed Ali, the semi-independent ruler of Egypt, and take part in his reforms.

Among the first and most important to do so was Giovanni Belzoni, the Italian born hydraulic engineer, invited by Mohammed Ali to assist in the mechanics of a new pumping machine, a gift from the British Prince Regent. He was then employed by the British Consul General Henry Salt, first as an engineer and then as a talented excavator. His position enabled him to conduct some important private excavations between the years 1815-1819, which had an enormous response in Britain. In 1817, Belzoni and others had cleared the



sand from the entrance of the Great Temple at Abu Simbel; later that year he discovered six royal tombs in the valley of the Kings, and the following year he found the entrance to the Second Pyramid at Giza which had long been thought to be solid. Most of the movable objects revealed by Belzoni became the property of Henry Salt, who later sold them to the British Museum. And so a number of the most magnificent Egyptian sculptural items "had found a home" outside of Egypt, between the years 1818-1821, having an extensive impact on the British public (Conner, 1983; 5).

The explorers whose work was chosen to be discussed herein were selected in regard to their professional reputation and their significant contribution to the evolvement of an architectural perception of the Levant.

## 6.2. Challenging the supremacy of Greece - Sir Charles Barry

In those days, visiting the remains of ancient architecture was considered an essential part of an architect's education. Barry (1795-1860) was in Athens (1818), about to return home from his architectural Grand Tour, when he was offered a good salary and expenses to go to Egypt and draw. The aim of the tour was purely archaeological, and Barry was most enthusiastic about it. He made plans of all the main temples, which were so accurate that they are still in use today. In addition he made numerous sketches, impressive both for their beauty and marvellous detail. He had an incredibly sure eye for choosing an appropriate composition, which was later to serve him as an architect as well as a draughtsman, particularly when designing the Houses of Parliament (Binney, 1969; 498).

His sketch of the huge statues in the plain of Thebes set diagonally against the backdrop of a sheer mountain wall truly portrays their monumentality (fig. 22). Similarly, his drawing of one of the temples at Philae (fig. 23) catches the subtle effects of light and shade, and without exaggerating its dimensions.

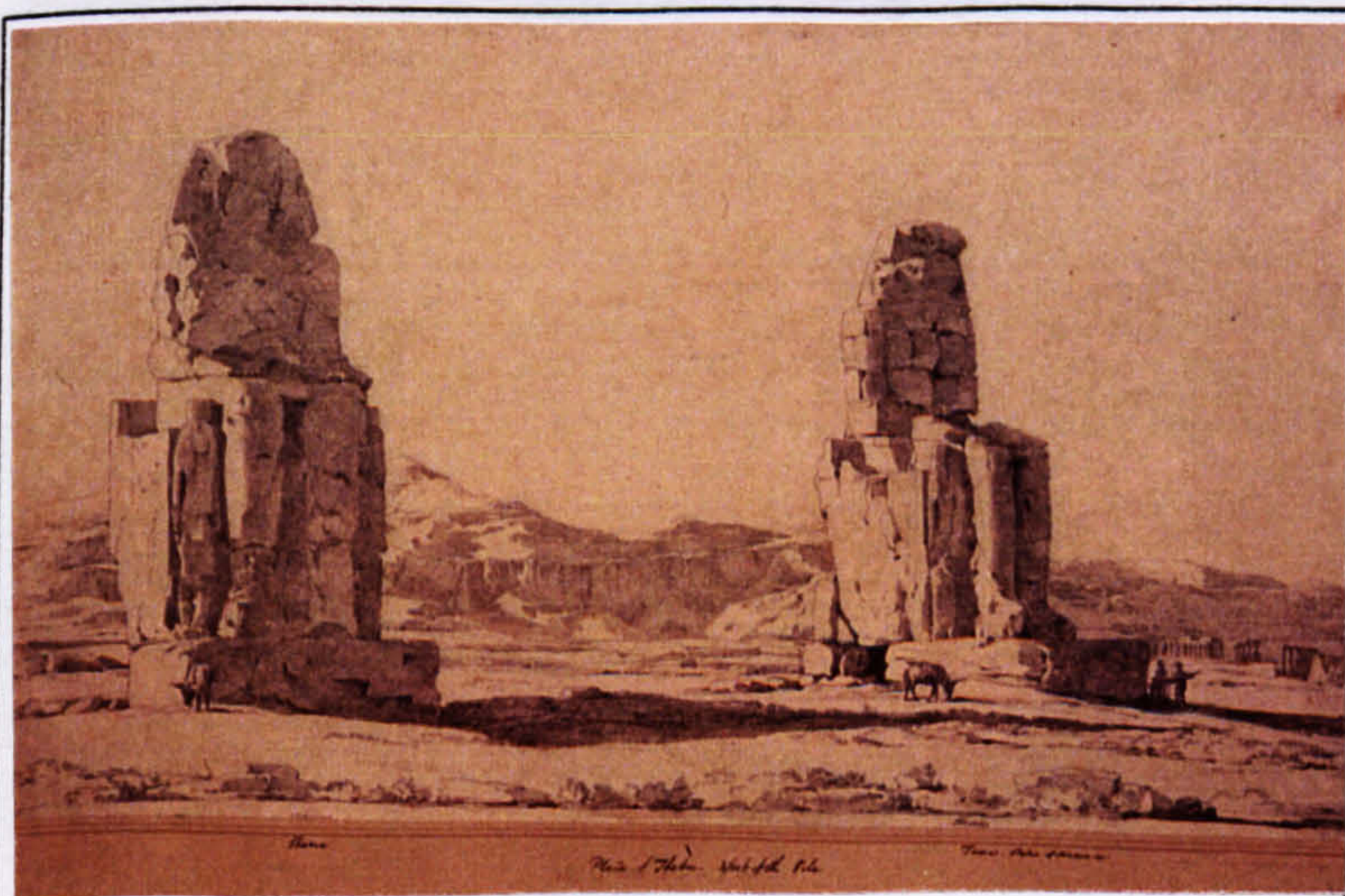


Fig. 22 Statues on the planes of Thebes, by C. Barry





Fig. 23 *A Temple at Philae by C. Barry*

The fact that Barry used only line drawings enabled him to overcome the great difficulty of describing the details of the structures, together with the contrast between lit and shaded surfaces. This is because a line drawing is basically a visual analysis of a scene or an object rather than a complete copy of its optical and illuminated conditions. In other words, it was impossible to convey a realistic and complete coloured image of scenes in the strong sunlight of the Middle East without compromising either on the delicate details or on the real chromatic character. That is because in the glaring light, colours fade away and details appear as texture. (see above, 5.4.2.) Human figures (actually the donkeys are even more visible) appear only in the Thebes scene, and otherwise the scale of the structures is portrayed by elements surrounding it and by a most efficient use of the rules of perspective drawing. Similar qualities characterise his views of the "Shores of the Nile" (Fig. 24).

(The author apologizes for the quality of Fig. 24).

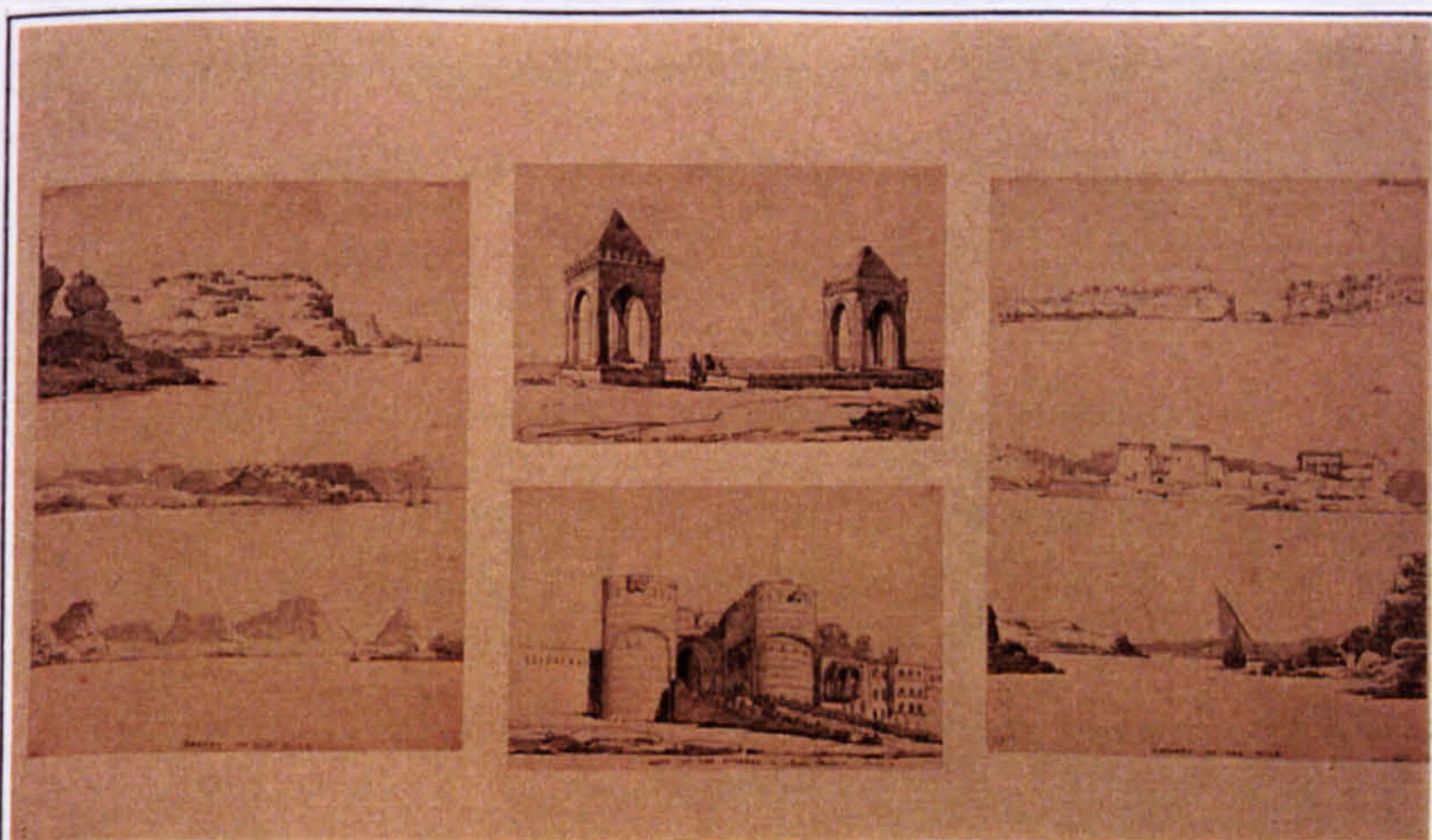


Fig. 24 *The Shores of the Nile by C. Barry*



It is usually suggested that the Egyptian chapter of Barry's tour had the greatest impact on his later career. As Barry's son wrote: "It is hardly too much to say that he entered Egypt merely under the influence of a vague artistic interest and left it with the leading principles of his architectural system fixed forever" (Alfred Barry in Binney, 1969; 498). These principles were the desire for truth, unity and regularity, and the love of spaciousness, richness and perfection of detail. It was precisely these qualities that he admired in Egyptian architecture (Binney, 1969; 498).

And yet, it was not just a simple admiration, but rather a revolutionary experience. Barry was challenging for the first time the convention by which Greece had been the first and the best, and discovering an entirely different system of ornamentation. This was reflected in his diaries which, according to his son, had become more detailed and contained careful and elaborate descriptions of various places (A. Barry, 1867; 30). He was astonished by the "...unexpected magnitude..." of the monumental structures, which gave him a new perspective of the skill and "...knowledge of the principles of architecture displayed by the Egyptians". Its impact on him was far greater than anything he had seen before in Classical architecture. Reflecting upon the Temple of Dendera, he wrote: "No object I have seen, not even the Parthenon itself, has made so forcible an impression upon me" (Barry in A. Barry, 1867; 31). The impression made on him by the mixture of grandeur of outline and dimension with the richness of detail had never faded. Even more important was the fact that by constantly sketching and examining every detail he saw, he was "...evidently seeking to emancipate himself from the limits of the five orders, and longing for greater variety and scope for imagination" (A. Barry, 1867; 32).

The encounter with Egyptian ornamentation was a major factor in that emancipation. It resulted in the documentation of various archaeological monuments being part of his assignment as a draughtsman. Such was his elaborate description of the remarkable Zodiacs, that had given such a boost to contemporary archaeological knowledge (Fig. 25). In its format, this document was to have a strong impact on a later generation of architects, who tended to classify the visual information they had collected in such catalogue-like charts. (The author apologizes for the quality of Fig. 25).

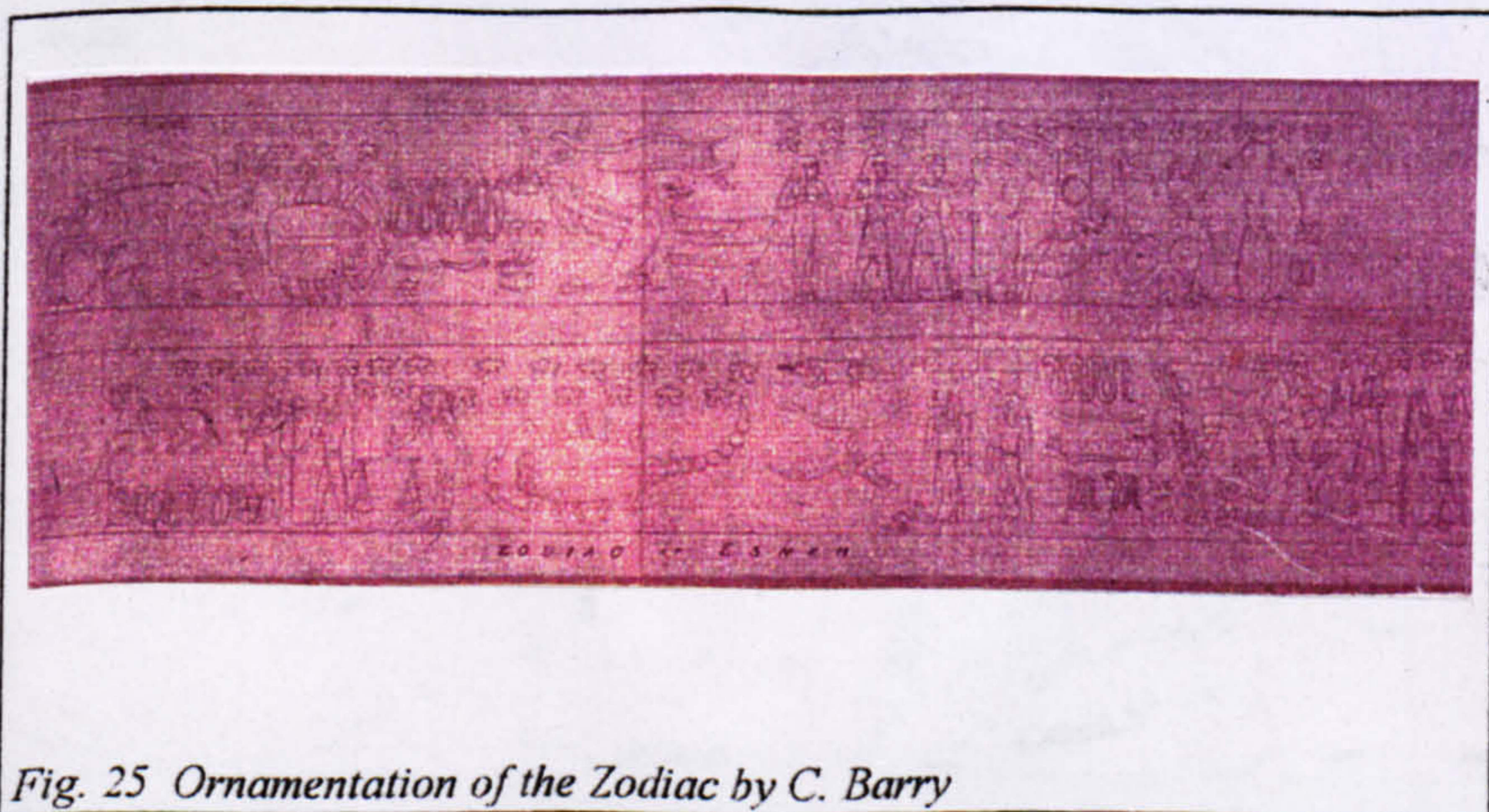
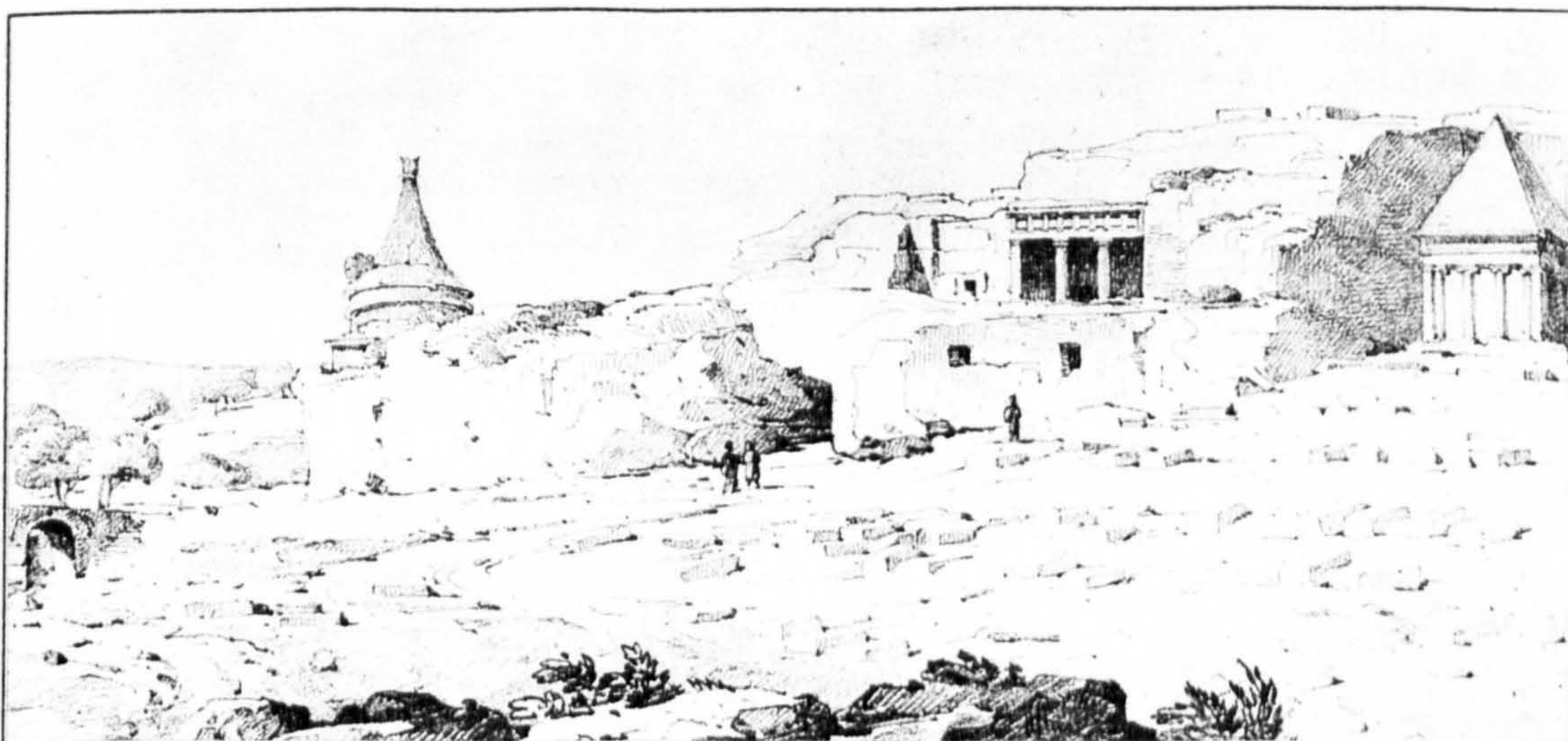


Fig. 25 Ornamentation of the Zodiac by C. Barry

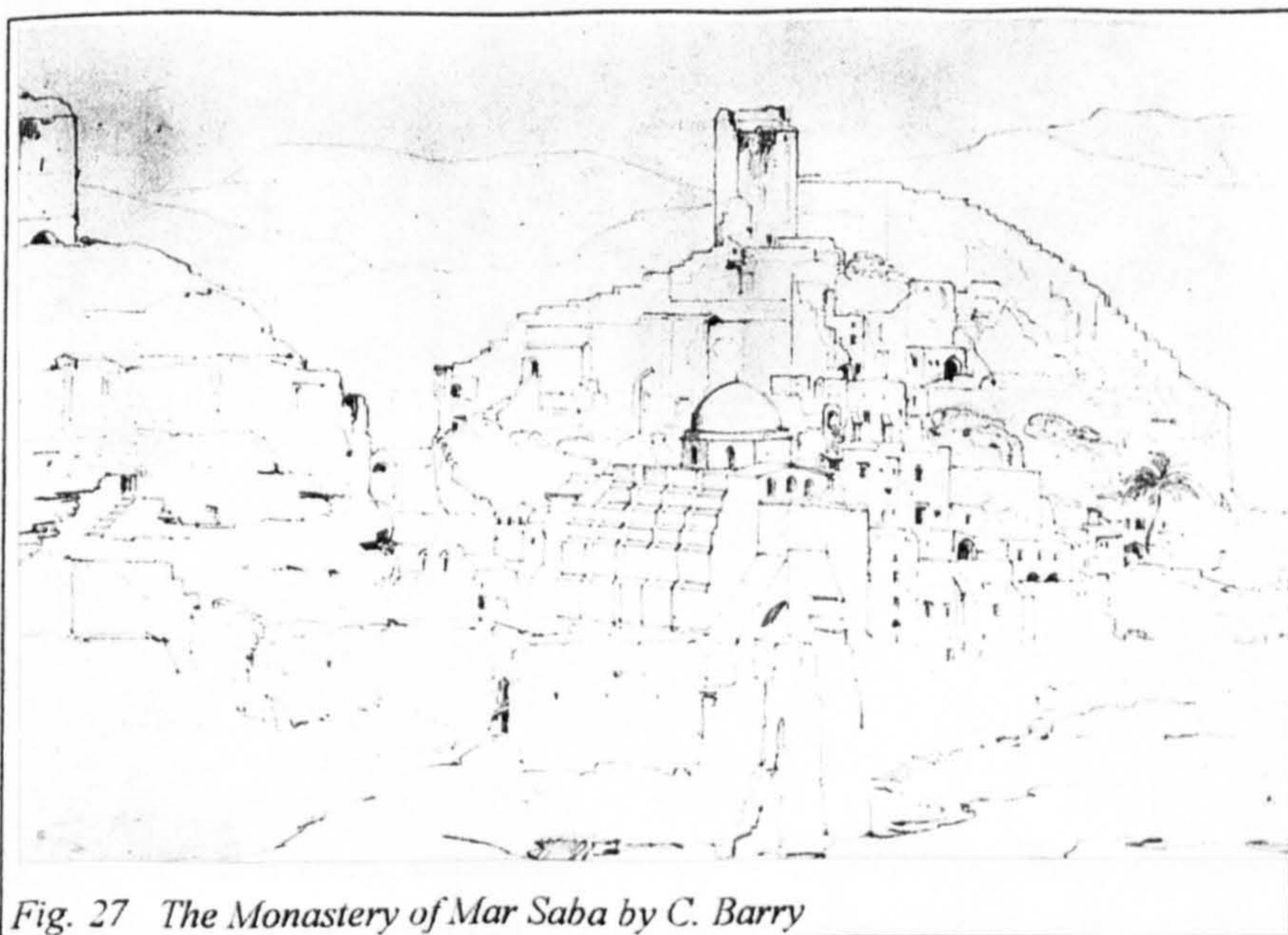


Barry was amongst the first to see the painted architectural elements at Philae and at Abu Simbel, additional evidence of Egyptian competence and taste. Even more revolutionary were the colossal figures, which were entirely new to him in spirit and free from the conventionality of most of those he had seen before. The painting was in most places fresh and bright, but the intense heat and moisture of the interior had threatened it with rapid decay (A. Barry, 1867; 34,35). Sketching them had also meant saving them .

As a secular person, Barry was neither moved by what he had seen in the Holyland, nor was he attracted by any of its architectural heritage. He was actually repelled by what he saw: "I wish I could say that my faith had been strengthened by a pilgrimage in the Holyland" (A. Barry, 1967; 37). And so, his sober and critical observation resulted in the most realistic sketches which were later engraved in Finden's *Illustrations of the Bible*, and served as basic layouts for painters such as W. Turner (Figs. 26,27). Here, as in Egypt, his line drawings portray a most realistic view of the land.



*Fig. 26 Tombs in the Kidron Valley by Barry*



*Fig. 27 The Monastery of Mar Saba by C. Barry*



### 6.3. Obsessive documentation - Robert Hay's expedition

The next stage of exploring the Levant is closely associated with Robert Hay (1799-1863), a rich Scottish antiquary who acted as a focal point from 1824 to 1834 for the study of Egyptian antiquities. For the first time archaeological data of ancient Egypt, as well as contemporary Islamic architecture, was considered relevant architectural reference and precedent, yet without the classification and analysis of later days (see below, Chap. 7).

Feelings of adventure alone could not have prompted Hay to conceive such an ambitious and systematic expedition to Egypt and Nubia. He was amongst the upper-class young British artists and architects who looked for new sources of inspiration and principles which might guide them in their own work, and who became highly stimulated by the findings of distinguished travellers about Egypt. Most influential were Belzoni's discoveries, exhibited in London, (Piccadilly, 1818-1821) and his autobiographical accounts which became extremely popular (see above, 6.1). Hay, who became a great admirer of Belzoni, had decided to use the wealth of the Linplum estate which he inherited to finance an expedition of highly-skilled artists and architects, all variously associated with one another: Frederick Catherwood (1799-1855), who is better known for his drawings of Maya monuments, Joseph Bonomi (1796-1878), a draughtsman and sculptor, Francis Arundale (1807-1853) and Edward Lane (1801-1876).

They were not intent on discovery, as Belzoni had been; their main purpose and achievement was to record the antiquities by making drawings, copies and casts, which involved some minor excavation operations that usually meant the removal of sufficient sand from the half buried structures in order to draw their interiors. All drawings became Hay's property, as his draughtsmen were forbidden by the terms of their contracts to keep or publish any of their work. Hay's contract with Arundale even required that the latter had to leave Egypt after the termination of his assignment, or if he chose to remain in the country, he was forbidden to make any further drawings.

Hay and his team had worked in Egypt for ten years in two periods of time: between 1824-1828 and 1829-1834; their crop was incredible: apart from hundreds of measured ground plans, sections and elevations of most monuments, as well as geographical panoramas, more than 230 casts arrived in England by 1836. Some of the casts, such as the huge head of Abu Simbel, were given to the British Museum to be exhibited in the Egyptian Court of the Crystal Palace which was set up at Sydenham in 1854 (Jones, 1854; 25, Tillet, 1984; 13, Conner, 1983; ch. 5, Clayton, 1982; 48).

Therefore, it is suggested here that this great tide of intellectual attraction and artistic fascination by Egyptian remains must have been motivated by another significant drive - the desire to have and collect (see above, 2.2.1.). Collecting data and objects became the same thing, to be owned, classified, ladled, and exhibited. As previously shown, the magnificent findings of Egypt - whether originals or copies, which were exhibited in the great European



cities, became representations of an entire period and culture. Being mainly sculptures or other artistic exhibits taken out of their original context, they determined the manner by which non-European cultures and places were later perceived: as objects. Furthermore, it will be shown below that by their great interest in details, all members of Hay's expedition, had attracted attention to the individual architectural element, ascribing to it the power to represent an entire architectural tradition.

Besides conducting the work of the expedition, Hay who was a good draughtsman himself and had produced some picturesque views with the aid of the Camera Lucida. By means of a prism and a set of changeable lenses, a small picture of a broad scene or a large object was cast onto a sheet of paper, enabling the draughtsman to copy it accurately. By using a wide-angle lens Hay was able to catch the whole of a Cairean alley, (Fig. 28) showing at once both its detailed interiors and its general layout, as if opening up towards the viewer.

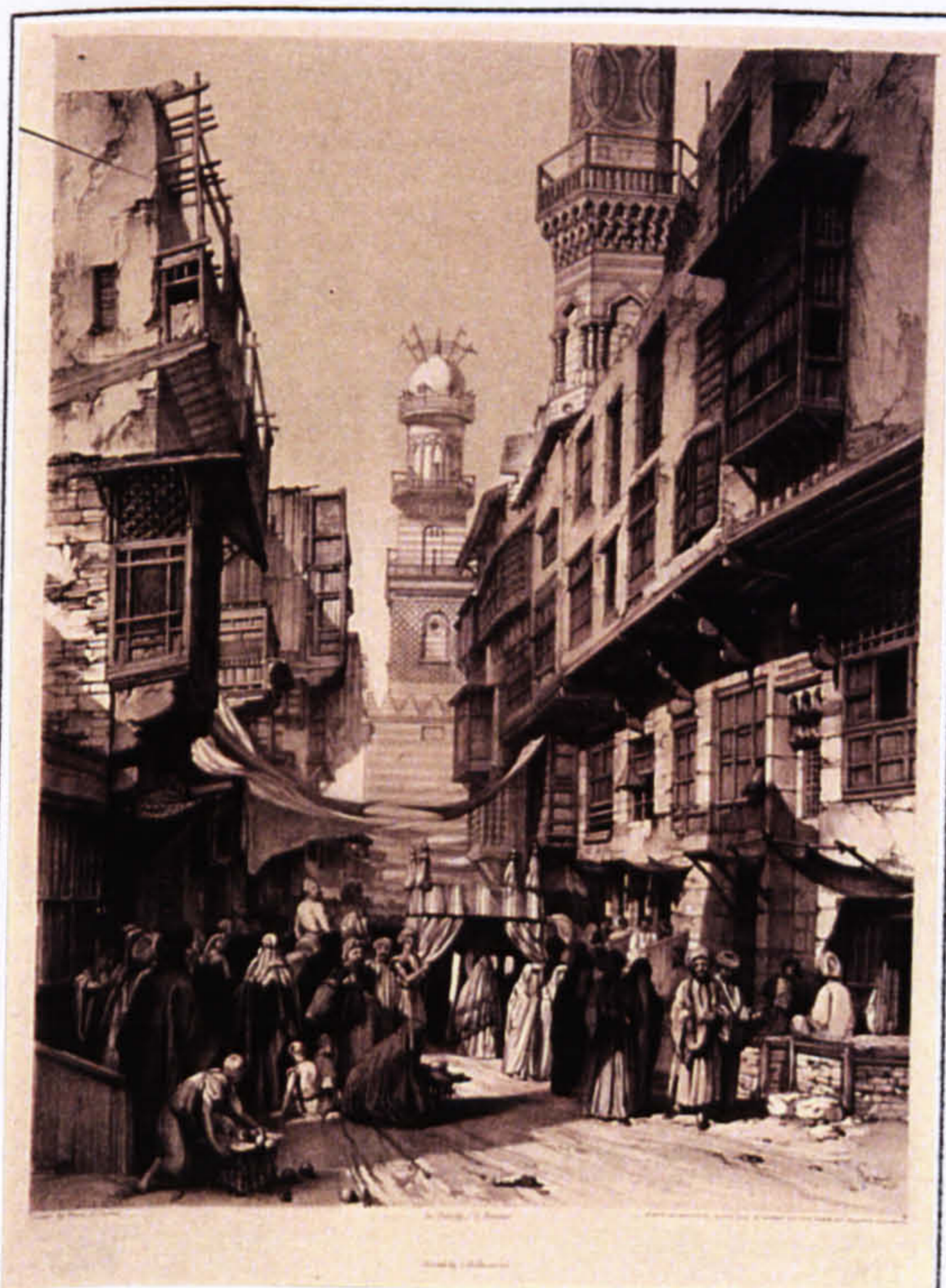


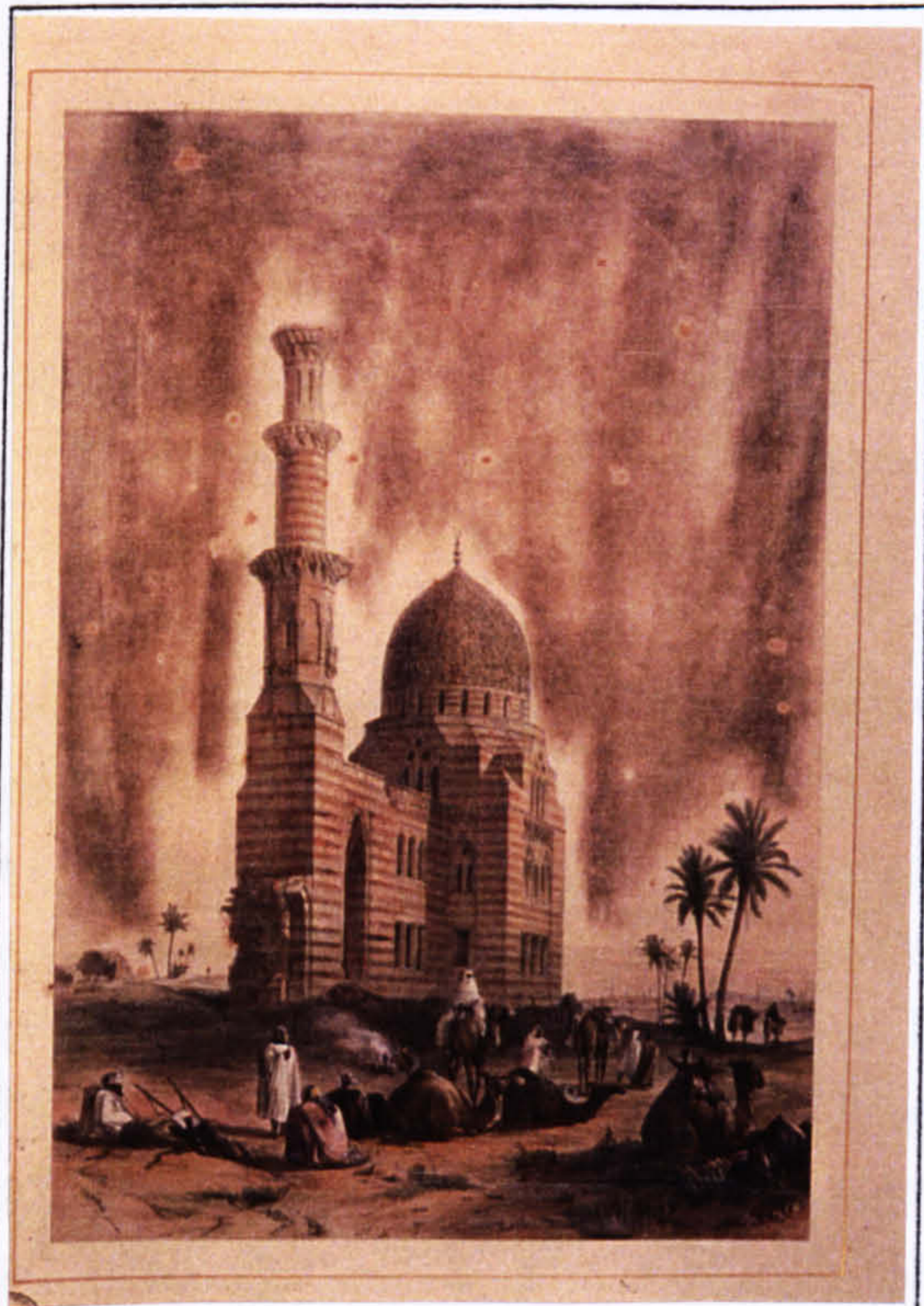
Fig. 28 *A Cairean Alley* by R. Hay

This of course, is a distorted image of the place, by which the dark, stuffy, crowded alley becomes a more spacious and lit place, like a stage-set, where the observer is separated from the scene by a vacant area in the foreground of the picture. The viewer, who remains outside the scene, can easily appreciate what Hay described as "...messy construction and in good style, and its character has hardly anything in common with what we denominated Arab architecture" (Hay, 1840; 13). On the other hand however, one cannot sense what had been described by Flaubert about his own experience walking along the narrow streets of Cairo where "...each detail reaches to grip you" (see above, 2.3.3.).

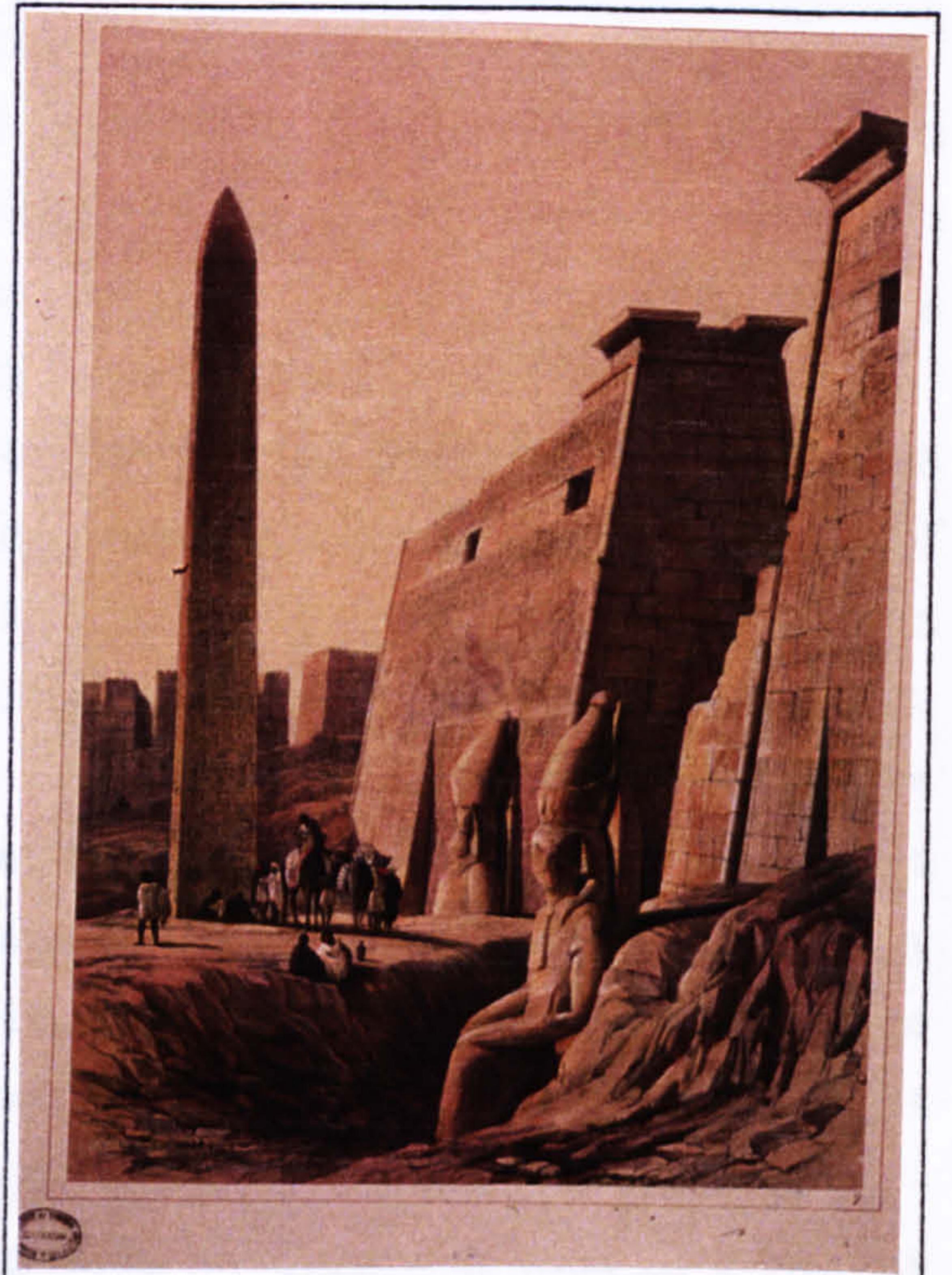
The 'View of Beyn el Kasreyn with the Minaret and Tomb of Sultan Kalaoon' (Fig. 29) shows how the perception of buildings as objects was enhanced through the use of the picturesque genre. The centralistic composition, the use of a dark background and the distance from where the view was taken, create a rather controlled setting by which the structure is displayed - like an object. However, unlike Roberts' images (see above 5.4.1.; 5.4.2.) where the main theme was vaguely drawn, here it is clearly visible (no mists) and meticulously drawn. The figures in the foreground are less theatrical, more realistic in their appearance and seem to go about their own business. Hay's literary description which accompanies the scene express his



interest in pure architectural matters as illustrated in the picture: "The minaret is in part coloured with broad alternate stripes of red and white stone so commonly adopted here pleasing in the relief it gives the eye from the glare of the ardent sun, and the monotony of colours in so arid a climate" (Hay, 1840; 12).



*Fig. 29 View of Beyn el Kasereyn, the Minaret and tomb of Sultan Kalaoon by R. Hay*



*Fig. 30 View of Bab el Masr and the Walls of Cairo by R. Hay*

The 'View of Bab el Masr and the Walls of Cairo' (Fig. 30) impressed Hay both in the configuration of its mass and its ornamentation: "...so conspicuous an object, ...the walls were mass, well constructed and ornamented in gigantic characters" (Hay, 1840; 150). The difficulty of portraying the true chromatic quality of the structure in the right illumination conditions is evident in this work. However, it is one of the few coloured images drawn of Egyptian sunsets which avoided melodramatic effects by its visible pencil lines, a subtle compromise between lit and shaded surfaces, and the colour of materials. The picture is highly informative about its exact masonry and its ornamentation.

### 6.3.1. Frederick Catherwood, Francis Arundale, and Joseph Bonomi

The greater part and most important work of the expedition was undertaken by four competent artists/architects: Frederick Catherwood, Francis Arundale, Joseph Bonomi, and Edward Lane, whose work differed from the rest of the team and will be discussed separately. Their work marked a turning point in the study of the region's architecture in the sense that it was carefully measured and studied, producing purely architectural documents.



It had been the first time that ordinary architectural means of description were used to describe ancient Egyptian remains, by which they were acknowledged as 'proper architecture' and as a source of reference and inspiration. At that time Islamic architecture, except for the work of Edward Lane (see below, 6.3.2.), and ancient architecture in Palestine did not attract any architectural attention.

Relations between Hay, as an employer, and the members of his expedition were often troubled over money and copyright matters. The severe terms of their contract had not been strictly followed and three of the draughtsmen went on several independent drawing missions to various places in the region, producing important work.

Catherwood was the most extraordinary personality amongst the group. Apart from his career in Egypt he travelled widely in the Classical countries, and was the co-discoverer of the Maya civilisation in North America; he was also an architect who built in New York; a surveyor who built the first railway in South America; he was an archaeologist, traveller, panoramist and engineer (Hagen, 1968; XIII). Catherwood had already been in Egypt travelling and sketching when Hay approached him to take part in the expedition, which to a great extent had cast his career. Unfortunately most of Catherwood's work was lost. Only some of his Egyptian drawings lie in the huge folios of the Robert Hay collections in the British Museum; his detailed scale drawings of the Dome of the Rock have disappeared; his architectural studies of ancient monuments throughout the Middle East and North Africa - lost. Only his work about the Maya, which is a small proportion of what he drew, has remained.

Joseph Bonomi was a draughtsman and sculptor, born in Rome to a family of architects. His accurate and fine drawings had an extremely high reputation. He took part in some other expeditions to the East after Hay's, and later took part with Owen Jones in setting up the Egyptian court at the Crystal Palace. In 1861 he was appointed Curator of the Soane Museum, a position he held until his death. Not much is known about Francis Arundale, except for his outstanding drawing capability, and the fact that his work in Egypt was frequently interrupted by illness. Arundale and Bonomi had done much of their study and measuring work together. The greater part of the actual drawing was undertaken by Arundale, who also published a separate book of illustrations about Jerusalem and Mount Sinai (1837). Bonomi as a sculptor conducted the casting work, yet some drawings were signed by both. The extent of Catherwood's thorough study of the Egyptian monuments is fully revealed in his sections and elevations documenting the Colossi of Memnon (Figs. 31,32). He excavated these monuments and discovered that they rested on a sub-stratum of sand. His cross sections of the Memnon figures (Fig. 32) indicate a most peculiar desire, as if to remake them, and seems beyond a scientific archaeological analysis. Bonomi and Arundale shared a similar attitude. The drawing of the fragments of statues at the Temple of Ramses (Fig. 33) perfectly describes the exact configuration of each item, as well as its various segments. Graphically, the drawing emphasises the sculptural attributes of each part, probably the contribution of Bonomi.



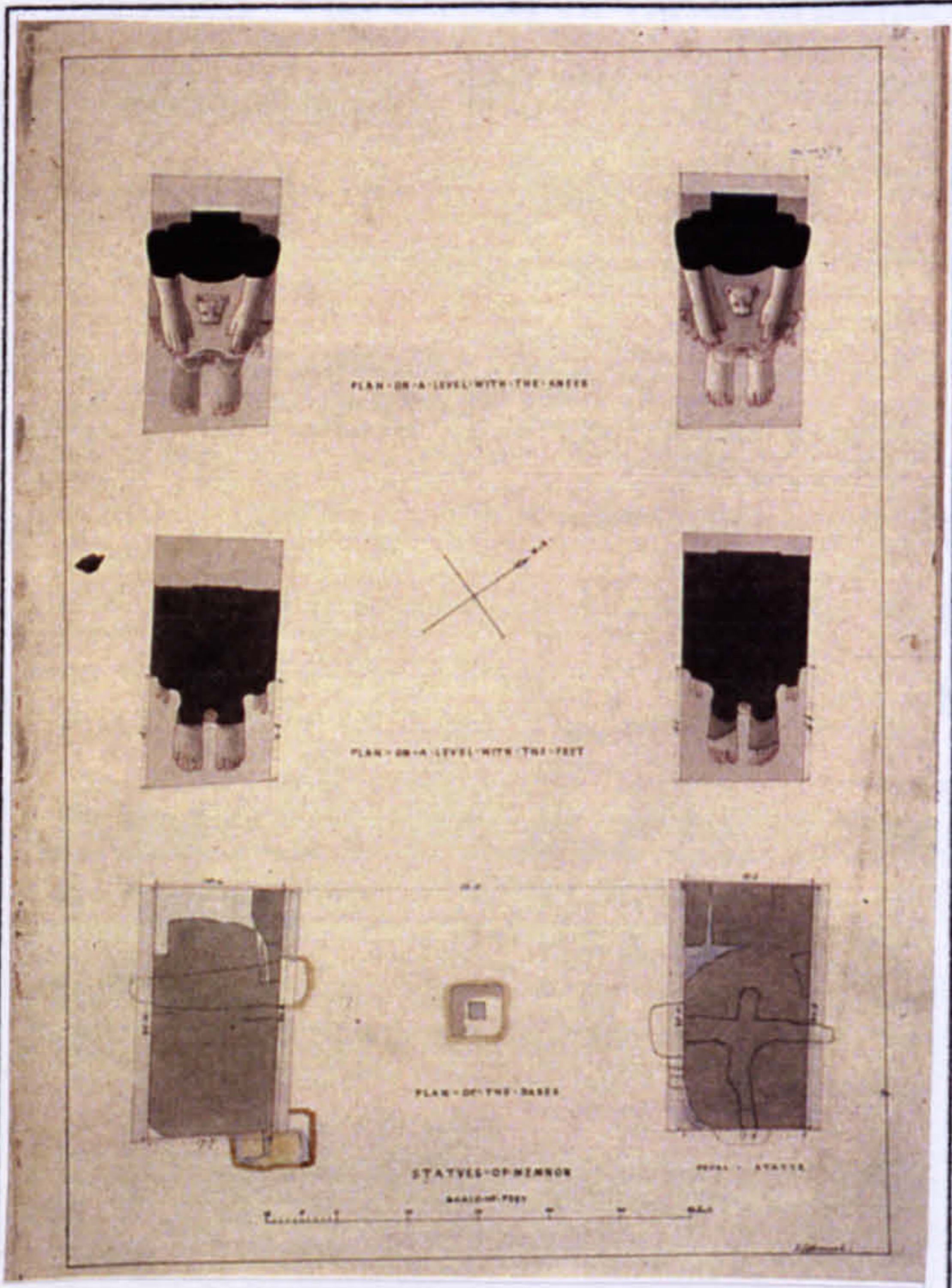


Fig. 32 The Colossi of Memnon by Catherwood

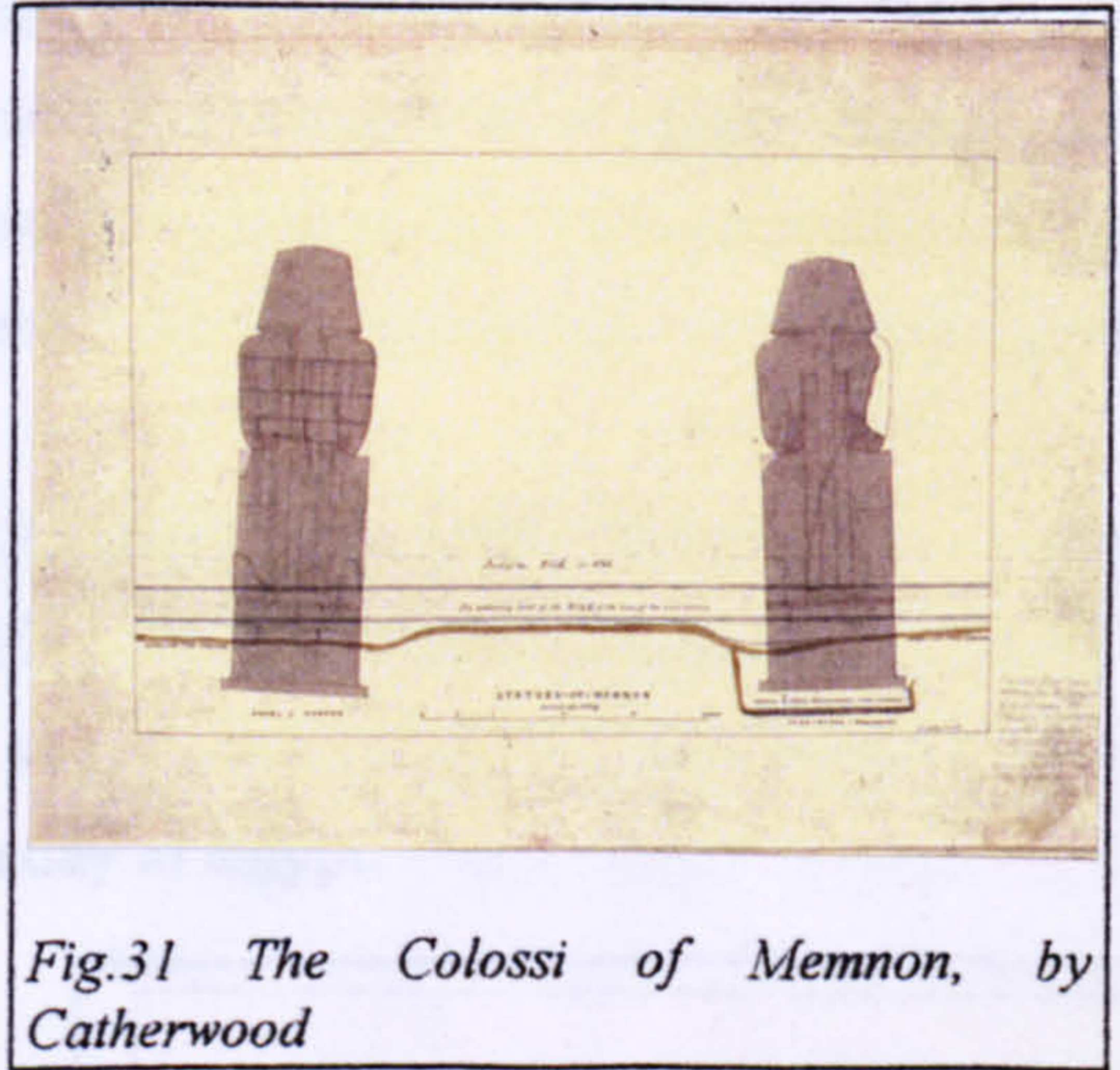


Fig. 31 The Colossi of Memnon, by Catherwood

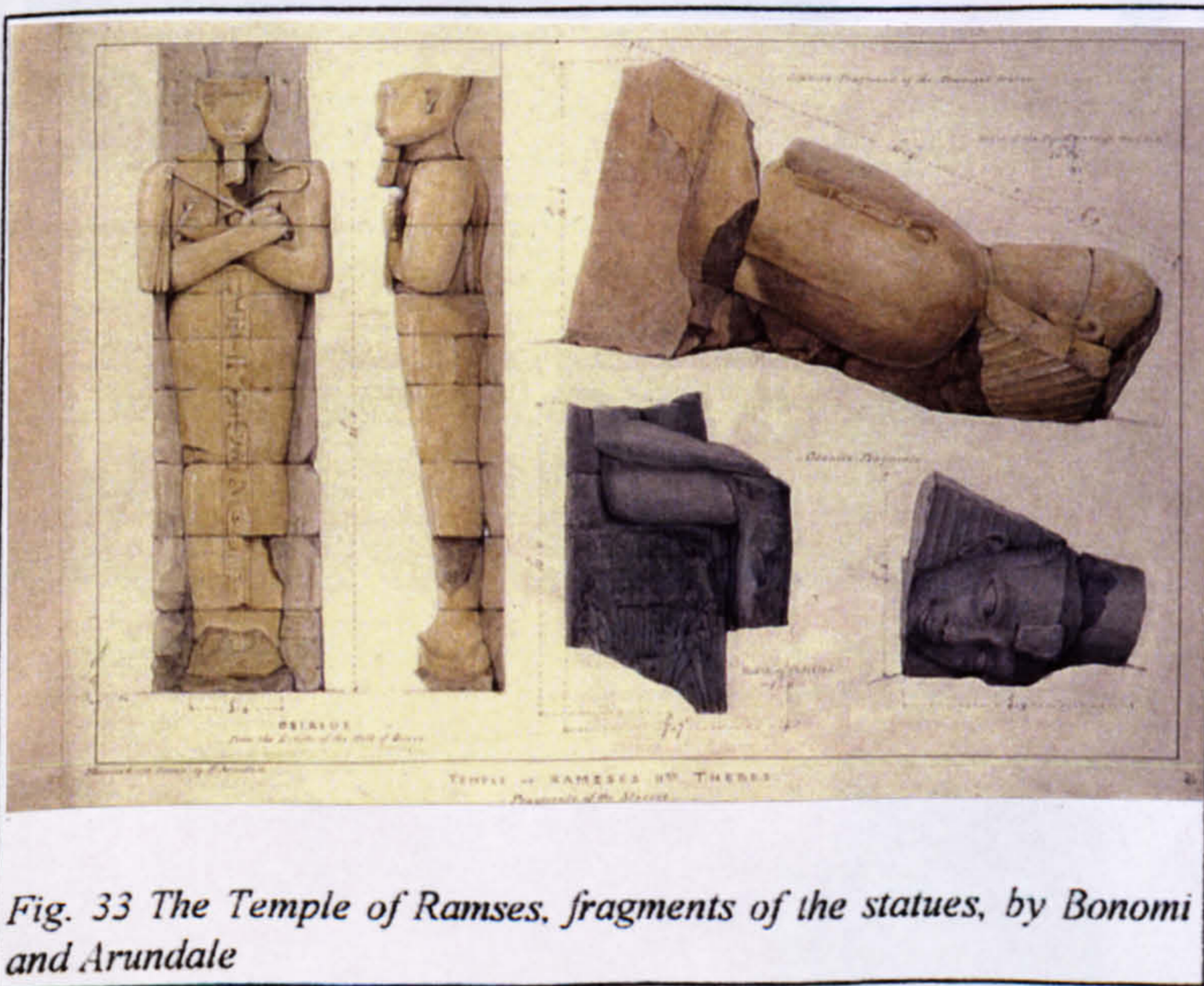


Fig. 33 The Temple of Ramses, fragments of the statues, by Bonomi and Arundale

A more proper architectural document is Arundale's elevation of the Temple of Medynet, and the cross sections of its columns (Fig. 34). Except for the absence of dimensions, its accuracy is sufficient enough for rebuilding it; it includes all the details of its masonry and ornamentation, and equals in quality and character the drawings of the great Classical architects, like Alberti or Palladio. (The author apologises for the quality of Figs. 34, 36).



All members of the expedition extensively documented the ornamentation of Egyptian monuments. The format of those drawings was of charts of a catalogue, similar to Barry's (see above, 6.2 Fig. 25). Arundale's drawing of the ornaments of north and west facades of the Obelisk at Luxor (Fig. 35) follows this pattern, adding the necessary colours. Only a very small step further was taken by Owen Jones in his *Grammar of Ornament* (see below, 7.1.).

A rather restrained attitude, very different from the usual picturesque manner, is expressed in two of Arundale's panoramas: (Figs. 36,37). The watercolour view (Fig. 37), which was probably meant to be described at sunset, is amongst the few which come close to the real chromatic effects at that time of the day in Egypt.

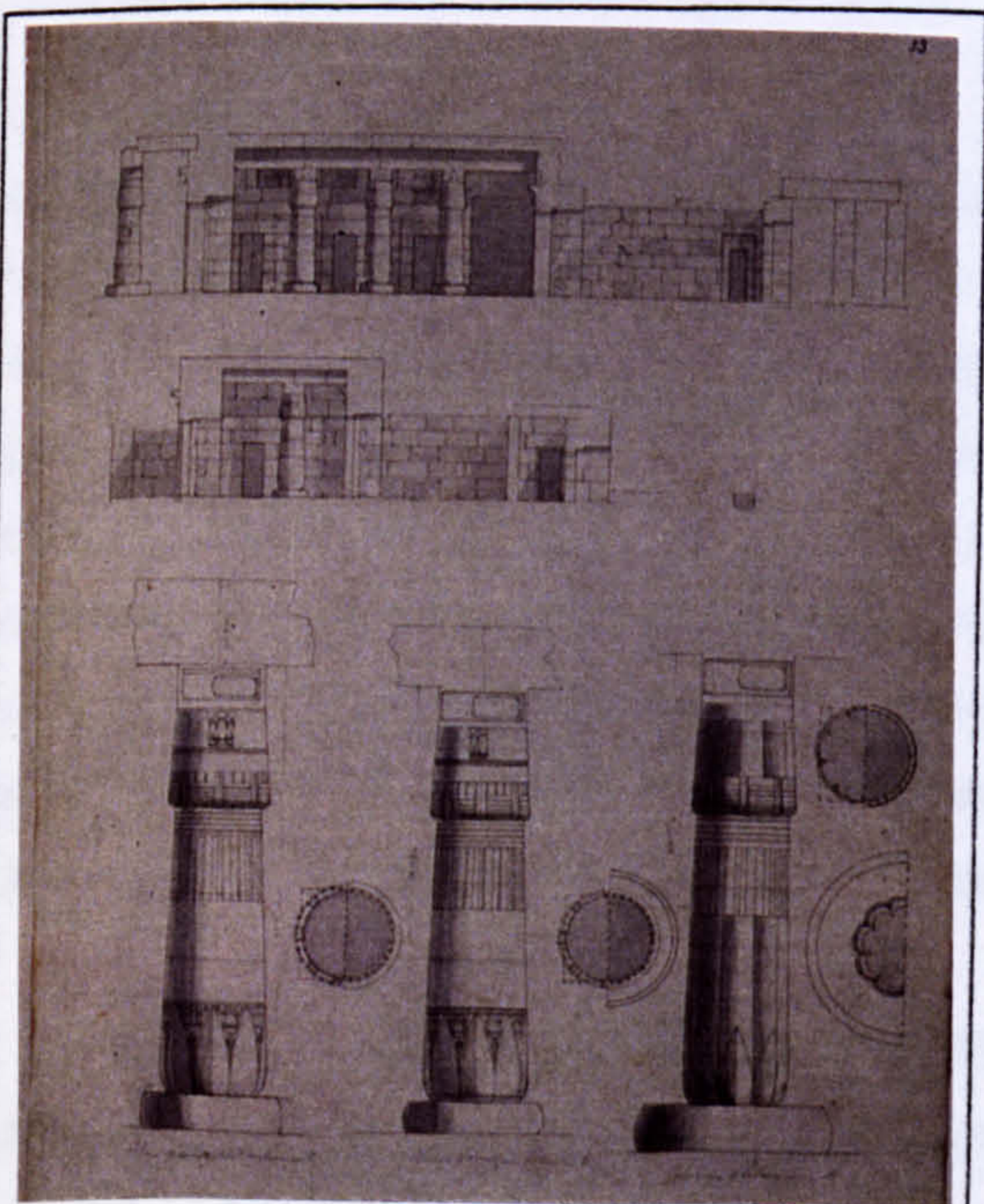


Fig. 34 The Temple of Medynet, by Arundale

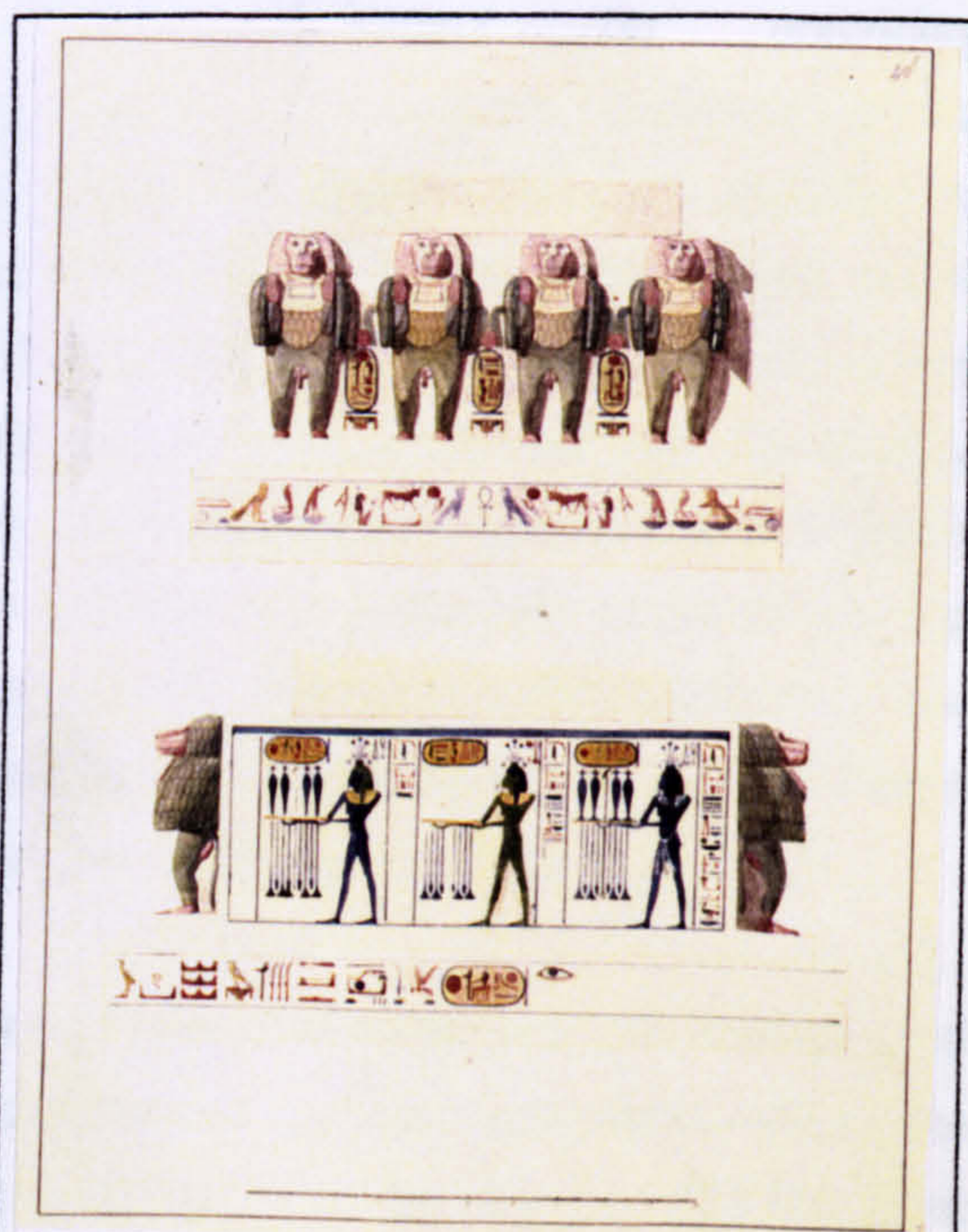


Fig. 35 Ornaments on the Obelisk, Luxor by Arundale



Fig. 36 View of Thebes by Arundale





*Fig. 37 Untitled view along the Nile by Arundale*

The documents presented above had determined to a great extent the manner by which European architects were to perceive in later periods the architecture of the Levant. Although still part of archaeological research, it had a great impact on practicing architects. Presented in an

ordinary professional format, concentrating on details and ornamentation, it appealed to them and stimulated their interest, particularly at a time when uncertainties about architectural conventions had already been in the air. Furthermore, as shown above, the particular nature of the Egyptian drawings and casts, being analytical and not merely descriptive, in which individual elements were shown separately and in such a highly aesthetic manner, had naturally encouraged their perception as individual works of art, and consequently the particular power to represent the context from which they were taken was ascribed to them. Architectural Egyptomania and the Alhambra syndrome, led by Owen Jones, could not have existed without the monumental work discussed above.

Apart from their work in Egypt, Catherwood, with the assistance of Bonomi and Arundale, had produced one of the most important documents about Jerusalem, which was considered at the time a significant step forward in the study of the city. In 1833 the three explorers went independently to Palestine, following the camel-caravan route along the shore of the Red Sea around the Sinai Peninsula. On their way they documented many of the sites which lay midway between two civilisations: Egyptian and Nabatean.

It was Jerusalem and its environs that inspired Catherwood to undertake the most important of his archaeological- architectural research works in the East; he completed the entire plan and architectural details of the El Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock. With the use of the Camera Lucida he produced the panorama of Jerusalem which was the basis for Robert Burford's production of the famous circular mural of Jerusalem, first exhibited in Leicester Square (1835) (see above, 2.3.3). The mural itself, as it was illuminated by gaslight, was burned down. As a surveyor, his work on the panorama included a map of the city and a detailed study of the Dome of the Rock which consisted of measured sections and elevations of the building and a plan of the Haram el Sherif. With the assistance of Arundale and Bonomi, Catherwood had finished the drawings and tried to find a publisher. After he was turned down by several indifferent publishing houses in London he put his drawings away, which were unfortunately lost. Several years after Catherwood had left the



region a violent controversy developed over the origin of the Dome of the Rock. James Fergusson, the famous architectural historian, suggested that the mosque had been built by Constantine over the Tomb of Christ. Challenged by archaeologists, he sought out Catherwood to see the drawings and to prove his theory. It is not clear whether those were eventually turned over to Fergusson, which did not inhibit him from publishing his theory (Hagen, 1968; 33- 39, Fergusson, 1847; IX-XVI).

### 6.3.2. Edward Lane

Edward W. Lane (1801-1876) originally went to Egypt for health reasons. He joined Hay's group in 1826 while he was already preparing a book on the ancient monuments of Egypt, for which he did not find a publisher. Yet his most important work dealt with Egyptian vernacular architecture, a subject which, until the publication of his book *Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians* (1833-1835 in 2 vols.) attracted very little, if any attention. Apart from being a competent draughtsman, he was also fluent in the Arabic language, which resulted in his well known translation of the *Thousand and One Nights* (1838-1840).

His work about modern Egyptians became the standard authority on the subject and its first five editions were quickly sold out. His examination of every aspect of Islamic society in Egypt, consisting of text and illustrations, is still considered amongst the most thorough and complete anthropological and architectural studies around. The line-drawn illustrations - plans, sections, elevations and perspective views (assisted by the Camera Lucida), avoided any stylistic genre. The extent of first hand information on such a variety of subjects could only be gathered through penetrating into the Egyptian way of life. Lane had been amongst the few who managed to do so.

Lane gradually reveals Cairo to the Western reader. Following the traditional pattern of describing the city from above, he draws attention to the contrast between its interiors which "...would be regarded as a crowded city", and its exterior which is more spread and relaxed (Lane, 1835; 5,6). Yet this was only the beginning of the journey. Walking along the narrow unpaved streets of the city, the reader enters into the private houses of its inhabitants. However, what is described there is not something which an ordinary observer could actually see, but rather a detailed technical description of the way it was built:

The foundation - walls, to the height of the first floor, are cased, externally and often internally, with the soft calcareous stone of the neighbouring mountain. The surface of the stone, when newly cut, is of a light yellowish hue; but its colour soon darkens. ...The super structure, the front of which generally projects about two feet, and is supported by corbels or piers, is of brick; and often plastered. The bricks are burnt, and of dull red colour (Lane, 1835; 6),



Approaching a Cairean town house from the street, its entire logic, both technically and socially, unfolds:

The ground floor apartments next to the street have small wooden grated windows, placed sufficiently high... impossible for a person passing by... even on horseback, to see through them. The windows of upper apartments generally project a foot and a half... are mostly formed of turned wood lattice work... that shuts out most of the light... and screens the inmates from the view of persons without... (Lane, 1835; 7)

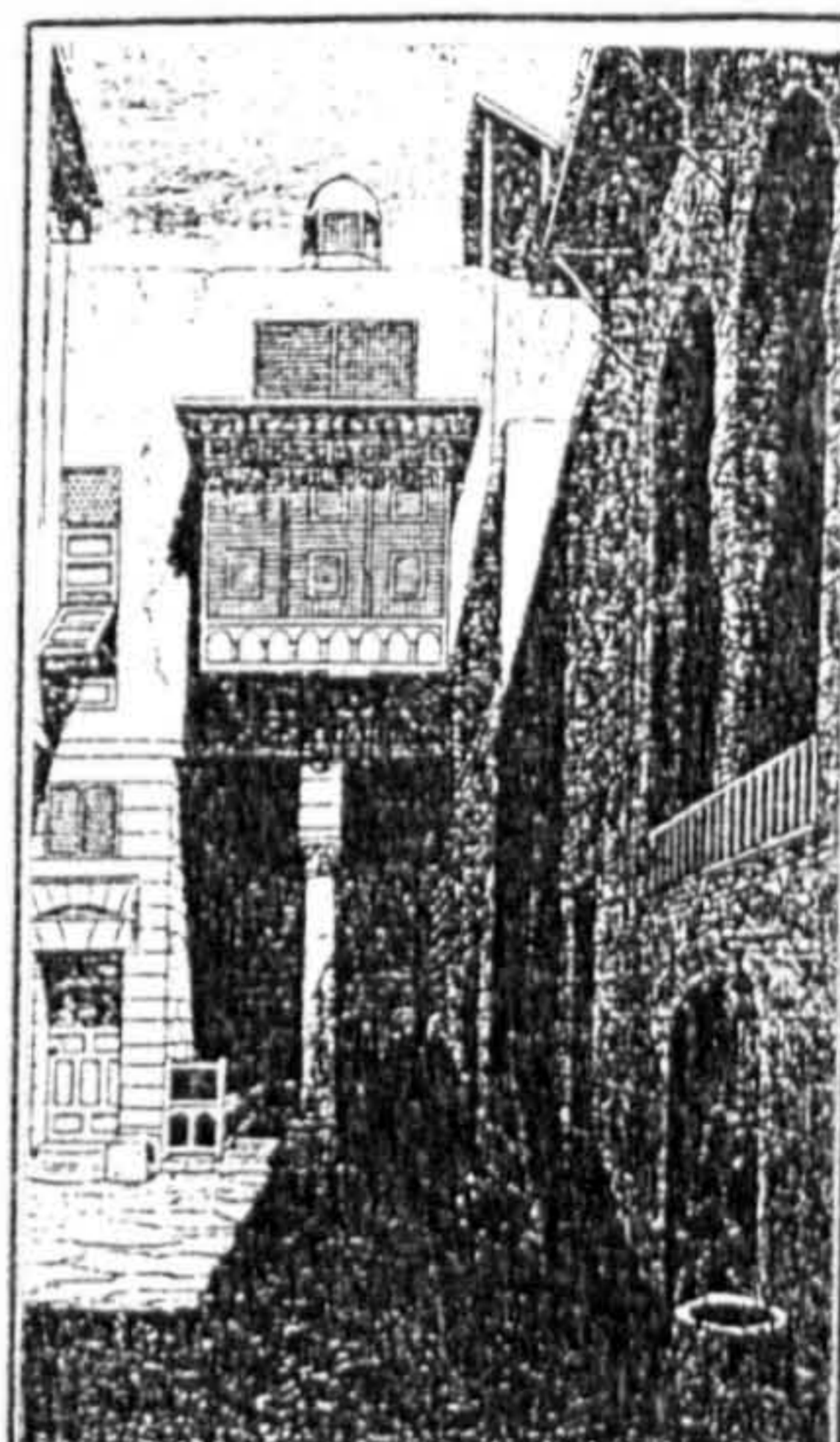
The perspective views which illustrate the text (Fig. 38) demonstrate these conditions of the house as a most private area. Accordingly the entrance door is the first and prominent element to express this notion (Fig. 39) which is "...the most usual architectural style of the entrance of a private house in Cairo" (Lane, 1835; 15). The description which comes with the illustration, apart from being detailed and knowledgeable in Egyptian vernacular craft and culture, is an attempt to find the general rules, and their exceptions, which determine its form.



*Fig. 38 Private Houses in Cairo by E. Lane*



*Fig. 39 A Door of a private House by Lane*



*Fig. 40 Court of a Private House in Cairo by E. Lane*

The layout of a typical Cairene house is presented in the same detailed manner, underlining the common and the general phenomena, accompanied by an illustration (Fig. 40).

The houses in general are two or three stories high; and almost every house that is sufficiently large encloses an open unpaved court... which is entered by a passage that is constructed with one or two turnings, of preventing passengers for the street from seeing into it. In the court is a small well... The principal apartment looks into the court... There are several doors which are entered from the court. One of these is the entrance of the stairs which lead to the apartments appropriated exclusively to the women... (Lane, 1835; 11)



Whether these observations can actually be considered as a general rule is irrelevant to this discourse. Their significance herein lies in the necessity to arrive at generalisations as a means of finding the latent logic behind prevailing phenomena. This, being a reasonable and common framework of every research, had also become a characteristic attitude of architects looking for some all-governing rules. The next inevitable step of extracting the most typical form, element, detail or ornament, which represents the whole was only natural, and was undertaken by others, principally by Owen Jones.

The greater part of Lane's descriptions in text and in illustrations deal with ornamentation. Here again, like the work of other members of Hay's team, the illustrations, which were drawn professionally in an architectural manner, were presented in catalogue-like charts, as if ready to be reproduced: (Figs. 41,42,). The text goes even further in describing the exact manner of their production. (Lane, 1835; 15, 18)

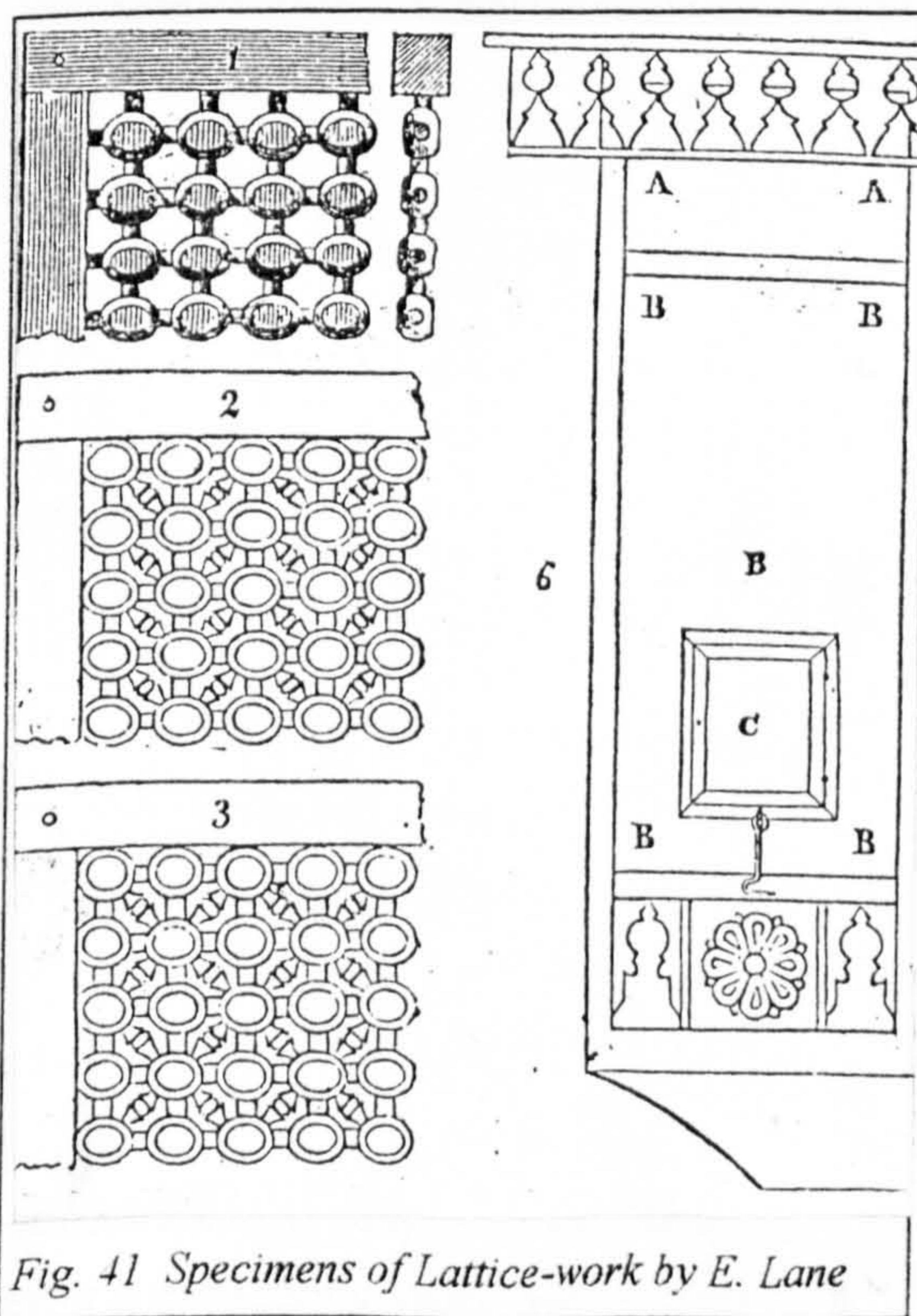


Fig. 41 Specimens of Lattice-work by E. Lane

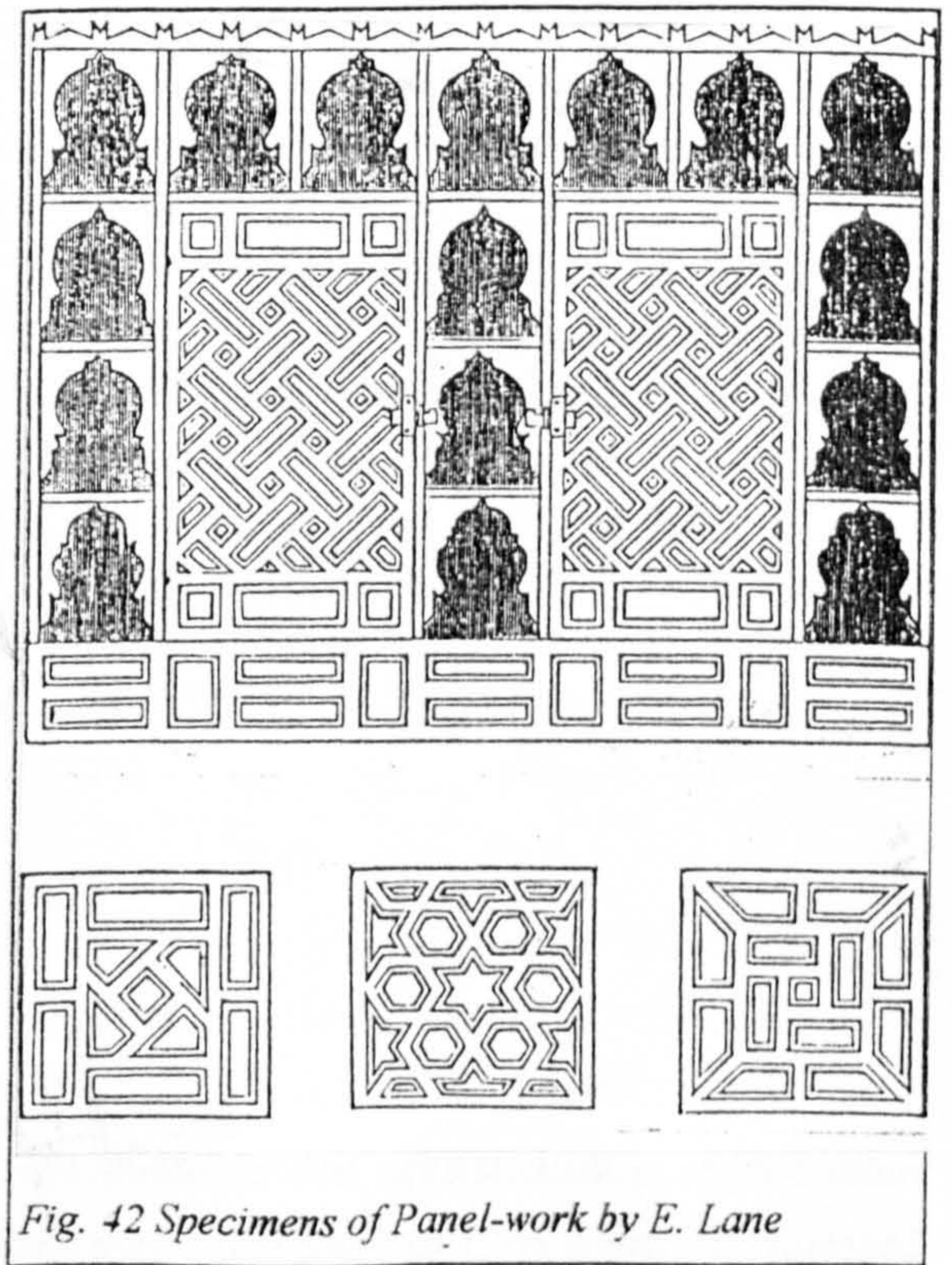


Fig. 42 Specimens of Panel-work by E. Lane

Compared with his comprehensive descriptions of the private houses, the description of public buildings is relatively limited. Interesting enough is the fact that Lane considered the public bath as somewhat more an important building than the mosque, "...which is generally ornamented in a manner similar to that in which most of the mosques are decorated, but usually more fanciful" (Lane, 1835; 35). He goes into great detail describing the layout of that building type, accompanied by a plan and section (Figs 43,44) and the manner of its use by the bathers (Lane, 1835; 35-39).



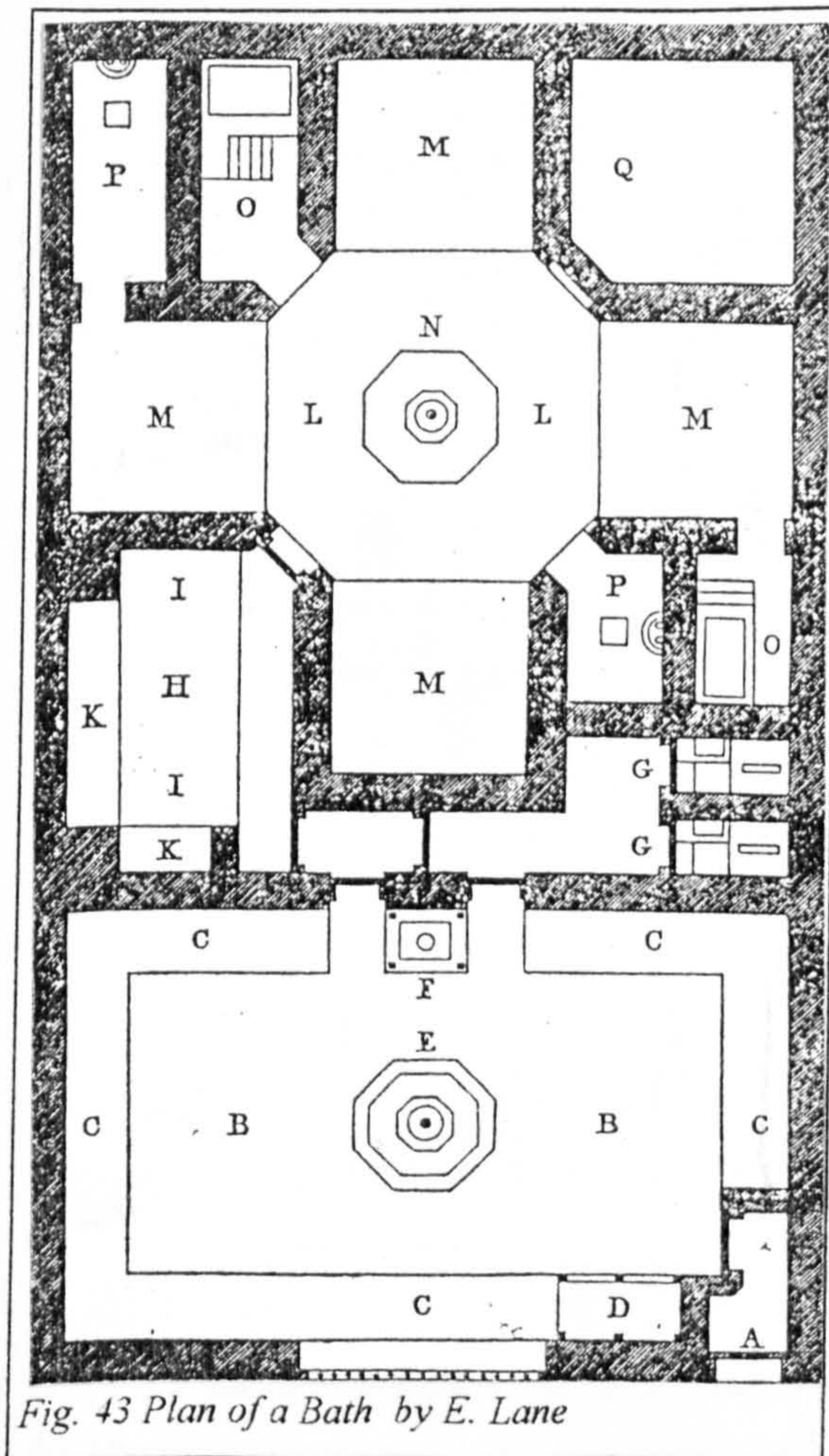


Fig. 43 Plan of a Bath by E. Lane

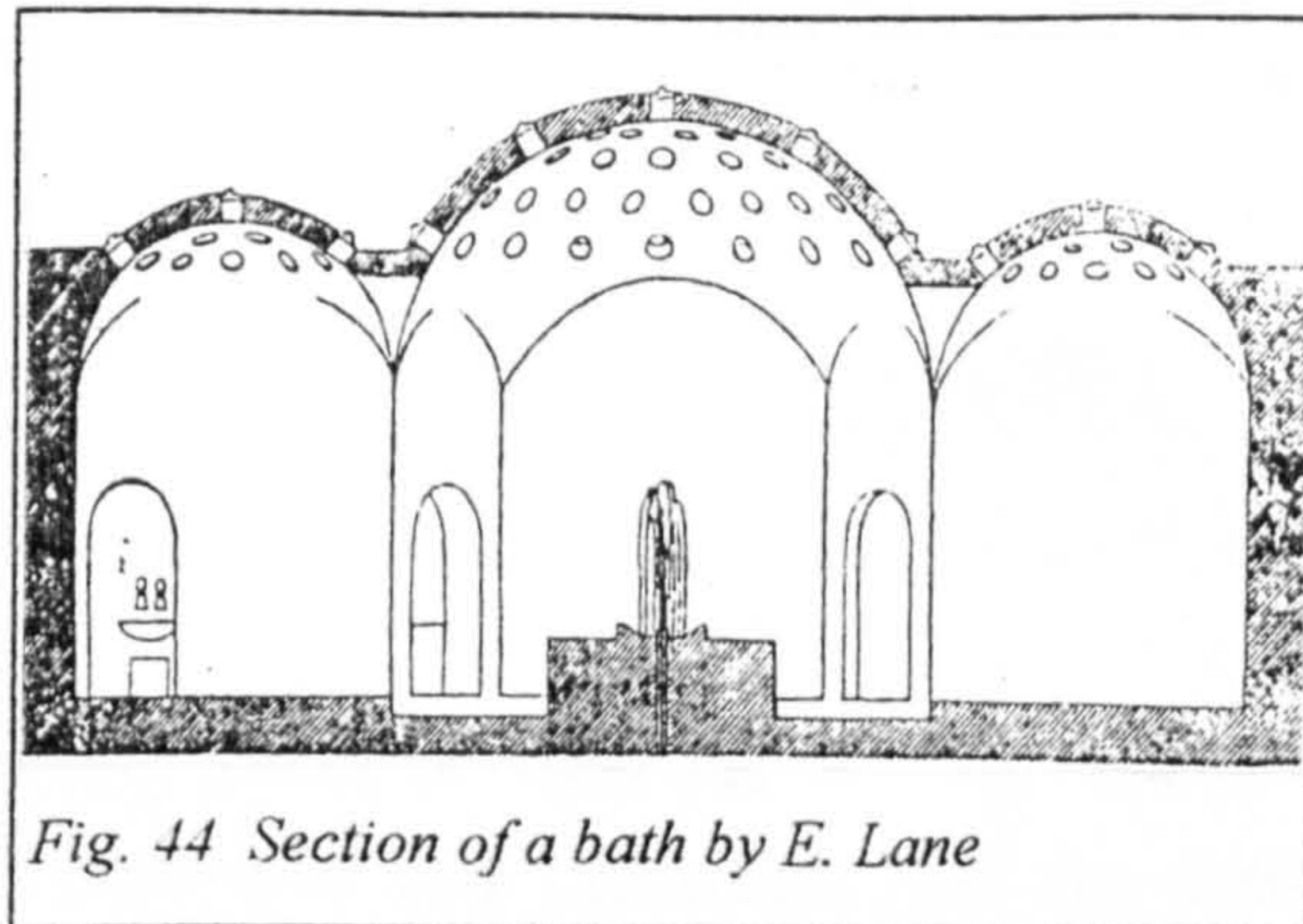


Fig. 44 Section of a bath by E. Lane

The descriptions of the mosques are confined to more general observations. It seems that Lane regarded Egyptians as basically secular people. He notes that although "...the mosques of Cairo are so numerous, none of them is inconveniently crowded on the Friday" (Lane, 1835; 93-94). Here again, the correctness of the observation about the mosque being a less important building type in the Cairene milieu is irrelevant herein. Rather, its significance lies in the shift of attention from architecture of single monuments to the living vernacular of the Islamic society, emphasising the quality of its architecture and craftsmanship. Apart from being a pioneering work and a catalyst to Owen Jones' *Grammar of Ornament*, it appealed to the Arts & Crafts heroes. Their disciples, people like R. Storrs, an Arabist who regarded himself as an aesthete, who later became the first military governor of Jerusalem, and his advisor, C. R. Ashbee, both attempted to implement some of the Crafts theories by promoting vernacular Arab crafts in Jerusalem, of the type shown by Lane. (see below 9.2.)



#### 6.4. Visual description - William H. Bartlett

William Henry Bartlett (1809-1854) who is usually considered a topographical painter, is classified here amongst the explorers of the region. This is because he was not interested in the Levant as a concept, like the 'readers' had been, but rather in the historical facts associated with it. However, from an art history point of view his writing, which was influenced by the Romantic writers like Chateaubriand and Lamartine, and his drawing which followed the picturesque genre, can neither be defined as a scientific framework, nor can they be considered an independent work of art, being published only in books illustrating the text. Yet his commitment to evidence, which he constantly updated during his five visits to the region, (1834-1854) turned his widely read work into a reliable source of information, highly respected among his contemporary scholars and scientists.

His architectural training was channelled more to the external configuration of buildings rather than to their structure, details and ornamentation. His most skilled drawings were not 'architectural' in character, as they were not presented in the professional formats of plans, sections and elevations (like those of Hay's group, see above 6.3.1.). In cases where buildings and details were concerned, the picturesque manner was employed - in a frameless perspective view, as if in a cloud (Figs. 45,46). Though not imaginative, the Mosque as well as the Pulpit are presented as precious objects, which seem to have landed on the plain of the Haram. His work, then, was basically descriptive rather than analytical.



Fig. 45 A "Telescopic view" of the Dome of the Rock by W. Bartlett

It is beyond the scope and intentions of this study to discuss the entire output of Bartlett's immense work about numerous places throughout Palestine (particularly Jerusalem) and Egypt. Though very thorough and far more detailed, it concerned a rather similar set of subjects which was dealt with by others (see above, Chap. 5) Thus, only few examples of his work were selected to be discussed herein, where Bartlett had further examined the



prevailing perceptions of the architecture of Jerusalem, and to some extent those of Egypt.

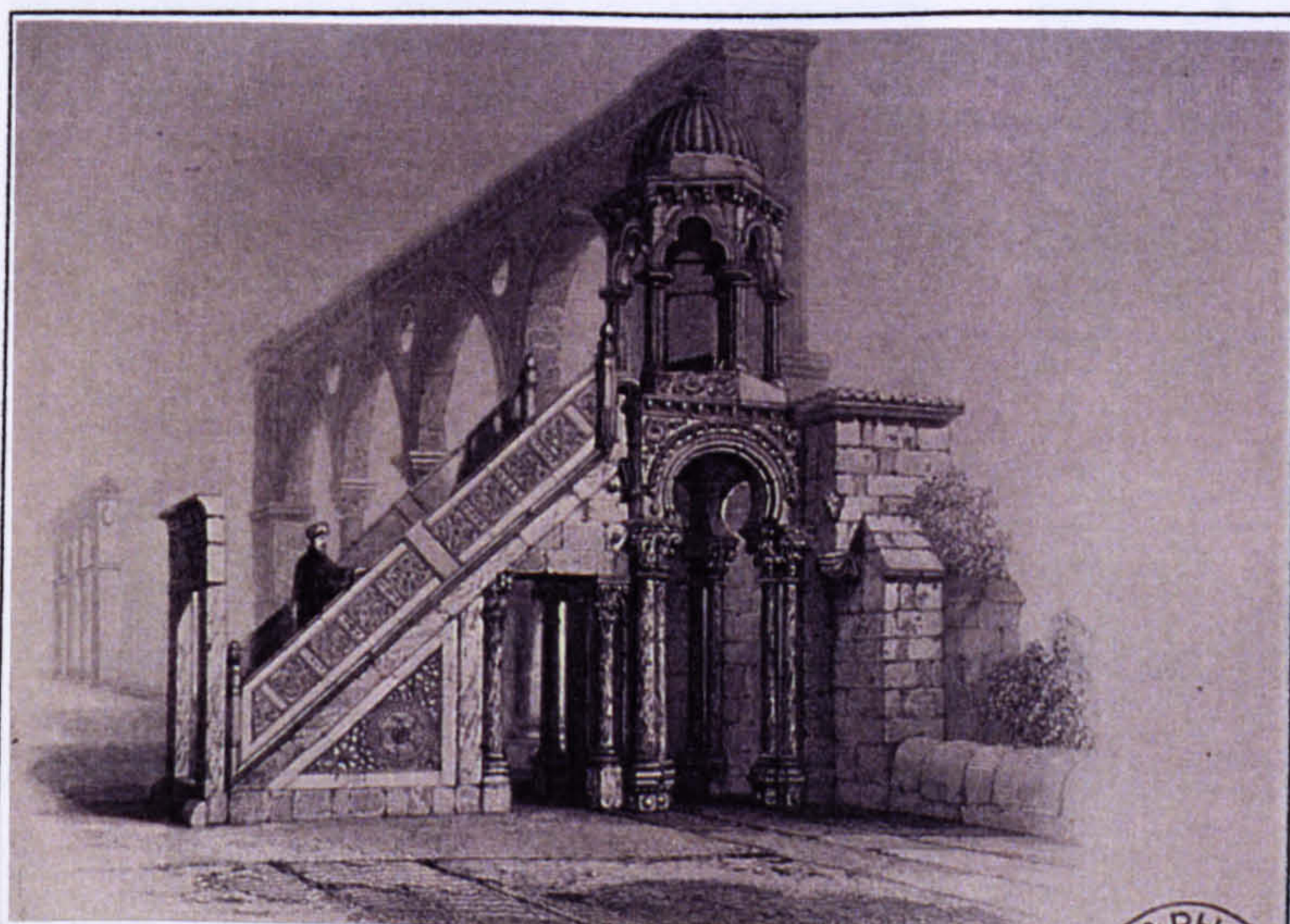


Fig. 46 *The Pulpit on the platform of the Haram el Sherif* by W. Bartlett

#### 6.4.1. Jerusalem

The enigmatic and evocative position of Jerusalem in its topography, and its particular three-dimensional configuration, had been thoroughly studied by Bartlett, suggesting more questions than answers:

In glancing at the map of Jerusalem, and observing how strongly marked is its site by the hand of nature, and how limited, from the character of the ground, must have been its dimensions; one might suppose that there is no city in the ancient world, respecting the topography of which there was room for so little question; yet, strange to say, although this general correspondence of situation between the ancient city and the modern is evident, and admitted by everybody, there is perhaps no similar instance in which so many conflicting notions have been put forth respecting the course of the three walls, and the position of the prominent buildings. It would seem as if this limited space were destined to be the battle ground of views diametrically opposed to each other... (Bartlett, 1852; 178).

And so, to illustrate the different theories, Bartlett had drawn the city from all directions: from the Mount of Olives - on the east (Fig. 47); from Mount Scopus - on the north (Fig. 48); from the Hill of Evil Counsel - on the south (Fig. 49); from Jaffa road - on the west (Fig. 50). He was aware of the reason for the eastern view to be the most glorious, as "...the entire city seems to lie as on an inclined plain..." by which "...many of its remarkable places are distinctly visible" (Bartlett, 1836; 94).





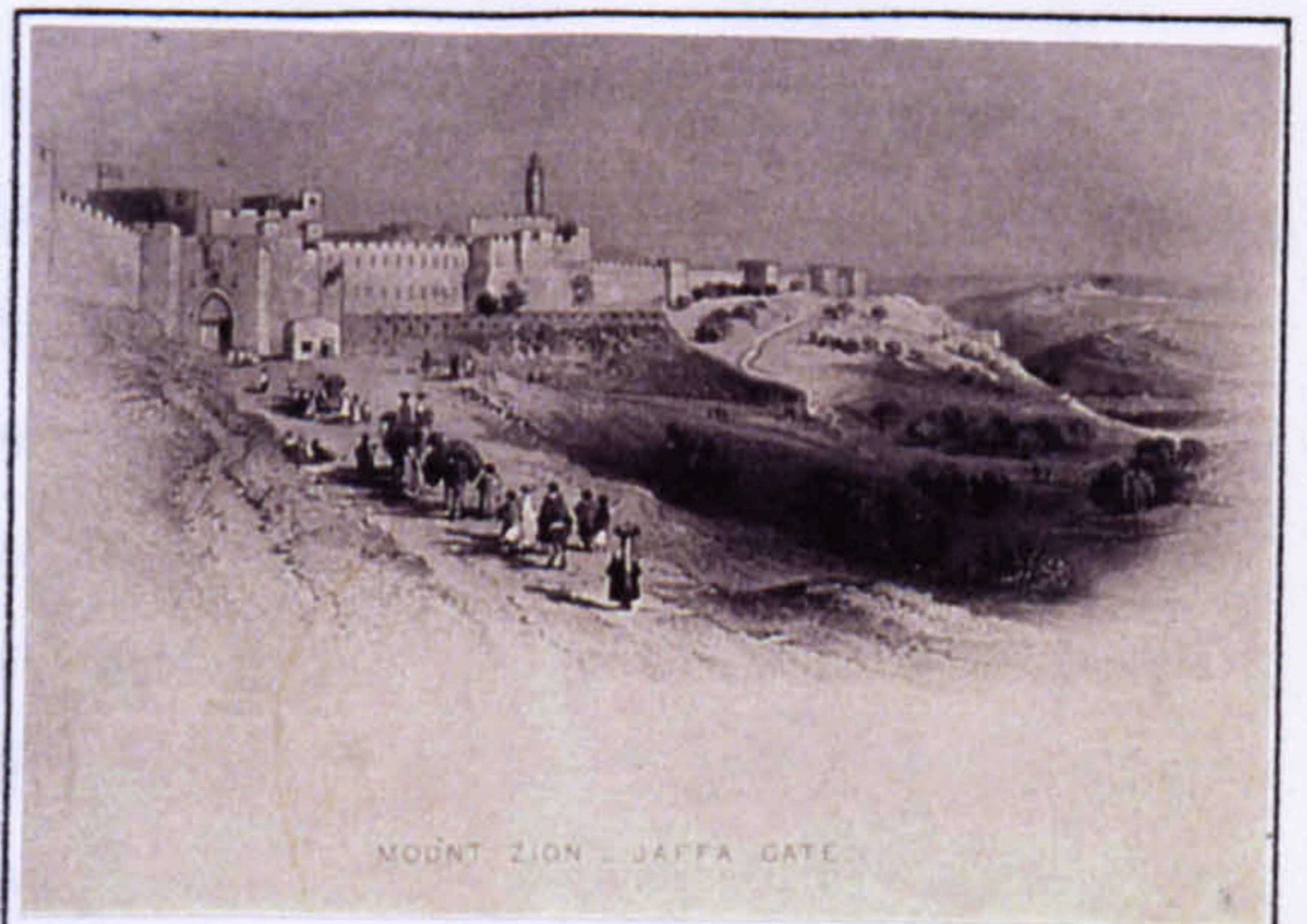
*Fig. 47 Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives*



*Fig. 48 Jerusalem from Mount Scopus*

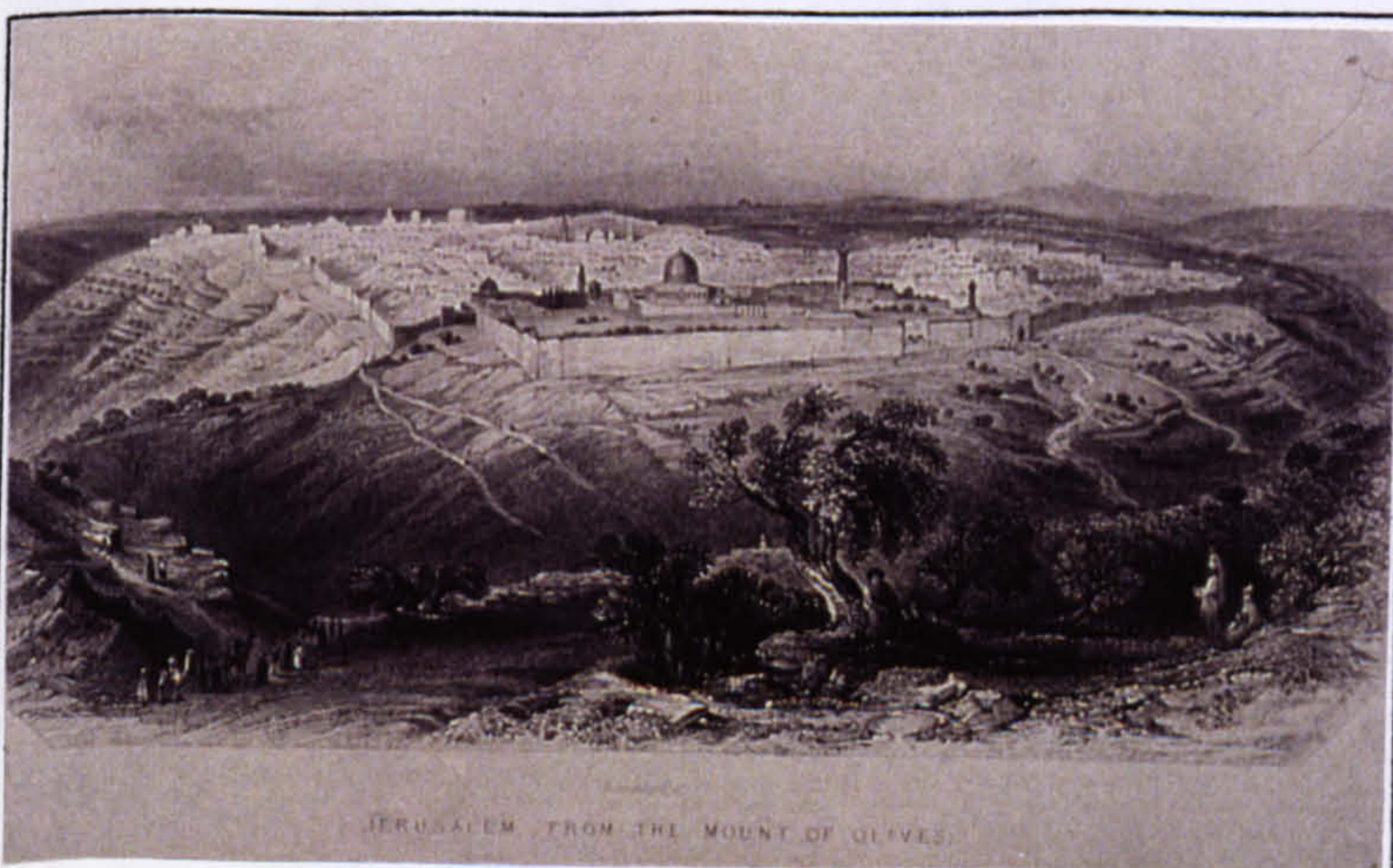


*Fig. 49 Jerusalem from the Hill of Evil Counsel*



*Fig. 50 Jerusalem from Jaffa Road*

Another view of the city is a bird's eye perspective (Fig. 51) which was based on his preliminary outlines (Figs. 52,53), showing the development of the city in history.



*Fig. 51 A Bird's Eye View of Jerusalem by Bartlett*

All views were intended to demonstrate the exact position of the city in its topography. Yet their picturesque nature drew the attention to its aesthetic, three-dimensional configuration resting upon the massive rock, that had consequently encouraged its exterior perception as an object.

Nevertheless, as an exploring architect, Bartlett had always regarded Jerusalem more as a city rather than as an object, emphasising the historical circumstances which determined its development and growth. Such were some of its irregular growth patterns, by which foreign settlers were erecting walled compounds within the walled city; for example, the



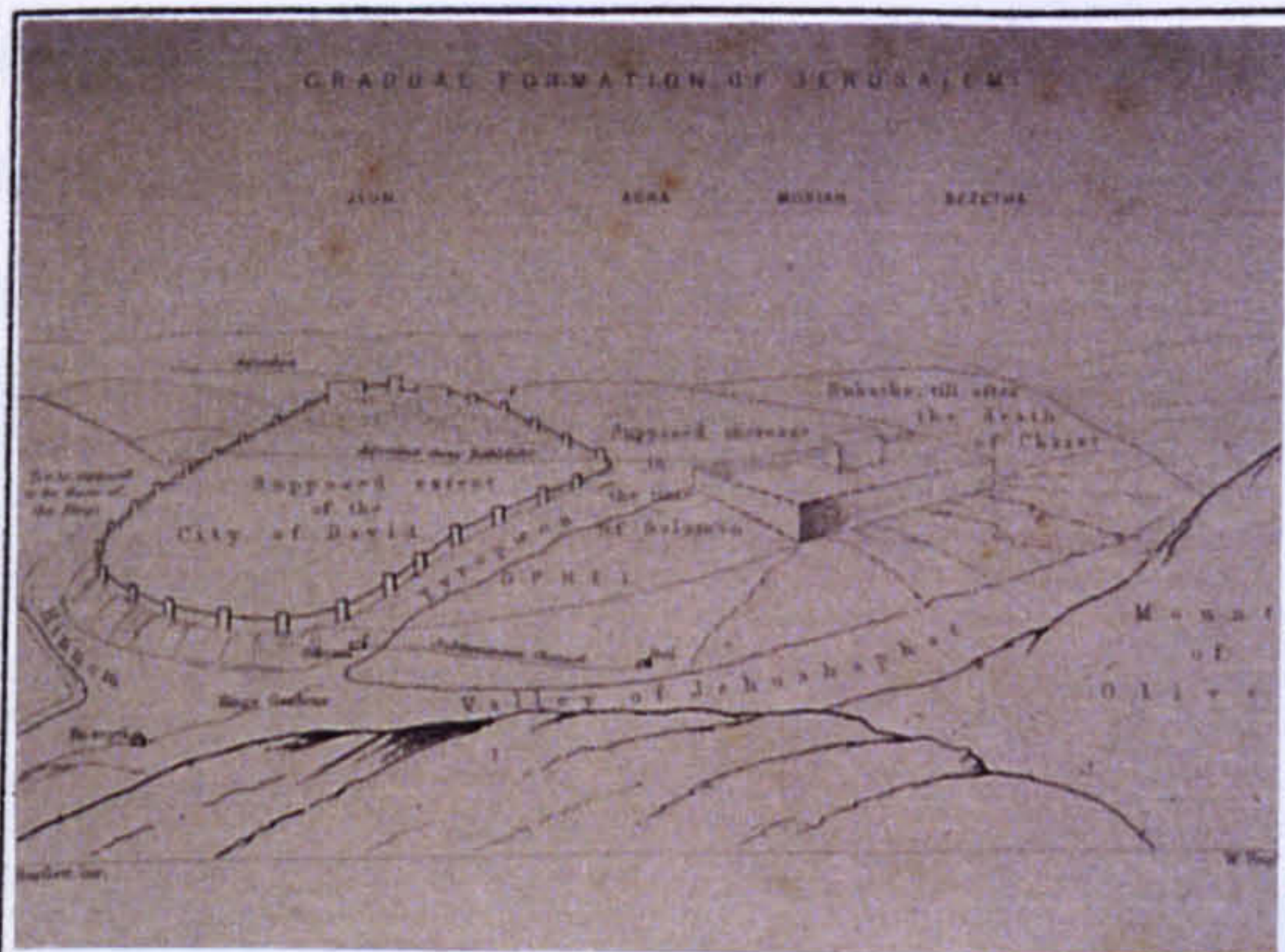


Fig. 52 Gradual formation of Jerusalem by Bartlett

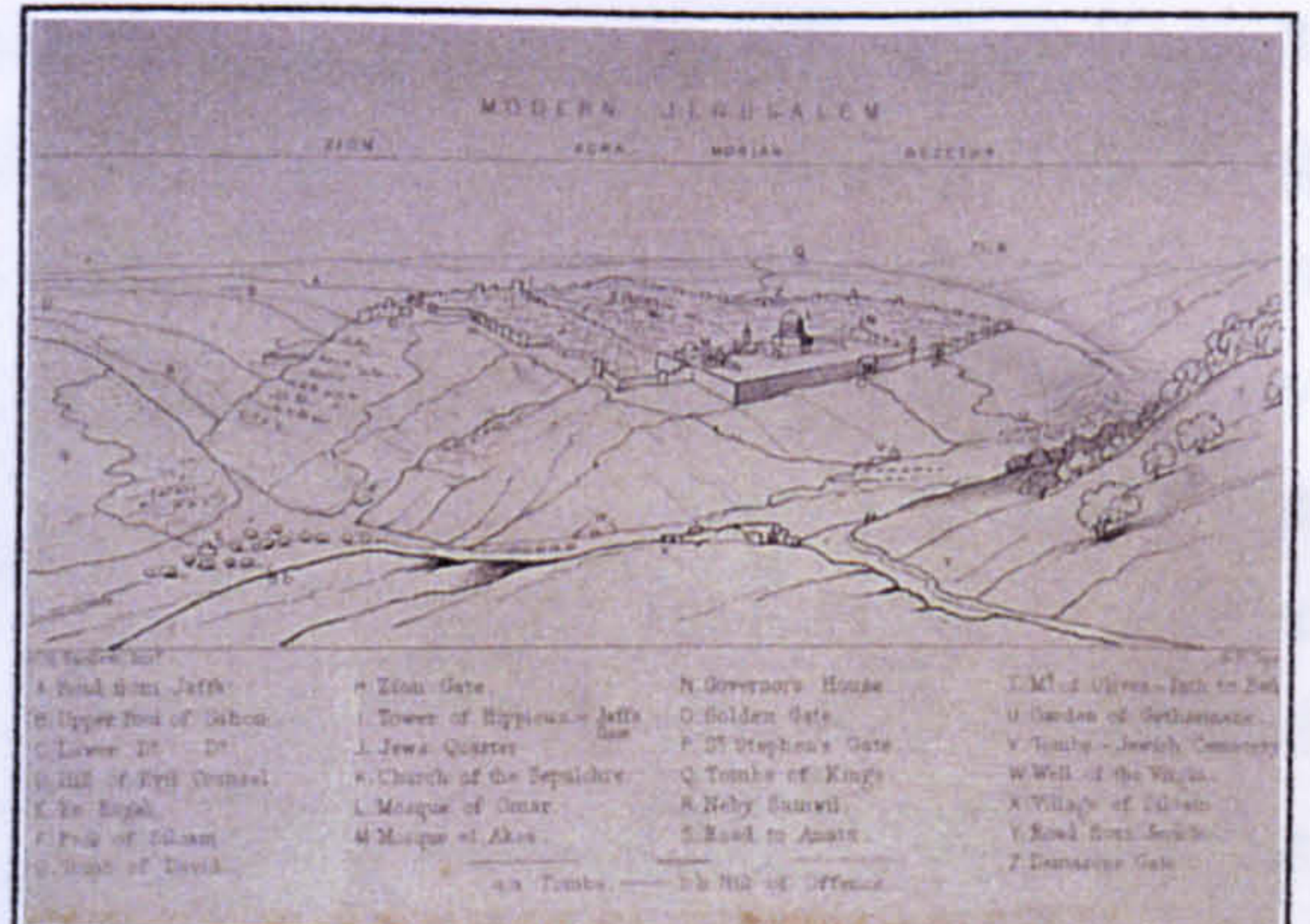


Fig. 53 Modern Jerusalem, Jerusalem by Bartlett

Armenian quarter that evolved from a convent which "...swelled into the dimensions of a small town, surrounded by a wall of its own" (Bartlett, 1852; 64). Yet, as a result of the crumbling state of the Ottoman Empire, and the growing popularity of Jerusalem as a desired destination of pilgrims and tourists, that was to become the major growth pattern of the city, within the walls and in the vacant areas surrounding it, throughout the 19th century, until the enforcement of the British rule over the country in 1917. In fact, such a pattern was carried out in Bartlett's time, with the founding of the first European edifice within the walled city - Christ Church (1842-1949) which had then become the English church and consulate (Bartlett, 1852; 19-26, and below, 8.2.).

Another observation of Bartlett's relates to the difference between the extraordinary masonry of previous generations, as evident in the architecture of Jerusalem, and the deficiencies of the contemporary building industry, with which foreign architects had to contend:

The natives seem to look upon exactness and neatness in building as things which cannot now be attained, and when they allude to the Saracenic and other buildings now existing in Jerusalem, they speak of them as works to be admired, but which they imagine modern art cannot accomplish. (Bishop Alexander, in Bartlett, 1852; 22)



An example of such high quality architecture is the Damascus Gate (Fig. 54), which Bartlett regarded as "...undeniably the handsomest of all gates of Jerusalem... presents a striking specimen of Arabian architecture". Furthermore, according to Catherwood, whose theories

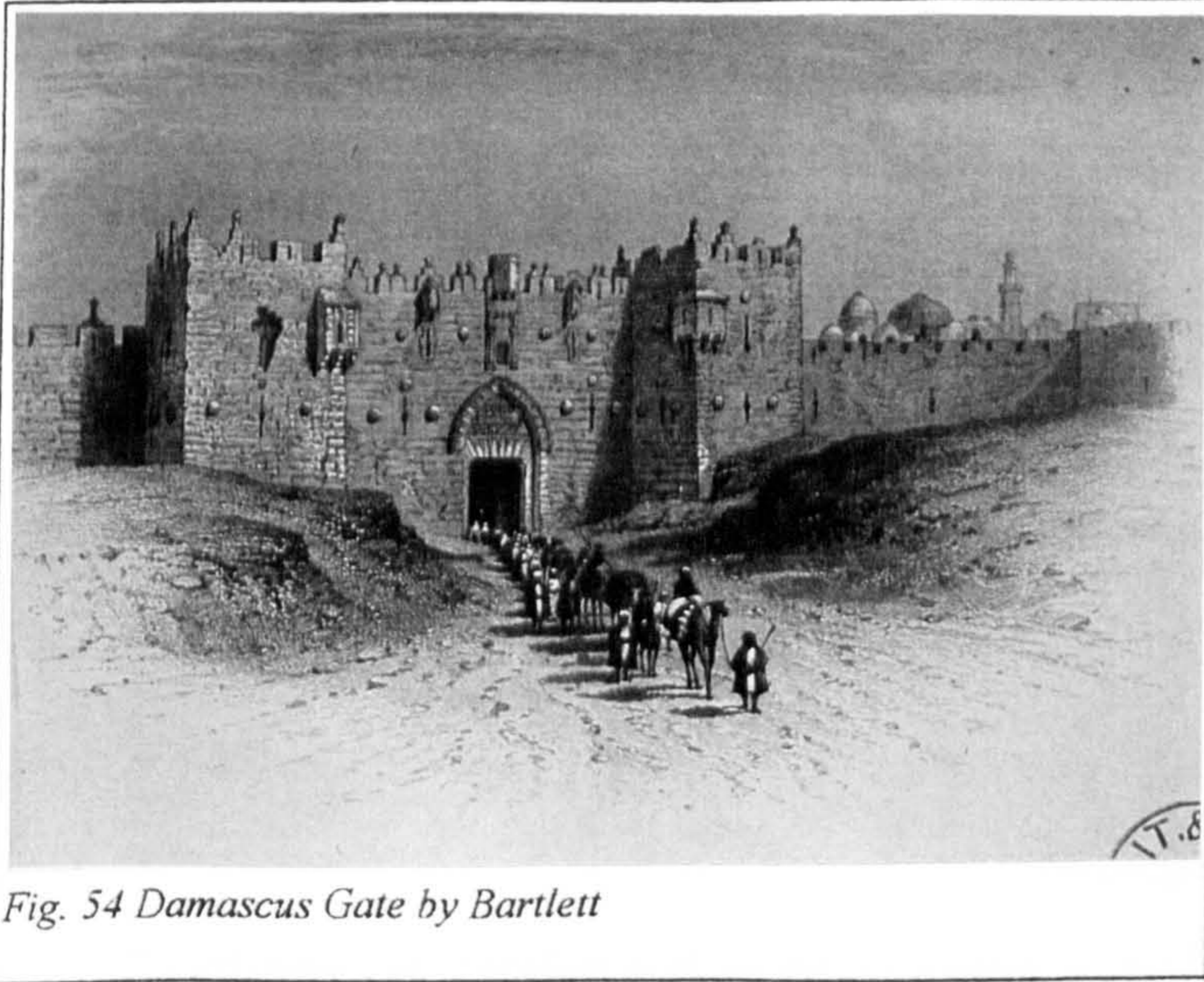


Fig. 54 Damascus Gate by Bartlett

had been the base for many observations of Bartlett's, the particular masonry of the Gate's arch was considered as evidence "...proving that the pointed arch had its origin in Syria. ...the earliest pointed arches are to be found in Jerusalem... and, the so-called Gothic architecture undoubtedly derived from this source" (Bartlett, 1852; 186).

Here again, the correctness of these findings and conclusions is secondary; rather, it denotes an attitude which ascribed primal attributes to the monuments of previous periods in Jerusalem, and considered them superior over any contemporary building in the city. In other words, unlike Lane's work in Cairo, (see above, 6.3.2.) the exploration of Jerusalem at that stage totally excluded contemporary vernacular architecture, which did not attract any attention even by architecturally trained explorers like Bartlett.

#### 6.4.2. Egypt

In 1845 Bartlett went on two trips to Egypt: he sailed along the Nile to Philae and Asuan, traveled through the Sinai Desert and reached Akaba and Petra. His impressions were published in two books: *Forty Days in the Desert* (1848) and *The Nile Boat* (1850). Most of the historical content, except for his personal impressions, were based on other sources, as noted in the introduction. It is clear though, both from the text and the illustrations, that his interest in Egypt was more aesthetic than academic, without any scientific aspirations, as indicated in the subtitle of *The Nile Boat* - "Glimpse of the Land of Egypt". Most of the drawings, though avoiding any dramatic effects, follow the picturesque genre in technique and in theme - centralistic, frameless compositions with native figures in the foreground; panoramic views of places and objects, highly figurative in character, taken from a distance (Figs. 55,56).



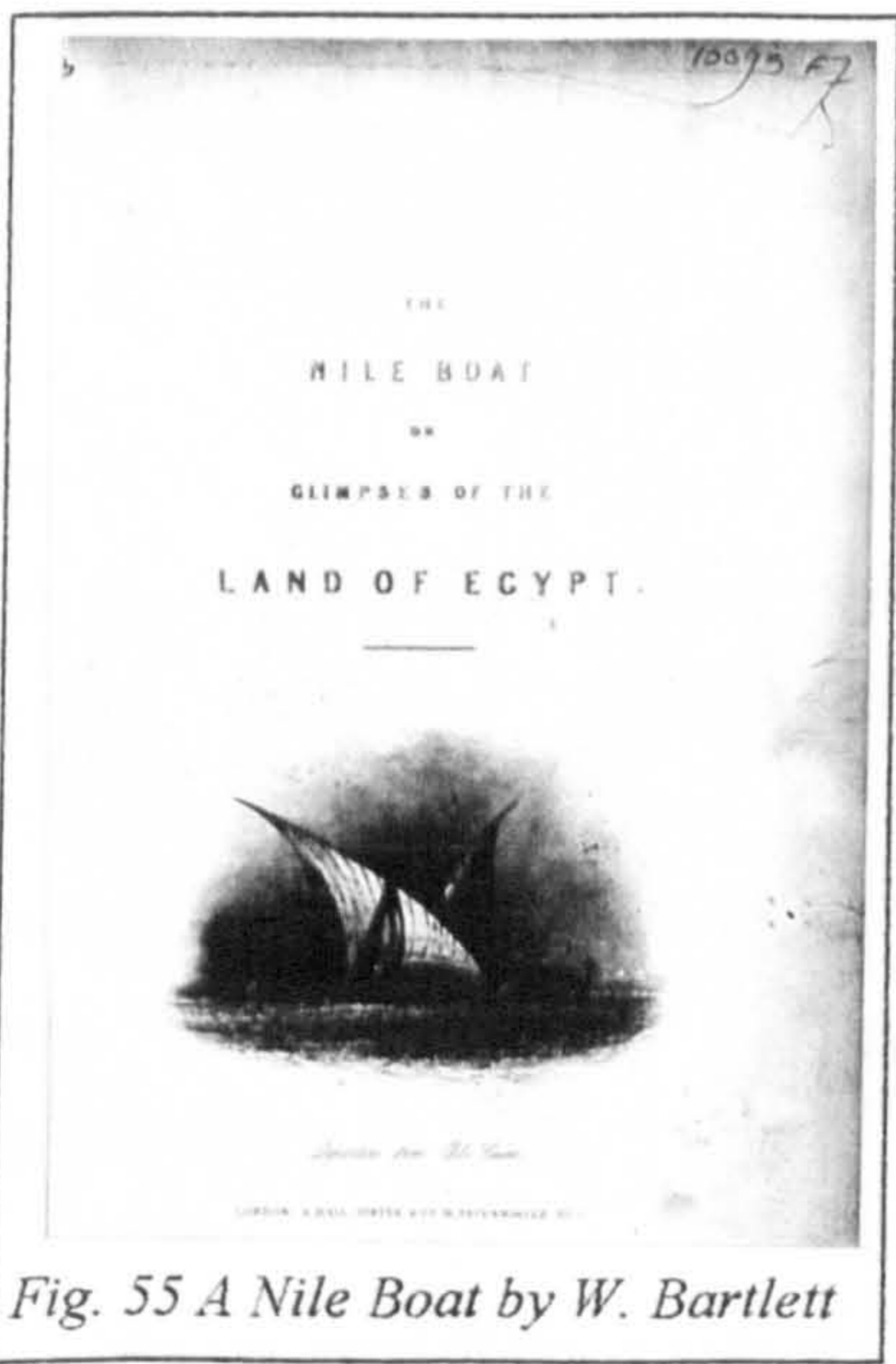


Fig. 55 A Nile Boat by W. Bartlett

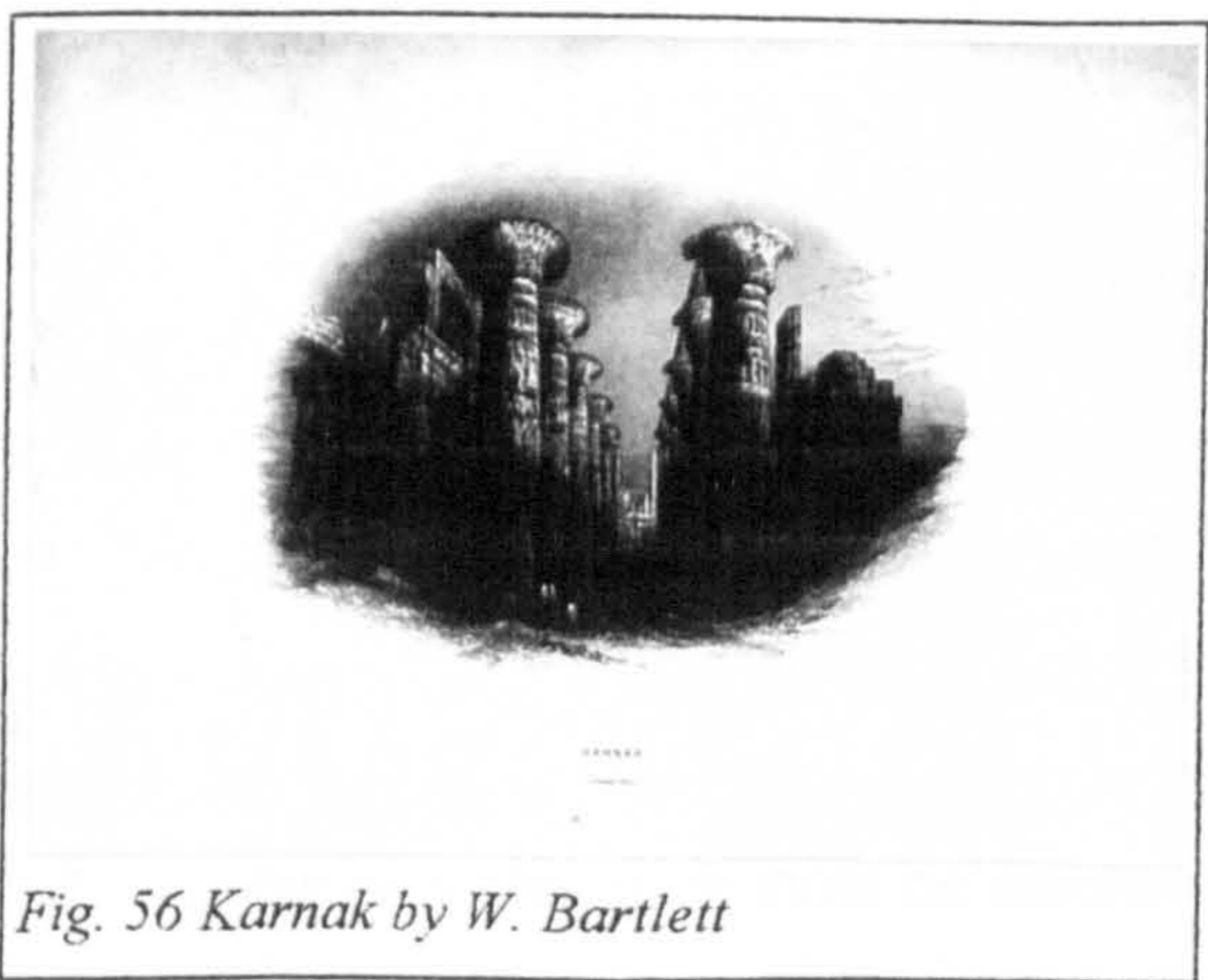
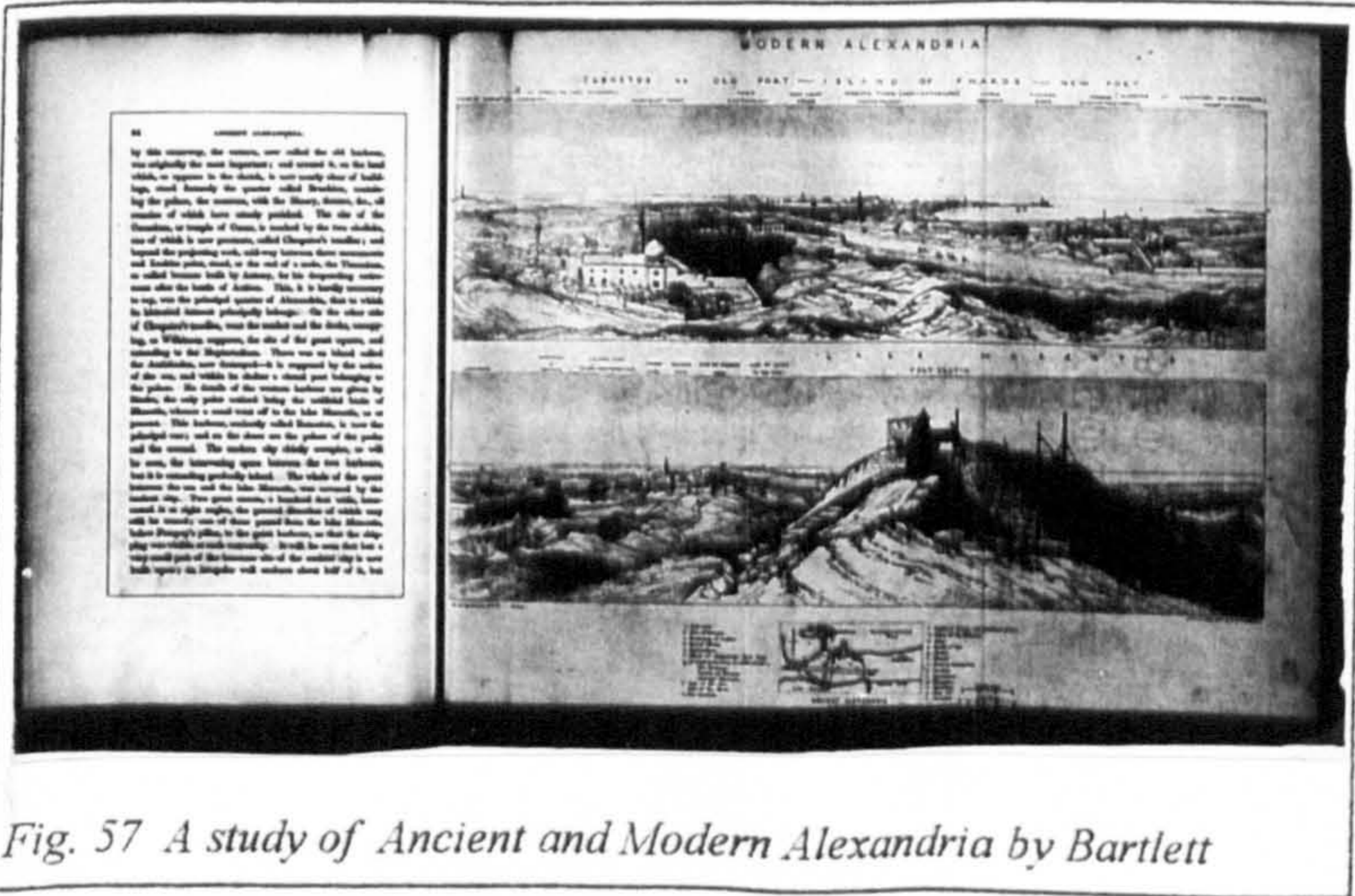


Fig. 56 Karnak by W. Bartlett

This non-detailed manner of description was deliberately undertaken:

To attempt any detailed and minute description of this irregular assemblage of sacred edifices would be useless in a work of this nature, which rather seeks to convey the impression occasioned by a few of the more remarkable objects than to enter into details; moreover, without a plan the most elaborate description of this nature would be absolutely unintelligible (Bartlett, 1850; 190).

He was probably well aware of the multitude of works undertaken by others about the subject, leaving no space for his own contribution. Nonetheless, like in Jerusalem, his study of ancient and modern Alexandria (Fig. 57), based on Wilkinson's research, shows Bartlett's considerable ability of consolidating a great body of knowledge about a place into a compact, three-dimensional description. These sort of descriptions, which had a very good market back home, also had a considerable influence on the more professional sector of architects. For in addition to the great fascination about Eastern details and ornamentation, there was also the figurative character of Eastern cities and buildings which had a great charm, especially when viewed from a distance.





## 6.5 Towards architectural analysis - Ermete Pierotti

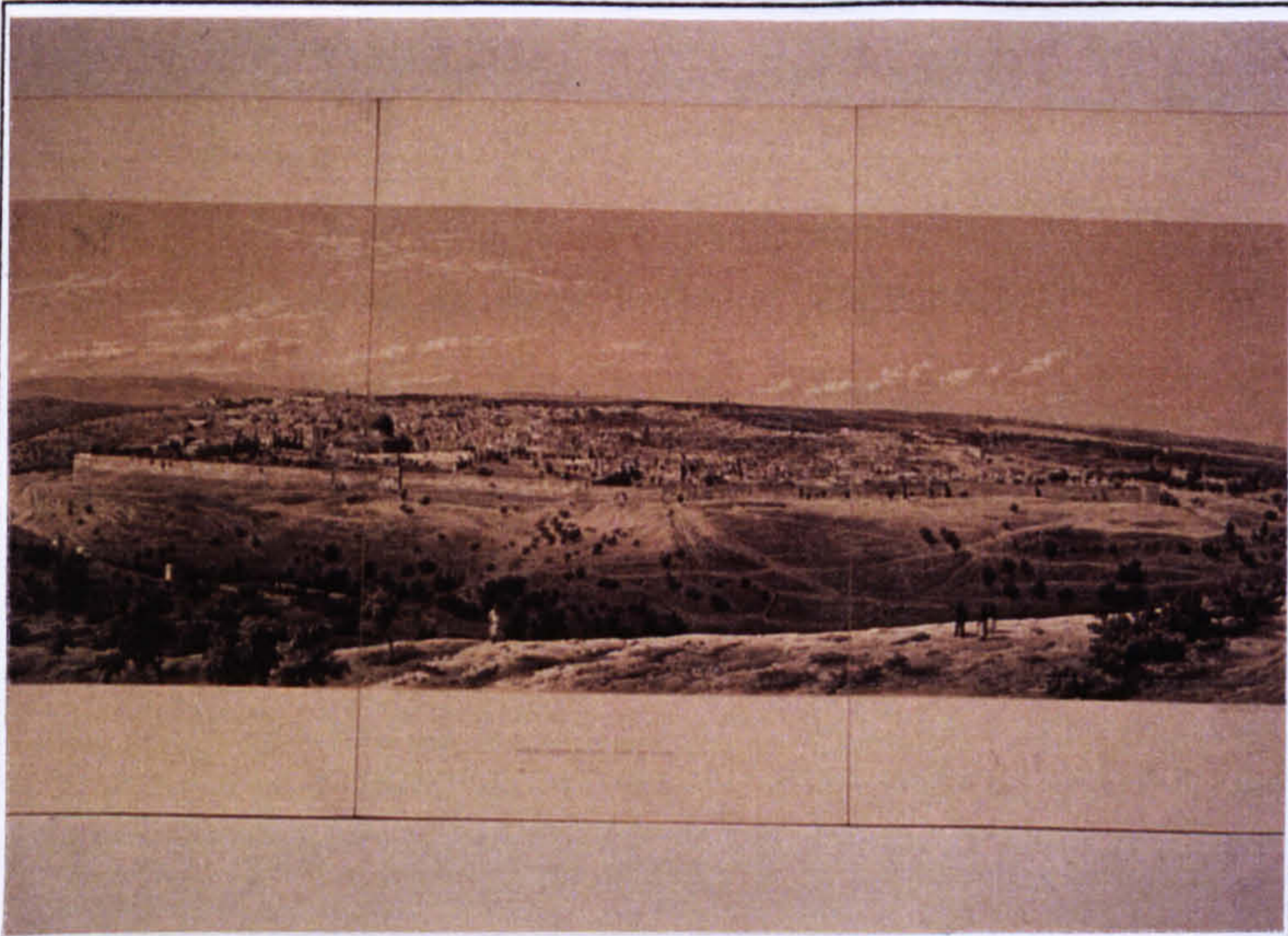
The work of the Italian military engineer, Ermete Pierotti, was chosen to conclude this chapter, being considered here the best example of architectural exploration undertaken in Palestine, mainly Jerusalem. Indeed, his work could also be classified amongst the analytical works of the next Chapter. Yet, since Pierotti was primarily concerned with history and construction, being outside any architectural convention, and since the next chapter will concentrate on architects and their proper architectural analysis, it was decided here to regard Pierotti's work as a transition between the two phases. It must be admitted, however, that this was taken with hesitation regarding his most profound analysis of purely architectural matters of structure, details, ornamentation and space.

His investigations which include various aspects of life in the country, like folklore and costume design, is still referred to by contemporary scientists. Among the six books which he published about his work in the country, the most famous is *Jerusalem Explored* (1864), two volumes of text (English translation) and first hand illustrations consisting of accurately measured plans, sections and elevations, together with panoramic and perspective views, in retouched photographs. N. Perez, in his research about early photography in the Near East, argues that all the photographs in Pierotti's book were actually stolen from a most competent amateur photographer, M. J. Diness, who was active in Jerusalem between 1854-1860 (Perez, 1988; 157). The material is presented in a methodical manner, by which the places of interest in each view are numbered, accompanied with plan, section and explanatory text.

Pierotti was first invited to Jerusalem in 1854 by the monks of the Franciscan Order to serve as their architect restoring and building parts of their monastery. He was later employed by the Russian and French governments in restoring and renewing old churches and underground water ducts within the Old City. His high professional reputation had reached the Ottoman authorities, and he was nominated as the Chief Architect/Engineer of the Extended Jerusalem District, a position he held until 1861, when he returned to Europe. His job in the Ottoman administration allowed him to enter the sacred Muslim buildings, where he could spend time measuring and drawing. He could also conduct comprehensive surveys of Jerusalem and of other parts of the district, which he then turned into maps. His archaeological investigations resulted in a number of significant discoveries, such as the continuation of the Ecco Homo. (Ben-Arieh, 1993; 65, Schiller, 1981; 142-149)

The few examples of Pierotti's work which were selected to be presented here consider those issues with which both the 'explorers' and the 'readers' of the country were primarily concerned. First was the particular position of Jerusalem in its topography, which is also the first illustration in his book, *Jerusalem Explored* (Fig. 58)





*Fig. 58 A Photographic Panorama of Jerusalem taken from the Mount of Olives, by Diness*

This panorama accurately conveys the position of the city in its landscape. Pierotti, who eventually admitted that the photographs were indeed taken by Diness, had nonetheless chosen this particular panorama to open his book. Since it was probably taken with an average size lens, in a few shots added together, taken along the ridge of the Olivett, it both avoids any

distortions and lacks any dramatic effects; only its lines were retouched to be reprinted as a lithograph. Through this genuine panoramic view it is possible to recognise those natural attributes of the city, which could be so easily exaggerated and distorted when viewed from a distance: its seclusion, its tilt towards the east, the configuration of its walls in relation to the mountain, its picturesque horizon-line, and its bare and deserted surroundings. The view of the city from this direction was most probably similar to what had been envisaged by Theoderich six hundred years earlier (see above, 5.2) and by all the travellers after him.

Amongst the closer looks at the city presented in the book is the view taken from the west; a rather unusual angle, focusing on the El Aqsa mosque and the south edge of the Old City (Fig. 59).



*Fig. 59 South-west view of the El Aqsa Mosque by Pierotti*



With the arid Mount of Olives in the background, the complexity and richness of its massive configuration is apparent. And yet it consists of a confined repertoire of ingredients: a dome; some arches; massive, almost windowless cubes; flat, rarely sloped roofs, a slender tower, all almost un-ornamented, built of the local hard whitish lime-stone, with very little vegetation. The problems, as well as the potential, of that limited choice of forms and materials were to be seriously confronted only fifty years later by some European architects who were practicing in Jerusalem. As will be shown in the case-studies of this work (see below Part III), it was to become a major factor which determined the form and character of Western architecture in the city.

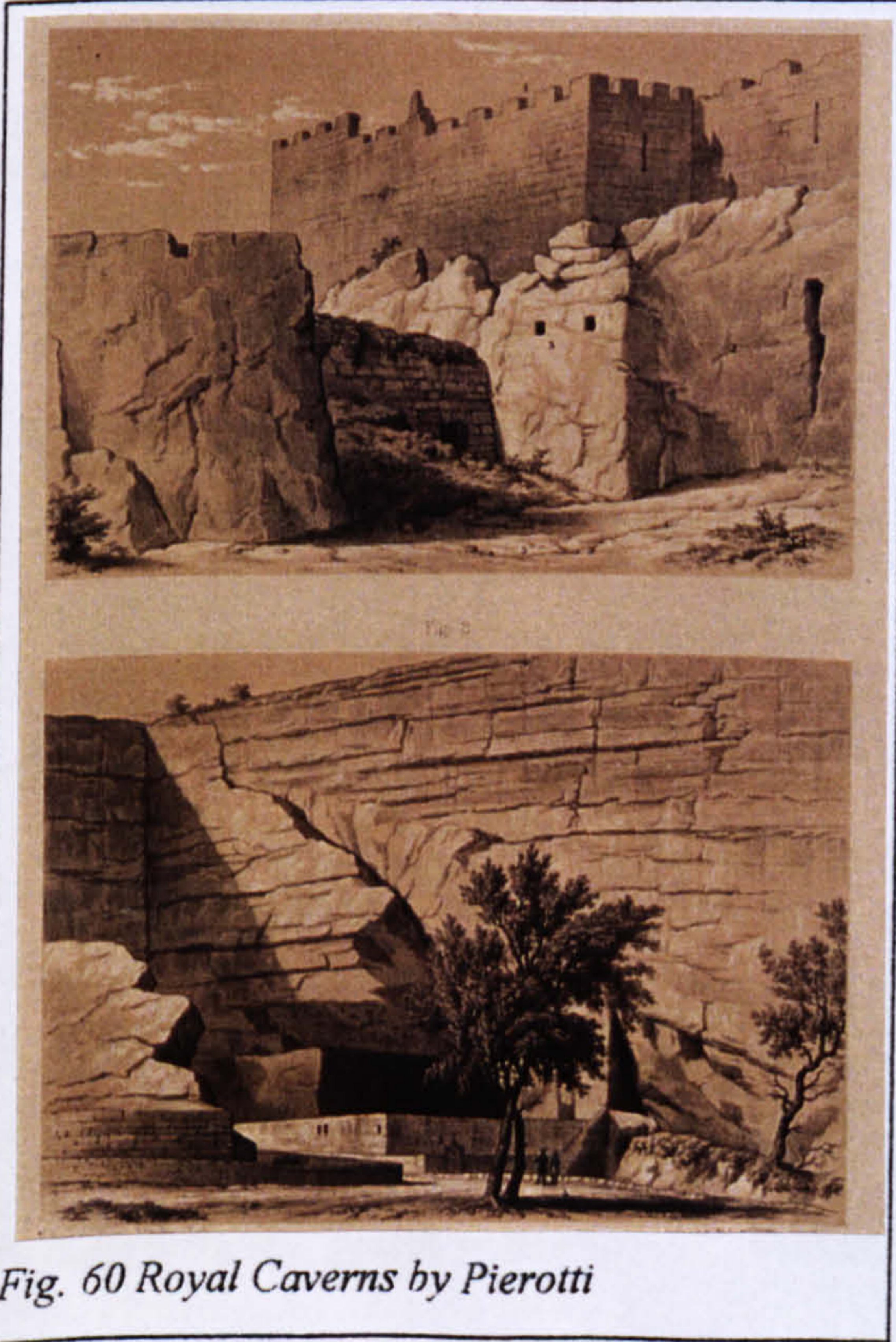


Fig. 60 Royal Caverns by Pierotti

The next view, the Royal Caverns outside the Old City, exemplifies this matter (Fig. 60). Here, Pierotti draws the attention to the extraordinary configuration, where there is no clear difference between the mass of the buildings and the natural rock.

Together with the views of the El Aqsa mosque, a plan and sections of the building were also presented. The longitudinal section (Fig. 61) shows the main structure - the dome and the wooden roof, the principal space and the basement. At the top of the drawing, most accurately drawn examples of the capital of the columns are shown, originally from previous periods which were reused in the building; some items are to be found today scattered around it.

The analysis of the building includes some examples of ornamented mosaics of the mosque's interiors, presented separately, similar to Owen Jones' catalogue charts of his *Grammar of Ornament* (Fig. 62).

A most significant contribution of Pierotti, regarding the limited choice of building materials available in Jerusalem and its environs, is his analysis of details of ancient masonry (Fig. 63). Through the various manners of traditional stone carving, the individual stone block fulfills both structural and decorative roles. The implications of such an analysis went beyond demonstrating ancient craftsmanship. It was taken much further by Conrad Schick, an important architect and builder in Jerusalem, who had practically revived ancient masonry and trained a new generation of masons and builders (see below, 7.3.2).



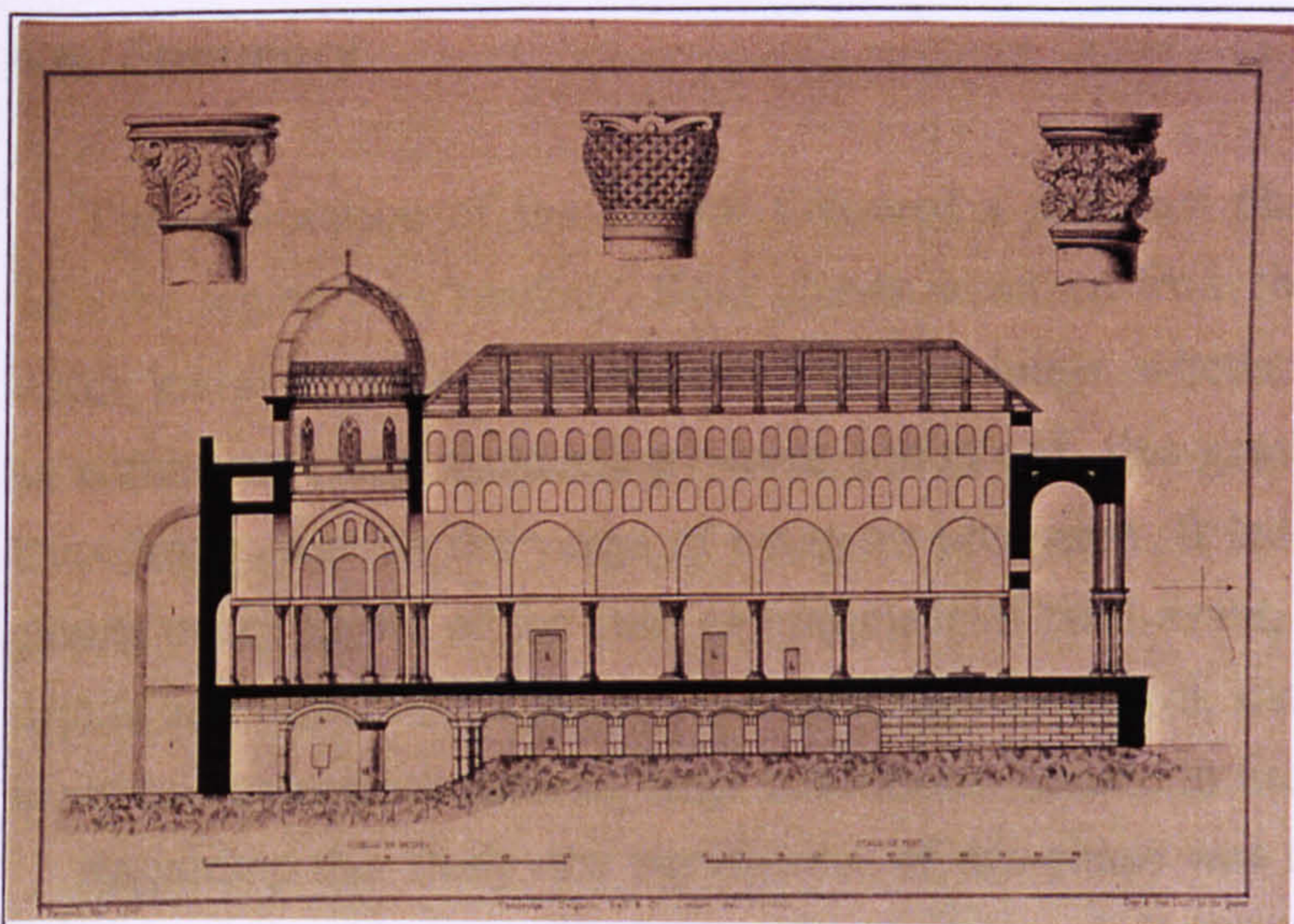


Fig. 61 A longitudinal section of the El Aksa Mosque by Pierotti

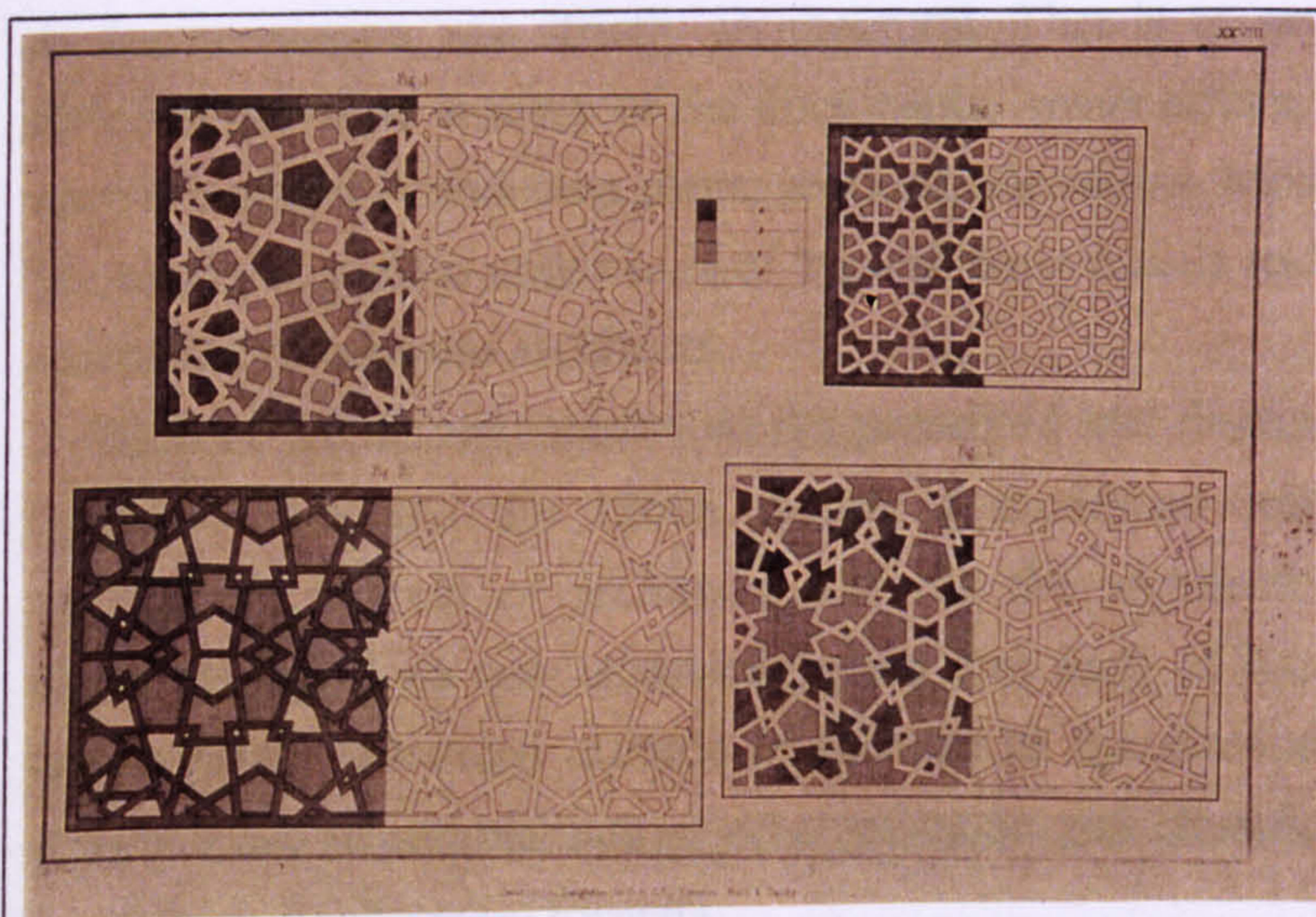


Fig 62 Ornamented Mosaics of the El Aksa Mosque by E. Pierotti

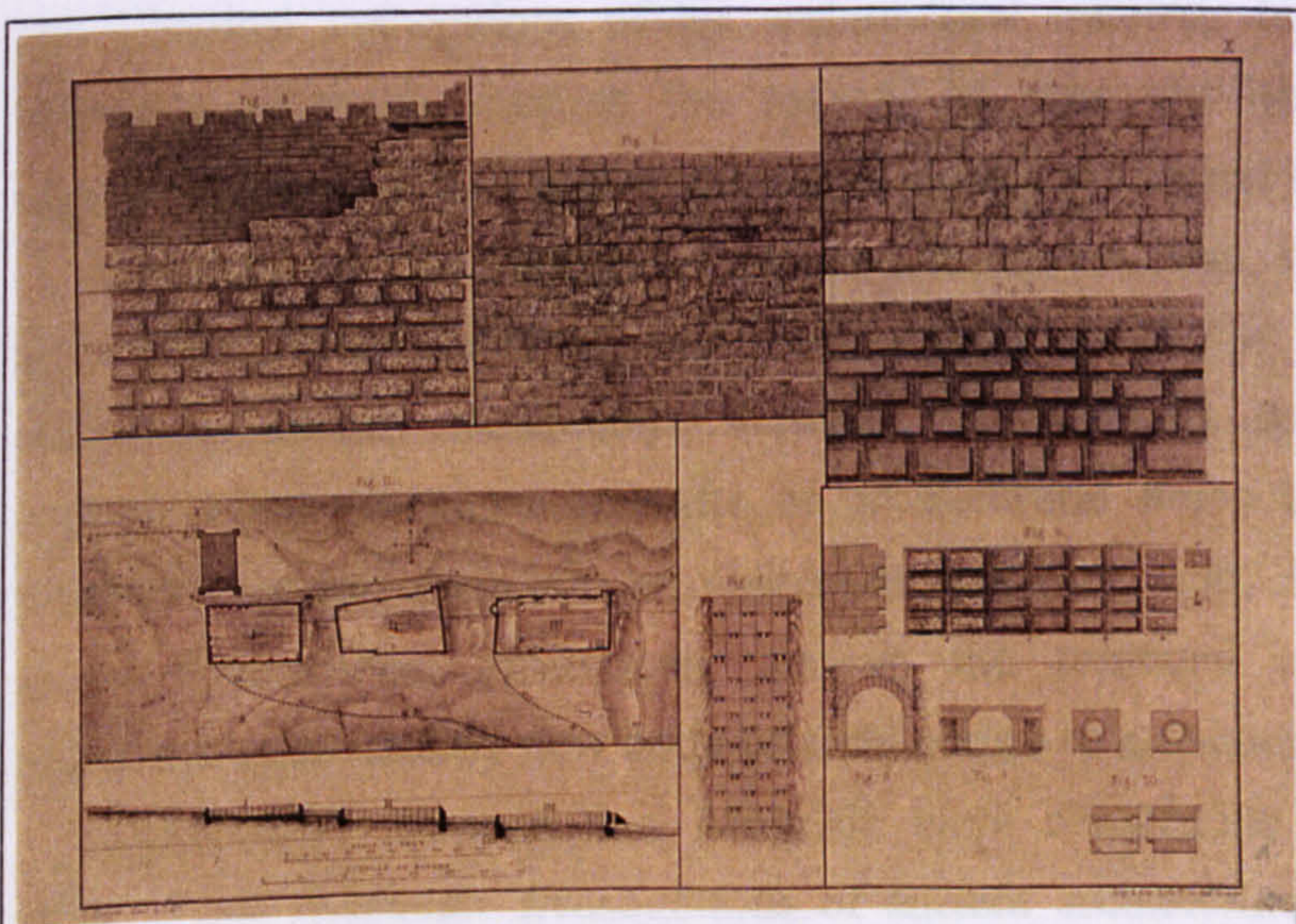


Fig. 63 Details of ancient Masonry in Jerusalem by Pierotti

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 and to the public at large.

for the actual documentation  
 mainly in Egypt, but also in  
 the Middle East. The results were



## 6.6. Summary

The exploration of the Levant followed a previous phase of the European encounter with the region - its 'reading'. Both phases stemmed from the same mental-cultural attitude, which involved a desire to have and collect things, whether objects or information. As far as architecture and archaeology were concerned, this great appetite for information and knowledge was on the verge of being an obsession. It led to extensive documentation of almost every aspect of the built environment of the Levant, focusing on architectural parts, details and ornaments. Those were meticulously drawn, cast, photographed, and classified in various categories forming large collections, housed in European museums.

Regarding this study, the significance of this phase was twofold: first, ancient Egyptian and Islamic architecture in the region was regarded as architecture proper, a legitimate, sometimes favorable source of inspiration and reference; second, the format and manner of its documentation was strictly architectural. That is to say that although the picturesque style still prevailed in many of the documents, many others, undertaken by noted architects, were draughted - producing plans, sections, elevations. Most important were the catalogue-like charts of endless collections of 'typical' parts details and ornaments, which were readily accepted by European architects.

Each of the documentation works presented and discussed above, undertaken between the late 1810s and the 1860s, denote a significant stage in the development of the professional attitude of architects towards the architectural inventory of the Levant. However, this does not necessarily mean that each of those examples had introduced a fundamentally advanced attitude in relation to the previous one. Rather, it indicates the general trend of rationalisation, schematisation and classification of the data, encapsulated in compact architectural formats.

For Sir C. Barry, the experience of ancient Egyptian architecture had challenged many of the Classical conventions of his architectural training. In addition to his accurate line drawings of many sites in the region, he was also the first to produce organised classifications of details and ornaments in a compact format of charts.

Architectural documentation reached a climax with the investigations of R. Hay's expedition. This grandiose operation, which lasted for ten years, went beyond just examining ancient architectural remains. Conceptually speaking, it was collecting and appropriating enormous amounts of architectural items by drawing and casting them, ultimately turning them into art objects in their own right. They were then exhibited in the grand international exhibitions, and in the principal museums of European cities, representing an entirely new body of architecture to architects and to the public at large.

Catherwood, Bonomi and Arundale were responsible for the actual documentation work. Their thorough investigations of ancient architecture, mainly in Egypt, but also in Jerusalem, were based upon accurate surveys and measuring. The results were



extremely meticulous drawings. Entire items and architectural elements were then presented, divorced from their original contexts, by which they became individual objects, conceptually speaking. The format of those documents and the manner by which they were draughted enhanced their popularity amongst European architects, who at that period were desperately looking for new sources of inspiration and reference.

E. Lane was responsible for drawing the attention of architects and scholars alike to Islamic architecture in Egypt. No less important was the fact that Egyptian vernacular architecture was included in that category. His most detailed investigations, which involved looking into the realm of Egyptian daily life, were presented in a compact book format which contained methodical drawings, some of which are architectural in character. It has been considered a reliable source book about Egyptian traditional life and architecture until the present day.

The exploration of the architecture of ancient Jerusalem has been discussed above through examining the work of W. Bartlett and E. Pierotti. Since Jerusalem had never been perceived in purely secular terms, and at that time it did not attract the attention of many scholars, its architectural heritage was not examined in the same manner and attitude as that of Egypt had been. Nonetheless, both Bartlett and Pierotti, had dealt with the principal issues regarding the architecture of the city.

Bartlett's work, being descriptive rather than analytical, had enhanced the perception of Jerusalem and other cities in the region as objects in their landscapes. Although he had been amongst the few scholars who examined Jerusalem from within, it was mainly the history of the buildings and their external configuration which attracted his attention. Even though these were drawn in great detail, their structure, masonry or their specific elements were not examined in particular. The credibility and extensive circulation of his work, published in books, was considered a reliable and updated source for scholars, rather than for architects.

The work of the Italian military engineer E. Pierotti is considered here a breakthrough in the exploration of the architecture of Jerusalem, being the first example in which its architectural heritage had been examined from a secular point of view. Both the evocative position of the city and its architecture were methodically analysed, focusing on construction, building materials, and types of masonry. These were presented in the conventional format of architectural documents which included accurate surveys, maps, plans, sections and charts of characteristic types of masonry and ornamentation.

Pierotti's work could also be included in the next chapter, where the encounter of professional architects will be discussed. However, it is regarded here as a transition phase between the exploration and the analysis of the built environment of the region.



## ANALYSING ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE: FOCUSING ON DETAIL AND ORNAMENT

### 7.1. Introduction

A personal note should be presented at this point. The work on this study began at the end of 1991, and much reading, observation and thought about its main theme took place before that time. Amongst the first and most important realisations during that preliminary stage concerned the central role of detail and ornament in the development of Western misconceptions of Islam in general and of Arab architecture in particular. Limited by the scope and nature of this paper, the examination herein is designed merely as a study of European conceptions of Islamic architecture. Aware, however, of the need to confirm and compare some of the arguments with reality, as well as being overwhelmed by the impossible task of studying Islamic architecture itself, it was not until the publication of Robert Hillenbrand's book, *Islamic Architecture*, in 1994, that an appropriate support had been found. Therefore, it is worthwhile to begin this Chapter, which will discuss the problematic nature of the Europeans' special attention to Islamic detail and ornament, by presenting some of Hillenbrand's related observations.

Hillenbrand considers exoticism as one of the obstacles to proper understanding of Islamic architecture by Westerners. In his opinion, it relates more to Western escapism rather than reflecting Islamic realities and culture, in which there was a total lack of interest. It involved the notion that Islamic architecture is more interesting for understanding Western architecture than as a subject in its own right. Nevertheless, there were factors intrinsic to Islamic buildings which might have misled Western minds. "Perhaps Islamic decoration is partly responsible" for some misconceptions, "...especially in its deliberate and so un-European assault on the eye". The enormous surfaces of glowing and flickering tile work, geometric ornamented panels, "...which suggest a subtle underlying harmony", contribute to "...uncritical admiration". Amongst the traps of that fascination were underestimating the mathematical factors in Islamic architecture, and ignoring important qualities of Islamic inscription, "as signposts for the deeper meanings of the monuments they grace" (Hillenbrand, 1994; 12).

Since Medieval Islam produced no text books on architectural theory like Vitruvius or Alberti, it is actually impossible to find out how medieval Islamic buildings were intended to be experienced. This must not be confused, however, with various practical aids which included plans, models, pattern books for architectural decoration, or diagrams showing how to construct vaults and arches. The only way which remains in order to trace some of the Islamic architects' aesthetic preferences is by examining the buildings themselves. The danger of course, is being misled by "...dogmatic claims". However, with the absence of



any Muslim literary source which proves the existence of any standards, it is possible, in Hillenbrand's view, that "...Islam as a religion played a significant - perhaps even the significant - role in inspiring Muslim architects, but in that case such inspiration was not explicitly acknowledged" (Hillenbrand, 1994; 12).

Apart from presenting the empirical basis for the judgment that mathematical calculation is an integral part of Islamic architectural aesthetics, Hillenbrand proposes several other ingredients which make up that aesthetic: "...a sense of hierarchy; a readiness to exploit symbolism; a love of lavish decoration whose functions go beyond mere display; and perhaps a leaning towards the use of colour" (Hillenbrand, 1994; 14).

As far as this study is concerned, the most important of Hillenbrand's observations deal with ambiguity in form and decoration. He suggests that, as a rule, Islamic architects readily used forms that had already been absorbed in their parent culture. Moreover, they were not "...restlessly experimenting with new forms", but rather "...preferred to refine existing ones or load them with extra decoration". As such, these forms are not enough in themselves to guarantee the identification of a building as Islamic. The "clue" for their identification is what Hillenbrand defines as "interchangeability". That is to say that "...virtually no form in Islamic architecture connotes a single exclusive function". Yet what had prevented the merging of buildings together was the need to work with a limited choice of few building types, which did not inhibit the Islamic creative imagination more than the Western architects working within the classical order (Hillenbrand, 1994; 24).

The most common and familiar attribute of all public Islamic buildings is the love for illusionism and ambiguity, in its various expressions, in both form and decoration. "The true nature of the building may be easily hidden..." and it is "...often not clear whether a form is decorative or structural". This is even more forceful in the realm of decoration. The tile work within some domes creates light reflections which make it seem as if the sun were shining through. "The aim seems to be that the dome should be as insubstantial as possible - indeed, as it were, transparent." It follows then, that "...the unusually important role which Islamic architecture allots to ornament encourages its victory and with it the dissolution of mass". The love for colour and texture played a similar role (Hillenbrand, 1994; 24,25,26).

This chapter will discuss the professional encounter of British architects, with Islamic traditional architecture in Palestine and Egypt. Though often termed 'Saracenic', 'Arabian', 'Muhammadan' or 'Moorish', the term 'Islamic' will be used here, as it refers, following Hillenbrand, both to a culture as well as to a faith. As such it includes secular and religious building types. This is the main reason for its use herein, though it must be remembered, that since it is a "blanket term", it does not distinguish various places with their own local traditions (Hillenbrand, 1994; 8).

The significant change of interest which took place in the second half of the 19th century was when architects became more concerned about the vernacular aspects of that architecture, following a change of attitude towards domestic architecture, mainly in England. Exploration - scientific or descriptive, gave way to purposeful observations by



practising architects, who regarded the Levant as a rich inventory of forms, details and ornaments to be inspired by, or to be implemented in their own designs. They shared their investigations with other architects, mainly through papers published in journals and in various conferences held in the RIBA.

The architectural doubts which had already been in the air during the preliminary phases of that encounter were now consolidated into a theory, led by the members of the British Crafts Movement. It was part of what Russell Ferguson describes as the capacity and necessity of Western culture "...to absorb a constant flow of new elements", by which exotic subordinated cultures were "...constantly mined for new ideas with which to energise the jaded restless mainstream" (see above, 2.2.3. Ferguson, 1990; 11).

A central argument of this study suggests that the encounter of British architects who were practicing in the Levant had been mostly second hand, based on those professional observations which will be discussed below. Their importance lies mainly in the selection of material and in the manner by which it was presented. In other words, as has been suggested in chapter two of this study, following Edward Said and others, what was actually circulated was not necessarily truth but rather representations. It will be shown below that the principal vehicles representing Islamic architecture were details and ornaments. It must be noted, however, that this does not mean that those representations were incorrect. On the contrary; some of the works which will be discussed below are most accurate meticulous observations.

And yet they are still considered here as misconceptions. For what was described was only part of the truth; a segment, though an important one, of an entire culture and its architectural manifestation. It is that same desire to collect objects, removing them from their original context, that had led to the zooming on shapes details and ornaments, isolating them, presenting them as individual items, and ascribing to them the power to represent the whole, of which they form a part. It is these elements which later became a departure point for design, rather than the contexts out of which they were taken. Furthermore, they were regarded as guarantors for the acceptance of the building by the inhabitants of the Levant, assumed to be part of its milieu.

## **7.2. The catalogue syndrome - Owen Jones**

Owen Jones was, to a great extent, responsible for the shift of architectural attention towards the East. He had a rationalistic approach and hoped that he could arrest the trend of historicism in order to find alternative solutions to problems of architectural design of his age. He thought that the decorative arts stem from and should be applied to architecture. He believed that geometrical structure was the basis for successful pattern-making, so that the whole and each particular component should be a multiple of some simple unit.

Social and professional contacts were formed amongst architects who travelled to the



East, particularly after the RIBA was founded in 1831. Owen Jones became a central figure in its forums, with James Wild, Joseph Bonomi, Matthew Wyatt, Gottfried Semper and

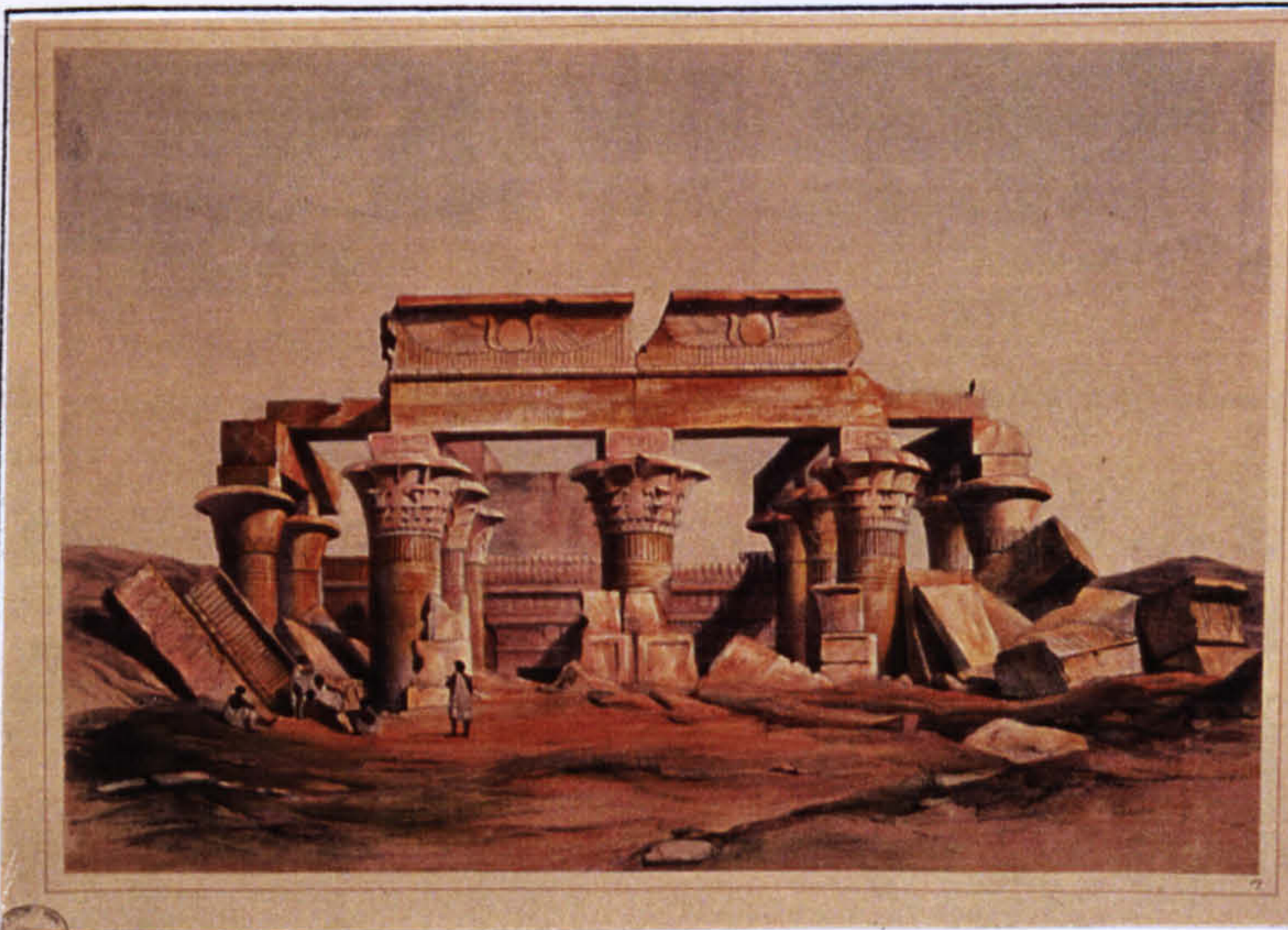


Fig. 64 Untitled view , by Jones and Gourey

others. He traveled throughout the Classical lands - Turkey, Egypt and Spain. Meeting with the French architect Jules Gourey, and travelling together to Egypt, had resulted in the famous book *Views on the Nile* (1843), which was still basically a series of picturesque scenes, no different from many others (Figs. 64,65).

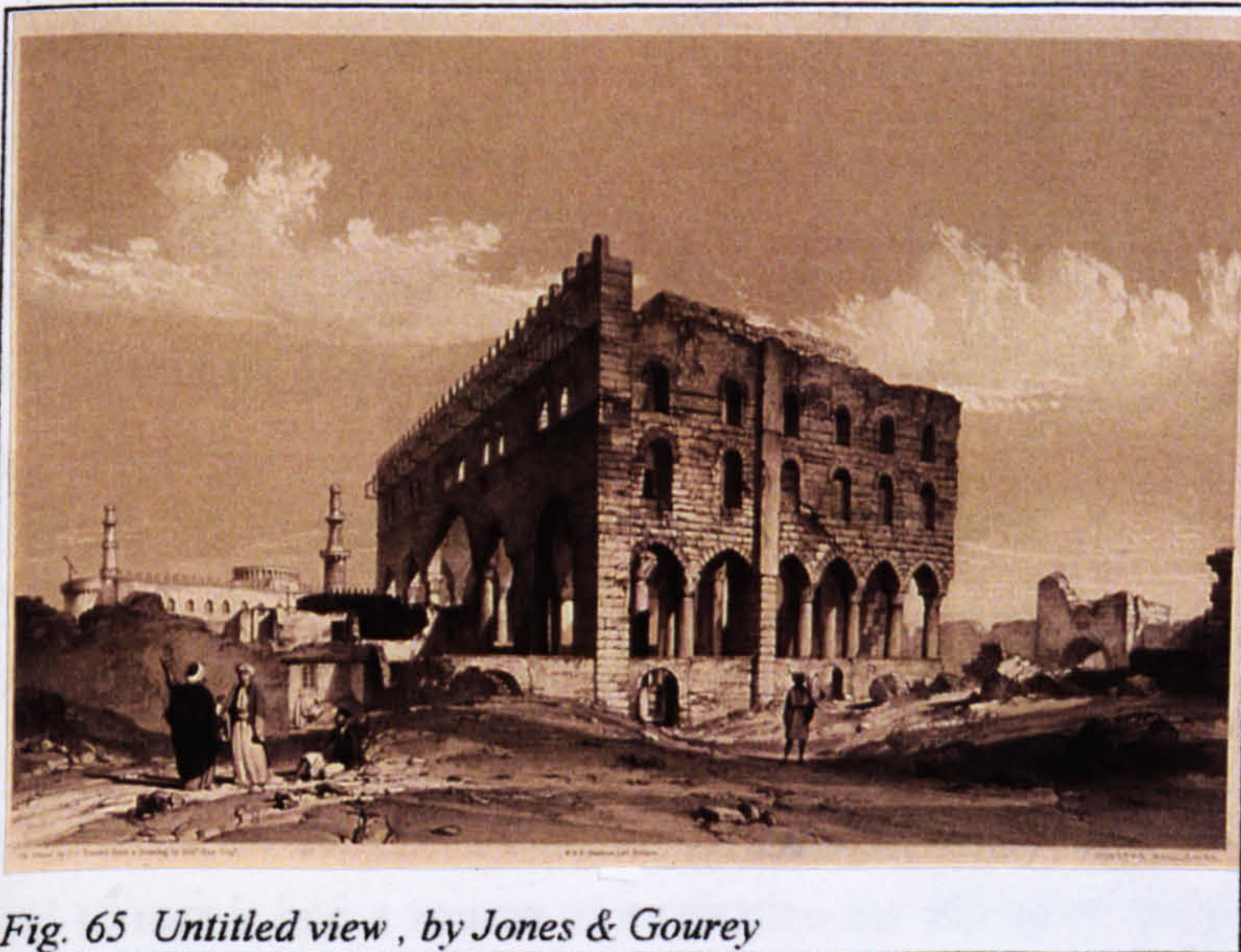


Fig. 65 Untitled view , by Jones & Gourey

It was only his six month study, with Gourey, of the Alhambra which was to determine his entire career. With the publications of the plans, sections, elevations and details of the Alhambra (1836-1845), Jones became its unquestioned interpreter and his professional reputation was highly acknowledged. He shared with Pugin the view about

the function of decoration, but rejected his doctrinal position on the Gothic style at large.

Jones presented a provocative rationalistic approach, which showed a geometric demonstration, of how the Moorish patterns could be developed from a simple grid. He analysed the basic grids on which the repeating patterns were constructed. Another fascinating phenomenon was the movement of lines of a particular pattern, and the flicker of bright colour at close range, which could be transformed at a distance into an overall effect of stability and repose. Since those forms were largely based on mathematics they appealed to the European rationalistic minds, and were considered a morphological treasure for architects, to be further manipulated and incorporated in their own design.

Yet the most evocative thing for Jones about the Alhambra was the colours of its ornamentation. It was the merging of colours which in effect caused the entire colour



scheme to 'bloom' together. On the basis of such phenomena, supported by other archaeological sources, he formulated a colour theory. Its main principles were as follows:

- (1) The construction is decorated; decoration is never purposely constructed.
- (2) Beauty of form is produced by lines growing out from one another in gradual undulations; nothing could be removed and leave the design equally as good or better.
- (3) The general form is first cared for; this is subdivided and ornamented by general lines ...
- (4) Colour is used to assist in the development of form, and to distinguish objects, or parts of objects, from one another.
- (5) And to assist light and shade, ... no artificial shadows are ever used.
- (6) These objects were best obtained by the use of the primaries in small surfaces, in small amounts... (Jones, 1851, in Celik 1992; 165)

He had first implemented that theory in the decoration of the Alhambra Court at the Crystal Palace (1851). Though quite advanced for its time, it must be regarded as part of the general interest in the polychromatics of ancient art, and the preoccupation with colours by the romantic painters. (Sweetman, 1988; 125-126)

Jones had been the follower of Ruskin in the importance he attached to architectural ornament, but they disagreed about the Alhambra. For Jones, a natural form should be conventionalised into formal language in which the logic of the structure and the emotional effect of colour were interlocked. In this respect all essential lessons were to be found in the interiors of Granada. For Jones, Morris and other crafts enthusiasts, Islamic design was to offer practical and teachable solutions to the central problems of their age: how to produce goods in which decoration could be reconciled with material and function. Nevertheless, it was here that the first dissonance had emerged: in Islamic architecture, as shown by Hillenbrand, architecture and decoration are permanently at war due to the unusually important role of its ornament, which encourages the dissolution of mass by which the impact of the building as pure architecture is diminished. (Hillenbrand, 1994; 25) It seems then rather awkward, to take one of the most un-materialistic notion of that architecture and to turn it into a source of inspiration for the most materialistic task - the production of goods.

Jones was to consolidate these lessons into an overall theory in his monumental and most influential work, *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856). Circumstances were ready and the advantages of this encyclopedic work were immediately recognised. The *Grammar* was into its ninth edition by 1910 and has remained in print as an essential source book. It was just what architects had been looking for - a comprehensive classification of an enormous scope, of almost all decorative motifs from the most remote periods and places, all gathered in coherent order and in such a compact format and easy to use (Fig. 66).

What was left to do was just to copy and integrate into one's own design. Yet, as far as this study is concerned, copying per-se was not the problem, but rather what was chosen to be copied, in what manner, and in what context it was to be reproduced. Since the details and ornaments presented in the *Grammar* were deliberately taken out of their context, so to



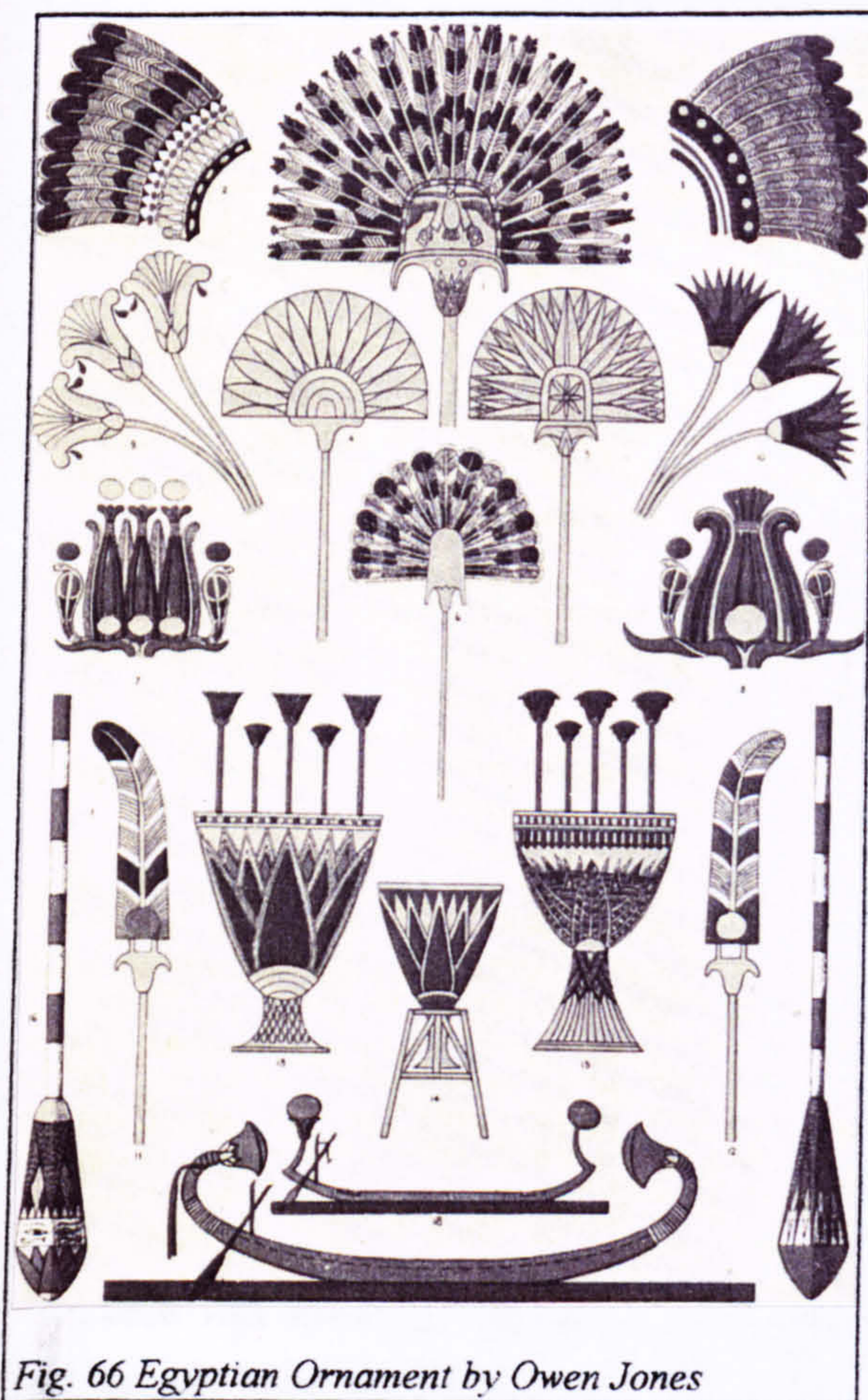


Fig. 66 Egyptian Ornament by Owen Jones

be properly classified in the appropriate category, their original role in the building was considered secondary. Items which appear independently, appreciated as individual art objects, could easily be blown up or reduced to any size, produced in any material, or in any manner, as fancied by the designer or architect.

As individual items, divorced from their context, they could also be ascribed with various representational faculties, which often lost much of their original meaning, and even more important, their spirit. It is suggested here that the format of representation used in the *Grammar*, of catalogue charts consisting of individually displayed items, had its origin in what has been discussed above, the characteristic Western desire to have, to collect, to classify and to exhibit (2.2., 2.3.). In other words, by means of the catalogue charts,

the exotic, unfamiliar, unintelligible, albeit most attractive, was tamed. Through its levelling with other items - in its size and the style by which it was drawn, it could fit into European architectural frameworks.

### 7.3. Professional investigations

What has been described above, however, should be taken with reservations. Some serious investigations of Islamic architecture which were undertaken after the publication of the *Grammar of Ornament* did not necessarily follow the pattern of a catalogue, though their main concern was also ornamentation. Those investigations must be seriously considered here; although less influential compared with Owen Jones' *Grammar*, they were considered important professional sources for practicing architects in the region. The publications which were chosen to be discussed here were selected from C. R. Ashbee's bibliography, presented in his *Jerusalem Records* (1921, 1924), which he considered most important in regard to his architectural activity in the city. These were presented before the RIBA members and followed by a discussion.

Some of the leading British architects had been stimulated by Owen Jones' *Grammar* and



went to the Levant to gain first hand experience. Professor Thomas L. Donaldson, who had visited Egypt, presented his professional impressions to a forum of RIBA members in 1861. Apart from a report about excavation at Gizah and Saccara, he was intrigued by the unfamiliar structure of primitive villages in lower Egypt. These were artificial mounds, rising above the flat plains of natural soil, of crudely built huts and houses which seemed to follow the configuration of the ancient Egyptians: the sun-dried brick walls inclined backwards like the ancient Egyptian temples. Flat terraces formed the roofs on which "... the Arabs performed many of their domestic operations", and the entire configuration recalled domestic buildings "...which we have seen upon the hieroglyphs". In other words, the ancient roots of those forms were still the main attraction.

Although struck by the crudity of the buildings, whose building process he described in great detail, he appreciated their adaptation to the severe climatic conditions, like their "...apertures for light and air which are rare occurrences and small, seldom appear on the outside, and are generally next to the court to ensure privacy and shade". Their ornamentation, mainly the use of colour, was of great interest. It could be found mainly on critical elements of the building like the doorways. These were "... frequently painted in brilliant colours ", and with a characteristic dish inserted in their lintels (Donaldson, 1861; 168).

There was nothing innovative about Donaldson's findings, either compared with what had already been presented by others (see above, 6.3.), or with what had been presented in Jones' *Grammar*. And yet, such presentations at the RIBA were most popular and attended by many architects. Amongst the reasons for the interest in the subject was the general increase in building operations by British architects in various parts of the Empire. Many of them had been confronted with entirely new climatic and environmental conditions, as well as with different building materials and workmanship. These demanded a change of attitude, as some architects were beginning to feel uncomfortable about transplanting European elements so unfitting to a strange environment. On some occasions, sharp criticism was expressed, for instance by William Burges concerning India:

Had we followed examples of sound good sense in the works required on our colonies and in India, we should never have seen such monstrosity as Calcutta Cathedral, to say nothing of Lincolnshire churches with their large windows and high roofs transplanted to the burning climate of India ... (Burges, 1863; 563)

The papers of another four architects, John D. Crace, Conrad Schick, Archibald Dickie and William Harvey will be discussed separately below, representing progress in the study of Islamic architecture. Though they all focused on details and ornamentation, they regarded them within a broader framework of Islamic architecture. However, with the exception of Schick, they were still looking at Islamic buildings from outside, analysing them, searching for key elements which determine the whole.



### 7.3.1. Type, form and ornament - John D. Crace

Discussing the ornamental features of Syria and Egypt, Crace presented a threefold classification of Islamic architecture which in contemporary terms would have been called: typology, morphology and ornamental-constructive. Yet he had rightly suggested no particular correlation between the first two categories, meaning that forms could be used for various building types. To some extent it recalls what was argued above by Robert Hillenbrand (Hillenbrand, 1994).

This was a significant breakthrough, as the stylistic approach was put aside as being an irrelevant framework and unable to provide appropriate reasoning. In later periods, when British architects were practicing in the region, Crace's morphological analysis was considered an important body of knowledge. This was because it provided a basic repertoire of representational forms and ornamental motifs, with an exact description of their production, in universal architectural terminology. Furthermore, unlike Jones' *Grammar* which was directed mainly to architects practicing in Europe, Crace's thorough examinations, though not intended as a manual, could very well assist in designing buildings in the region, as they also included contextual aspects, such as climate, building materials, workmanship and to some extent local life style. Only a few example from his extensive paper presented at the RIBA in 1870 will be discussed below.

In the first category - typology, Crace draws attention to the main building types widespread throughout Arab countries, which did not necessarily have parallels in Europe, i.e. mosques, *Sabils*, gates, khans and certain types of urban dwellings. Crace describes the main characteristics of each type, its use, its configuration and ornamentation, and its position within the urban setting, in this case - Cairo. The *Sabil*, for example, or drinking fountains, were rather an unusual building type in Europe. It required extra understanding of the particular life-style in Eastern cities, of which this element was an important ingredient:

The upper story of these buildings is almost always a school. They have usually been built as an act of charity by some person whose name they afterwards bear. And thus, say the Arabs, the thirsty man remembers gratefully the name of the founder; as also does the youth who is trained in his school. (Crace, 1870; 74)

The typological classification enabled Crace to recognise different layouts of more familiar types, such as the gates of Syrian cities. Unlike in Cairo, "The thoroughfare is never direct, but usually takes a rectangular turn" (Crace, 1870; 74). Like Edward Lane, thirty five years earlier, Crace was most interested in the architecture of Cairo's dwellings. He presents typical plans of a Cairo and a Damascus house (Figs. 67,68), discussing their differences, together with measured, meticulous descriptions of their characteristic elements, such as their richly ornamented ceilings (Crace, 1870; 76).



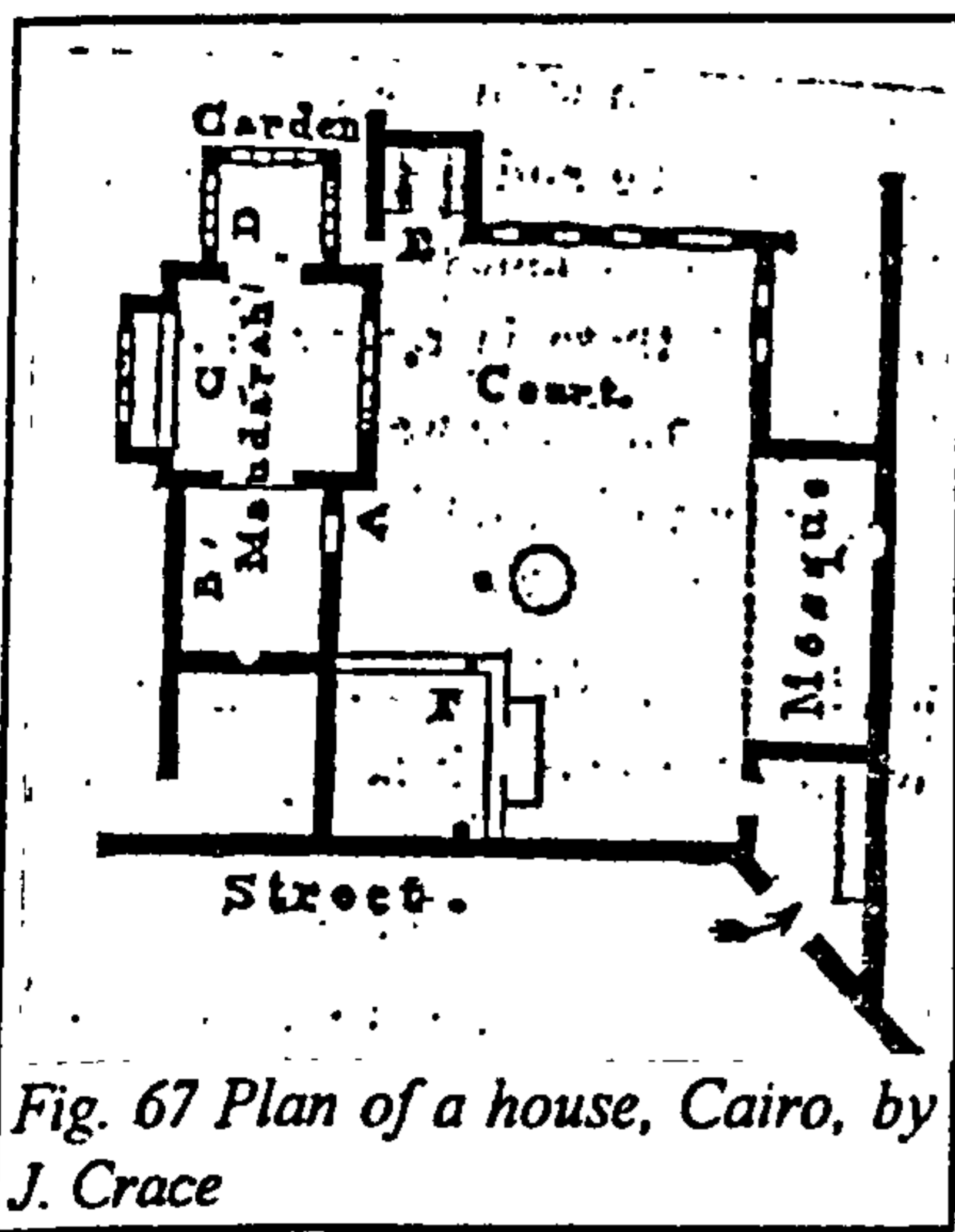


Fig. 67 Plan of a house, Cairo, by J. Crace

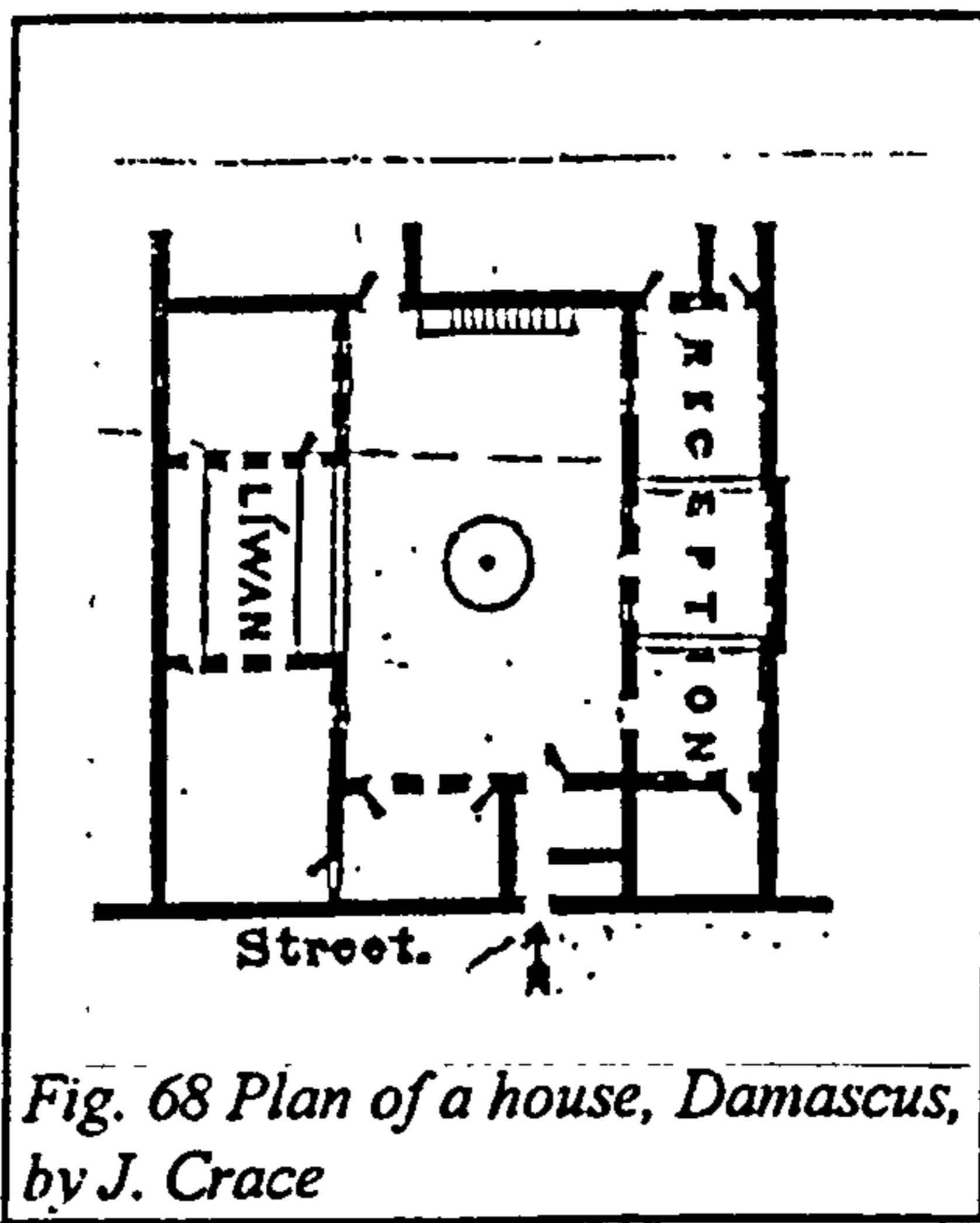


Fig. 68 Plan of a house, Damascus, by J. Crace

The morphological category, which was the major section of the paper, dealt with the dominant architectural forms and their decoration. The main important forms, according to Crace, are domes, minarets, arches, columns, and openings -

doorways, doors and windows. Obviously, however, this is a much too general classification and could well be applied to any other architecture in any other place. Thus, ornamentation was regarded as the principal maker of Islamic architecture. Unlike the lack of correlation between the type and the form, here for each form according to Crace, there existed its characteristic ornamentation. External and internal surfaces of domes were almost always relieved by

...intricate geometrical figures, worked over the whole surface, whilst arabesques or scrolls, carved in a lower plain, enrich the ground between... A broad band or frieze, usually of writing, is carried round the base of the dome. The broad splay, by which the structure rises from the square to the octagon is frequently very boldly molded, the section showing on each of the square faces. (Crace, 1870; 77)

The minarets of the mosques, occasionally built in pairs, vary in form and in ornamentation. Morphologically they are characterised by a transformation of their plan as their mass rises upwards:

Starting from a square base, they are splayed into an octagon, or circular plan. If octagon, the sides are sometimes panelled, or arcaded in the lower storey. The structure is then corbelled out sufficiently to allow a balcony or gallery running round (Crace, 1870; 78).

The balustrades of these projecting balconies is the place where ornamentation is found, usually by intensely ornamented stone slabs pierced with geometrical tracery (Crace, 1870; 78). A significant observation by Crace concerns the treatment of wall surfaces. He regarded it as part of the competence of Islamic builders to adjust wall surfaces to their climate:

...under the Eastern sun, less inequality of surfaces is requisite for effect than with our grey skies. All surface ornament is so subordinated as not to break up the masses, which are, usually, so arranged as to preserve the effect of height.



The upper and lower window openings are usually grouped into bays slightly recessed; a wide frieze... carried and continues between them. Alternate courses of stone of two or more colours are in very frequent use, both for exterior and interior. Being used horizontally their tendency is to give size and width. Large plain surfaces are often relieved by panels, either of sculpture in low relief, or inlaid ornament of variously coloured materials (Crace, 1870; 78,79).

Amongst all of Crace's descriptions of openings in Islamic architecture, special attention should be drawn to his description of the Islamic doorways of public buildings. Being an important symbolic element in Islamic architecture, it was an intensely elaborated built form, loaded with heavy ornamentation. However, Crace, like Harvey (see below, 7.3.3.), and most European architects, was wholly uninterested in the symbolic aspect of Islamic architecture. Thus his descriptions were purely aesthetic, overlooking some important meanings about the entire notion of entering a building in Islam:

The external doorways of the principal mosques derive immense grandeur and dignity from the bold way in which they are set within a deep recess of great height; frequently the full height of the building. ...Although these recesses are frequently elaborately ornamented with carving, inlay, or both; care is always taken to keep all subordinate to the main form, which is further emphasised by the use of alternate light and dark stones in the archivault, when alternate courses are used in the walls. Sometimes also richly carved and inlaid borders frame the whole recess (Crace, 1870; 79).

As will be shown later, in the case-studies of this work, it was the aesthetic aspect which had attracted the attention of practising architects in the region. They often incorporated Islamic portals in their design of public buildings as a means for integrating them in the surrounding, and even more important, for communicating with the local inhabitants.

Most of the illustrations which accompanied the text and were shown to the audience at the RIBA, follow the pattern of a catalogue chart (Figs. 69,70). These were praised by several members of the audience: "...inasmuch as they represent nearly every point that one wishes to bring forward, in order to give a general idea of Arab decoration" (P. Spiers, in Crace, 1870; 89). Another response, by Sir M. D. Wyatt, praised the new aspects about Islamic architecture which were revealed by Crace. The following remarks, by a respected architect such as Wyatt, gave extra credibility to Crace's analysis:

...remarkable 'reversible' patterns and the effect of which is invariably excellent, were probably originally due to the desire to economise labour and cost, by making one piece of material serve, by counterchanging and interchanging the parts into which it was cut, to produce patterns in different coloured materials without the waste of any portion of material. (Wyatt, in Crace, 1870; 86,88).



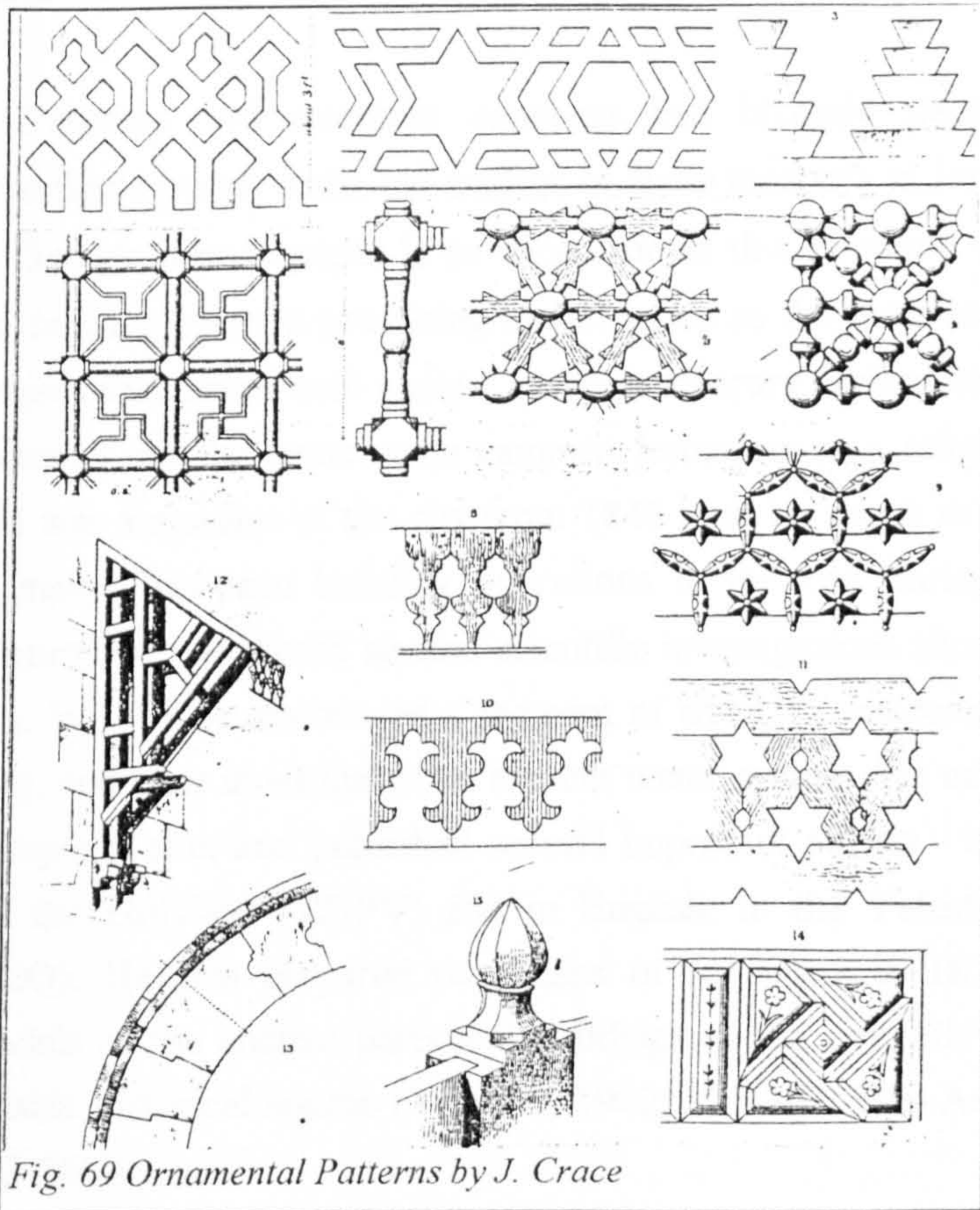


Fig. 69 Ornamental Patterns by J. Crace

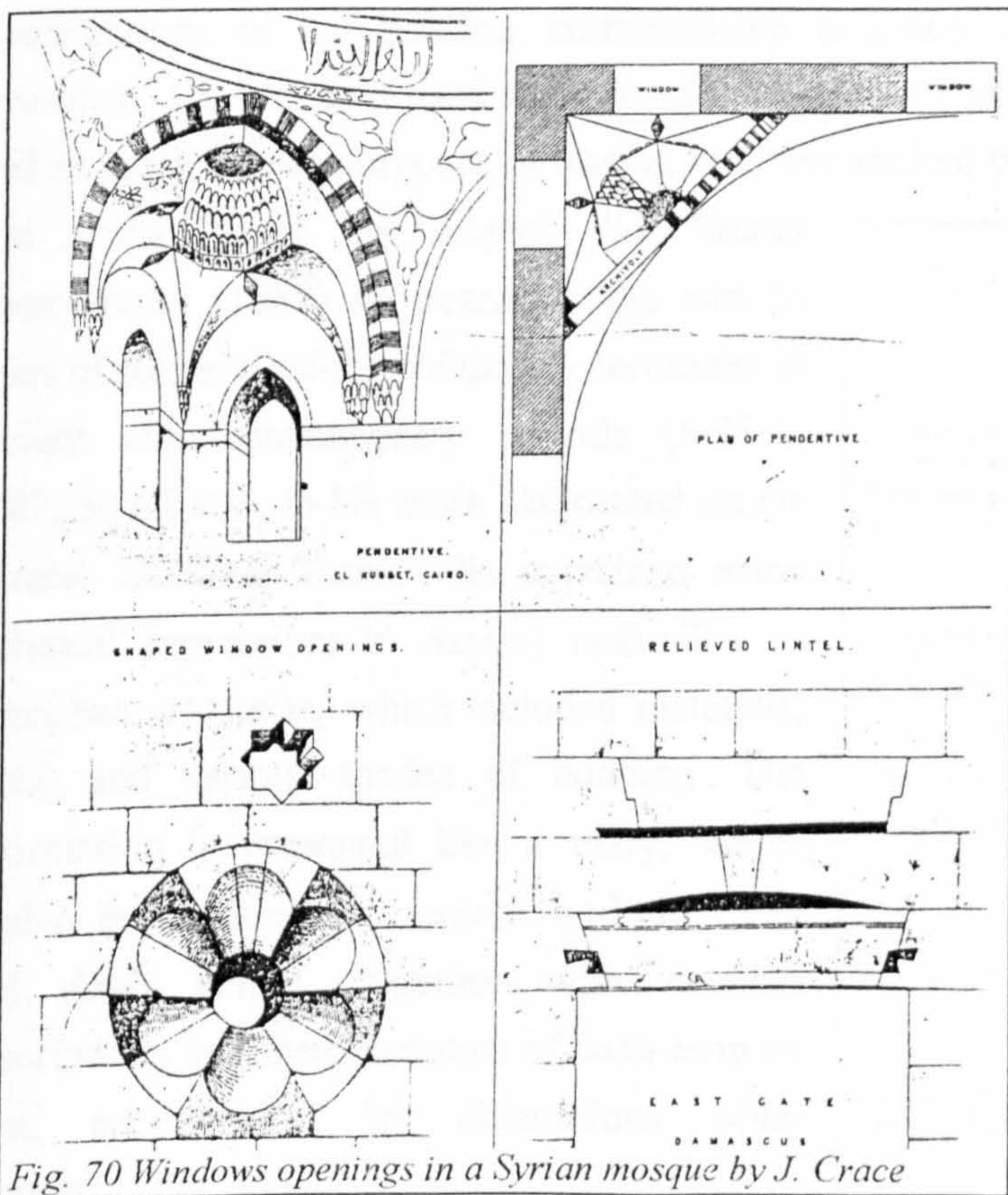


Fig. 70 Windows openings in a Syrian mosque by J. Crace



### 7.3.2. Stone masonry - Conrad Schick and Archibald Dickie

Practical and scientific concerns had brought people like Schick and Dickie to investigate purely technical matters of stone masonry in Jerusalem.

Schick, whose paper is an exception in this selection of publications, was regarded by European architects practicing in Jerusalem as the most reliable authority about almost any subject associated with ancient or contemporary architecture of the city. He was a German architect and carpenter, who came to Jerusalem as a religious missionary of a Swiss order and was a resident of the city from 1846 until his death in 1901. Apart from being involved in many European building operations in the city during the closing years of the 19th century, he conducted several scientific investigations about the architectural history of the city. In 1878 he discovered a segment of what is considered to be the Third Wall of the Old City, and later investigated its ancient water system. He examined the ancient outline of the Temple Mount and published several important papers - in the 'German Quarterly Society' for the Holyland (ZDPV) and in English, in the 'Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly' (PEQ). He also prepared two maps of Jerusalem in 1876 and 1894, and made several models of the ancient parts and buildings of the city. His work is still considered today a reliable historical source (Vitztum, 1982; 201-202, Ben-Arieh, 1993; 56, Kroyanker, 1987; 253-260).

Regarding this study, Schick's most significant undertakings were his first hand investigations of the building craftsmanship common amongst Arab stone masons in Jerusalem. He had then used them for designing and constructing buildings in the city, as well as for scientific purposes of tracing back the ancient manner of building in stone. In his first article about the subject, "Of Stones Themselves" (1887) he described the various types of stones used for building in Jerusalem in ancient and contemporary periods (Schick, 1887; 50). Later, in his more elaborated article "Arabic Building Terms", he examined many technical expressions in Arabic, unfamiliar to European architects, which included materials, tools, and various modes of building. The information is presented like a diary, where Arabic expressions are written both in Latin and Arab letters, together with detailed descriptions and measurements of each term or item, accompanied by illustrations when necessary (Fig. 71).

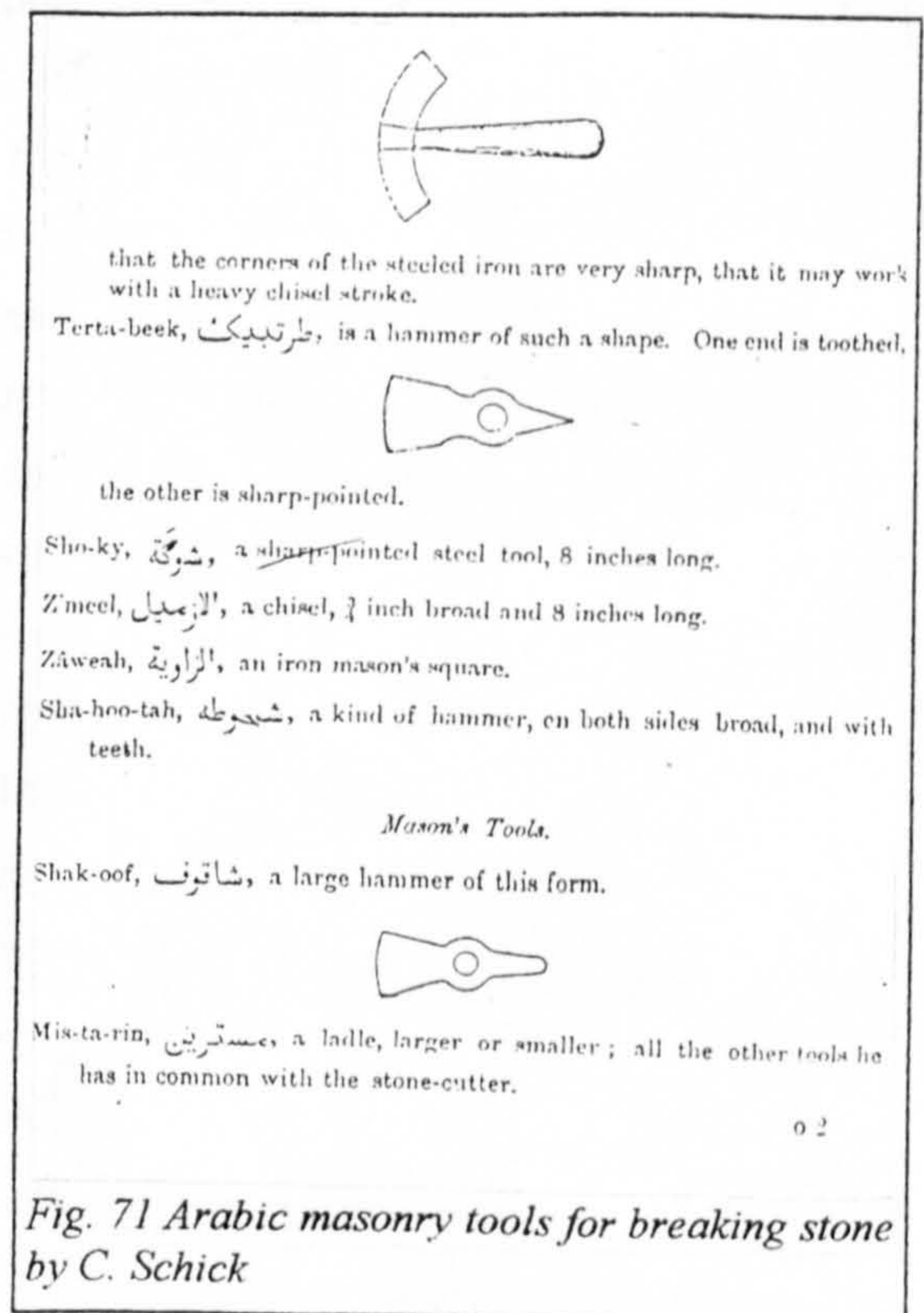


Fig. 71 Arabic masonry tools for breaking stone by C. Schick



The thoroughness of the examination is impressive. The first part of the article deals with the following terms: (1) shapes of the stones, either by nature or when artificially formed; (2) degrees of dressing; (3) architectural parts or pieces; (4) parts of masonry; (5) kinds of arching. The second part consists of names of tools, and their description, divided according their use: for breaking or removing large pieces of rock, and general tools for actual stone cutting and carving.

This knowledge, acquired through professional observation, scientific investigation and practical experience, was used by Schick himself for training a new generation of local masons, who were to be responsible for the entire European building activity in the city. It seems, then, that it was Schick, more than any other British Crafts enthusiast, who had put into practice one of the most important aims of the Arts & Crafts movement.

Archibald C. Dickie, an architect who undertook several archaeological investigations in Jerusalem by the end of the 19th century, had faced the great difficulty of identifying its different periods and styles. That was because "...every new piece of masonry raised a new complication, styles mixed together and alternately preceded and succeeded one another, until the whole question became so hopelessly confused". He was then forced to use another method in order to systemise his findings so "...that they might be of some archaeological value". He decided that he "...must commence with the dressing of to-day and work backwards" (Dickie, 1897; 61).

He began with presenting a list of the principal tools used by local masons and describing the methods of their handling (Fig. 72). Unlike the European stone cutter who "...stands over his stone and works down to it, ...the Eastern squats in Oriental fashion and sets himself parallel to the plane on which he operates" (Dickie, 1897; 61,63). The significance of this observation is that whereas the European mason aims at producing sculptural shapes, the Islamic mason concentrates on the surfaces to produce inlays or relieved ornamentation. As has been shown above, this is due to a combination of reasons, linked to the Islamic method of reducing the heaviness of the mass, and to the nature of the Eastern strong light. In Jerusalem, however, it is practically impossible to produce sculptural forms with convex shapes and undercuts, as the hard and brittle lime stone allows only shallow relief, and would break when radical carving is attempted.

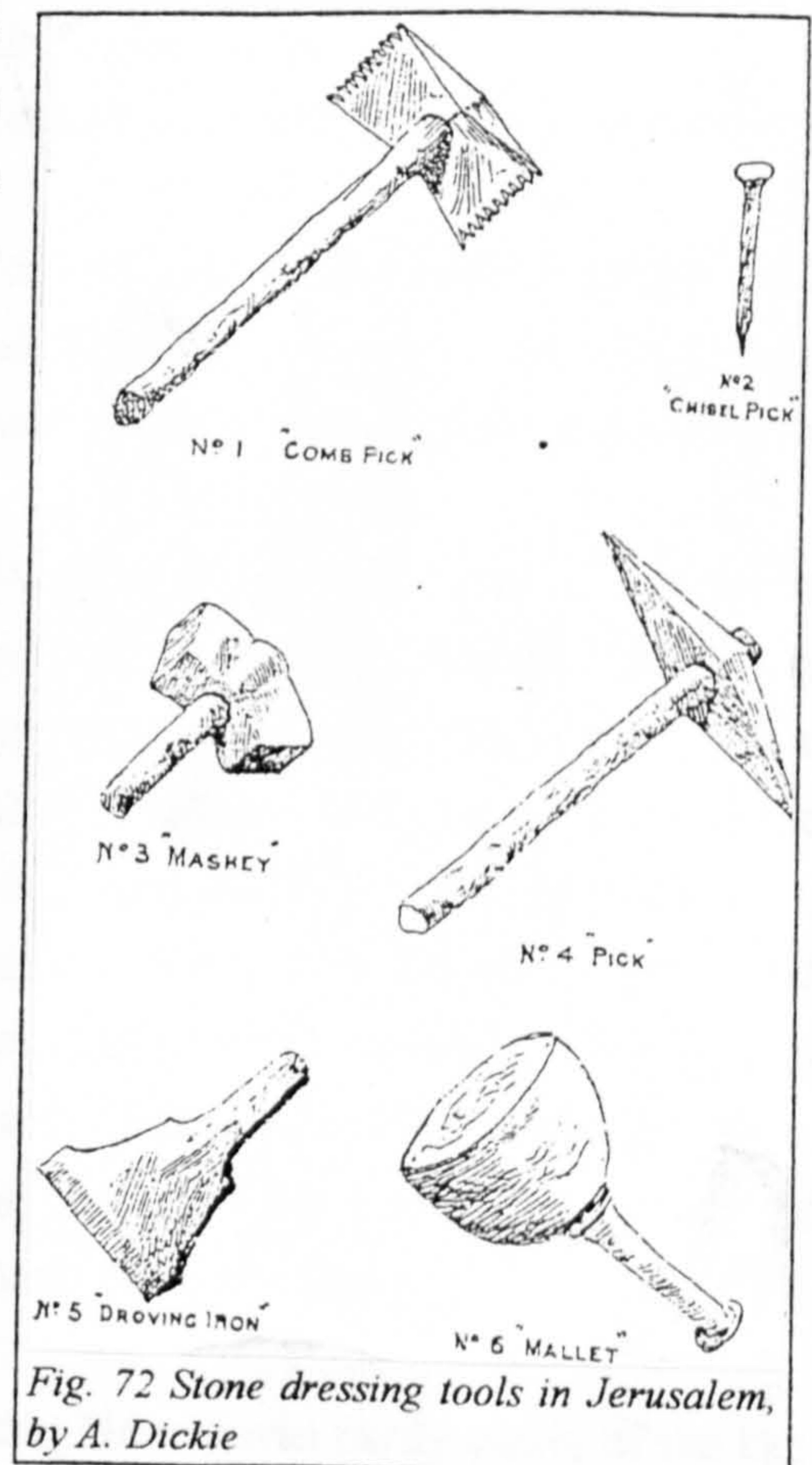


Fig. 72 Stone dressing tools in Jerusalem, by A. Dickie



Dickie had shown that the same tools were used for dressing the walls of the ancient city and those which were erected in his own time. Yet, except for an indication about the historical continuity of the city, the exact advantage of this discovery for further archaeological research is not clear, as admitted by Dickie himself, as "...each succeeding style has mingled with its predecessor from the time of its introduction" (Dickie, 1897; 67).

In any case, as far as this study is concerned, Dickie's investigations are an example of the enormous body of knowledge accumulated by the end of the 19th century. It indicates the special representational capacity which architects had attached to details and the manner of their production.

### 7.3.3. Structural, Morphological Analysis - William Harvey

Harvey's study of Islamic architecture, published in three papers between the years 1911-1913, differs from the rest of the papers presented in this chapter. In spite of being a most detailed and original text with first hand illustrations, it can neither be considered observations of a touring architect, nor a manual of instructions for building in the Levant. It is nonetheless, a structural and morphological analysis of principal architectural forms of Islamic architecture regarded as the generators of that architecture. To some extent it may also be considered as a preliminary attempt to write its proper architectural history. And yet, since it was entirely undertaken from a typically European point of view, focusing on structural and morphological elements, often compared with European precedents, cultural-religious factors were completely left out.

Although he was Owen Jones' student Harvey did not employ the popular pattern of a catalogue chart. Rather, he analysed forms of certain buildings as a whole, explaining their structure, their specific configuration and their ornamentation in regard to the availability of building materials and climatic and considerations.

In his paper "Saracenic Vaulting" (Harvey, 1911), climatic and environmental constraints are considered primary factors in determining the types of construction. The absence of any timber had forced "Saracenic" architects, according to Harvey, to employ the arcade and the vault from a very early stage. In contrast to the Gothic manner of "...thinning down the walls and enlarging windows which would only involve discomfort and danger in the East, ...thick walls and small windows were adopted, to afford shelter from the burning sun, and protection against possible earthquakes...". Structural stability was obtained, according to Harvey, by the thick external walls and by certain arrangement of internal walls or arches, "...without intruding a row of projecting buttresses upon the fair surface of its external enclosing walls, which was thus left free for polychromatic treatment..." (Harvey, 1911; 241).

Indeed, even though not clearly stated, it seems that Harvey was partly aware of the fact that there lay a certain ideology behind Islamic structures which was not merely a result of



certain practical considerations. In comparing the fan-vaulting of Jerusalem, Cairo and Damascus to that in England of the same time, similar structural principles are to be found, but,

Instead of the moulded ribs carved into the surface of the Gothic conoid, still more fan-like ridges and furrows are formed... In general the springing of the vault (the apex of the inverted conoid) dies into the corner of the room without any ornamental corbel or columnette; the Saracenic idea that the vault should be one with the wall preventing the pious deception that the weight of the vault is conducted down on a thin pipe-like stem to the ground. (Harvey, 1911; 245) (Figs. 73,74).

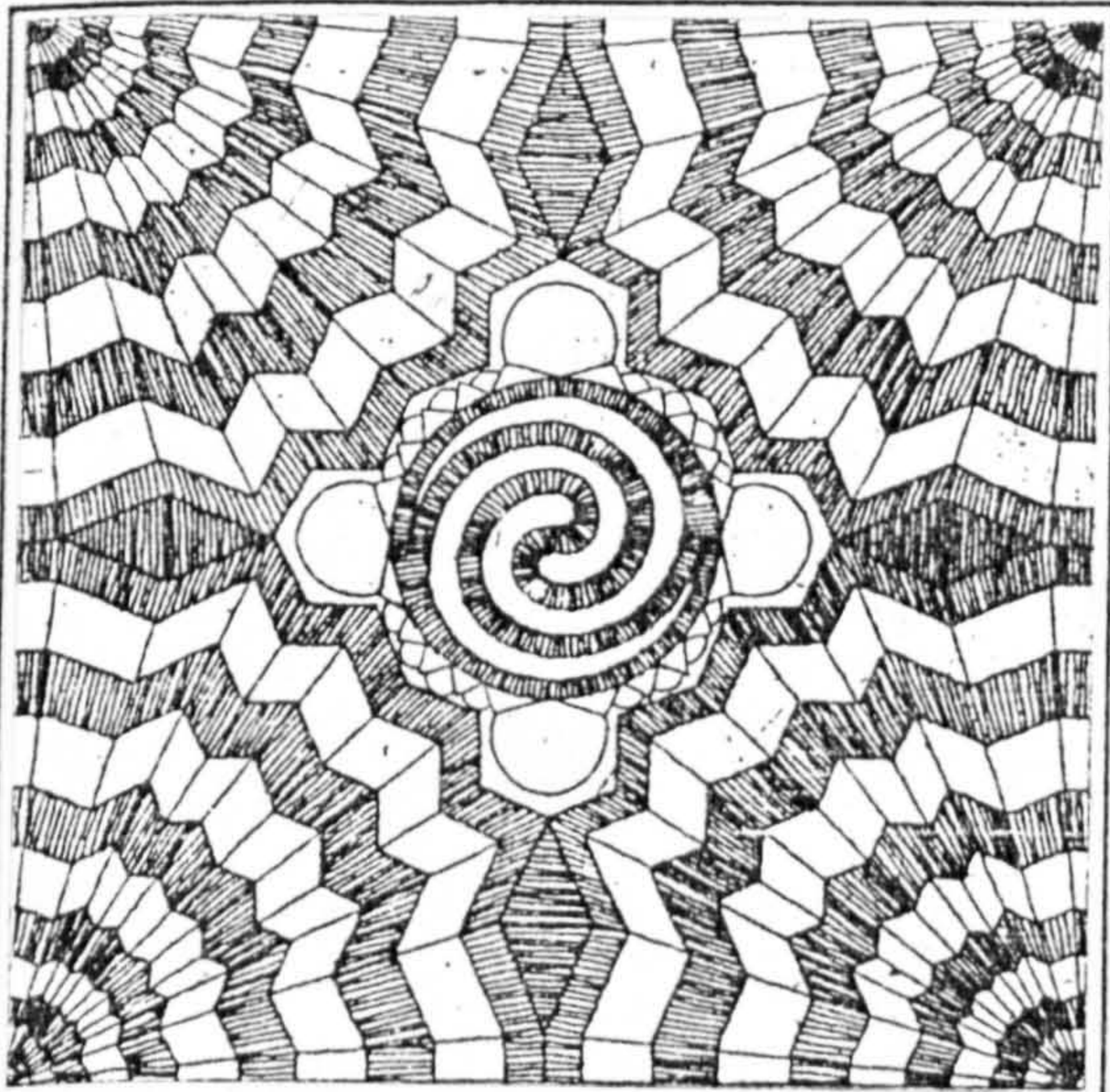


Fig. 73 Plan of Fan Vaulted Porch - Cairo by W. Harvey

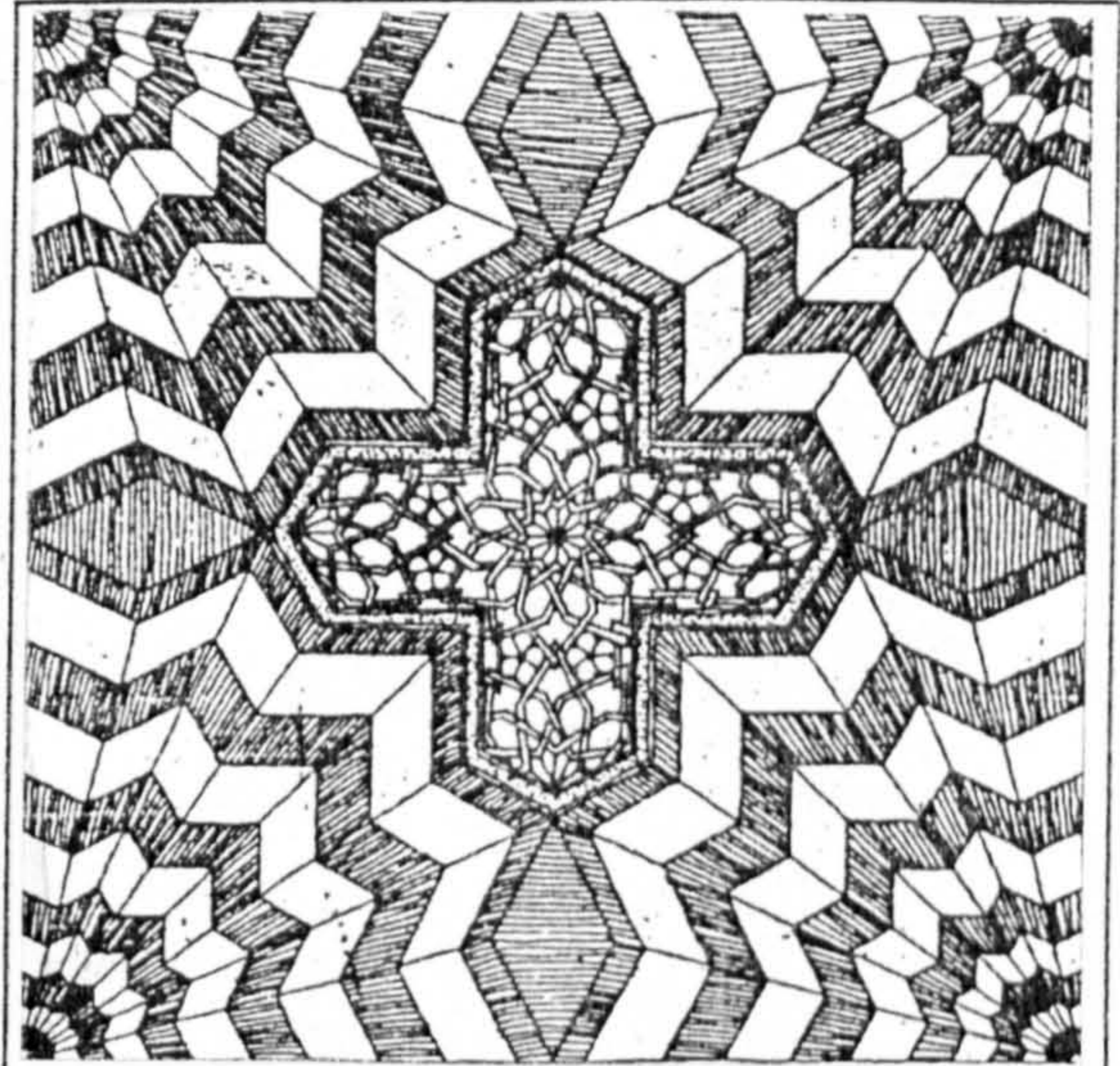


Fig. 74 Plan of Fan Vaulted Porch - Jerusalem by W. Harvey

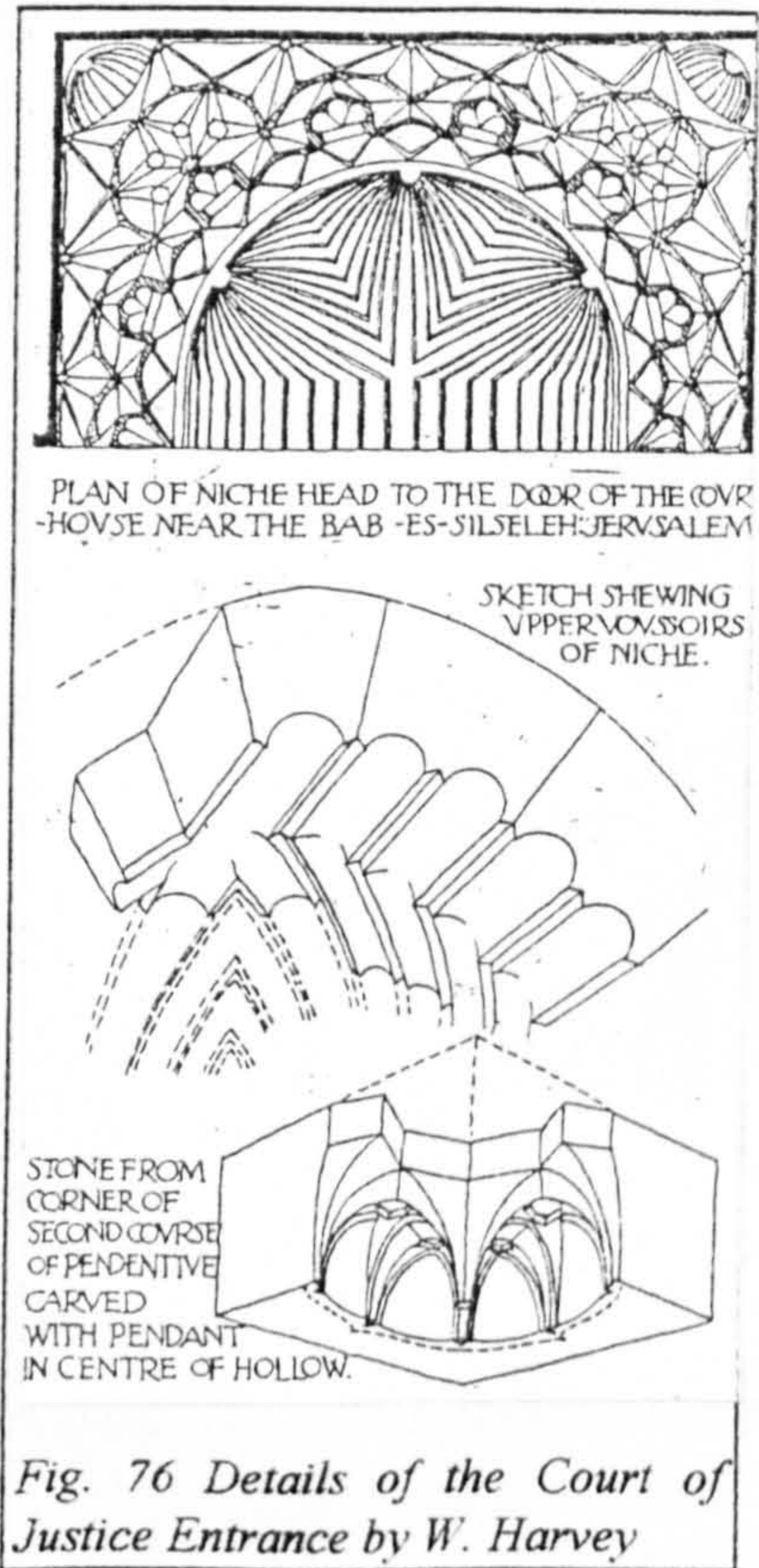
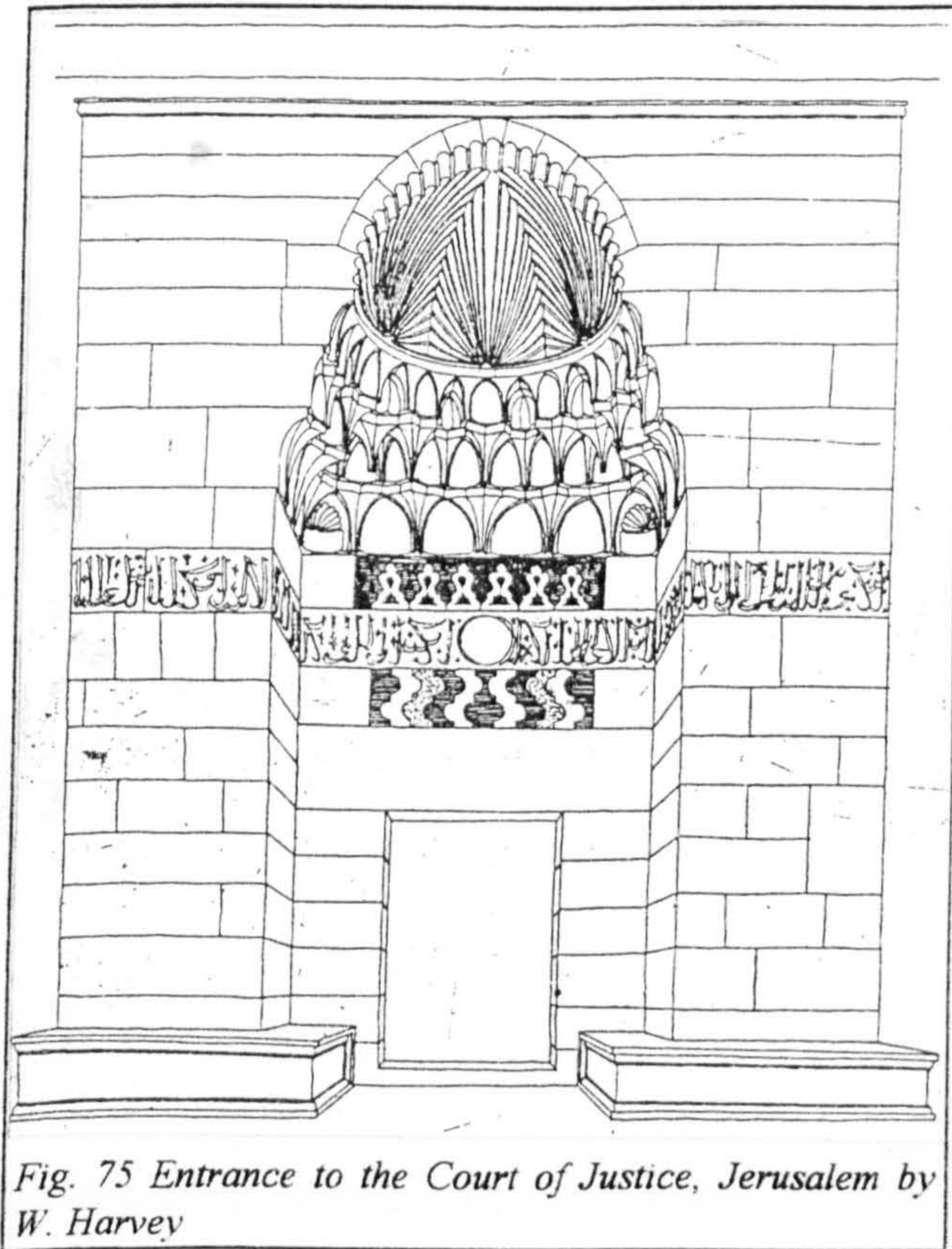
Another important principle of Islamic architecture recognised by Harvey is the "...diffusion of weight and thrust". He uses the examples above (Figs. 73,74) to show how it was emphasised by ornamentation, where horizontal courses of stones in alternate colours of cream and red were carried around the vault (Harvey, 1911; 245).

Harvey, like Crace and Lane before, had recognised the special significance of doorways in Islamic architecture, whether "...the gigantic portals of the great mosques of Persia and India, or the minor dwelling-houses in the nearer East..." (Harvey, Nov. 1912; 255). He researched the subject in Jerusalem and Cairo and published his findings in two articles, in April and November 1912. In his view, this particular element embodies most of the qualities "...that makes the Saracenic building art unique among the styles of architecture" (Harvey, Nov. 1912; 255).

Harvey had suggested what has also been argued by Hillenbrand (see above, 7.1.), that Islamic builders were basically employing a rather limited repertoire of forms, within a clear set of rules. As far as doorways and portals were concerned, some basic rules had always been followed: "Generally, the door itself is of comparatively small dimensions, but is made important by being enclosed and surrounded by a recessed niche of much more ample proportions..." (Harvey, Apr. 1912; 201). And yet, the great diversity between doorways



and portals in Jerusalem, in Cairo or in Damascus, and the endless variety to be found in each of those places, is due, according to Harvey, to two closely related factors: differences in proportions, which led to differences of design - in treatment and in detail (Harvey Apr. 1912; 201, Nov. 1912; 256), (Figs. 75,76). Doors of important public buildings in Jerusalem



are set back in deeper niches than those of ordinary dwelling houses (Fig. 75). It led to a great diversity in the "...arrangements of the stalactite brackets above to support the semidomes, varying from considerably more than a hemisphere over a deep recess to a mere dished-in surface where the recess is shallow" (Harvey, Apr. 1912; 201). His principal conclusion, after describing in great detail several doorways in Jerusalem, is mostly that details are "... inspired by the need of the structure", and that "...although neither figure-sculpture nor painting lends any aid, each detail is at once appropriate and, in the strictest sense of the word, architectural" (Harvey, Apr. 1912; 206).

The centrality of design and detail was equally true about doorways in Cairo, where "...the impression of gigantic size and strength is due more to design than to brute bulk of material; every detail of the structure aids in creating an effect of solemn though gracious dignity". Moreover, Harvey had found that the same unit of measurement was used for the design of all doorways in Cairo. Although the dimensions were not exactly accurate, in all the cases which Harvey had examined being part of "...the happy-go-lucky system that governs the art in the Near East... they are, however, too nearly alike to be accidental" (Harvey, Nov. 1912; 255,256,259) (Figs. 77,78).



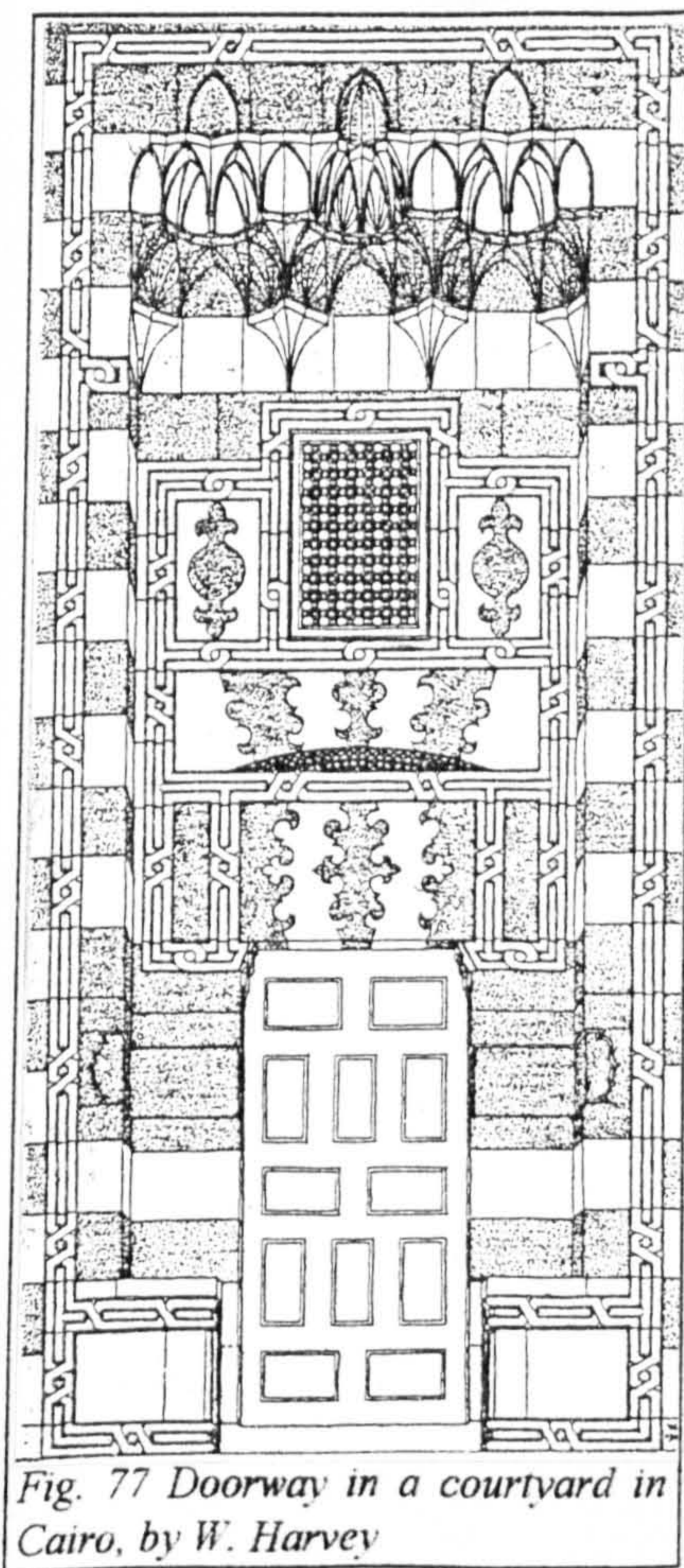


Fig. 77 Doorway in a courtyard in Cairo, by W. Harvey

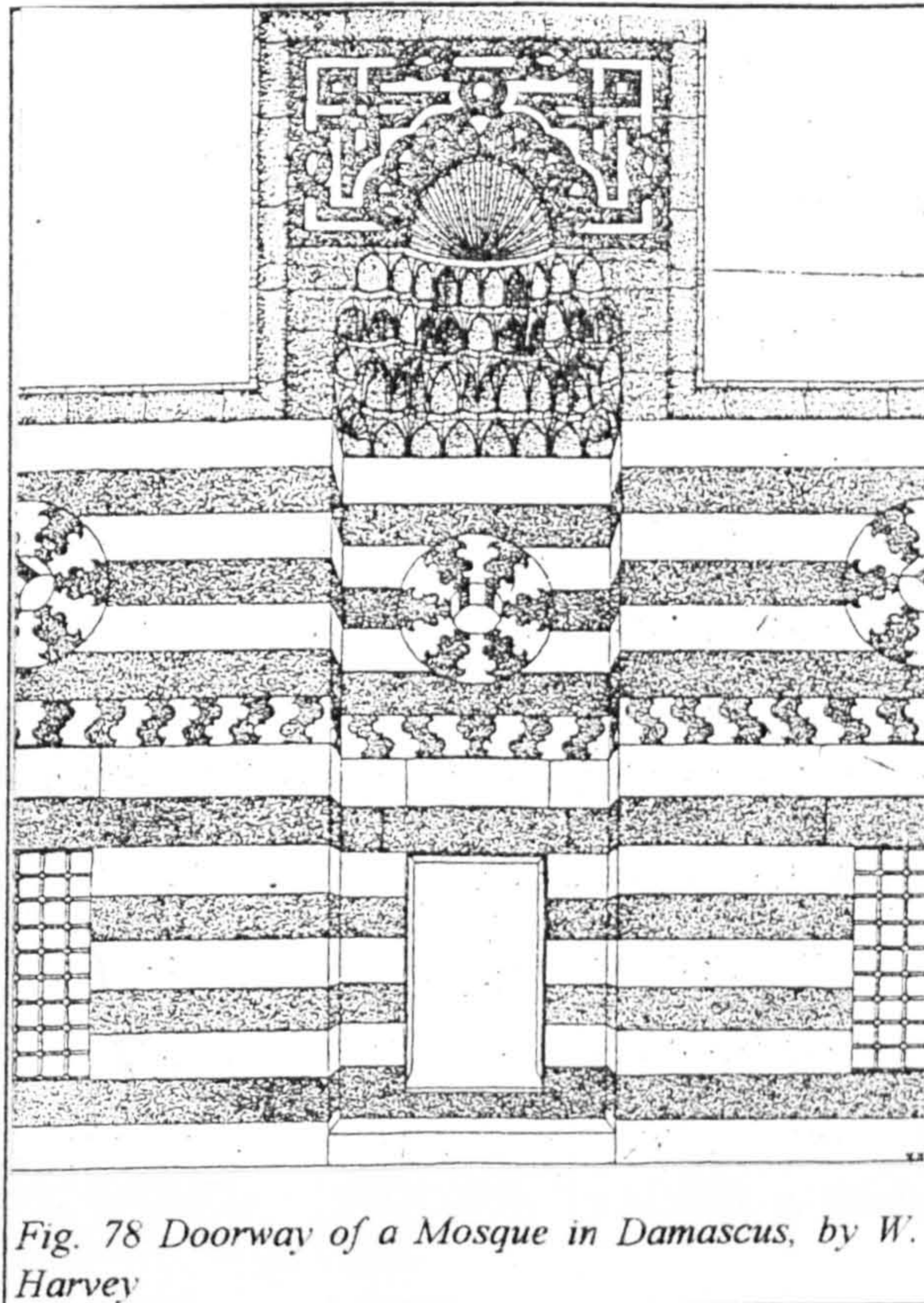


Fig. 78 Doorway of a Mosque in Damascus, by W. Harvey

In his paper "Colour in Architecture", Harvey discussed the use of colour in buildings by reviewing examples of various periods of the history of architecture. A few of his statements about colour in the East and in Islamic architecture will be presented here, since, as a disciple of Owen Jones, he was considered an important and respected professional authority. The paper, written in 1913, was presented before the RIBA audience in May 1922, which indicates a renewed interest in the subject amongst British practising architects. One of the questions which occupied architects' minds was the particular scheme of strong primary colours used in Eastern architectural traditions - ancient Egyptian or Islamic. Harvey suggests an aesthetic-artistic explanation for the use of colour in ancient Egypt:

Under their own blue sky, however, the biggest Egyptian buildings tend to become dwarfed and to appear trivial unless enough colour remains to give them scale and distinction. Without applied colour, the buildings seen in the light of a glaring sun merge into their background of sandy hills, which also reflect a glare of light and heat capable of rendering inconspicuous the largest masses of masonry. ...The pure primary colours of the ancient architecture are absolutely in harmony with the landscape where strong effects are the rule. The sky stretches up and away for miles, like a wall of blue masonry smeared with plaster of white light (Harvey, 1922; 487).

Regarding Islamic architecture, he suggested climatic reasons for the use of colour, yet



in fact, what he was actually describing were rather spiritual factors. In the Dome of the Rock, for example, spiritual and climatic considerations became one: the use of cool colours, "...appropriate in a country where the prevailing tint of the landscape is warm orange..." were means by which "...the building is intended to represent heavenly repose" (Harvey, 1922; 488,495).

A rather stormy discussion followed Harvey's presentation in 1922, mostly about contemporary problems of integrating colour in British architecture. In summing up his reply, Harvey had chosen to conclude by relating to Islamic architecture. His words are telling evidence about the prevailing image of that architecture at that period of time, indicating his own somewhat progressive views:

Another point is the difference between Eastern and Western buildings. Eastern buildings are frequently criticised from the standpoint of the Western architect. Moorish architecture has been said to be flimsy, insubstantial, trivial, and all that is bad, just on the plea that it is not solid. How that idea came about I don't know, because it is intensely solid. It just lacks pilasters, ribs, etc., which we look upon as giving a building solidity. They work on a different principle to ours, that of continuity of wall surface, and, with them, a building is strong in proportion as it is continuous (Harvey, 1922; 501).

#### 7.4. Comprehensive history

To conclude this part of the thesis, before moving on to the case studies, it is still necessary to see how Islamic architecture was understood at the more formal, conceptual level, in what was considered proper architectural history. For although it was almost entirely based upon second hand investigations undertaken by others, as presented in the previous chapters, its impact on architects had been equally significant, and in some cases even greater. This is because architectural history, written by acknowledged architectural historians, has always been a central ingredient in the professional training of architects and played an important role in shaping their attitudes as practising architects.

In his book, *The Rise of Architectural History*, David Watkin suggests three aspects of writing architectural history: the practical, the historical and the aesthetic, "...which ideally should all cross-fertilise each other" (Watkin, 1980; VII). The practical aspect deals with what was built, when it was built and by whom. The historical aspect attempts to explain why the building was built, taking into consideration motives such as religion, culture, sociology, economy and various political strategies. In the aesthetic aspect visual stylistic differences between one building and another are discussed. It attempts to explain how and why one style is adopted rather than another. Yet, as suggested by Watkin, architectural historians have not always considered all three aspects simultaneously, and each aspect has been interpreted differently; some historians would mainly consider the history of



construction and materials; while others might interpret architecture as an art of pure form, or of space creation, or of inevitable progress towards a stylistic ideal (Watkin, 1980; VIII).

As far as Islamic architecture is concerned, until quite recently the historical and the aesthetic aspects attracted most of the attention. The latter mainly focused on materials, craftsmanship, detail and ornamentation. A number of relevant points from three architectural history books, by James Fergusson, W. R. Lethaby and Martin S. Briggs, will be discussed below. These books, published at different stages yet within the time frame of this study, dealt specifically with Islamic architecture, were widely read and referred to, and were considered basic literature for architects during their studies and afterwards. Indeed, some important written works such as Cresswell's will be left out from this discussion, as he consolidated his published papers about the subject into an architectural history book only around 1940.

#### 7.4.1. James Fergusson

The first serious history of world architecture in the English language is James Fergusson's *A History of Architecture* (3 vols., 1865-1867), a remodeling of his earlier *Illustrated Handbook of Architecture* (2 vols., 1855) and his *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture* (1862). Both the text and illustrations are an achievement in which Fergusson presented the results of the most up-to-date research of a wide variety of periods and places. It was so highly readable and popular that a third edition was published between 1891-1893.

Fergusson reacted against the "styles" and "shams" of his time, yet in his own interpretations he often could not avoid the contemporary stylistic perception. His writing reflects many of the prejudices of the day, such as the belief that the Perpendicular, as a style, must represent a decline from earlier phases of the Gothic (Watkin, 1980; 83,87). He also believed that "...no perfectly truthful architectural building has been erected in Europe since the Reformation" (Fergusson, 1893; vol II, 3). This derived from his acceptance that architectural forms are so deeply rooted in particular life styles that it is impossible to reuse them in a period later than their origin. He refused to recognise the fact that architecture is, by its very nature, artificial. For him, ancient and medieval architecture was "...natural and truthful, evolving inevitably in accordance with the great laws of nature" (Watkin, 1980; 84). Fergusson adopted the same stance as Semper, as far as contemporary architectural practice was concerned, that the Italian Renaissance style should be used as it indicated a seam which had not yet been fully worked out. In fact, Fergusson's comprehensive work was intended for the intelligent but non-specialist audience. Nonetheless, it was frequently used by architects in their encounter with recently discovered architecture such as Islamic, or "Saracenic" architecture as used by Fergusson.

In discussing the expressions of the Islamic style of the Levant, which he termed



"Arabian", Fergusson expresses the typical superior European attitude towards any non-European tradition. He uses the conventional framework of stylistic classification as a principal means of analysis. In his view, "The Arabs themselves had no architecture, properly so called. Their only temple was the Kaabah at Mecca, a small square tower... far more famous for its antiquity and sanctity than for its artistic merit". It follows, according to Fergusson, that "...in Syria the earlier buildings were direct copies of the Byzantine churches that had previously existed there; and in Egypt the Roman remains furnished both the ideas and materials of their early edifices". However, governed by the stylistic approach, he admitted the fact that "...after centuries of practise, most of these heterogeneous elements became fused into a complete style" (Fergusson, 1855; 377,378).

Jerusalem has always been a problematic, yet attractive, subject for historians. Identifying its architectural styles, traces of so many conquerors, was extremely difficult as they never remained in their original form (see above, Dickie, 7.3.2.). Fergusson, who was eager to find 'truth' in architecture, was interested mainly in two edifices: the ancient Second Temple and the Islamic mosques at the Haram el Sherif. His description of the Second Temple is principally based upon Josephus Flavius' documents, from which a plan was also drawn. The "...simple architecture, and without much ornament except one pillar... the only architectural fragment of ancient Jerusalem yet discovered..." had made classification extremely difficult. Nevertheless, this did not prevent him from using Classical architectural precedents, such as the Stoa and Basilica, in order to produce a possible layout of the building, comparing it with "...our finest Gothic cathedrals" (Fergusson, 1855; 204,205).

In his controversial article, "An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem"(1847), he suggested that the El Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock mosques were former Christian edifices. Although entirely dismissed, such a view represents what had been already discussed above about the European approach towards most of the built heritage of the Levant and Jerusalem in particular. That is, using European precedents to support their classifications and analysis of architectural evidence. The same method was employed by Fergusson in the case of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, and other historical edifices elsewhere in the region (Fergusson, 1847; XI).

This trend is also apparent in his assessment of the Islamic buildings he examined, using two main parameters: their correspondence with European general layouts, and, the extent and quality of their ornamentation. He wrote the following about the El Aqsa mosque: "...this mosque is very simple building, being a plain vaulted cell..."; and about the Eben Touloun mosque in Cairo, which he rather appreciated for its details, although it is "...that of rude and massive simplicity, being the counterpart of our own Norman style in England" (Fergusson, 1855; 384, 390-391).



#### 7.4.2. W. R. Lethaby

The architect W. R. Lethaby was one of the most influential and distinguished architectural historians in the later years of the 19th century. Regarding this study, the significance of his writings is that he presented an alternative historical theory to the monopoly of style. He was in favour of the fundamentals of the craft of building, providing valuable new criteria for evaluating non-European architecture. The 'Domestic Revival' in English architecture, associated with the work of George Devey, Norman Shaw and Philip Webb, had encouraged the investigation of the English vernacular architecture which consequently drew the attention to vernacular architecture elsewhere, such as that of the East.

His most famous book, *Architecture, Mysticism and Myth* (1891), was based on the view that behind all minor categories of the "styles" there is a general mystical unity which is to be found in ancient architecture. He claimed that without the stimulus provided by theories of "magic", man might have been satisfied with the fulfillment of his basic simple needs. He thus claimed a reciprocal relationship between the practice of building and the spiritual ideas about the world. In other words, he was searching for an alliance between symbolism and building crafts. These psychological-philosophical notions in connection with architecture, which had led him to seriously investigate Byzantine architecture, resulted in his book *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople, a Study of Byzantine Building* (1894). It was a combination of an English Arts & Crafts approach with French rationalism (Rubens, 1974; XVII, Watkin, 1980; 87,88).

Lethaby saw in the architecture of ancient and older times a reassuring evidence for his ideas: "Old architecture lives because it had a purpose. Modern architecture to be real, must not be a mere envelope without contents". He was frequently, but wrongly, regarded as a functionalist, yet what he meant by "contents" was spiritual rather than mere function. For him architecture "...interprets building, not for the simple needs of the body, but the complex ones of the intellect" (Lethaby, 1891; 1,7).

The Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem was for Lethaby a perfect example for his ideas about symbolism in architecture. In his view architecture had followed the old tradition which considers that "...the world is the eyeball of man; the white is the ocean... the black is the world itself, and the pupil is Jerusalem, and the image in the pupil is the Temple". According to Lethaby, evidence is to be found both in Biblical and in Islamic periods: "...Solomon built the Temple about it as a centre... In Mohammedan tradition this rock is the world's foundation stone" (Lethaby, 1891; 88- 89).

Most relevant to this study is Lethaby's investigations into the conveyance of architectural influence through ornaments, by their travelling from one place to another and by their transformation through time. He took the 'Solar Disk' as an example. Originating in ancient Egypt, it is to be found on the lintel over the sole opening to ancient tombs - the "Gate of Sunrise". It was supported on both sides by the Ureas, the Serpent, which meant



royalty. The disk and its supporting ornaments were flanked by two wide-stretching wings, which symbolised the untiring sun. This basic pattern was used by the Phoenicians, signifying the centre of their doorways. In the Classic period of Syrian art most of the doors at the Great Temple had a sculpture on the under side of the epistle, which was an enormous eagle with expanded wings. In the Galilee region of Palestine the cornice or arch of the door at Sefa Amr (Fig. 79), had only a circular sun disk.

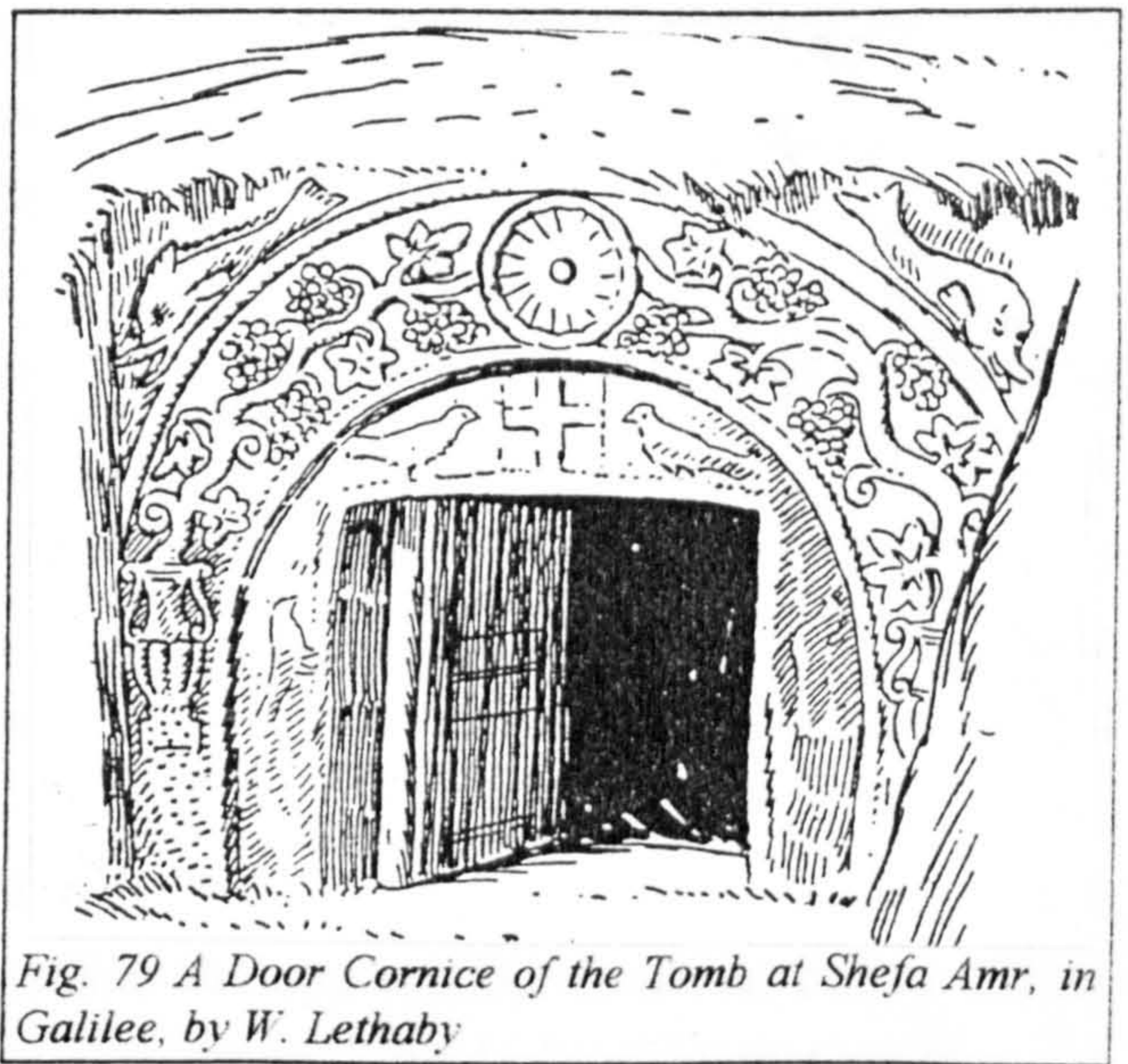


Fig. 79 A Door Cornice of the Tomb at Sefa Amr, in Galilee, by W. Lethaby

Much later, the same tradition was followed by the Syrian Christians in their custom of placing a disk with a sacred monogram or a Cross, often with ribbon-like appendages on both sides, on the lintel of their main doorway. Later on, it became a common decoration of Byzantine architecture (Lethaby, 1891; 176- 180).

#### 7.4.3. Martin S. Briggs

Islamic architecture in Egypt and in Palestine was first seriously discussed separately by Martin S. Briggs, and was published as a complete architectural history book in 1922. Although it nearly goes beyond the time frame of this dissertation, it was included herein for two reasons. Firstly, some of Briggs' papers about various subjects of Islamic architecture, published before his book, were referred to by C. R. Ashbee (Ashbee, 1921,1924). Secondly, as a comprehensive study, it sums up the most up- to-date knowledge and theories about Islamic architecture accumulated during Briggs' time, and as such it represents the mainstream architectural thinking regarding Islamic architecture which prevailed amongst British architects practising in Britain and in the Levant. The book, which concerns all three aspects of architectural history - the practical, the historical and the aesthetic, concentrates mainly on the latter, focusing on prominent buildings in Jerusalem, Cairo and some in Damascus. A few points of this aspect will be presented below.

The Islamic tradition of elaborating the wall surface of buildings had been a major concern for all European architects who looked into the matter. Briggs suggests that the work of Islamic builders should not be evaluated at the expense of their ability to handle problems of construction and design. He agrees, however, that the nature of Islamic ornament, its origin, character, disposition and craftsmanship should be broadly discussed; indeed, it occupies at least one third of his book.

Briggs begins by pointing out a prominent characteristic of all Islamic ornament which



avoids any "...naturalistic elements". It explains the "...popularity of abstract forms" and introduces "...that amazing science of geometrical arabesques which afforded the necessary reaction from the imitation of nature" (Briggs, 1924; 173). And yet the novelty about Briggs' book is that he presents new and rather unconventional research sources, which consider specific mental and spiritual aims of Islam as important ingredients of its architecture. It was not symbolism or "magic" represented through buildings, (see above, Lethaby 7.4.2.), but rather their very basic function. Following the theory of M. Dobree he argues that, in technical terms, surface decoration is "...aimed primarily at producing texture, and at reducing the area of large flat surfaces exposed to strong light". Yet the chief spiritual effect of geometrical decoration, by which Islamic ornamentation system differs from others, "...lies in the fact that the arabesque strives, not to concentrate the attention upon any definite object or to liven and quicken the appreciative faculties, but to diffuse them. It is centrifugal, and leads to a kind of abstraction, a kind of self-hypnotism even..." (Briggs, 1924; 175).

And so to summarise, Briggs states the three main reasons responsible for the adoption of geometrical forms: (1) Mohammed prohibited natural forms; (2) the need to reduce the glare of large flat surfaces; (3) "...and because this form of decoration assisted in producing a state of mental abstraction conducive to worship" (Briggs, 1924; 177).

A most peculiar feature, unique to Islamic architecture, which aroused controversial opinions was the 'stalactite' (see above Harvey, 7.3.3. Figs. 75,76). The 'stalactites' consist of small pointed niches arranged in a row, each row over hanging the one beneath. He suggests that they may have been used simply as ornamental frames, or as 'corbelling', either supporting an overhanging wall or cornice; or to cover the transition of splayed angle; or in the semi-dome over a great recessed portal; or in the *Pendentives* of a dome. They are found in all Islamic buildings and in no other architecture in the world. The controversy about this feature was what some architects, such as Harvey, considered as "...strictly architectonic", while others regarded it as "...purely decorative". For Briggs, "... the use of stalactites on structural grounds is indefensible..." and they must be regarded "...as purely ornamental, and being decoration added for effect to the surface of a vaulted porch-head or a dome-Pendentive" (Briggs, 1924; 74,181-182).

Such a stance enabled Briggs to confront views which undervalued Islamic architecture in structural terms. By suggesting that the stalactites were decorative features he could compare them with equivalent Gothic features: "Practically everything that can be said against stalactites applies with equal force to the elaborate tracery carved on Gothic fan-vaults, still more to the pendent already mentioned" (Briggs, 1924; 182).

Whether those elements were in fact ornaments or whether they represented a different structural method is another matter. What is significant here is that non-European architectural methods and features could be more easily accepted as objects representing another culture, rather than as an alternative structural conception. In the concluding chapter of the book Briggs reflects on the matter, summarising the two opposing views



regarding the "Syro-Egyptian" school of architecture:

It may be regarded from the stand point of its effect on, and in relation to, the general current of architectural development, and by that is usually meant European architectural development. Or it may be detached for purposes of criticism, and regarded as an exotic style of building in a distant country, where the prevailing religion and the prevailing climate are very different from our own" (Briggs, 1924; 238).

Finally, several of Briggs' general inferences about Islamic architecture should be presented at this point. They express the way in which Islamic architecture was perceived at that period, which had significant implications on the manner in which local architectural elements were incorporated in the design of foreign buildings in the region. According to Briggs, one of the most "...remarkable aspects of Muslim architecture was its capacity for wholesale borrowing from older styles without losing its own dominant individuality". Though inspired by so many architectural traditions, Islamic builders had "...always retained the unmistakable stamp of Islam" (Briggs, 1924; 240). Selecting those elements grasped as most Islamic was regarded as critical by almost all foreign architects who were practising in the region and who wished to integrate their buildings in their surroundings.

As far as construction was concerned, Briggs had given credit to Islamic builders only for the pointed arch, with all its implication in Western architecture, "...but little else besides". Arches and domes were extensively used in their design, "...but they contributed nothing new to our knowledge of dome-building or vaulting". Their architecture, according to Briggs, had never reached the perfect construction qualities of the Gothic, nor the proportions of the Renaissance. And yet, he never doubted the mastery of Islamic architects in surface decoration, which he said "...largely outweighs all their shortcomings already cited". In his view, it was that unique character which distinguished their architecture from all others that should be the main criterion for assessing their entire creation (Briggs, 1924; 242).

## 7.5. Summary

The professional encounter of British architects with Islamic architecture in Egypt and Palestine concludes Part Two of this dissertation. It has been shown how the professional approach of architects towards that architecture was dominated by a preoccupation with architectural parts, details and ornamentation. Stemming from a typical Western cultural attitude, based on representational systems of objects, it led to misconceptions by which architects often failed to see Islamic buildings as part of Islamic cultural and religious frameworks.



Following R. Hillenbrand (Hillenbrand, 1994), additional reasons explaining Western misconceptions of Islamic architecture were suggested:

1. Exoticism as an expression of Western escapism rather than reflecting Islamic realities.
2. The knowledge of Islamic architecture was often regarded as a means for better understanding European architecture.
3. The special visual qualities of Islamic buildings, as well as the ambiguity of form and decoration, stimulated their perception in aesthetic terms.
4. The tendency of Islamic builders to modifying a limited repertoire of built forms rather than experimenting with new ones was perceived by Western architects as aesthetic manipulation.
5. The absence of any written theory or ideology guiding Islamic architects.

It has been shown how the enormous amount of information about Islamic or other non-European architecture had formed an encyclopedic knowledge such as O. Jones' *Grammar*. Defined here as a 'Catalogue Syndrome', the *Grammar* represents the rationalistic approach, or in fact an illusion, that every thing under the sun could be analysed and classified. Individual items regarded as key-elements were taken from their original context and given the power to encapsulate and represent that context. The format of the *Grammar*, comprised of catalogue-like charts, by which the art and the crafts of remote civilizations in time and place were all packed into a single book, was analogous to owning them. It was regarded as an inventory of elements to be used by Western architects in entirely different contexts and to serve different purposes.

The format and manner of further professional investigations of Islamic architecture continued to be strictly architectural, consisting mainly of plans, perspective views and a variety of 'typical' elements classified and presented in catalogue-like charts. However, aware of the need for additional explanatory information, architects published their more extended and thorough investigations in papers which were often presented in architectural forums. Each of the papers discussed above denotes a development in the professional analysis and perception of Islamic architecture, which was still dominated by an exaggerated attention to details and ornaments.

J. Crace suggested an alternative attitude to the stylistic approach of his time by introducing a different classification of Islamic architecture: typology, morphology and ornamental-constructive. He considered ornamentation as the principal generator of that architecture, responsible for the variety of expressions of a confined number of building types. Crace had regarded ornamentation as an integral part of the structure of the buildings, a subject which aroused many controversies.

C. Schick and A. Dickie were concerned mainly with reviving the traditional methods of masonry which prevailed in Jerusalem of ancient times. Tools for breaking and cutting the local limestone were presented in their papers, encouraging their use by contemporary local stone-cutters. Even if not clearly stated, those ideas had put into practice one of the most



important ideals of the British Crafts movement.

W. Harvey had presented a morphological analysis of some characteristic Islamic built forms which he regarded as the makers of that architecture. Those were regarded later by British architects practising in Jerusalem as elements which would guarantee the integration of their building in the City's environment. Harvey regarded Islamic ornamentation neither as purely structural nor as strictly decorative, but rather "appropriate and architectural". That is to say that the endless variety of these built forms was the result of the constant modification of proportion and the treatment of material and detail. He also suggested that the Islamic use of a chromatic scheme of strong colours was a direct response to the arid climatic conditions of the Levant, i.e. predominantly brown-yellow. The novelty of Harvey's analysis and evaluation of Islamic architecture was that it stemmed from an understanding that this architecture could not be assessed merely in Western aesthetic or structural norms. The absence of traditional Western structural elements such as columns, pilasters or buttresses did not indicate, according to Harvey, any structural deficiencies of Islamic buildings but rather provided a continuous wall surface for elaborated ornamentation.

The chapter concludes with the presentation of three examples of attempts to write a comprehensive architectural history of the region, underlining the relevant points regarding this study.

J. Fergusson had been the first to write a serious architectural history in the English language that included the architecture of the region. Although it was not intended especially for architects, it was widely read by them and was most influential. It reflects many prejudices of that period, stemming from a basically superior attitude which tended to regard Islamic architecture basically as a copy of the architecture of other periods and styles. The mastery of ornament was considered by Fergusson the only original attribute of Islamic architects.

W. Lethaby regarded the architecture of the region as the architecture of "magic". By that he emphasised the spiritual facet of this architecture which, in his opinion, was not confined merely to satisfying basic and practical needs. He was searching for a link between symbolism and the art of building where the detail functioned as its principal generator, as well as a vehicle by which architectural influence was conveyed. He found various examples supporting that assumption in Byzantine and Islamic architecture.

M. S. Briggs was the first to concentrate on Islamic architecture of Palestine and Egypt. Briggs, like most architects and architectural historians of his time, regarded surface decoration as the principal characteristic of Islamic architecture and the mastery of its builders. However the novelty of his theory was that he suggested that spiritual and psychological aims were the central reasons for that quality. Based on theories outside the realm of architecture, he suggested that whereas in Western architecture the observer is expected to contemplate and appreciate the decoration of buildings, in Islamic buildings one was supposed to be "self hypnotised" by them. Regarding the controversial role of the *Stalactite* in Islamic architecture, Briggs was certain that it was basically a non-structural



element intended to enrich domed niches. In terms of construction, the only original contribution he suggested about Islamic builders was their invention of the *Pointed Arch*. He accepted that many Islamic elements were originally borrowed from the architecture of other periods, places and styles, but argued that the great competence of Islamic builders was their in ability to turn their buildings into something entirely new.

What was discussed in Parts One and Part Two of this dissertation is the basis for the examination below, which takes the form of case-studies. Eleven buildings constructed in Jerusalem between the years 1849-1939 will be analysed. It will be shown how the notion of representation through objects, the ideals and theories of the Arts & Crafts Movement, as well as other environmental and political factors had elevated the role of architectural elements beyond their ordinary role.



### *Part Three*

## *CASE STUDIES: BRITISH BUILDINGS IN JERUSALEM, 1849-1939*

### *Chapter Eight*

## **DIRECT REPRESENTATION IN BUILDINGS - PRE-MANDATE PERIOD 1849-1917**

### **8.1. Introduction**

The chronological framework of this chapter was determined by two historical events: the inauguration of Christ Church in 1849, the first European church to be built within the walled city of Jerusalem since the days of the Crusaders; and the occupation of Jerusalem by Allenby's armed forces and the commencement of the British rule over Palestine in 1917. Prior to analysing the British, or Anglican, buildings, it is necessary to describe the nature of the Jerusalem milieu at that time, of which these buildings formed a part. Although the British message was primarily intended for certain sectors of the city's population, its effect upon other foreign groups who were operating in the city was also considered. The British activity, though unique in various respects, should be regarded, at least in its beginnings, as part of the revived European interest in the Holy City.

Ruled by the loose Ottoman administration, the penetration of the main international powers into the Jerusalem scene during the second half of the 19th century was inevitable. It led to the founding of foreign footholds within and around the walls of the city, which determined to a great extent the patterns of its future growth. In proper urban terms these were somewhat irregular, as recognised by W. H. Bartlett regarding the Armenian Quarter (see above, 6.4.). They were usually comprised of separate walled compounds, often with a dominant vertical figure; and were characterised by a confined selection of building types: hostels, hospitals, schools and churches. The desire of Europeans to form compounds or compound-like groupings of buildings was also the case in Istanbul and Alexandria. The compound should be seen partly as a consequence of the restrictive laws regarding foreigners that still prevailed in that period, and partly due to the rivalry between European communities in these cities (Crinson, 1989;379)

For most cities in the Western world the 19th century had been a period of dramatic growth, and consequently of transformation of their old urban structure and architecture. In Jerusalem, though delayed by more than half a century, this process was of special



importance as it involved the inevitable exit from the isolated walled city, and the formation of a new Jerusalem. The configuration of this newly formed, fragmented urban entity, somewhat disconnected from the old one, was the result of various reasons. In part, it stemmed from the exterior perception of those who read, explored or analysed the Old City and tended to grasp it as a separate whole, as an independent object. Other reasons, which will be discussed below, were associated with the particular history of the City.

In spite of its supreme status as a sacred city throughout history, Jerusalem had remained a backward, underdeveloped pre-modern city well into the 19th century. Like other cities with a rich heritage, its development was often inhibited by the architecture of previous generations, and radical changes were usually not accepted. Furthermore in Jerusalem, where almost every site had strong religious connotations, conservatism had been the dominant approach. Being a sacred city for the three main religions, the activity of rebuilding the holy places, though limited, had always taken place and led to the formation of different religious communities around them. This emphasised the subdivision of the city into quarters, and inhibited the development of a single urban nucleus. Moreover, since the Crusader era Jerusalem was governed by various regimes for which it had no economic, strategic or practical value other than its religious significance. Finally, the Ottoman administration maintained a low-key policy regarding the development of the City (Ben-Arieh, 1977; 443-5).

The status of the City had radically changed during the second half of the 19th century, with two related results: first, the revived cultural and religious European interest in the region, by which the city was considered an important prestigious asset; second, the renewal of the 'Capitulation' agreement in 1839. The 'Capitulation' rights were originally given to France by the Sultan Souliman in 1535, and gradually to other European nations. According to this agreement, European nationals who lived or visited the Ottoman Empire were exempted from the Ottoman legal system. They were given freedom to practise their own religions, and European consuls had gained patronage over sacred places, which gave them a most powerful status in the major cities of the Ottoman Empire (see above, 4.1). In 1838 the Egyptian ruler of Palestine renewed the 'Capitulation' agreement and approved the establishment of the first consulate in Jerusalem, which was British. Thereafter, under the reoccupation of the Ottoman administration over the country, other European consulates were established in the city: the Prussian in 1842, the French in 1843, the American in 1844, the Austrian in 1847, and in 1858 the Russian.

A significant outcome of the powerful legal status of the European consuls was that their consulates became extraterritorial zones. The consulates were responsible for the protection of their subjects and promoting their national interests. They gradually became proper colonial footholds, for which land and property were constantly purchased, and places with foreign character were formed.

Their contribution to the dramatic increase of the city's population was considerable. In the beginning of the 19th century the population of the city was less than 10,000, and it rose



to almost 40,000 in the second half of the century. The growth of the Jewish community was the most significant. Being mainly of European nationalities they exploited their consuls' patronage to purchase land and to establish their own national footholds (Ben-Arieh, 1977; 222). And so, by the end of the century, there was no vacant land available within the walled city. Its high density, and the breakdown of its fragile infrastructure, had resulted in numerous settlements outside the Old City.

However, to regard the European penetration into the Jerusalem arena as just another expression of Western imperialism, whether political or cultural, would be inaccurate and misleading. In its early stages it was primarily the enterprise of Christian religious groups which transformed Jerusalem from being an abstract-celestial notion to an earthly-religious entity. The City became a place of pilgrimage and a tourist attraction, and was discovered as a new field for missionary activities. It became a desirable political asset only later, when religious feelings were consolidated into political interests, being primarily the endeavour of individuals.

This phase, which might be called 'Religious Colonisation', is most significant herein as it involved, in its very nature, the conveyance of a message. That message was manifested in buildings, in a form which will be termed here 'direct representation', meaning that the foreign religious groups who operated in Jerusalem had chosen the architectural elements which they regarded as having the greatest power to represent their own culture and religion. With the exception of two cases, the Dominican Monastery of St. Etienne, and the English Mission Hospital, those elements were predominantly European, transplanted in foreign buildings of Jerusalem.

It was in that particular context that the Anglicans had been operating. In order to better understand that context, and its expression in buildings, it is necessary to review the building operations of other foreign nations in Jerusalem in regard to three related questions: what was their message? for whom was that message intended? what were the architectural manifestations of that message?

These issues will be discussed prior to a detailed examination of the British religious activity in the City and its representation in buildings. The buildings which were chosen to be examined herein will be analysed individually, answering the three questions stated above. (Except when specifically mentioned, the historical sources for this review are the following: Ben-Arieh, 1977; vol. 1, 219-222, 261-267, 276, 278-283, 443-445. vol. 2, 105-109, 193-199, 203-205, 233-239, 278-284, 318-326, 340-342, 402-414, 423, 448, 476-476, Sapir, 1981; 155-170, 1987, 45-60, Ilan, 1982; 181-185, Thalman, 1981; 171-180, Sivan, 1981; 103-108, Kedem, 1981; 55-71, Tsibkin, 1987; 201-202, Kroyanker, 1987; 67-460, Crinson, 1989; 91-136, 378-384, Izhaki, 1993; 114-135)



## **8.2. 19th century Jerusalem - Foreign Extraterritorial Footholds**

In this connection it is suggested here to regard the Christian communities in Jerusalem as divided into two basic categories according to the scope and nature of their activities and regarding certain attributes of their congregations. The first category is comprised of the Greek Orthodox, Armenians, Ethiopians, Copts and Syrians. (Ben-Arieh does not include the Greek Orthodox in this category as he follows the origin of each group's ministry [Ben-Arieh, 1977; 253-275]). The second category is comprised of the Roman Catholic or Latin - subdivided into French and Italians, the Russian Provoslavs, and the Protestants - subdivided into Anglicans and Prussians.

All the groups were mainly involved in the following activities: taking care of the sacred places, providing accommodation for pilgrims and tourists, and missionary activities which usually were comprised of providing health and educational services. Each group concentrated on a different realm depending on its religious practice, and aimed at a different sector of the city's population. Yet since their activities often overlapped, and were sometimes directed to the same sector, there was on going competition in an effort to achieve hegemony and control.

### **8.2.1. Wealth and Prosperity - Greek Orthodox**

The Greek Orthodox community was the largest and oldest Christian community in Jerusalem. It still owns the largest portion of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and originally had settled the area around it, where its largest monastery was also located. Several other monasteries and churches were scattered within the Old City, which were used mainly as hostels for pilgrims. Outside the Old City it owned the ancient Monastery of the Cross, and a considerable number of monasteries around Bethlehem. These monasteries all had large plots of land around them which were used for agriculture. The Greek Orthodox Church was considered the richest congregation in Jerusalem and in Palestine at large. This affluence was expressed in the nature of the activities of the monasteries, which were economically oriented, and determined their relations with the local Arab inhabitants who, over the generations, gradually converted to Christianity. Like the rest of the Christian groups in Jerusalem, their activities had a missionary facet, albeit with no clear ideology or a message behind it. Converting the inhabitants to Christianity was grasped as a means of expansion and growth (Ben-Arieh, 1977; vol. 1, 253-261, vol.2, 414).

Although there had been a clear distinction between the clergy, being Greek, and the Arab congregation (except for the priests in the periphery who were Arab), the Greek Orthodox cannot be considered a clear foreign power in Jerusalem for two reasons: first, because they had been active in the City for several generations, forming an Arab-Greek



Orthodox community; second, Greece was neither a colonial nor an imperial power in the 19th century. Being the oldest congregation in the city, they often used ancient existing buildings. When new ones were built their style was a mixture of Arab vernacular and Byzantine, with extremely rich interiors, which coincided with their only message: wealth and prosperity.

### 8.2.2. Introversion - Armenians

The Armenians, who settled in Jerusalem in the Middle Ages, were the second largest foreign group in the city throughout the 19th century. Unlike other communities the Armenians had formed a single and autonomous walled compound, with its own gates within the Walls which is still considered as the centre of the Armenian people around the world. The Armenians were mainly concerned with their own affairs, and although they had been a central force in the economy of the City (mainly commerce) they sustained their introversion over many generations.

They were the second richest community in Jerusalem. They owned the magnificent church of St. James, the large monastery and Patriarchate of Mar Yaacoub and several other buildings within their compound. Since Arabic was their spoken language, they could easily mingle among the Arab population and promote their commercial interests, but never at the price of losing their own identity as a somewhat mysterious and secret cult. They were considered by Western travellers to be the more civilised and advanced Christians of Jerusalem, not exactly 'locals'. Thus they were excluded from being a missionary target by European Christians. Like the Greek Orthodox, the exterior appearance of their buildings had no special representational attributes, being rather Arab vernacular in character. Their interiors, on the other hand, were heavily decorated with rich ornamentation with some Islamic influence.

### 8.2.3. A Message for the People Back Home - Ethiopians

Until the end of the 19th century the Ethiopians were amongst the poorest communities in Jerusalem. They hardly survived in their monastery, which was actually a few huts built on the roof of the Holy Sepulchre, used for hosting Ethiopian pilgrims. They gradually came under the patronage of the Copts and were considered as potential converts by the Protestants. In the 1880s, after social and political changes took place in Ethiopia, with the revival of religious feelings amongst its nobility, radical changes took place in the state of the Ethiopians in Jerusalem. Land was purchased in various places within and around the Old City, and most extravagant buildings were built.

A small church was built in the Old City, which to this day accommodates the Ethiopian



Patriarchate, with a few rooms for Ethiopian priests and students. Yet the most significant was the building of their compound, north-west of the Old City walls, between 1882-1897. Enclosed by a high wall, it is comprised of a large round domed church, following the typical Ethiopian pattern, and a modest one-story building which houses monasteries of men and women.

Later, during the Mandate period, between 1903-1928, two magnificent buildings were built close to the compound. These were initiated by the empresses Taitu and Zaudito and not by the religious establishment, and were intended for rent to Ethiopians, and later to other nationalities living in Jerusalem. The buildings were not proportional to the size and needs of the community. The message they conveyed was intended for the audience back home, delivered by the growing number of Ethiopians visiting the city. As such the buildings incorporated those symbolic ornaments which were meaningful to the Ethiopians themselves, applied on their main facades and usually decorating the entrance door. The most common was the lion, an Ethiopian national symbol, (which is also the Biblical symbol of Jerusalem) often with written text in the Ge'ez language: "The Judea Lion Has Won". It was usually in relief or rather crudely painted in a niche over the lintel, using strong colours of blue and brown (Figs. 80,81). The buildings themselves, which had no particular Ethiopian characteristics (except for the round church), seem to be totally dependent on those elements to convey the national message, which also implied an alliance between Ethiopia and the Biblical heritage of Jerusalem.

The other two communities in this category, the Copts and the Syrians, are of no interest herein as they were very poor congregations who usually used existing buildings and neither conveyed any message nor tried to achieve hegemony and control.



*Fig. 80 Ethiopian Church 1874-93 Detail of main entrance*



*Fig. 81 Zaudito Palace 1928, Ornamented Gable over the main entrance*



#### 8.2.4. Political and Religious Imperialism - French Roman Catholics

The largest and dominant group of the second category of Christian communities in Jerusalem was the French. Their first foothold in the city was the Franciscan monastery, San Salvador, located within the north-west corner of the city walls. It was run by a small group of monks whose main role was to take care of the holy places and who made their living by hosting pilgrims and tourists. This somewhat passive activity was radically changed after the nomination of the second Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem, Samuel Gobat, in 1847. It was decided in Rome, with strong support of the government in Paris, to establish a Latin patriarchy in Jerusalem for the following reasons: in reaction to the Protestant and Russian penetration; to gain patronage over the Greek Orthodox community; and, to answer the needs of the growing Roman Catholic congregation in the city.

And so the Latin Patriarchate (1859-1864) was built, close to the San Salvador monastery. After the Berlin Agreement (1878), by which France had become the legal patron of the Roman Catholic congregation in the Holyland, French activity in the country intensified mainly through the Catholic orders and the French consulate in Jerusalem. This coincided with the growing number of Catholic pilgrims, monks and nuns who came to the country, for whom accommodation and other services were urgently needed. In addition, French philanthropic activity was most extensive and their institutions - schools, hospitals, orphanages etc., were very popular, unmatched in their scale by any other foreign group.

These missionary operations were fundamentally different from those of the Protestants, in particular the Anglicans. This was primarily due to the French national and imperialist involvement in the Catholic activities of the City. Furthermore, with the exception of the Dominican Order, the French had neither any specific message behind their missionary-philanthropic activity, nor any wish to adapt to the particular nature and needs of those sectors of the population for whom their operations were intended. In other words, unlike the Protestants, the French religious interests overlapped with its national-imperialist interests and became a fixed notion. The local inhabitants were invited to take part in activities and adapt themselves, i.e. to convert and become Roman Catholic.

All this was manifested in their buildings. The first and most important were St. Louis



Fig. 82 St. Louis Hospital, 1879-1896

Hospital (1879-1896) (Fig. 82) and the impressive pilgrims' hostel, Notre Dame de France (1884-1904) (Fig. 83) which were built outside the Old City walls, adjacent to its north-west corner. The aim here was to create a continuity with their other institutions within the wall (the Latin Patriarchate and St. Salvador). This was eventually realised in 1889 when the Ottoman administration





Fig. 83 Notre Dame de France 1884-1904

approved the opening of the wall at that spot, where New Gate was constructed.

Other institutions were built close to various sacred Christian sites, or as strong-holds to compete with other foreign powers. Those were usually more or less European transplants, monumental, massive, and rigid buildings, with formal axial symmetry, emphasising the main entrance. The architects, who were brought from France or Italy, had to

confront the hard, brittle local limestone as the sole building material, as well as to deal with the unprofessional workmanship. Thus, when adaptation took place, it ended up usually as compromise - simplifications of European elements.

As mentioned above, the Dominicans' monastery of St. Etienne was a significant exception regarding this study. The special mission of their order was academic research and higher education. As a result the Dominican monasteries were usually located within major cities, often in a most central spot, from where the monks could take an active part in the intellectual life, customarily at the universities. In Jerusalem they established an important archaeological institution, the Ecole Biblique of St. Etienne (1882-1900). Although outside the Old City, north of Damascus Gate, its location was carefully selected: surrounded by important historical and archaeological remains. The site also included a Byzantine basilica and some graves which were excavated, preserved and partly integrated in the monastery buildings.

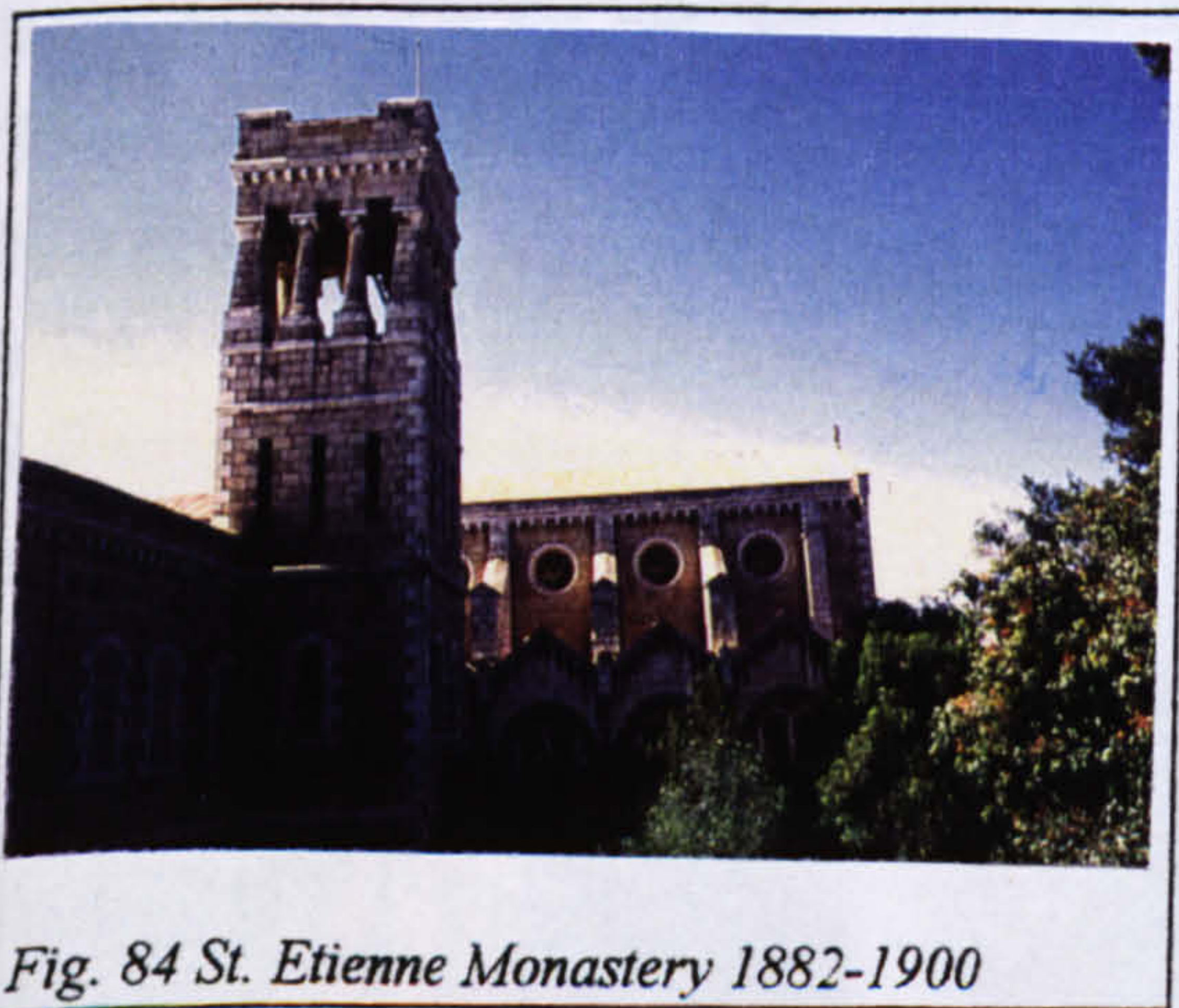


Fig. 84 St. Etienne Monastery 1882-1900

The particular task of the Dominicans in Jerusalem required a different architectural representation than the rest of the French buildings in the city. Instead of portraying Frenchness, it was an attempt to represent the East, or rather the Biblical East. That is, a form of an 'indirect representation' which pays tribute to ancient periods. It was manifested through the Bell Tower, a heavy square structure, incorporating various ancient

Egyptian and Assyrian details (Fig. 84). And yet, it embodies the very basic paradox, intrinsic to so many European buildings in the Levant: certain elements, ascribed the power to stand for an entire culture, were taken out of their original contexts and incorporated in the buildings in order to portray an impression or to convey a message.



### 8.2.5. Pilgrimage and Imperialism - Russians

The Russian Provoslavs and other Russian groups supported by the Tsar, who settled in Jerusalem during the second half of the 19th century, had a significant impact on the city's urban development. Their only concern was taking care of the great number of Russian pilgrims who flooded the country at that time. Their colonial operations in the country stemmed from this, without any missionary aspirations. Their efforts to gain patronage over the Greek Orthodox community should be regarded as a means of strengthening their religious footholds as well as promoting their political interests on the international level.

The Russian compound, built 300 meters north-west of the Old City (1860-1864) was the largest foreign settlement ever built in Jerusalem. The compound, surrounded by a high wall, was composed of various buildings which enabled the Russians to lead quite an autonomous life, as the compound functioned as a small town. It was considered an exception in those days, as the Ottoman administration did not approve such large scale land purchase so close to the Old City, especially for foreign purposes. It contained a consulate, a grand cathedral, three large hostels for pilgrims, a hospital, a pharmacy, and a physician's residence.

During the 1880s the Palestine Imperial Provoslavic Society extended its activity as a result of a constant increase of Russian pilgrims to the Holyland and to Jerusalem in particular. Unlike the West European pilgrimage, the Russian was a pilgrimage of the poor. It was organised back in Russia, by organisations who were responsible for all the pilgrims' needs during their long voyage and stay in the country. The types of buildings which were built in the Compound reflected those needs. Accommodation was provided in separate large dormitories for men and women, which were extended and improved in the 1890s. When religious feelings also flooded the Russian upper class an extravagant hostel was built, outside but adjacent to the compound, in order to provide exclusive lodgings. It is a large, rectangular, two storey building with advanced facilities, enclosing a courtyard with a tower on its north-east corner (Figs. 85,86). Services were provided by the main compound, where the central cathedral was located (Fig. 88).

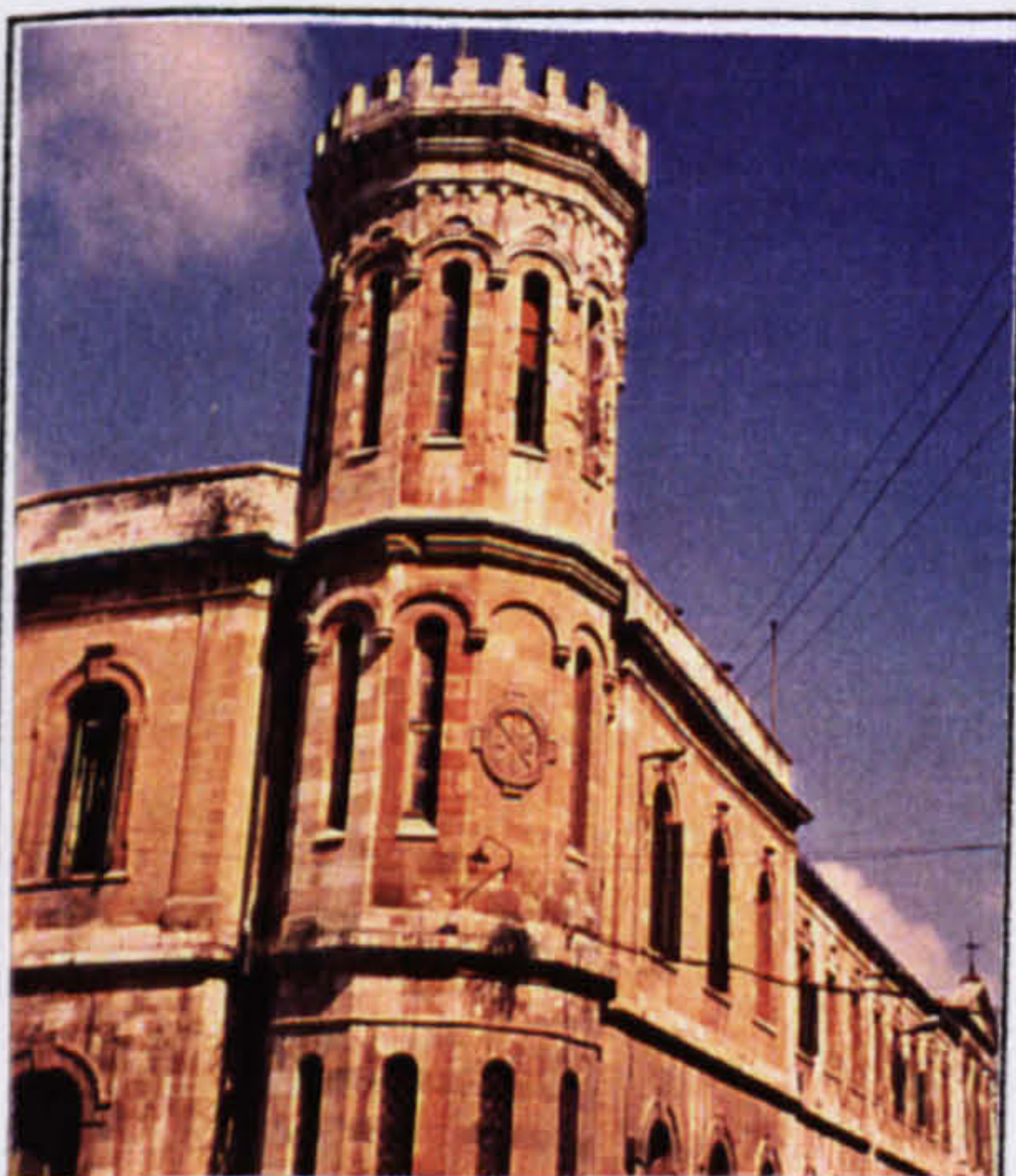
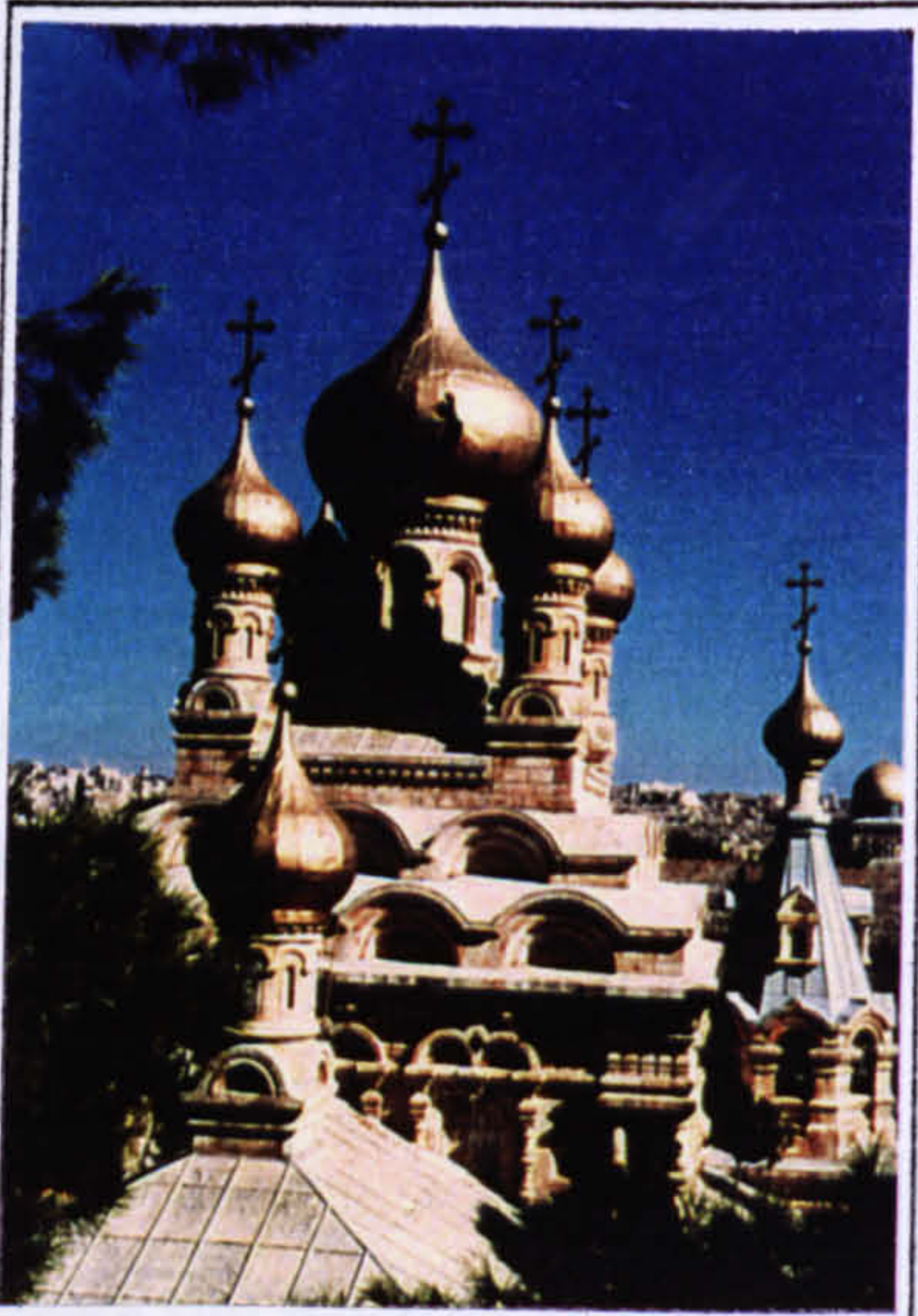


Fig. 85 The Prince Sergay Hostel



Fig. 86 Provoslavic Society Sign





*Fig. 87 The Church of St. Mary Magdalene*



*Fig. 88 The Cathedral of the Sacred Trinity 1866-1872*

The Provoslavic Society continued to operate parallel to the Russian Imperial Society. Both were involved in large scale land purchase further away from the Old City. These lands were used for building monasteries and churches, such as the Church of St. Mary Magdalene on the western slopes of the Mount of Olives facing the Old City (Fig. 87).

The national-religious message of all Russian buildings in Jerusalem was directed to other European nations active in the city, but was intended mainly for the Russian crowds. They were clear foreign transplants in which, except for the use of the local white limestone, no adaptation to the local conditions is to be found. Stone blocks are smooth, and the mortar between them is hardly visible. Ornamentation when it exists, is comprised of the sign of the Provoslavic Society, applied over the main entrances or over dominant elements (Fig. 86).

#### 8.2.6. Missionary and Imperialism - German Protestants and Catholics

The Germans in Jerusalem were subdivided into three communities: the Protestants, who were the largest and most active; the Catholics; and the Templars who will be discussed separately below. In the early stages of their Jerusalem experience, the German Protestants were closely linked with the Anglicans. The Ottoman rule, in its reoccupation of Palestine, overcoming Mohammed Ali (1840), needed the support of the main international powers at that time - Britain and Prussia. The king of Prussia, Frederick Wilhelm, took advantage of this particular situation for obtaining an official status for his own subjects in the country. Another step which he had taken was signing an agreement with Queen Victoria about establishing a common bishopric for the two congregations.

The Protestants' main missionary target was the Greek Orthodox Arab community, for whom they offered primary educational services, welfare and medical help. Like the



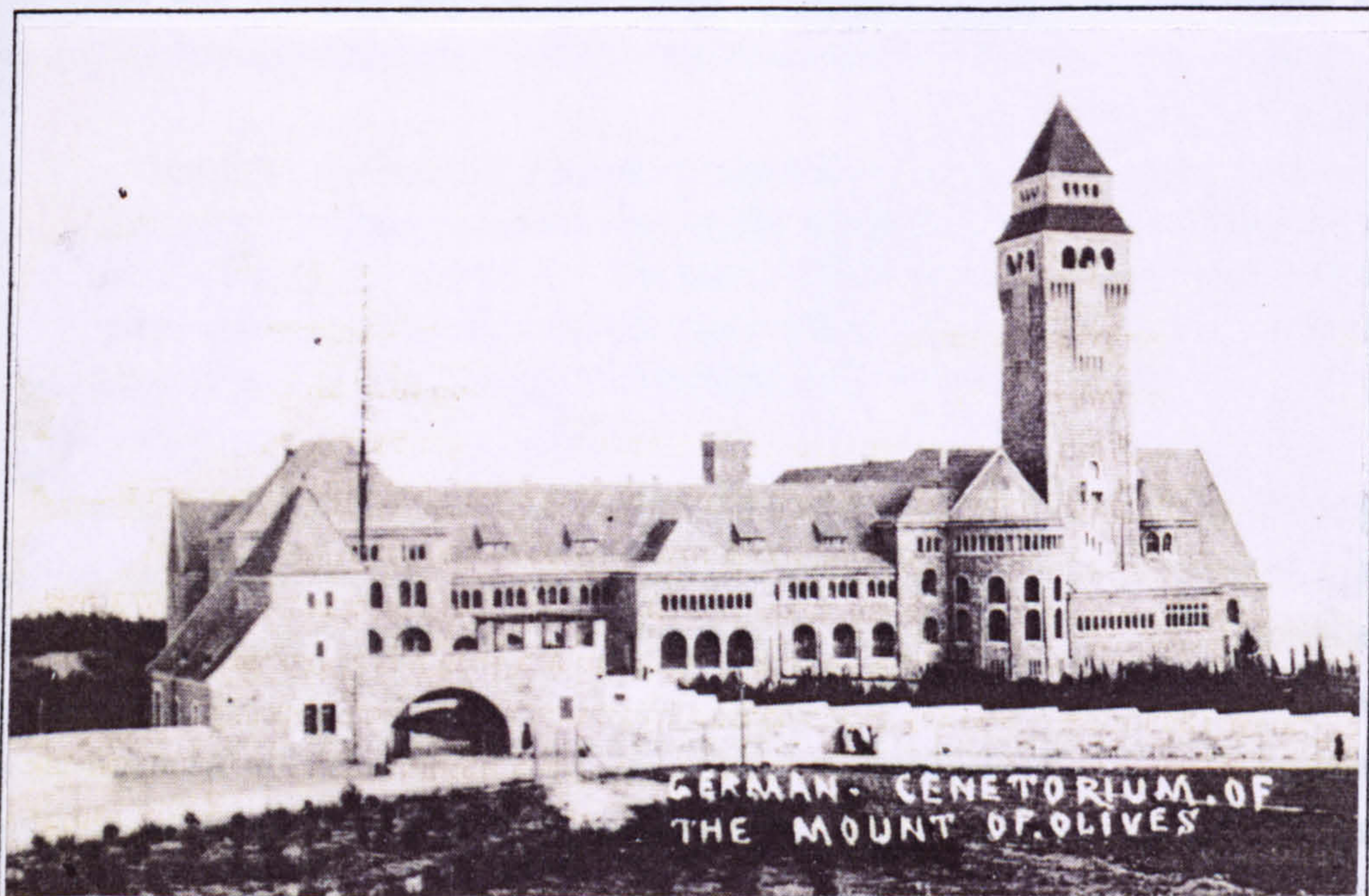
Anglicans their operations were totally dependent upon the initiative of individuals who had sound financial resources in their homeland and high aspirations about modernising the country. Y. L. Schneller had been that kind of individual. He was a pious man and a missionary, and his ideas were a peculiar combination of German Nationalism and Socialism. In 1861 he purchased a large plot of land 3km. north-west of the Old City, where he was to realise his dreams. He founded an orphanage, open to all Christian children of the region, which offered a combination of German puritan education and vocational training in various fields. The institute had grown dramatically, and by the First World War it was one of the most important economic forces in the city, as it provided work as well as goods to be sold throughout the region.

Here again, the pattern of urban expansion was a walled, independent compound. Yet, unlike the Russian compound which was purely urban, at the Schneller compound land was used for agriculture and industry in a most intense manner, which followed in many ways the example of the monasteries.

The German Protestants were actively involved with the local Arab population, Christians and non-Christians, and through their intensive and extensive services were the first who seriously introduced modernisation to the life of the city. And yet, in the majority of their buildings they did not attempt to communicate with the new members of their congregation in any manner. German-ness had been conveyed in both the layout of the buildings and their architectural elements. For example, the clock tower and some of the more visible buildings of the Schneller Compound were designed in pure south-German style, and the main elevation of the central building was ornamented with text in German with only few words in Arabic.

Compared with other foreign groups in Jerusalem, the building operations of the German Protestants were the most extensive. Around the year 1898, when Kaiser Wilhelm visited the Holyland, German activity had reached a climax. The common Anglican-Prussian bishopric had already been dismantled and the Kaiser took steps to unite the German Protestants and Catholics under a single national framework, encouraging the activities of both groups. During this year some important architectural events took place: the inauguration of the first German church, the Redeemer Church, within the Old City; radical improvements of roads and railways; and the approval of several extravagant German buildings by the Ottoman government. The most prominent was the Augusta Victoria palatial hotel (1903-1910) on the summit of Mount Olives (Fig. 89). The building was designed by the German architect, R. Liebnitz, and is a bizarre combination of neo-Medieval and neo-Romanesque styles, as requested by the Kaiser. With the exception of the local limestone, all the rest of the materials and workmanship were imported. The building was never really used by the Germans due to the outbreak of World War I, and was later temporarily occupied by the British High Commissioner in the early years of the British Mandate. It remained as the most prominent symbol of foreign control over the City, as no other nation had built such a dominant architectural monument on such a critical location.





*Fig. 89 Augusta Victoria Hotel 1903-1910, photographed around 1915*

During his visit, Sultan Abed el Hamid gave the Kaiser a large plot of land on Mount Zion, adjacent to the south-west corner of the wall. The Kaiser, who wished to win the support of the German Catholics, gave them the land for building their Dormition Church (1900-1910). The Kaiser also encouraged the Catholics to realise another project, the St. Paulus Hospice, which was composed of a pilgrims' hostel, a small zoological museum, and a school. The complex, of which only half was eventually built, is located on a site outside the wall facing Damascus gate, south of the Dominican monastery of St. Etienne. This building (Figs. 90,91) is of special significance to this study.



*Fig. 90 St. Paulus Hospice*



*Fig. 91 Detail of the entrance porch, St. Paulus*

The architect, H. Renard (who also designed the Dormition Church), had aimed at producing adaptations of European architecture to the local conditions, using the available



materials and workmanship. In describing the design process he emphasised the need to transform European stylistic features when realised in a different environment:

Imported architecture should be transformed to fit the building context. The European architect is conditioned by the convention of the beautiful high steep roof, whereas an emphasis on the horizontal lines, like flat roofs that gather the water using balustrades, makes the building more Oriental and therefore an integral part of the context... (H. Renard, in E. Mayer, 1984; 70).

The general impression of the building reminds one of the German 'Jugendstil' in its layout and configuration of its mass. Yet, its particular appearance derived from its parts and details, which suggest a new interpretation, adapted to the local materials -- mainly stone. Rough stone blocks were used for the external envelope, and five different types of stones in various colours were used for specific details. T. Zendel, a German architect, a member of the German Templar community in Jerusalem, who was the architect on site, interpreted Renard's' design to suit the local constraints. Being familiar with local construction methods, he became involved in the construction of many buildings in the City, amongst which was the construction of the Anglican Hospital, which will be discussed below.

#### 8.2.7. Proper Colonialism -The German Templars and the Jews

In order to conclude this sub-chapter, it is necessary to look into the activity of two other foreign communities of settlers in Jerusalem: the German Templars and the Jews. Both communities had no missionary aspirations. They did not settle in walled compounds, but formed regular, rural or urban settlements. They should be considered as ordinary colonialists, similar to many other Europeans who decided to find their fortune away from their homelands. Although both the Templars and the Jews were private people, they were inspired by their own socio-religious ideologies associated with the Holyland. They felt no obligations towards the local Arab inhabitants and their buildings did not convey any particular message except for some memories of home. Thus their architecture should be considered vernacular. Although this type of architecture is excluded from this study, some of their building activities will be discussed herein so as to complete the description of the context within which the British were operating, and because one group, the Templars, had a significant role in the development of the building trade in Jerusalem.

The German Templars were a Christian religious cult who refused to accept the Protestant religious practice customary in South Germany in the beginning of the 19th century. Their belief was primarily based on the Bible and the New Testament, but with different views about the social structure of the church and the community. They abolished



the priesthood; wrote their own prayers; and transferred the spiritual leadership to the secular leaders of the congregation. Their immigration to the Holyland was motivated both by their religious beliefs and as an escape from the persecution in their own country.

The first group of Templars, whose members were carefully selected, set out for the Holyland in 1868 and founded several rural and urban settlements in various places in the country. In 1872 it was decided to form a community in Jerusalem, which would be the centre for all the Templars in the country. By 1883 there were 15 houses along the main street which comprised what is still called today the 'German Colony'. It was originally planned for farming but the members of the community could not survive the harsh climatic conditions. By 1890 most of the vast plots of land were sold to Arabs, who moved out of the Old City and settled next to the Templars.

The Templars' change of vocation had a significant impact on the modernisation of the city and particularly on its architecture. This is because the Templars were highly professional craftsmen in building construction and the related professions - carpentry, smithery etc.. They became intensely involved in many construction projects, as architects or architects-on-site. Their professional competence and their limited budgets had forced them to arrive at inexpensive and adaptable solutions.

The general layout of the 'Colony' followed the pattern of a typical German village-road, along which the land was subdivided into rectangular spacious plots with a private family house on each, a small supporting farm yard and a garden. The two-storey modest houses consisted of living spaces, cellar and a cistern. Their interiors were of a standard



Fig. 92 The Templars' Community House and Church

symmetrical plan with a central entrance hall, and rooms on both sides. Their construction followed the Arab method of very massive walls (1 meter wide) consisting of two walls made of roughly cut stone blocks and a mixture of stones and gravel in-between. The gabled roofs, covered by ceramic tiles, were surrounded by metal gutters, which collected the winter rain water into the cisterns in the yards. Elevations had symmetrical fenestration with high windows, often arched. They were almost entirely unornamented, except for a special articulation of the corners by *Quoning*, and some lettering over the lintel of the entrance door which stated the name of the owner and date of construction (Fig 92).

The Jews, who became the largest sector in Jerusalem towards the end of the British Mandate (1947), had been an insignificant minority until the late 1860s. Their settlement outside the Old City is a clear example of ordinary colonial operation (see above, 1.2.1.). As such, they are excluded from this study as their architecture had no particular characteristics of its own, and their expansion had neither a particular urban pattern, nor an architectural



character. There are various religious, cultural and political reasons for this unfortunate situation. One was the indifferent, and sometimes even hostile approach of Judaism towards aesthetic appearance of any sort, stemming from the ancient Hebraic ban on the representation of human figures in art. Another reason was the poor financial state of the Jewish community at that time, in which only the fulfilment of the very basic needs was possible.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to point out some general characteristics of those settlements so that the picture of the Pre-Mandate City will be complete. Like the German Templars, housing was the main building type in the Jewish community. It was planned and organised by Jewish organisations abroad. Later, during the Mandate period, private houses were also built.

The location of the Jewish settlement was primarily determined by the availability of land and the proximity to the Old City (usually along Jaffa road). By the 1890s there were more than 6,000 Jews living outside the walls, and shortly afterwards the number had dramatically increased and reached 16,000. After a severe economic crisis in the beginning of the 20th century there was a dramatic increase in the number of Jews, which had reached 45,000 just before World War One.

The usual layout of Jewish neighbourhoods had been a row house enclosing a spacious courtyard containing some communal facilities - a central cistern, a public oven baking bread, and a synagogue; intervals in the row house were used as gates. Each unit comprised a main vault on the exterior side of the row, and a small courtyard which consisted of a kitchen and lavatory. The architecture of those row houses was very modest, constructed by local Arab builders who used their own methods of construction. Apart from very few Jewish neighbourhoods such (as the Bucharian Jewish neighbourhoods), details were crude and simple, with no ornamentation except for the Star of David and the date of construction, which were often carved into the lintels of the entrance doors.



### **8.3. British Footholds - Religious Colonisation**

The British, or rather the Anglicans' attitude towards Jerusalem can be rightly defined as "...a militant evangelical view of religious history" (Crinson, 1989; 91). Meaning, a distinct and active missionary attitude which was absent both in other Christian missionary groups in Jerusalem at that period of time, as well as amongst Anglican missionaries elsewhere in the Empire. This attitude, when consolidated into colonialist and imperialistic operations, was clearly manifested in buildings. Before examining these building, showing how architectural elements represented their message, it is necessary to understand its exact religious content and its manner of materialisation.

#### **8.3.1 The Religious Message**

First and foremost, the religious message was based upon the evangelical belief in Britain's special role in restoring the Jews to their motherland by converting them to Christianity, this being an essential part of the Protestant eschatology. It was one of the conditions predicted in the scriptural prophecy of the 'Second Coming'. This had been the principal ideal behind the establishment of the 'London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews (LSPCJ) in 1809. Missionaries of the Society were sent to Jewish centres around the world and they presented an alternative version of Christianity which emphasised its Jewish origins. The New Testament was published in Hebrew, together with numerous publications about the theories of the 'Second Coming', which according to the Milleniars' calculations was due in the second half of the 19th century. They believed that it could be quickened by the efforts of the missionary societies in converting Jews to Christianity. The LSPCJ members were convinced about the readiness of the Jews to study the principles of Christianity and that many of them believed in Jesus' messianism. Although those views were expressed principally by individuals and not by the Anglican establishment itself, they appealed to some politicians in the British capital.

Lord Ashley (later the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury) was a member of the LSPCJ and one of the most public promoters of its ideals. Yet Ashley's evangelicalism was tied in with the knowledge of political practice. When the issue of establishing a consulate in Jerusalem was raised, Ashley argued that a consul would provide greater security for settling Jews, who in turn would improve the economy of the country (Ashley, 1839, in Crinson, 1989; 93). Writing to Lord Palmerstone he described the Jews as "...the cheapest and the safest mode of supplying the wastes of those depopulated regions" (Hodder, 1986, in Crinson, 1989; 93).

In this connection, the bizarre episode of James Finn, who served as the British consul in Jerusalem (1845-1863), is an interesting interpretation of Ashley's attitude, although it did



not last for long as Finn was forced to leave the country, accused of being involved in a financial scandal. Finn had never been a pious man nor a missionary. And yet, his private enterprise of supporting the Jews of the city shows that behind his powerful status as consul there had also been a vision, associated with the land and its Biblical people. In 1853, Finn purchased land north-west of the walled city (not far from the Schneller Orphanage, see above, 8.2.6) where he built his own home and used the land for a vineyard and vegetables. He defined the farm as "Industrial Plantations" (Schur, 1983; 64-90). All labour was carried out by Jews. According to Finn's wife, who continued to run the farm, the welfare of the Jews and their prosperity was the couple's major concern. It had been a most peculiar, and somewhat mysterious, private initiative undertaken by a British official, who sincerely believed that such actions would promote his country's own national interest. In architectural terms, there had been no representation of these vague and complicated ideals, except for the name of the farm: 'Abraham's Vineyard' engraved in English and Hebrew on the lintel stone of its main gate.

For Ashley, similar to other evangelicals such as Habershon and Nicolayson (who became involved in the building of Christ Church), religious ideals could also provide a sound base for a colonisation policy. The belief in re-situating the Jews, combined with a missionary impulse, was to underpin the Society's desire to build their own church in Jerusalem. It was described by Ashley as an essential vehicle of both the re-situating doctrine and conversion:

...Our soul-stirring and soul-satisfying liturgy - in Hebrew - its deep and tender devotion - the new evangelical simplicity of its ritual will form, in the mind of the Jew, an inviting contrast to the idolatry and superstition of the Latin and Eastern church; its enlarged charity will effect his heart, and its Scriptural character demand his homage" (Ashley, 1839; 187, in Crinson, 1989; 94).

And yet, the evangelical interest in Judaism, and particularly in Jerusalem, must be seen as part of the renewed interest in the Levant and in the Holyland, as a place still bearing the authenticity of the Bible. The enormous amount of text published by the LSPCJ was illustrated with engravings by the famous artists of the day, like those of Roberts, which were printed and became affordable to the middle class purchasers. These were also sold separately, accompanied with notes about Biblical events and personal comments taken from the artist's own travel journal, and were successfully used for raising funds for the building of their new church in Jerusalem. It will be shown below how the particular evangelical ideals were represented in Christ Church, and yet with no positive response on the part of the Jews.



### 8.3.2. The Practice of Religious Colonisation

Three Anglican missionary societies were operating in Jerusalem between the second half of the 19th century and the First World War. Although all three concentrated on corresponding tasks, each had targeted a certain sector of the city's population, and consequently differed in their message. Each in its time had put up a building or a compound of several buildings so to house their activities. The first was the LSPCJ, founded in 1809, as mentioned above. In 1813 it set up a church and a school, known as the 'Palestine Place', in Bethnal Green, London. The Mission's work was also carried out amongst the Jews in Russia, Holland and Germany, and in 1817 the Society had published a Hebrew translation of the New Testament, which was regarded as an essential tool for conversion of Jews to Christianity. The direct involvement of the Society in missionary work in the Near East began in 1820. In 1823 two missionaries were sent to the region in an attempt to start a mission in Beirut. In 1825 John Dalton, who was a physician, set up his home and small mission in Jerusalem. He was later joined by John Nicolayson, who was to play a major role in the Society's building operation in Jerusalem.

The LSPCJ exerted a strong political influence in England. Apart from Lord Ashley there were also the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Bessborough, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Nicholas Vassittart and Thomas Baring who spoke publicly in favour of the Society's aims and actions. Ashley and Baring, with their Tory connections, drew the attention of every politician in London. In 1833 the LSPCJ was making arrangements in Jerusalem for what was known as the "permanent settlement" (Crinson, 1989; 99). In 1834 it approved the idea of building a Hebrew church in Jerusalem and opened a special fund for this purpose. An appeal which was published in the Society's journal - 'The Jewish Intelligence', was typically evangelical in its vision of aesthetic austerity as a measure of religious purism. It assumed that the Jews who were visiting the city must have surely despised the Christians as "worshippers of images", and thus they could be attracted to the scheme suggested by the LSPCJ: "...let a Protestant temple there erect its holy front - let a verse from the Hebrew Bible engraved on its walls attract the attention of the wandering Jew" (Jewish Intelligence, 1, 1835; 2, in Crinson, 1989; 99).

The Society's involvement in Jerusalem affairs was parallel to a growing concern of the British government about the city and the region at large. By 1825 there had already been British consulates in Damascus, Beirut and Aleppo, and in 1839 a consulate was opened in Jerusalem, followed by other European consulates. Although Jerusalem was never considered an economic or strategic asset, British interest in the city cannot be regarded merely as the result of evangelical pressure. Diplomats, led by the consul-general in Damascus, had argued for the appointment of a British consul in Jerusalem as early as 1834, and Palmerstone's policy was dominated by the necessity to respond to the activities of the Russians and the French. A consulate in Jerusalem was considered part of a network of consulates throughout the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, evangelical views perfectly



merged with Palmerstone's policy, by which Jews could play a role in modernising the Ottoman Empire, acting as agents of British commerce. The most important LSPCJ buildings in Jerusalem were Christ Church, within the walls of the Old City, and the English Mission Hospital, about two miles north-east of the walls. They will be examined later on in this chapter.

The second English missionary organisation which operated in Jerusalem was the 'Church Missionary Society', CMS. Founded in London in 1799, it focused on Eastern churches in the region as a way of reaching the entire Islamic population of the city. It was assumed that the spirit of regeneration which prevailed in their churches would attract the new Arab-Christians and pave the way for more direct missionary actions amongst the Muslims. The CMS was centered in Malta (under British occupation since 1800), where a large printing house was established, which printed missionary texts in all Eastern languages to be distributed throughout the Levant. Many of the active members of this mission were Germans who were educated in the Basel Mission House (founded in 1816), which was a pseudo international organisation. One of its graduates was Samuel Gobat, nominated in 1846 as the second Common Bishop of the Anglican and Prussian congregations in Jerusalem. He played a central role in directing the CMS's activities for Arab-Christians and Muslims in Palestine. His effort were boosted by the political changes caused by the Crimean War (1853- 1856), when the Anglican church was acknowledged, and granted a formal status by the Ottoman administration.

The operations of the CMS, which focused mainly on education, were extended to various other cities in Palestine, Trans-Jordan and even further away to remote towns in Asia and Africa. Reports of the extensive activities of the Mission were published in monthly and annual journals, mainly to raise funds for its operations. Its buildings did not represent any message, and most of its institutions were housed in existing buildings. Two of its buildings which were built for specific tasks were the Gobat's Boys School (1853) on Mount Zion and St. Paul's Church (1874) north of Damascus Gate. These buildings will not be discussed herein, as their architects are unknown, and their architecture should be categorised as vernacular.

The third Anglican mission which was active at Jerusalem by the end of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century was the 'Jerusalem and the East Mission Fund' (JEM). It was founded by George Blyth, the first Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem after the dismantling of the common Anglo-Prussian Bishopric. Unlike the two other Anglican missionary societies in the City, the JEM had no specific theology or specific missionary target. It was founded as a religious-colonial organisation to overcome the differences and hostility between the two other Anglican missionary societies regarding policies and finance. After the death of Bishop Gobat's successor, Joseph Barclay (1881), the post of the common bishopric remained vacant until Blyth's nomination in 1887 by the Archbishop of



Canterbury as the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. Blyth was an Oxford graduate with an impressive religious-colonial record of 21 years in Burma. When he arrived in Jerusalem he was acknowledged by both Anglican societies, by the British consul - Moore, and also by the Greek Orthodox Patriarch. However, soon afterwards a dispute arose between Blyth and the CMS over the question of which sector of Jerusalem population should be the target of their activity. Blyth did not approve of actions intended for Eastern Christians, and thought that the mission should concentrate on Jews, Muslims and Druse. In 1890 he established a special fund in order to promote the Anglican interest according to his own interpretation. It then became the basis for the formation of a new missionary society (JEM) which lasted until his death in 1914. Like the two other missionary societies in Jerusalem, the JEM had various publications, which were basically detailed reports about the Society's operations, intended for the British audience as a means of raising funds. Other publications of a more popular character concentrated on the history of the land, still published today under the same name: 'The Bible Lands'.

Blyth had established an extensive network of religious and charity institutions, schools and hospitals throughout the region. Yet the summit of his actions was the founding of the St. George's Cathedral and College, north of Damascus Gate, neighbouring to the Dominican Monastery of St. Etienne. The building, which was clearly intended to represent Englishness, will be examined in detail later on in this chapter.

Another act of religious colonisation, albeit undertaken by a non-missionary organisation, was St. John's Ophthalmic Hospital. In its early days the Order of St. John's had been a Catholic order operating in England. Over the years a considerable number of Anglican members joined the order, whereas its Catholic members left. Their principal aim was reviving the Medieval pattern of the order, which meant operating in the Holyland. In 1882 it was decided by its board, one of whose members was Lord Ashley, to establish an ophthalmic hospital and clinic in Jerusalem. It was regarded as a humanitarian act rather than an ordinary missionary operation, since members of the Order hoped it would lead to its acknowledgment by the Queen. And so, after the Prince of Wales (later King Edward) intervened in support of the matter, the order was recognised as The Grand Priory of England of the Venerable Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

In 1883 an existing building, west of Mount Zion above the Valley of Hinom, on the road to Bethlehem, was purchased and converted into a hospital open to the public. The number of its patients increased every year and in 1889 the building was extended eastwards. In 1894 a new wing for out-patients was built further to the east along the road. The building, which is also an example of vernacular architecture, will not be examined here. Yet its significance herein is associated with the activity of the Public Works Department of the British Mandate by which another wing was built across the road, designed by two of its most important architects, whose work will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.



## 8.4. Direct Representation in Buildings

Three buildings of the Pre-Mandate period were chosen to be examined herein: Christ Church (1842-1849), the Anglican Mission Hospital (1895-1897; 1901), both built by the LSPCJ, and St. George's Cathedral (1895-1898; 1906-1910; 1912) built by the JEM. Various obstacles and difficulties had often interrupted and prolonged the construction. Thus the dates mentioned above denote the periods between the laying of the foundation stone, and the opening ceremony. The final result in each case was determined by different factors. These comprised constraints - common to all three buildings, and architectural attitudes which diverged regarding the representational role of each building. The constraints were usually the difficulties imposed by the Ottoman administration in granting building permits and the backward state of the building trade in the City, which was confined to a single building material - the hard and brittle limestone.

Each building will be examined separately, focusing on the following common points:

- Historical circumstances;
- The architect;
- Location, layout, and configuration of the building mass;
- Critical architectural elements.

A drawn analysis is applied here for the examination of the building themselves. It consists of drawings undertaken by the author on site, and of original drawings done by the architects.

### 8.4.1. *CHRIST CHURCH*

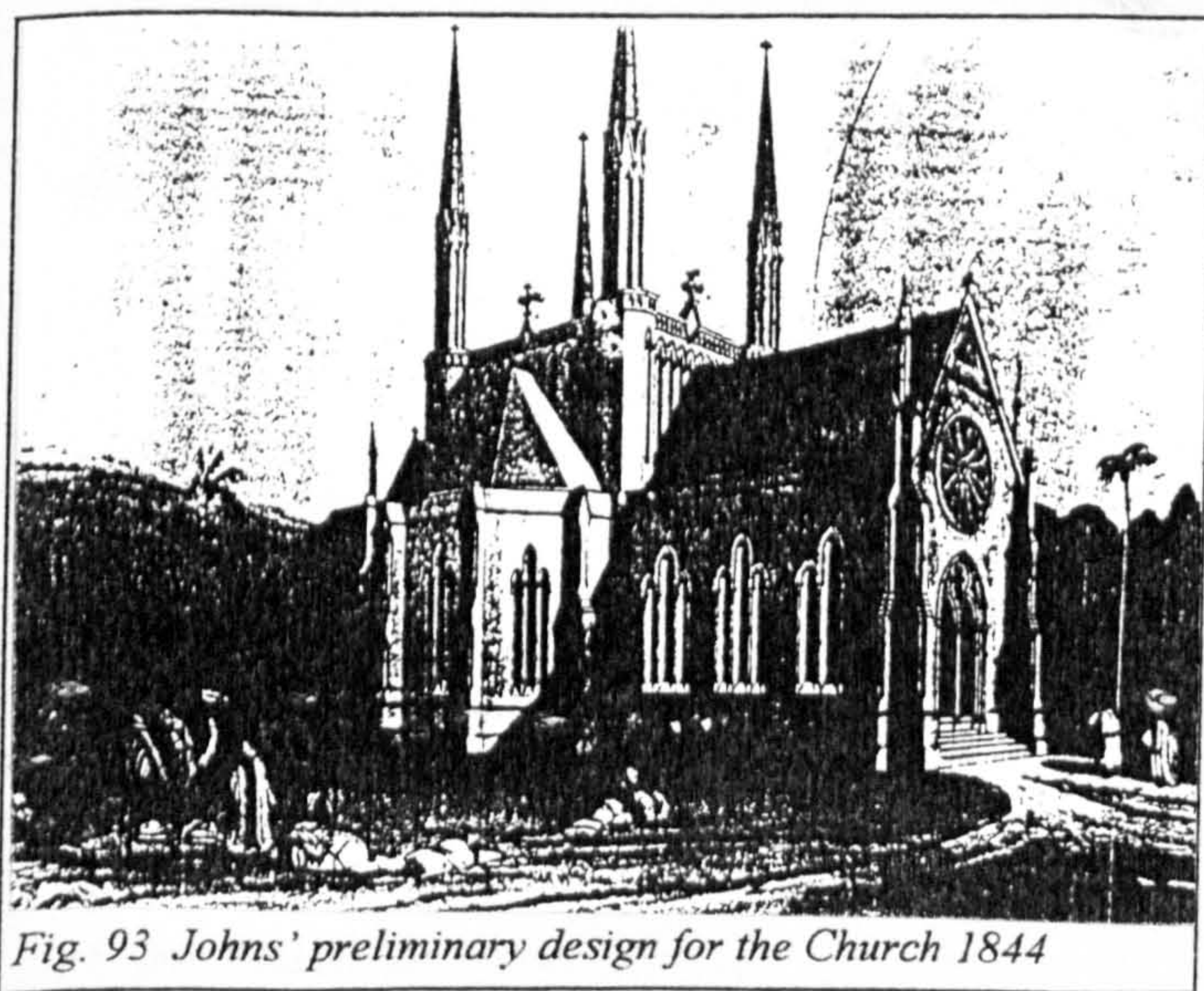
#### 8.4.1.1. Historical Circumstances and the Architects

Fifteen years passed from the approval to build a Hebrew church in Jerusalem by the LSPCJ's members in 1834 until its inauguration ceremony in 1849. The main obstacles were the difficulties in purchasing a suitable plot of land; obtaining a building permission; the soil of the site - mainly debris which required extremely massive foundations; and the change of architects. The building eventually built was the result of many changes and alterations carried out by several architects. Nonetheless, throughout those years, even before the land was purchased, the leading members of the Society were constantly concerned about the representational aspects of the building. The architect Joseph Scoles was the first to produce a design scheme. It was a set of lithographs (unfortunately lost, Crinson, 1989; 103) which illustrated the church on an imaginary site with vague stylistic characteristics. Scoles must have seemed a good choice, as he had a specialist's knowledge of Jerusalem and was in line with the Society's early conception of what the church in Jerusalem should represent.



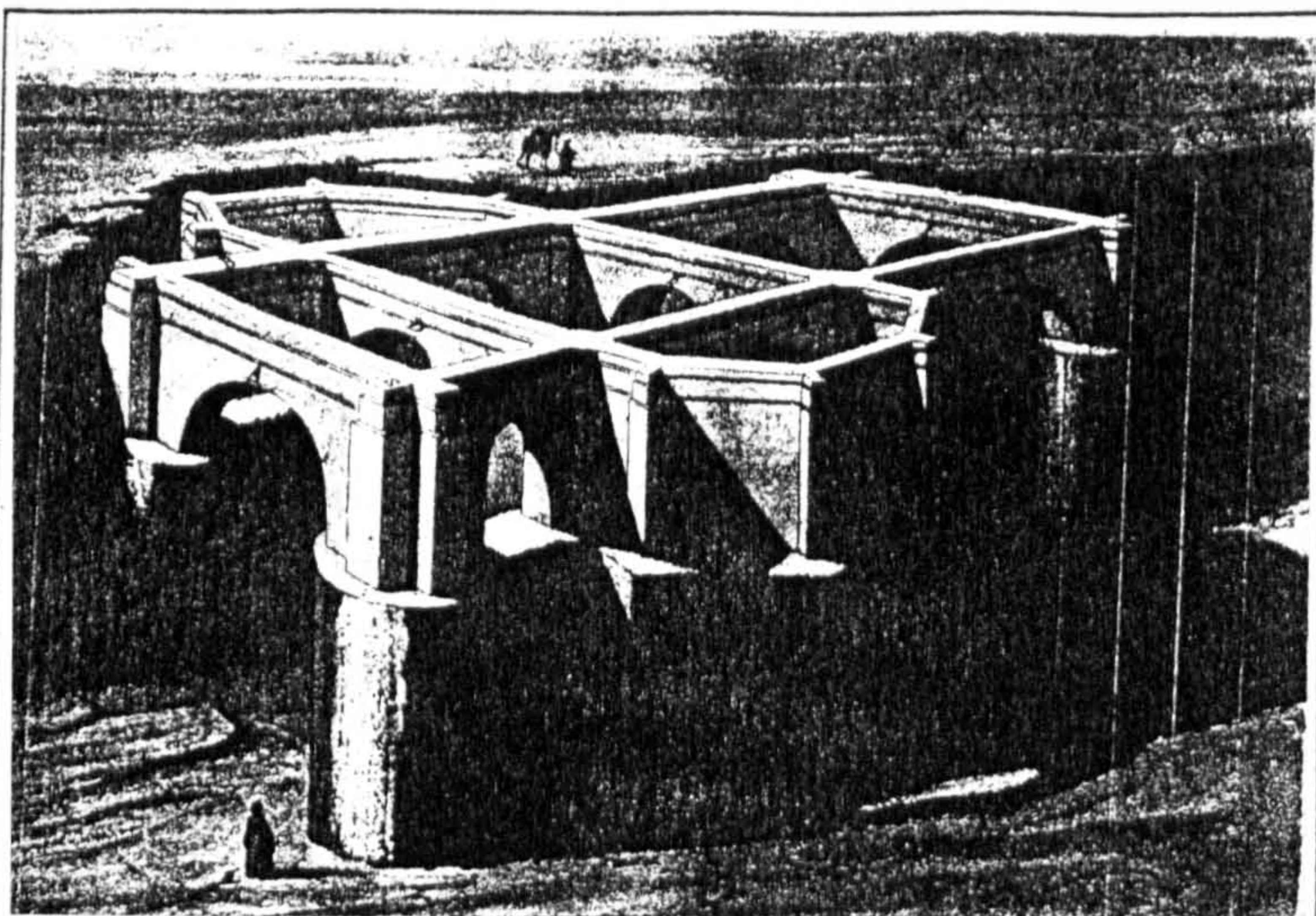
In 1838 John Nicolayson (see above, 8.3.2.) had managed to purchase a suitable plot within the Old City walls, near Jaffa Gate. But it was not until 1840 that Mohammed Ali gave permission for building, but solely for a private residence. Nicolayson, who was determined to promote the project, designed a scheme (although not an architect) in which he proposed a compound consisting of a group of small and simple buildings arranged around a rectangular courtyard. The modest church in this scheme had a row of buttresses, which was the only indication that the Gothic style was probably intended. He believed that a more dignified church would be possible in the future, but because of his pragmatic attitude he assumed that under those circumstances, it would be more sensible to start immediately with building his residence plus a temporary chapel.

However, since at this particular period there seemed to be a better chance of building the church, members of the Society became more concerned both about the structure of the building as well as its representational role. Thus a new architect was commissioned - William C. Hillier, who was a civil engineer. Hillier, unlike Scoles, had a neo- Classical approach. He came to Jerusalem armed with technical information about building with mortar and cement, and was very critical about "...the rude style of masonry adopted in the better class of Arab houses - a style which consumes very large quantities of materials..." (Hillier in Crinson, 1989; 104). He thus thought that better masons should be hired than the Arabs employed by Nicolayson, and decided to bring them from Malta. Hillier died shortly after his arrival in Jerusalem and was replaced by J. W. Johns only in 1841. After Hillier's death members of the Society were ready to compromise about the appointed architect. The experience of the Levant and the knowledge of Jerusalem of Scoles had become less important, and priority was given to a strict adherence to the Society's religious line. The committee in charge of the project on behalf of the Society had agreed that the style of the building would be plain Gothic or Norman, following "...Pugin's Gothic ornaments" (Cartwright-Jerusalem Mission, April 1841, in Crinson, 1989; 110).

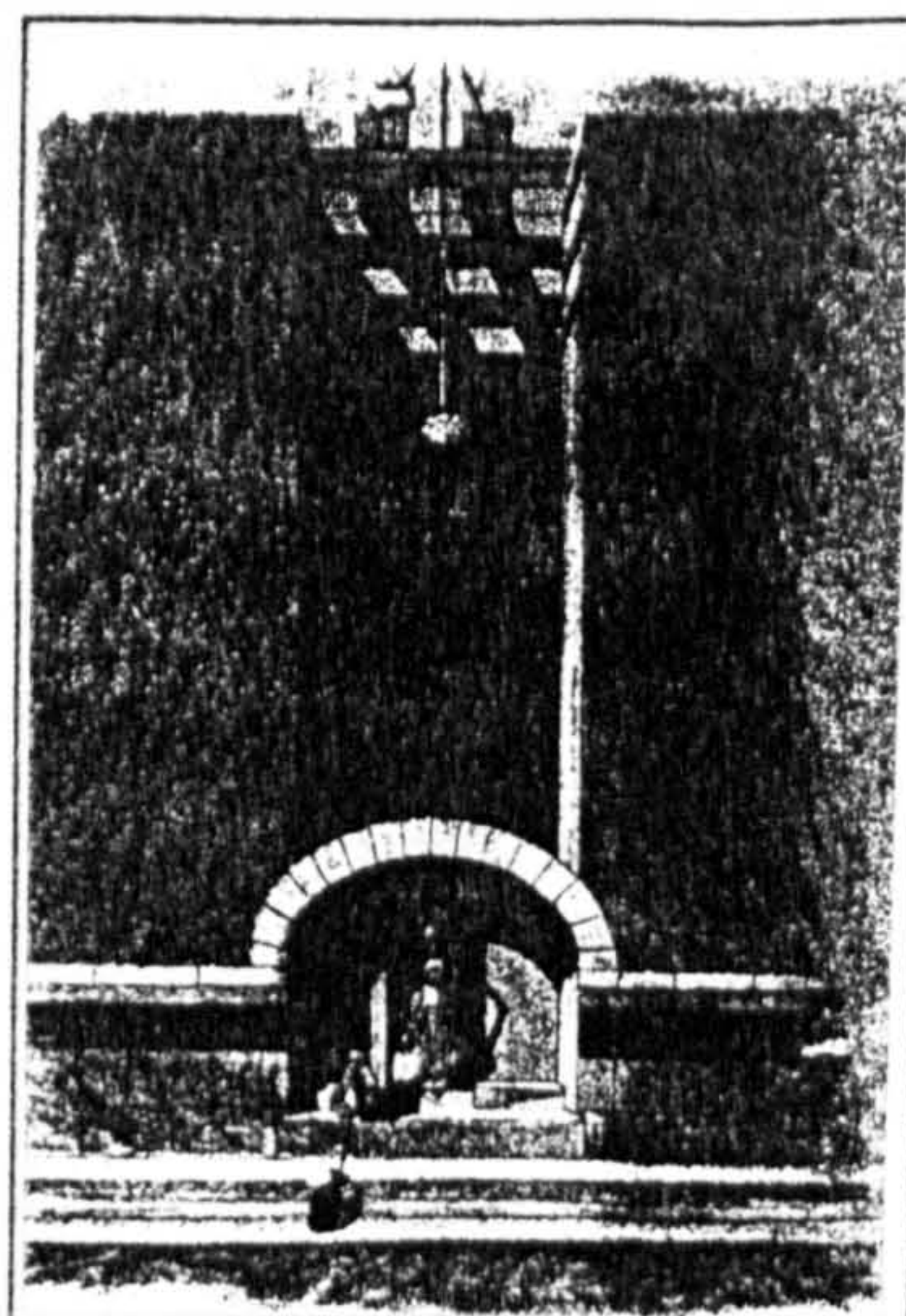


Johns, who wished to create a cathedral-like symbolism on a small scale, had the opportunity of only laying down its foundations which went down 35 feet below surface to the base rock. These massive foundations, which consisted of great shafts with connecting arches and walls, determined a layout which could only be added to, but not altered (Figs 93,94,95)





*Fig. 94 Johns' description of the Church's foundations and ground floor*



*Fig. 95 Johns' description of constructing the shafts*

Soon after Johns' report in 1842 about the progress of the project the Society once again changed its conception about it. In order to overcome the difficulties in obtaining final permission, it was assumed that by altering the scheme of the building so that the church would be part of a private residence, a building permit could be granted. It was then intended to connect the Bishop's residence and the church, so to disguise its task as a foreign worship edifice. At that time the Ottoman government had banned the building of any foreign religious institution inside the walled city or within a certain radius around it. And so Nicolayson's original scheme of integrating the church in a compound was eventually adopted. Under these circumstances, John's position became impossible. In October 1842 he was dismissed from the work. Johns' replacement was the society's own architect Matthew Habershon. Unlike Johns, he opposed Pugin's theory and was in favour of the 'Old English' style. With the exception of his most prestigious work, the Derby Town Hall (1828), his architecture was largely undistinguished. He had little time to make a new design or to start work on the building, as construction was halted once again by local Ottoman authorities on January 1843. By then the foundations had been completed according to Johns' plan, as well as the lower and upper base mouldings of the entire building.

It was then decided by Nicolayson and the British consul in Istanbul, S. Cuning, together with the Prussian ambassador, that the best strategy in obtaining permission to build was by declaring that the Church would be an integral part of a consular compound. This was to be proved right only by September 1845, after more diplomatic pressure was put on the Ottoman government, which was made possible after Britain's support of Turkey in the Second Syrian war. And yet it was not until the local Ottoman governor Ali Pasha was persuaded that construction work could proceed in January 1846. The building was finally completed by late 1848, and was inaugurated as the Protestant Bishopric of Anglican and Prussian congregations of Jerusalem, on January 21, 1849.



## PLATE 1

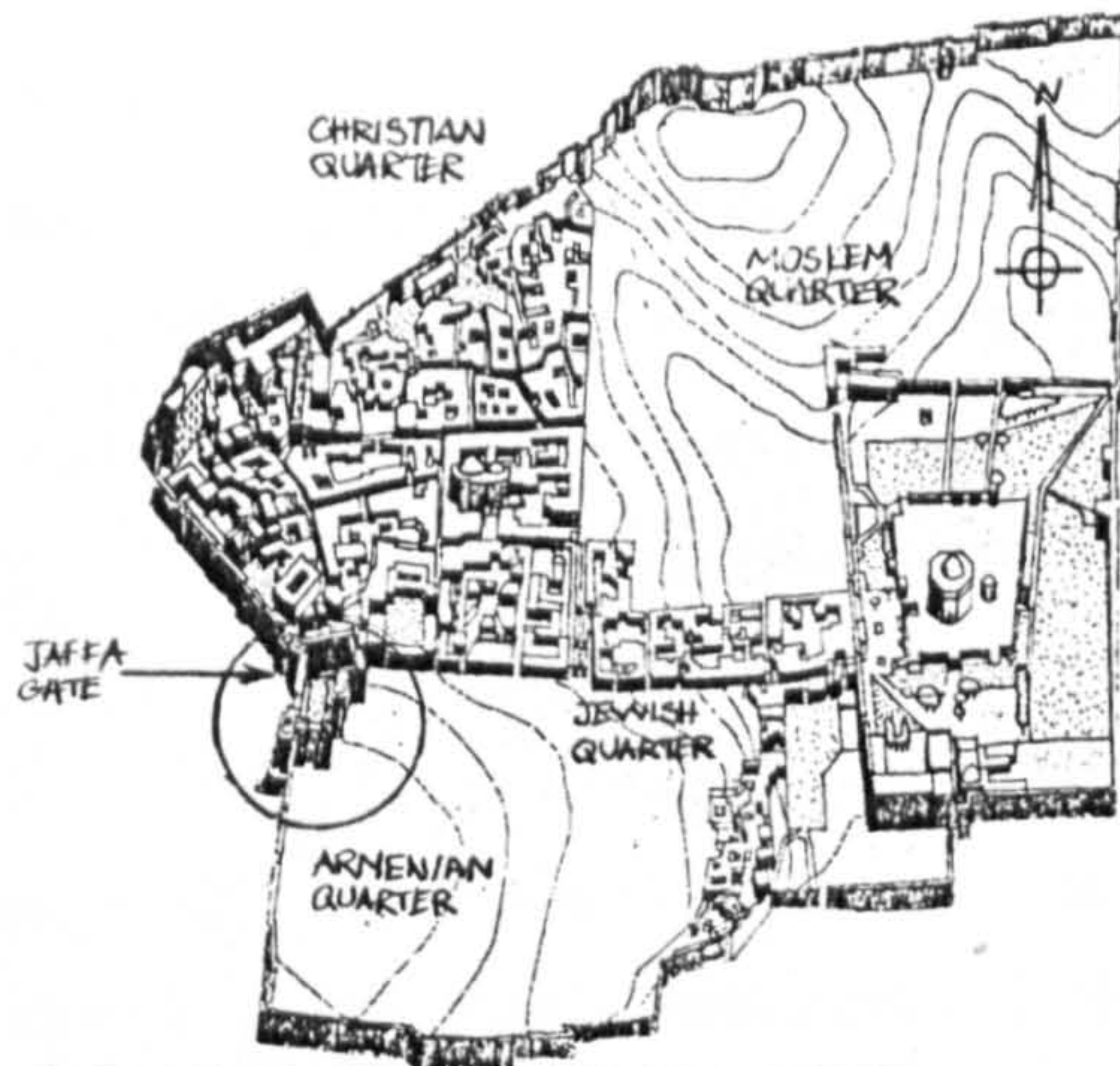
### 8.4.1.2. Location, Layout and Configuration of the Mass of the Building

Nicolayson's scheme of a rectangular compound was determined to a great extent by location and shape of the site. It was a vacant plot, off Jaffa Gate, behind the Tower of David and the Citadel, separated by a street coming from Jaffa Gate (Ills. 1,2). The plot itself, surrounded by densely built houses, provided an open space which could be easily turned into a protected courtyard of an independent character by arranging the buildings along its edges, with their front elevations facing the central space (Ill. 5).

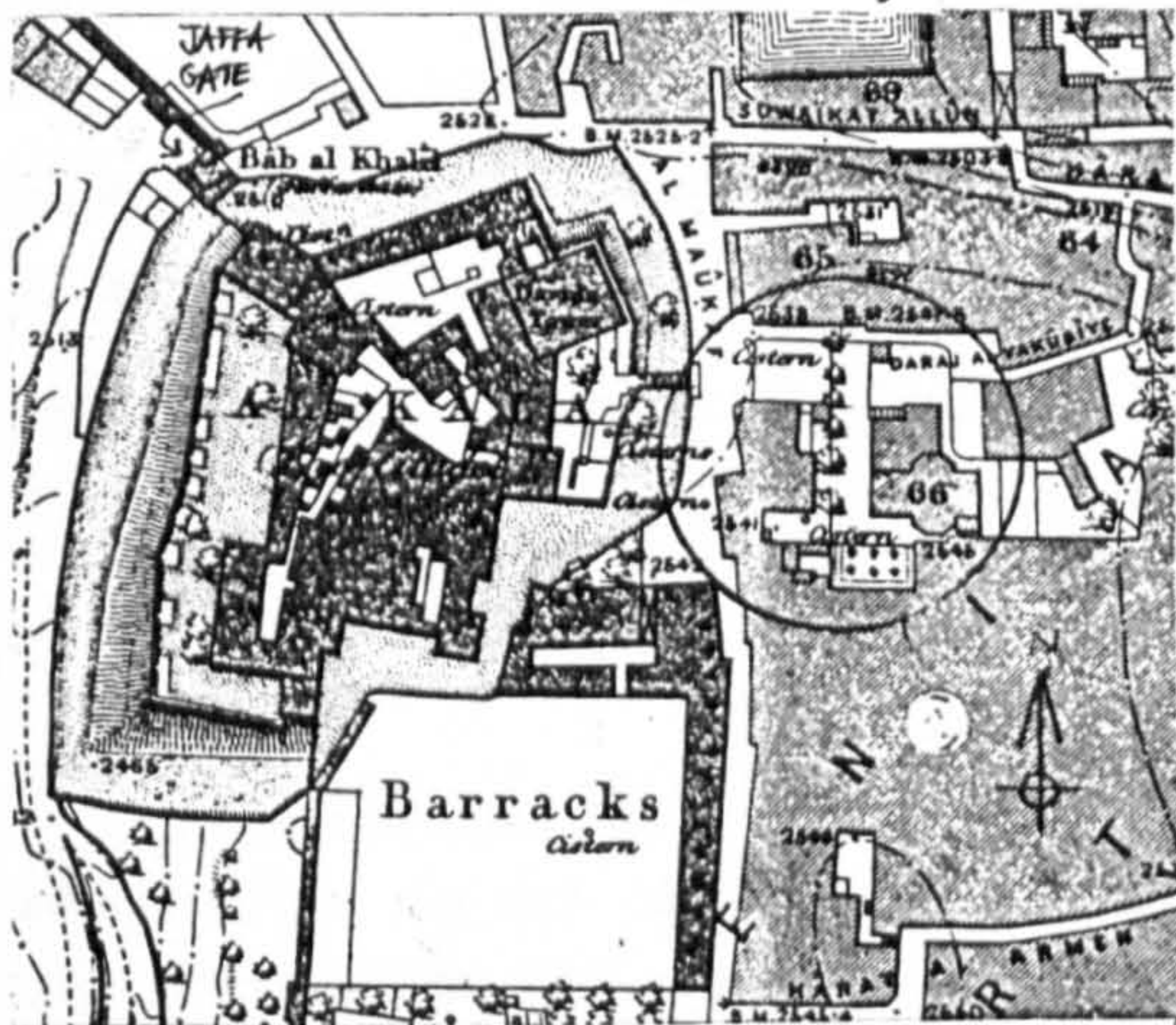
Habershon's layout and box-like configuration of the church was determined by Johns' foundations and by the decision to attach the consulate to the church (Ill. 4).

The church as it exists today is mostly Habershon's work, except for the entrance porch and the vestries which were designed by A. B. Pite and added on in 1911 (Ills. 3,6). This modest impression of the building, which contributed to its domestic image and as a non-institutional edifice, must also be regarded as a manifestation of the Low Church values of modesty and English Puritanism. It was in line with the LSPCJ strategy of creating an appealing appearance in the Jewish tradition, which automatically rejected any extravagant exterior. For similar reasons, the interior of the church was deliberately simple and somewhat schematic, avoiding any figurative references.

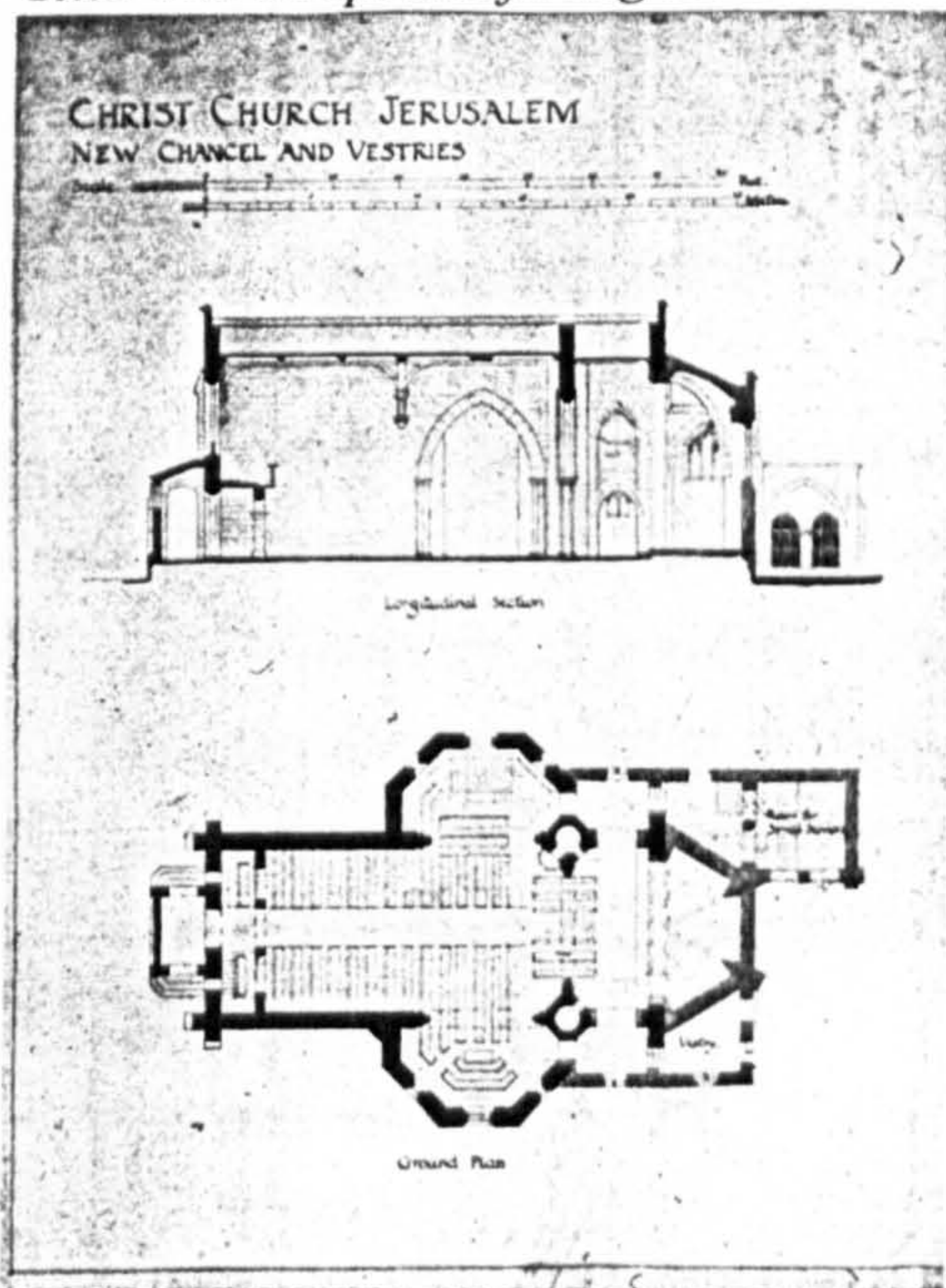




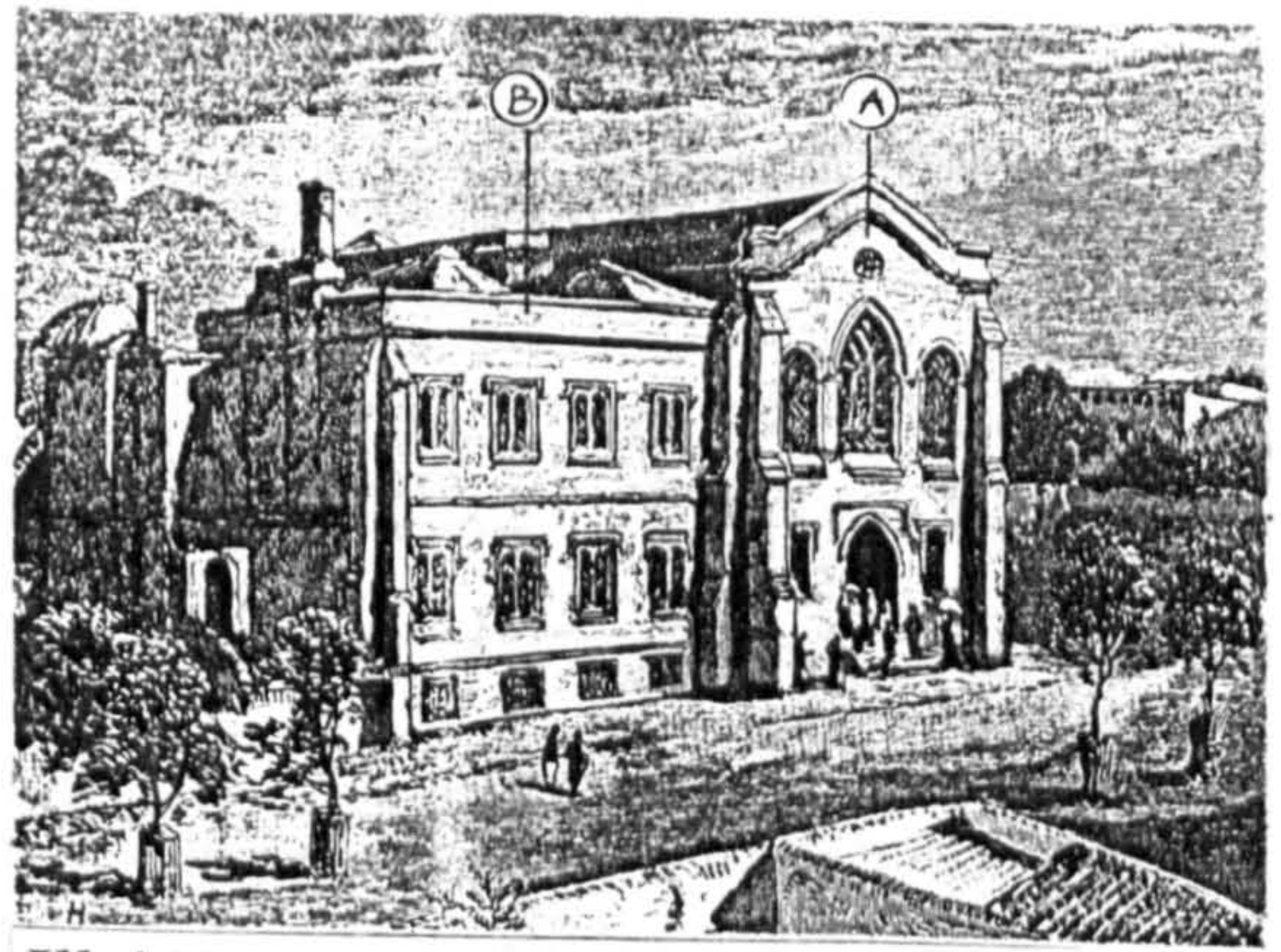
III.1 Location within the Old City.



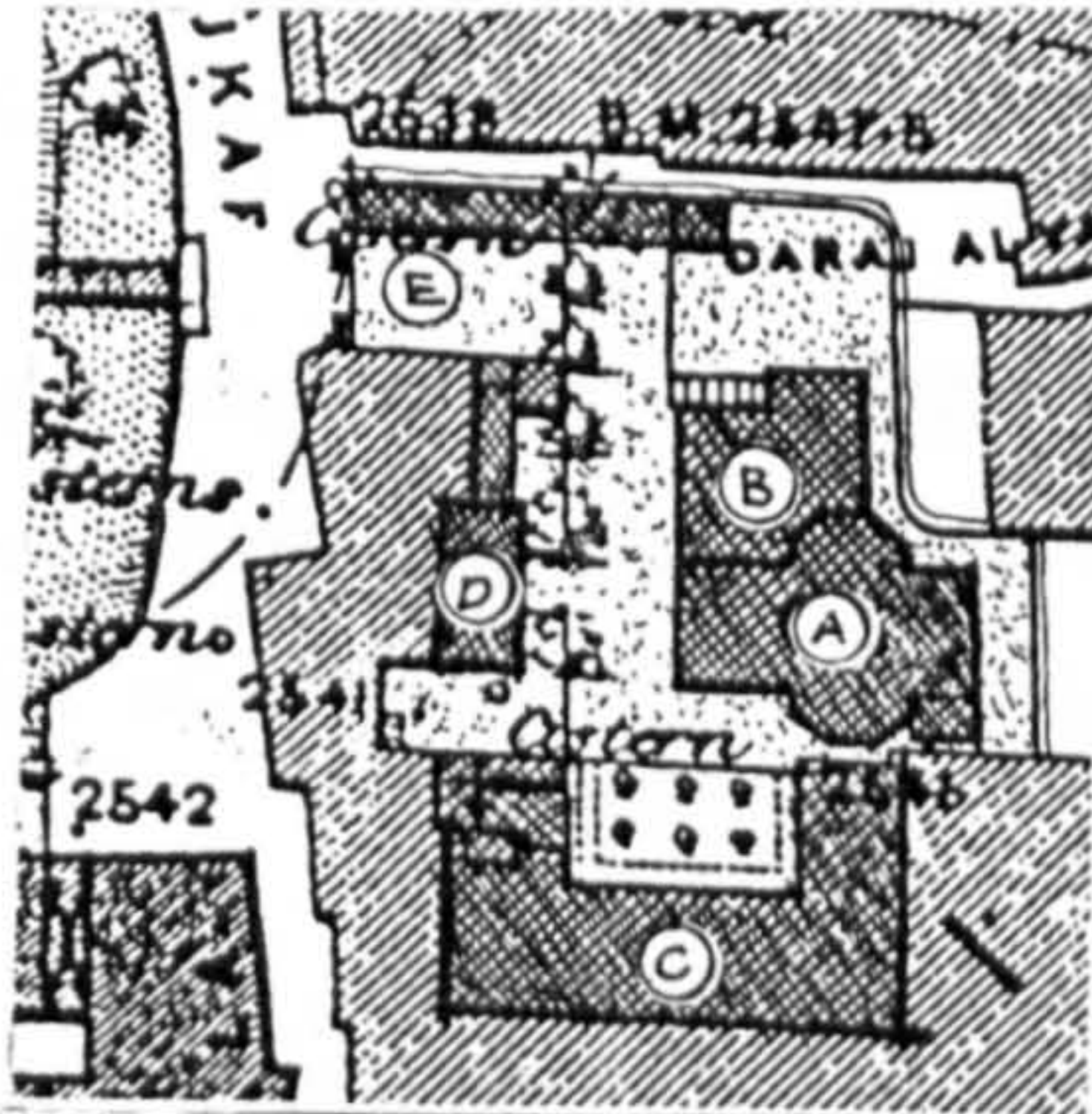
III.2 The compound facing the Citadel.



III.3 Plan and longitudinal section by Pite.



III.4 North-west view of the Church (A) and Consulate (B).



III.5 Layout of the compound: Church (A); Consulate (B); School & Chapel (C); School (D); Industry (E).



III.6 West view of entrance porch.



### 8.4.1.3. Critical Architectural Elements

Being the first Western building in pre-modern Jerusalem, the construction of Christ Church had a significant influence on the building trade in the City. The limited choice of building materials and poor workmanship, added to the high expectations of the Church's representational role, had forced Hillier and Johns to bring masons from Malta. All architects involved in the project were ready to compromise about the layout and configuration of their design to a point where its English character was in question. However, irrespective of their different attitudes, they all insisted on incorporating the most characteristic English stylistic elements, regardless of their cost and the difficulties in their production. In other words, architectural elements - parts, details and ornaments, were ascribed a special power to stand for an entire religious framework and its ideals, in this case, the Anglican mission. Furthermore, those elements were seriously considered amongst the principal means for attracting potential converts.

Most of the parts and details to be recognised in the existing building were designed by Johns, and were put together by Habershon. They were prepared by the Maltese masons in the early stages of construction, and most probably remained on site, as implied from Johns' descriptions of the work:

...Beyond this work which is fixed [the excavation of the foundations], is an immense quantity of prepared materials, consisting of the clustered columns, with their bases and capitals, and the moulded arches springing from them, together with ornamental portions of the buttresses, a large portion of coping for the gables and parapets, and other plain work, together with some portions of decoration in black bituminous stone, found in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea... The above mentioned work was prepared by Maltese masons whilst the foundations were being executed (Johns, 1844; 7-8).

The elements which will be discussed below correspond with Johns' account, and are considered here critical to the principal representational task of the building: to portray Englishness as effectively as possible. They are the following: buttresses, mouldings and traceries (for general description of these forms see Appendix I).

And yet, it will also be shown how the great effort and labor invested in their production did not always prove effective in the particular strong and glaring sun-light of Jerusalem and the nature of its local limestone.

\*



## PLATE 2

*Angle Buttresses* (Ills. 1A,3A) support the corners of the west elevations of both church and consulate, and are absent in the rear corners of the buildings. A close examination of the plan shows that in structural terms they were unnecessary, meaning that their principal role had been representational, being a prominent characteristic of old English architecture.

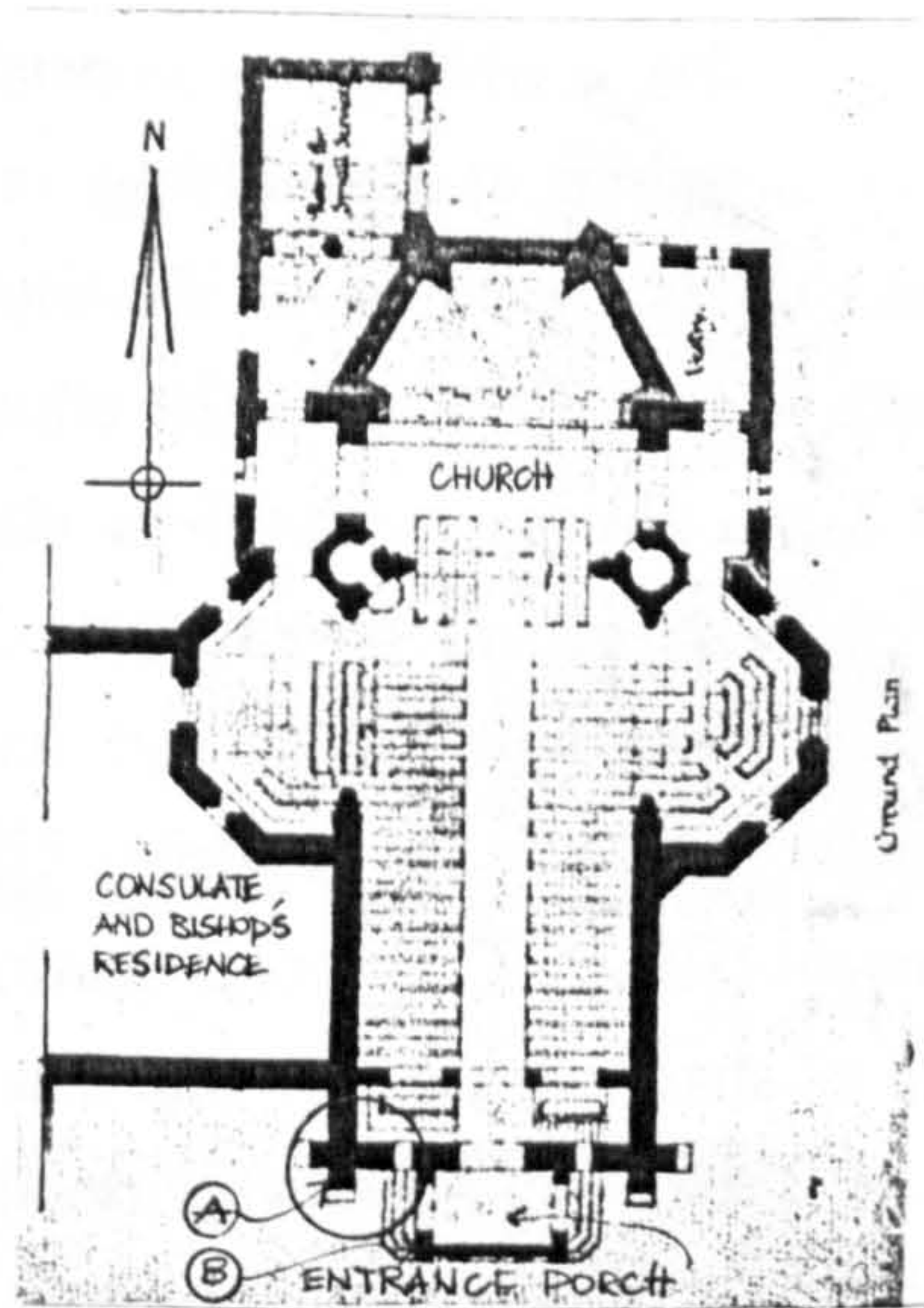
Through the elaboration of their lower coping stones they become pairs of polygonal pillars (Ill. 2A). However, this shape looks flat in the strong sun light, and its polygonal articulation is noticed only at very close range.

*Lateral Buttresses* were designed by B. Pite for the portal, which merge with the base and enframe the mass (Ills. 3B, 4).





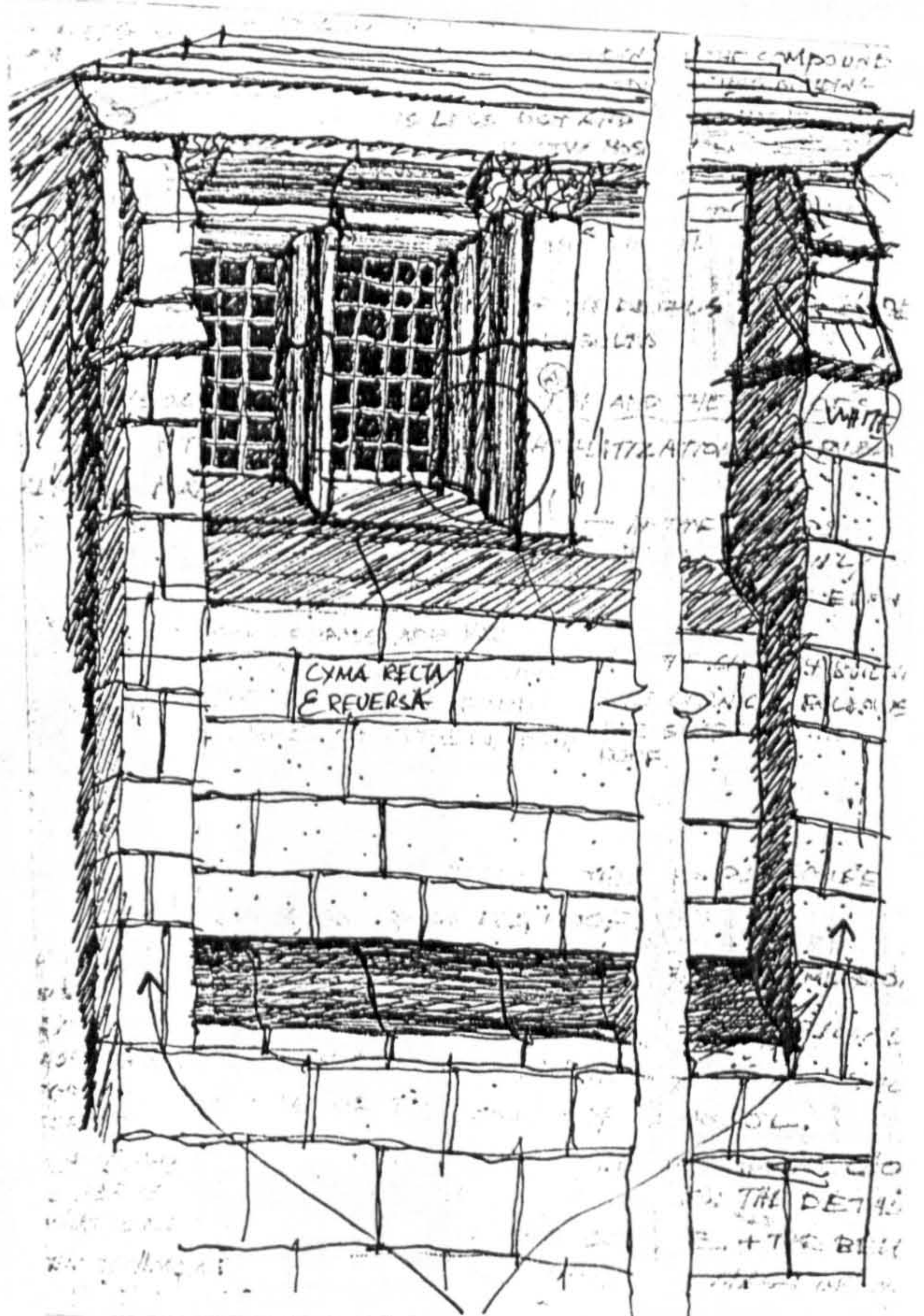
III.1 Angle Buttresses (A); Lateral Buttresses (B).



III.3 Plan: Church & Consulate.



III.2 Bottom part - Angle Buttress (A).



III.4 Entrance porch: buttresses and details.



## PLATE 3

*Mouldings*, which were considered 'a must' for portraying Englishness in buildings, frame all the openings in the building, in spite of the difficulty of their production and their limited visual effect in the local illumination conditions. The cross section of all the moulding-stones in the openings of the church and consulate, stems from the elementary *Syma Recta* and *Syma Reversa*, with minor elaboration. Their convex cross section is hardly noticed in strong light, except for a slightly darker line of erosion, or at a close inspection.

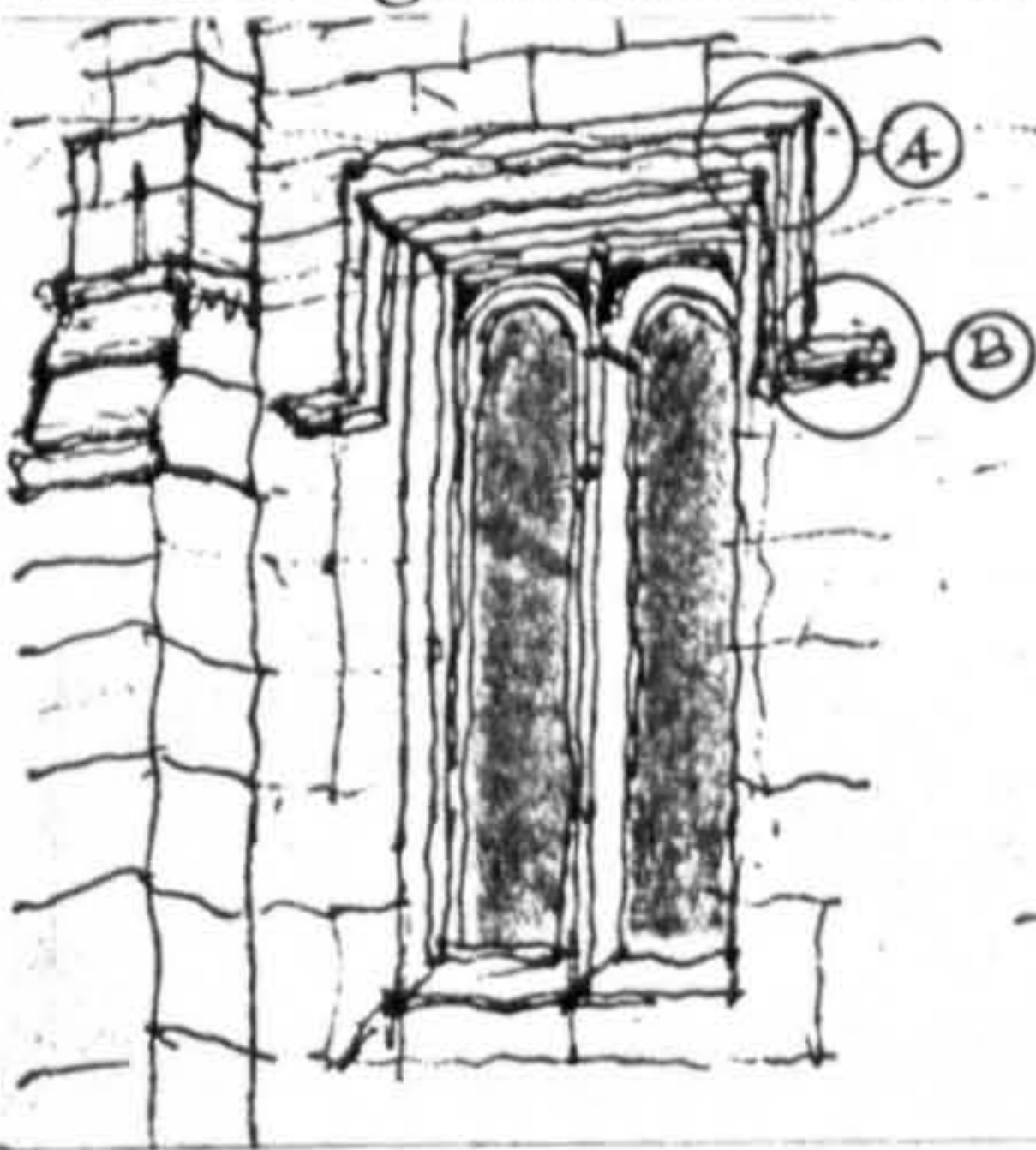
The mouldings follow various English traditional patterns. *Lable Drip* or *Hood Mould* frame the Consulate windows (Ills. 2,3). *Lancet* windows were installed in the Church's transept (Ill. 7). Their cross section follows the *Cavetto* manner and is more visible in strong light as shadows are dark and sharp.

*Traceries* and *Foils* were regarded an ultimate representation of Englishness in buildings, and are to be found at important spots throughout the building - western windows of the church's nave, and *Oculus* of the western gable (Ill. 1); windows adjacent to the entrance porch (Ill. 5); and *Lancet* windows of the south transept (Ills. 6,7). Those are better appreciated from inside the building, whereas on the outside, in the strong light, they appear as mere texture.

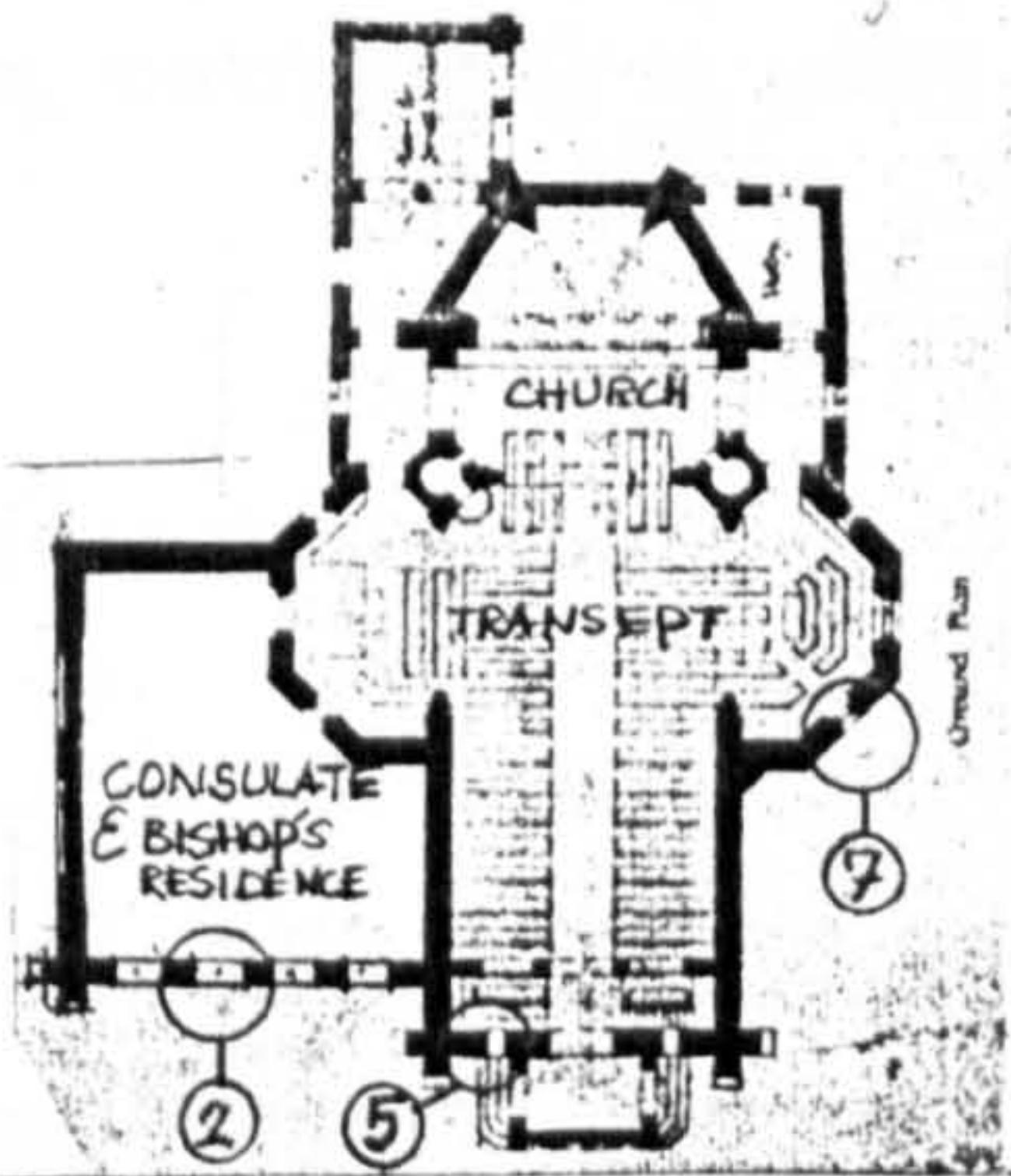




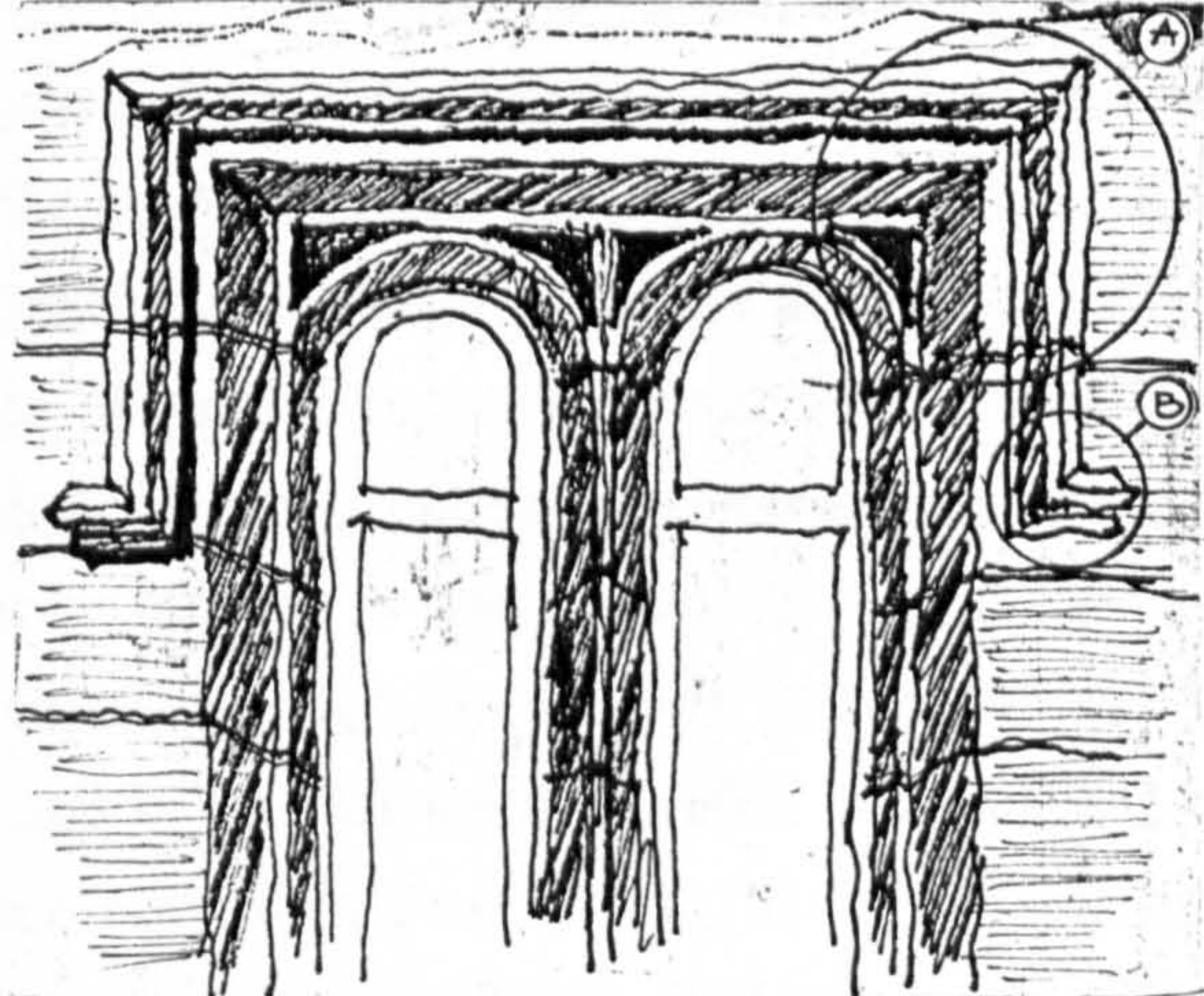
**III.1** Church and Consulate west view: locations of mouldings and traceries.



**III.2** Drip or Hood-Mould Tudor-like articulation.



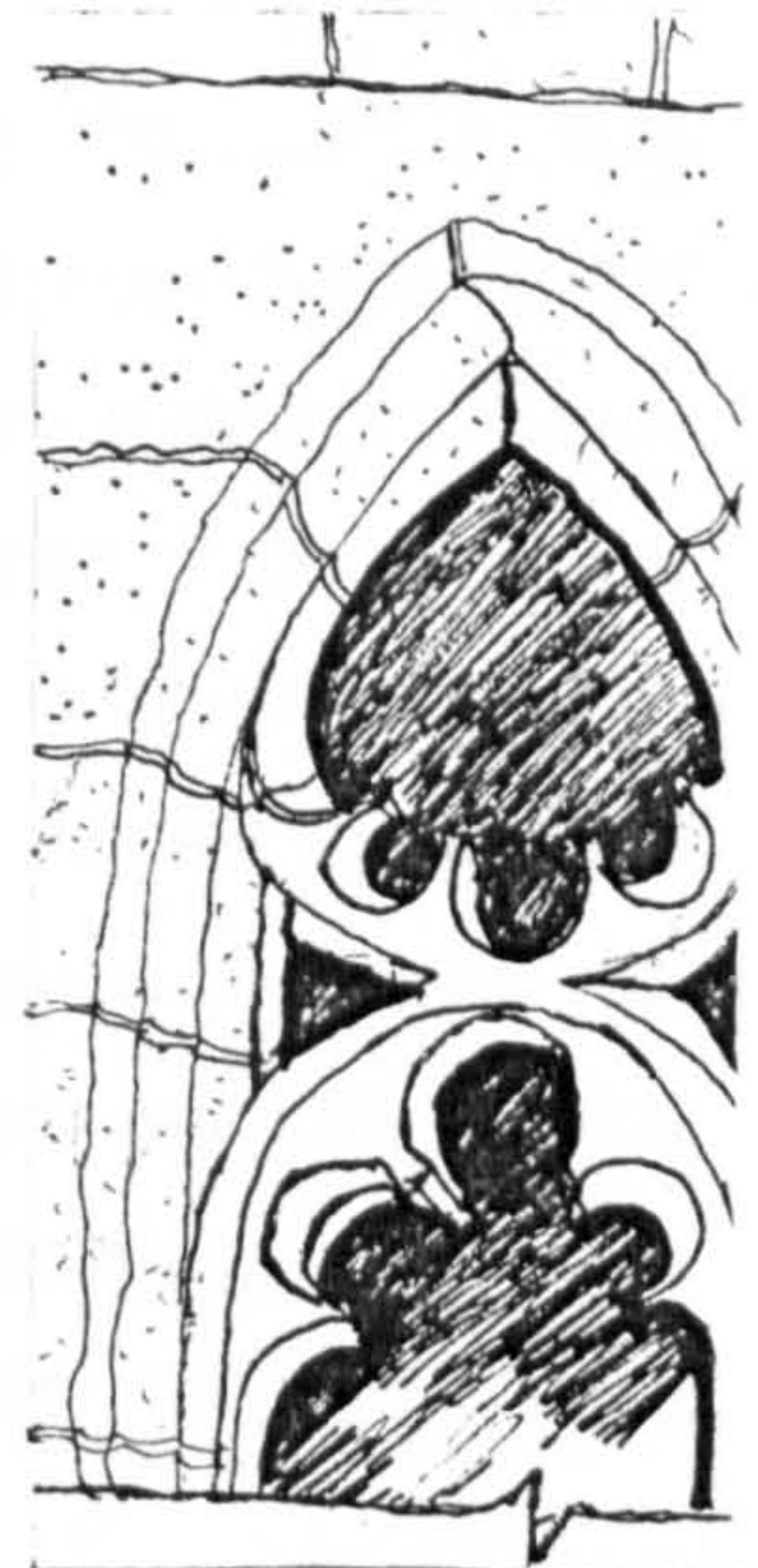
**III.4** Plan: Church & Consulate.



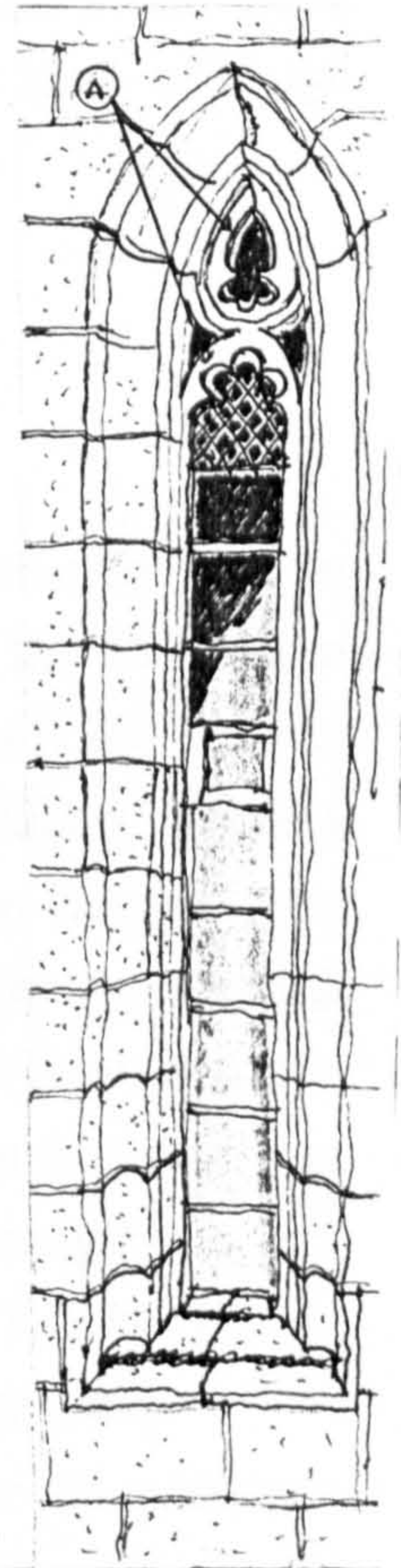
**III.3** Concave section of moulding casts dark shadows (A); unornamented Label Stop (B).



**III.5** Tracery of window.



**III.6** Trefoil Tracery of Lancet window.



**III.7** Lancet window at Church Transept.



## 8.4.2. *THE ENGLISH MISSION HOSPITAL*

### 8.4.2.1. Historical Circumstances

The English Mission Hospital, among the first institutions founded by the LSPCJ, was entirely the initiative of one man: John Nicolayson. Improving the poor conditions of the Jews living in the Old City was considered an urgent task by the Society's members. Since the Ottoman government had never been concerned about health services, it became the first priority of all European missionary groups. A Jewish convert and a physician, Dr. MacGowen, was sent to help. In 1844 he rented a building close to the Jewish Quarter in the Old City, and turned it into a hospital. By 1880, following the expansion of the Jewish community outside the Walls, it was decided by the Society to set up a new hospital. A plot of land north of the Russian compound, within an area already populated by Jewish neighbourhoods, which was then owned by the society was chosen for the project. A special fund was established, and by 1893 a building permit was granted.

Arthur Beresford Pite was nominated as chief architect, and T. Sandel, a German Templar, resident in Jerusalem, was appointed as architect on site. The foundation stone was laid in April 1895, and the opening ceremony took place two years later, although construction work continued until 1901.

### 8.4.2.2. The Architect

*The English Mission Hospital* is the first clear case of Indirect Representation put to work in a foreign building in Jerusalem, except for the Bell Tower of the Dominican monastery of St. Etienne, (see above 8.2.4.). Unlike Christ Church (see above, 8.4.1.), and St. George's Cathedral (see below 8.4.3.), which were strictly religious buildings, where a straightforward missionary message was exercised, the image of the Mission Hospital was very much the interpretation of the architect. Thus, in order to discuss the representational attributes of the building which were deliberately involved for the first time in Jerusalem, the integration of local-traditional elements, attention should be drawn to the architect, his professional approach and career. It should also be noted that he was amongst the few British architects who operated in Jerusalem, and were highly regarded in Britain. (C. R. Ashbee and P. Geddes were the other two, and will be discussed in the next chapter).

Arthur Beresford Pite (1861-1934) had influenced an entire generation of architects which included people like A. Richardson, Goodhart-Rendel and C. Holden. His career, which lasted for over 40 years, comprised of teaching and practising architecture at a critical period of time: from the twilight of the Gothic revival until the dawn of Modernism (which Pite believed was a false dawn). In the late 1890s he began his career in architectural education which was to be his main concern for much the rest of his life, similar to that of



his friend and colleague W. R. Lethaby (see above 7.4.2.). After 1900 his architecture became the practical extension of his educational teachings.

A significant attribute of Pite's architectural approach, which is relevant to the layout and configuration of the Mission Hospital, was his longing for something larger than a single building. It was an inner longing for some God-made city, a product of his devout Protestantism. Jerusalem had been one of the places where he sought to discover traces of heaven-on-earth. As a RIBA member he regarded his central role to advance "...an art which creates a city out of the aggregate works of its members" (Pite, 1905, in Brian, 1991; 34). In relatively few works he concentrated upon a variety of prototypical buildings amongst which were colonial cathedrals in Uganda (Plate 6, Ill. 4), in Calcutta (Plate 5, Ill. 3), and the Mission Hospital in Jerusalem.

It was an age of growing frustration with conventional masonry on the one hand, and preference for steel-framed, and later ferro-concrete construction, on the other. Beaux Arts trained architects, frustrated by the marginalisation of the Classical detail which they were trained to invent, abandoned detail altogether. Nonetheless, Pite had begun to follow a different track. In the 1890s he visited Jerusalem and seemed to have learnt from the Byzantine buildings of the region something of the power of understatement and the magic of the mass. The more practical effect of Jerusalem on him was to lead him to study the possibilities of stonework and brickwork - arched, layered and patterned, which he began to develop in the design of Brixton Road Christ Church in London, and to a rather limited extent, in the Mission Hospital at Jerusalem.

Another development which stemmed both from his Jerusalem experience and from the atmosphere created by the theories of the English Crafts movement was his reassessment of the contribution of the building crafts. He wished to employ building crafts as if from a primitive point of view. In an attempt to arrive at essential simplicity and to give order to the whole, he decided to reject the latest available building technology by refusing to employ a steel frame which was then rapidly being adopted, and which had both speeded up and reduced the cost of construction. He hoped that by going back to the first principles of masonry construction, he could prevent architecture from degeneration. One of the ways by which he tried to overcome this great difficulty was by giving up costly applied decoration and compensating the need for visual interest by giving a clear expression to the actual stones of the building. Though he had recognised the profound implications of ferro-concrete, there was nothing he feared more than an architecture without any idealism, which comprises mere construction. For him architecture was "...the vision that idealises building" (Pite, 1934; in Brian, 1991; 40).



## PLATE 4

### 8.4.2.3. Location, Layout and Configuration of Mass

The site is a large rectangular plot, facing south, close to an important crossroads where the Prophets Road meets Jaffa Road, within an area largely populated by Jews in scattered neighbourhoods (Ills. 1,2). The layout of Pite's preliminary scheme (Ill. 3), reveals his intention of creating a fragmented building, a micro-city, corresponding to the layout of the adjoining Jewish neighbourhood, Zichron Moshe, on the north. The central path of this scheme is parallel to the Prophets Road, intersected by secondary paths leading to the different wards of the hospital which were housed in separate pavilions.

The scheme which was eventually built was a compromise between the fragmented scheme on the one hand, and the necessity to create a more protected and centralistic compound on the other (Ill. 4). It consisted of a central passage, a crescent along which the principal buildings and wards/pavilions were located in a symmetrical order: the main building on the central axis facing the yard was the hospital's administration building; the two buildings on either ends of the crescent was the Physician's Residence on the west, and the Pharmacy and Clinic on the east; the four pavilions in between were the hospital wards. All buildings were named after important people who were associated with the founding of the hospital.

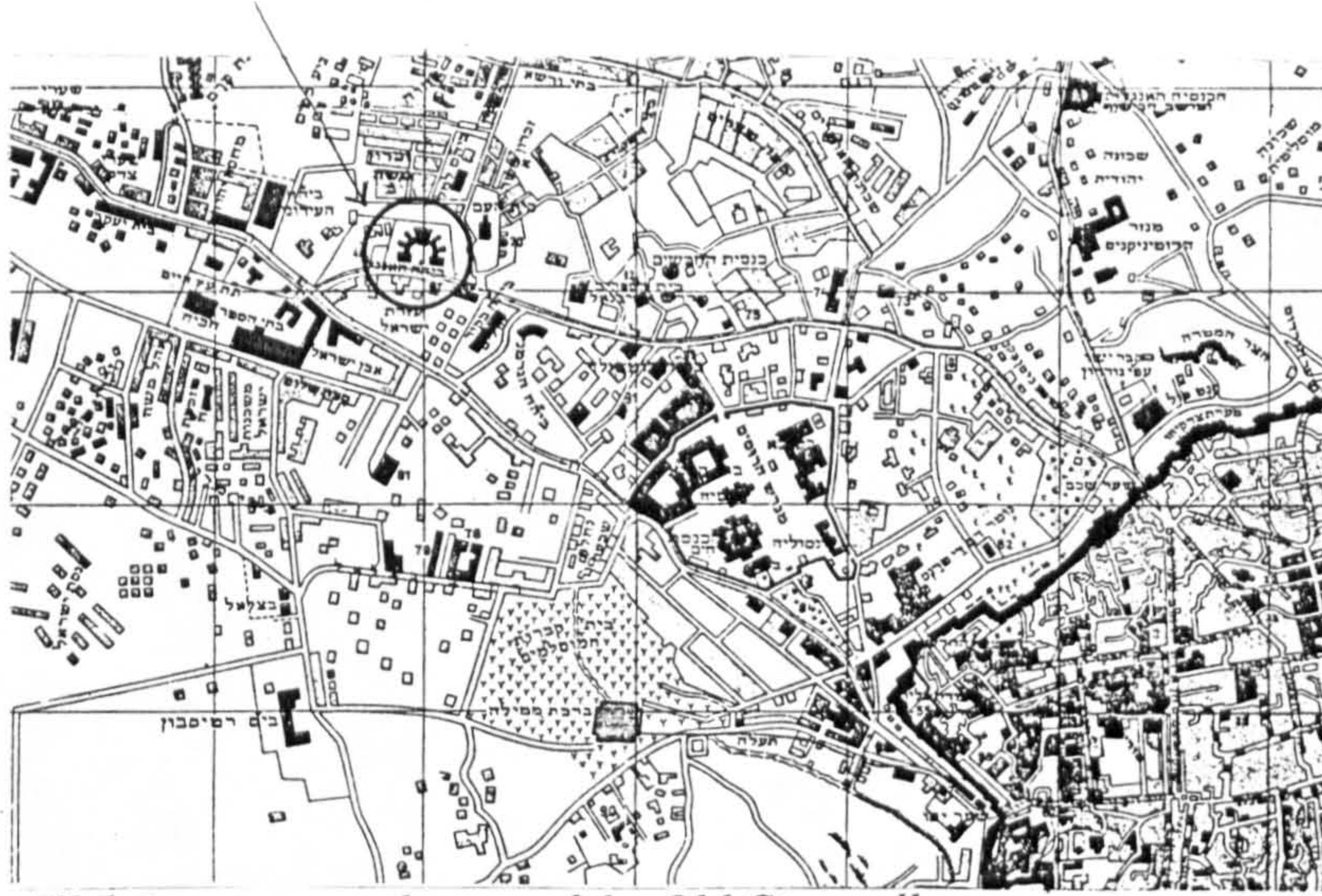
Both schemes express the prevailing trend amongst colonial architects at that time, who were designing in the remote places of the Empire, known as the 'Tropics' (see above 3.4.2.). It implied the use of fragmented schemes which enabled cross-ventilation, to suit the hot climate in those countries. However, the climate of Jerusalem can hardly be considered tropical. The cold nights and rainy winters, and the glaring sun of the hot dry summers, would have been better served in a more compact and massive configuration which could have provided better insulation and more efficient circulation, particularly for a hospital.

It follows then, that other factors were probably involved in designing this scheme. It is suggested here that these were closely linked with the issue of Representation. Whereas in Christ Church, where, except for some vague and minor Hebraic connotations, Direct Representation was exerted, here in the Mission Hospital Indirect Representation was exerted. That is, a form of architectural manifestation by which non-European architecture is presented through European eyes, and used as a means of gaining hegemony. In other words, rather than taking the risk in which straightforward Englishness might be rejected, a subtle means of gaining hegemony was employed: the subordinate is offered a familiar and inviting ambiance in which he was expected to 'feel at home'.

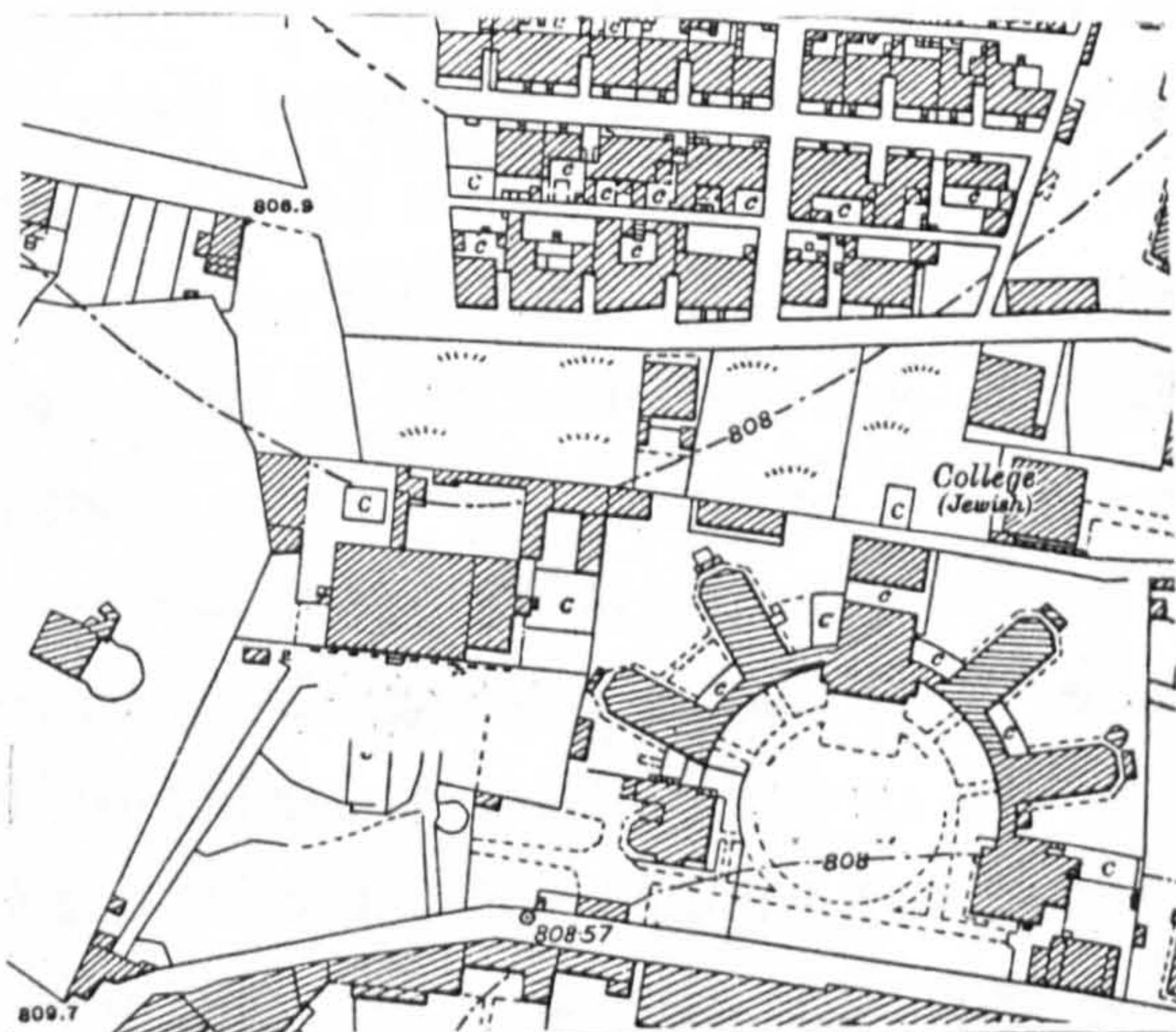
In the Mission Hospital a twofold message was exercised; on the one hand, a 'Colonial' layout was introduced as the most suitable organisation for the place; on the other, the configuration of masses and their architectural details were intended as an expression of locality. Pite had employed the crescent scheme in a manner that enabled the more important buildings, which manifest health service to be the most visible, and thus to better convey the task of the institution to the public. Those buildings were also the place where Indirect Representation was clearly expressed. The 'local' character of their outline and the choice of architectural elements incorporated in them, were all meant to create a familiar and friendly atmosphere. The wards, on the other hand, which followed the 'Colonial' scheme, were located behind the arcaded-passage, and their articulation does not convey any specific message (Ill. 4).



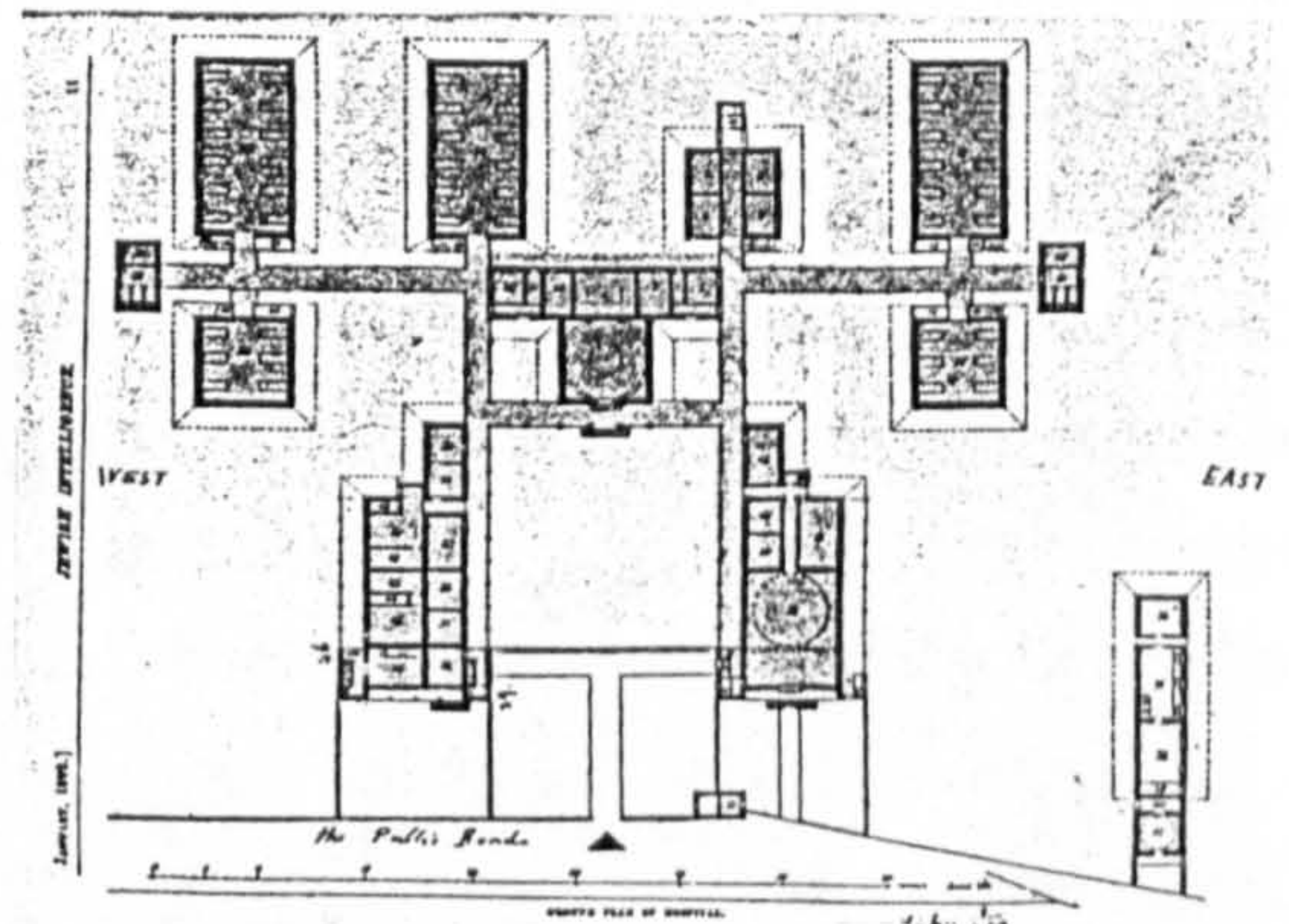
PLATE 4



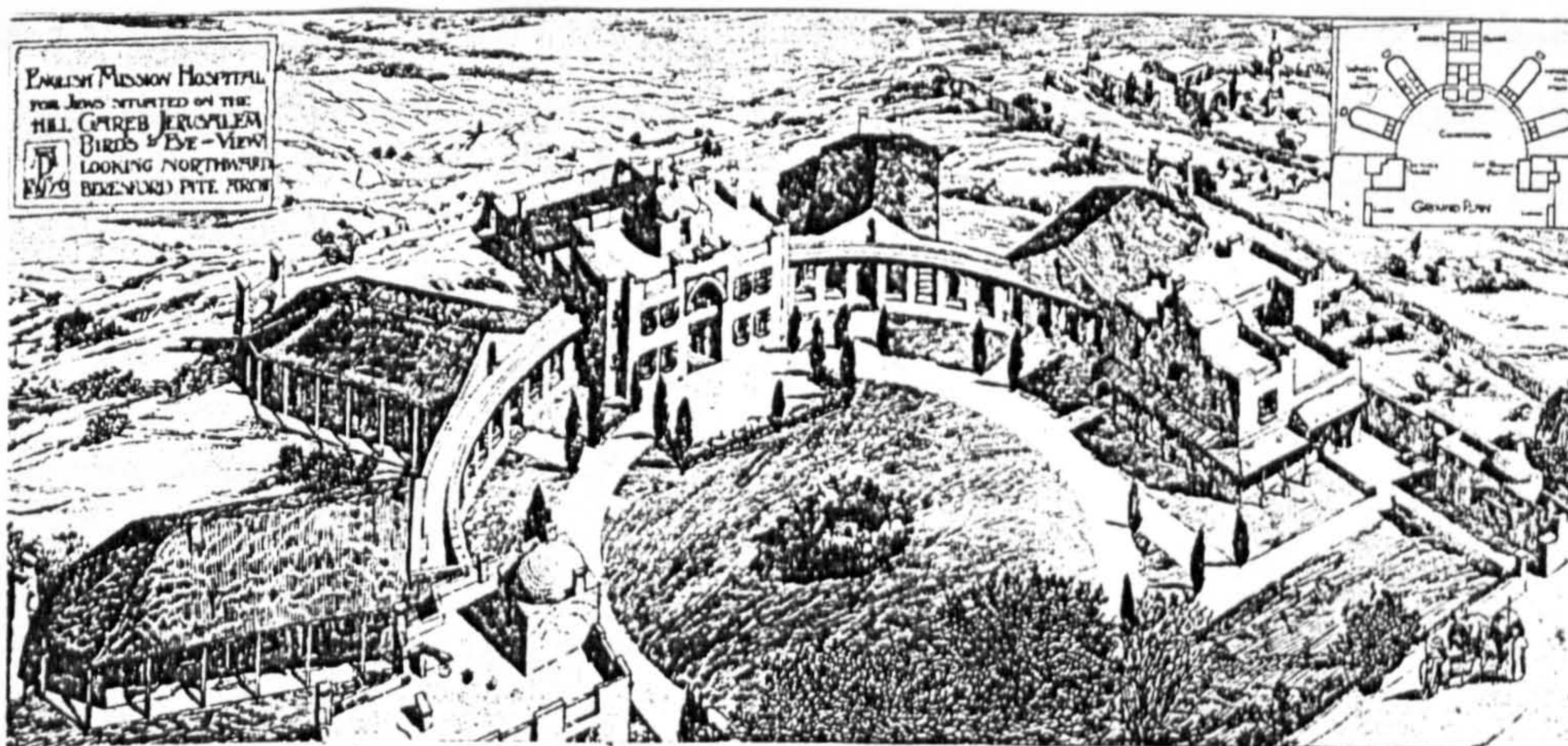
III.1 Location north-west of the Old City walls.



III.2 Location within the Jewish neighbourhood.



III.3 Pite's preliminary design.



III.4 A bird's eye view of the final scheme, drawn by Pite.



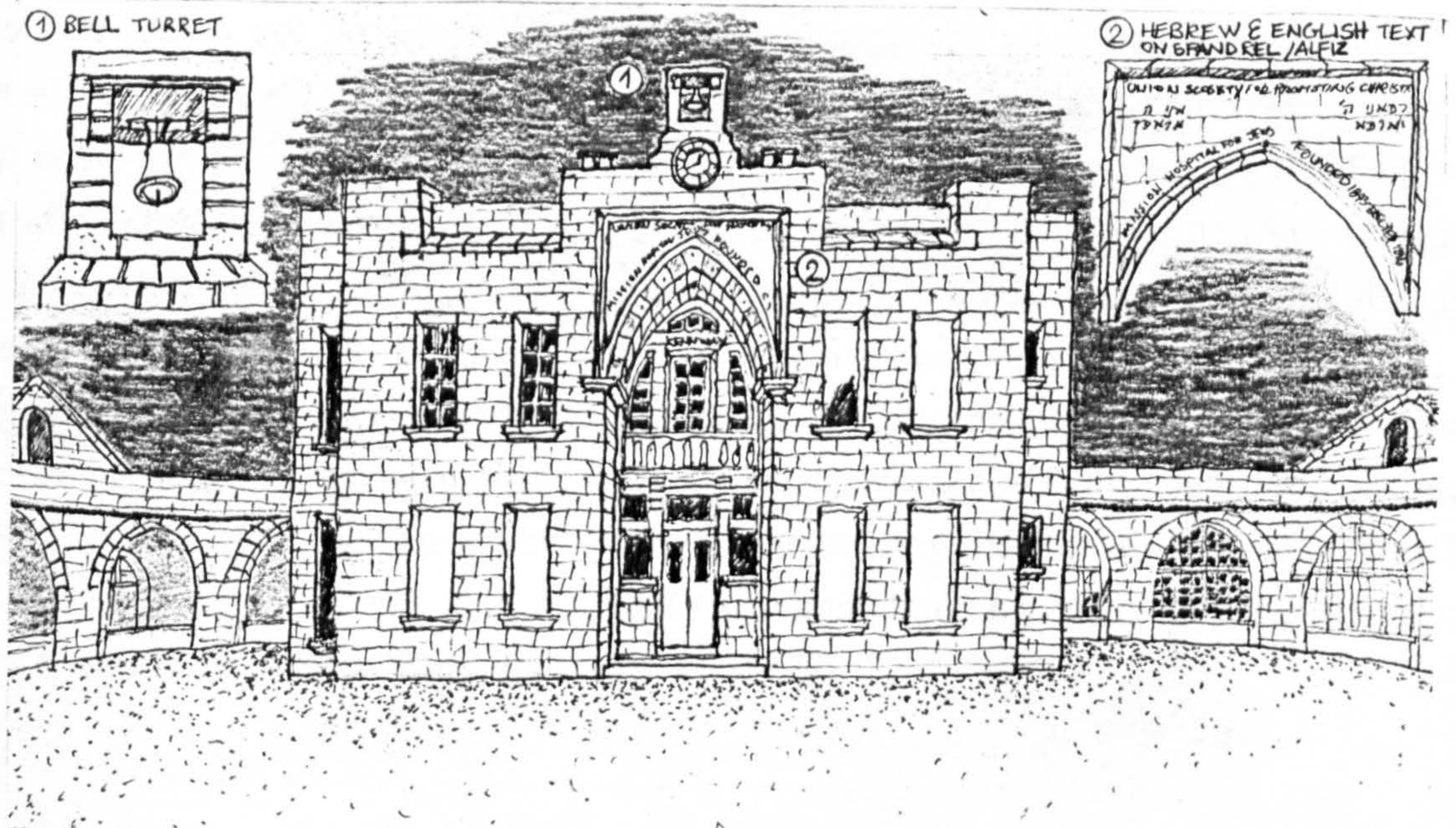
Ironically, Islamic elements were intended here to attract the Jews. Nonetheless, it is still a clear case of Indirect Representation, because for Pite, the Jews were part of the City's native population, and since they did not have any particular architecture of their own, it was probably assumed that they could feel at ease within an 'Islamic' ambiance. In any case, the elements which were assumed critical for representing local traditional architecture are the portal of the Administration Building, and the cubes and domes of the Pharmacy and the Physician Residence.

### PLATE 5

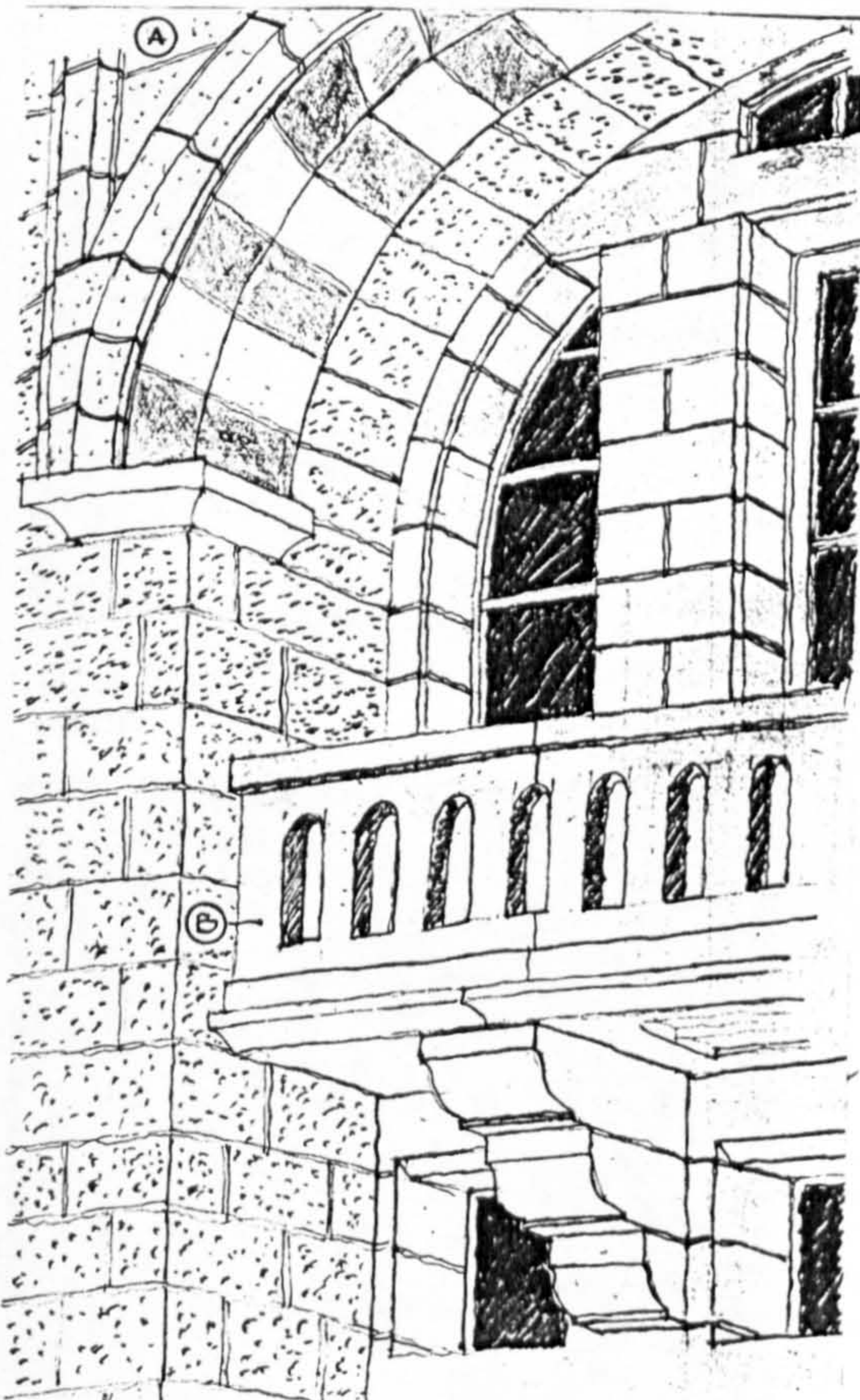
It is not surprising that Pite had considered the Islamic Bab as the suitable form for the main entrance to the Administration Building (Ill. 1). As was previously described, most British architects were fascinated by that particular form and documented many of its variations (see above, 7.3.1., 7.3.3.). And yet, unlike his design for the English Church in Calcutta (Ill. 3), in his Jerusalem design Pite had introduced a reduced interpretation of one of the richest Islamic forms. The so-called Islamic elements which he had chosen to use here are those which can be recognised at first glance - a pointed arch, masonry of alternate red and white limestone (*Ablaq*), enclosed by an *Alfiz* (Spandrel in Western architecture).

The mere fact that the actual door is recessed does not guarantee its Islamic character. Unlike Islamic porches and gateways, here the articulation is rather contradictory (Ill.2). First, its subdivision by the small balcony contradicts the conception of it being a single volume. Next is the fragmentation of the recessed plane, to a point where its massivity disappears and becomes a structural expression. The traditional expression of the Bab as a single opening, articulated in a mass, indicating movement through a defined space as a transition in time and place, is entirely lost. In addition there is the text engraved in Hebrew and English on the surface of the *Alfiz* (Ill. 1A).

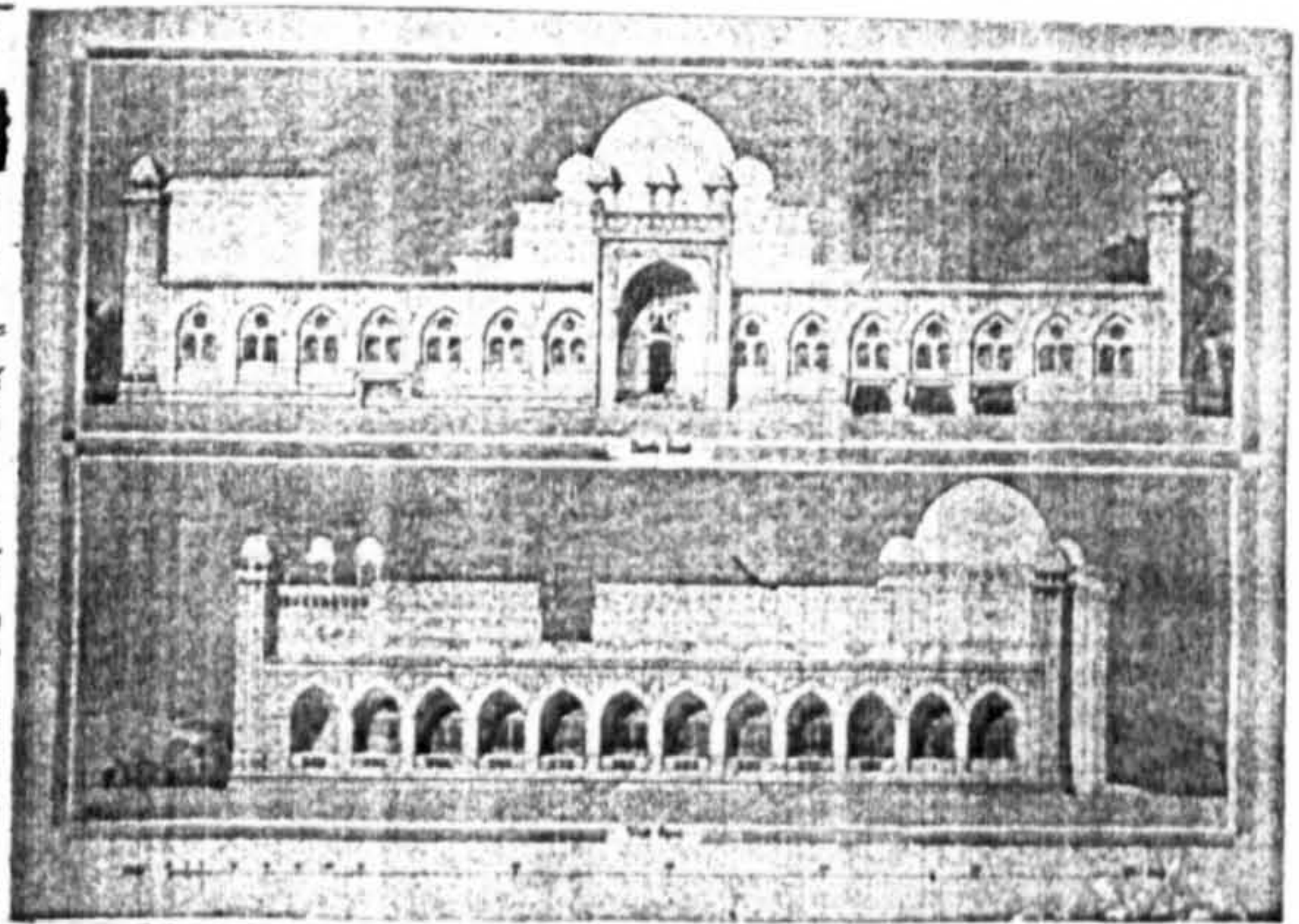




III.1 Main administration building facing the yard and the road.



III.2 Detail of portal: main administration building.



III.3 Pite's design for a church in Calcutta.

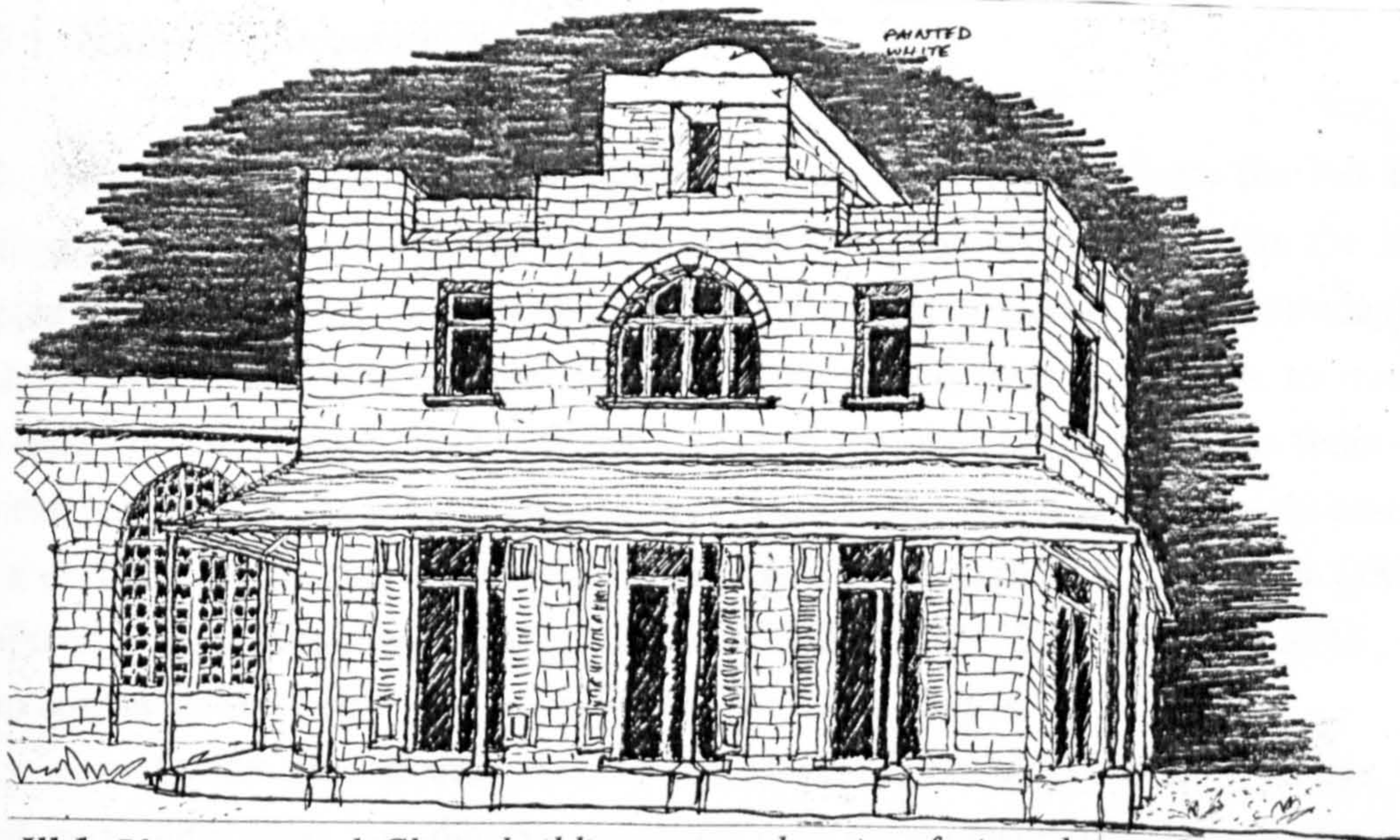


## PLATE 6

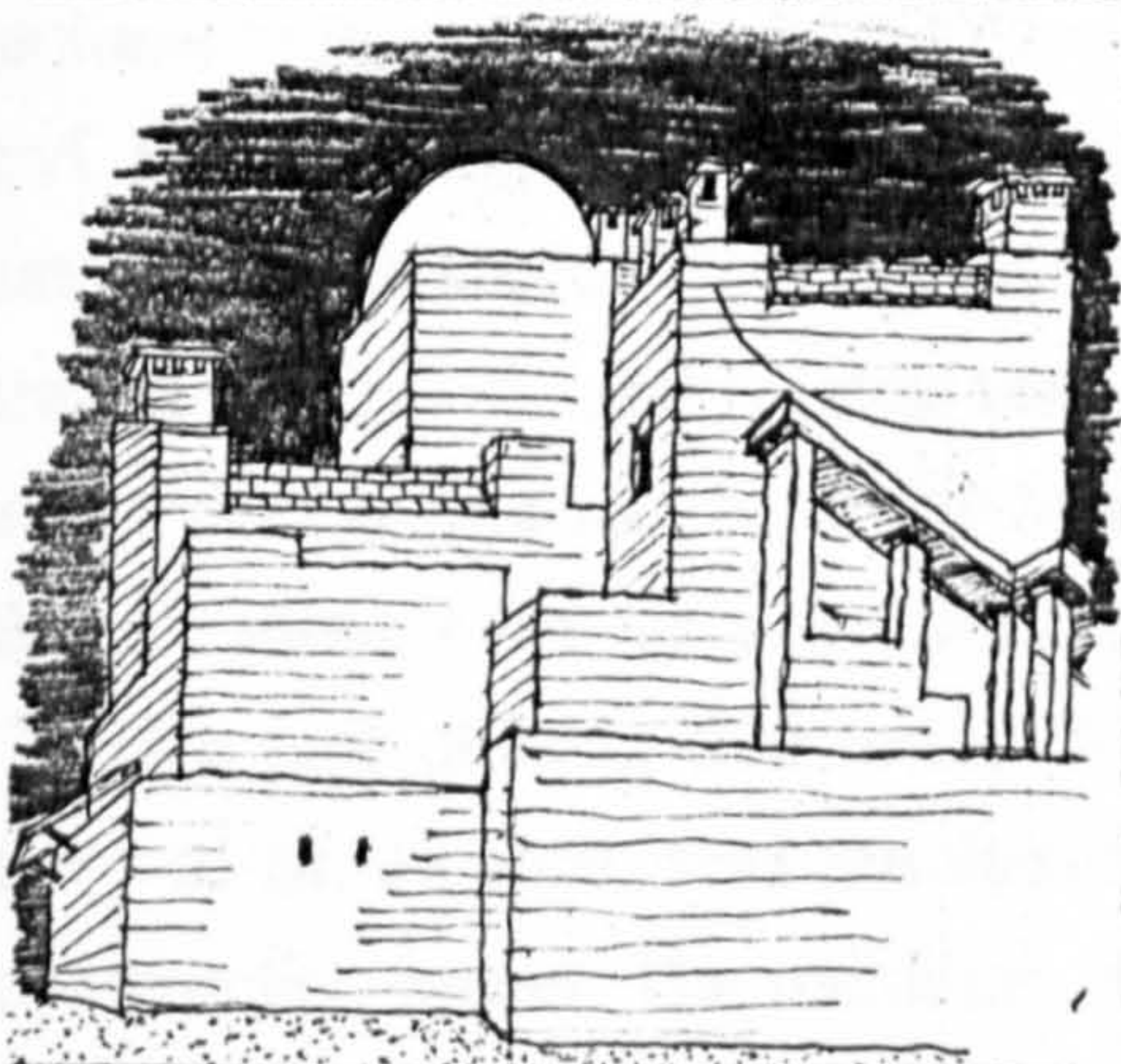
Other representational elements were the cubes and domes on top of the Physician's Residence and the Clinic- Pharmacy (Ill. 1,2). This type of fragmentation, by which the mass of the building was broken into smaller portions of cubes covered with domes, was to be considered by architects of the Mandate period as a most effective configuration to be used in their buildings in Jerusalem.

A simple detail was employed here to enhance the effect of fragmentation. The top segment of the mass, which also functions as a balustrade, was recessed, omitting the corners of the cube (Ill. 3). This design indicated a conception which was basically external. The cube and the dome were grasped as objects, to be manipulated according to a purely aesthetic norm, so as to serve a representational role.

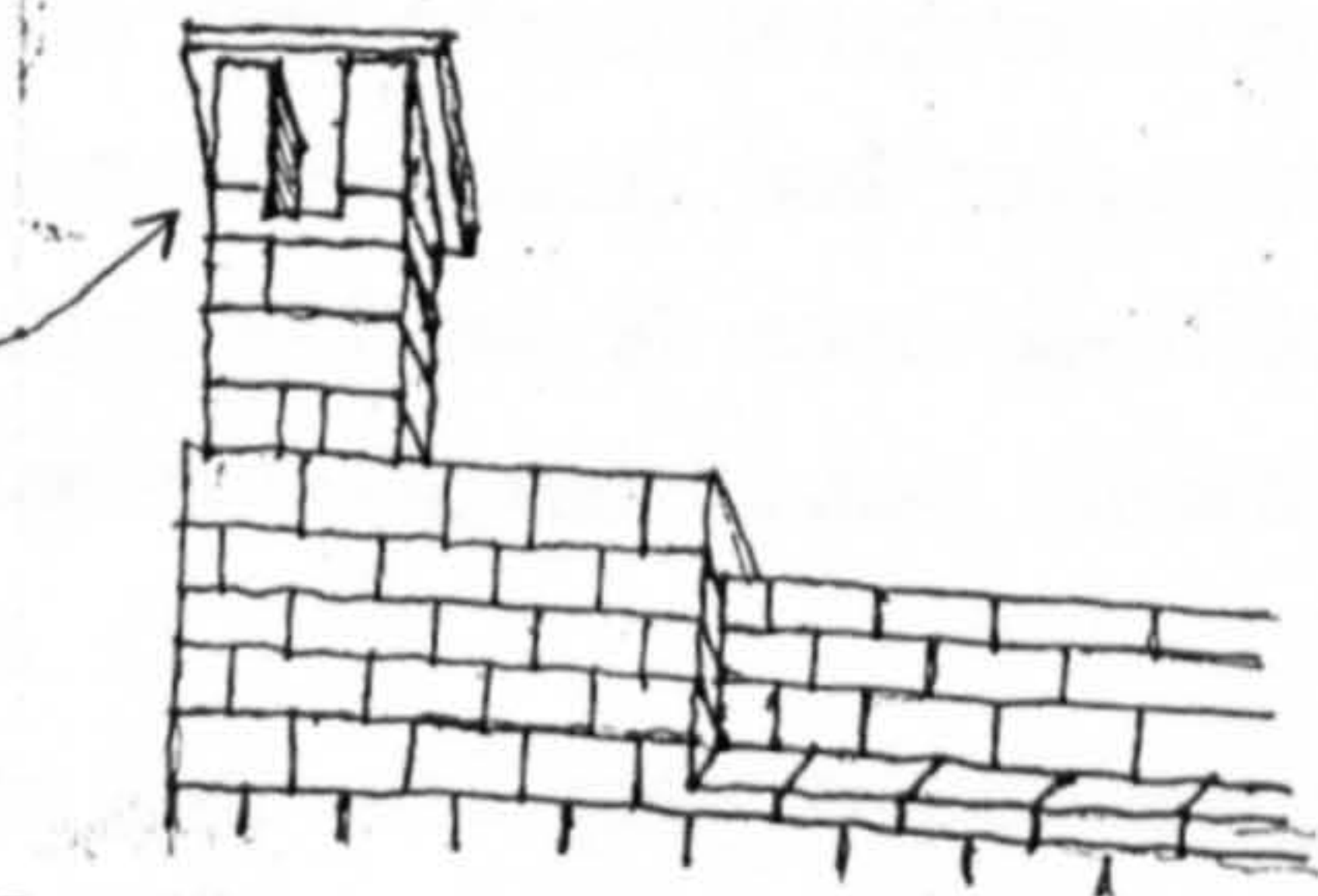




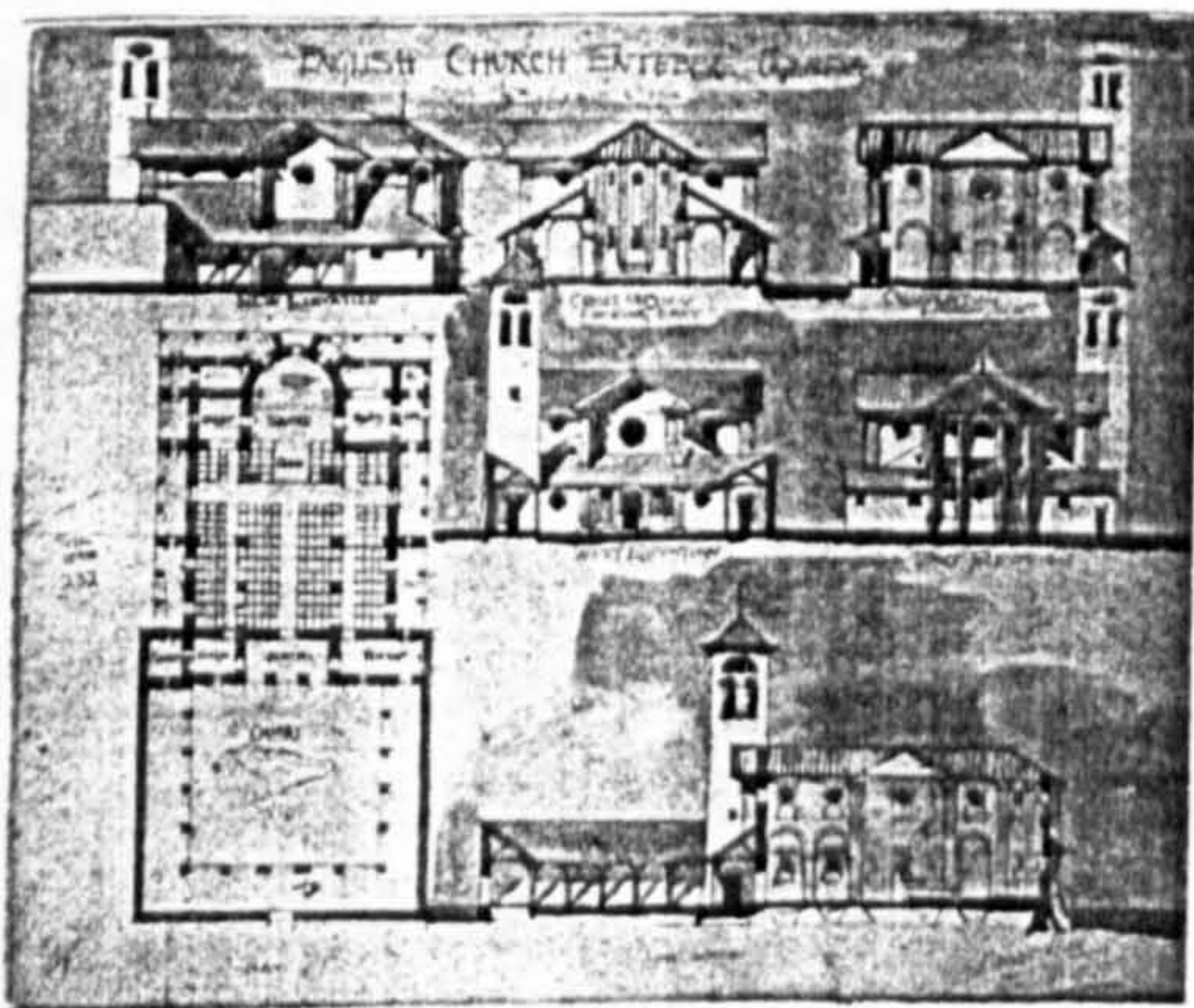
III.1 Pharmacy and Clinic building, west elevation facing the yard.



III.2 Rear elevation of Pharmacy & Clinic.



III.3 Detail of chimney and roof top.



III.4 Pite's design - English church, Uganda.



### 8.4.3. ST. GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL

#### 8.4.3.1. Historical Circumstances

St. George's Cathedral and the adjacent buildings of its campus were the last English buildings built in Jerusalem before the British mandate was instituted. Unlike the Mission Hospital (see above, 8.4.2), it is another case of a Direct Representation. Those adaptations which did take place were compromises, undertaken as technical solutions to overcome deficiencies of the existing local building trade and the constraints laid upon them by the Ottoman government. As in the case of Christ Church, this building was closely associated with a dominant individual, Bishop Blyth. Shortly after he arrived at Jerusalem (1887) he established a third missionary society, the Jerusalem and the East Mission J.E.M., which was to contain all the Anglican missionary activities in the region.

For several years after it was founded the J.E.M. operated in rented buildings, which caused many difficulties and did not meet the new expectations and lofty bearing of an English bishop, consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was a period of intense international building activity in the City, which helped Blyth to get financial support from England. Blyth, who did not want to take part in that fierce competition but just to provide adequate accommodation for his missionary operations, had suggested extending the existing Christ Church, and turning that compound into an educational campus. This was rejected by the London section of the Mission as being too modest. He was then compelled to look for a suitable site for a new building.

In 1893 a plot of land, 800 meters from Damascus gate, neighbouring the Dominican monastery of St. Etienne, was purchased. In 1894 a building permit was granted and in 1895 construction began. The buildings of the campus were built in stages. The church was completed by 1897 and the inauguration ceremony took place in October 1898. By 1903 the wooden roof of the cathedral was replaced by a stone roof, and in 1906 the entire building was extended and doubled in length. The construction of the Clergy House, the northern wing of the compound, began in 1896 and was completed by 1902. The Bishop's House, which forms the south wing of the campus, was constructed between 1896 and 1898. The construction of the library which completed the building's western wing lasted between 1900 and 1902. The cloister, or *Ambulatory*, surrounding a rectangular yard, or *Quad*, was constructed over two years, 1901-1903. The Gatehouse, which consisted of a chapter room and a council chamber, was completed by 1903. Unlike other European compounds in Jerusalem, the Bell Tower and the surrounding wall were last to be constructed. The tower was finally completed only by 1912, and named after King Edward VII, as requested by his wife Alexandra who donated the money for its construction.



#### 8.4.3.2. The Architect

George Jeffery was appointed as the architect of the entire complex. Unlike B. Pite, he spent most of his years away from England, mainly in Nicosia, Cyprus, where he served as curator of the ancient monuments on the island (Jeffery, 1921; 8). There is no evidence about his previous architectural experience. He published several articles discussing historic and contemporary architecture in Nicosia and Jerusalem, where there is some indication of his architectural approach.

For him, Christ Church in Jerusalem was an "...insignificant building", whose only interest was "...in representing the taste of the period of a very characteristic English kind". He favoured the sense of familiarity it aroused amongst "...every English visitor of his native land" (Jeffery, 1919; 149). His sharp criticism of the neighbouring Dominican church indicates his objection to any form of architectural adaptation:

...a poor meanly built modern church, of which the original design may have possessed some merit as a copy of one of the remarkable primitive churches in north Syria; but as carried out by the Dominican friars the result is quite deplorable. The exteriors devoid of architecture and its interior is a melange of cheap Parisian religious art and poor construction (Jeffery, 1919; 192).

He found the building trade of Jerusalem in a most backward condition, and saw the reason for it in the methods of construction, common throughout the Ottoman Empire. The European influence which did take place led, according to Jeffery, to significant changes, which were linked with the notion of representation as he had perceived it: "...materials and methods of construction are imported by each of the communities, which represent all the countries of Christendom, to be used as far as possible in the ways of their respective places of origin". In his opinion, adaptation was accepted only to overcome the constraints of unqualified workmanship which had enforced "...certain undercurrents of local character and style" (Jeffery, 1921; 2).

He saw no value in the entire architectural heritage of Jerusalem: "The fact is that in all Turkey, especially in Jerusalem, there is no local style worthy of the name or suitable for adoption in the buildings of Europeans". Thus he was against "...any attempts to make use of Eastern or 'Saracenic' characteristics suggested by the Alhambra or the mosques of Cairo" (Jeffery, 1921; 3). His assessment of other European buildings is no less pretentious and arrogant. With the exception of the Russian buildings, which he regarded as representing the local types of Petrograd, Kiev and Moscow, he boldly criticised all the rest (Jeffery, 1921; 3).



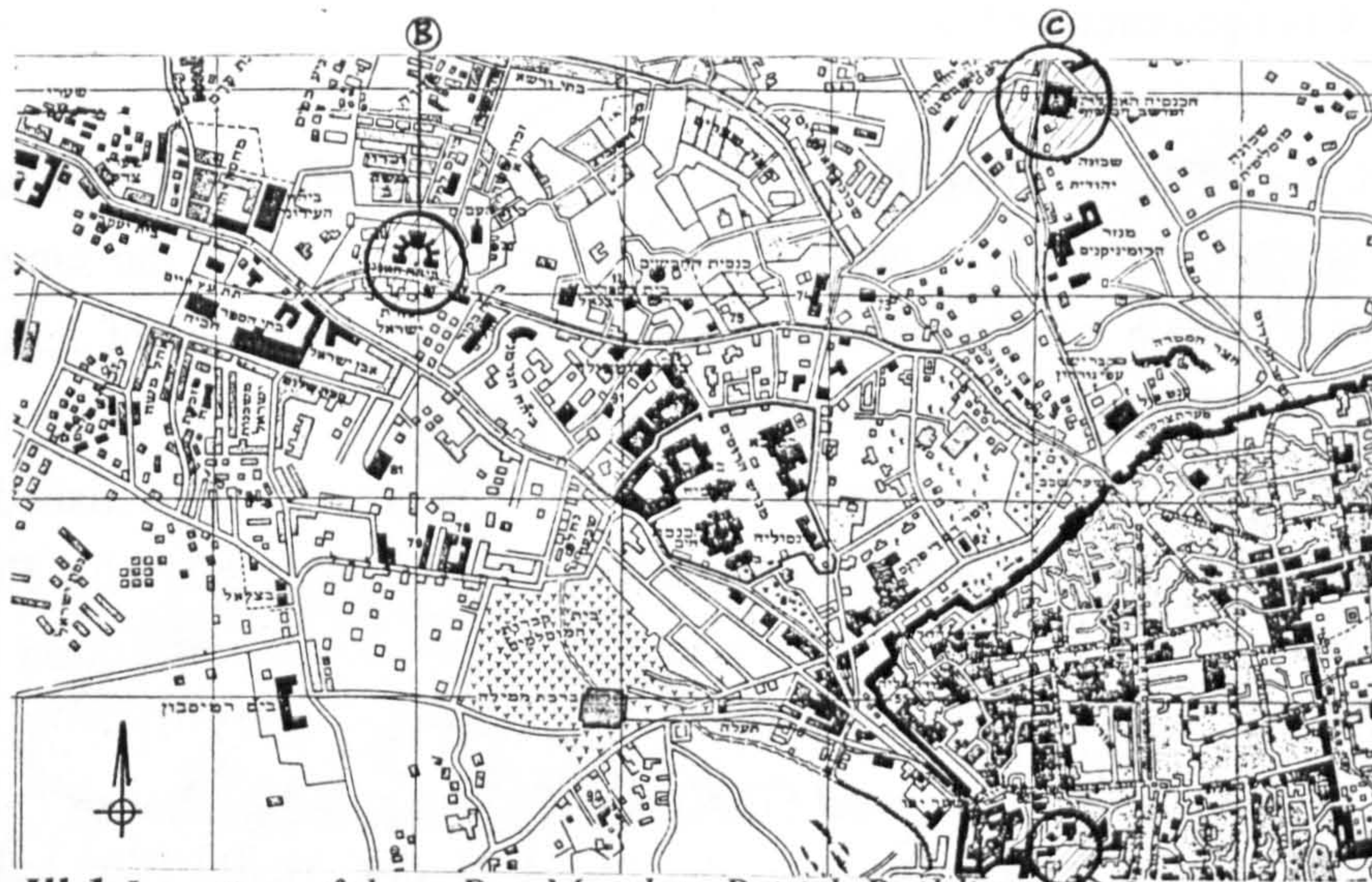
## PLATE 7

### 8.4.3.3. Location

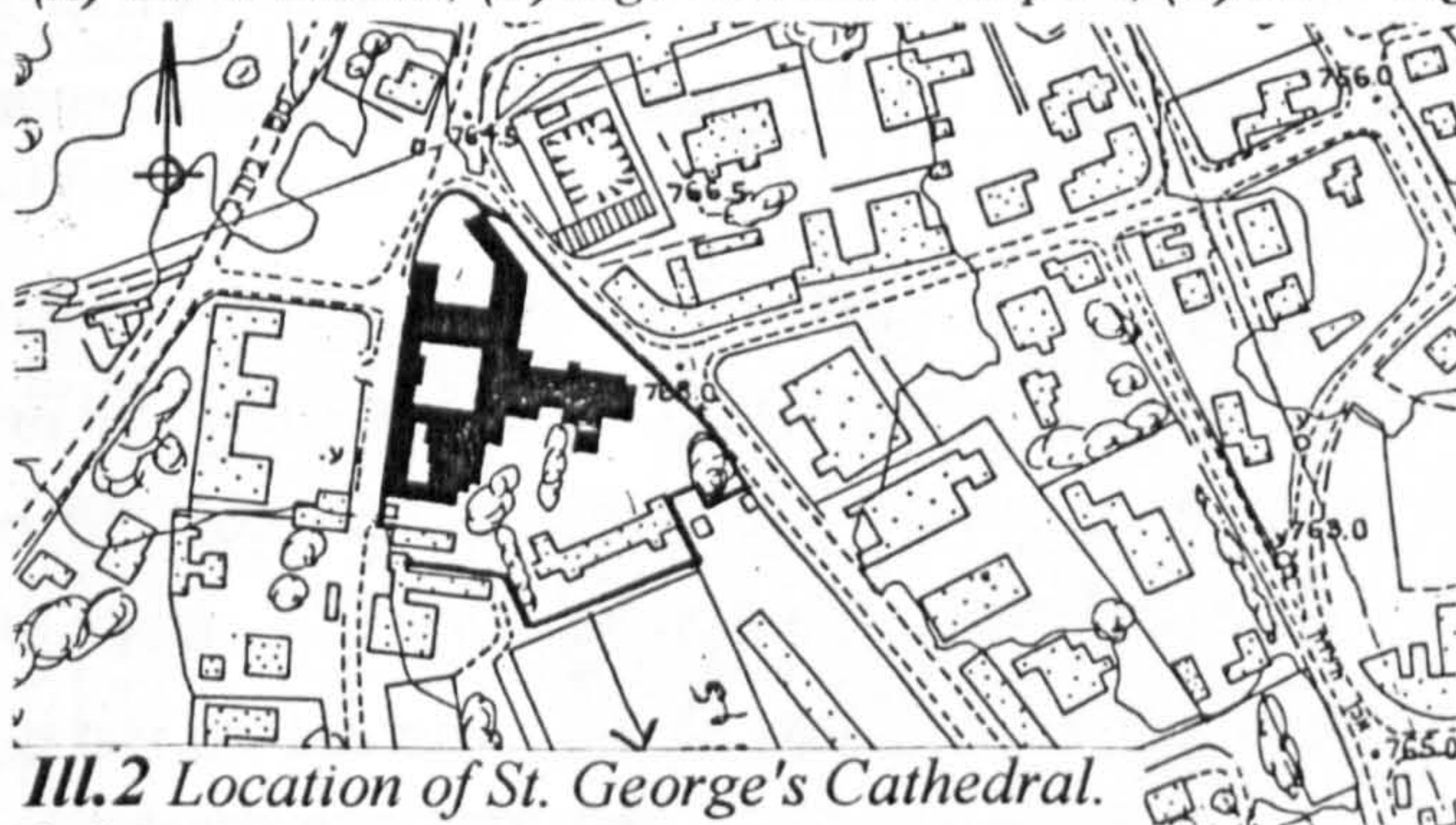
Located 800 meters north to Damascus Gate, neighbouring the Dominican monastery of St. Etienne. Apart for the proximity of water resources and a nearby crossroads, the exact reasons for choosing that particular site remain unclear (Ills. 1,2).

Jeffery had found the task of integrating an appropriate scheme into a somewhat bizarre Jerusalem context to be most difficult (Jeffery, 1921; 3). It was a non-urban context, and except for the Dominican monastery and some scattered houses of no architectural significance, there had been nothing around which required, according to Jeffery, any particular consideration.

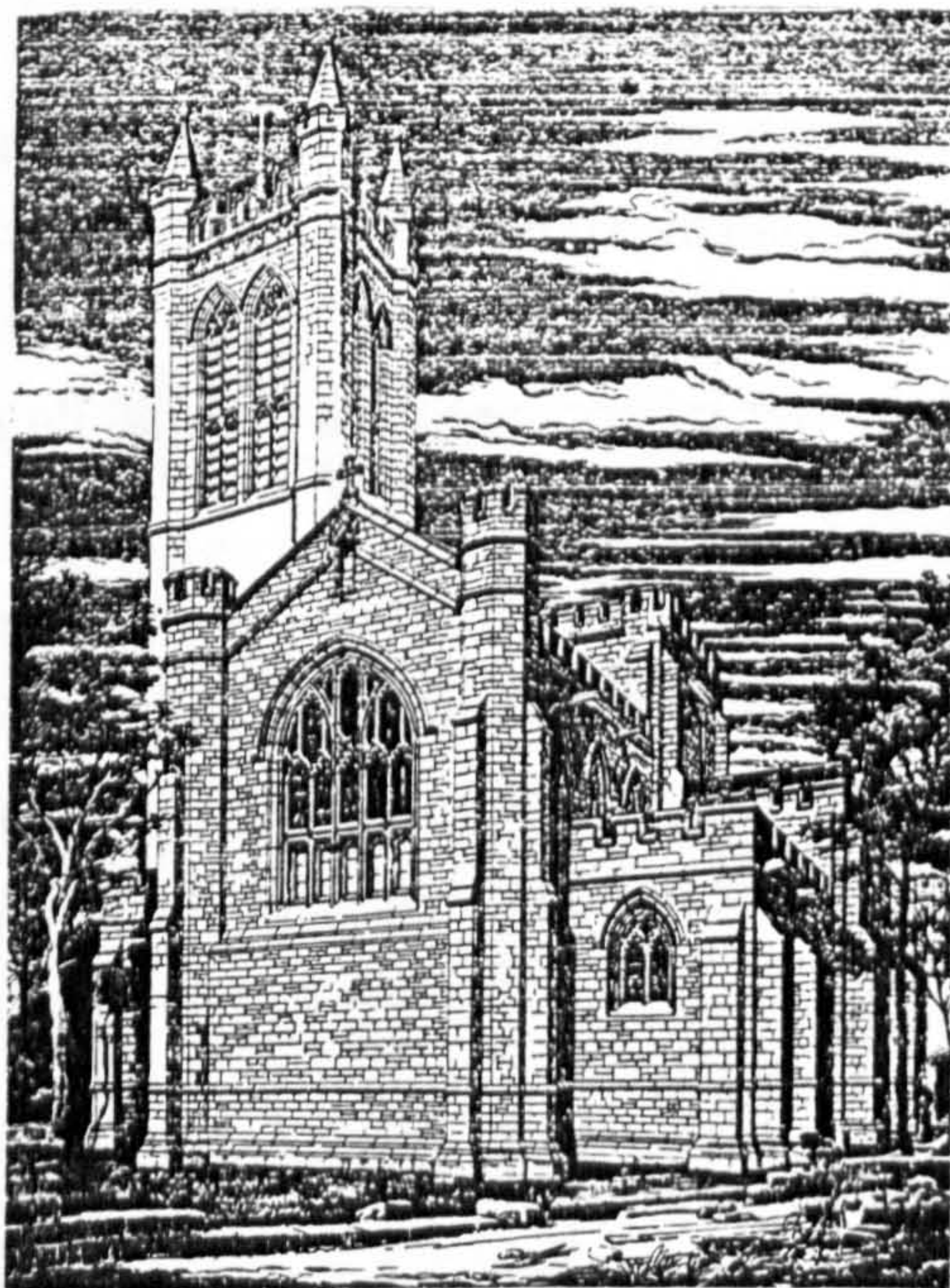




**III.1** Location of three Pre-Mandate British Buildings:  
(A) Christ Church; (B) English Mission Hospital; (C) St. George's Cathedral



**III.2** Location of St. George's Cathedral.



**III.3** North-east view of the Cathedral  
& Bell Tower.



## PLATE 8

### 8.4.3.4. Layout and Configuration of Mass

The Bishop's central aim, as stated by Jeffery, was "...creating a cathedral church worthy of being considered representative of the great Anglican communion, and at the same time of use as an educational centre for the missionary clergy of the vast diocese of Jerusalem and the East" (Jeffery, 1921: 8). With this in mind, together with the particular Jerusalem circumstances, he found the pattern of *Collegiate Gothic* most appropriate. It satisfied both the necessity to create an enclosed compound, and to portray the typically English character, as "...No finer model, nor more appropriate type, for such an institution could possibly be found all the world over than the great colleges..." (Jeffery, 1921; 7).

The scheme (Ill. 1), comprised of a *Quad* (1B) entered through a Gatehouse (1A) on west, which faces the Cathedral (1C) to the east, the Clergy House (1F) to the north, the Bishop's House (1E) to the south, and the Library (1H) to the south and west corner of the campus. A detached Bell Tower(1D) was positioned on the south-east corner of the campus behind the buildings.

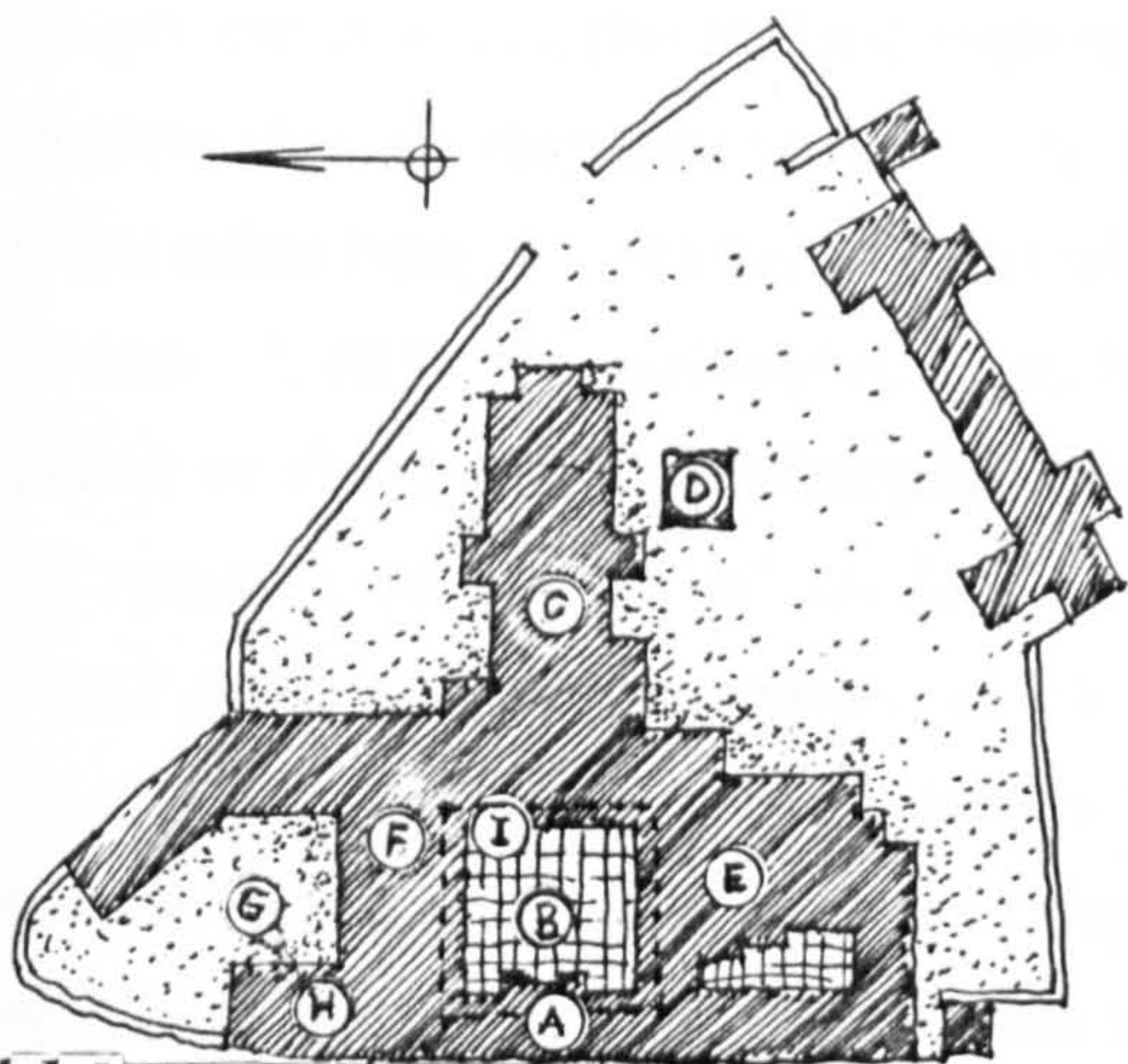
With the exception of the Gatehouse, all the surrounding buildings, including the Cathedral, were connected to the *Quad* by an *Ambulatory* (1I). It differs from the original *Quads* of the old English colleges of Cambridge and Oxford which were formed by the buildings themselves. The elaborated articulation of the *Ambulatory* indicates Jeffery's intention to create a 'little England', to be experienced from within, whereas on the outside there is no such expression except for the *Battlemented* wall and the Bell Tower, visible from a distance.

Jeffery had conceived the Cathedral "...without much regard to any particular cathedral type". His ambition was however, to "...construct a practical Anglican church ...based upon the common type of a parochial church with central tower and of course, with full complement of screens, choir- stalls, etc., which form our inheritance from the middle ages" (Jeffery, 1921; 6), (Ill. 2).

The fragmented mass of the buildings and their stocky proportions (Ills. 3,4), do not portray the impression expected of buildings "...thoroughly English in style" (Jeffery, 1921; 2). It was a compromise rather than a deliberate design intention, a result of various constraints laid by a imposed budget, unqualified workmanship, and the difficulties of handling the local limestone. Yet most significant was the fear of a possible reaction by the Ottoman government, which had banned any bold expression of foreign styles which were ascribed with potential political subversion (Jeffery, 1921; 7).

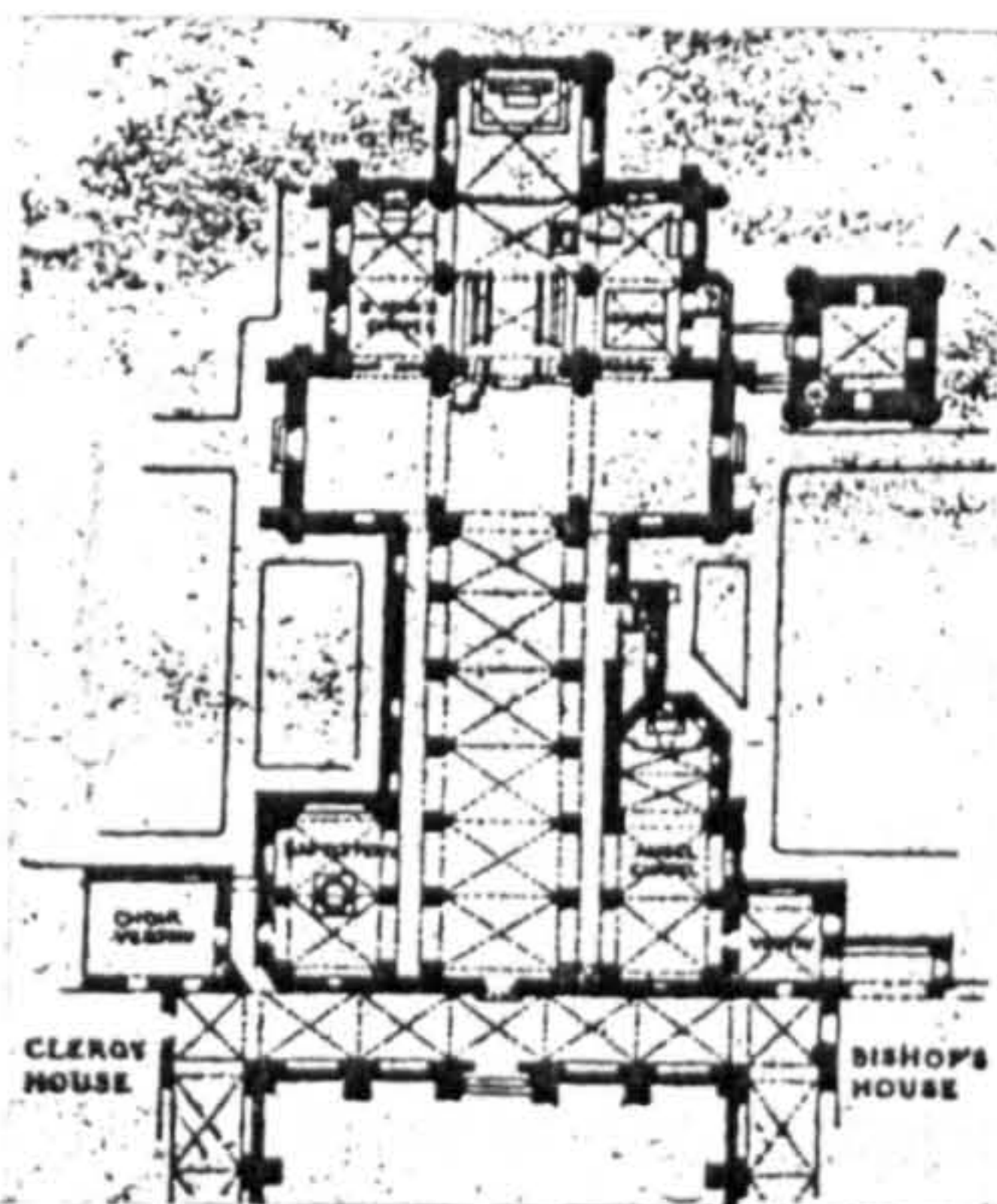
And so the English character was represented by typical architectural elements that were intended to be experienced from within the compound, regardless of the difficulties in their production.





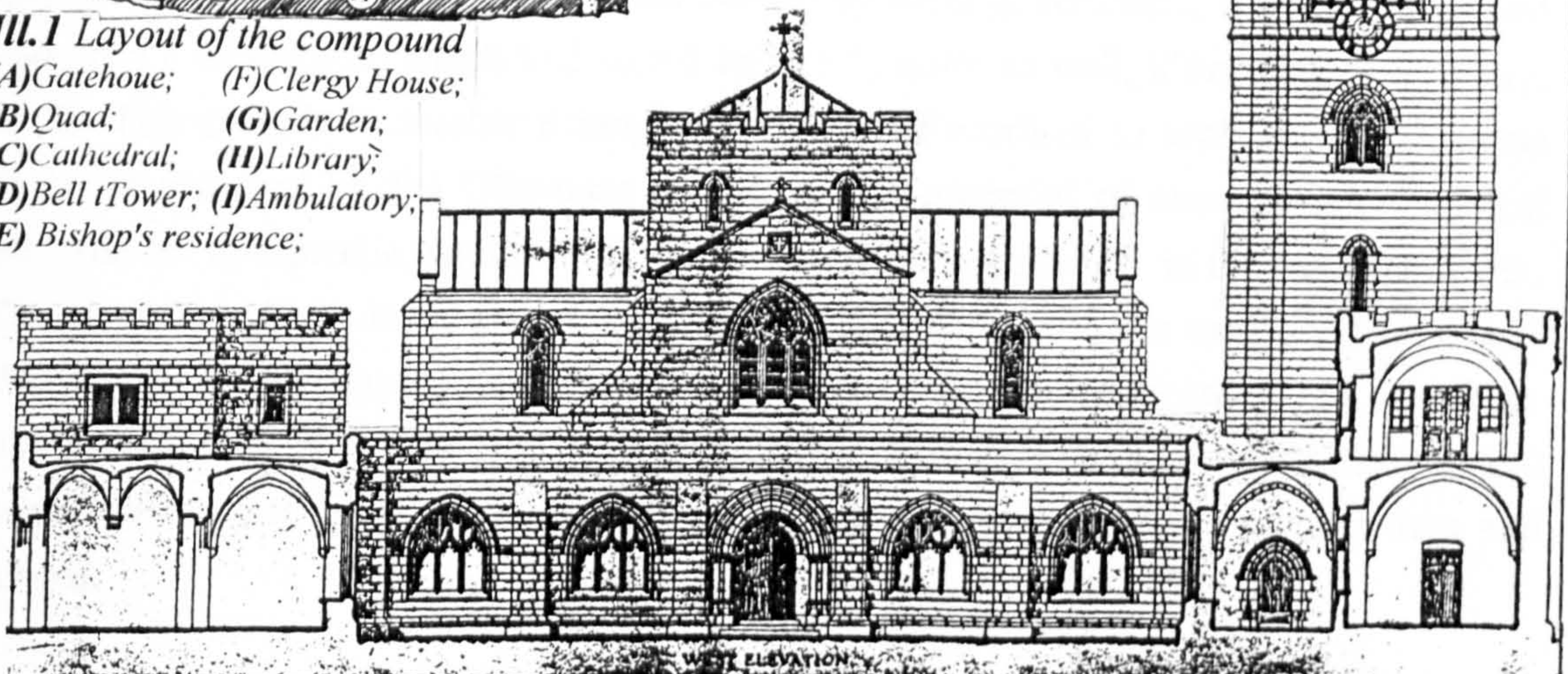
**III.1** Layout of the compound

- (A) Gatehouse; (F) Clergy House;  
 (B) Quad; (G) Garden;  
 (C) Cathedral; (H) Library;  
 (D) Bell Tower; (I) Ambulatory;  
 (E) Bishop's residence;



**III.2** Plan of the Cathedral.

(Drawn by the Architect).



**III.3** West elevation facing the Quad; Cathedral's main entrance. (Drawn by the Architect).



**III.4** South-east, rear elevation of the Cathedral.



#### 8.4.3.5. Critical Architectural Elements.

Jeffery's views about the stylistic impression of the building conveyed by its details was well expressed in his response to criticism made by English tourists about the west window of the Cathedral being "...bestly and out of keeping in Jerusalem". He took it "...rather as a compliment...", as he did not regret "...its being out of harmony with the miserable system of building or the deplorable attempts at architecture in various styles which disfigure the modern quarters of Jerusalem" (Jeffery, 1921; 2). Furthermore, it is evident that Jeffery considered certain stylistic elements worth the risk of confrontation with local authorities. Such was the small *Battlemented Parapet*, "...so familiar to European eyes, and perhaps conveys the most peaceful of associations with studio colleges and old-world country houses". Since the use of this element was banned by local government, it had to be turned instead into a balustrade, which had suited Jeffery "...quite as well, if not better" (Jeffery, 1921; 2). This episode is another example of the power ascribed to architectural elements which were assumed by the Ottomans as having the potential of encouraging political unrest. And so low-profile, yet Direct Representation was applied to in the entire complex.

The elements which played a significant representational role in the campus can be subdivided into two categories: complete built forms, and the elaboration of openings. Compared with their English origin, transformations were made through schematisation and reduction of morphological attributes to a point where their English character was still preserved.

The principal built forms which comprise the first category are the Gatehouse and the Bell Tower (plates 9,10); in the second category - the mouldings and trceries will be demonstrated (plates 11,12,13). Finally, some of the internal elements of the Cathedral will also be presented (plate 14).

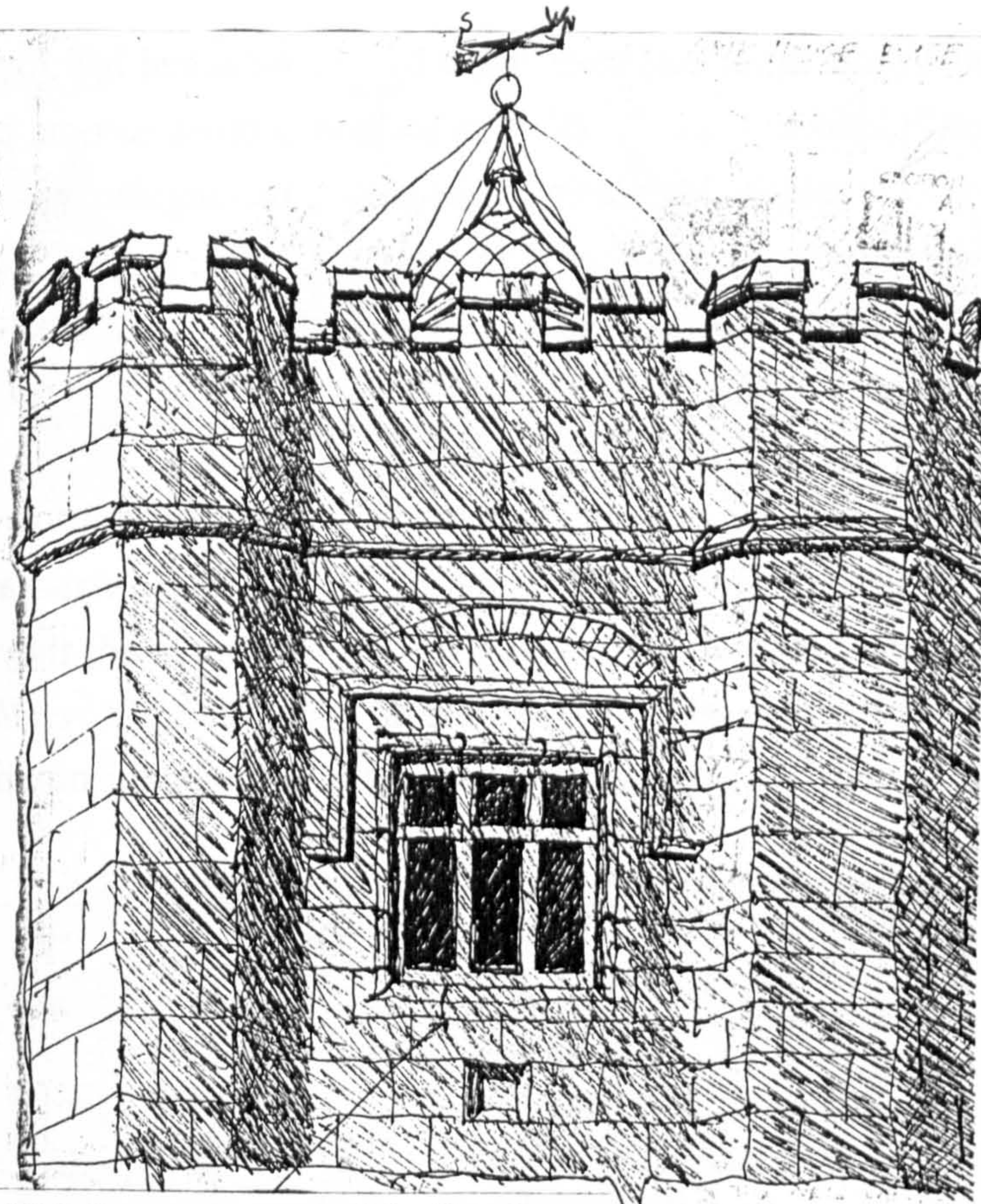


## PLATE 9

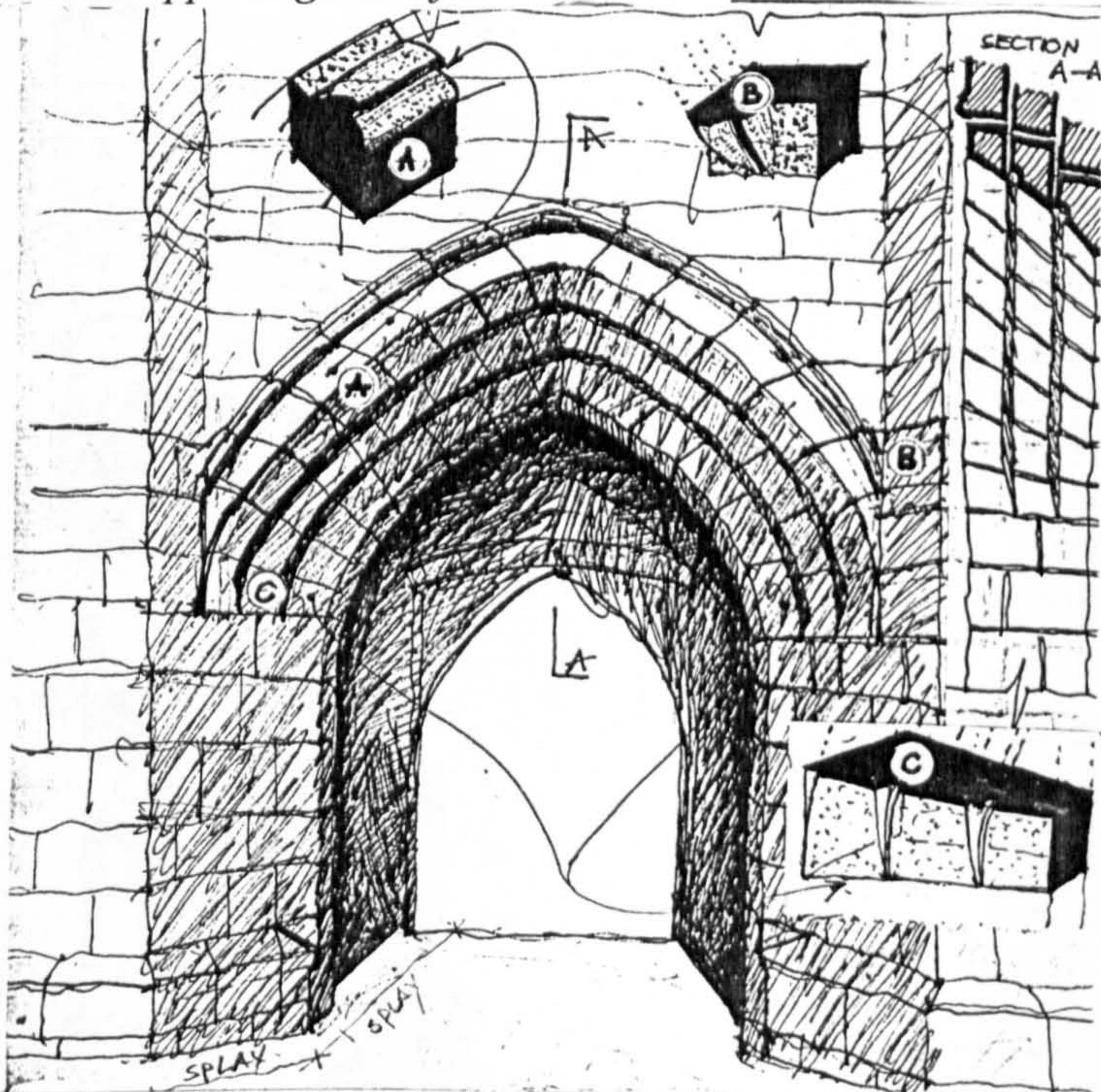
The Gatehouse consists of all typical parts and details perceived as most characteristic to old English gatehouses. Those were schematised and reduced to their most elementary components, which retained their representational power: *Battlemented parapet*; polygonal cross section of the gate piers; arched entrance; suspended mass above the arch, which housed a small chamber with a single window (Ills. 1,2,3).

However, unlike in old English gatehouses (Ill. 4), the gate-piers at St. George's Cathedral do not ascend above the suspended mass, but are only slightly projected forwards, towards the *Quad*, whereas the exterior remains flat. The single window over the entrance, facing the *Quad*, is subdivided into three vertical segments with a *Drip mould*, as in old English gatehouses. It shows Jeffery's intention to portray an English character inwards to the compound itself rather than outside it.





III.1 Upper segment of the Gatehouse.



III.2 Lower segment of the Gatehouse; and details of the splayed arch: (A),(B),(C).



III.3 St. George's Gatehouse from Quad.



III.4 English gatehouses 14th, 15th, 16th centuries.

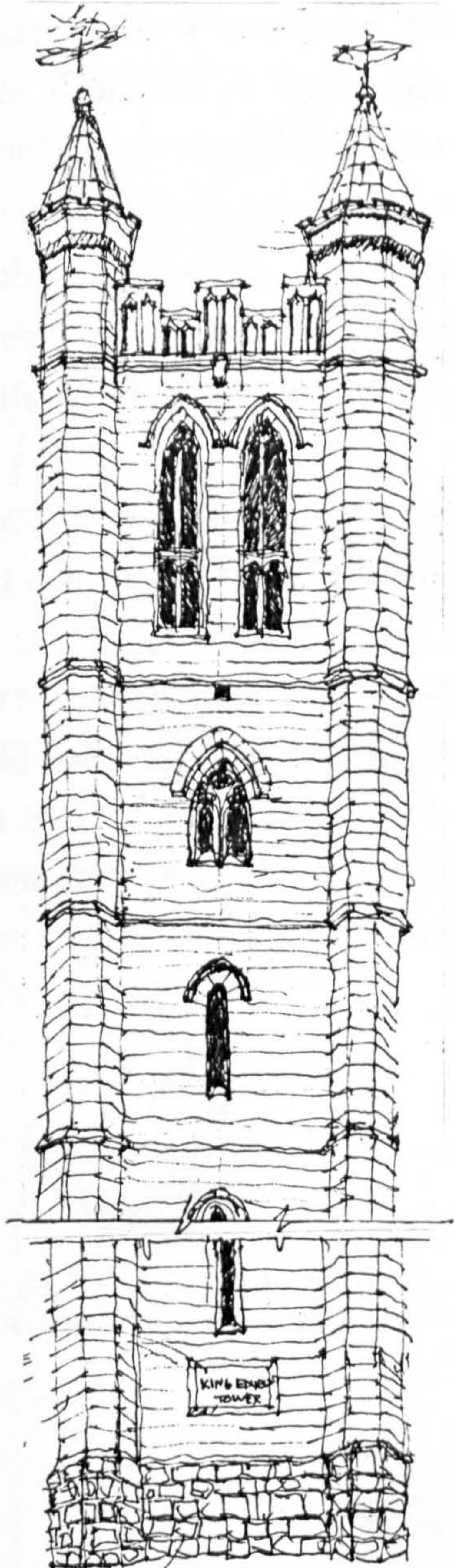


## PLATE 10

The articulation of the Bell Tower followed the example of "...a detached bell tower as at Magdalene, or New Colleges" (Jeffery, 1921; 7). Both its horizontal cross section, and its vertical segmentation closely follow the St. Magdalene example - a rectangular mass, with turrets as corners. It is subdivided vertically into five segments by a frieze; the top segment consists of four pinnacles and *Crenelated Parapets* (Ills. 1,3). The pinnacles are simple, low pitched cones, polygonal in cross section (Ill. 2A), unlike the round section of most medieval pinnacles. Weather vanes were placed on the apexes.

The *Croquets*, which characterise the spires at St. Magdalene's and other bell towers of the *Perpendicular* style, are completely left out. The *Crenelated Parapets* are elaborated in a way which is also inspired by the *Perpendicular* style, but largely simplified; they were made up of five stone panels of different heights that created an impression of *Crenelation*, though not produced in the conventional way which was usually a moulding notched or indented to represent fortification (Ill. 2).

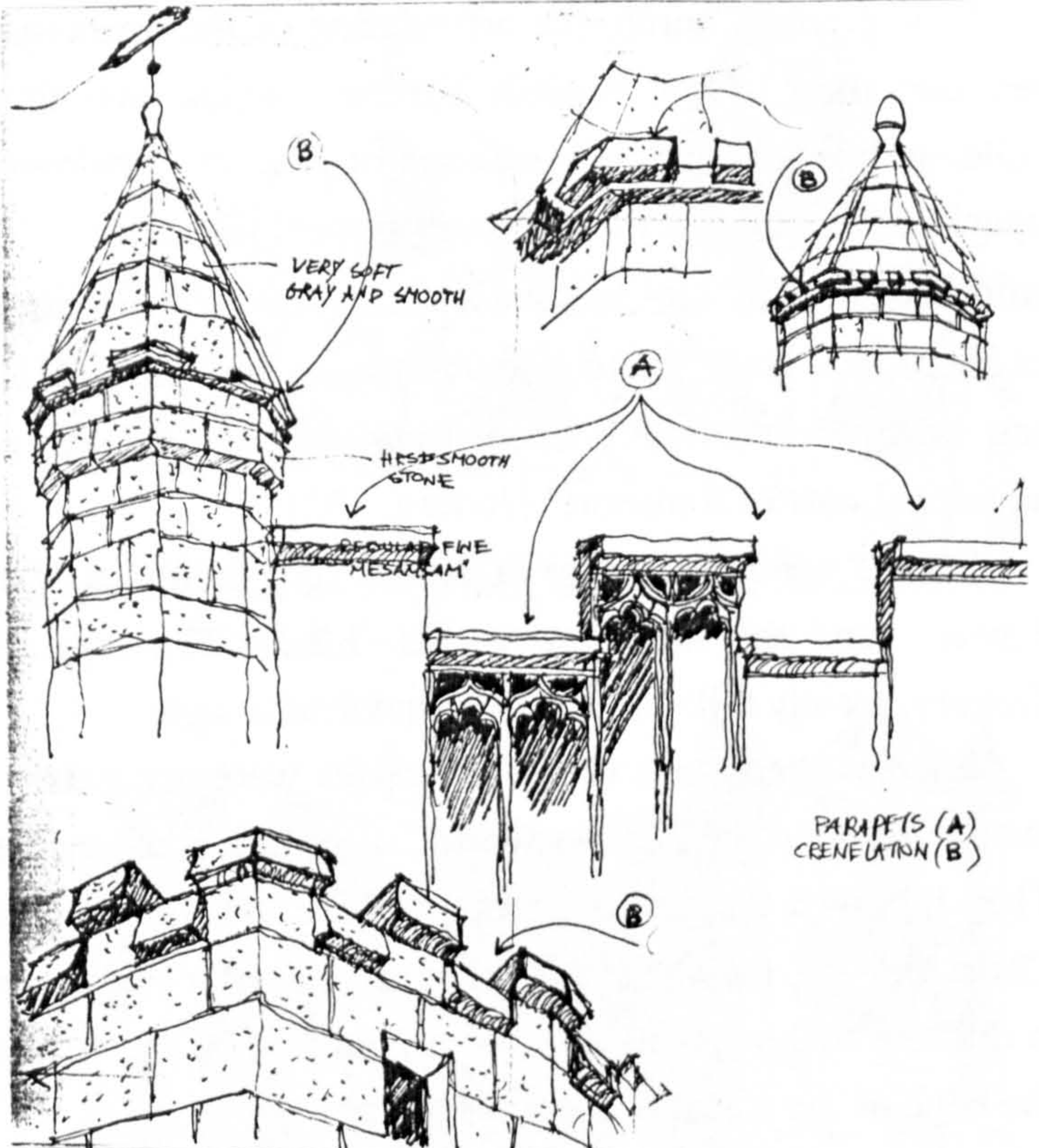




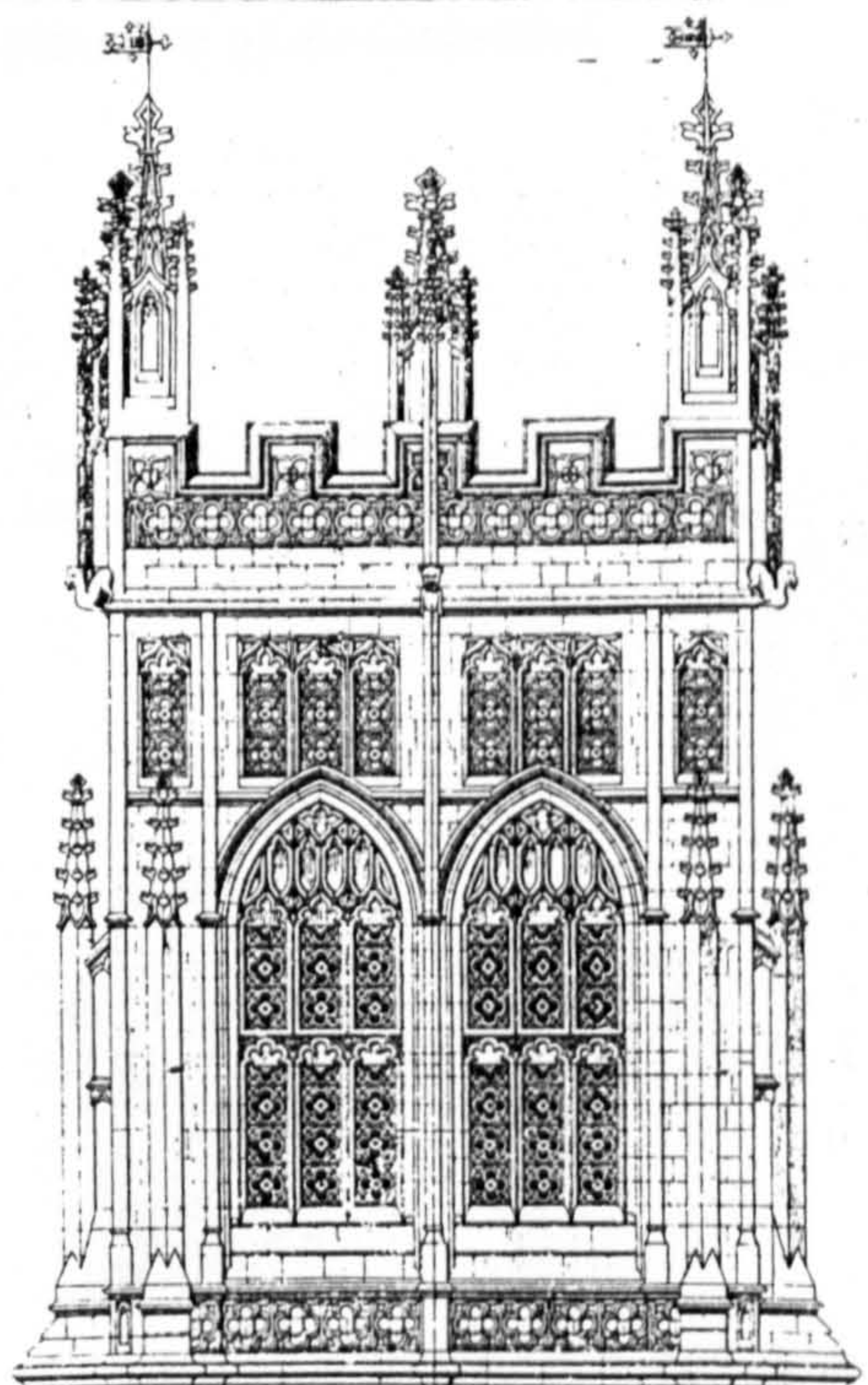
III.1 Bell Tower



III.3 (A) Magdalene col. Oxford;  
(B) St. Mary's, Manchester;  
(C) St. Peter's, Kettering.



III.2 Parts: Pinnacles; Details: Crenelated Parapets;  
Crenelation.



III.4 North Petherton Church, Somerset.



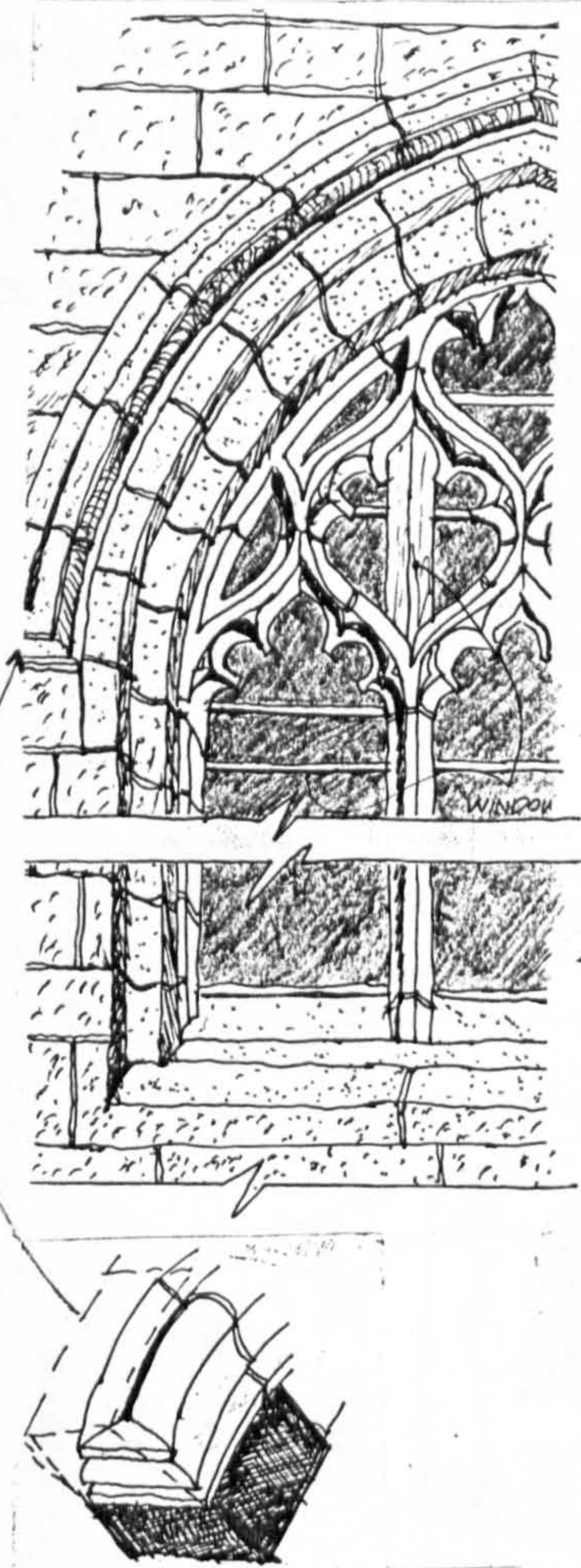
## PLATE 11

As in Christ Church, the articulation of the openings was considered a very important representation of the English historical styles, and thus any effort to include it in the building, was justified. It comprised *Tracery* windows, rectangular windows, and arched openings. Since Jeffery had found the local limestone "...the hardest quality known, and the working of it becomes tedious and expensive", he decided to produce all the critical details in Saravezza, Italy and to import them to Jerusalem. He had found this to be the cheapest and most efficient way "...of securing accuracy and style in the workmanship: even with the additional cost of transport" (Jeffery, 1921; 6).

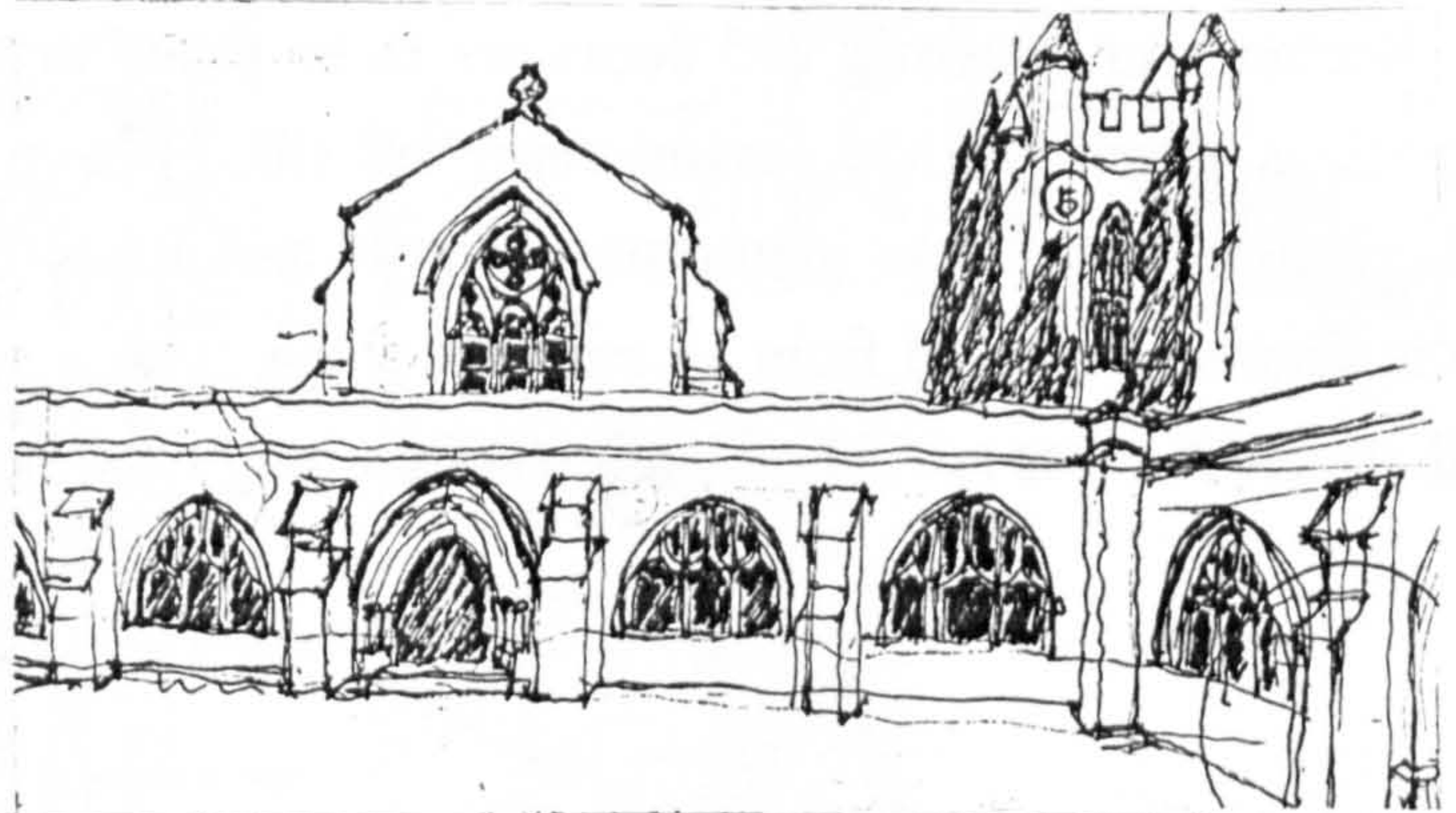
*Tracery* windows appear in the principal buildings of the campus, the Cathedral, the Bell Tower, and the *Ambulatory* (Ills. 1,2,3). The type of *Tracery* used is largely *Foiled Tracery*, mainly following the *Perpendicular* style.

Whereas the details of the *Traceries* were accurately executed, their proportions were far shorter than the *Perpendicular*, or of any other medieval or neo-medieval style (Ill. 4). They followed the stocky proportions of the mass which they formed a part. Here as in Christ Church, the effect of that great endeavour when seen from outside is limited, since it is difficult to notice the delicate articulation of the *Tracery* in the strong light, as a result the edge of the window becomes blurred.

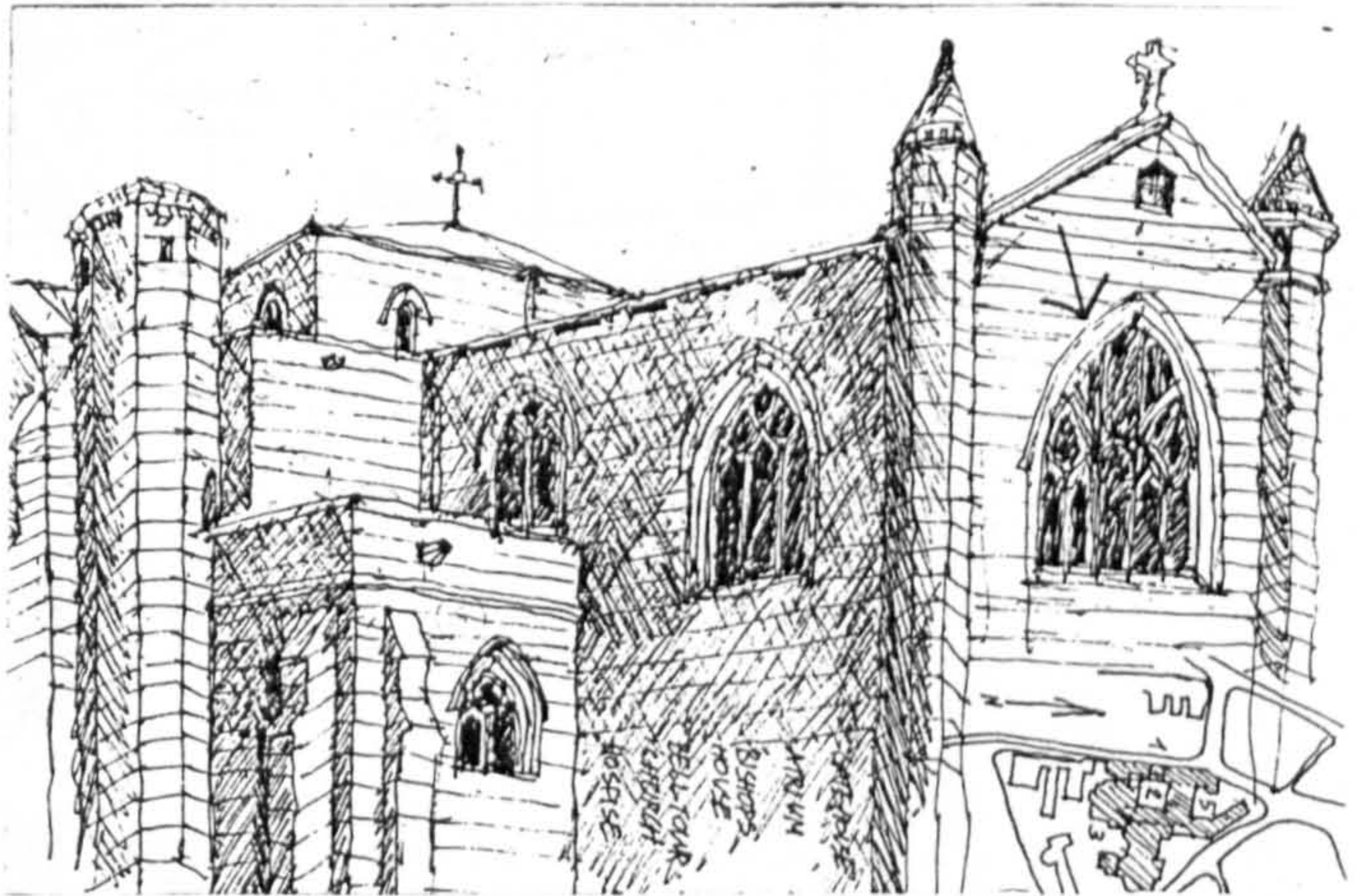




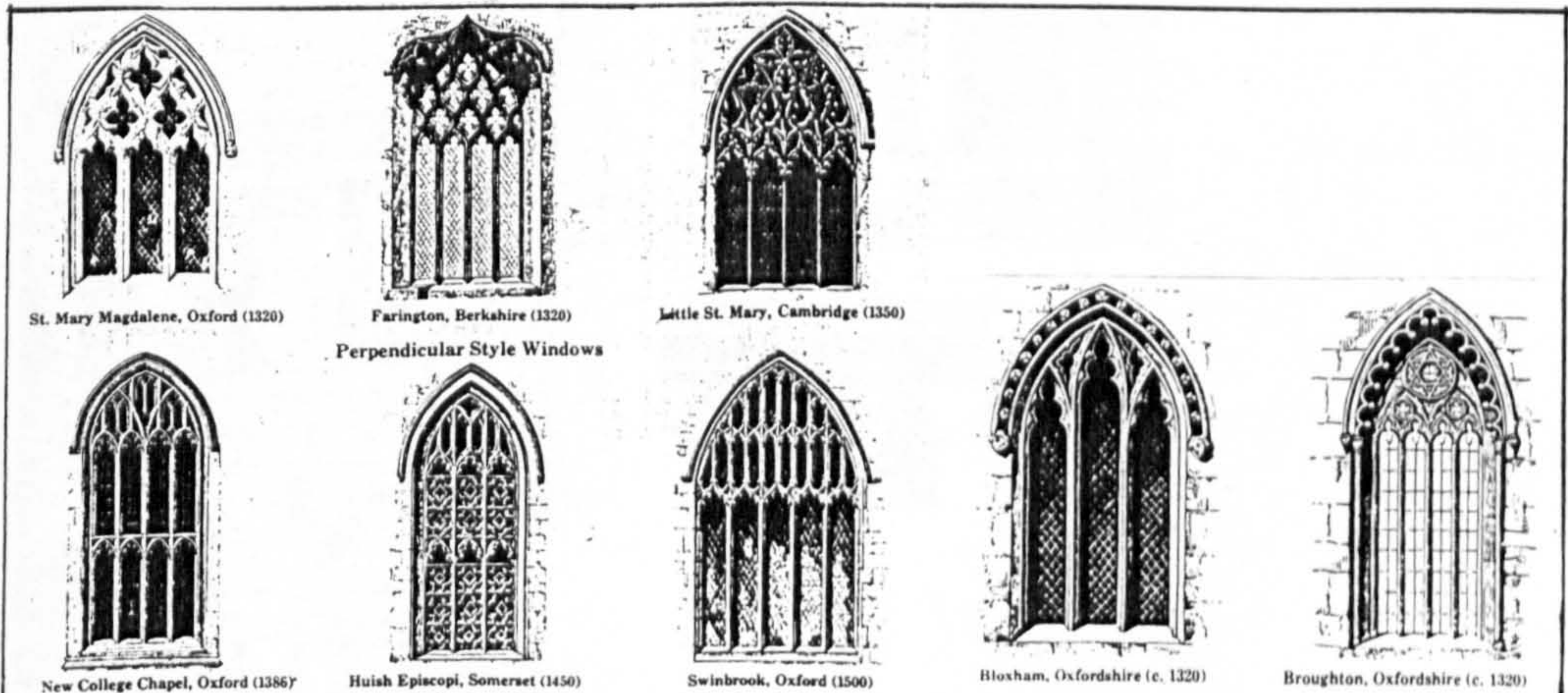
III.3 South-east window of Cathedral, Lablestop of moulding.



III.1 South-east corner of the Quad showing the Ambulatory.



III.2 South-east elevation of the Cathedral.



III.4 English windows of the Decorated and Perpendicular styles.

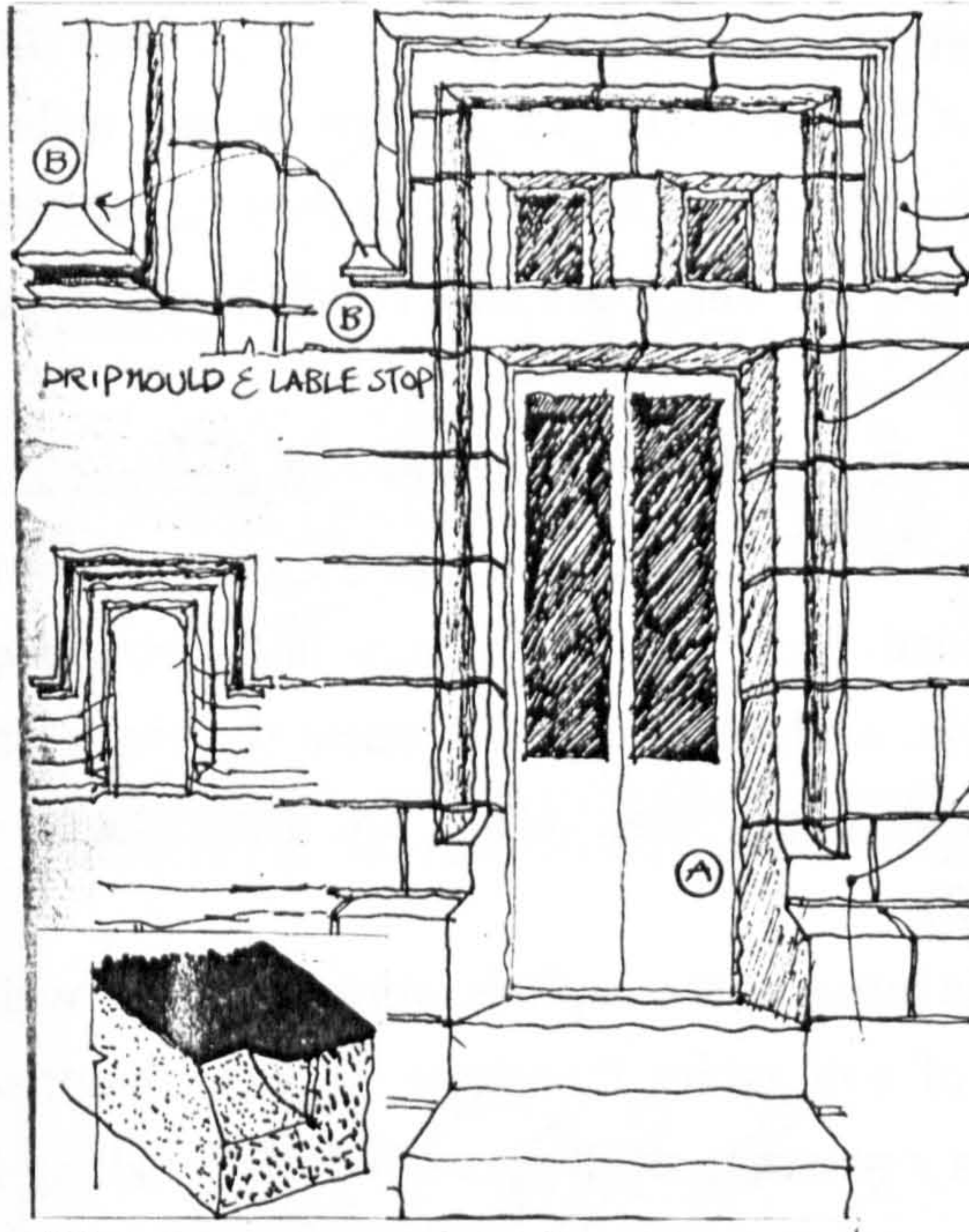


## PLATE 12

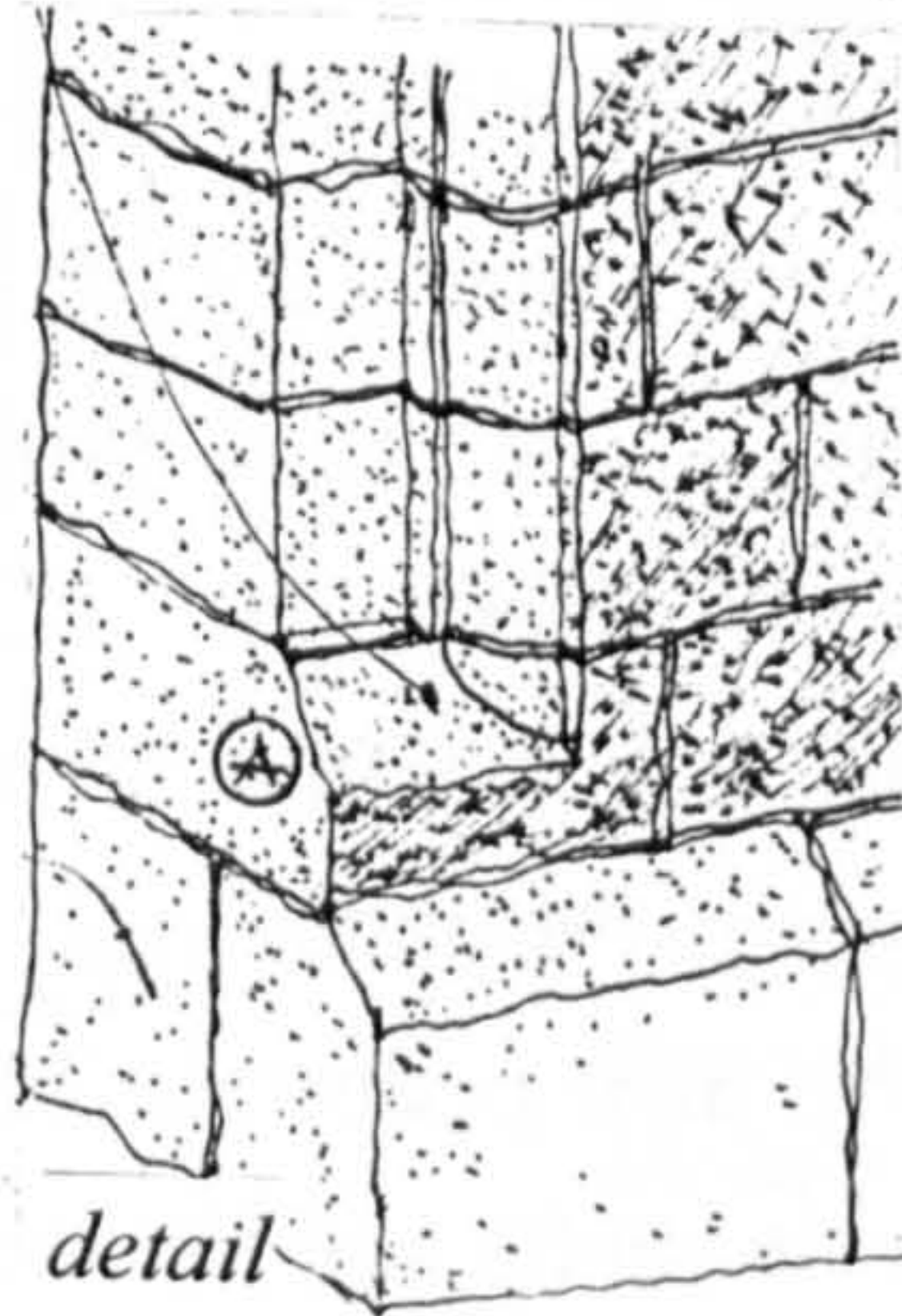
Rectangular windows and doors are to be found in the secular buildings of the campus. Openings which face the central courtyard (Ill. 2) have *Lable Mouldings* (Ills. 1A,B). The articulation of the less important windows and doors facing the secondary courtyards (Ill. 3) is simpler, recessed from an external plane, with a most simple elaboration of the edge (Ill. 4). Both cases are simplifications of the English origin.





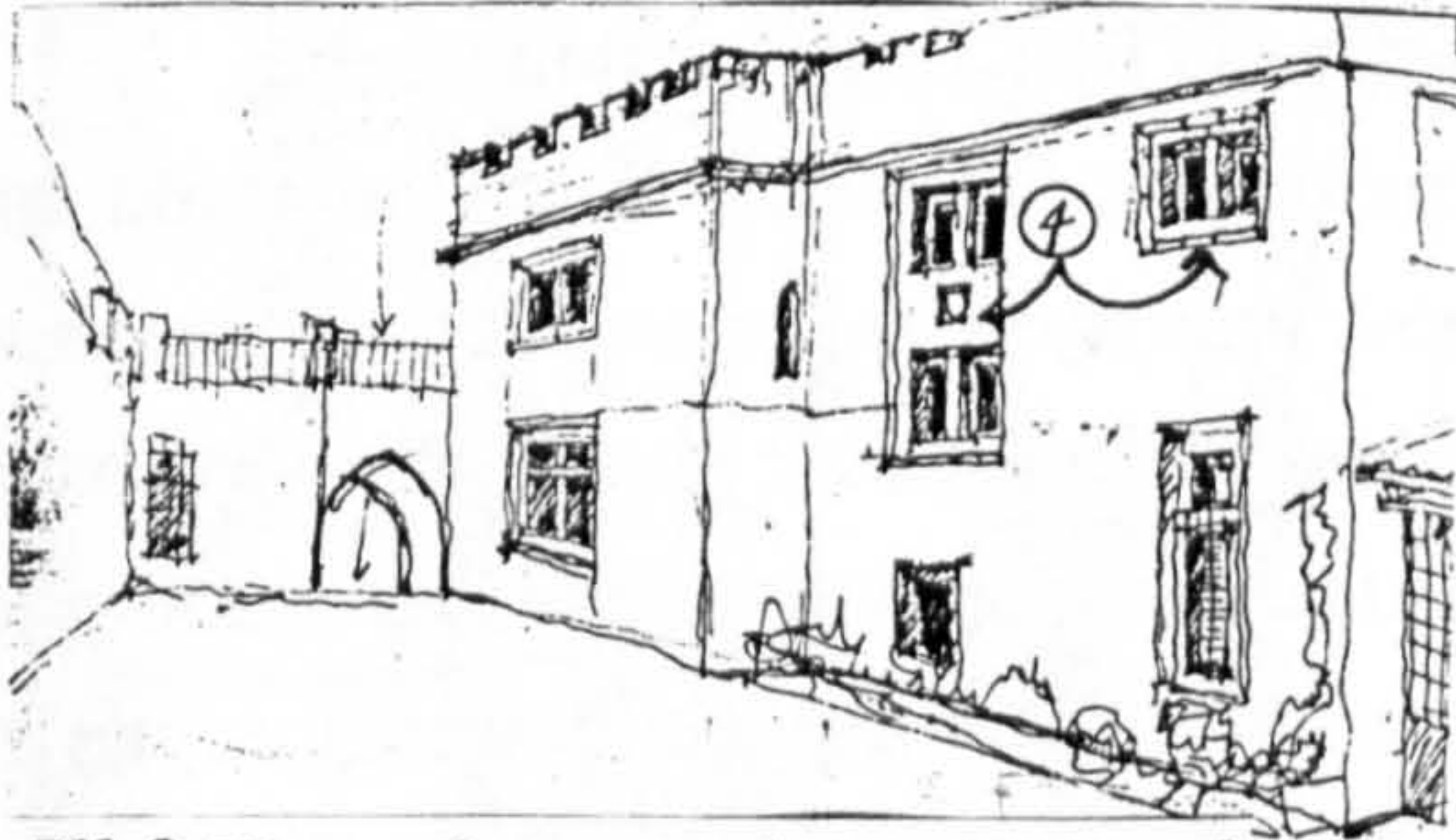


III.1 Doorway to the Library.

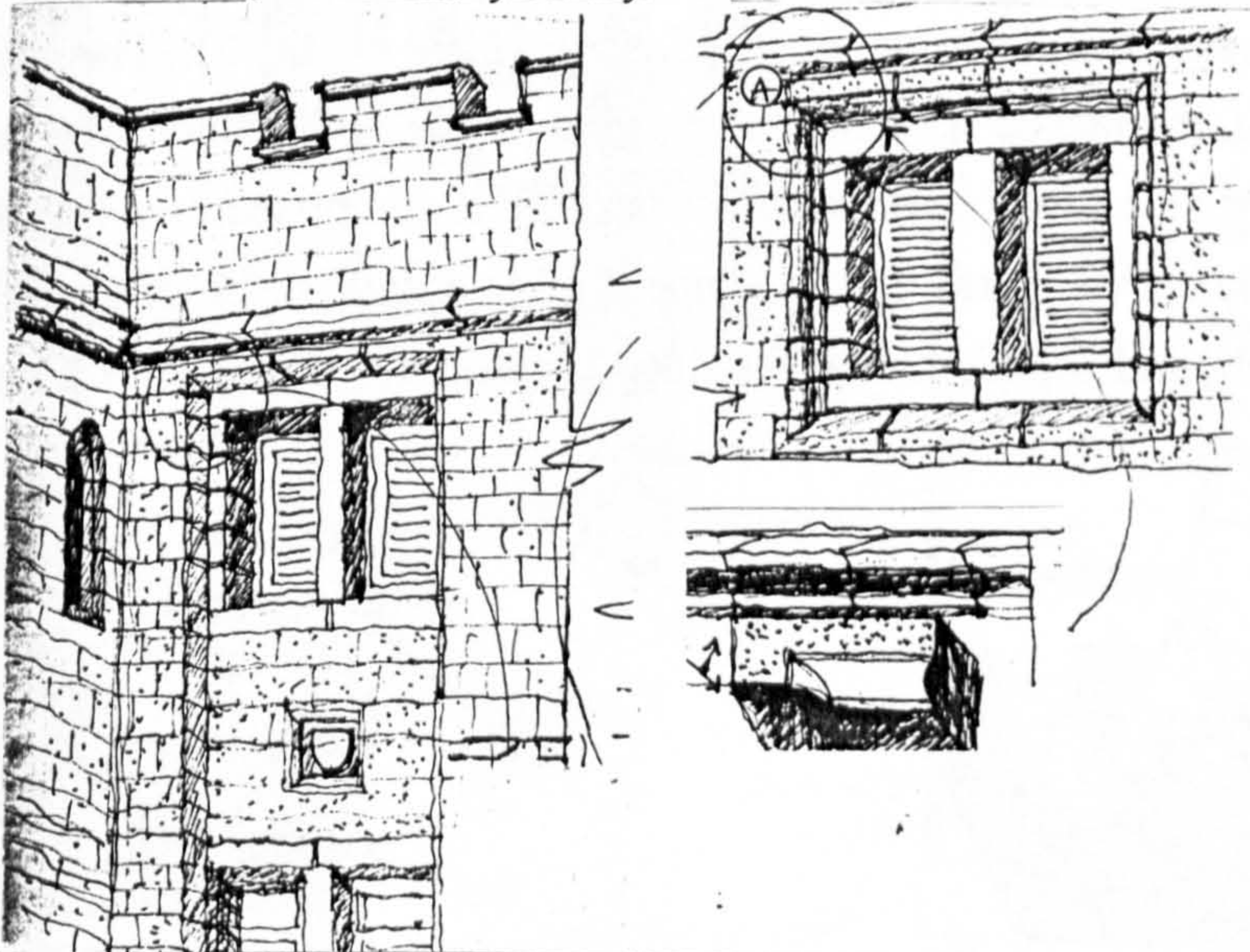


detail

III.2 Openings facing the Quad



III.3 View of a secondary courtyard.



III.4 Windows of a secondary courtyard.  
detail of frieze and corner of moulding.



## PLATE 13

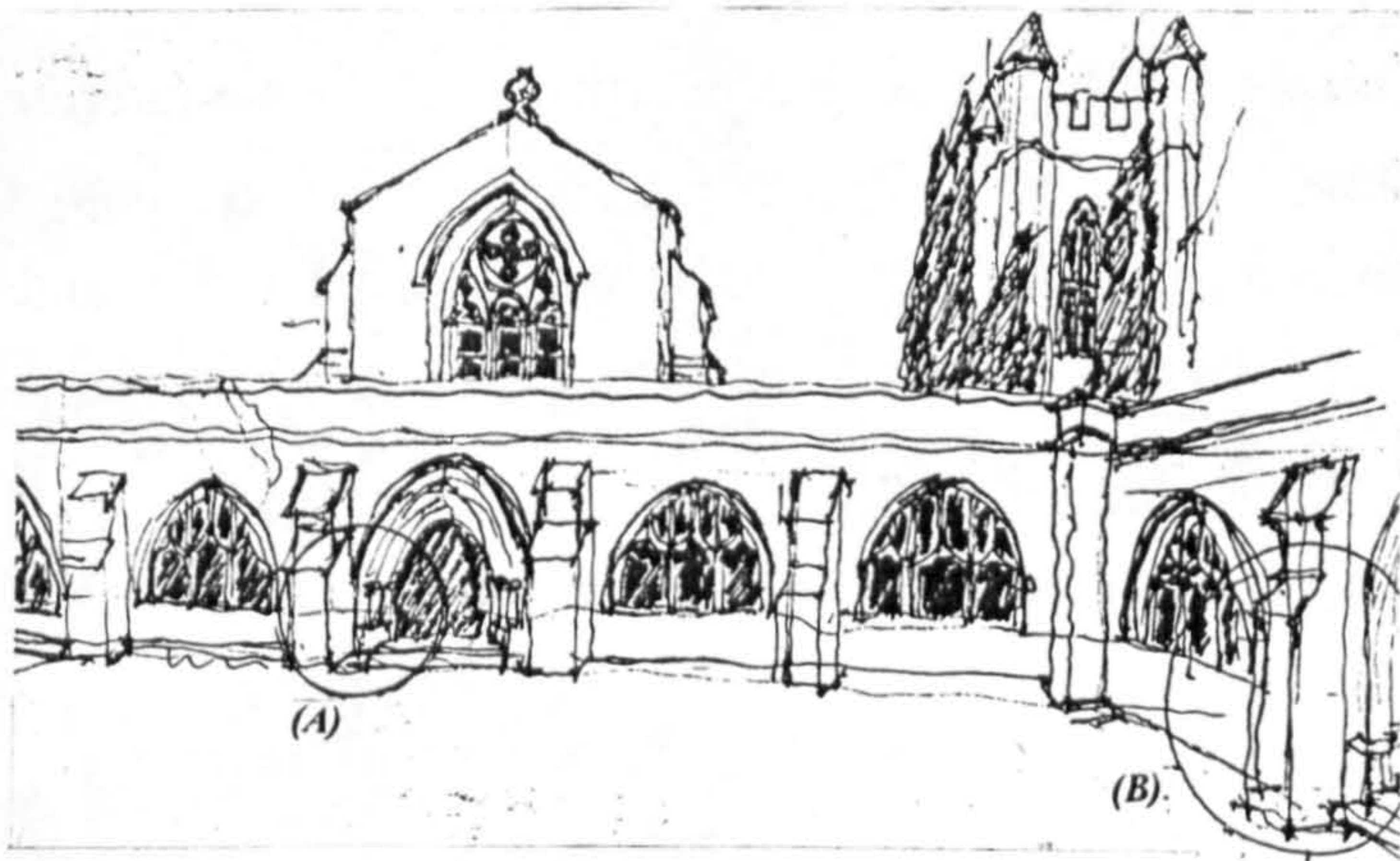
As mentioned above, all entrances to the principal buildings of the campus are through the *Ambulatory*, with the exception of the Gatehouse (Ill. 1). Expensive and elaborated details were used for the articulation of the entrance leading to the Cathedral, whereas the lesser important entrances leading to the secular buildings are simpler, and were produced on site employing local materials and workmanship.

The entrance to the Cathedral (Ill. 1A) followed the *Perpendicular* and *Decorated* styles (Ill. 3), using the following elements: double recessed arches, supported by green marble shafts, which are more like pillars. The articulation of their round bases and their polygonal pedestals also followed the Perpendicular style, while their capitals repeat the shape of their base, unlike the common Perpendicular articulation. The pillars are surprisingly short, particularly in relation to their pedestals (Ill. 2).

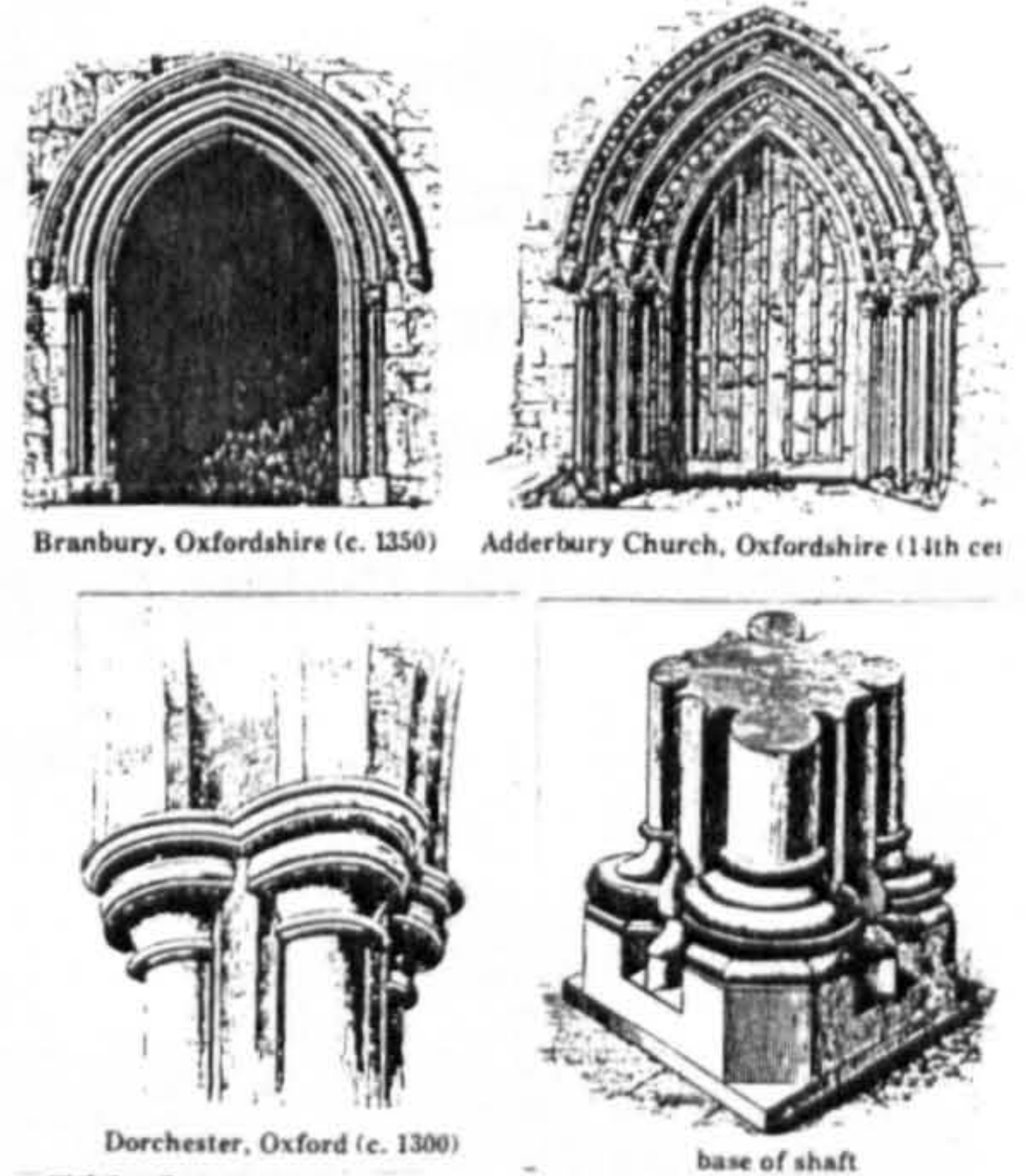
Both the green marble shafts and the stone bases of the capitals were imported, while the double arch was carved of a special type of soft white limestone. It was comprised of convex and concave cross sections, carved in a manner which prevented the breaking of the stone blocks; the curvatures A,B, (Ill. 2) are not tangent to each other, but were separated by a flat uncurved narrow interval C. The impression is of a single stream line.

This shows how Jeffery had mastered local methods of stone carving, and could employ them with great competence for executing almost any stylistic form which he perceived as essential for portraying an English atmosphere. And yet, as shown above, this virtuosity had often been ineffective in the strong light of Jerusalem. Compared with the elaboration of other arched entrances of the *Ambulatory*, in which only concave curvatures comprise the *Splay* of the arch, the stripes of dark shadow are far more effective (Ill. 4). In the Gatehouse, the articulation of the *Splayed* arch is even more effective (Plate 9, Ill. 2). The narrow grooves were cut into the flat chamfered surface. The ledge over the arch, which works as a moulding or a drip stone, has an entirely different cross section: it comprises a very small projection over a moderately curved surface. Yet, since it casts a dark stripe of shadow, it emphasises the *Splayed* arch, and together with the deep grooves the entire arch becomes bold and visible.

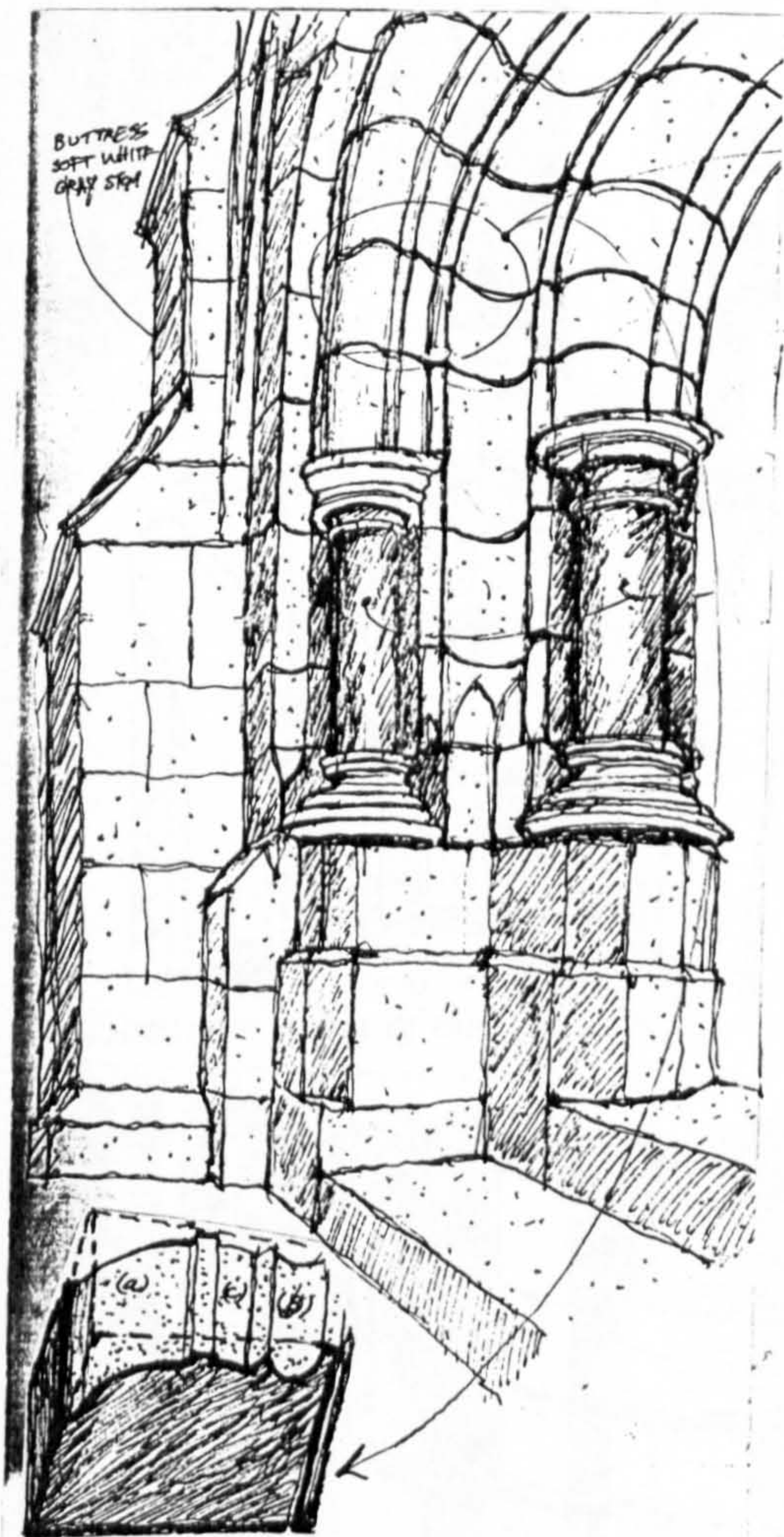




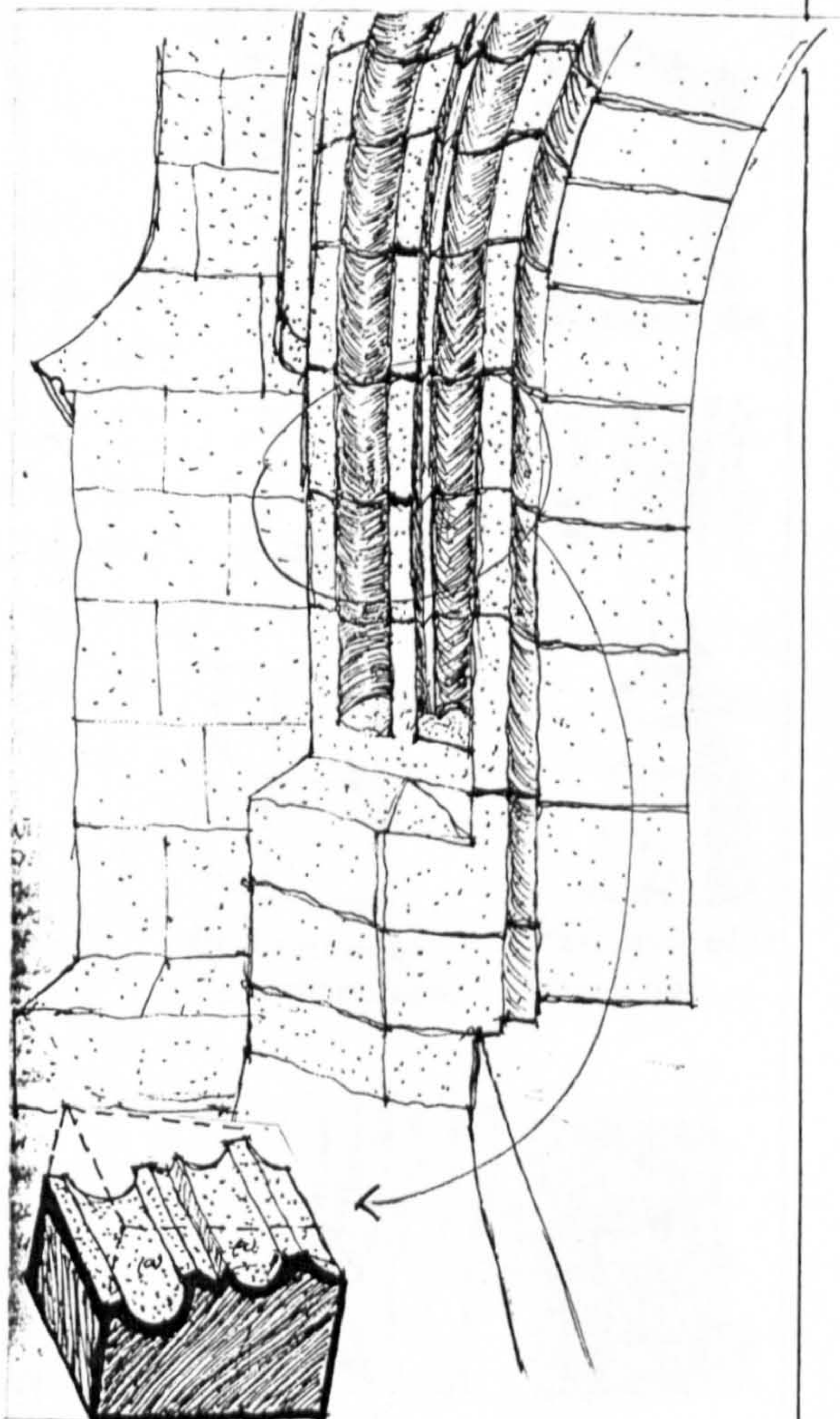
**III.1** South-east corner of the Quad: entrance to the Cathedral (A) entrance to the Bishop's residence (B).



**III.3** Examples of arched doorways of the "Decorated." Details of Jamb shafts.



**III.2** Details of the arched opening leading to the Cathedral.



**III.4** Details of the arched opening leading to the Bishop's residence.

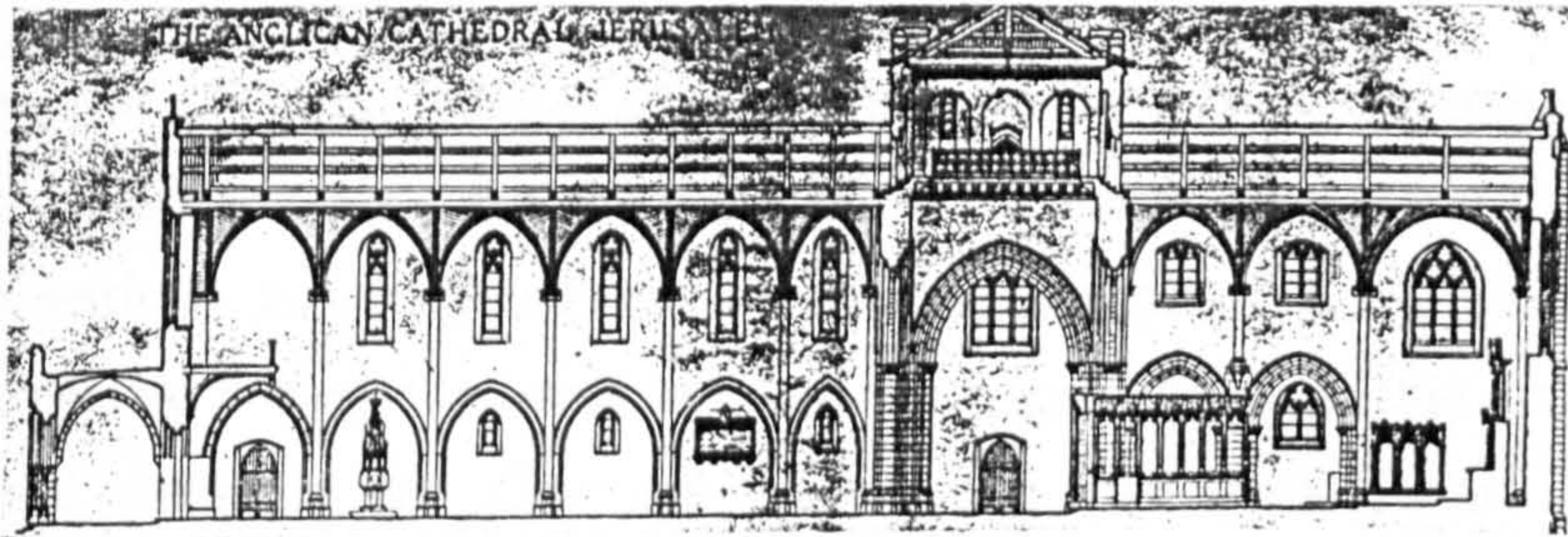


## PLATE 14

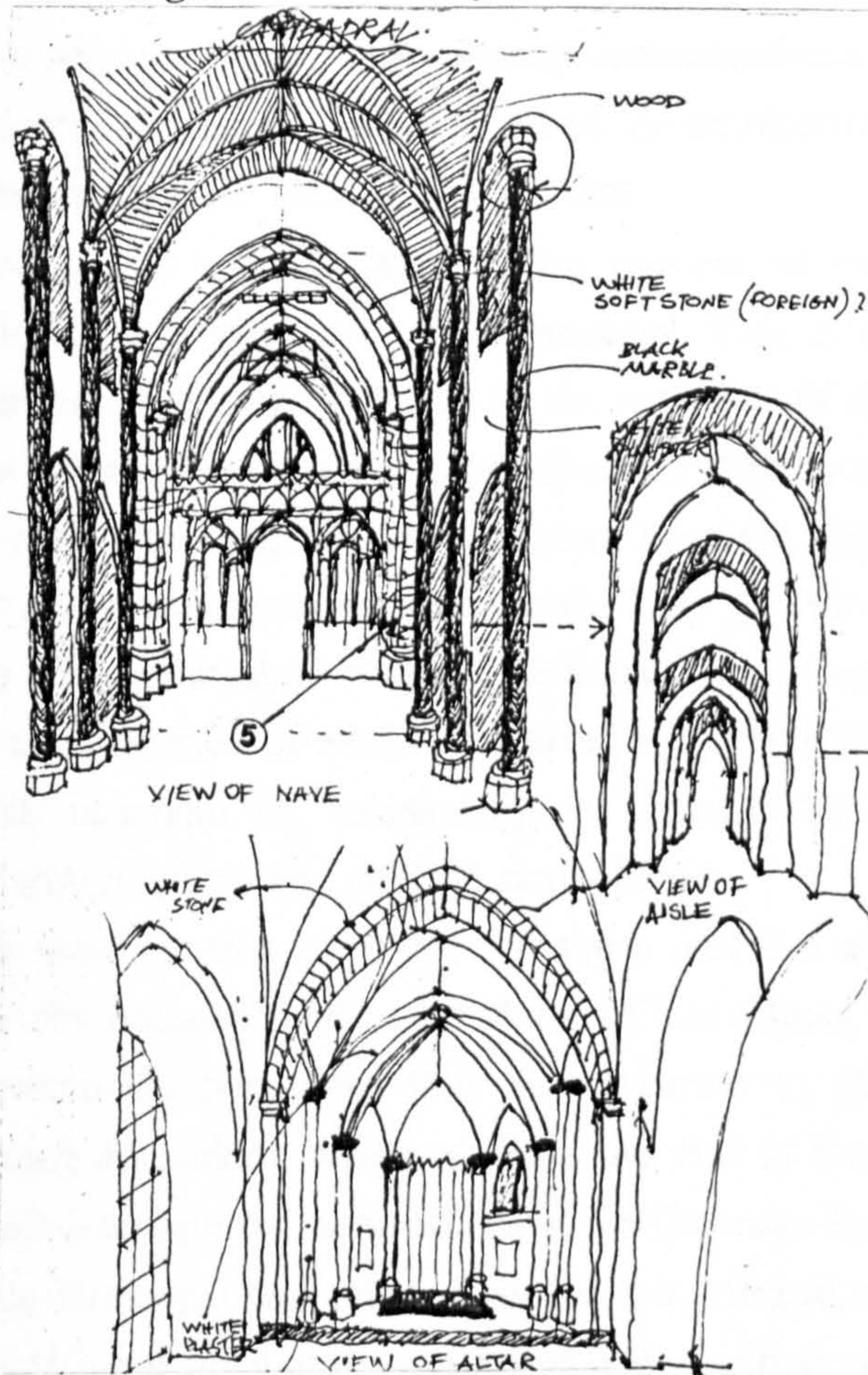
In spite of the imported elements which dominate the articulation of the interior space of the Cathedral, its humble proportions avoid the impression of the *Early English* style (Ills. 1,2,4). Local influence can be recognised in the white-wash plaster walls, and in the elaboration of the four columns of the central tower over the transept, where the concave cross section was mainly employed (Ill. 3).



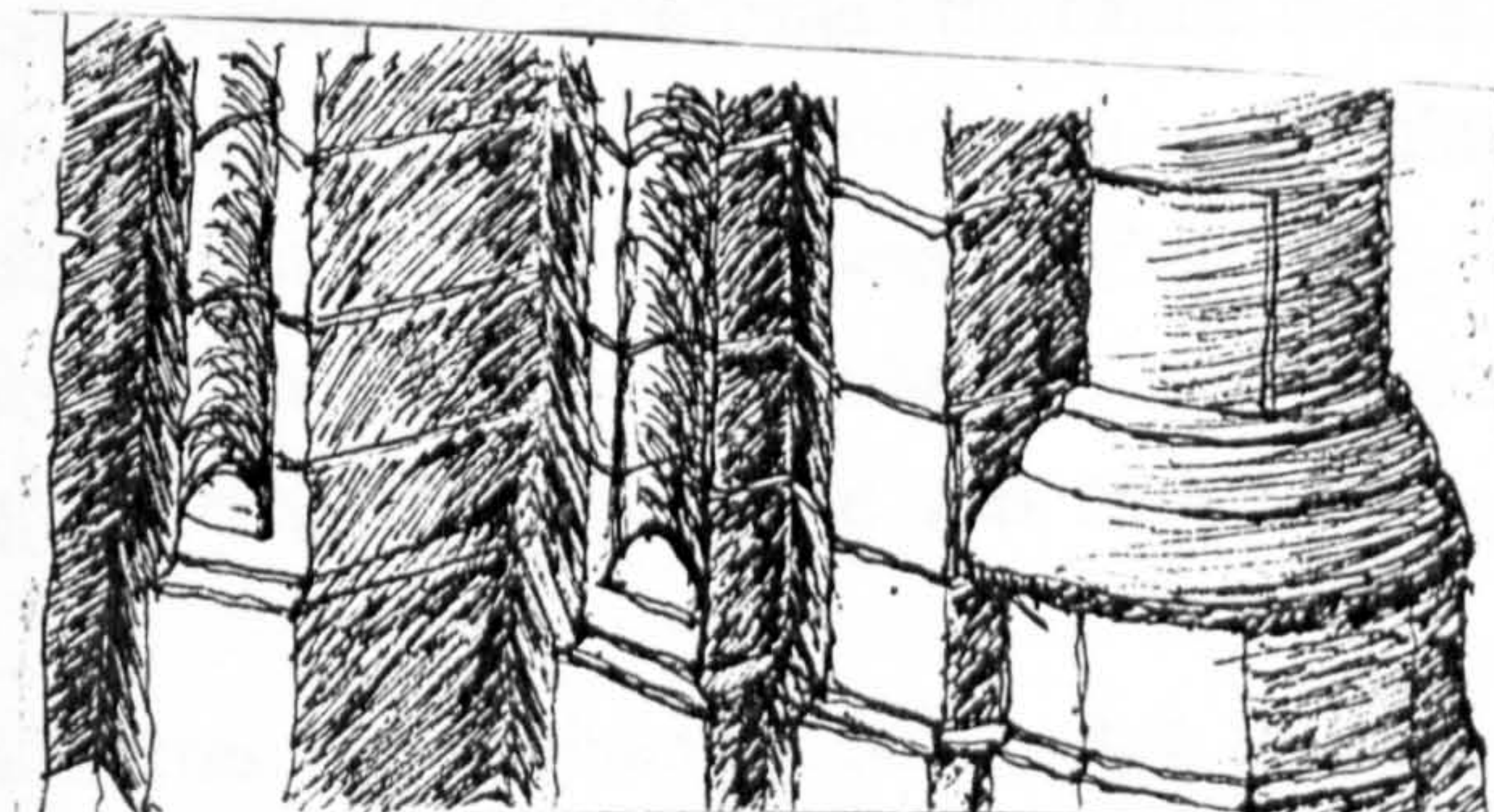




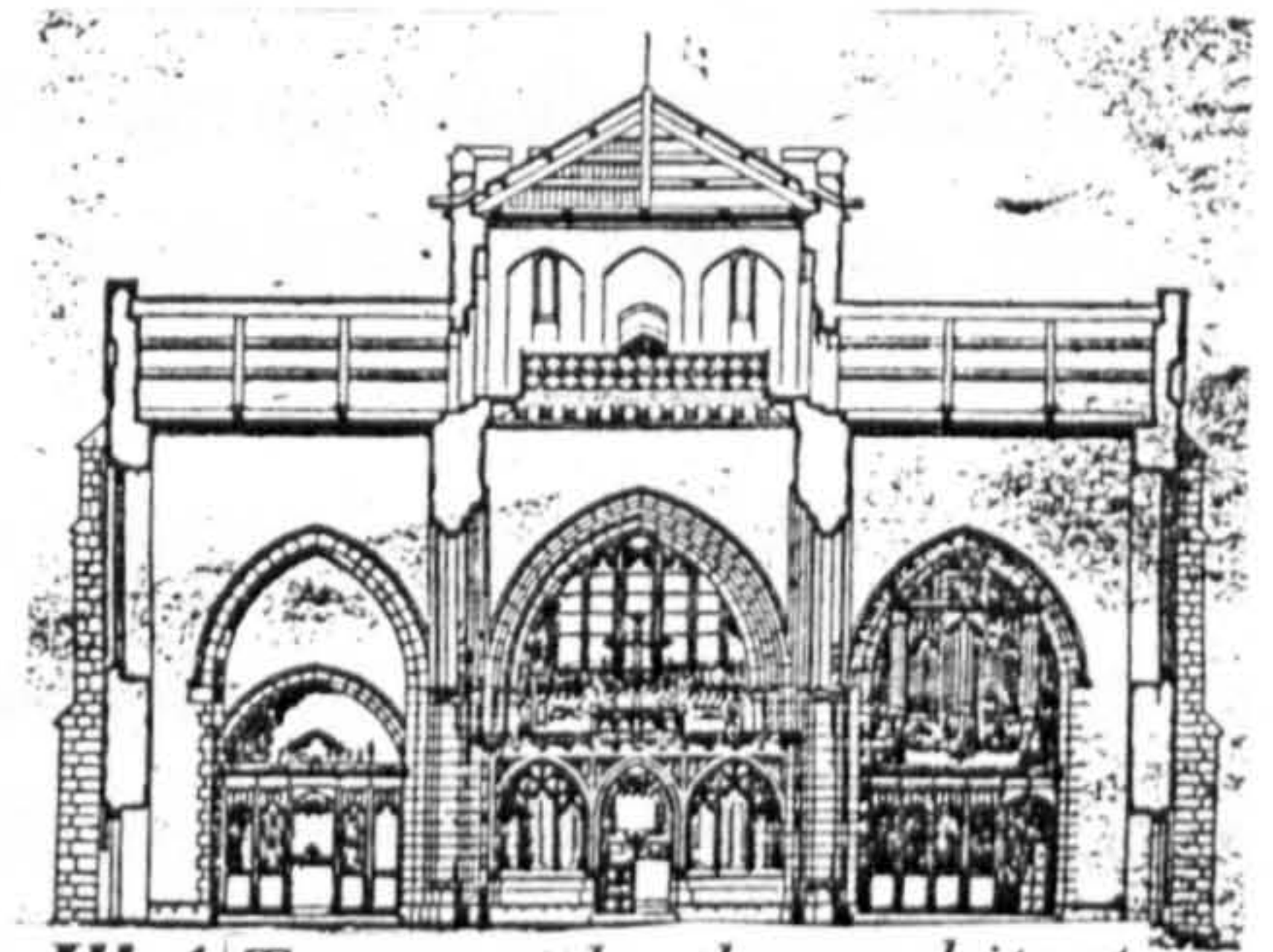
III.1 Longitudinal section of the Cathedral drawn by the architect.



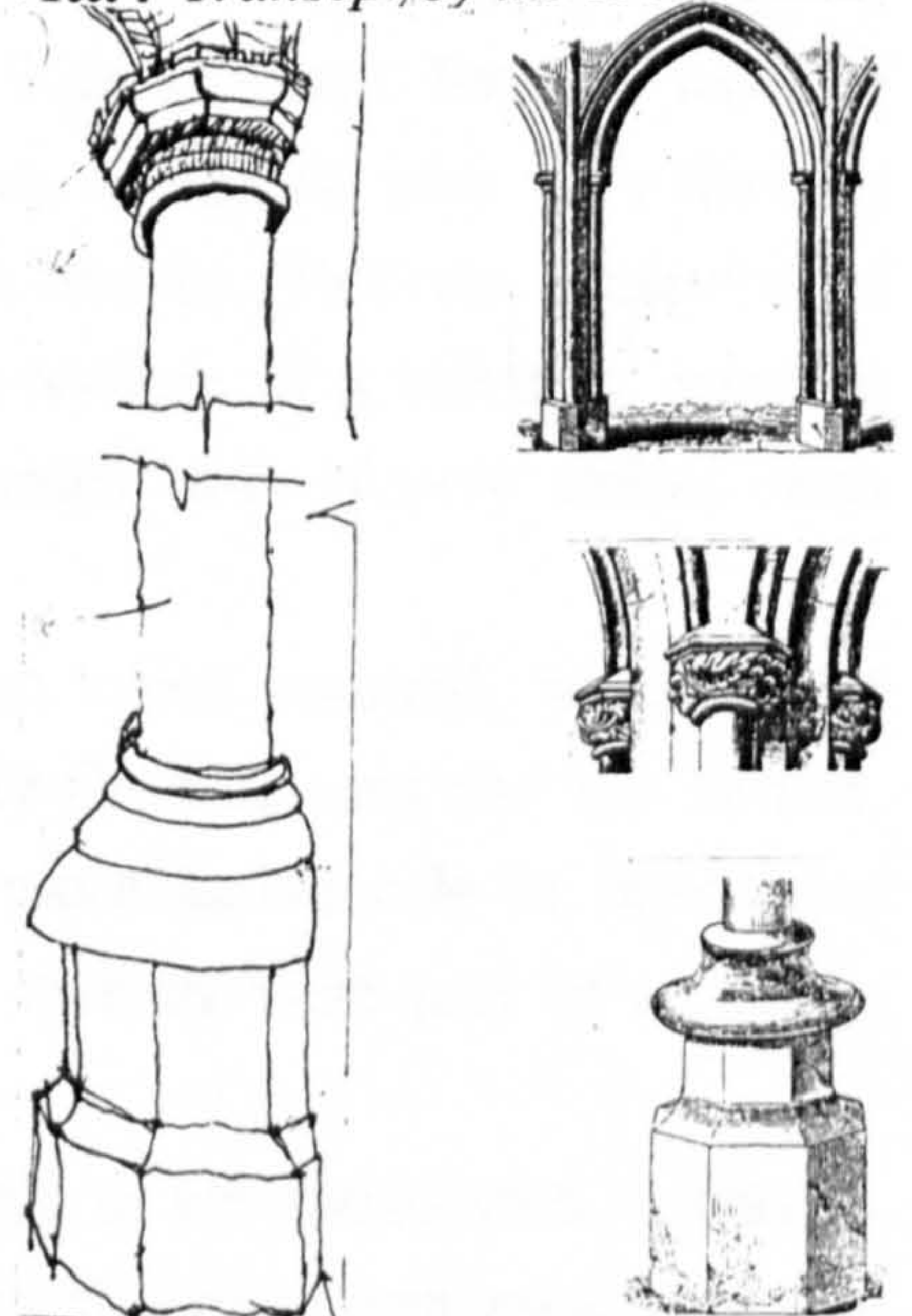
III.2 Internal views of the Cathedral.



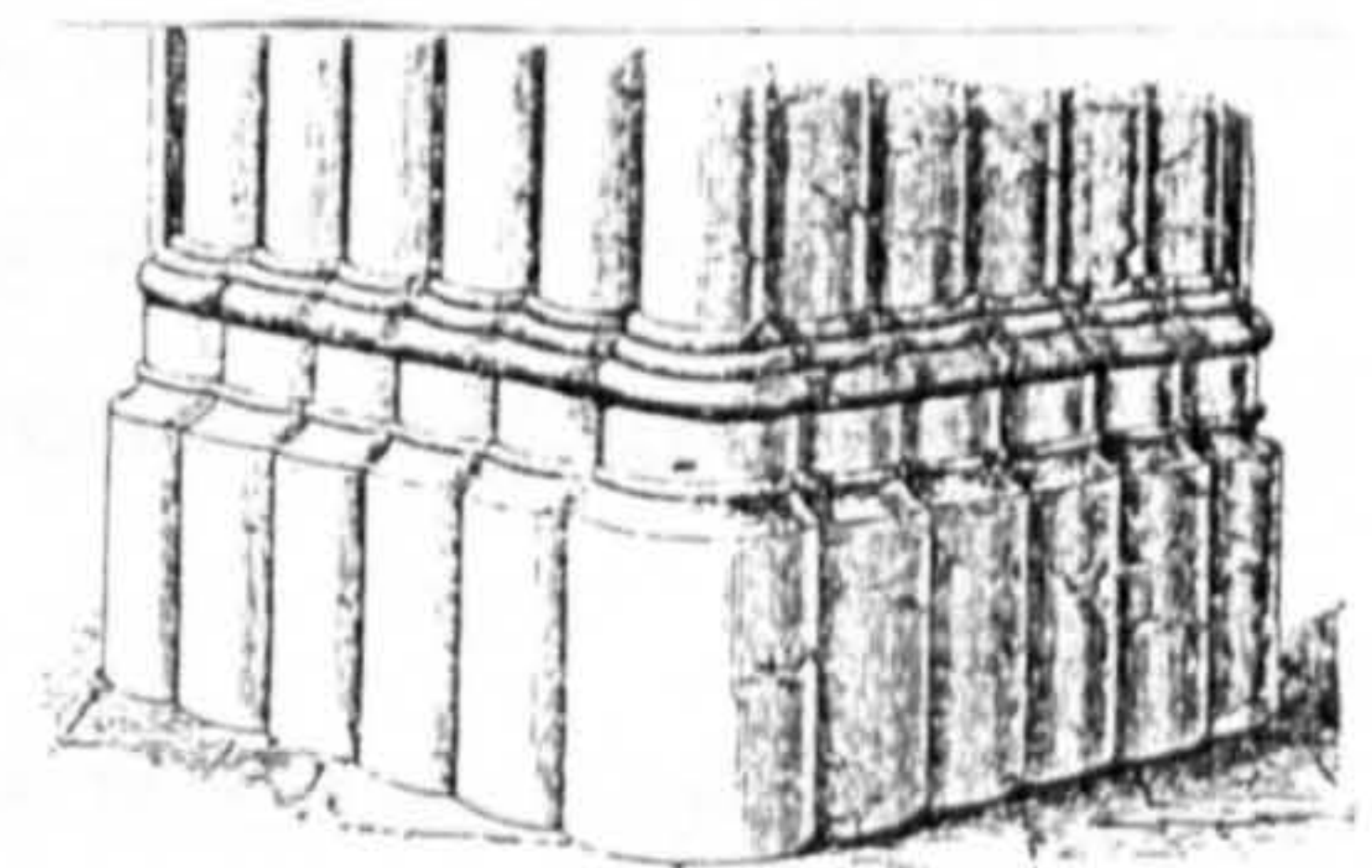
III.3 Detail of the Transept column base.



III.4 Transept, by the architect.



III.5 Detail of the nave column; A Perpendicular column base.



Decorated style column base.



## 8.5. Summary

Between 1849 (the inauguration of Christ Church) and 1917 (the commencement of the British Mandate over Palestine), Jerusalem had been an arena of competitive activity by foreign nations, mainly European. It was described above as 'religious colonisation', that is, a process by which Christian groups were gradually gaining control over the sacred Christian places in the City and conducting intense missionary activities amongst its inhabitants. Each group focused on a particular sector of the population, offering them welfare services. Those were usually accommodated in buildings especially constructed for that purpose, which often functioned as extraterritorial strongholds, built in various locations within and around the Old City.

However, it was not an ordinary process of gaining imperial control, nor can it be considered a proper case of colonialism. This is first because at that stage European governments were not involved in the activities of the Christian groups in Jerusalem, and did not see any advantage in controlling the country at large. Moreover, the common policy of the main international powers was to keep the Ottoman Empire intact. Second, cases of proper colonialism were confined to the Jews and the German Templars, who were the only groups who established ordinary settlements for their own benefit. With the exception of these, the activities of all foreign groups involved the conveyance of a message, whether national, international, missionary, or a combination, which was closely linked with Jerusalem's religious and cultural symbolism.

The interpretation of those messages and the activities which resulted, were almost entirely the initiative and undertaking of individuals, mainly the Germans and the British. They eventually persuaded their governments to play a more active role in operations concerning Jerusalem, which towards the end of the 19th century were part of a greater European intervention in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire.

Since Jerusalem was never considered a political, strategic or economic asset, it was its representational attributes -- cultural and spiritual, fixed in the European awareness for many generations, that determined the nature of the foreign activities in the City. It follows, then, that the desire to 'have' Jerusalem as a 'cultural object' had been a basic drive for individuals, and later for governments. Controlling the Christian sacred places throughout the City and converting its inhabitants to Christianity was regarded as a substitute for owning the Holy City. In fact, it was the beginning of the European hegemony over the City.

Apart from three buildings - the English Mission Hospital, the monastery of St. Etienne and the St. Paulus Hospice, most of the foreign buildings constructed in Jerusalem at that time were defined here as cases of Direct Representation, meaning that the European tradition was represented in their buildings as a means of attracting converts and for gaining hegemony.

Architectural elements played a major role in those buildings, to which was ascribed



the capacity to portray images and convey messages. Although characteristic European building schemes were commonly used and were considered an important representational factor (mainly by the French and the Russians), greater efforts and expenses were invested in producing elements which would look as European as possible. When modifications took place, they were usually compromises rather than deliberate attempts of adaptation.

The British buildings of that period were the enterprise of highly motivated individuals, supported by various religious societies in England which combined mysticism and strong missionary drive. Two of the buildings which were examined above: Christ Church and St. George's Cathedral, were basically cases of Direct Representation with some differences between them. They were comprised of what was perceived as typically English characteristics, to which the capacity to represent the image of the Anglican Church was ascribed. It was assumed that the potential converts amongst the local population would be attracted to that image and that the message of the Anglican church would appeal to them. The English Mission Hospital, on the other hand, was a case of Indirect Representation, where an attempt was made to communicate with the local population by incorporating what was perceived as local traditional architectural characteristics.

The detailed examination of the buildings, which was undertaken by the author on site, identified these elements (parts, details and ornaments), demonstrated the methods used for their production and examined their role in the building. It was found that both in cases of Direct and Indirect Representation, the individual architectural element was considered the key representational ingredient and the main vehicle for conveying messages.

In Christ Church, where the Jews were regarded as potential converts, and due to the constraints laid by the Ottoman authorities, a restrained stylistic expression was employed. However, all the architects who were involved with the design of the building in its various stages were ready to compromise about its layout and the configuration of its mass, so that its English character was put in doubt. But they all insisted on incorporating a basic selection of typically English parts and details regardless of their cost and the difficulties in their production. The result did not always justify those efforts mainly because some of the details are ineffective in the strong Jerusalem sunlight, and are in no position to dominate the general appearance of the building.

St. George's Cathedral had neither been an attempt to respond to the local context nor to the culture and tradition of the potential converts, which were in this case Muslims and Christian Arabs. The layout of the entire complex, the configuration of the buildings' masses, as well as their architectural elements, indicate a deliberate intention to create an English transplant, which was also stated by the architect. However, the stocky proportions of the buildings contradict the intention to create a neo-Gothic stylistic expression. A rather awkward impression was created instead. Furthermore, the virtuosity by which the local limestone was used for making Gothic details neither amends that impression nor does it justify the efforts of its making, as intricate details often disappear in the strong light, similar



to what was shown in Christ Church.

The English Mission Hospital was an attempt to portray the Anglican image and to convey its missionary messages in an indirect way, termed here Indirect Representation. The layout of the compound shows two things: first, the common conception that prevailed amongst British architects at that time of how buildings should be positioned in hot climates; second, it was an attempt to respond to the surroundings, by avoiding a wall around the compound and employing a scheme based on a crescent which opens to the main road. It was assumed that the Islamic elements, incorporated in the buildings which face the main road, would appeal to the local inhabitants and encourage them to use the Hospital's services. The irony of using Islamic elements to attract the Jews (who at that time were still regarded as potential converts) is secondary to their misuse in the building. Regarded as 'typically local', the power to represent the local tradition was ascribed to these elements. They were schematised, simplified and wrongly incorporated in the buildings.

With the commencement of the British mandate over Palestine, Direct Representation in buildings was wholly unaccepted and gave way to another form - Indirect Representation. The basic conception of the individual architectural element did not change, only its origin. It was still regarded as a key element in the building ascribed with critical representational power. Furthermore, the collapse of the stylistic frameworks in architecture and the sustained influence of the Arts & Crafts theories on British architects was almost fully implemented by architects who practiced throughout the Empire. However, that transition by which elements of another architectural tradition (that of the subordinate people) were used as a means of controlling them, or to gain hegemony over them, was not a simple matter. It was based primarily on representational systems of objects, as discussed in the previous chapters of this dissertation.

In the next chapter the form of Indirect Representation will be discussed. It will be shown how Islamic architectural elements replaced the former British elements, and became critical in British buildings constructed in Jerusalem until the late 1930s.



### **9.1. Introduction**

This chapter begins with the enforcement of the British mandatory administration over Palestine on December 1917, when General Allenby's forces had captured the city of Jerusalem. Allenby, who entered the city by foot, represented in this humble act the feelings of the British public at that time, for whom the significance of that event was spiritual-religious rather than military-imperial. The chapter ends with the termination of the construction works of the Central Post Office in Jerusalem in 1938. Though not the last British building to be built during the Mandate period, which ended ten years later, no other British building significant to this study was built after 1938.

The establishment of the British Mandate over Palestine marked a dramatic change in the state of the country, and determined its later development, mainly in the national and international realms. As far as the city of Jerusalem and its architecture is concerned, it is considered the beginning of its Westernisation. Regarding this study, it marked the end of a Direct Representation in buildings, whence the form of an Indirect Representation was put into effect

Before testing this concept in the buildings themselves, through the drawn analysis below, it is necessary to discuss the main issues which constituted the base for the British architectural operations in Jerusalem. Those were the following: (1) the new British concept of control - by influence rather than by force, as implemented in Jerusalem by the mandatory framework; (2) the dilemma of preservation versus development as resolved by the Pro-Jerusalem Society; (3) the paradoxical search for the authentic, as conducted by C. R. Ashbee.

The selection of buildings which will be analysed below is divided into those which were built in a proper urban context, and those whose context were basically non-urban, all outside the walled city. Unlike the previous analysis of the Pre-Mandate buildings (see above 8.4.), the urban and non-urban buildings of the Mandate period will be analysed laterally, according to the following parameters: location; layout and configuration of mass; dominant built forms; and critical architectural elements.

Some general references to Islamic architecture as perceived and drawn by British architects of the same period and of previous generations will also be presented. However, it must be remembered that these are not necessarily intended as a means for comparison but rather to show that the source of inspiration for British architects practising in Jerusalem was predominantly second hand, meaning that they were relying on the drawings of foreign architects, mainly British, who previously examined the architecture of the region (see above Chapter 7).



## 9.2. From Religious Colonisation to a "Sacred Trust"

By the end of the First World War, the British in the Middle East had become Britain in the Middle East (Searight, 1979; 269), meaning that Middle Eastern British sporadic colonisation operations, principally religious and mostly by individuals, was replaced by formal British responsibility. And yet spiritual feelings and personal devotion still prevailed amongst all those who became involved in the mandatory framework, particularly in regard to Jerusalem. This was as expressed by the last High Commissioner for Palestine, General A. G. Cunningham: "...The city of Jerusalem, precious as an emblem of several faiths... has been in our care as a sacred trust for 30 years" (Cunningham, in Kendall, 1948; X).

For the first time since the Crusaders, the most sacred Christian sites were in Christian hands. But it must be remembered that the British were dragged into governing the country, first as a military force and then as a mandatory power, which committed itself to administer the land on behalf of the League of the Nations (Hopwood, 1989, 113). Nevertheless, the British, who didn't really settle in Palestine or develop an 'affectionate tolerance' for its Arabs inhabitants (as they did for the Egyptians), had started out with the best intentions. The Middle Eastern mandates were set up at a time when the British public believed that entire populations could be controlled solely by moral influence. It was assumed that a new model of imperialism could be implemented, which implied a reduction in the number of their civilian personnel and assigning them to posts which were explicitly advisory. This form of control was, as pointed out by T. E. Lawrence, "...highly exacting; it required strength of character and a sure touch with the natives" (Tidrick, 1989; 207).

In other words, aiming at gaining hegemony instead of direct control. In part it was derived from an implicit faith in the psychological ascendancy they assumed from knowledge; a knowledge which seemed powerful because it was believed to be unilateral. The belief that the English were particularly qualified to get involved in Arab politics, fitted in very well with the conceptions of a new generation of imperial thinkers whose ideas were in fashion at the time. The notion of the Round Table Group, by which an Empire could be held together less by force, but rather by the British genius for understanding, and subtly controlling the natives, had a great appeal for those who followed the footsteps of Doughty and Burton. (Tidrick, 1989; 163). Though Arabists such as G. Bell and T. E. Lawrence were not members of the group, they contributed to the concept that the national aspiration of small nations could best be served, at least for the time being, within the British Empire (see above, 4.3.). On the more popular cultural level, British self-esteem had reached new climaxes: "...an inborn knack of governing that has given him [the Englishman] prestige above other European nations among less advanced countries" (Bashford, 1920; 120).

The notion of limited interference in a country's local affairs had often been literally followed by the Colonial Office in London, which almost never financed projects in mandatory countries. Projects undertaken by a mandatory government had to be balanced by its own budget, which obviously implied a limited scope of development. The greater



part of the budget was used for administration and security, and as far as development was concerned, most expenditures were used for building up the country's infrastructure of mainly roads and railways. Although local governors did not always agree with this governmental line, their opinions had never been quite the opposite.

Palestine had always been considered an agricultural country, thus most of the mandatory government's development operations, which included educational projects, infrastructure roads and railways, were directed to the Arab villages, and aimed at improvement rather than at reform. In practice, however, only a limited number of such plans were eventually implemented. The most important contribution of the mandatory government in Palestine was in the legal and administration realms, which did not demand great expense. Compared with the Ottoman administration, the achievements of the British Mandate in Palestine were most significant. Yet much of the mandatory laws were based on rules and regulations which were introduced by the Ottoman government between the years 1839-1876, known as the *Thantimat*. It was the mandatory governmental policy to continue to use those rules to which local inhabitants were already accustomed (Fucs, 1992; 43,45).

The British mandatory government in Palestine was "...responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917,... in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people". At the same time, the mandatory government was also committed to the non-Jewish communities in Palestine "...that nothing should be done which might prejudice their civil and religious rights..." (Mandatory Charter, Fucs, 1992; 45). This double commitment was to be most problematic regarding the Jewish-Arab conflict. Under these circumstances the mandatory government needed to find a fair balance of services and aid given to both communities, which were never equal in number or strength. Compared with the Arab majority, the Jewish minority had been economically stronger, and paid a greater amount in taxes. Moreover, the Jewish community, which was constantly expanding, had been in itself a typical colonial power similar to the European settlers of the pre-mandatory age, with strong national aspirations (see above, 8.2.7.) They were an advanced, dynamic, well organised, urban society, with strong territorial ambitions. The Arabs on the other hand, were mostly underdeveloped, poor, and a passive agrarian society. The British, who already had growing doubts regarding the imperial experience, were naturally in favour of the weaker side - the Arabs. Jewish activity was regarded by the British as much too radical, and interference in the existing situation would cause negative implications both socially and physically. Jewish affairs in Palestine were never publicly criticised by British leadership or administration, whereas in the British media, such feeling could be more freely expressed:

To establish Palestine as an artificially organised 'spiritual home' for a certain section of the Jewish race, superimposed upon the existing population would be to disregard these essential conditions, and the result could not fail to be retrograde. Palestine does not want to be overturned by Jews, ... Moreover, other races besides the Jewish hold Palestine in peculiar reverence, and may



rightly take concern of its future (Bashford, 1920; 128,129).

The British, who were trained to deal with traditional agrarian societies, were unable, or reluctant to find proper solutions for the situation, which coincides in many respects with the basic dilemma of the post World War One British imperialism as has been shown in part I of this study.

### **9.3. Preservation Versus Development - the Pro-Jerusalem Society**

In its early years, British Mandatory building policy for the city of Jerusalem, was largely determined by the O.E.T.A. - Occupied Enemy Territory Administration, inspired by General Allenby and implemented by Roland Storrs (the first Military Governor of Jerusalem 1918-1920, and the founder and President of the Pro-Jerusalem Society 1918-1922), with Charles R. Ashbee as his Civic Adviser. British imperial ideology of post World War One, and non-Modern architectural attitudes merged together. It was manifested in the built environment of Jerusalem and was a perfect example of Indirect Representation at work, for what was planned or built was intended to be authentic as the local tradition.

A twofold message was conveyed - enlightened ideals of modern government, on the one hand, and the encouragement of the existing traditional culture on the other. As far as Jerusalem was concerned, this message was directed not only to the local inhabitants, but also to the British public back home, and to other European nations, emphasising the British responsibility towards the assets of the Western- Christian world, now under British patronage.

The preservation of Jerusalem's architectural heritage, which was regarded a most responsible task, sometimes even a sacred mission, had demanded clear moral, social and aesthetic criteria regarding both its preservation and its development. Storrs and Ashbee, who determined these criteria, were also directly responsible for their implementation through the Pro-Jerusalem Society. This society was founded by Storrs in 1918 and was the principal civic administrative body during the years 1918-1922.

The decision to make Jerusalem the capital city of the British military and civil administration in Palestine was taken by the O.E.T.A. in spite of various opposing practical reasons. Under the Ottoman rule Jerusalem had never been more than a district town. During the early days of the British occupation, principal military bases were located in Haifa and Jaffa from which the country could be more easily controlled. Jerusalem on the other hand, was "...a city aloof". Its isolation from any feasible trade channels created great difficulties of transport, an obstacle for manufacturing development or for promoting its status as a commercial centre. Yet, Jerusalem's spiritual and cultural significance was considered far more important, being "...the religious centre of the civilised world" (Bashford, 1920; 129), or "...a precious emblem of several faiths, a site of spiritual



beauty..." (Cunningham, in Kendall, 1948; X). In many respects governing Jerusalem had been a kind of compensation for the British public of that time, who could not easily accept any more acquisition of land for political interests alone. The magnificent Old City, which has always been more of a symbol than an earthly entity, provided another jewel in the shabby and a somewhat fragile imperial crown. It awakened the English sense of mission since Jerusalem was in such a poor state after years of neglect under the Ottoman rule.

Roland Storrs, who liked to see himself as a combination of aesthete and a man of action, was a "confident amateur" of Arab history and literature, capable in his own estimation to handle efficiently any Oriental ruler whose interests touched on those of the British Empire (Tidrick, 1989; 165,184). "...He looked less like a pillar of the Empire than perhaps a fashionable museum curator". He shared Mark Sykes' sophisticated aesthetic approach to the Arab, and though not a member of the Bureau, his presence was always influential. Yet his approach to political problems of Palestine was "...essentially apolitical", and he regarded Jerusalem less as a sacred place than as "...a work of art...". He adopted the "...true Levantine style, delighting in the company of artists and musicians", and collecting art objects (J. Morris, 1979; 391, 392).

The first Public Notice he issued in Jerusalem, on April 8th 1918, was to determine the appearance of the city then and now: "...No person shall demolish, erect, alter, or repair the structure of any building in the city of Jerusalem or its environs... until he had obtained a written permit...". Another Public Notice issued about the same time, banned the use of stucco and corrugated iron within the ancient city walls, "...and thus respecting the tradition of stone vaulting, the heritage in Jerusalem of an immemorial and hallowed past" (Storrs, in Ashbee, 1921; V). These instructions, considered an emergency act, were not merely a response to the Ottoman building customs, but were also directed to the other European "...unchecked religious exploitation", which had "...already hidden or thrown out of scale most of the ancient northern and western walls, by building hard against them". The only way, according to Storrs, by which Jerusalem could be protected, was to establish "an aesthetic, as well as a liturgical and political Status Quo..." (Storrs, 1937; 363).

Nonetheless, it had been clear to Storrs that the implementation of such an aesthetic status quo required more professional input. And so, as Chairman of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, he first hired the services of W. H. MacLean, the town planner of Alexandria and of Khartoum "...not to plan so much as to bring out regulations which will at any rate preserve the unique character of Jerusalem" (Storrs, 1937; 365). And yet, in his search for someone "...more than an architect or town planner" he had chosen C. R. Ashbee "...a friend and disciple of William Morris, a member of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, and of the National Trust, and well known for his skill and enthusiasm for civic development with its kindred Arts and Crafts" (Storrs, 1921; VI).

Ashbee, an architect, an intellectual and an art-worker, was amongst a handful of architects and thinkers belonging to a generation after William Morris, who were conscious of historical contexts deeper than issues of styles and materials. Although the circle of



Ruskin's pupils to which Ashbee belonged leaned towards socialism, he avoided politics in favour of education and vocational training. Ashbee regarded the Industrial Revolution as a social calamity. For him, the redemption of the working man lay in creativity, physical labor, limited mechanisation and mutual aid. His most famous enterprise was the founding of a crafts school and an artists guild in 1888. They were located in the village of Chipping Campden, which eventually failed economically in 1908. Yet, a second chapter in his career began in 1918, when he was appointed by Storrs as the Civic Adviser of Jerusalem (Crawford, 1985; Saint, 1991; 206-217; M. Levin, 1987; 60- 61; Fucs, 1992; 174-179;).

#### **9.4. The Paradoxical Search for the Authentic - C. R. Ashbee**

Ashbee considered Jerusalem a golden opportunity to realise his utopian vision. Here was a pre-industrial society, closely tied to its natural surroundings, however with no distinguished crafts of its own. He naturally felt greater affinity towards the Arabs of Palestine, which he regarded as true representatives of the country's traditional culture and of Islam. Obviously he thought that the British Mandate should protect that genuine community from industrialisation and modernisation, represented mainly by the Jews, but no less by Europeans, whose buildings had already made the view of Jerusalem "...all but obliterated; we see the once golden dome no longer, we see a bastard Florence, a bastard Nuremberg, a bastard Moscow... a Bavarian suburb and an imitation Oxford".(Ashbee, 1918; in Fucs 1992; 175).

Ashbee's work in Jerusalem embodied the universal conflict between preserving the cultural and architectural heritage of a historic city and the necessity to develop it as a living urban entity. As mentioned above the conflict between modernism and traditionalism in Jerusalem had critical national and political implications. Ashbee's position had never been particularly balanced; he was strongly in favour of Arab interests, which he considered traditional and consequently more authentic. His rather obsessive preoccupation with the authentic, which sat comfortably within the ideology of the Arts and Crafts Movement, had characterised his enterprise in Jerusalem. He assumed that the authentic, perceived as a precious extract of a traditional culture (see above 2.2.2.), could sustain its attributes even if taken from its natural context and made part of an orderly, Western framework. In other words, he believed that authentic things could be produced and sold, and become part of a new economical system of the City. The paradox then, lies in that endeavour to search out, distinguish and elaborate the authentic, overlooking its somewhat anonymous, dull context, which was no less authentic. Searching for the most authentic involved a purification process, by which independent objects, whether artifacts, architectural elements or entire buildings, to which were ascribed the power to represent a whole culture. Ashbee hoped to achieve that goal through the Pro-Jerusalem Society, focusing on two major realms:



conservation works, and creating a modern new town plan (Ashbee, 1924; 2).

#### 9.4.1. Conservation

The realm of conservation included several objectives: first was the cleaning and clearing out of what ever was in conflict with Western aesthetic norms and with the perception of the Old City as a compact entity or an object, i.e. "... a unity in itself, contained within its wall circuit... It is this compactness or unity, so characteristic to Jerusalem, that the Society has set itself to preserve" (Ashbee, 1921; 1). Accordingly, the following works were executed: demolishing all the buildings which clung on the outside of the north-west corner of the Old City walls; repairing the Rampart Walk, the Citadel, the Dome of the Rock, and restoring the market of the Qattanin.

The second objective, a pre-condition to building works in any historic city, was to establish suitable criteria for the protection of archaeological evidence, which normally implied social and political associations. For that to be accomplished, a comprehensive survey and archaeological knowledge were necessary, together with a strong administration which could enforce laws and regulations.

A most common offense in Jerusalem was the reuse of ancient stone blocks in new buildings. This phenomenon, which obviously contradicted the need to protect the archaeological heritage of the City, had its own peculiar authenticity, as in Jerusalem the custom of recycling building materials or even entire elements was a common characteristic of its architectural history.

The third objective of the Society - the establishment of new industries and vocational training centres, was considered by Ashbee to be a most important and noble aim, as it had been a central principle of the British Crafts Movement. However, here again the paradoxical search for the authentic is clearly shown. Great efforts were invested by Ashbee through the Society in establishing three new industries in the city: ornamented tile making, glass work, and weaving. Yet it had been much more of Ashbee's wish rather than what the reality had been. Although he defined them as "...revivals rather than new undertakings", there had never developed in Jerusalem or in any other place in the country, an authentic genuine craft or specific industry. What Ashbee had regarded as "...implicit in the ancient traditions of the city, its structure and its crafts" (Ashbee, 1921; 30), was actually an import, though rightly associated with the city for many generations. All three industries originated elsewhere. Weaving, which was initiated by the American Red Cross during the First World War, was Armenian in origin. The self-supporting industry known as the 'Jerusalem Looms', was also a system of apprenticeship where about 70 Muslim boys were trained. This craft had been unsuccessful and was eventually closed down by the Society.

The Society's attempt to establish a glass-blowing industry originating in Hebron, also failed. As Ashbee himself admitted, there were "...certain things essential to our knowledge



before the revival of the craft of glass work could be seriously undertaken" (Ashbee, 1921; 30). These were rather fundamental; first was the problem of unqualified workmen, who were also engaged in agricultural work in their own villages; second was the problem of fuel for the furnace; third, and most important, was the poor quality of the products themselves as "...glass now made is soft and brittle, and often pitted with holes" (Ashbee, 1921; 33).

The only successful industry initiated by Ashbee, was the Armenian ornamented glazed ceramic tiles. The reason for its success were qualified craftsmen brought over to Jerusalem from the Armenian town of Kutahia in Turkey by the Armenian potter David Ohanessian. He had also taken upon himself the financial management of the industry, which was later backed by the Society. The demand for the industry's high quality products was mainly for architectural use, first for replacing tiles at the Dome of the Rock, and later for buildings designed by British architects, who considered it most appropriate for decorating important elements in their buildings.

Ashbee's attempt to introduce new industries and to raise the level of those which already existed excluded masonry and the building industry at large. He claimed that those were taken care of in various preservation and building projects initiated by the Society. However, it is clear from previously presented evidence (see above, 8.4.) that building technologies under Ottoman rule needed serious encouragement. Yet, since progress in that field meant the introduction of modern technologies such as ferro concrete etc., Ashbee, in his Non-Modern approach, ignored the issue, which later became the expertise of Jewish and Italian construction firms.

The more general motives behind Ashbee's activity in Jerusalem, besides the ideology of the Arts and Crafts Movement, had been that strong desire to have objects, to collect them, to cherish, to exhibit and to sell them (see above 2.2.1.). Those were intended as souvenirs ascribed the strong representational potential to stand for locality. On the other hand, the plain and somewhat dull reality of the City, in conventional Western terms, was denied or ignored.

#### 9.4.2. The New Town Plan

Ashbee's second realm of work, which he regarded most as important, was establishing a framework for the formation of the New City outside the old walls. The principles which were established then were to have a critical impact on the City's future development. A major drive behind this endeavour was the British sense of mission, bringing order to what was conceived as chaos. It was based on the assumption that "...all modern civic regulation points to the need of town-planning". Since it was assumed that the new Jerusalem should become a modern city, a plan was paramount. There had been no doubt in Ashbee's mind, about the urgency of such plan, especially in an "Eastern city". He strived for a radical change: a "...method of how to make tidy, is what we have to consider" (Ashbee, 1921; 11).



The crucial problem of that conception, stemming from an exterior point of view, was that it failed to recognise the type of order which did exist within what seemed a chaotic situation. As will be shown below, that eagerness to "make tidy" overlooked some subtleties in the life of the city, and misunderstood some of its latent trends.

However, there were some hints about Ashbee's awareness of the dangers embodied in a town plan for a city like Jerusalem, which he tried to avoid by laying out principles upon which a town plan must depend. These were the following: a grasp of certain social and architectural trends; the capability to adapt; and an appropriate administrative system (Ashbee, 1921; 11). Yet, these principles might be relevant to any Eastern or Western city. As far as Jerusalem was concerned, two fundamental misconceptions were established in the New Town Plan scheme, originated by MacLean and Geddes, and later generated by Ashbee himself: the perception of the Old City as a separate entity and the notion of zoning.

As has been shown in part II of this study, Western cultures had always perceived the Old City of Jerusalem as an independent entity - an earthly expression of spiritualism and religion. Its "compactness", (Ashbee, 1921; 11), had stimulated its perception as an object, which had become a fixed and tenacious image. MacLean, Geddes and Ashbee had interpreted this notion by isolating the city and setting it "...in the centre of a park, thus recognising the appeal it makes to the world -- the city of an idea -- that needs as such to be protected" (Ashbee, 1921; 11), (Fig. 96)

The urban implications of such an interpretation was the disconnection of the City within the walls from what had begun to develop outside of it, during the second half of the nineteenth century. As was described in previous chapters of this study, some of the urban irregularities - foreign and local, which clung to the outside of the walls, mainly around Jaffa and Damascus Gates, were closely linked to what had existed within them. They were its life arteries, and in turn had always drawn their *raison d'être* from it. Unfortunately, since those buildings could not meet any proper architectural measure, let alone any aesthetic criterion, there had been no hesitation in demolishing them for the sake of having a better view of the magnificent city/object.

The withdrawal from the old walls on the north and west sides had intensified the perception of the City as an object, and created a continuous circuit of vacant space around it. The Rampart Walk over the wall, was defined as "...the spinal cord", of the Park System - Ashbee's main contribution to the conceptual planning of the City. He considered it "...the greatest need of Jerusalem after the preservation of its history and the cleaning of its streets" (Ashbee, 1921; 19,21,23) However, apart from the justified need for greenery in this arid city, the central aim here had been strictly visual - looking at the phenomenon of the enclosed city from the elevated Rampart. Moreover, walking along the Rampart was intended for tourists rather than being an everyday route for the local inhabitants.

The second misconception regarding the New Jerusalem Town Plan was the notion of zoning - the urban realisation of the want to "...make tidy", which was considered essential



to the City's future development. Yet although Ashbee was well aware of the difficulties involved in the implementation of such system in a city like Jerusalem, the layout and aligning of eight sections of the New City was carried out (Ashbee, 1924; 13,16). Though only partially done, their effect was crucial. It determined the Arab-Jewish sub-division of the city, and even more important, the fragmentation of the City Centre, which was pushed outwards in accordance with the notion of isolating the Old City.

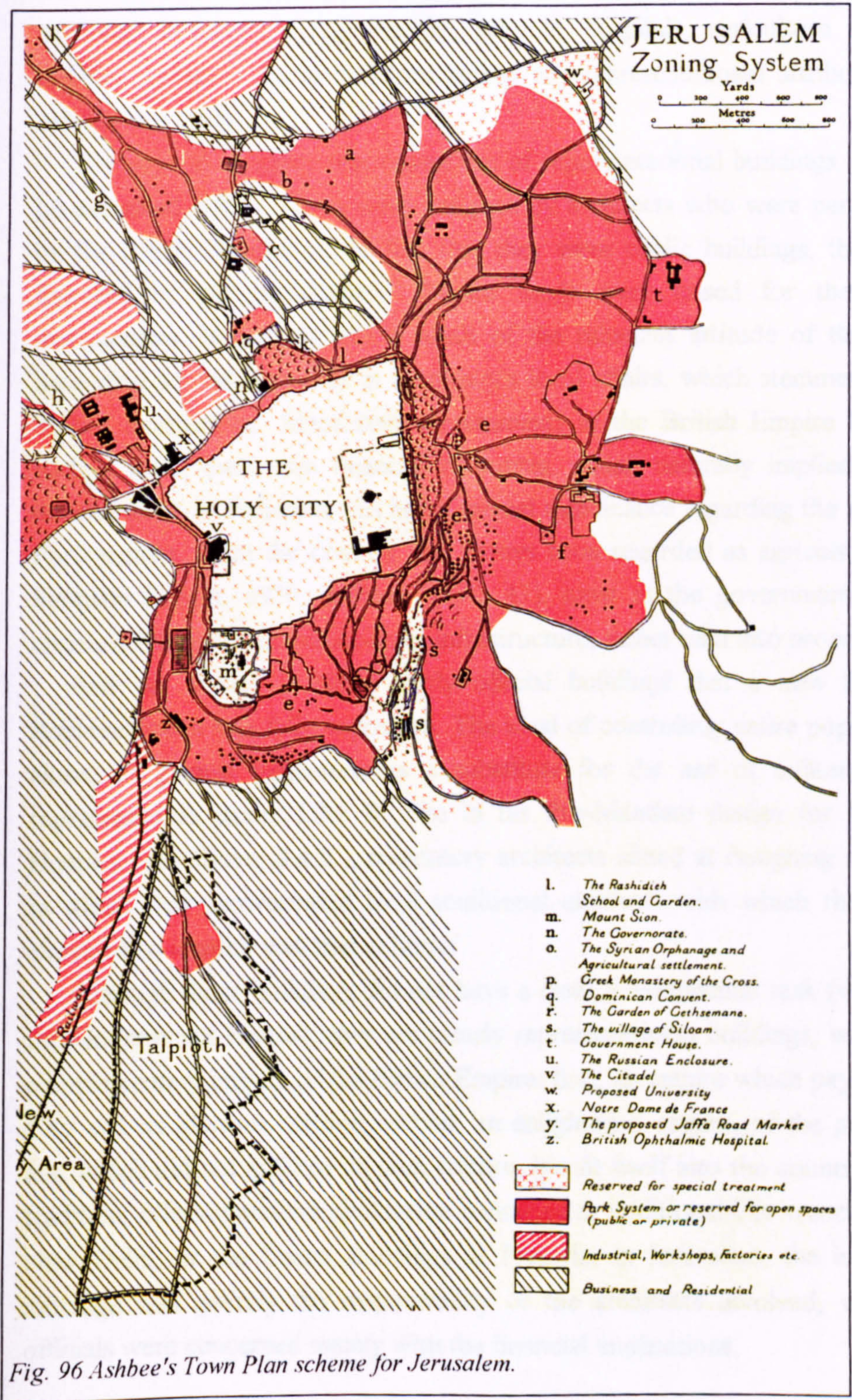


Fig. 96 Ashbee's Town Plan scheme for Jerusalem.



## 9.5. Indirect Representation in Buildings - A Drawn Analysis

British mandatory architecture was predominantly the responsibility of the 'Public Works Department' (PWD), and had constructed two types of buildings: strictly utilitarian, and representational. The first, which comprised the greater part of mandatory buildings, consisted of buildings which provided basic public services: Post- Office and telephone exchange buildings, police stations, schools, hospitals, agriculture training centres, and military barracks. Those buildings lacked any representational attributes, and thus remain outside this study.

The second category was comprised of representational buildings. Several of them will be examined below. Those were designed by architects who were partly or fully employed by the PWD. In spite of the fact that they were public buildings, they were not entirely financed by the government. Private funds were raised for their construction and management. In part, it was a result of the reluctant attitude of the government about becoming actively involved in a country's local affairs, which stemmed from the notion of limited interference. Mandatory governments in the British Empire had to balance their budget using their own financial resources, which naturally implied a limited scope of development. In Palestine, this had a special significance regarding the Jewish-Arab conflict. Furthermore, since the country had always been regarded as agricultural (as expressed in Simpson Report, 1930, in Fuchs, 1992; 43), most of the governmental investments were channelled into the construction of infrastructure, rather than into proper architecture.

And yet it was in these partly official buildings that a new form of an Indirect Representation was fully expressed. The ideal of controlling entire populations by influence alone, or gaining hegemony as a substitute for the use of military force, was to be represented in stone. Like B. Pite in his Pre-Mandate design for the English Mission Hospital (see above, 8.4.2.), mandatory architects aimed at designing responsive buildings, in which they incorporated local traditional elements with which the subordinates were expected to identify and 'feel at home'.

Although those buildings did not have a clear governmental task (with the exception of the Government House), they are clearly representational buildings, which manifested two complementary images of the British Empire: first, an empire which pays tribute to the Holy City and its glorious history; second, an enlightened empire, of the post World War One era, which did not enforce its own culture, but fit itself into the country's environment and tradition, offering modern civilisation contained in traditional-like vessels. Unlike the case of New Delhi, or the Union Buildings at Pretoria, in Jerusalem, the interpretation of that message was entirely the responsibility of the architects involved, whereas government officials were concerned mainly with the financial implications.

By then, the concept of Direct Representation in buildings had long been wholly rejected. British architects who practiced in Jerusalem at least until the mid - 1930s had



identified with the principles and frameworks introduced by Storrs and Ashbee (see above, 9.3., 9.4.). Since those architects were fundamentally Non-Modern (see above, 3.3.6.), influenced both by the ideologies of the European crafts movements and by the enormous body of Oriental knowledge accumulated in the West, they shared a common attitude that enables a lateral examination of their work in Jerusalem.

This attitude had been twofold: first, the perception of the Old City of Jerusalem as an object/city, to be fully viewed and admired from the new buildings which would be built around it. Those should have, in turn, the appropriate appearance when viewed from the City itself. The second facet of that attitude was the conception which ascribed to architectural elements the potential to represent locality. As such, they were the best vehicles for portraying the new image of British Imperialism. This attitude is the basis upon which the parameters for the drawn analysis below were laid. These are the following:

- Location in relation to the Old City;
- Layout and configuration of mass;
- Dominant built forms;
- Critical architectural elements.

The analysis below consists mainly of line drawings undertaken by the author on site, accompanied as necessary by original architectural drawings by the architects themselves, and by photographs taken around the time of construction. The visual material is arranged in plates corresponding to the parameters mentioned above. Facing each plate is a page of text explaining the illustrations (termed Ill.). Relevant information about the architects, and the buildings which will be discussed below is arranged in Appendix II at the end of this dissertation.



## PLATE 1

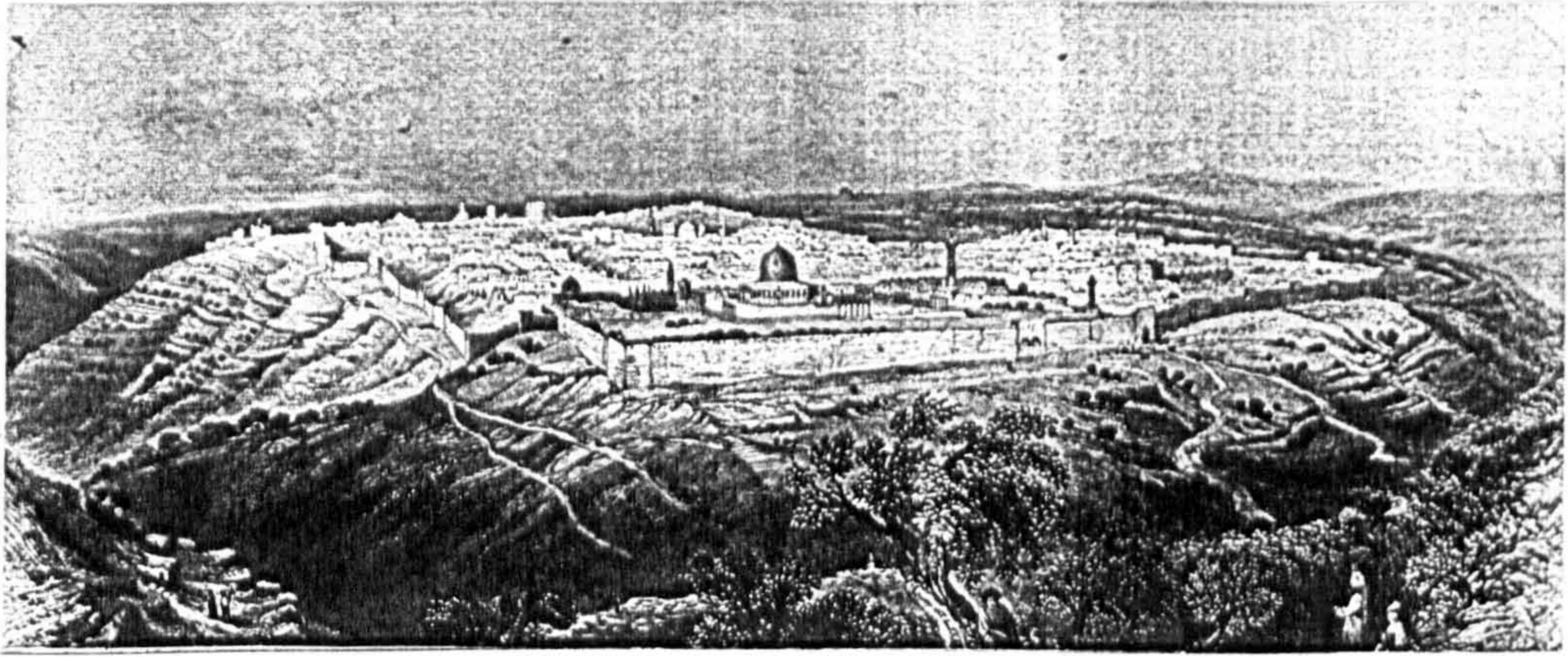
### 9.5.1. The Old City of Jerusalem, Surrounded by Semi-Urban and Urban Settings

As has been discussed above (5.2, 5.4, 5.6, 6.4.), the Old City of Jerusalem was perceived as a compact entity - as an object in its topography (Ills.1,2). This perception, which was consolidated into a town plan scheme (see above 9.4.2.), had determined the future development of 20th century Jerusalem evolving outside the Old City. It was comprised of two major patterns of growth: one consisted of buildings built on isolated locations - on top of the hills surrounding the Old City, and will be termed here 'Semi-Urban-Setting (Ill. 3). Another, which was already taking place under the Ottoman regime, was an ordinary urban layout of streets and neighborhoods, and will be termed here 'Urban Setting'. It prospered mainly along Jaffa Road, north-west of the Old City, which was, and still is today, the commercial high street of modern Jerusalem (Ill. 3).

British mandatory buildings were built in both settings. There was common ground for all of them, and they will be examined here according to the same parameters suggested above (9.5.1.). There is, however, a difference in the degree of their representational expression: the 'Semi- Urban' buildings were far more representational than the 'Urban' buildings. The drawn analysis below begins with the Semi-Urban-Setting.



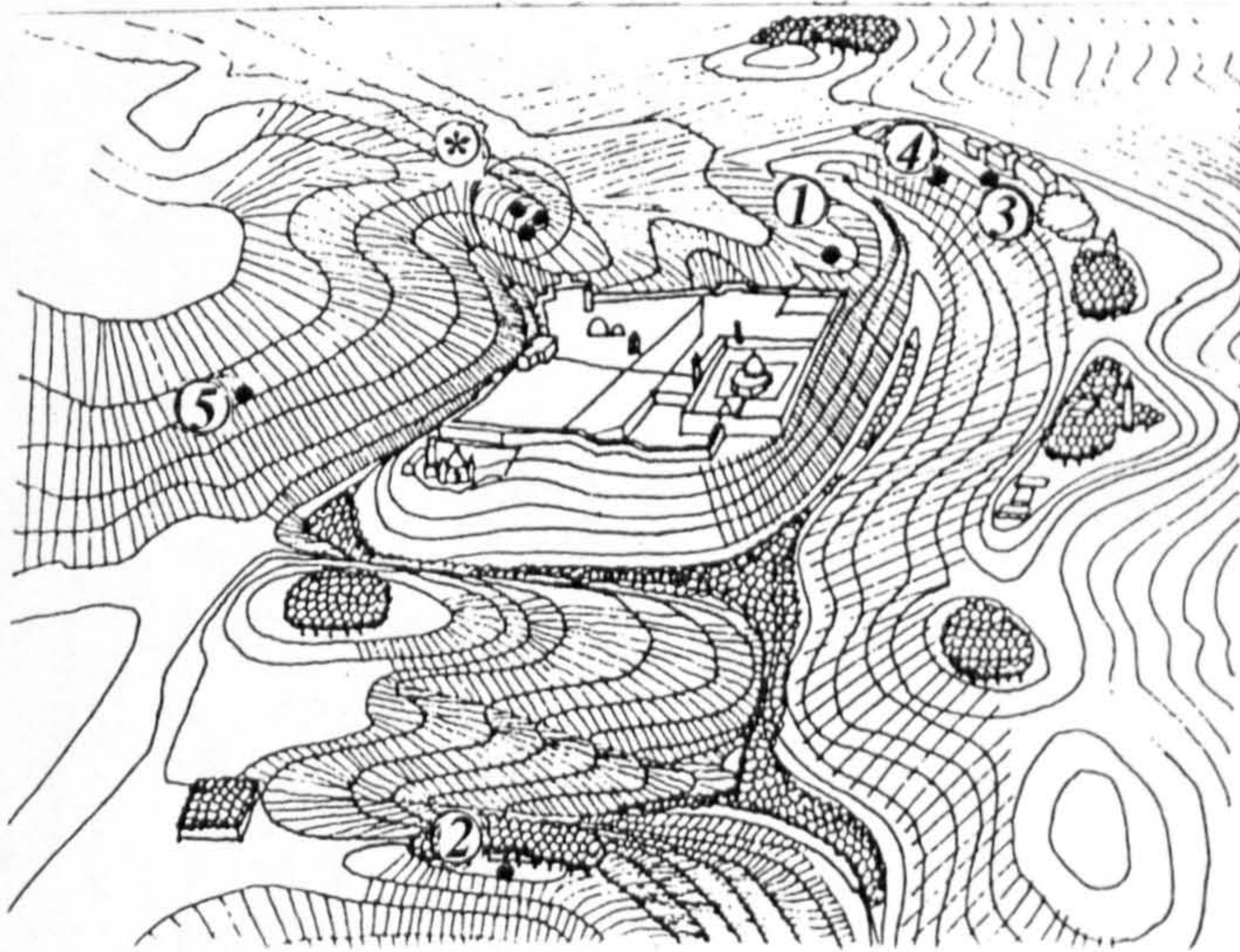
**PLATE 1**



**III.1** *The Old City of Jerusalem from south-east by W. Bartlett.*



**III.2** *The topography of the Old City and its surroundings.*



**III.3** *The case-study buildings as located around the Old City:*

Semi-Urban Setting:

1. Rockefeller-Archaeological Museum; 4. Imperial War Graves Cemetery;  
2. Government House; 5. Scottish Memorial Church and  
3. Library - Hebrew University; Hospice.

Urban Setting: \*

- I. Bible Society Building;  
II. Barclays Bank & Municipality;  
III Central Post Office.



## PLATE 2

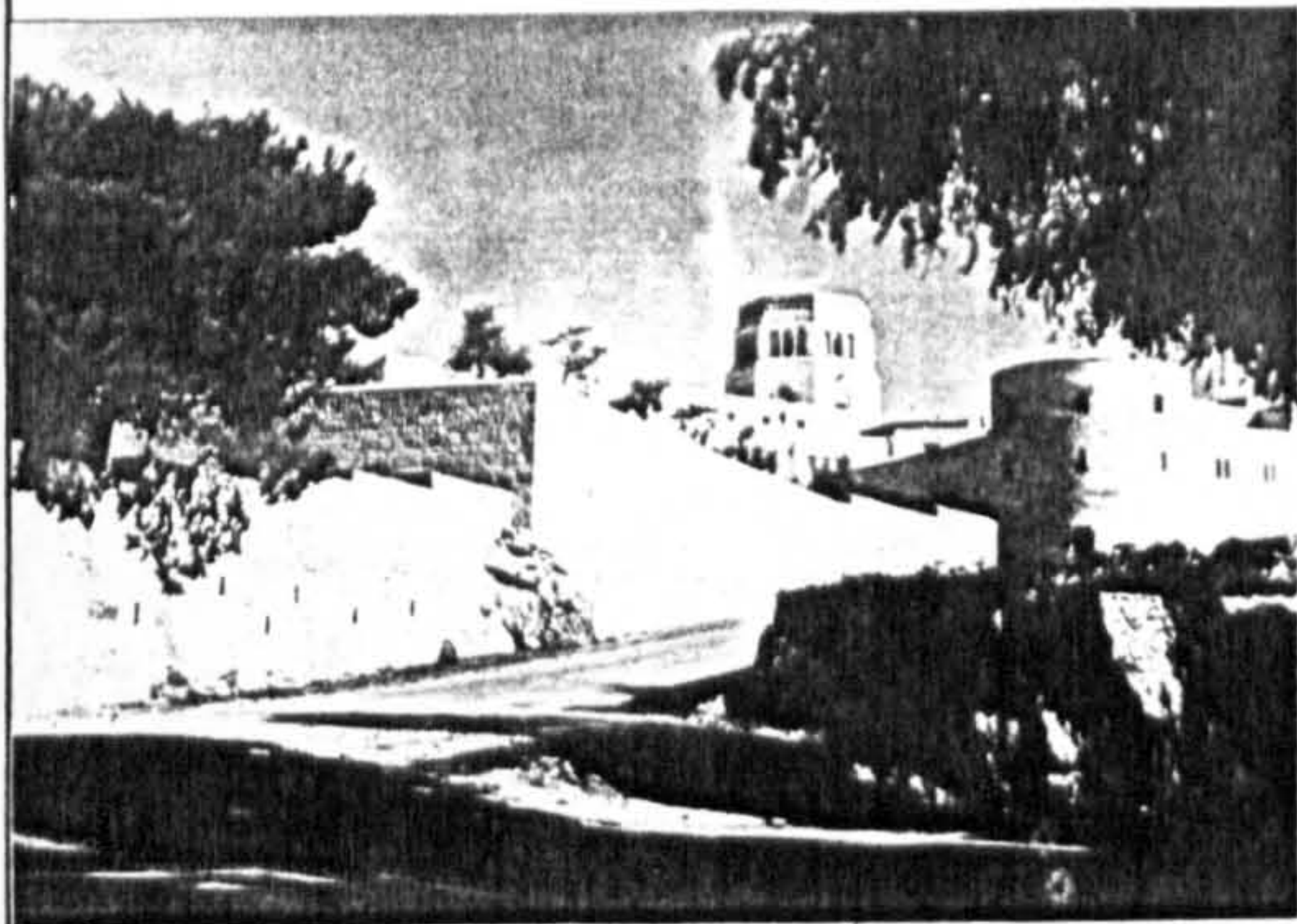
### 9.5.2. Semi-Urban-Setting

Five buildings of the Semi-Urban setting were selected to be analysed herein. These are located in different spots around the Old City outside Ashbee's Park System (Ill. 2), from which a spectacular vista of the Old City can be viewed. The buildings are:

1. *ROCKEFELLER ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM*, (1927-1935), by Austen St. B. Harrison (Ill. 1).
2. *GOVERNMENT HOUSE*, The Hill of the Evil Counsel (1927- 1933), by Austen St. B. Harrison (Ill. 5).
3. *MAIN LIBRARY BUILDING*, Hebrew University, Mount Scopus, (1926-1929), by Patrick Geddes and Frank Mears (Ill. 4).
4. *IMPERIAL WAR GRAVES CEMETERY*, Mount Scopus (1920-1927), by John Burnet (Ill.3).
5. *THE SCOTTISH MEMORIAL CHURCH and HOSPICE*, (1927-1939), by Clifford Holliday (Ill. 6).



**PLATE 2**

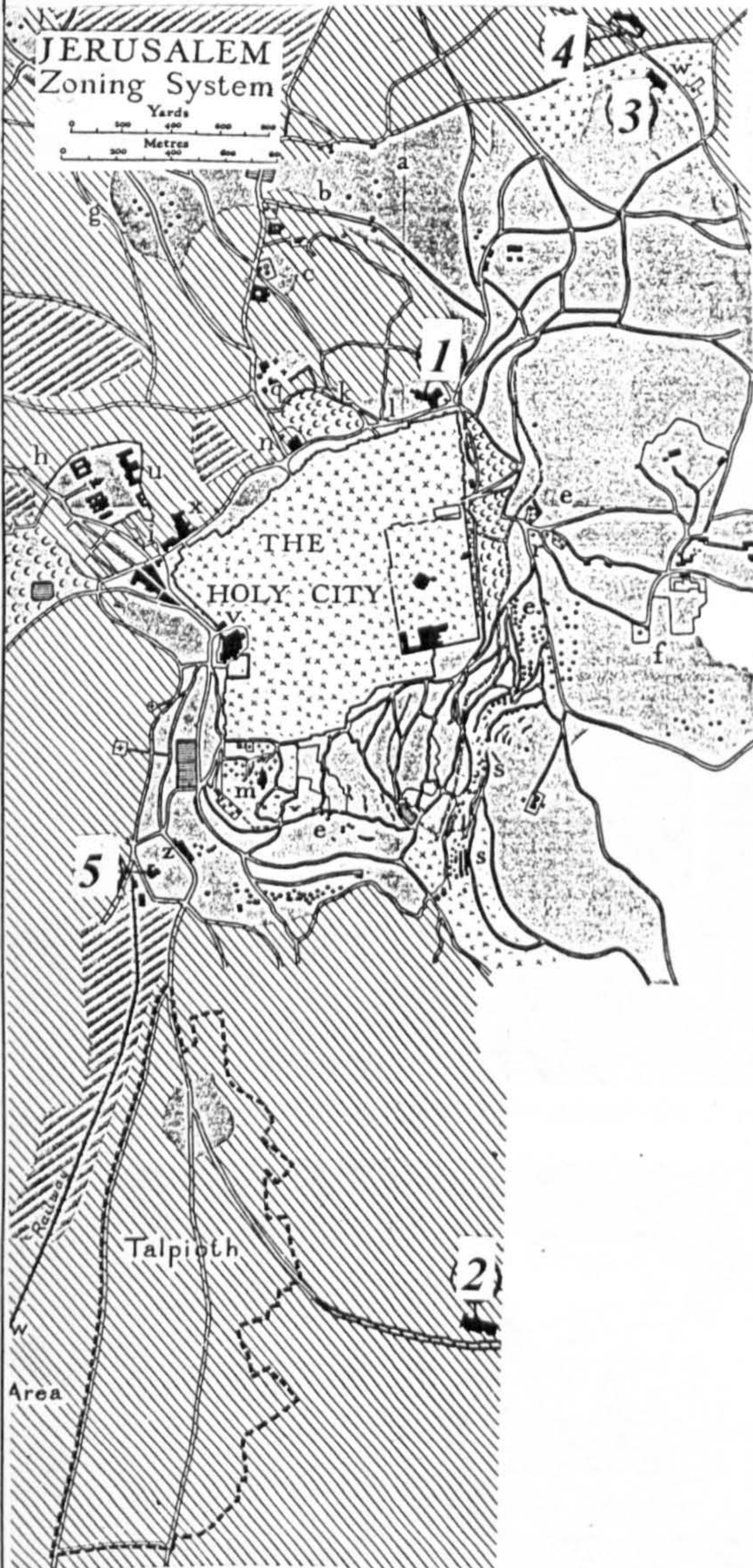


*Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem*

**III.1** Rockefeller Museum.



**III.3** Imperial War Graves Cemetery.



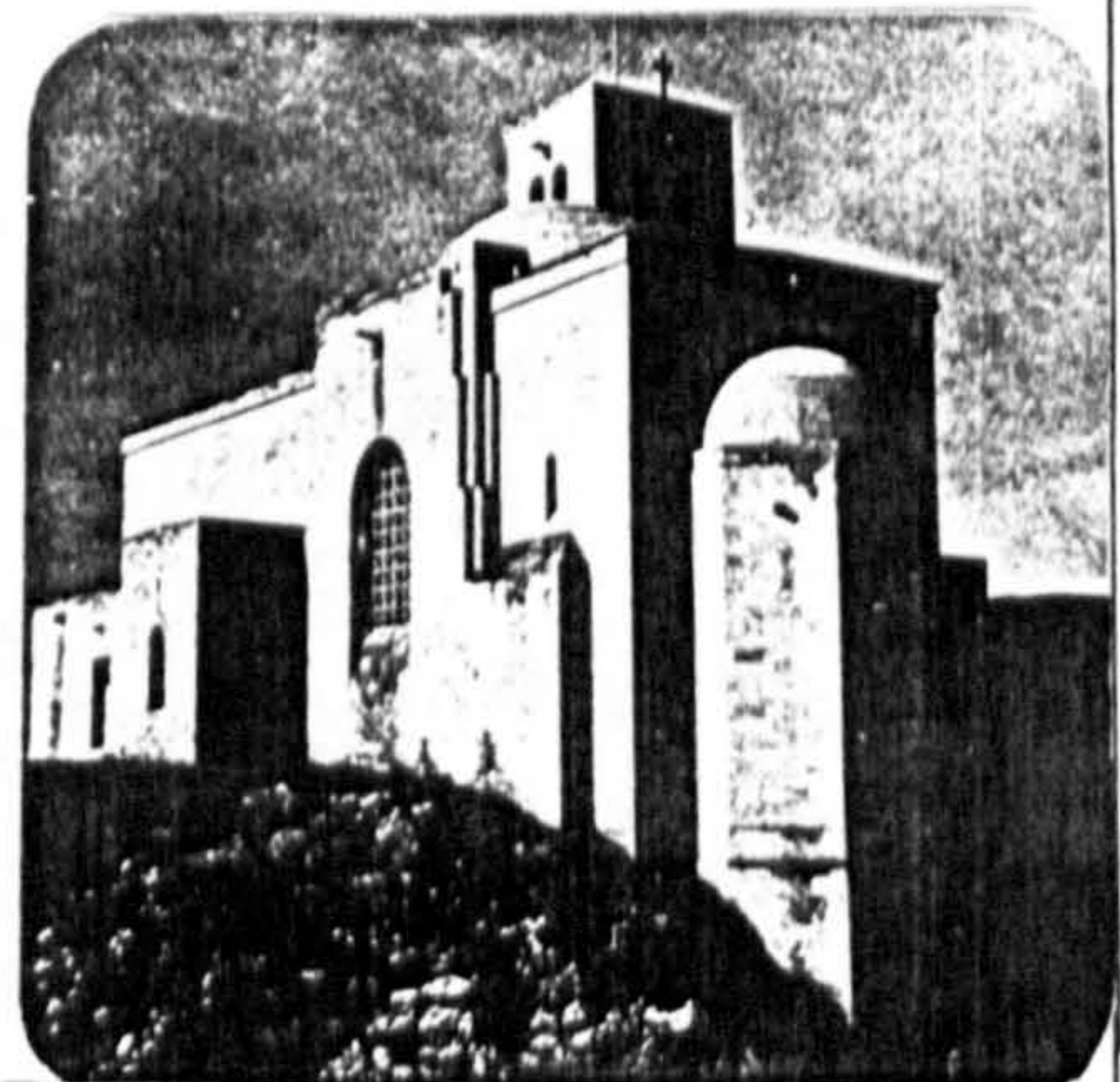
**III.2** Position of the buildings on Ashbee's Town Planing scheme.



**III.4** Hebrew University Main Library.



**III.5** Government House.



**III.6** Scottish Church & Hospice.

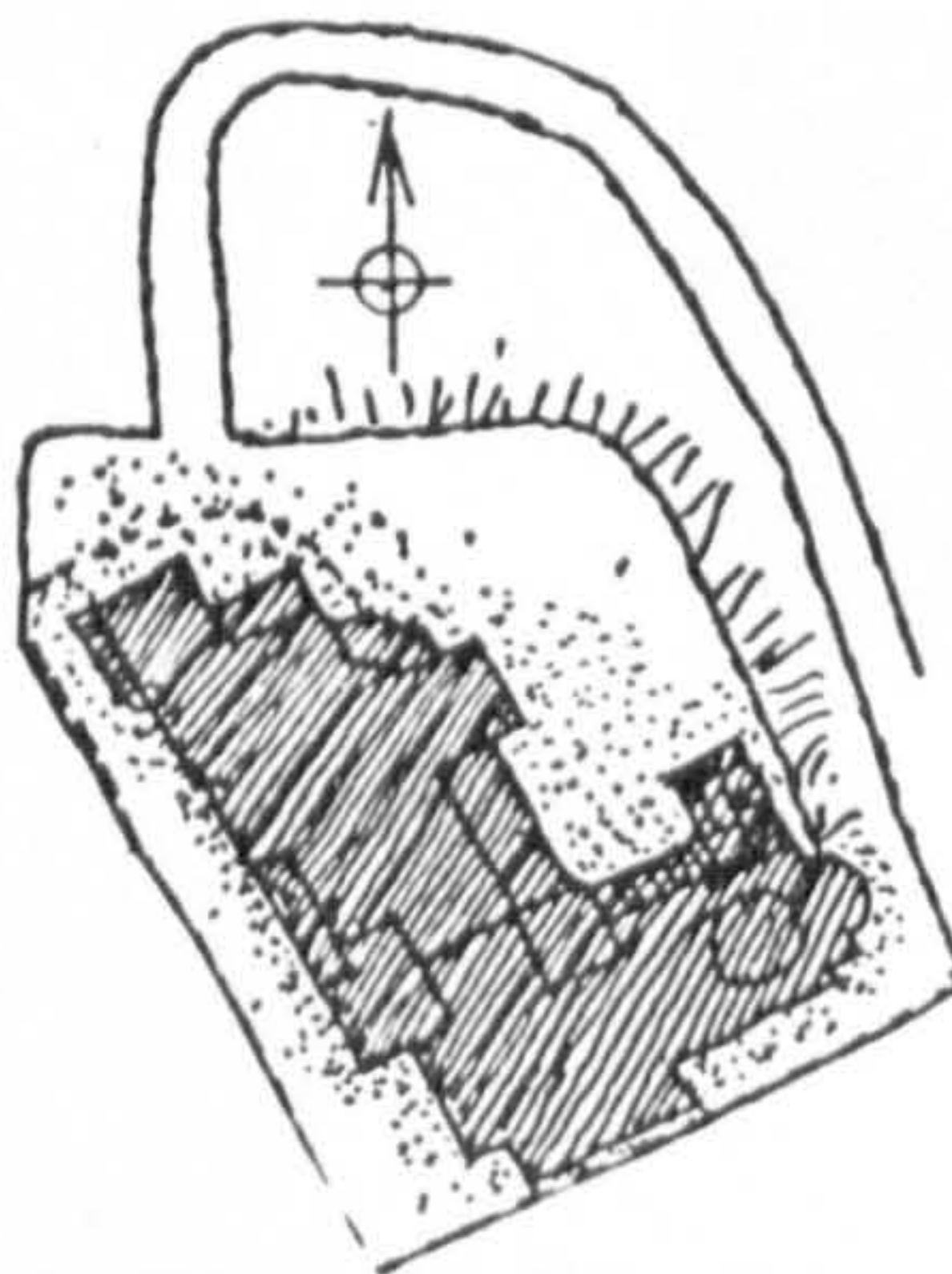
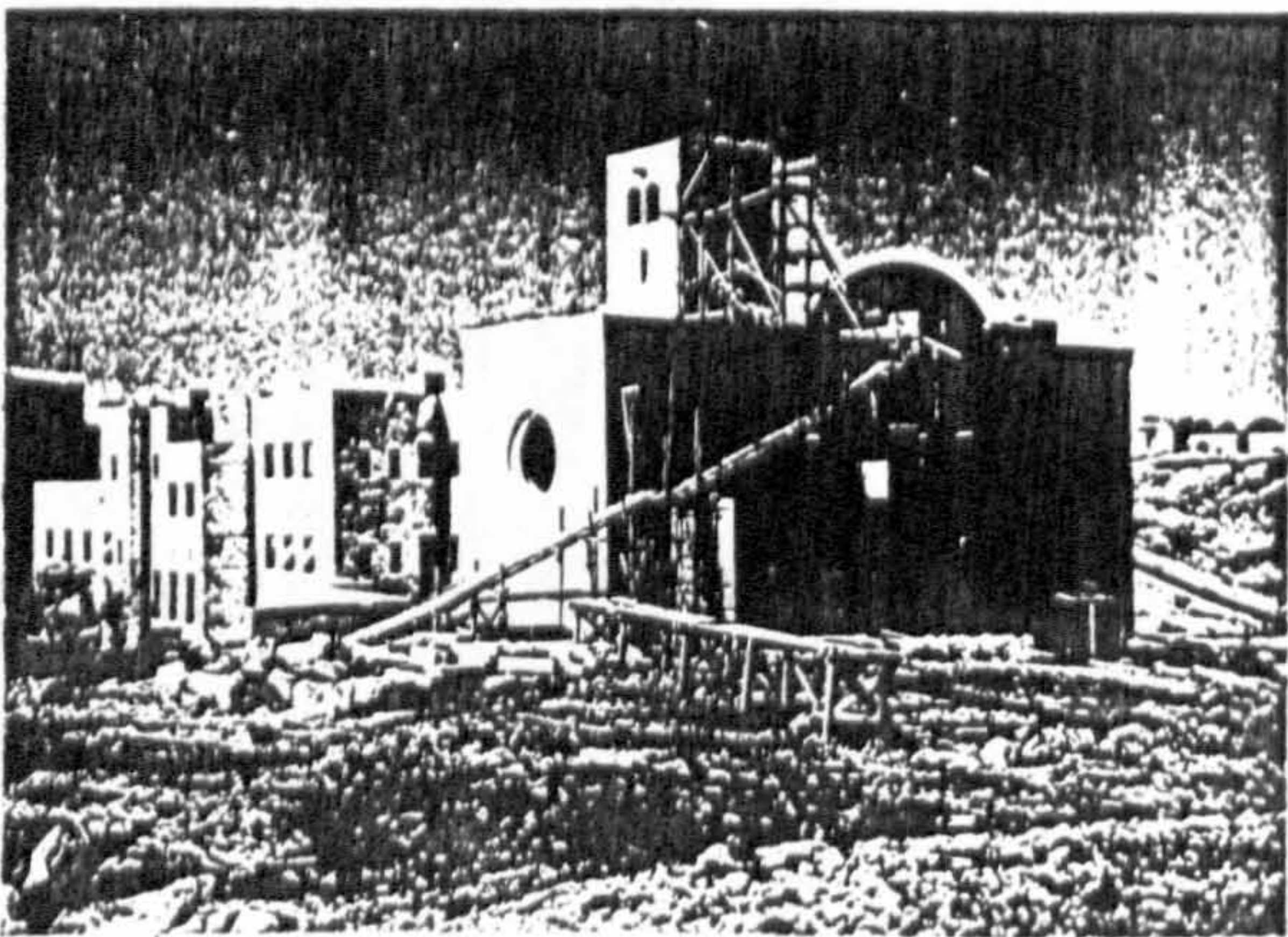


## PLATE 3

### 9.5.2.1. Layout and Configuration of Mass

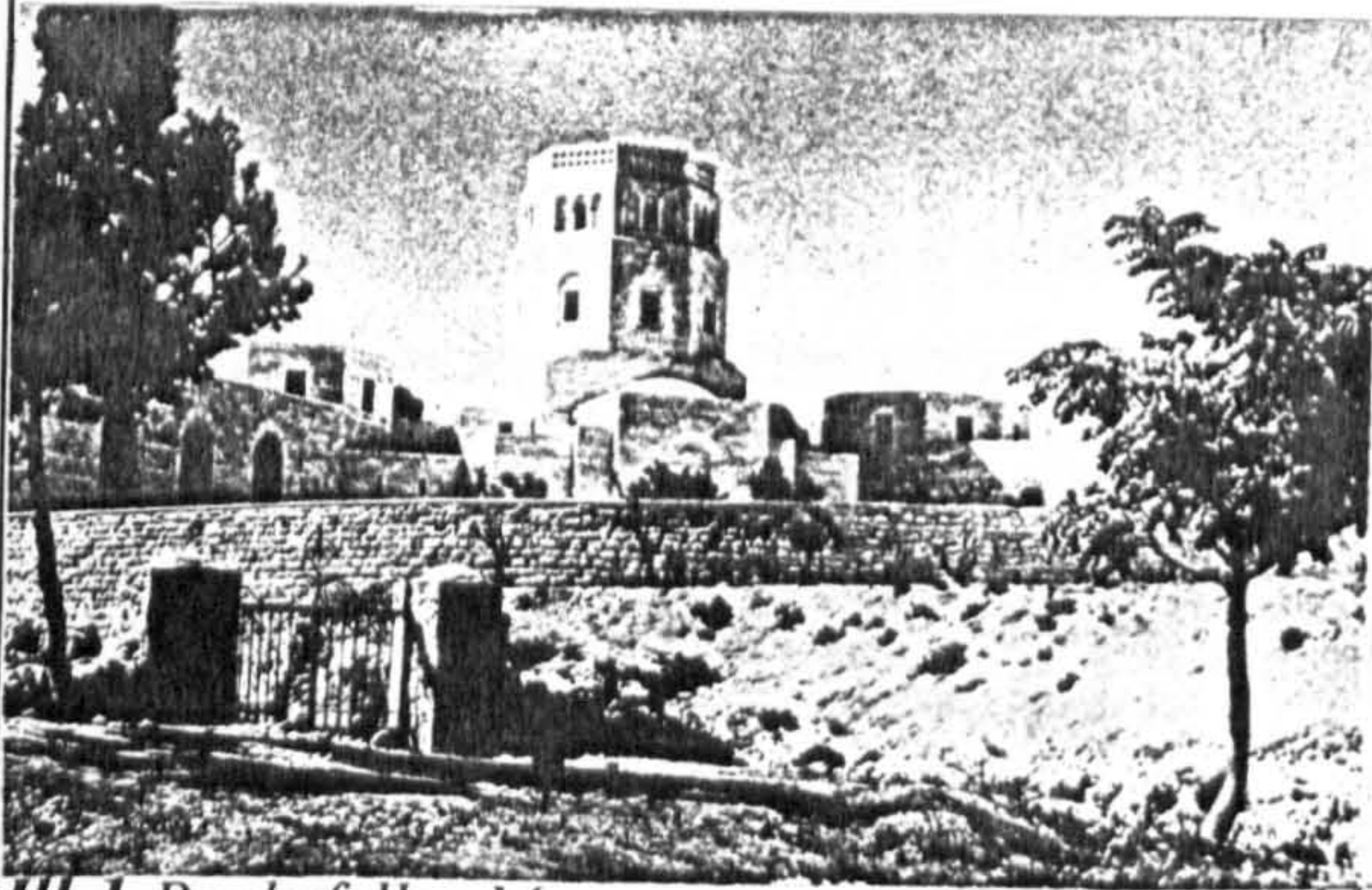
All Semi-Urban buildings are individual separate structures, viewed from all directions. The Old City can be viewed from more than one elevation of each building (Ills. 1-5). With the exception of the British War Graves Cemetery, the main entrances are located in the rear or side elevations of the buildings regarding the Old City. Thus, one never turns one's back to the Old City while approaching the buildings.

A separate road usually connects the principal entrance with the main road. A courtyard, internal or partly enclosed, exists in all buildings. The main entrance doorway is usually recessed and often located on the central axis of the building. A most prominent characteristic, common to all buildings, is a highly fragmented mass broken into individual geometric forms. The general outline consists of a longitudinal mass with a vertical element on one end, which are also the dominant built forms of each building.

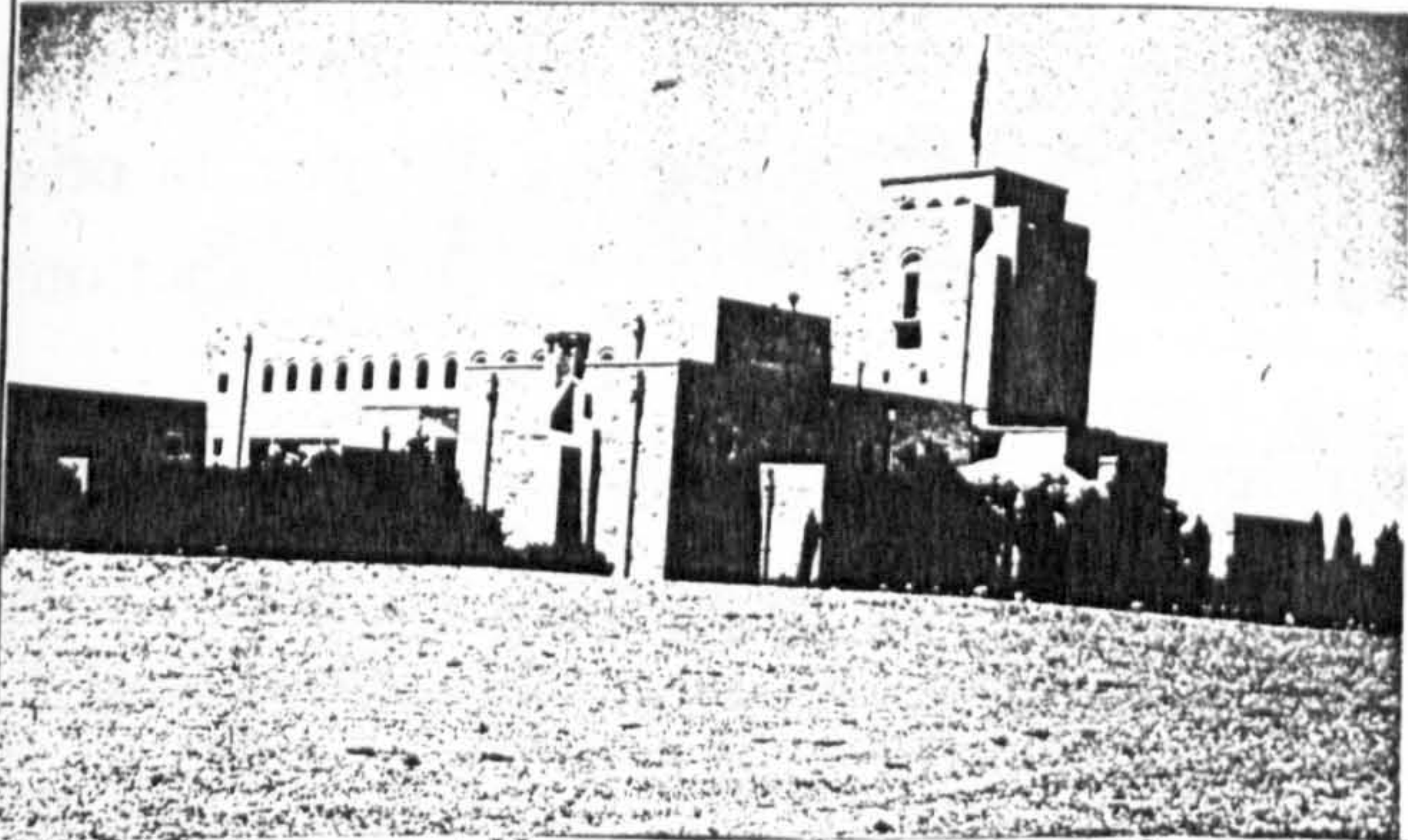
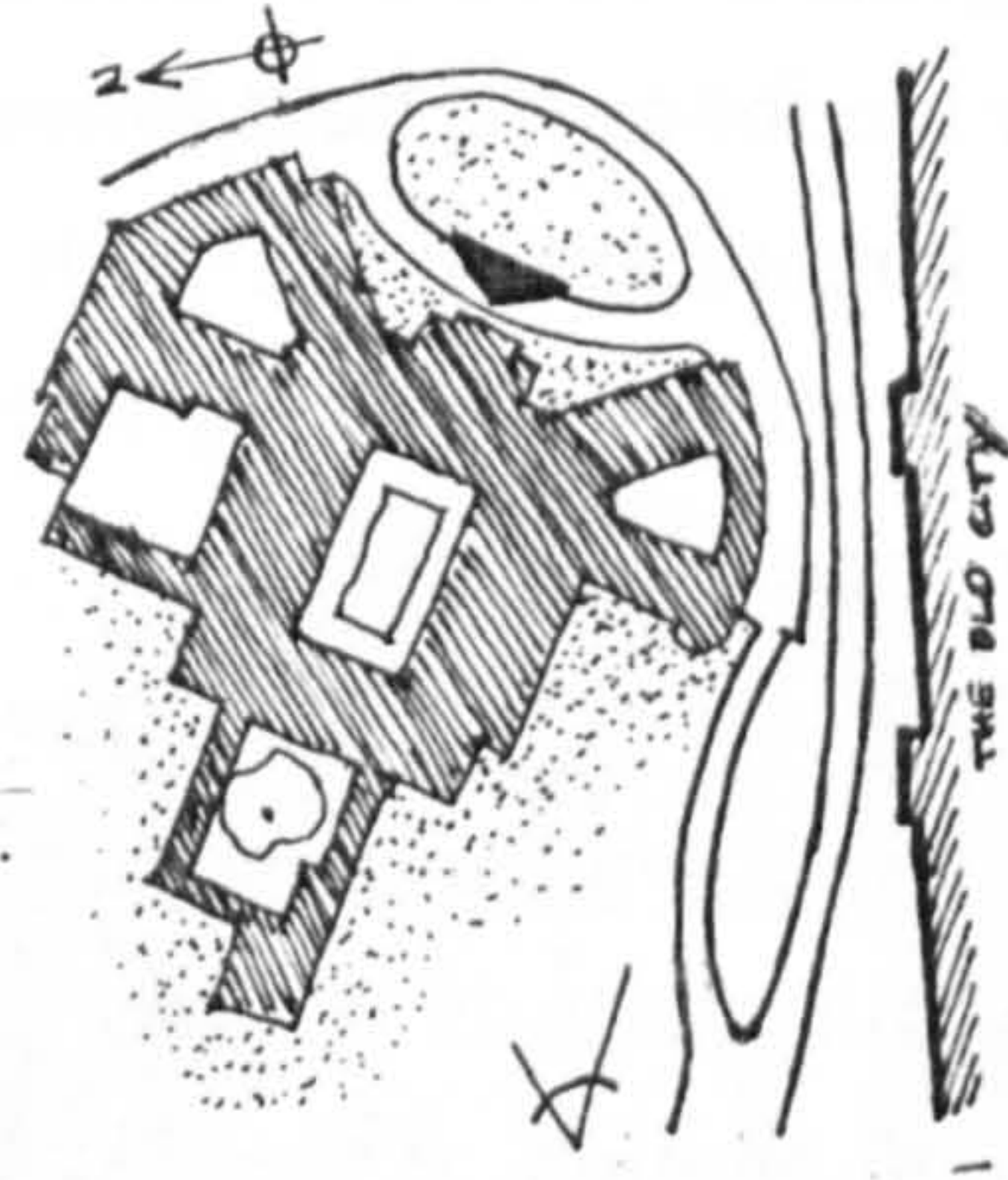


III. 5. *Scottish Memorial Church and Hospice south view and general layout.*

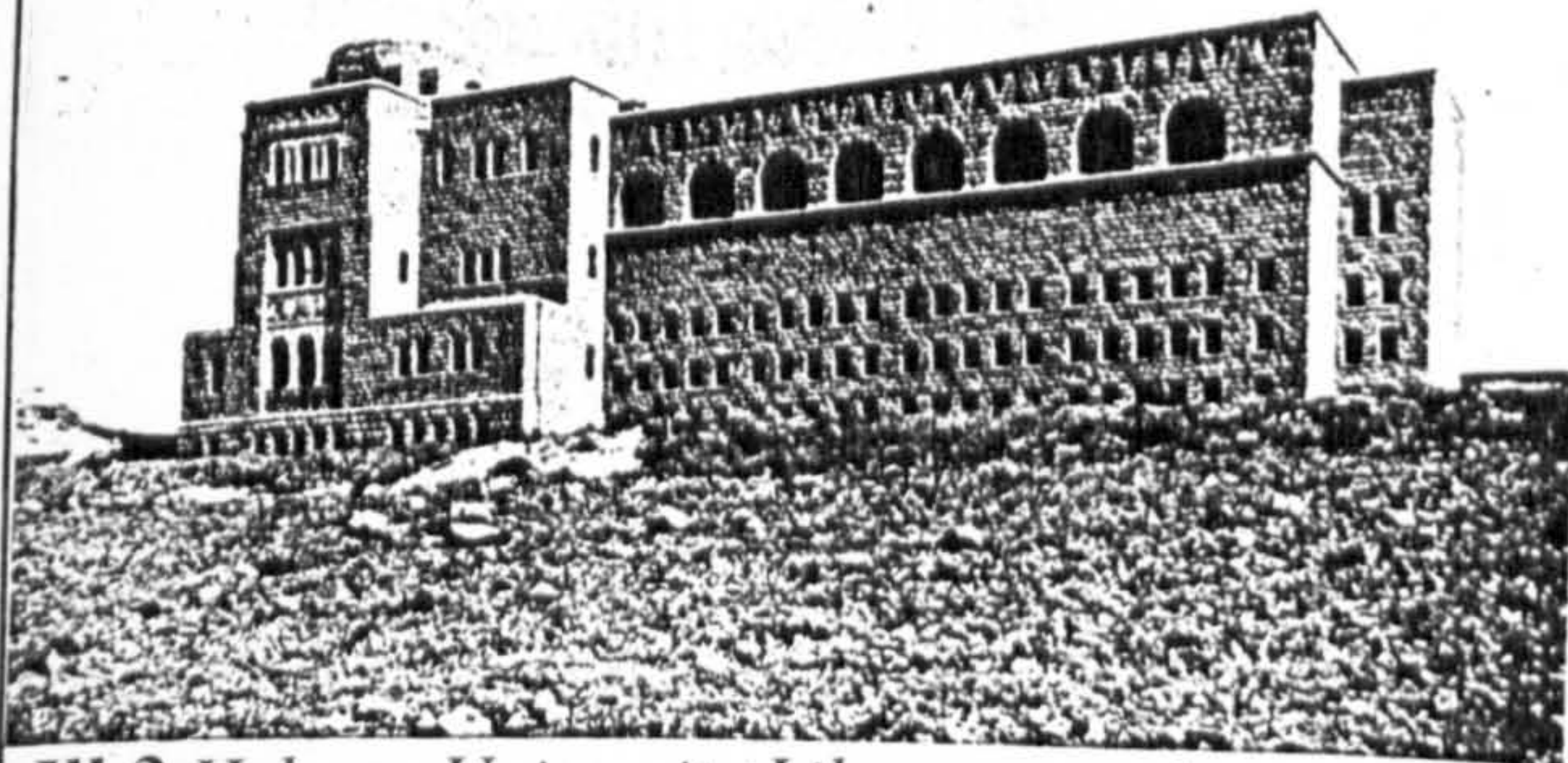
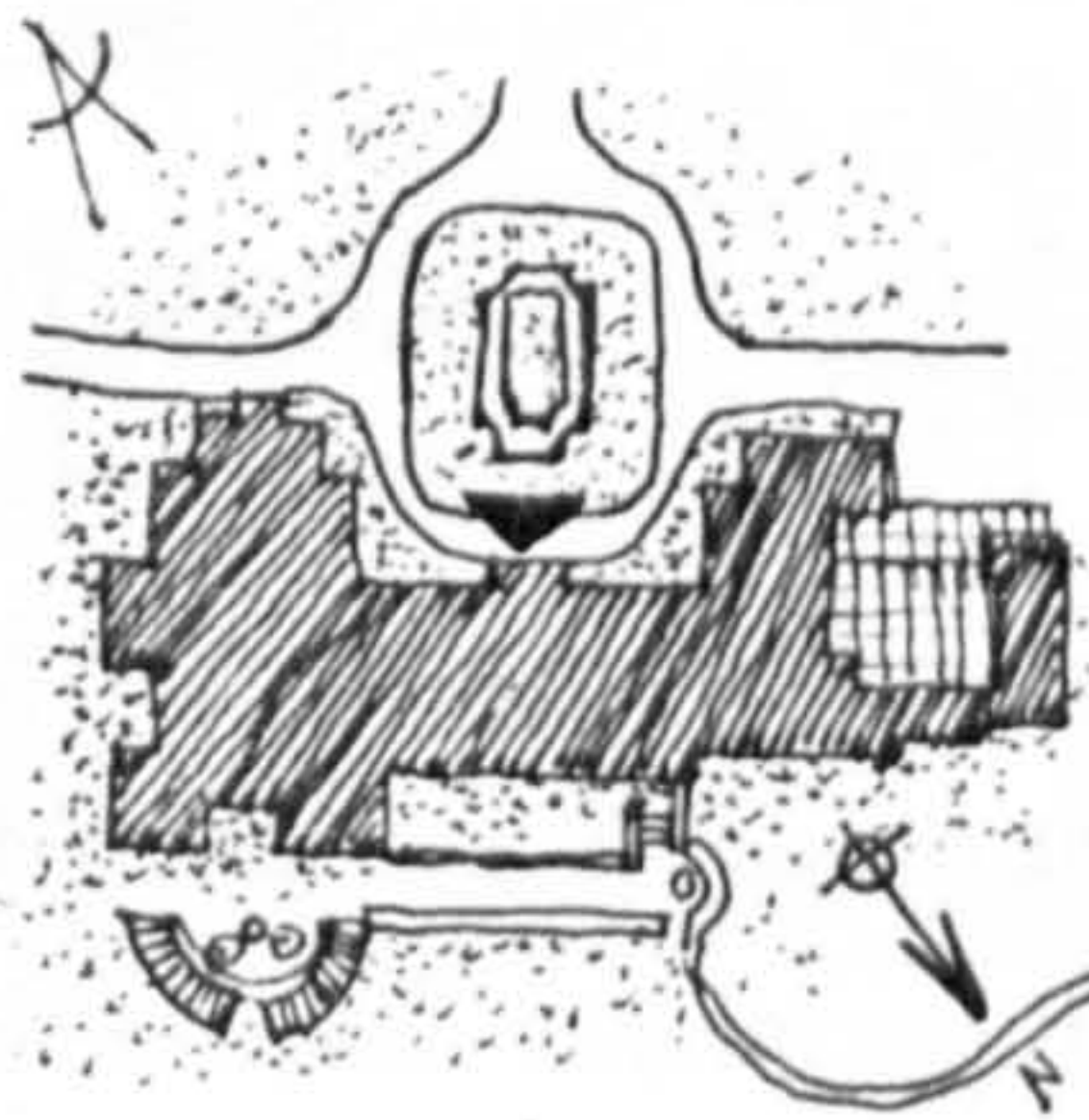




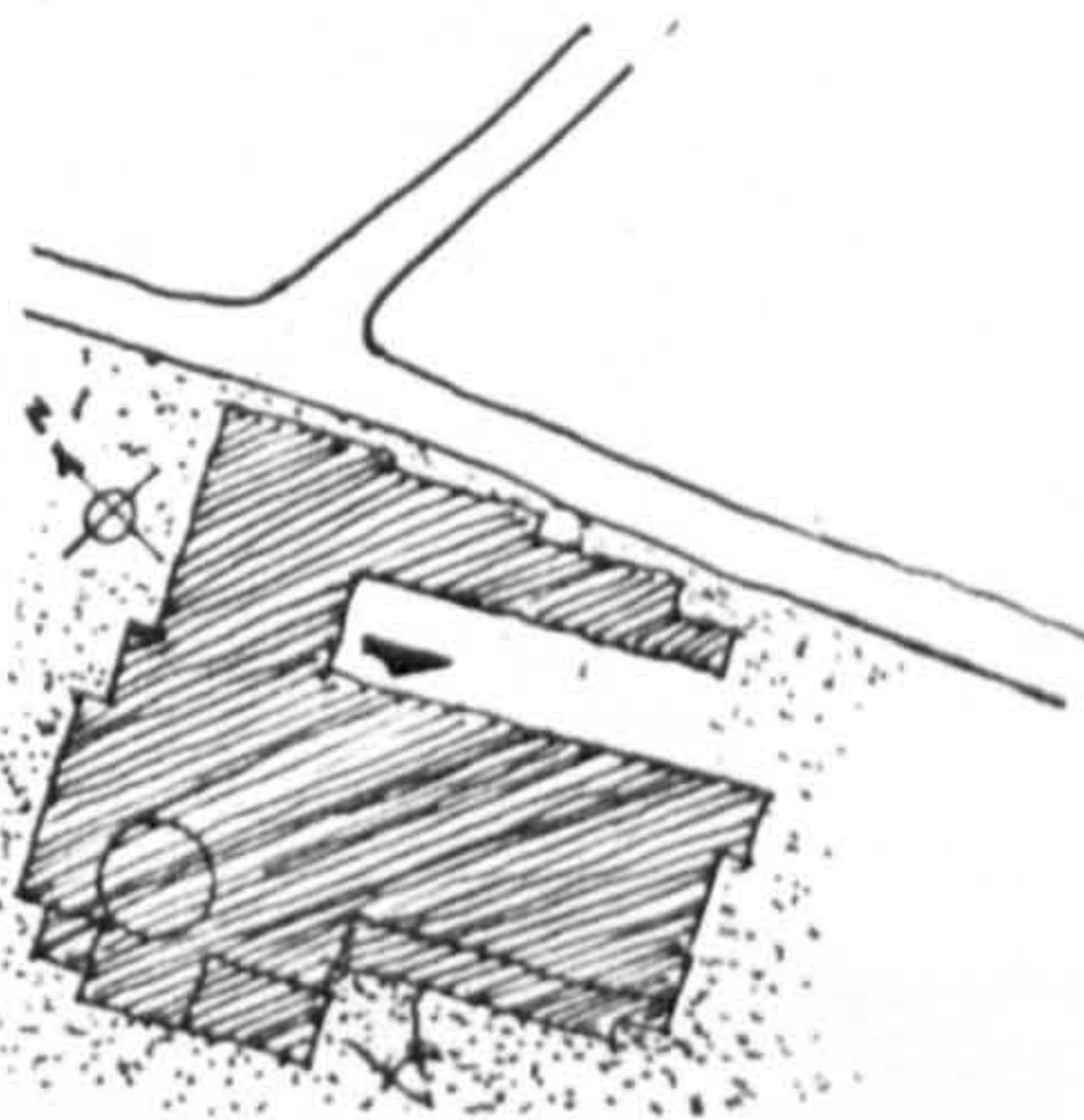
III.1 Rockefeller Museum - east view & general layout.



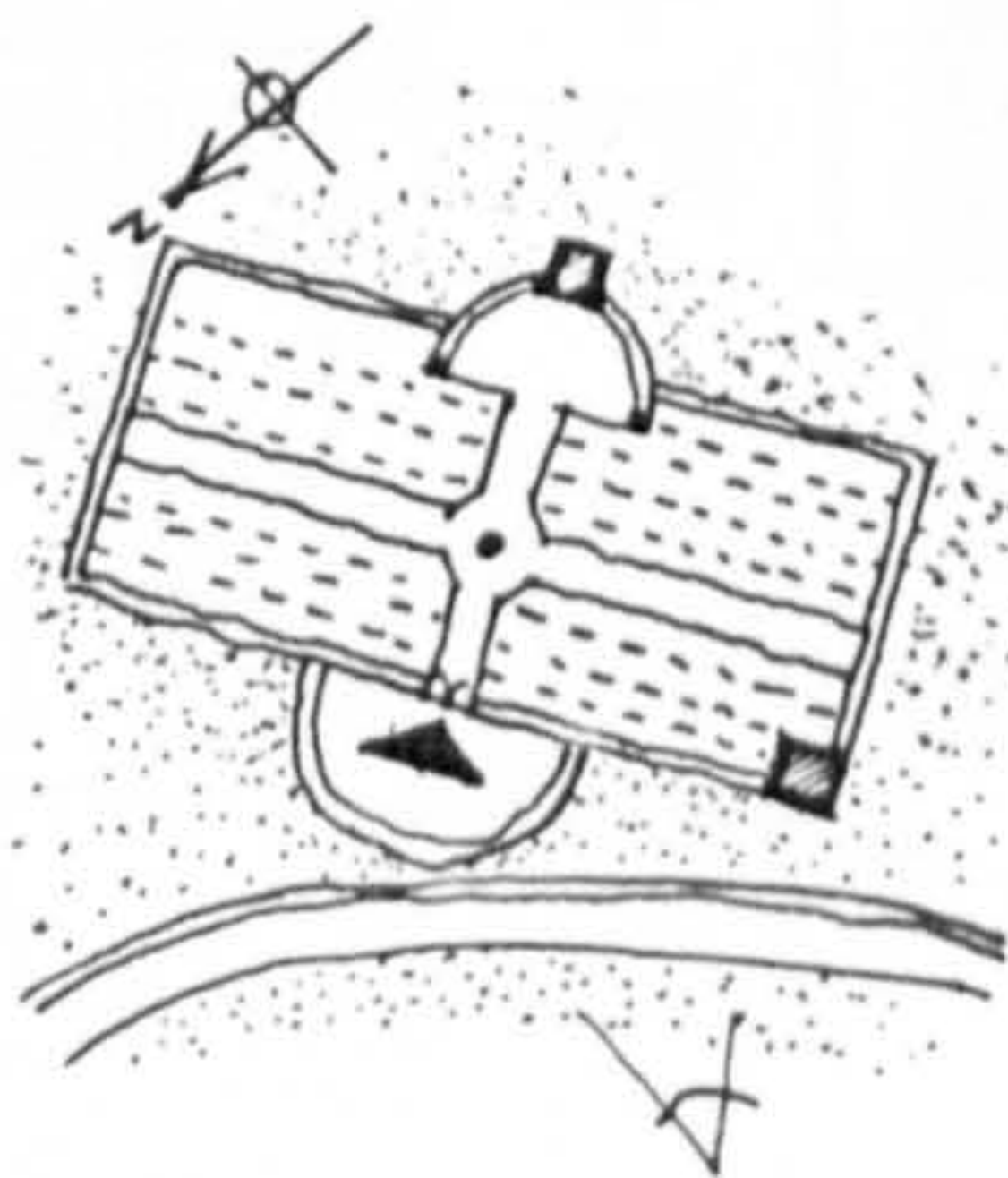
III.2 Government House - south-east view & general layout.



III.3 Hebrew University Library - south-west view & general layout.



III.4 British Imperial Cemetery - west view & general layout.





## PLATES 4,5,6

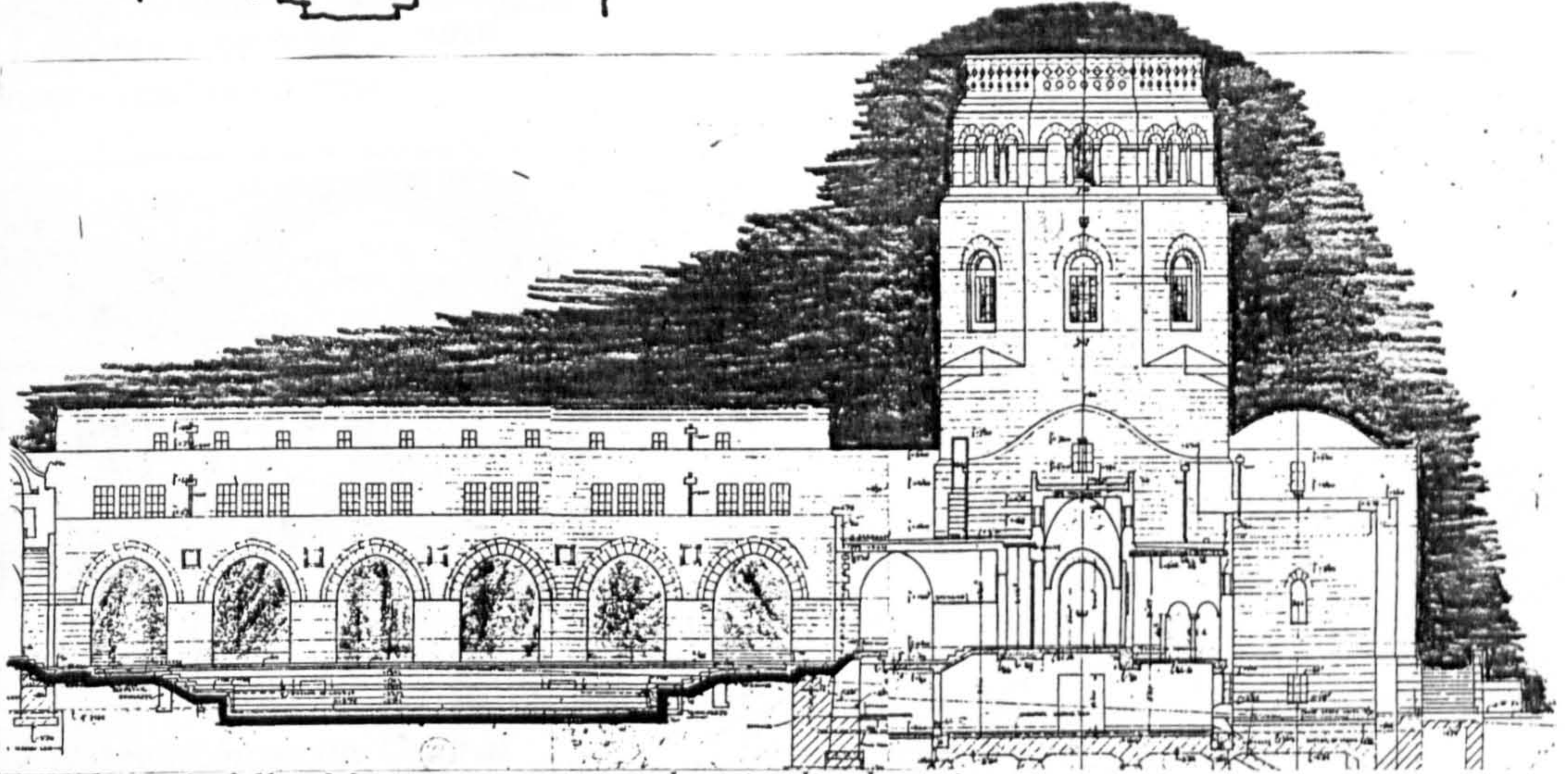
### 9.5.2.2. Dominant Built Forms

A common general outline is shared by all the building which will be examined below. It is dominated by the following built forms: a stocky tower or a vertical mass read as a tower, connected to a longitudinal mass, both which are often covered with a shallow dome. A large, recessed opening or a niche, usually arched, articulates the bottom segment of the vertical mass or tower.

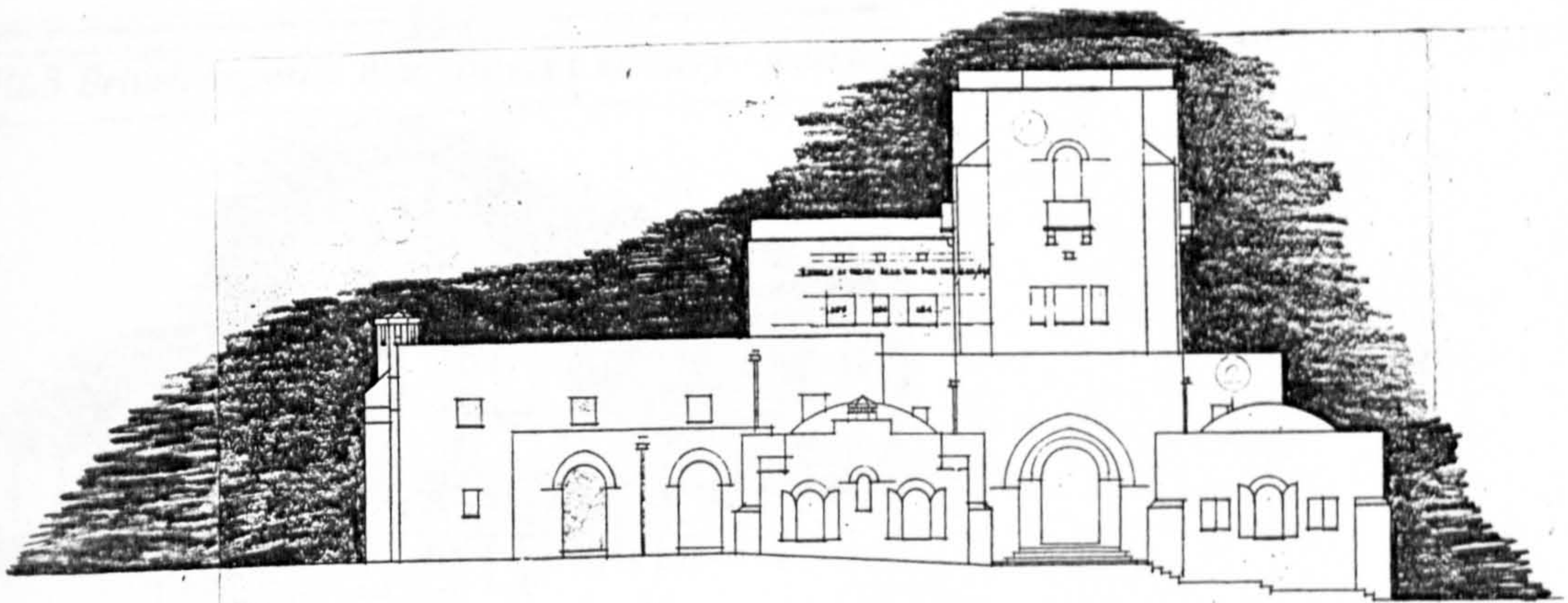
On first glance one notices the prevailing language of forms characteristic to the city, comprised of a rather limited repertoire, as previously shown by Pierotti (see above 6.5.). Their particular silhouette is reminiscent of many historical sites throughout the City, including the configuration of the Old City itself, when viewed from a distance. In other words, the general outline of these buildings seems as a reflection of the Old City but on a smaller scale.

It will be shown later how that exterior perception, had led to the conception by which the local inventory of architectural forms was considered a catalogue of shapes to be manipulated according to Western aesthetic norms. Ascribed the power to stand for the entire local heritage, those shapes were considered a means for conveying the new message of British imperialism. That is, an empire which displays its ability to represent the heritage of its subordinate peoples, or in other words - Indirect Representation.



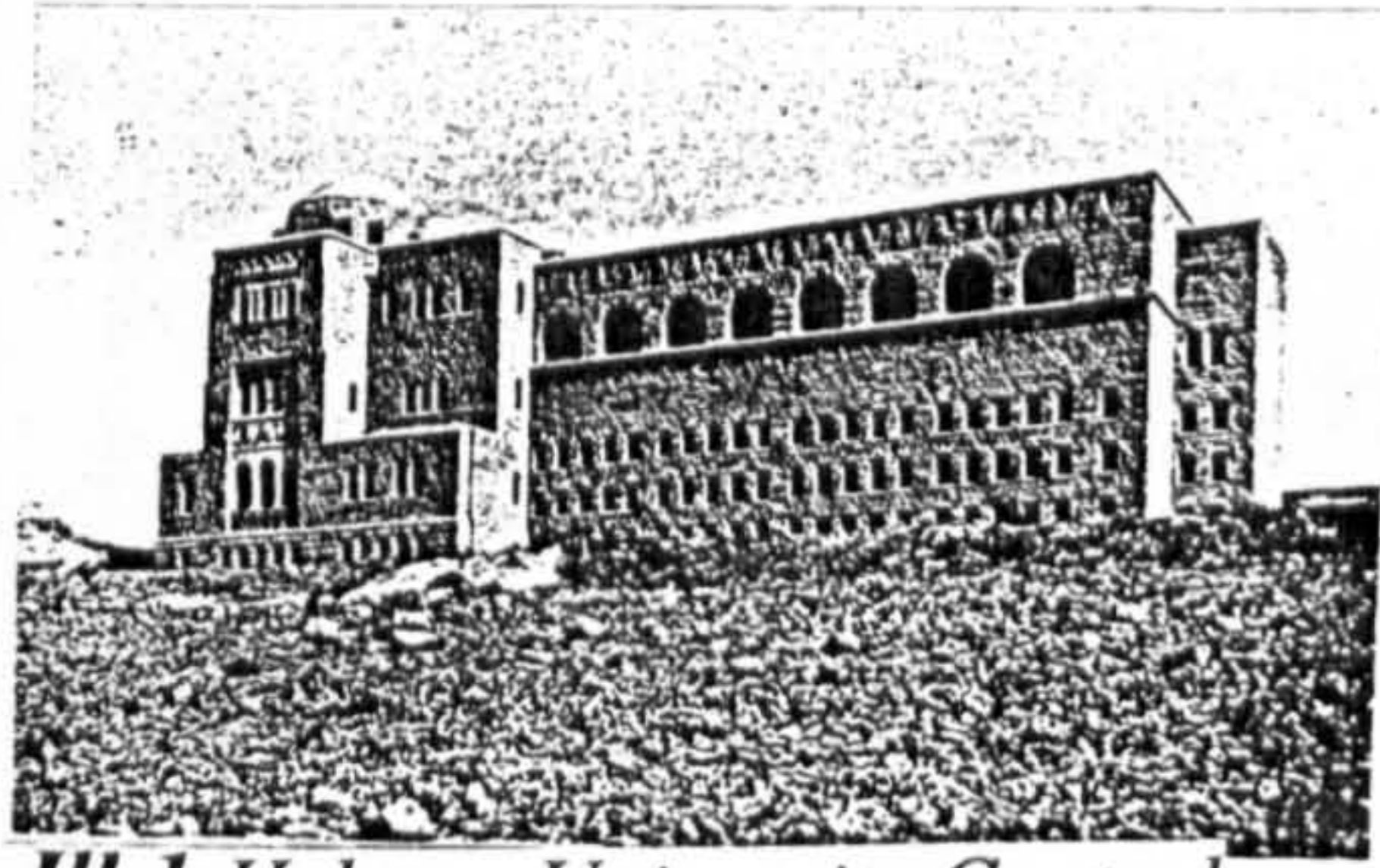


*III.1 Rockefeller Museum - east-west longitudinal section.  
(Drawn by the Architect).*

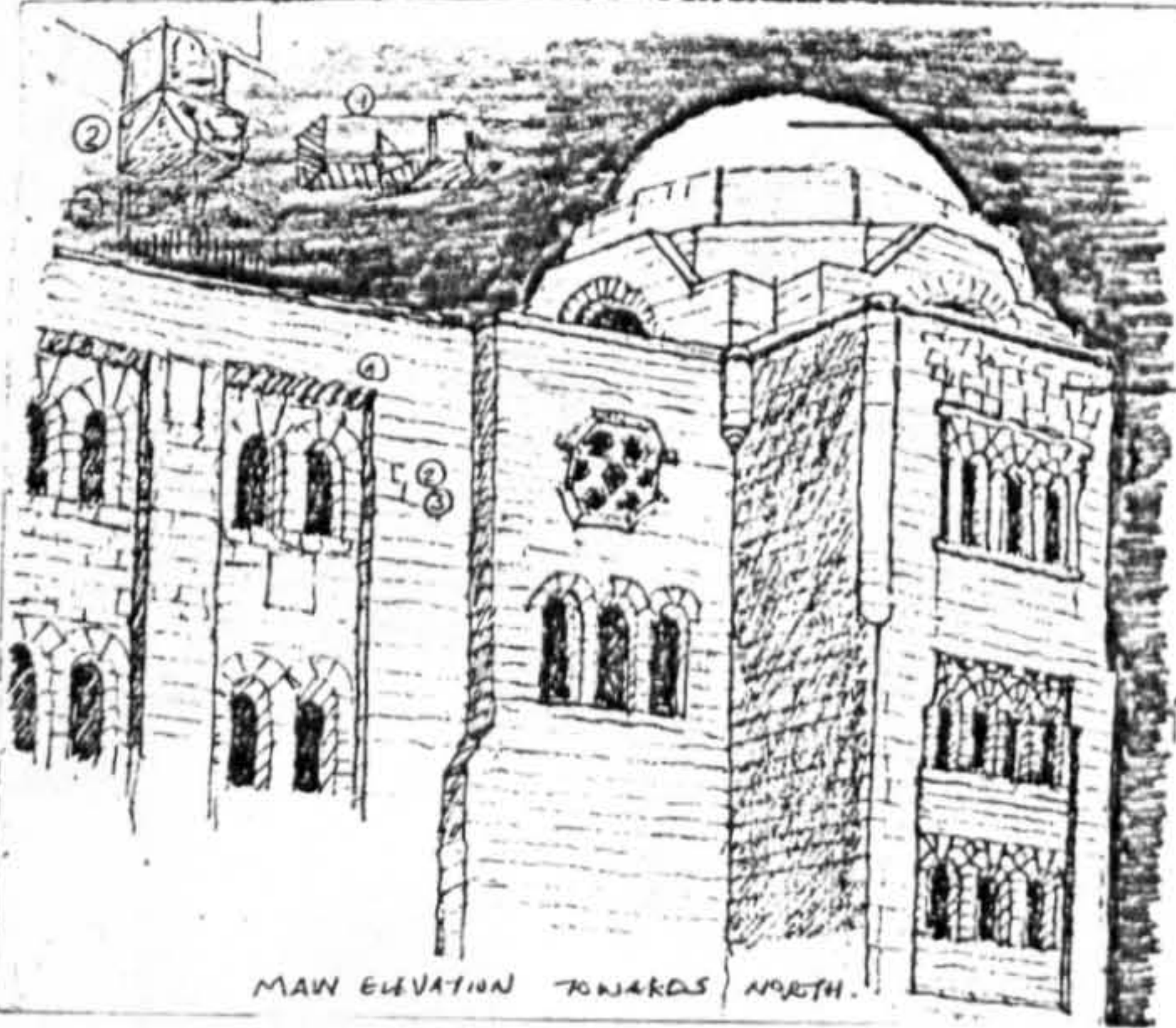
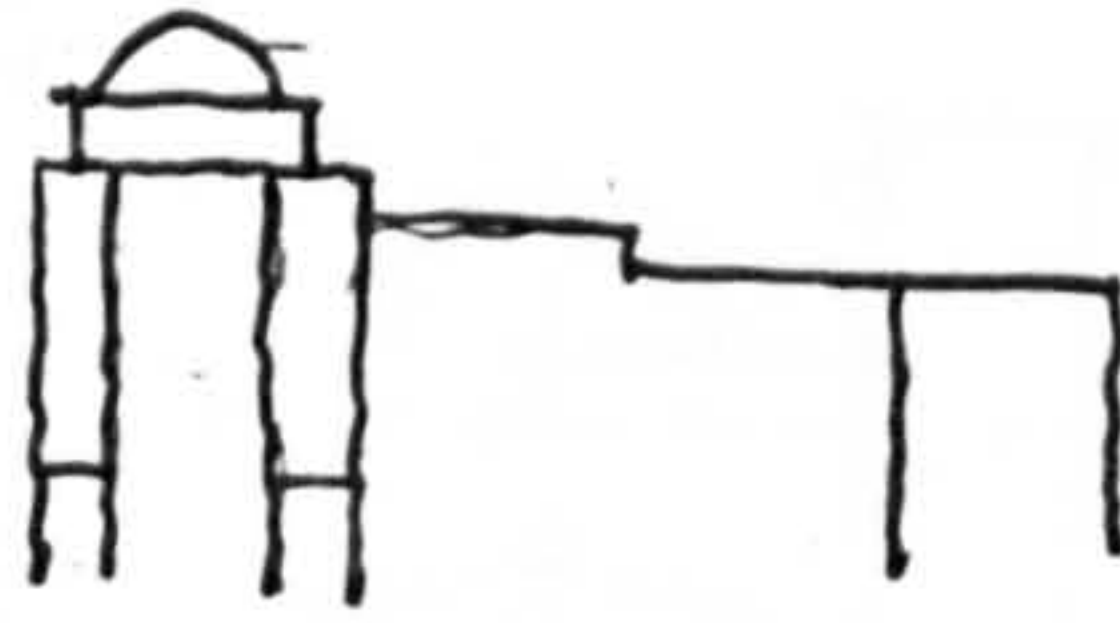


*III.2 Government House - south-east elevation.  
(Drawn by the Architect)*

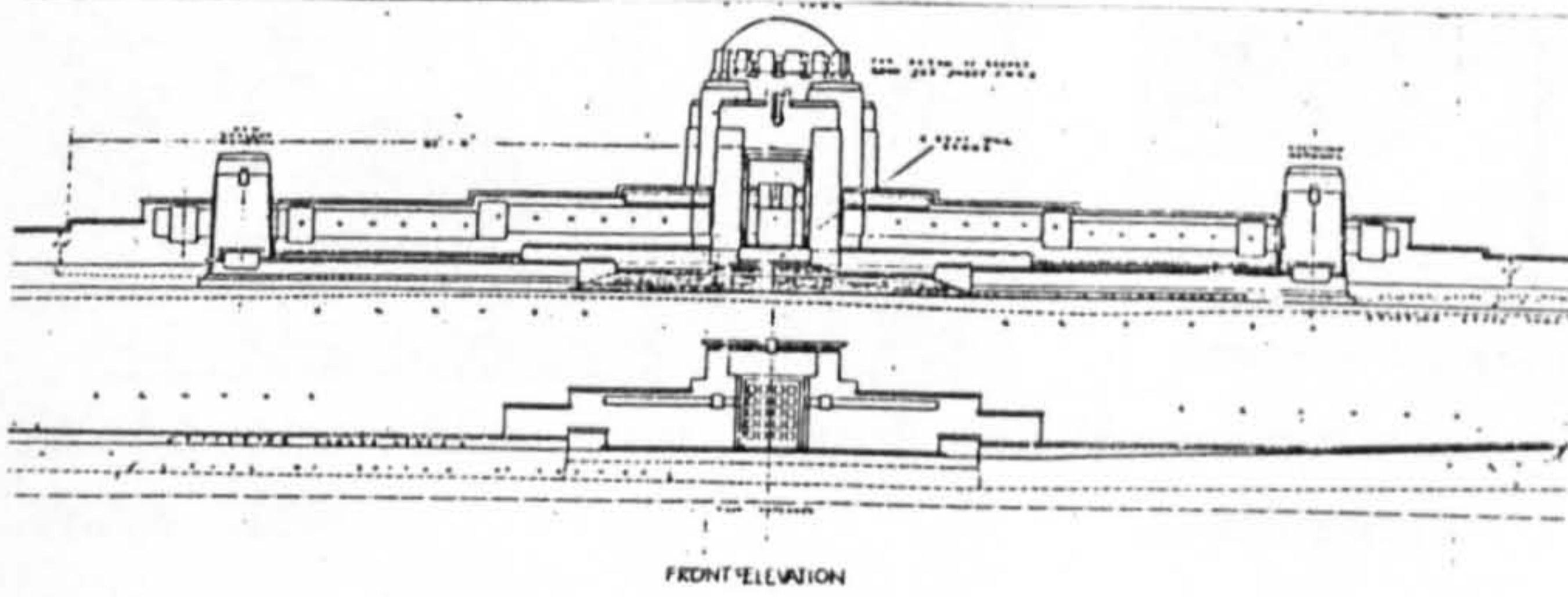




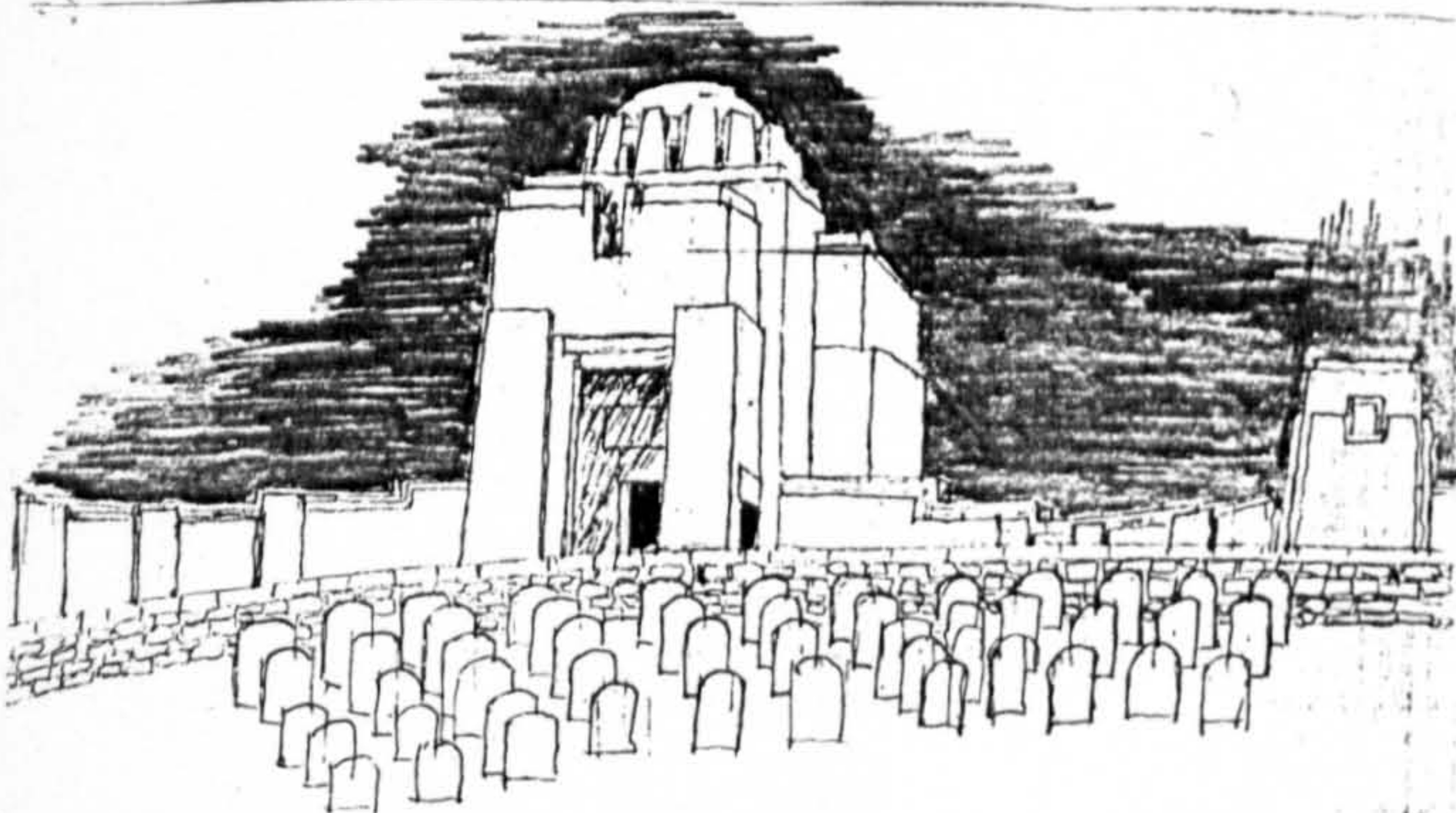
**III.1** Hebrew University Central Library - south-west view.



**III.2** Hebrew University Central Library - north-west view.



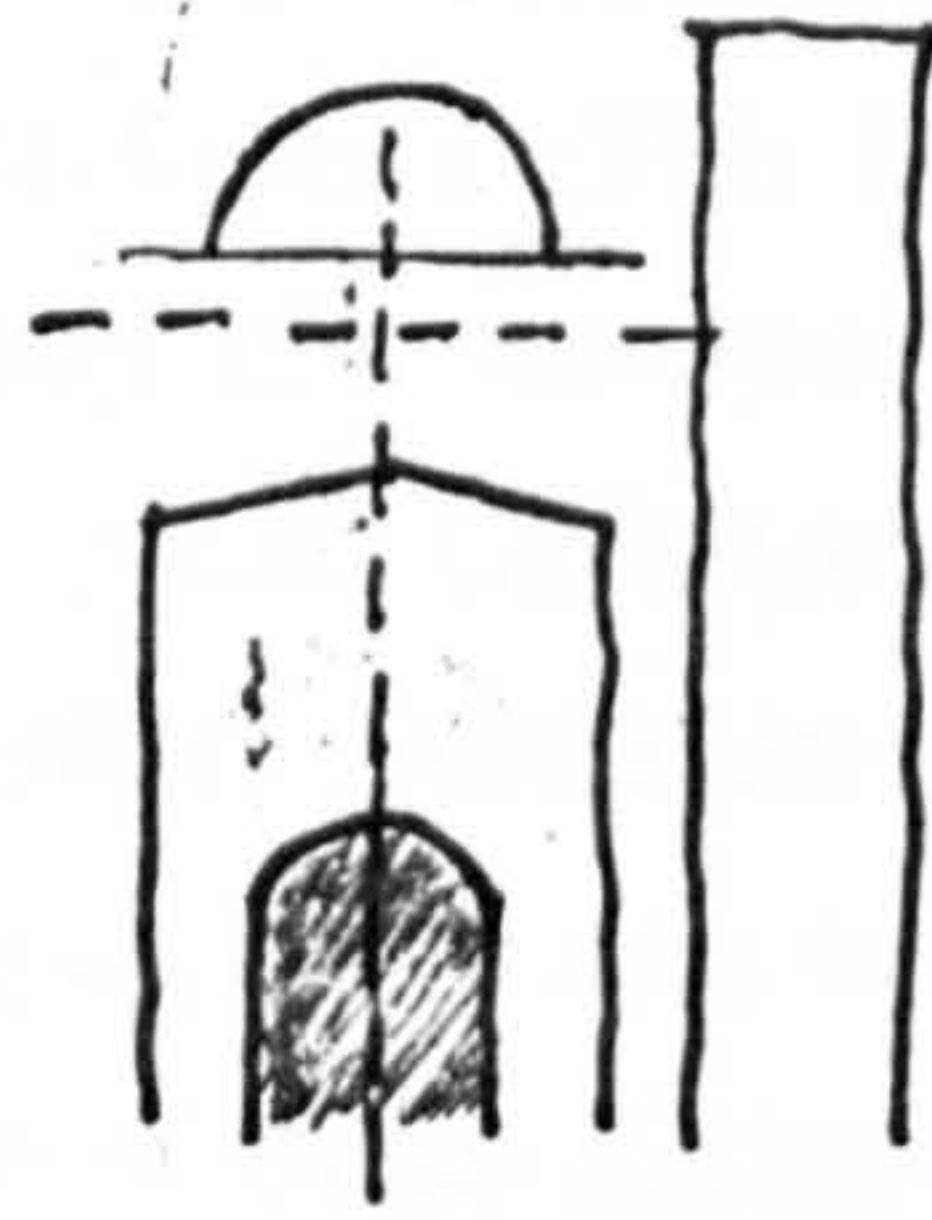
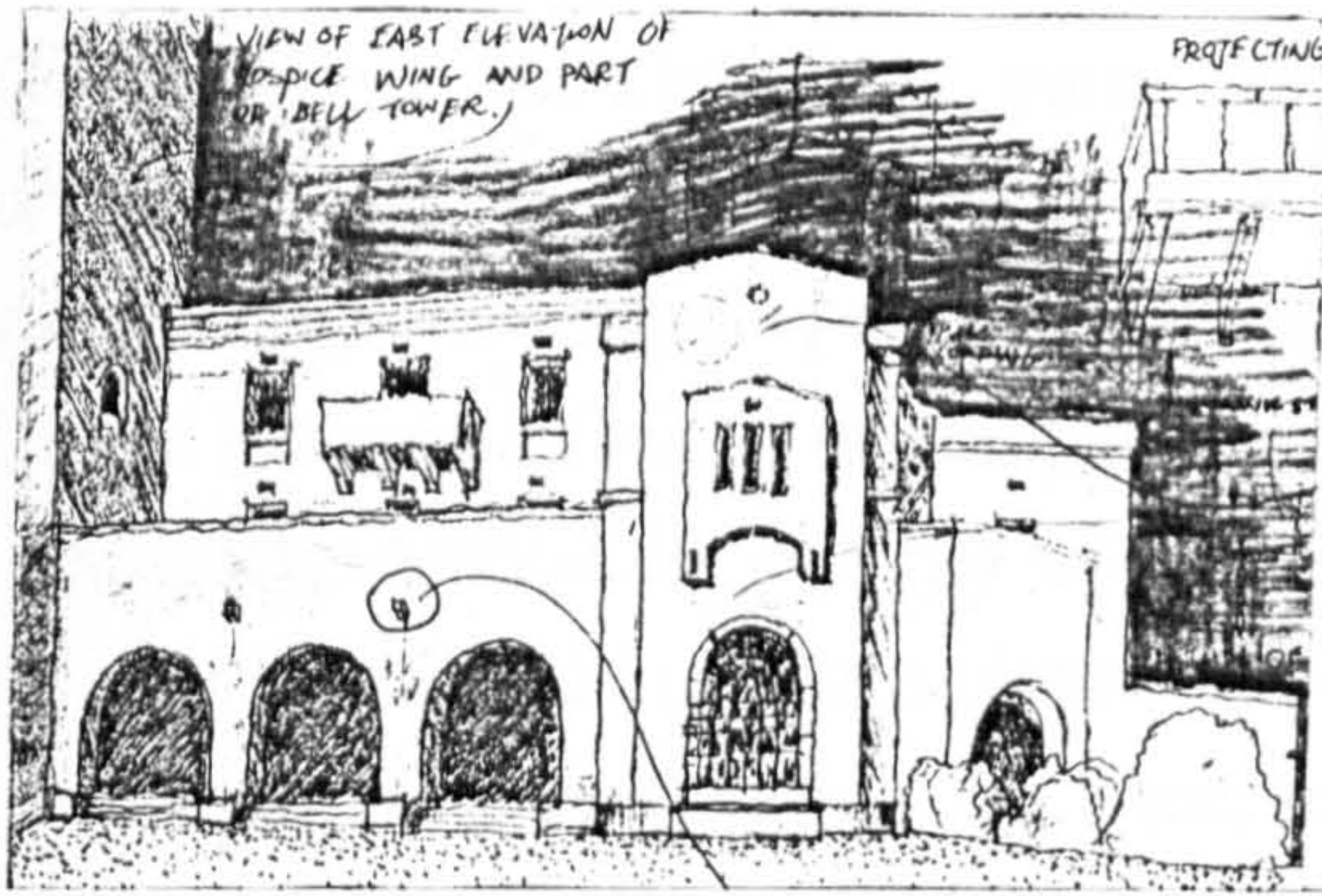
**III.3** British Imperial War Graves Cemetery - west elevations



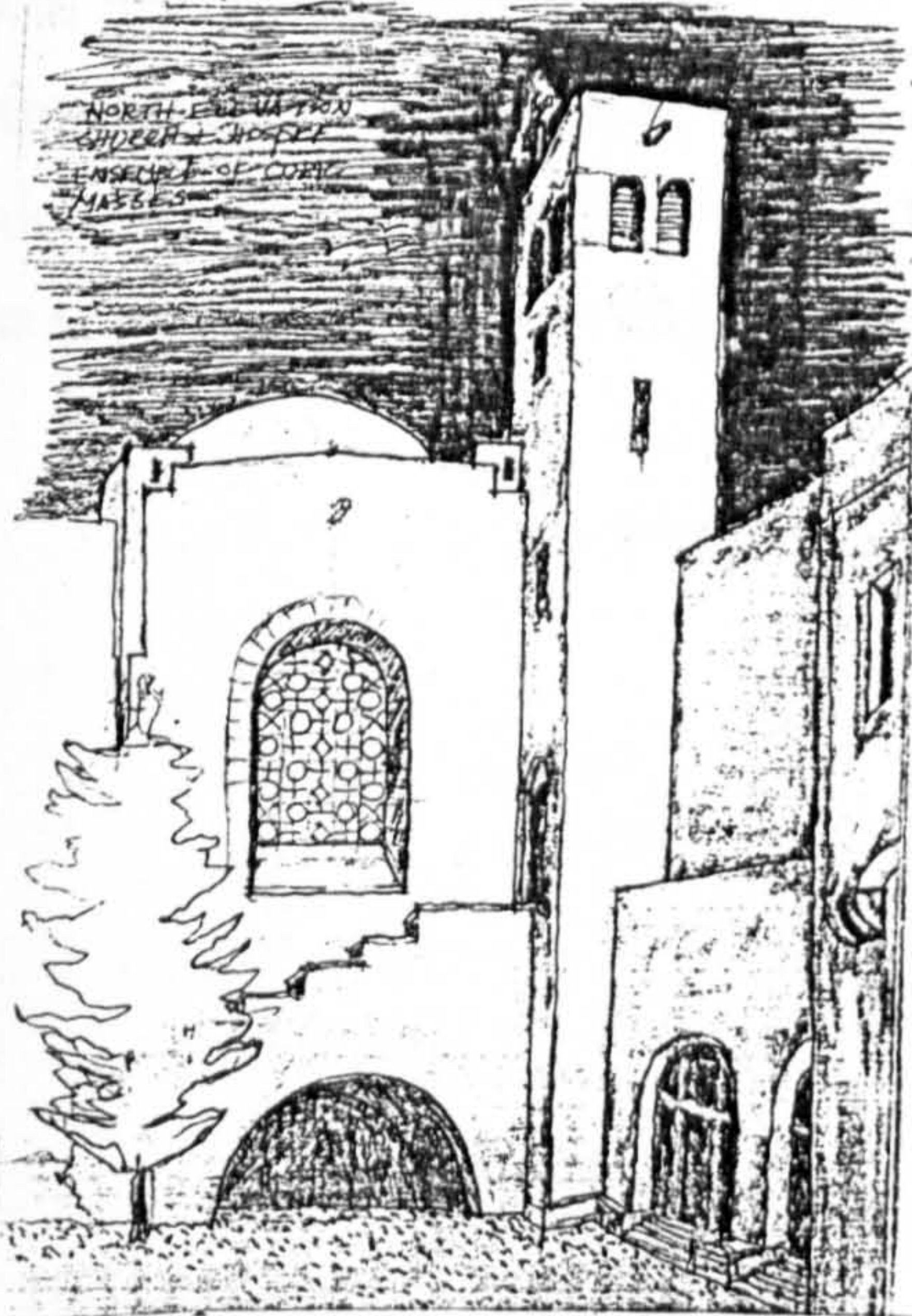
**III.4** British Imperial War Graves Cemetery - Main Chaple - north-west view.



**PLATE 6**



**III.1** Scottish Memorial Church and Hospice the Hospice - north-east view.



**III.2** Scottish Memorial Church and Hospice the Church.  
North view. South view.



### 9.5.2.3. External Critical Elements - PLATES 7-16

This category includes those parts, details and ornaments which were considered important for representing local traditional architecture. This has been verified herein by examining the few original architectural drawings that survived, and by comparing them with their materialisation in the buildings themselves. Unfortunately most drawings were lost and such verification was not always possible. Confirmation for many observations herein was also found in various documents which dealt with the finance of those projects (see Appendix II). Nevertheless, the importance of these elements, which are termed here 'critical', can be clearly recognised through a close examination of the buildings themselves, as will be demonstrated below. The method chosen here for analysing and drawing focuses on the articulation of parts, details and ornaments, following the design attitude of Non-Modern architects (see above, 3.3.6), as evident in those drawings which survived and in others by architects such as Lutyens and Baker.



## PLATE 7

### ROCKEFELLER MUSEUM

#### The Central Tower

Apart from its octagonal cross section, its graded mass and arched openings, a most explicit element which was intended as representation of locality is the articulation of its top segment (Ill. 1). The traditional local manner of ventilating the roof top by a *Kizan* (Ill. 1A), was transformed into pure ornament. The geometric sockets replace the traditional holes, which were originally pierced the massive balustrade, and become a bold decorative effect seen from a distance (Ill. 2). Its production was based on a traditional method of handling the brittle stone blocks. Accordingly, the more difficult configurations of a certain shape or pattern were cut into a single stone block. When laid together the complete shape or pattern emerged. Each of the stone blocks A,B,C,D, (Ill. 3) contains half of the socket's shape. When laid in the conventional way of horizontal courses, the ornamental pattern appears. The same method was used in another critical point, at the tower's base, where a change of width takes place. Stone E contains this transition of form and dimension (Ill. 4).

Harrison, who adopted this method and used it on many occasions, was able to produce rather complex visual effects without risking the breakage of stones. Furthermore, since this method relies mainly upon the work of a limited number of stonecutters, and less upon the unqualified work of stone layers, it was possible to arrive at an inventive design of details, properly made, yet employing ordinary masonry. Apart from its practical advantages, this method appealed to a Non-Modern architect like Harrison, as it enabled him to develop a simple, geometric key-module for producing a larger and richer whole. This design attitude traces back to Owen Jones and his advocacy for the geometric abstraction of various exotic ornaments (see above, 7.2.).

## PLATE 8

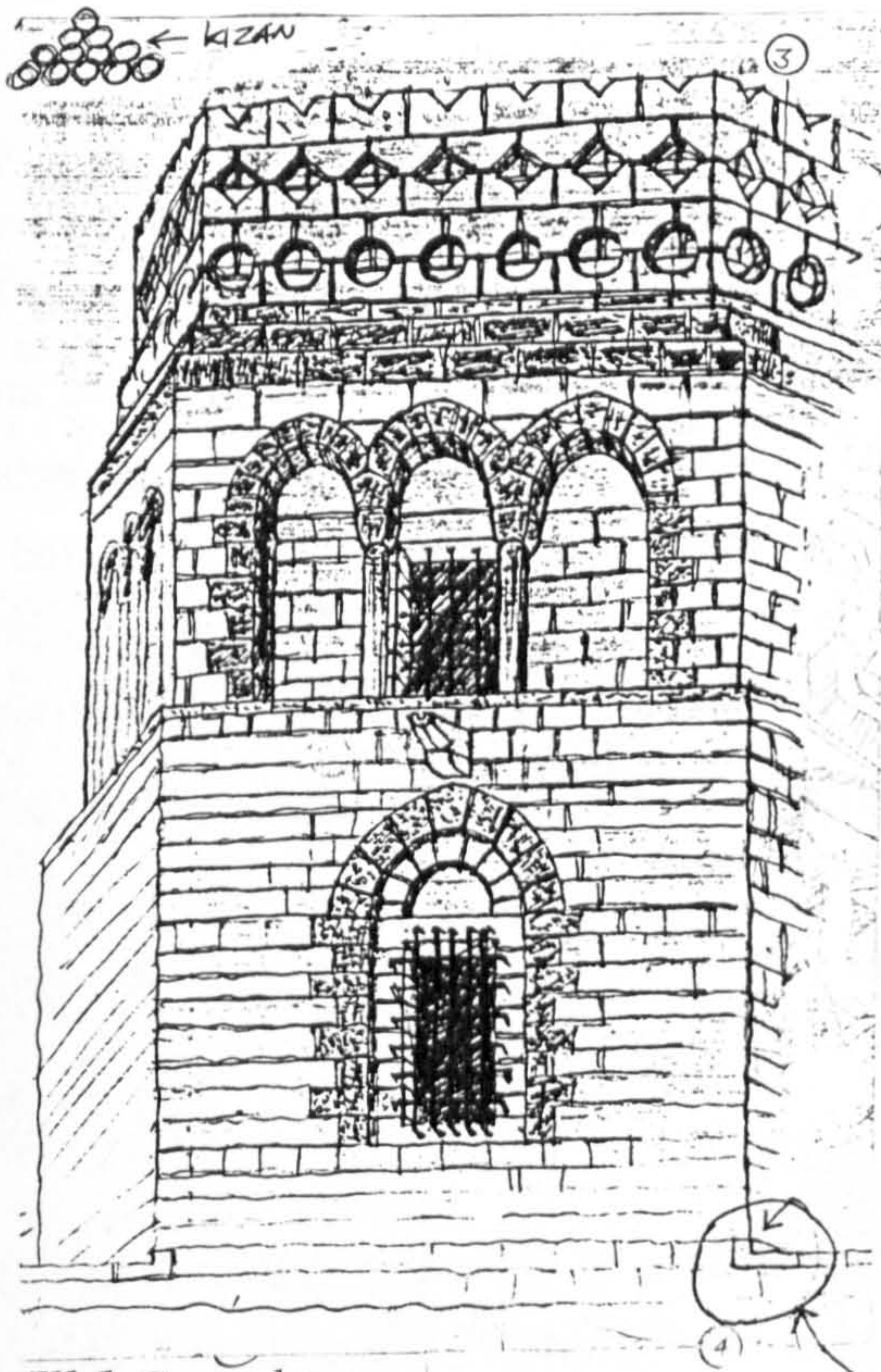
### ROCKEFELLER MUSEUM

#### Windows (see Ill.2 PLATE 7)

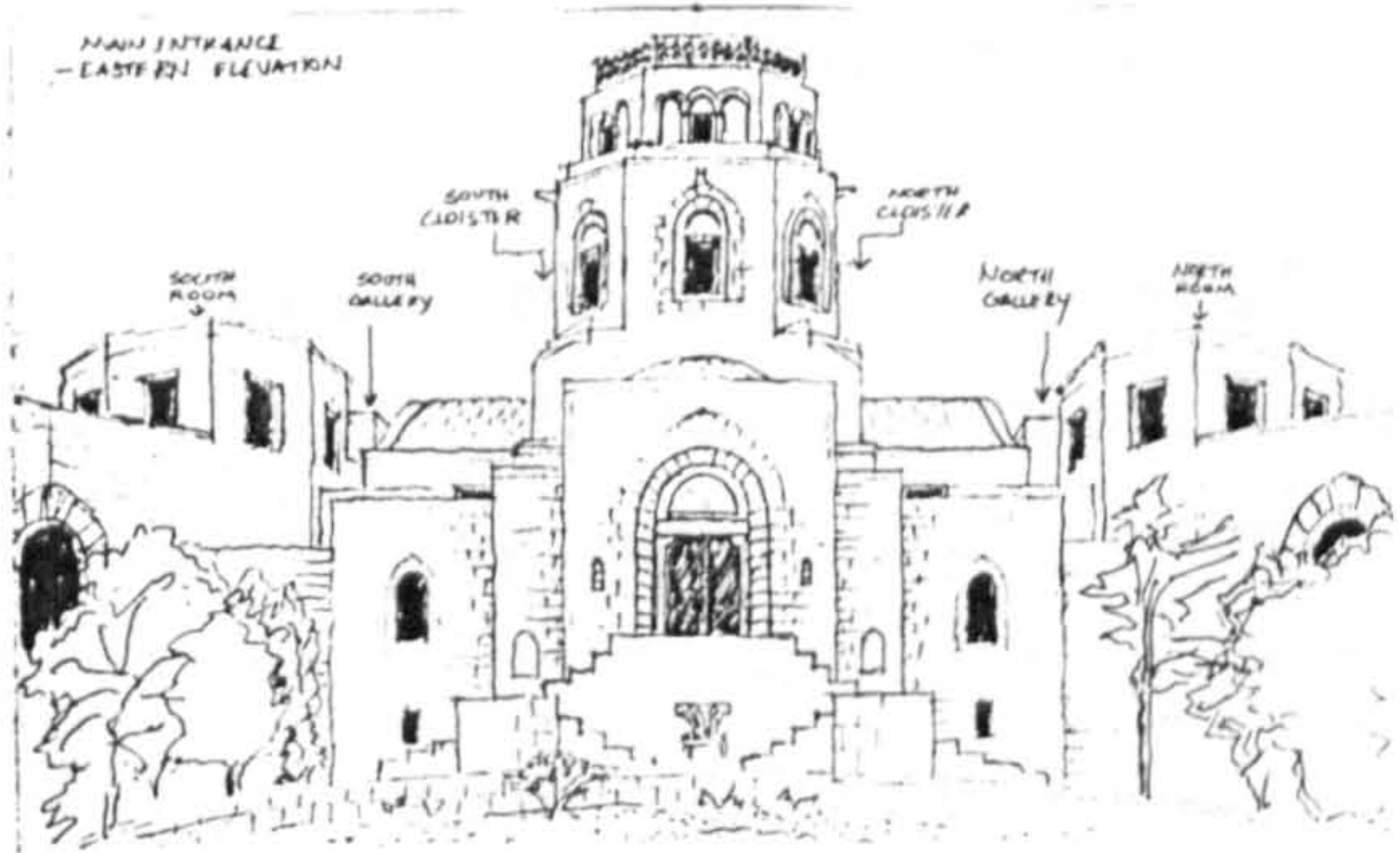
Stones A and B of the arched window are critical details in the articulation of the entire window frame, that incorporates iron bars which were installed during construction (Ill.1). The iron bars and the *Splayed* sill are most common details in Arab vernacular architecture in Jerusalem. Stone B contains the complexity of producing these windows, by which the corner and the sill were carved from a single block of stone (Ill. 2). The form of the ventilation opening below the arched window comes from a most common pattern of Islamic surface ornamentation of two rotated squares merged together (Ill. 1). Taken out of its original context it becomes an individual element. The method of its production is similar to what was shown above, by which one quarter of the entire shape is carved from a single stone block C, (Ill. 2), and four such blocks, assembled together, make the window.



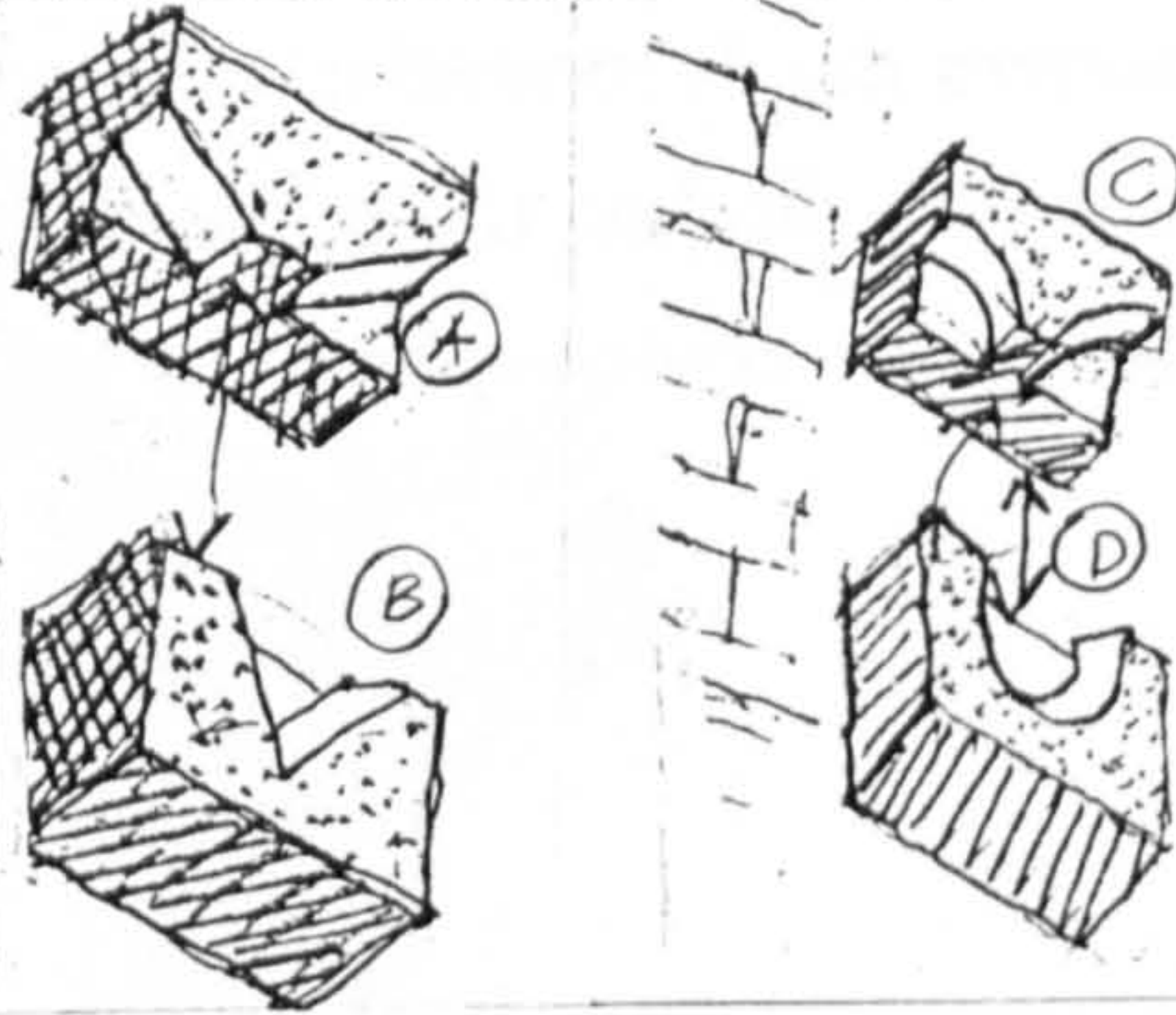
**PLATE 7**



**III.1** Central tower.

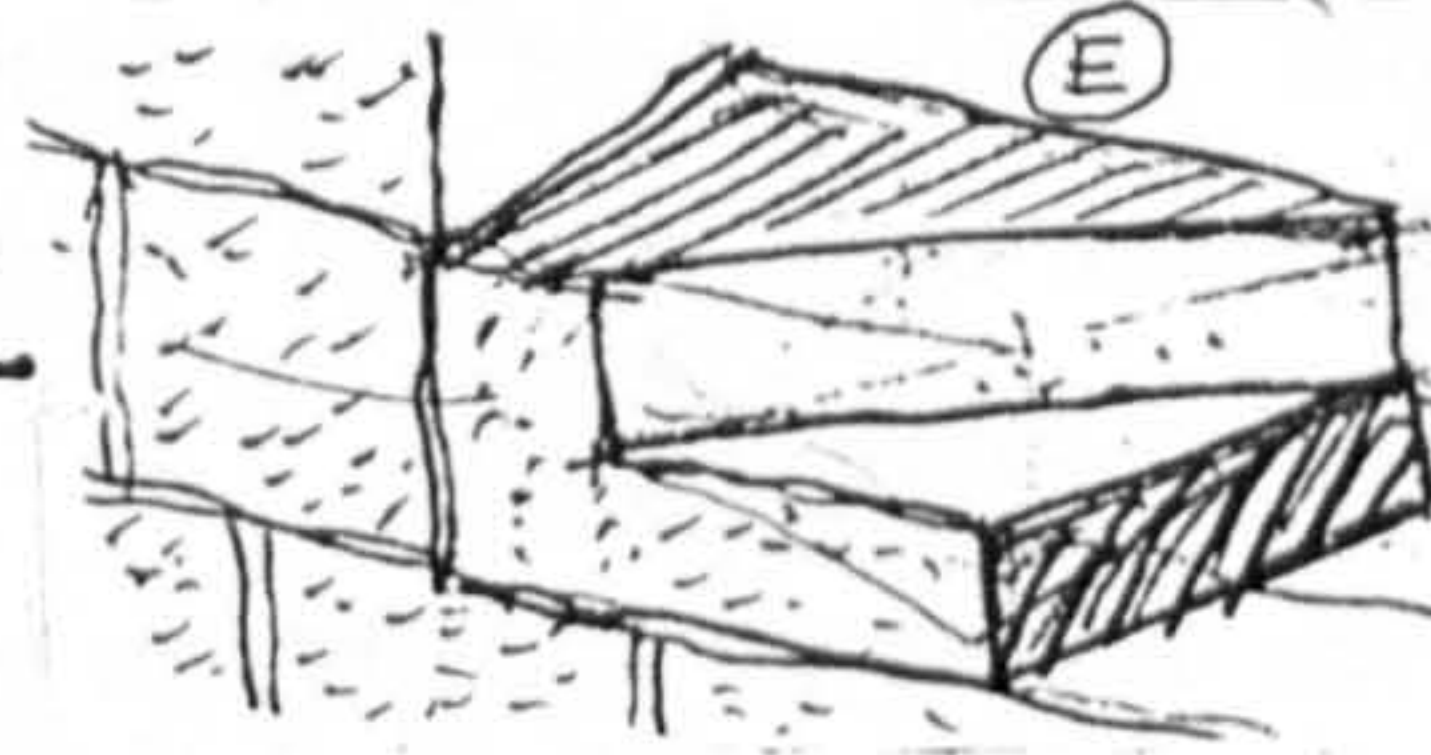


**III.2** East elevation - main entrance.

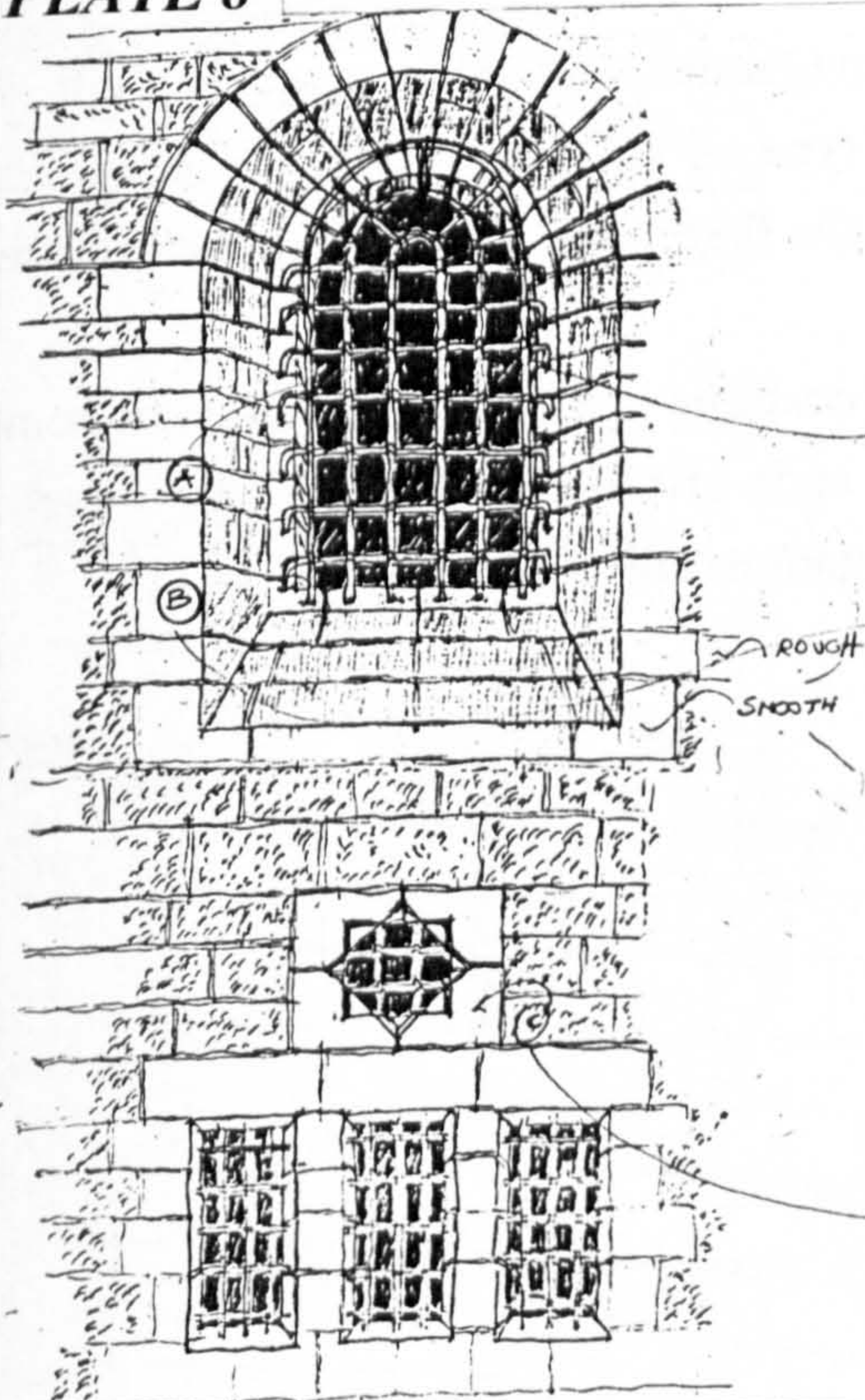


**III.3** Critical stone blocks of ornamentation.

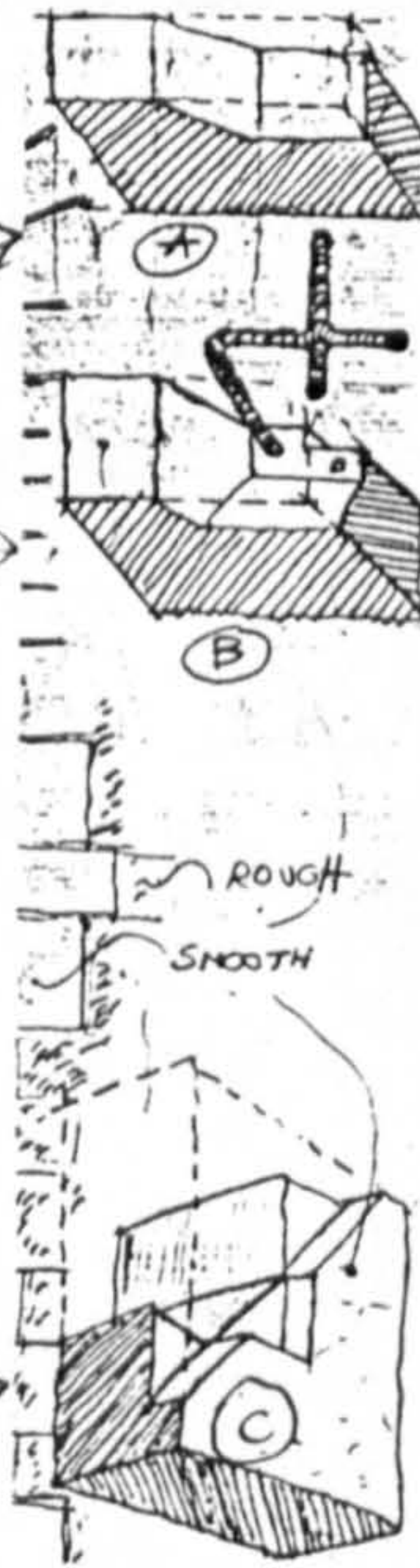
**III.4** Interchange of forms through a single block.



**PLATE 8**



**III.1** Three types of windows - east elevation.



**III.2** Critical stone blocks.



## PLATE 9

### ROCKEFELLER MUSEUM - *The Central Courtyard*

#### **The Fountain Pavilion**

The Fountain Pavilion is a display element of a complete Islamic form on the central axis of the courtyard and building (Ill. 1A). It consists of all the elements which were considered critical for portraying an Islamic building: a domed cube with a recessed arched opening as in Islamic portals. Its interior configuration consists of Islamic elements - a fountain, *Pendentives*, arches and niches (Ill. 2). It is entirely covered with ornamented blue ceramic tiles (Ill. 3). Unlike Islamic portals, here it leads to nowhere. The visitor is expected to admire the decorated interior space and fountain, and walk out. (The fountain shown here is a later display; the original design was a rather 'Modernistic' composition of cubes which for some reason replaced by the present one).

#### **The Arcade**

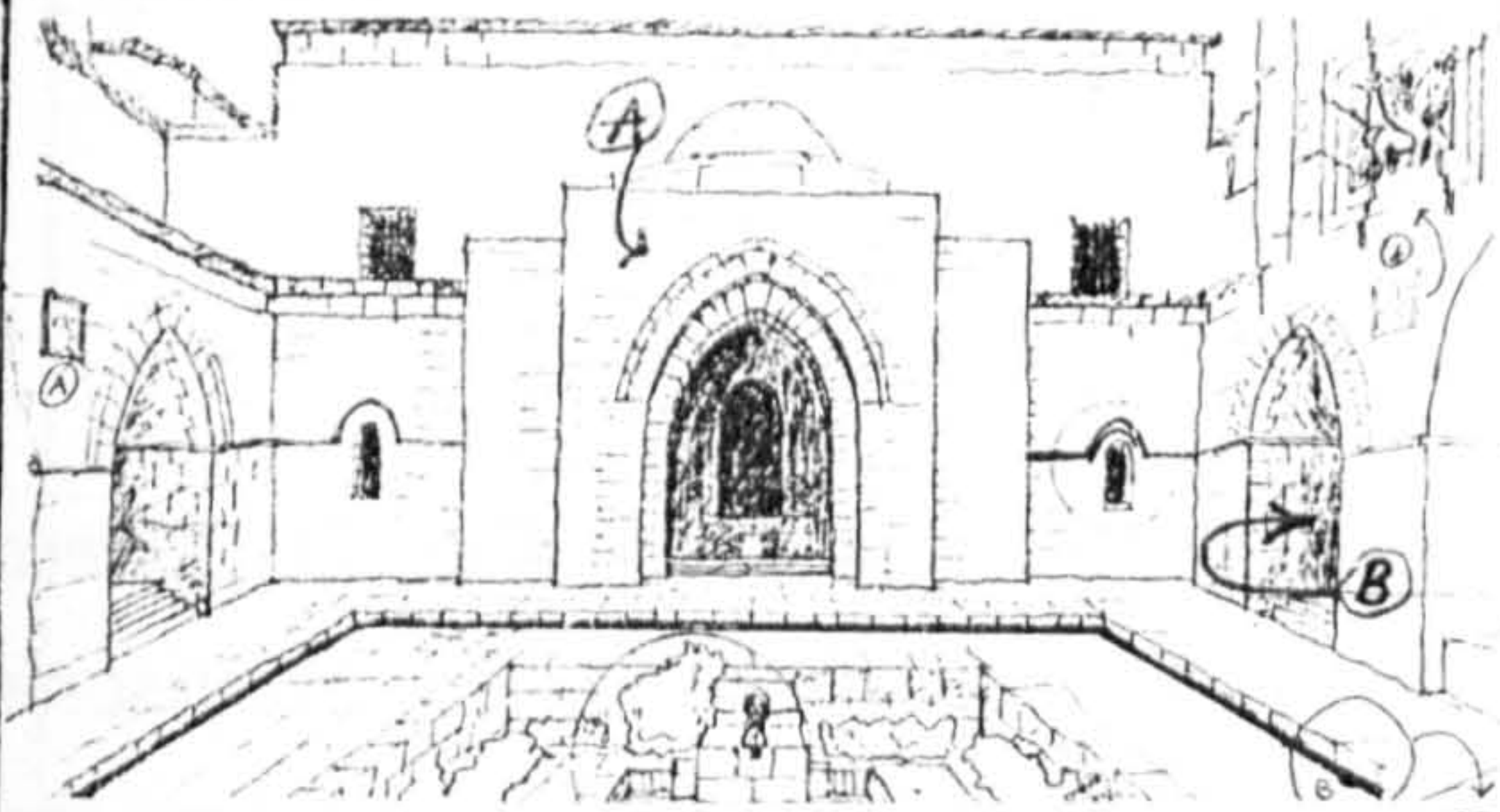
The arcade plays a major role in the circulation system of the entire building (Ill. 1B). It is also an important place where the visitor is encouraged to pause and enjoy the atmosphere of an Eastern building. The inner stone wall of the arcade consists of built-in benches and niches for display (Ill. 4).

A key detail of the arches in the arcade and throughout the building is stone A (Ill. 4) which is the Springing stone of the arch. In this type of arch (a *Florentine Arch*) the internal and external radius are not concentric, and the first stone A is where the radiuses were determined.

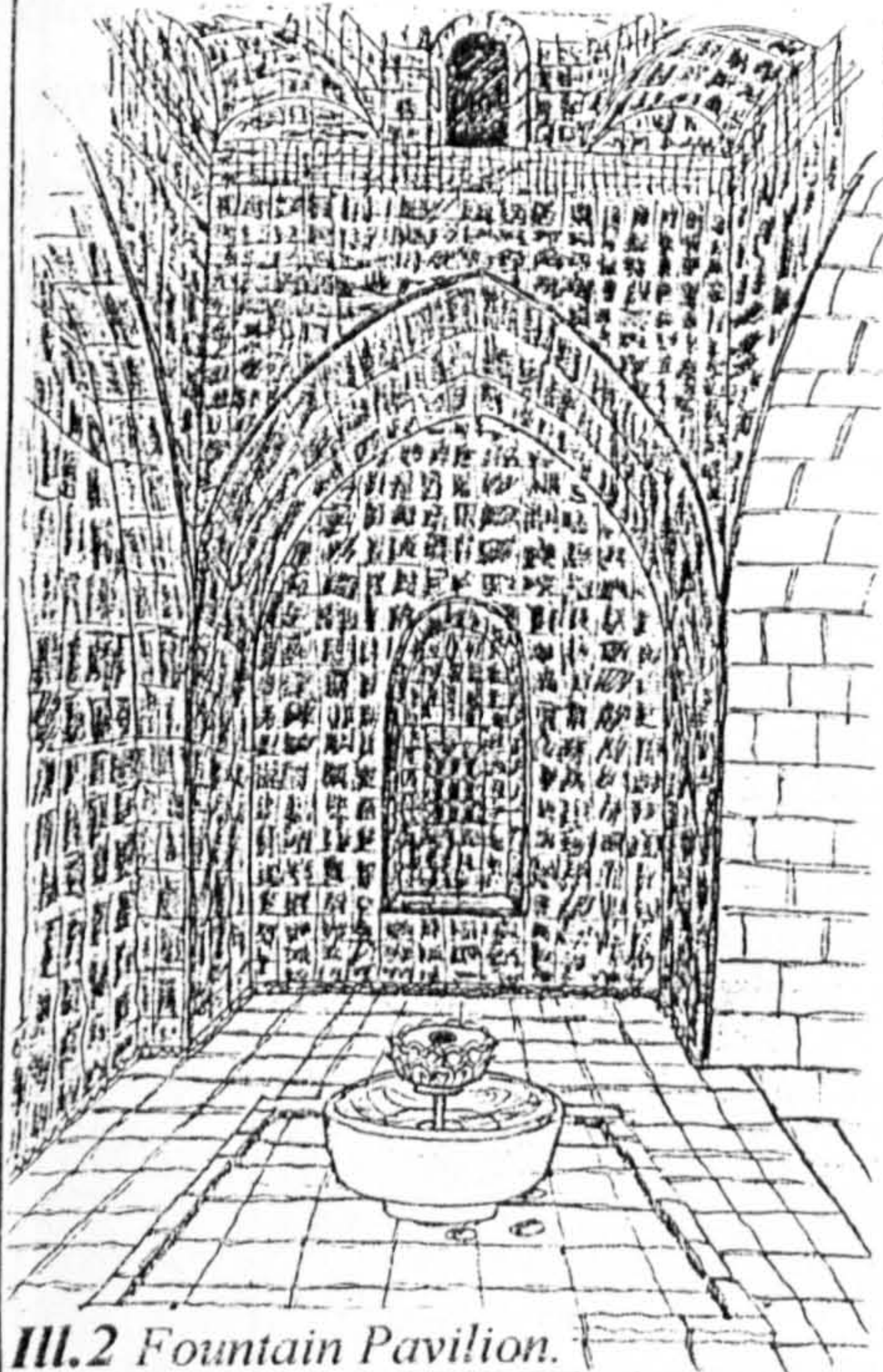
Harrison had used the *Florentine* arch in various locations around the building. In some cases such as in the narrow openings on the short ends of the courtyard he introduced a combination of a Modernistic and traditional interpretations (Ill. 5).



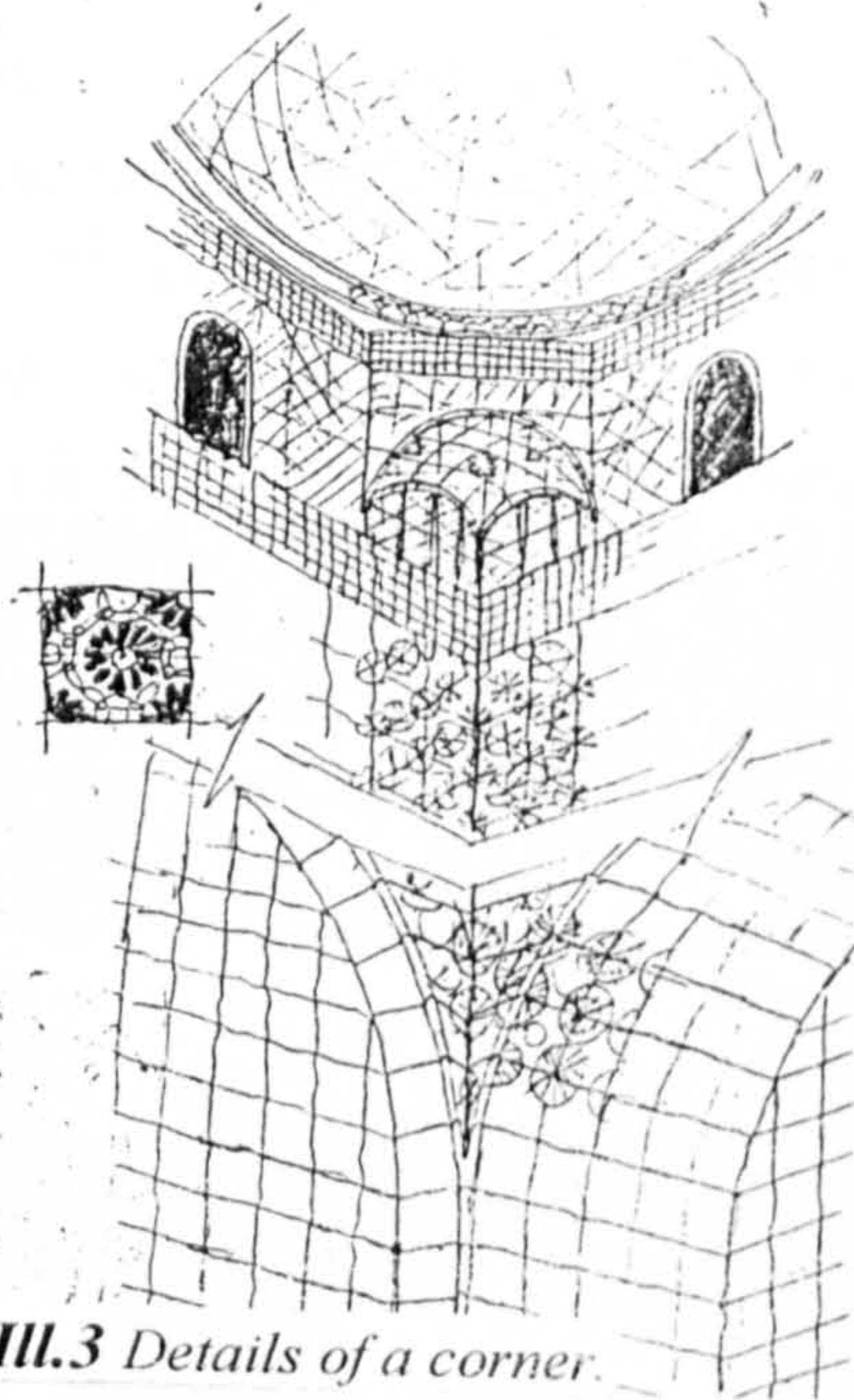
**PLATE 9**



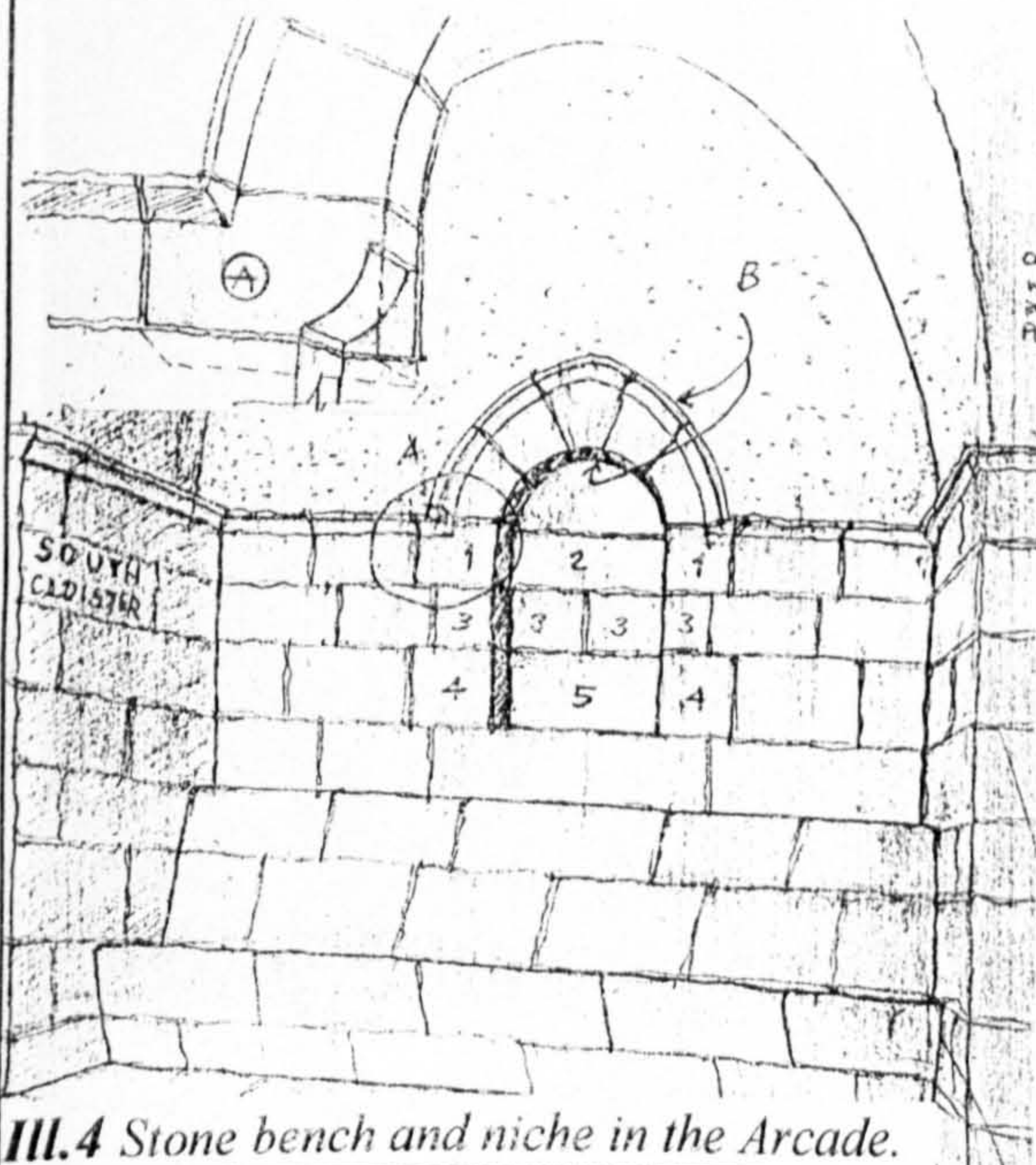
**III.1** Central courtyard facing the Fountain Pavilion (A) and the arcade (B).



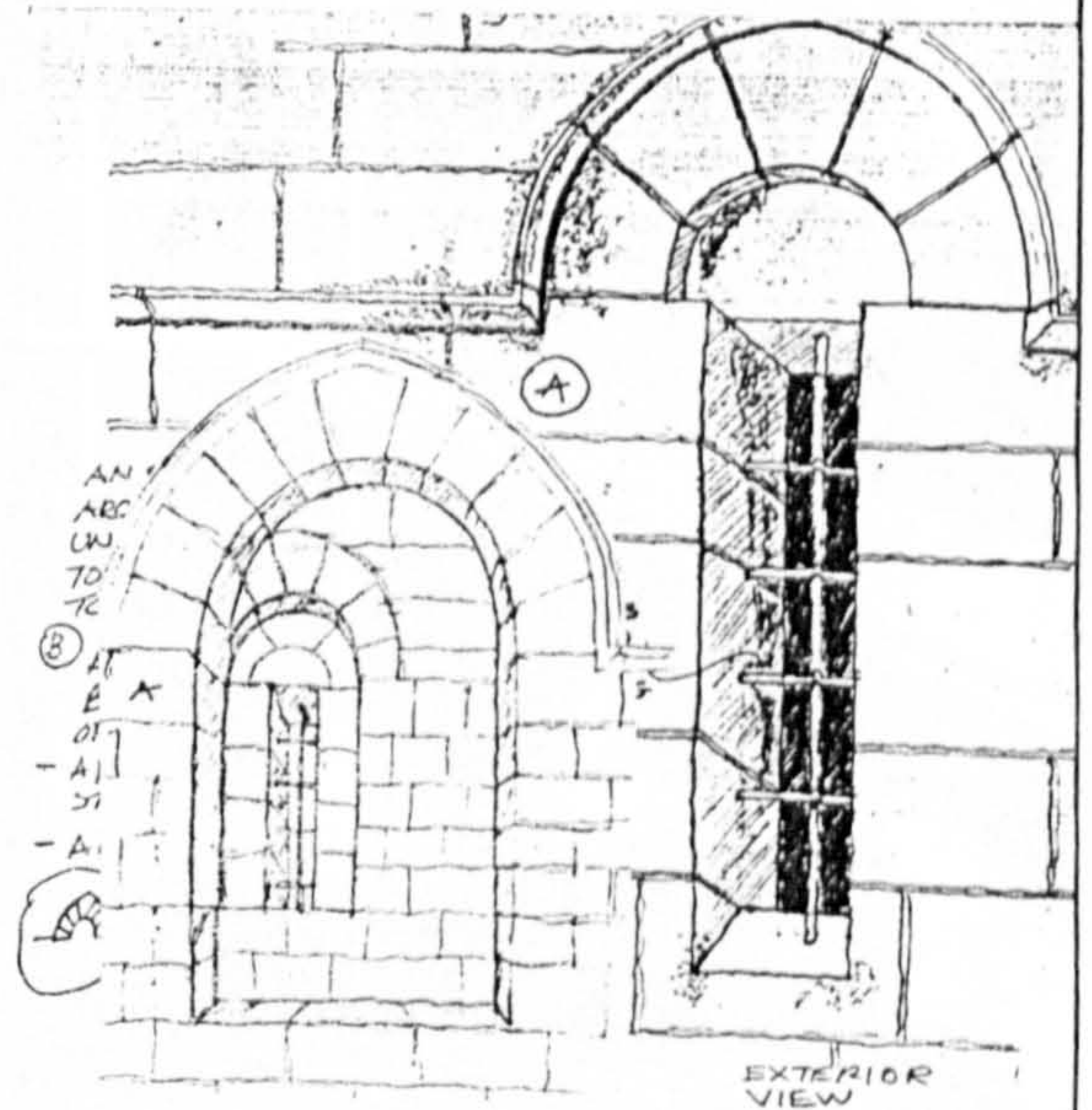
**III.2** Fountain Pavilion.



**III.3** Details of a corner.



**III.4** Stone bench and niche in the Arcade.



**III.5** A narrow window (one of four, two in each short sides of the courtyard, III. 1).

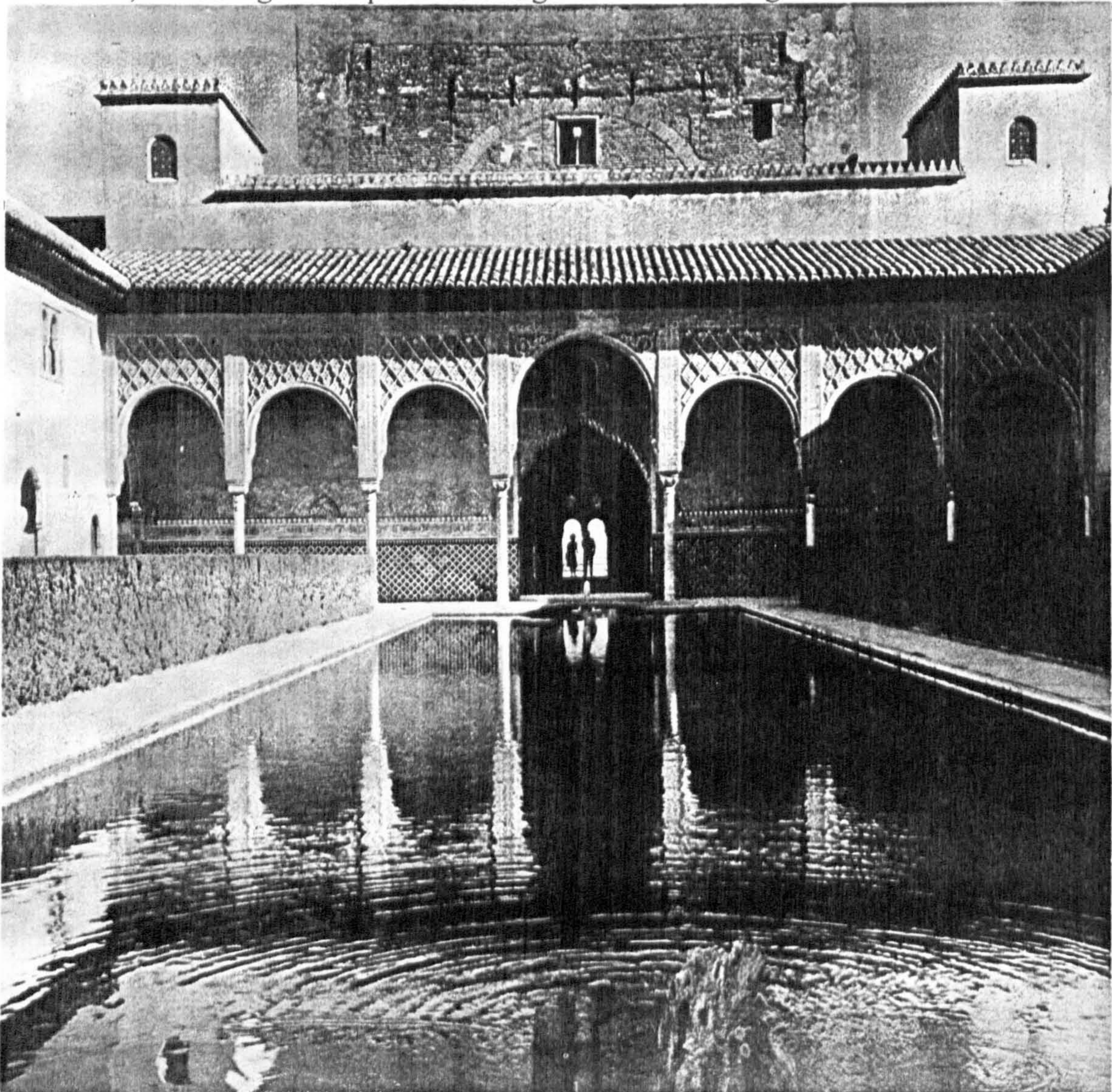


## PLATE 10

ROCKEFELLER MUSEUM - *The Central Courtyard (cont.)*

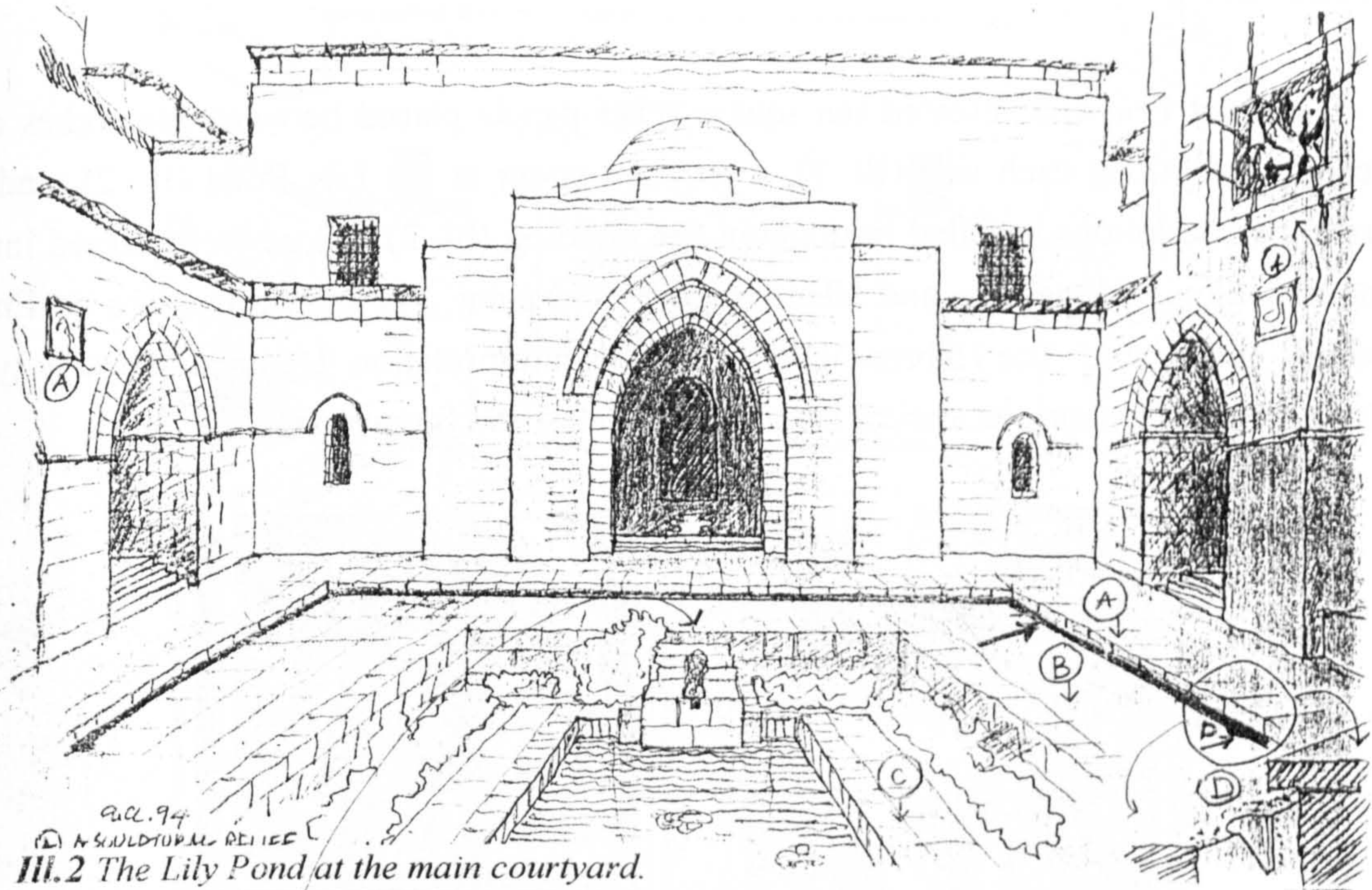
### The Lily Pond

The Court of the Myrtles at the Alhambra (Ill. 1) and possibly the Taj Mahal (Ill.4) were obvious sources of inspiration for the design of the pond and the courtyard. Harrison's interpretation concerns the water zone and its edges (Ill. 2). Whereas at the Alhambra the water surface is level with the floor surface, here the water vessel is lower and smaller. It is surrounded by three stone platforms, and reaching the water edge C is possible only through the narrow ends walking on large stone blocks arranged as stairs (Ill. 3). And yet the water zone can also be grasped as much larger, if perceived from the second level going down. The upper level A (Ill. 2) is slightly suspended over the second level B (Ill. 2), creating a narrow gap which casts a dark shadow. This space is also used for draining rain water, D, at two points (Ill. 2). Besides saving water by reducing the water surface exposed to the sun, this configuration provides a larger area for moving around and resting.

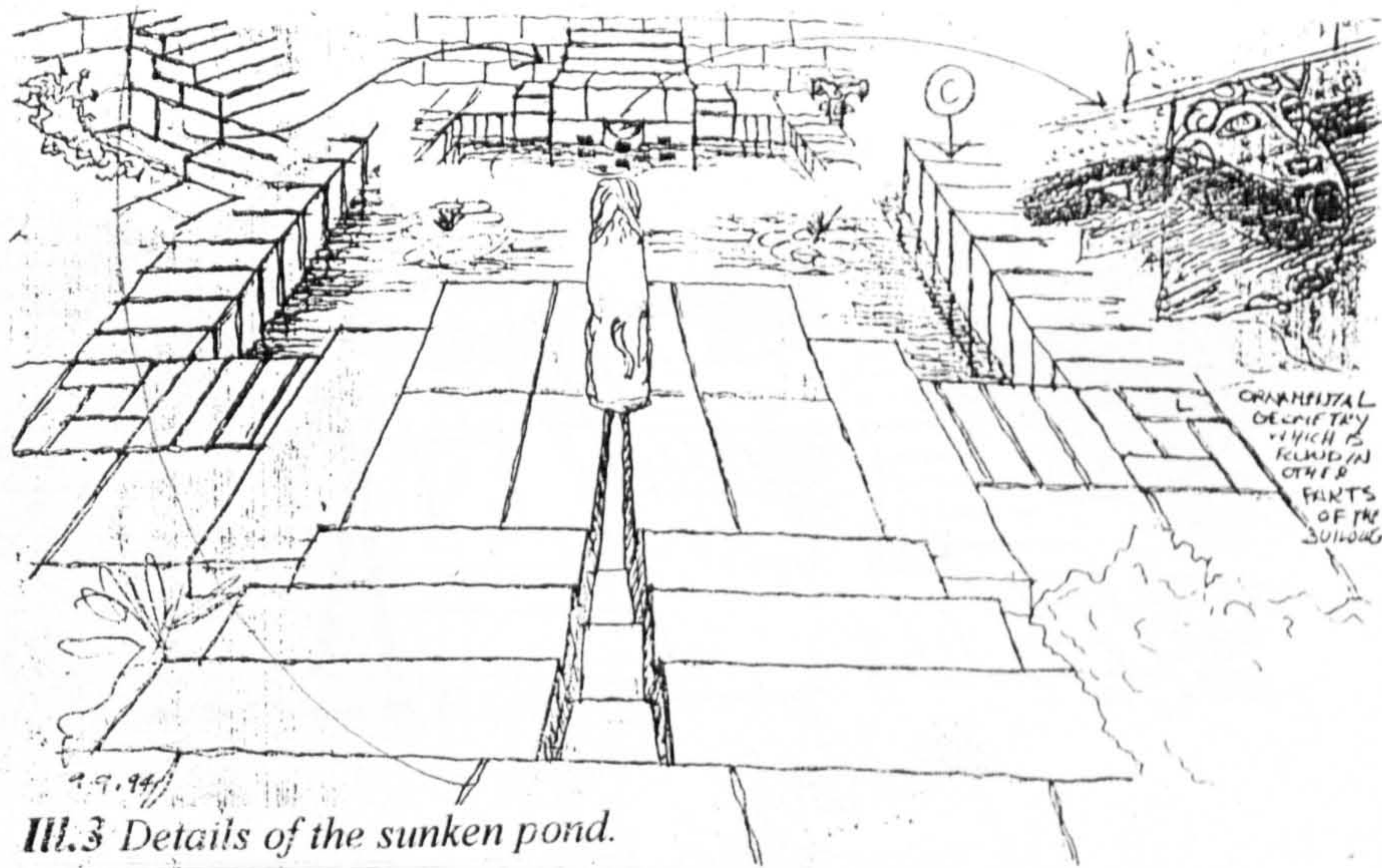


Ill. 1 *The Court of the Myrtles at the Alhambra*





III.2 The Lily Pond at the main courtyard.



III.3 Details of the sunken pond.



III.4 Taj Mahal  
1631-1653.



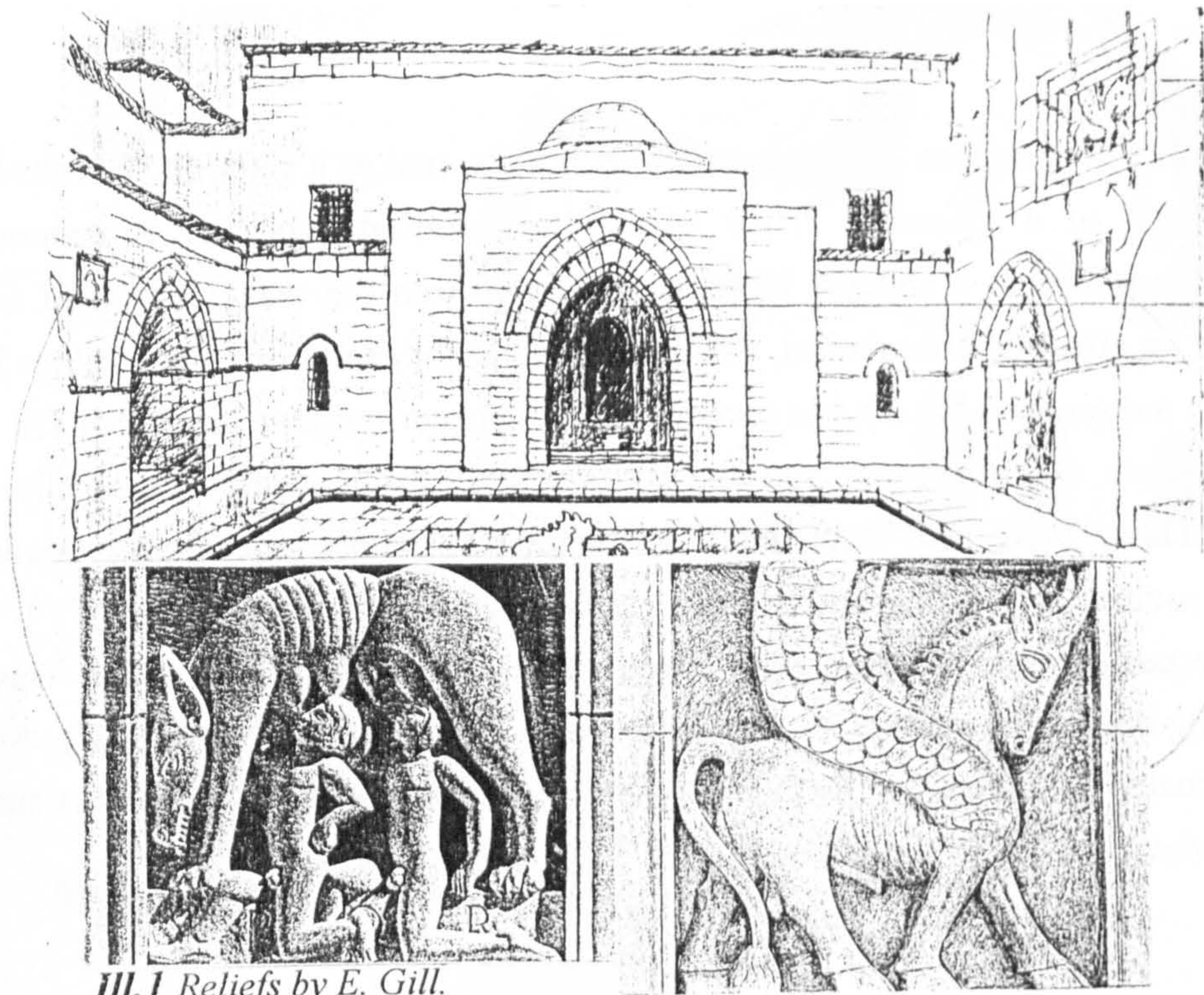
## PLATE 11

### *ROCKEFELLER MUSEUM - The Central Courtyard (cont.)*

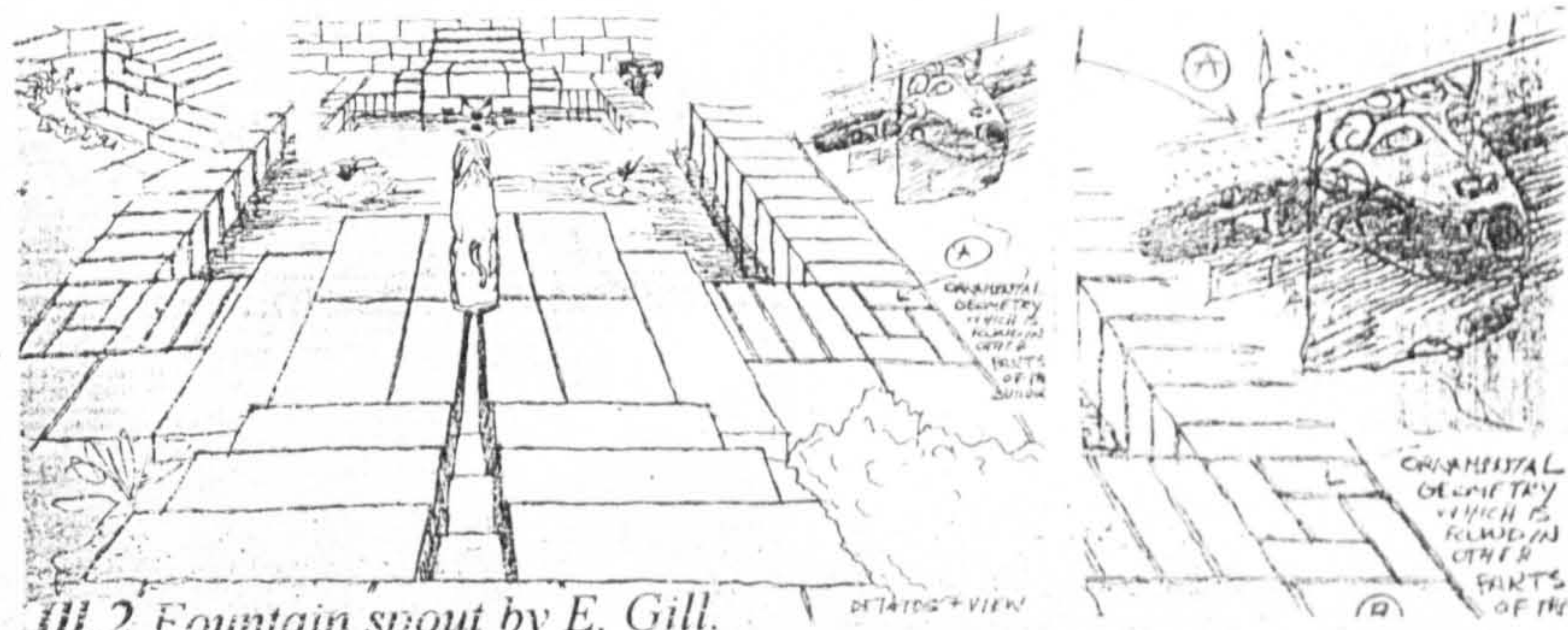
#### **Ornaments**

The artist Eric Gill created ten square relief panels placed between the arches of the arcade - five along each side (Ill. 1), a fountain spout at the Lily Pond (Ill. 2), and brief directory inscriptions installed throughout the building (Ill. 3). Those were carved into the smooth yellowish limestone and filled with dark red paint. The inscriptions are in English, Hebrew and Arabic. The Hebrew letters are Gill's interpretation. He created a new type of letters, inspired by various ancient inscriptions (Reich and Sussmann, 1992; 307).





III.1 Reliefs by E. Gill.



III.2 Fountain spout by E. Gill.

NO ADMITTANCE  
 ممنوع الدخول  
 הכניסה אסורה

סבא  
 המורה

III.3 Inscription by E. Gill.



## **PLATE 12**

### *GOVERNMENT HOUSE*

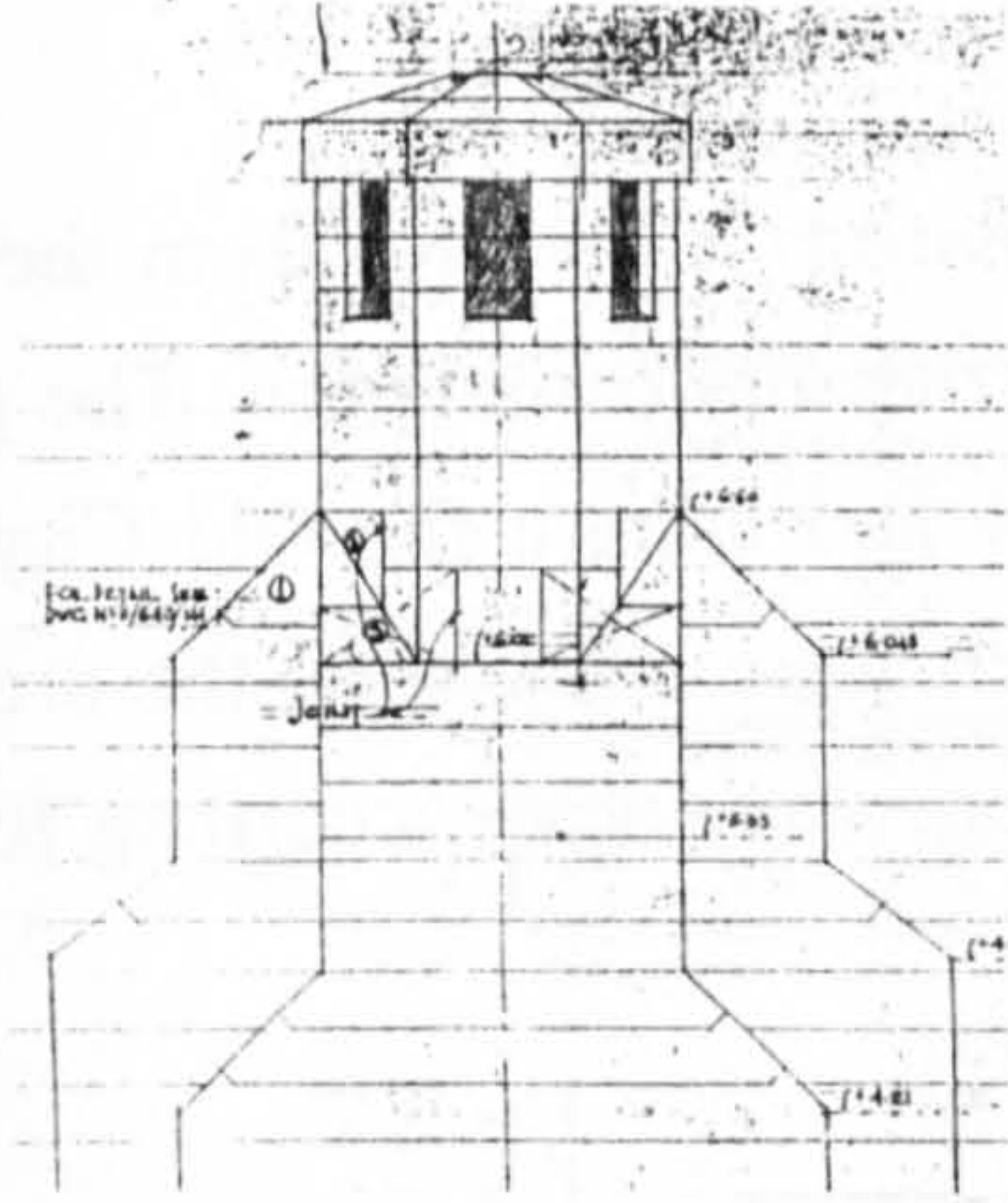
#### **Tower and Chimney**

The stocky proportions of these vertical elements makes it difficult to regard them as a proper 'tower' or a 'chimney'. Their specific elaboration expresses a common attitude amongst many foreign architects in Jerusalem, for whom the manipulation of corners was considered an effective articulation, worthwhile using for the design of buildings in the City. A common pattern was the double corner - a small corner within a larger one (Ill. 1A,B).

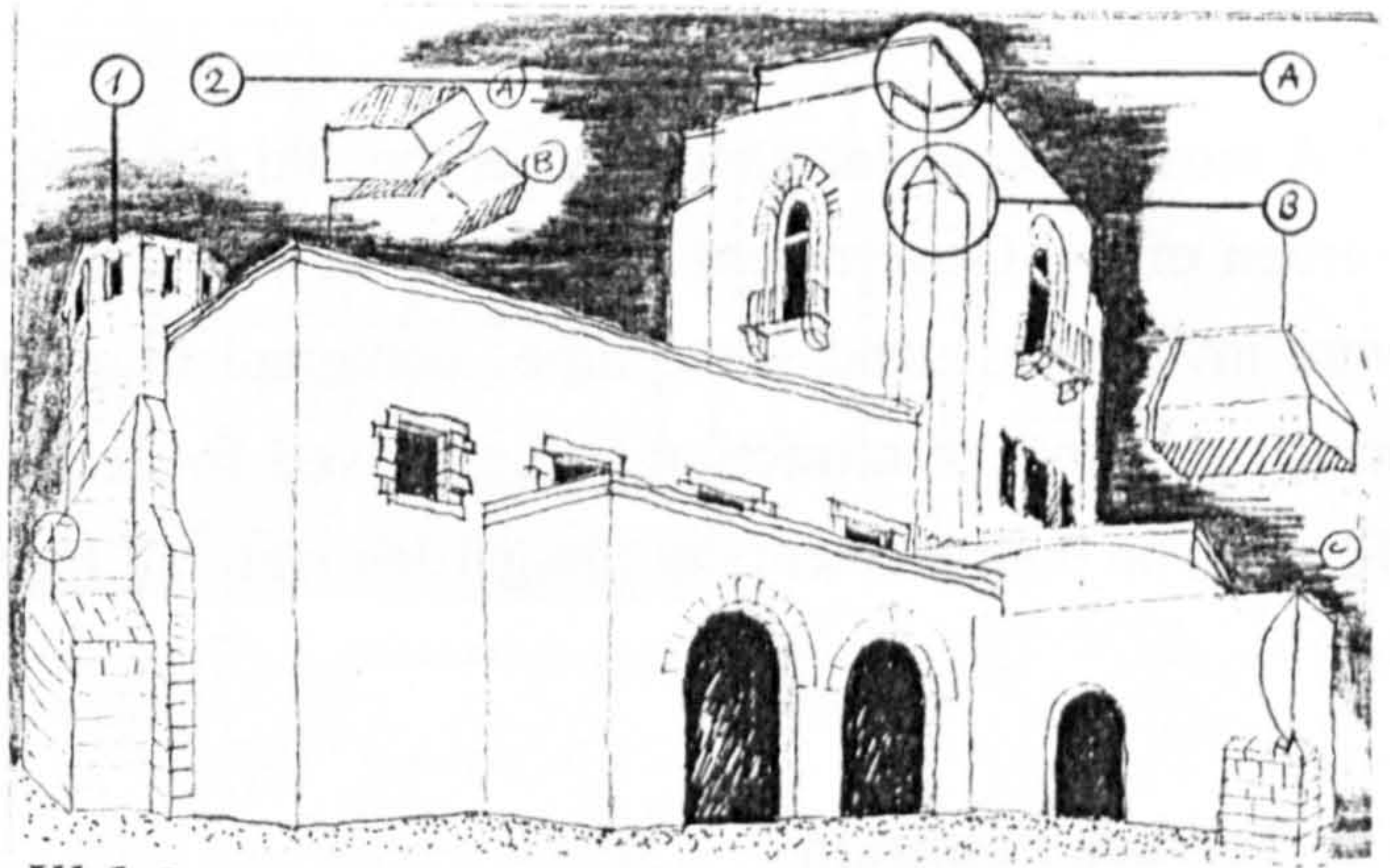
Their points of connection and the transition of forms, were specifically elaborated (Ills.3,4). Those were also considered characteristic details, specifically documented by architects such as John Crace and William Harvey (see above, 7.3.1., 7.3.3.).

The method of construction was based on a similar principle which was used for constructing important elements in the Rockefeller Museum (see above, Pl. 7). Accordingly, the complicated points of the form were carved in separate stone blocks, as shown in the isometric views drawn by the architect (Ills. 3,4).

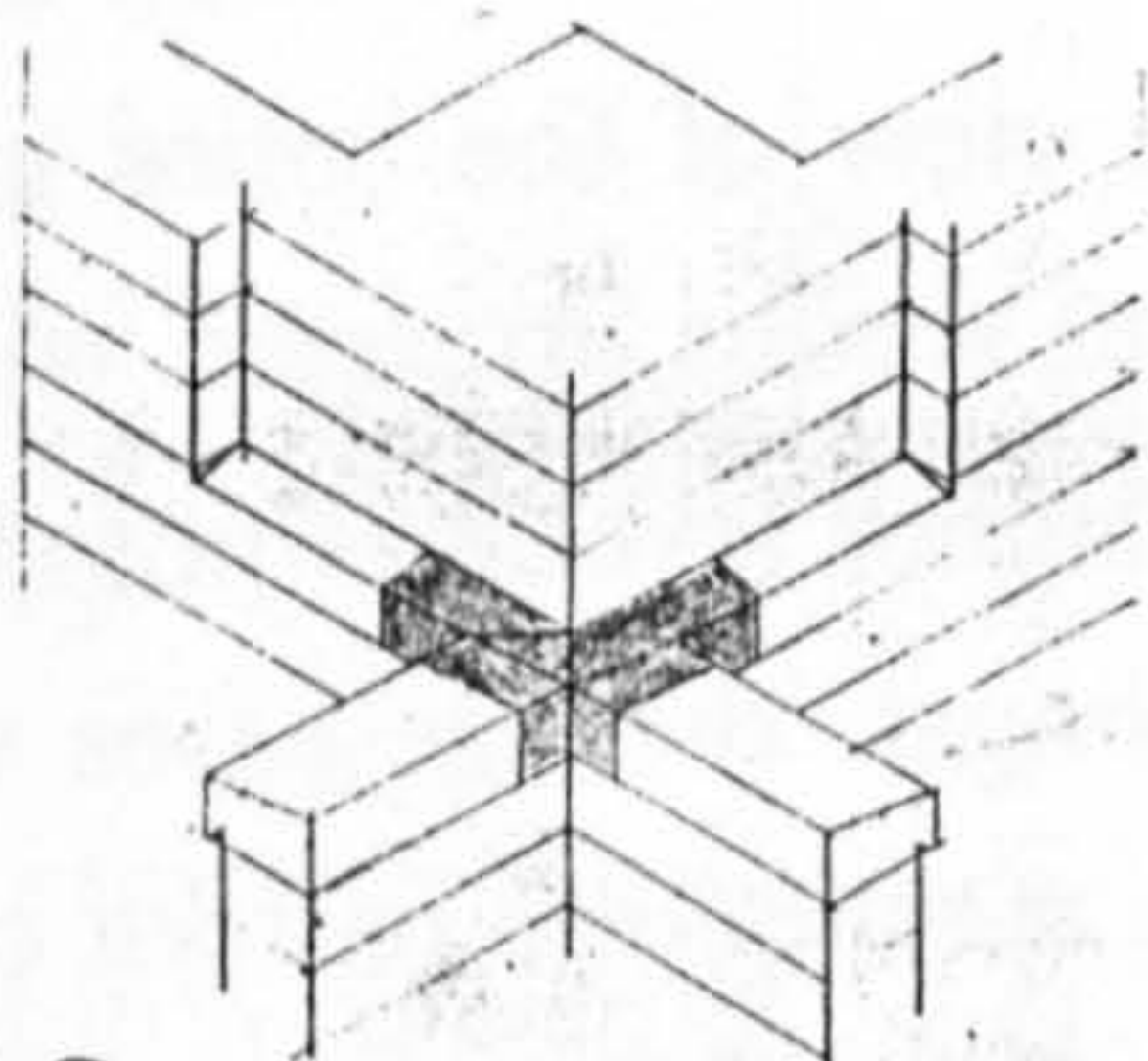




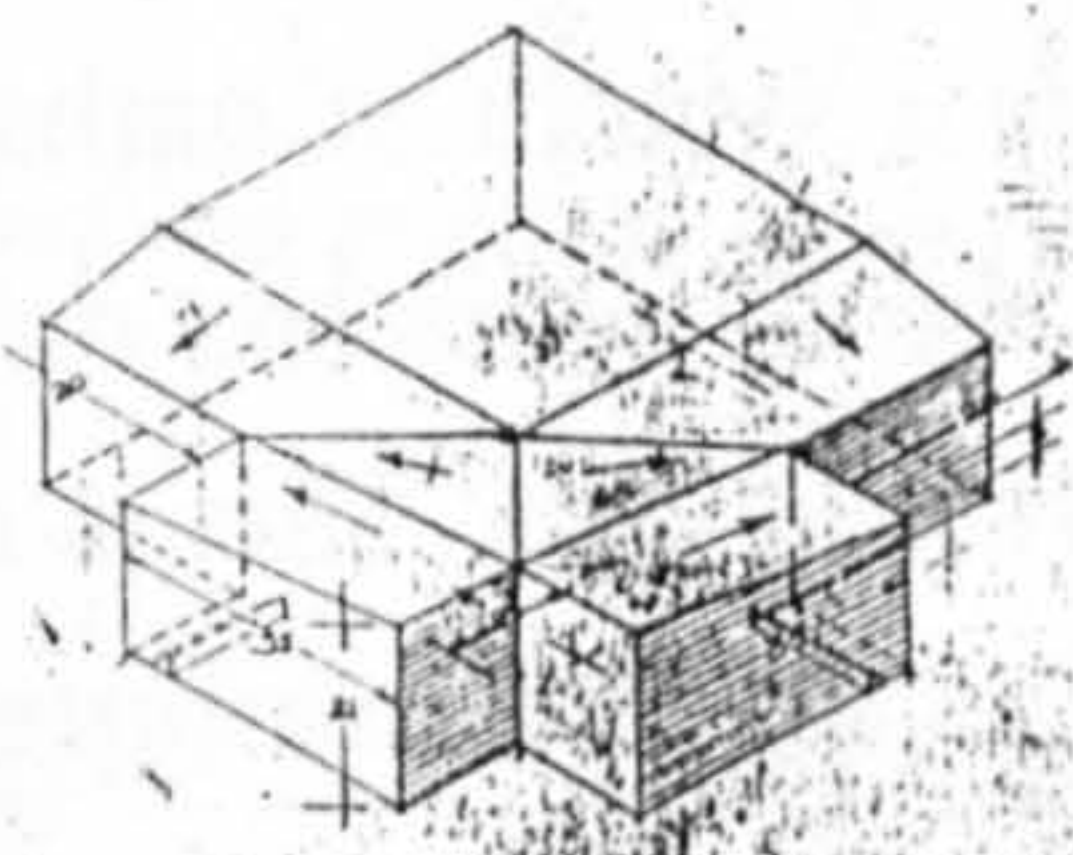
**III.2** Top of fireplace chimney  
(Drawn by the Architect).



**III.1** South corner - tower and chimney.

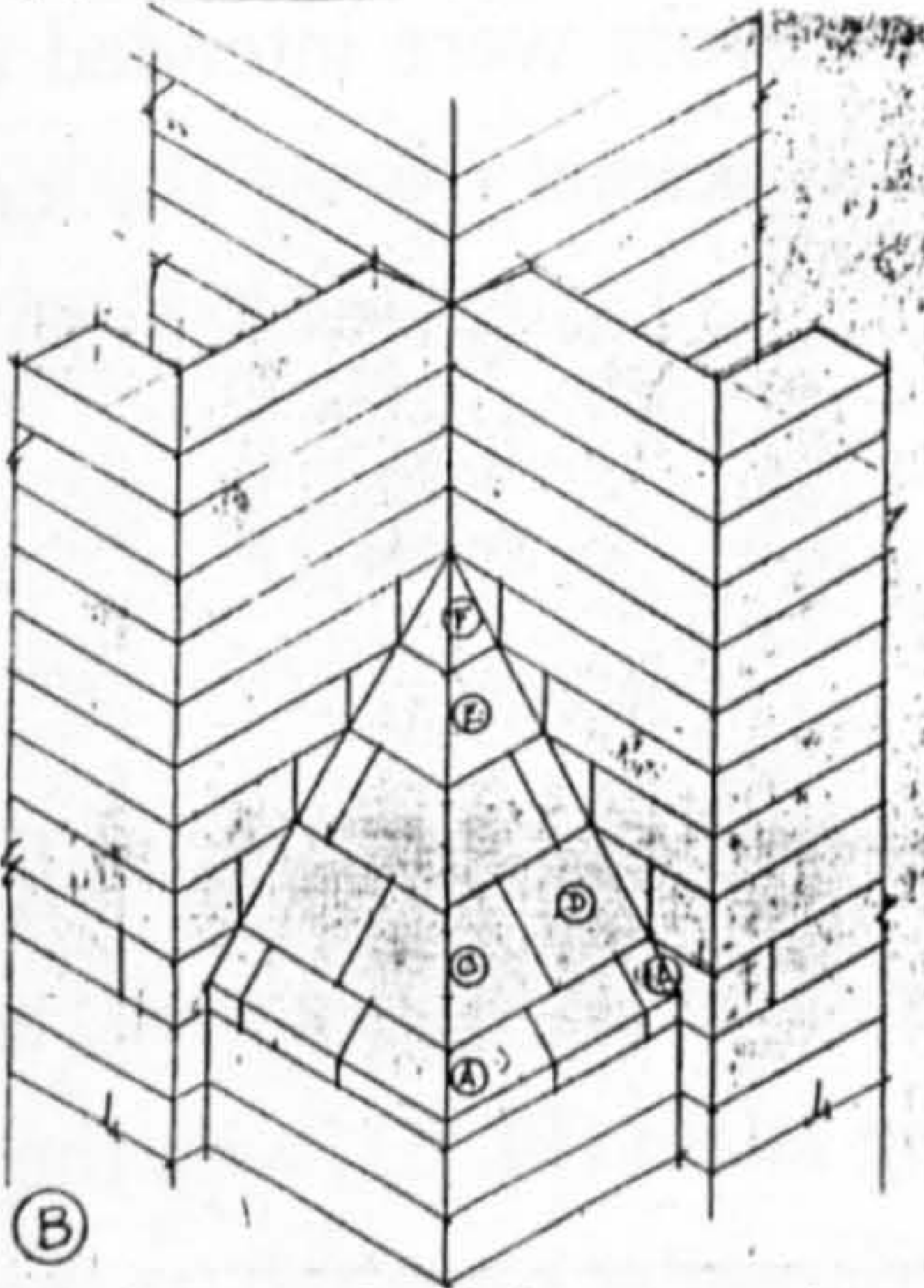


**A** ISOMETRIC VIEW OF SOUTH & EAST CORNERS OF TOWER AT LEVEL 6.00

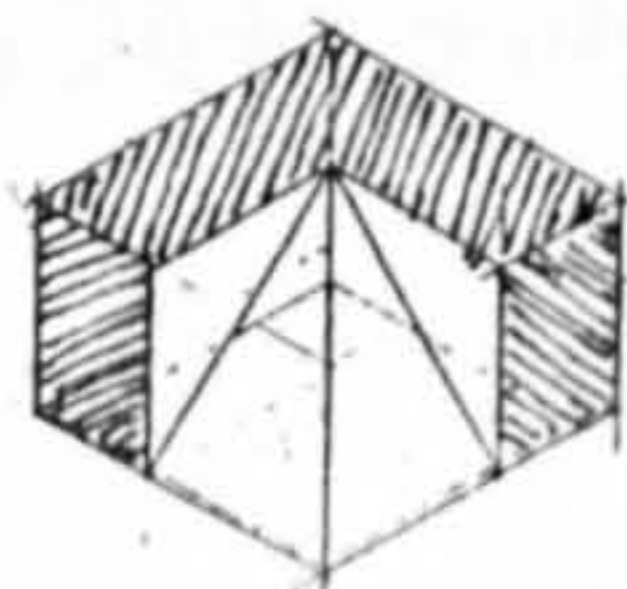


ISOMETRIC VIEW OF STONE **B**

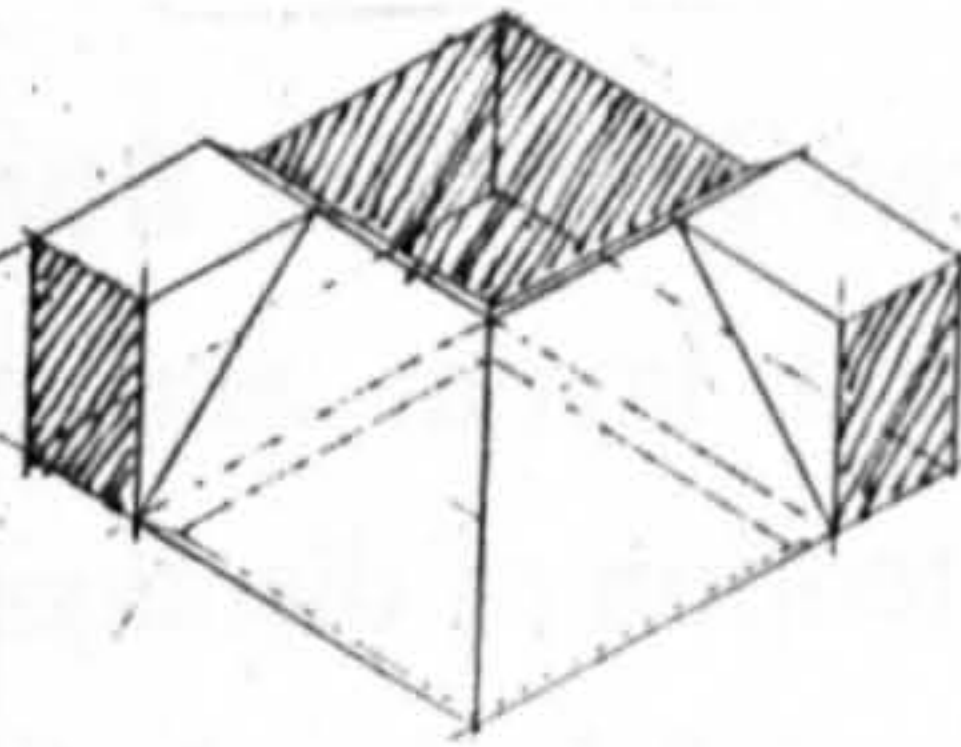
**III.3** Detail of the tower's upper corner. (Drawn by the Architect).  
The critical stone block.



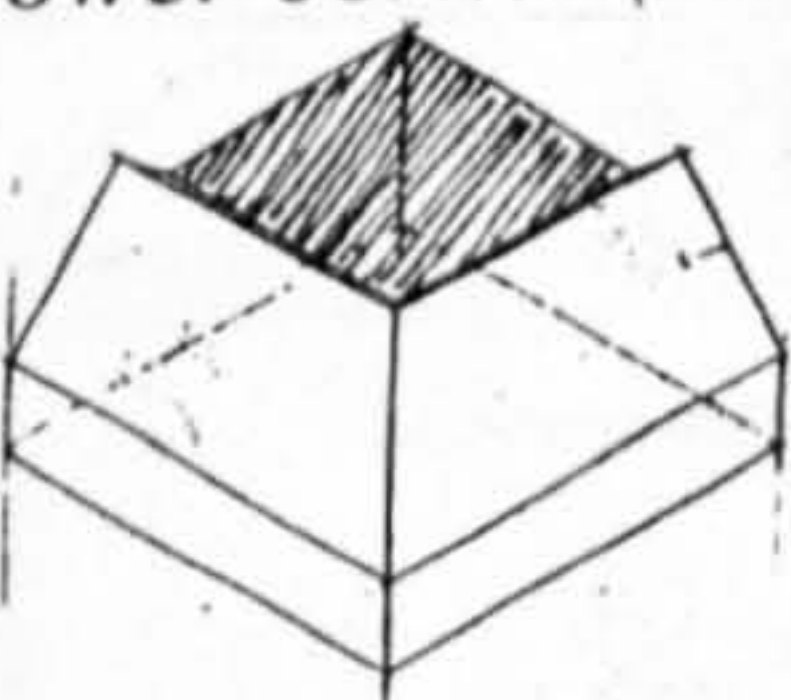
**III.4** Detail of the tower's lower corner. (Drawn by the architect).



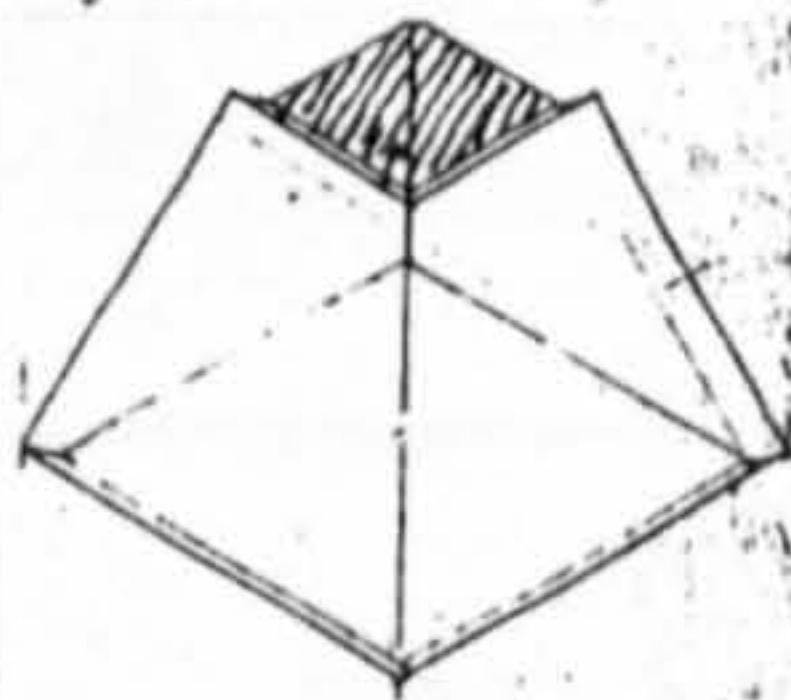
STONE **F**



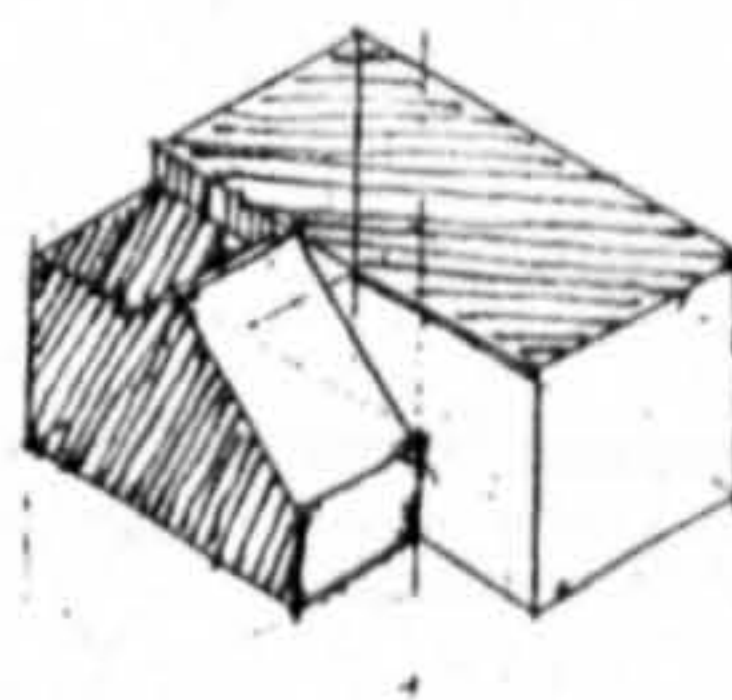
STONE **E**



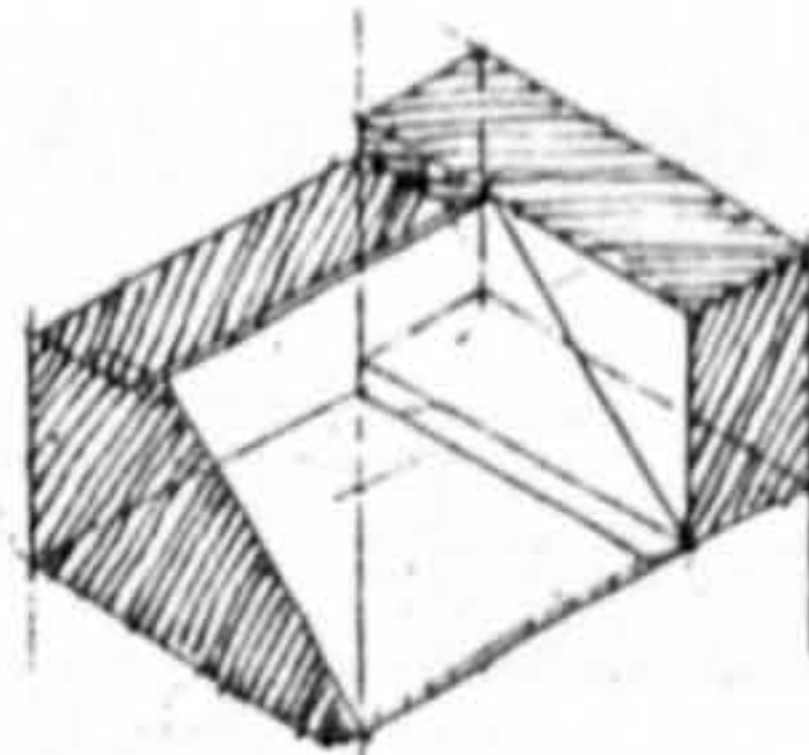
STONE **A**



STONE **C**



STONE **B**



STONE **D**

Isometric drawings of the individual stone blocks. (Drawn by the architect).



## PLATE 13

### *GOVERNMENT HOUSE Built Elements - Back Garden*

A most spectacular panorama of the Old City and its environs is revealed from the Back Garden of the Government House which was used for parties and ceremonies. The guests were invited to spend some time contemplating the view and admiring the Old City. The principal points of attraction to be viewed from the garden were marked by the architect (Ill. 1). The built elements in the garden were all highly representational, according to their use.

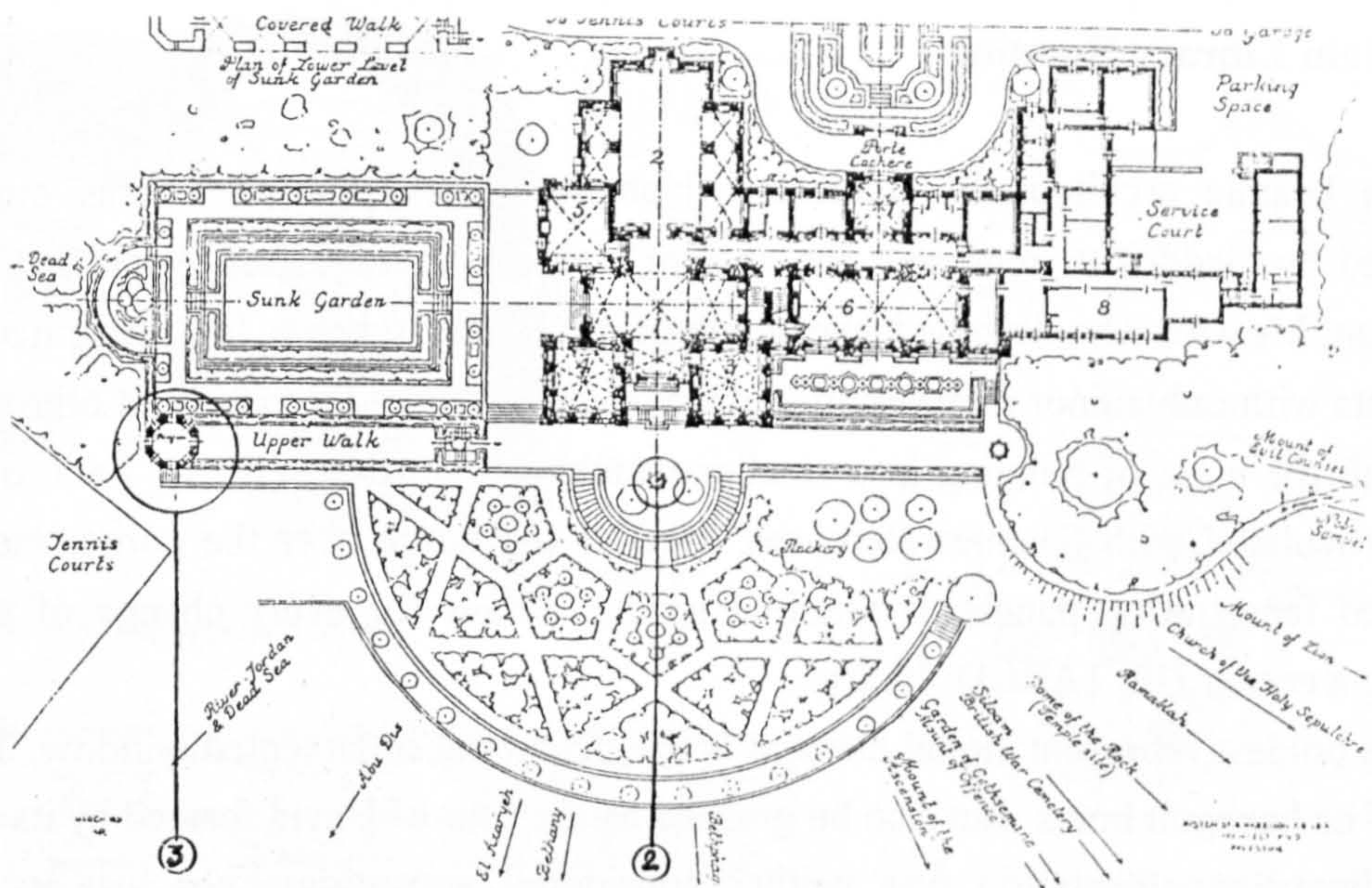
#### **The Terrace Fountain**

The fountain consists of an octagon as a spout, and a magnification of a common Islamic ornamental pattern as the water container (Ill. 2). A bird's-eye view of the entire garden reveals the rest of the pattern, designed as a system of paths and shrubs arranged within a semi-circle facing the view (Ill. 1). Since the fountain sits on a higher level it is possible to appreciate the paths-and-shrubs system from above. This is amongst the few cases where such magnifications seem justified, since its original attribute as a repetitive pattern over a vast area had been followed. However the representational validity of such a design is challenged, as this type of interpretation, based on aesthetic norms, could be appreciated mainly by a Westerner, while to the Muslim, for whom such endeavors were intended (or at least declared), this kind of aesthetic manipulation might seem irrelevant (to say the least).

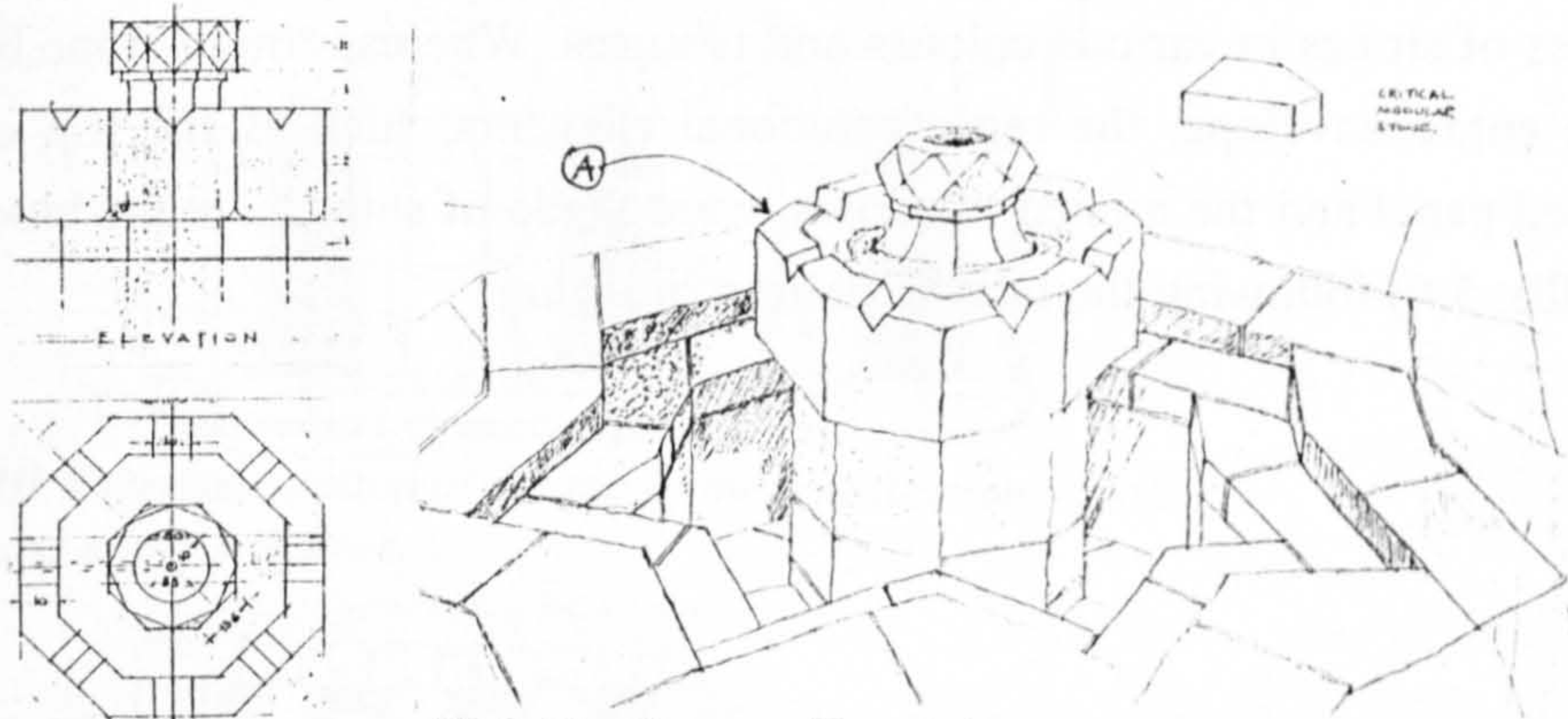
#### **The Sunken Garden**

The Sunken Garden is an outside area protected from the strong winds, used for ceremonies and parties (Ill. 1). Its general layout and configuration, as well as the elaboration of its details, indicates a clear intention of displaying Islam (Ill. 3), with the same paradox as mentioned above. The articulation of the band of triangular openings at the base of the dome is another example of Harrison's interpretation of turning the traditional shapes into modular geometric detail (fig. 3A).

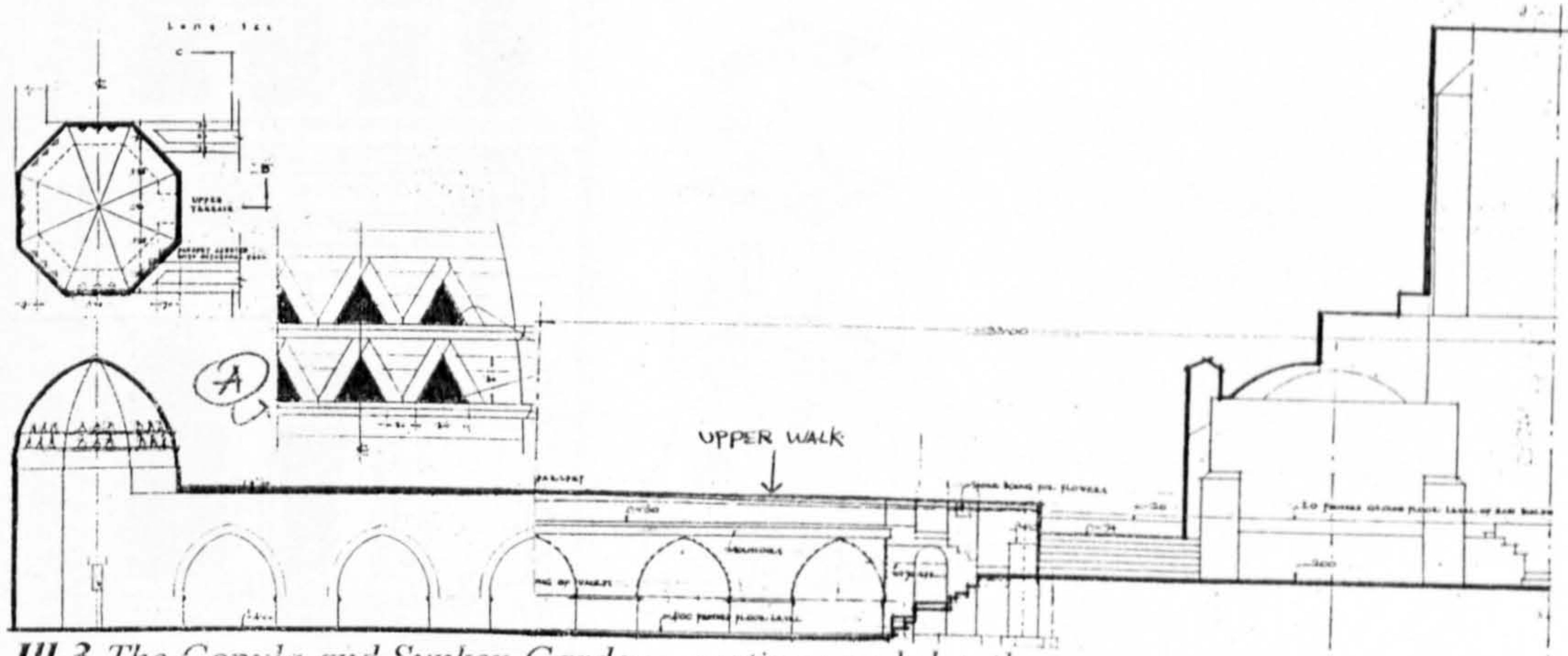




III.1 The building and the garden. (Drawn by the Architect).



III.2 The Terrace Fountain.



III.3 The Copula and Sunken Garden - sections and details.



## PLATE 14

### THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY

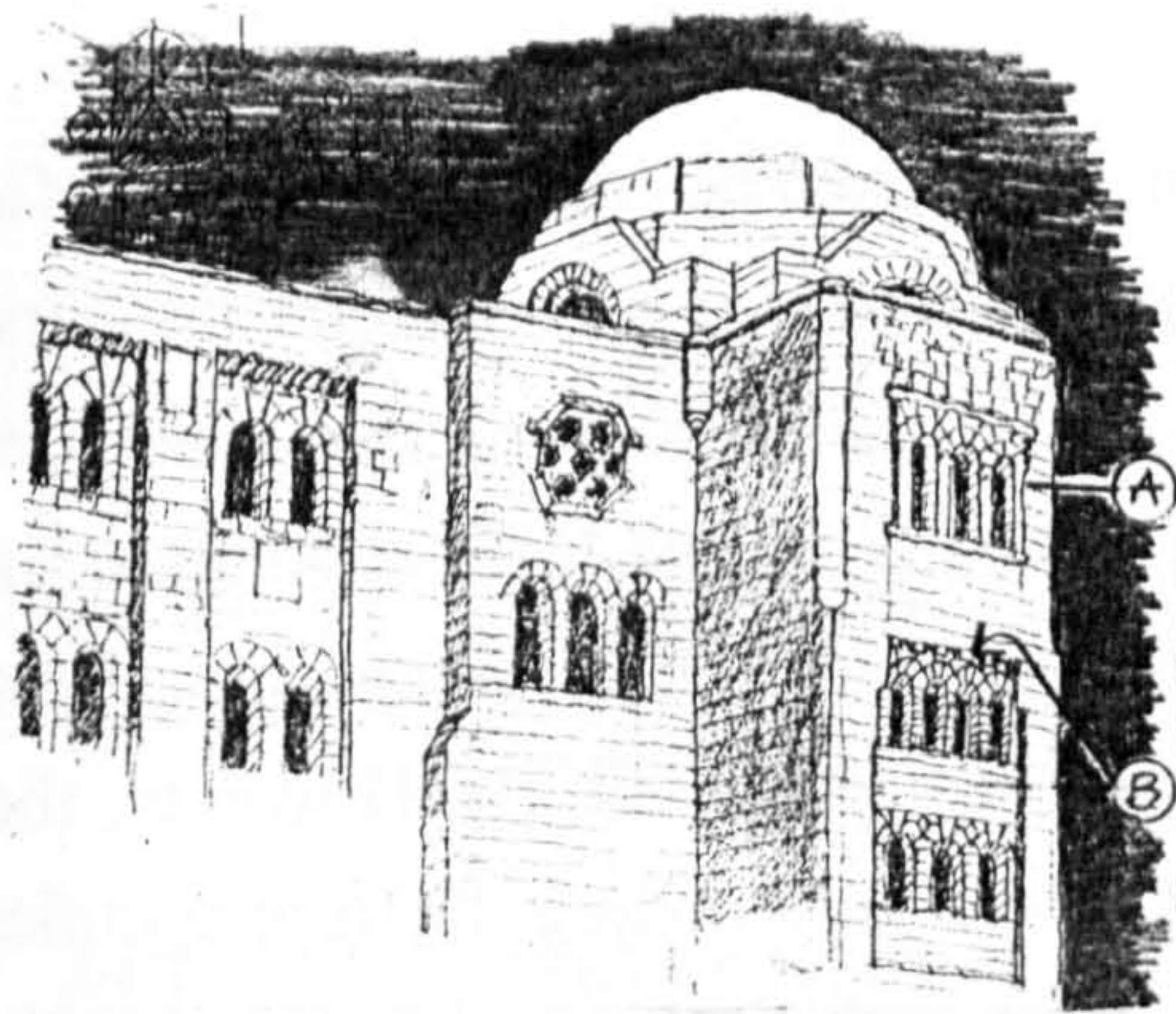
#### The Main Library Building

The Islamic architectural elements which were incorporated in this building were intended by Geddes to represent the ancient Hebraic heritage (see Appendix II). Unlike Harrison, Mearse, who designed the buildings of Geddes' scheme, had integrated traditional elements with only minor interpretation of his own. Yet, like Harrison and others, he tended to break the mass of building into smaller rectangular portions (Ill. 1). Each of those was then articulated with Islamic references, such as the dome over the corner mass, and the recessed fenestration panels. It required special details for every change of plane or for turning a corner (Ill. 1 ABCD, Ill. 2).

The boldest representational element is the octagonal ornamented window. The Islamic grid of its hexagon holes can also be grasped as the Star of David formed by its ribs (Ill. 4).

Ordinary ornamentation was neither considered appropriate nor was its production possible, regarding the tight budget and the lack of qualified craftsmen. The alternative was using different types of stones in various colours and textures. Whereas rough stone blocks were used for the entire envelope, the representational elements, such as the top of the fenestration recessed panel and the arched windows, were made of smooth stone blocks in different colours (Ills. 5,6) following the Islamic pattern of *Ablaq*.

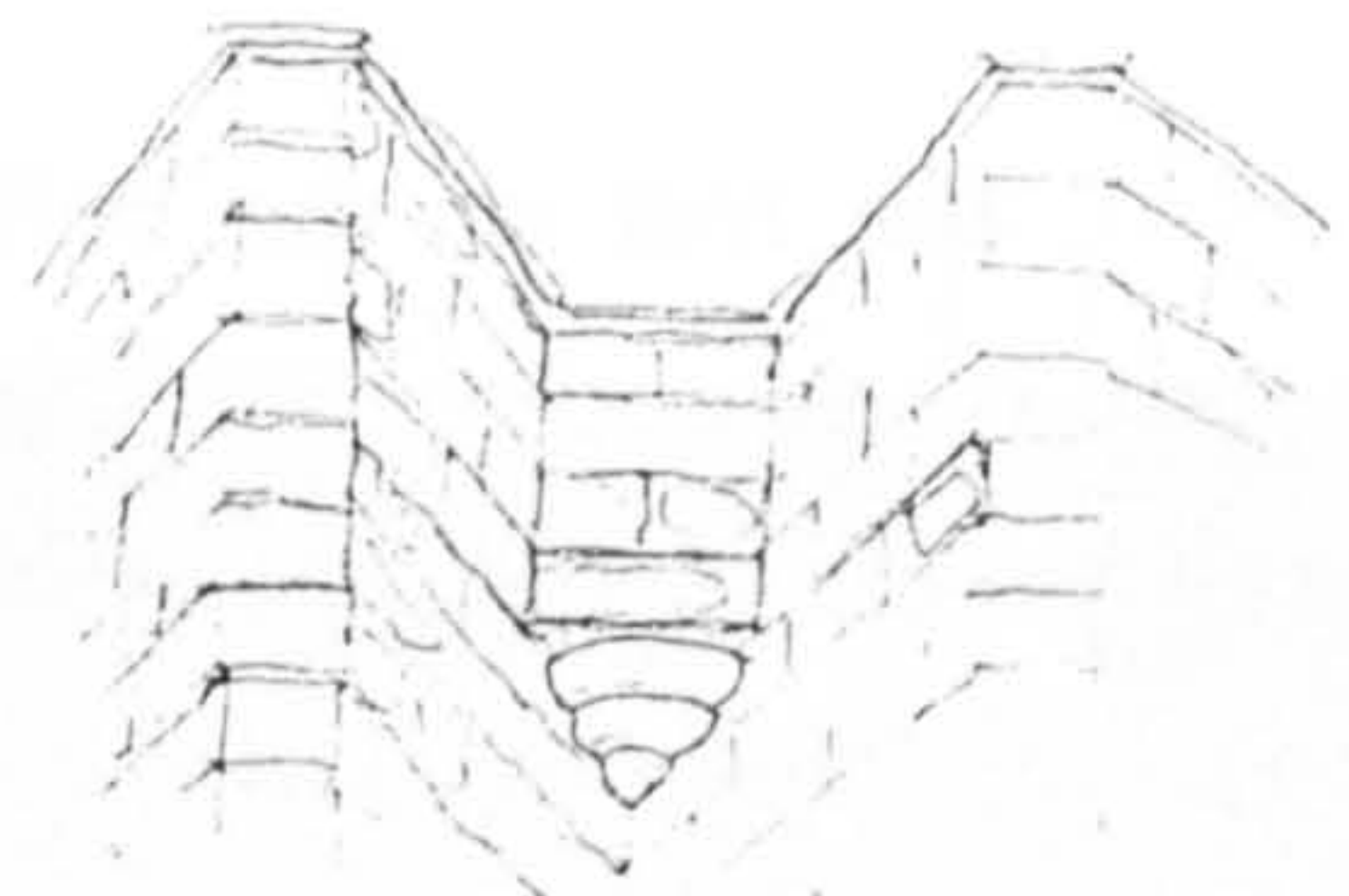




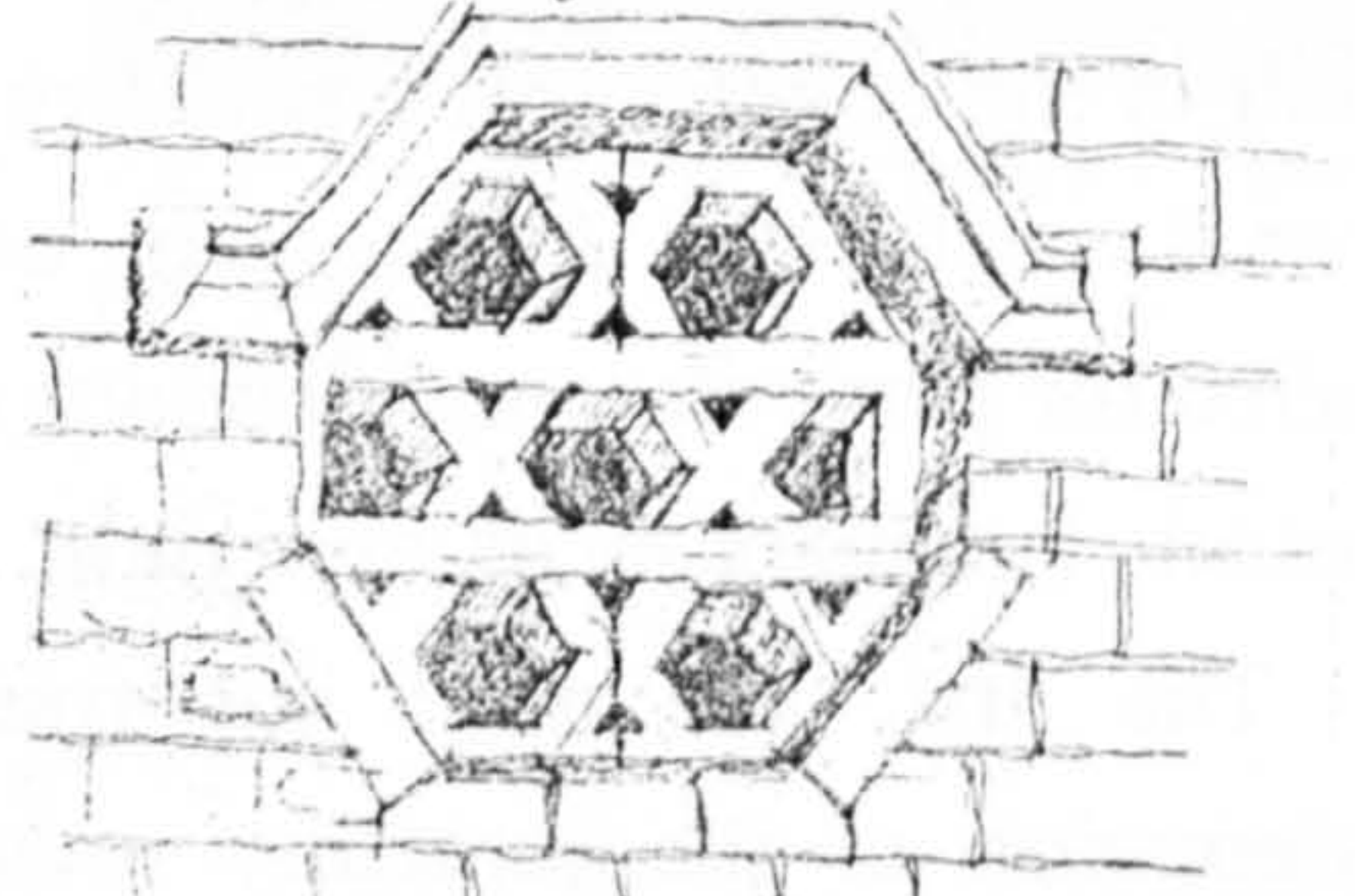
III.1 View of the north corner.



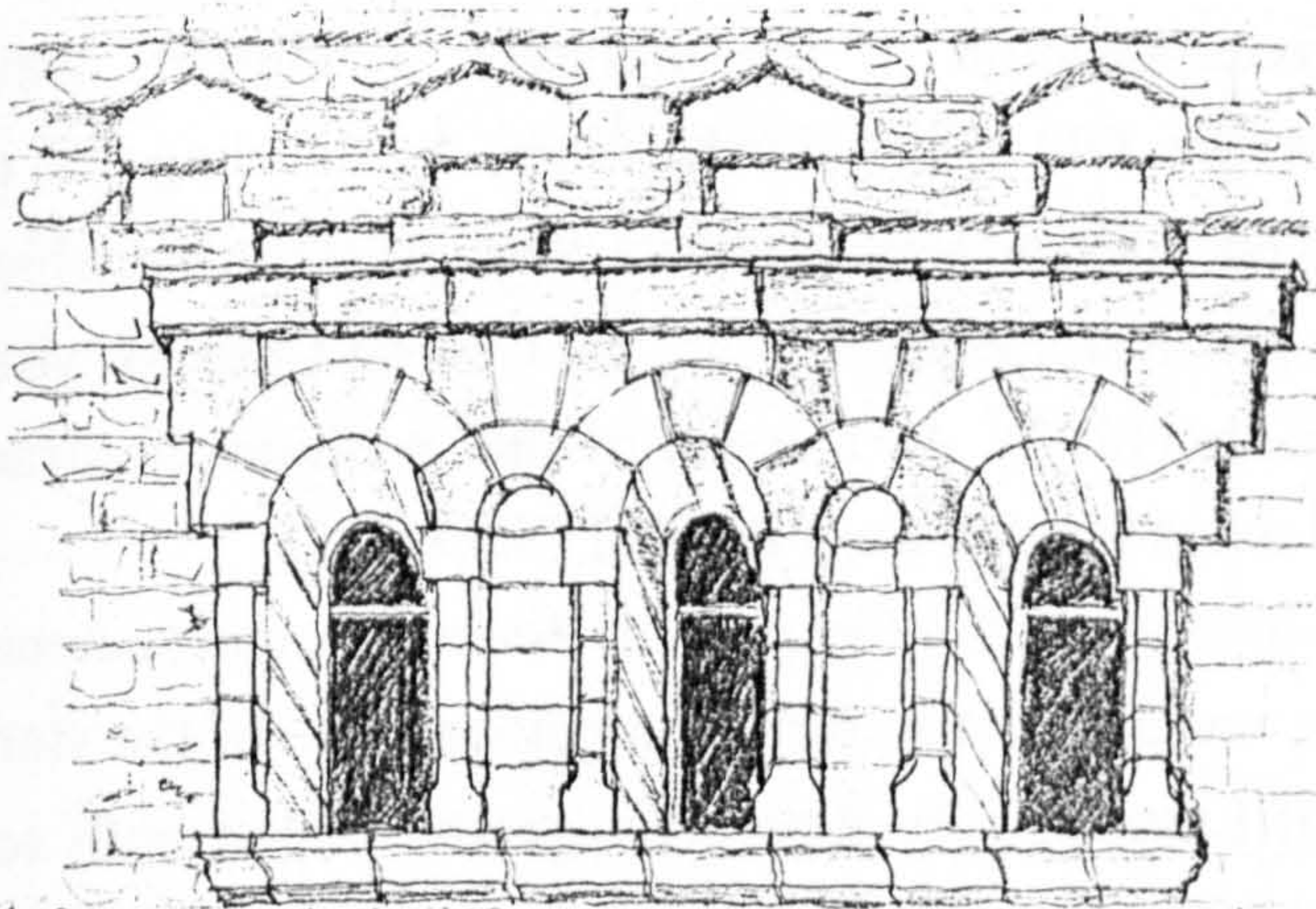
III.2 Details of recessed panels.



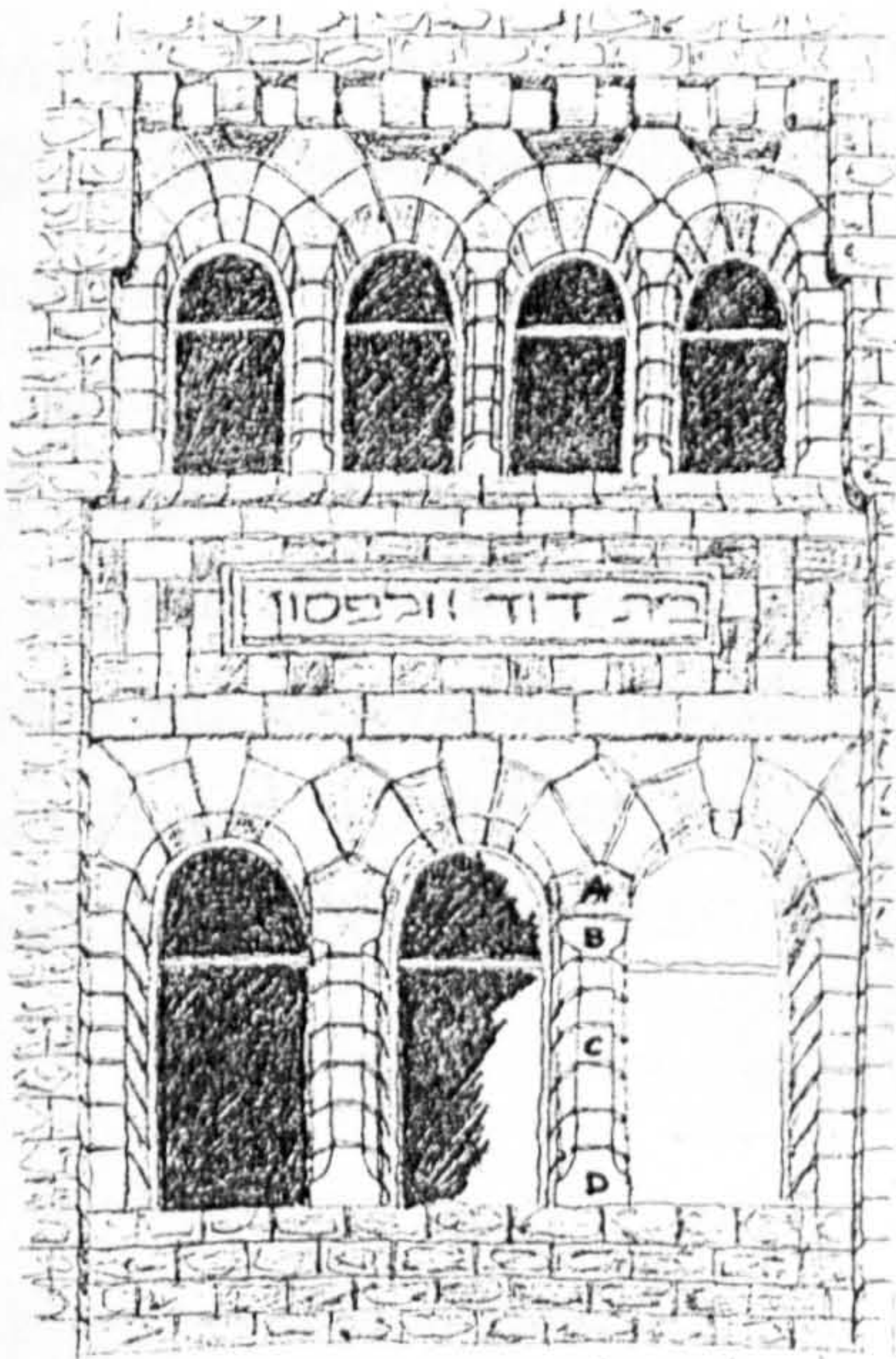
III.3 Detail of corner.



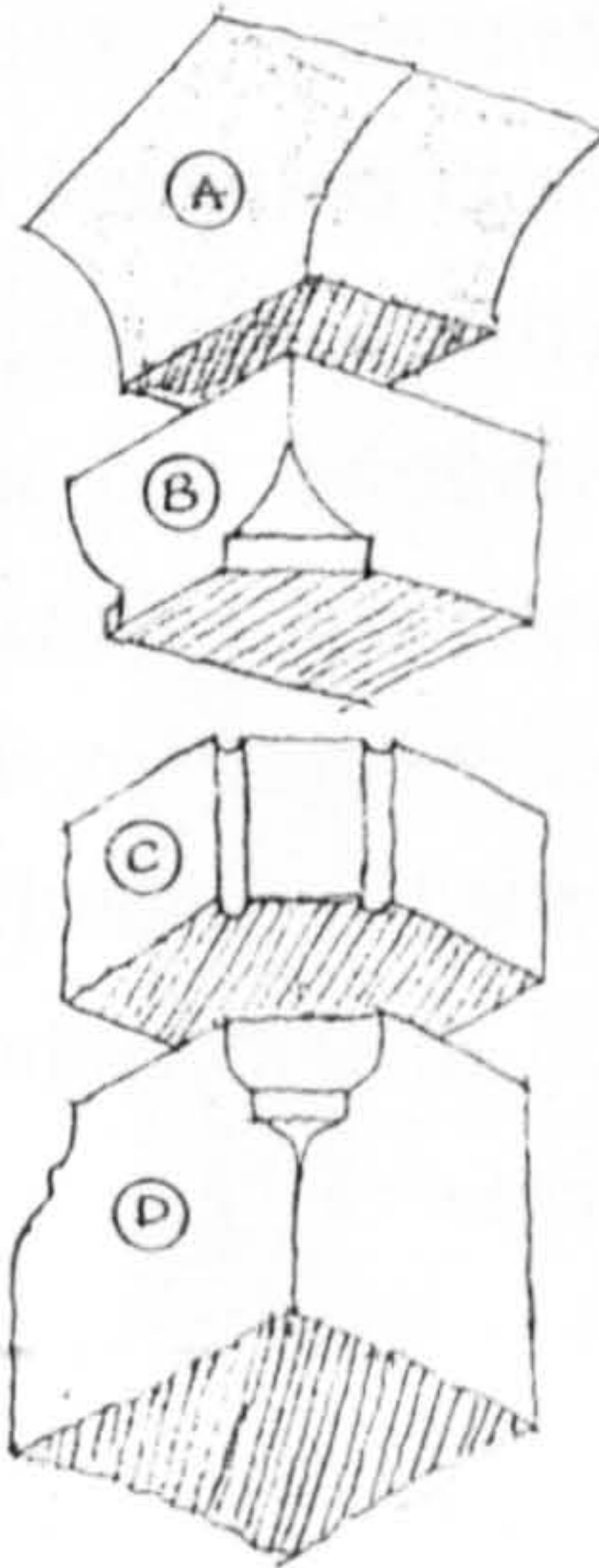
III.4 Window ornament.



III.5 Ornamentation at the top of the fenestration panel, and upper windows.



III.6 Ornamentation and windows at the middle and bottom part of the panel.



Stone details.



## PLATE 15

### IMPERIAL WAR GRAVES CEMETERY

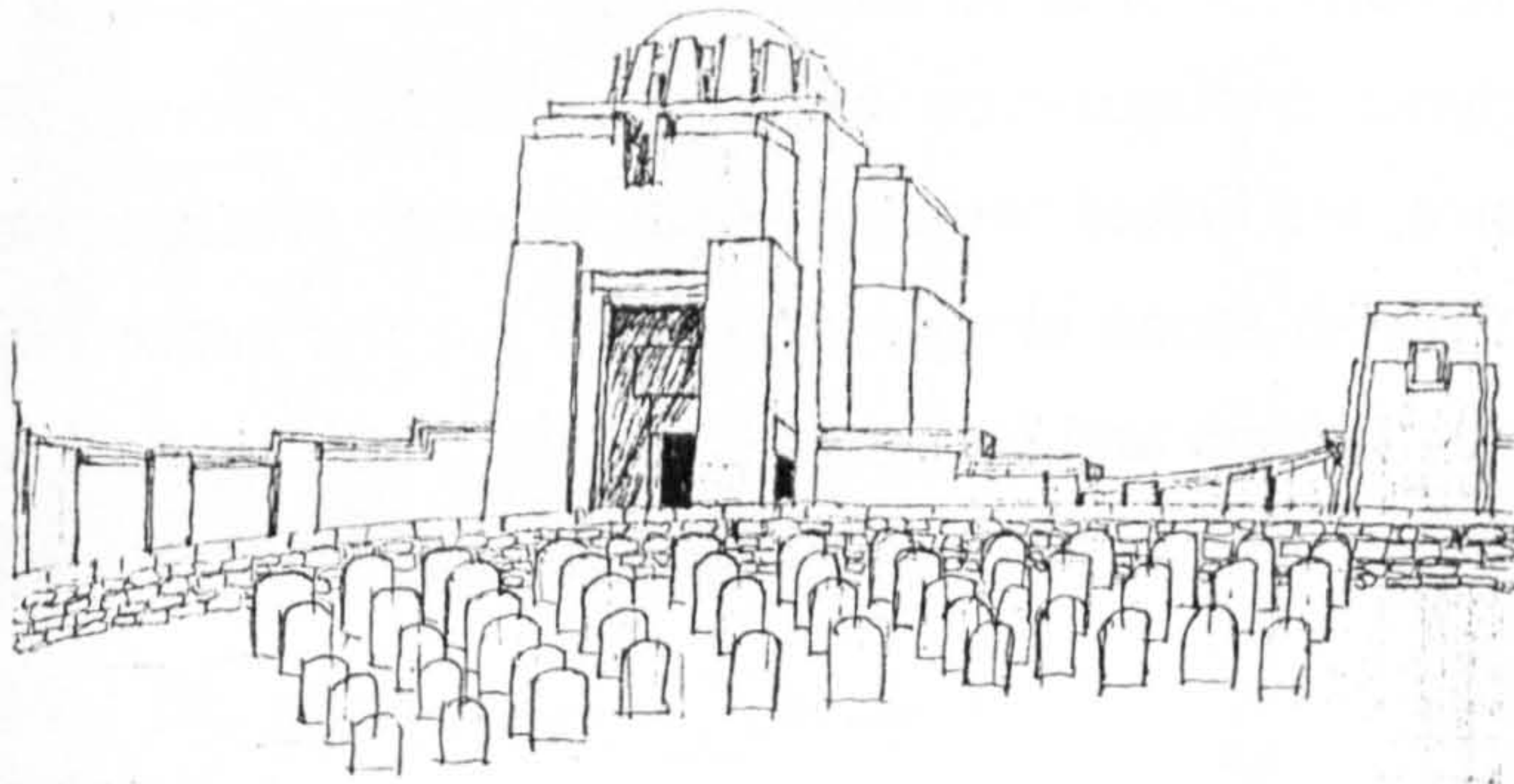
Unlike the rest of the buildings examined in this Chapter, the British War Graves Cemetery is an exception regarding its representational task, yet no less relevant. Since its primary intention was to commemorate the dead, there had been no message intended for the local inhabitants. Another reason for it being a separate case of Indirect Representation is that it was an adjustment of a basically standard plan designed for numerous cemeteries built in the country and elsewhere around the Empire (see Appendix II). However, the fact that it was located in Jerusalem, on Mount Scopus, a site with unique historic significance, called for particular modifications of the standard plan by which the cemetery had become a historic landmark by its own right.

The first, and most important interpretation of the architect J. Burnet, was the orientation of the cemetery towards the Old City. Furthermore, by levelling its entire grounds, but inclined, towards the Old City, a special effect was created, by which all vertical elements in the cemetery (the grave stones as well as the Central Chapel) virtually 'look' at the City as if in an amphitheatre (Ill. 2). As a result of that position the dramatic effect of its appearance is intensified when viewed from the Old City (Ill. 1).

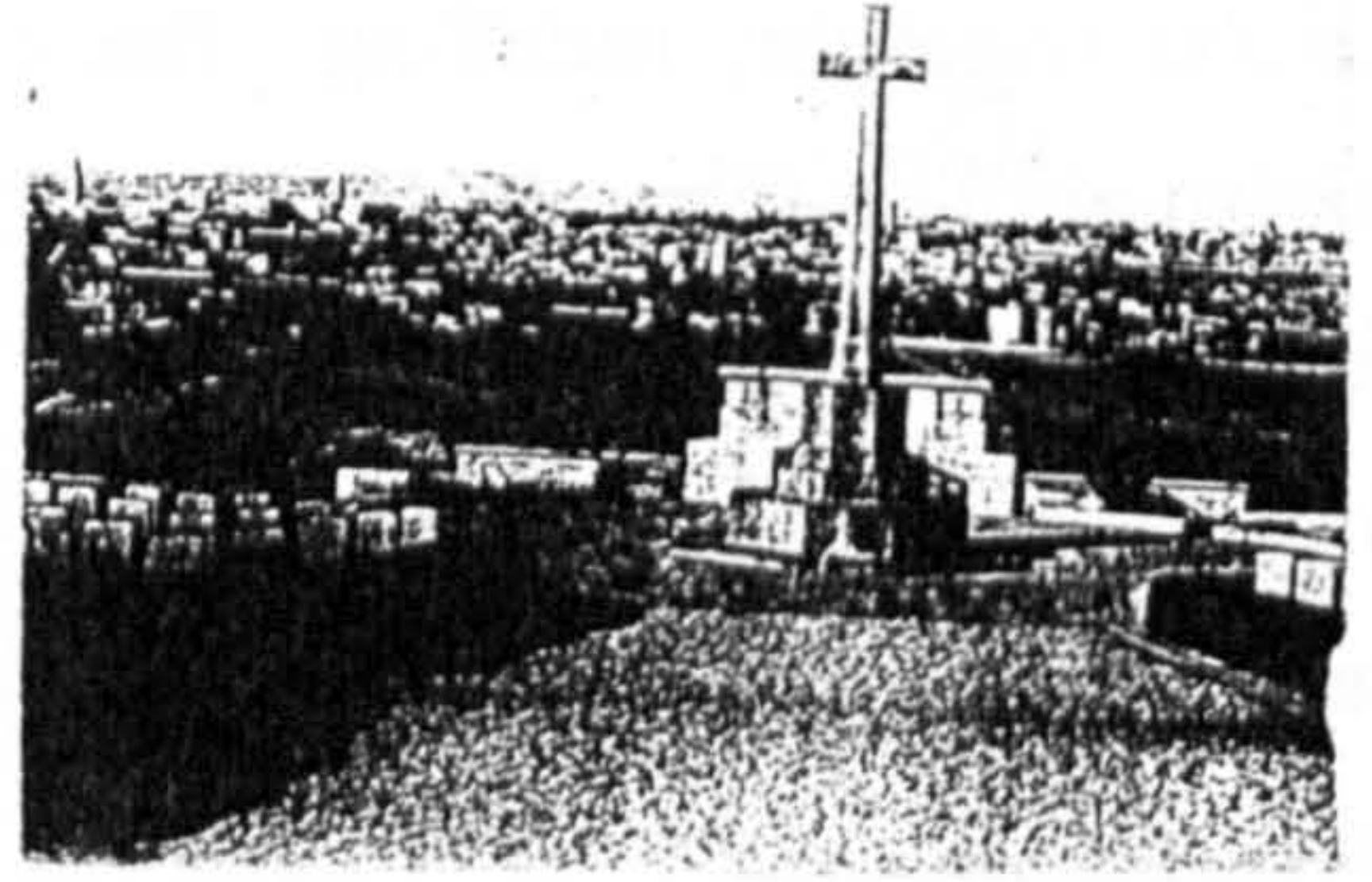
The configuration and articulation in stone of the Chapel, the Record House (unfortunately not presented herein) and the Main Gate were Burnet's further modifications of the standard plan, which was mostly the work of Lutyens. By those changes he hoped both to pay tribute to the architectural heritage of the city, and to achieve better integration with its architectural inventory of forms.

As shown above (9.5.2.2.), the dominant form of a vertical rectangular domed mass, with a recessed opening at the bottom, is a common denominator and a principal representational element in all buildings examined herein. Once again the fragmentation of the mass was considered an effective articulation, as expressed in the double corner. Likewise are the deep *Splayed* windows and niches surrounding the dome (Ill. 3). Similarities can be recognised between these details and Harrison's, in his designs for the Government House and the Rockefeller Museum, which began shortly after the completion of the Cemetery. Both architects tended to regard geometric modules as key-elements for the design of larger wholes, and used similar methods for their production. Yet Harrison's details are more complex and inventive.

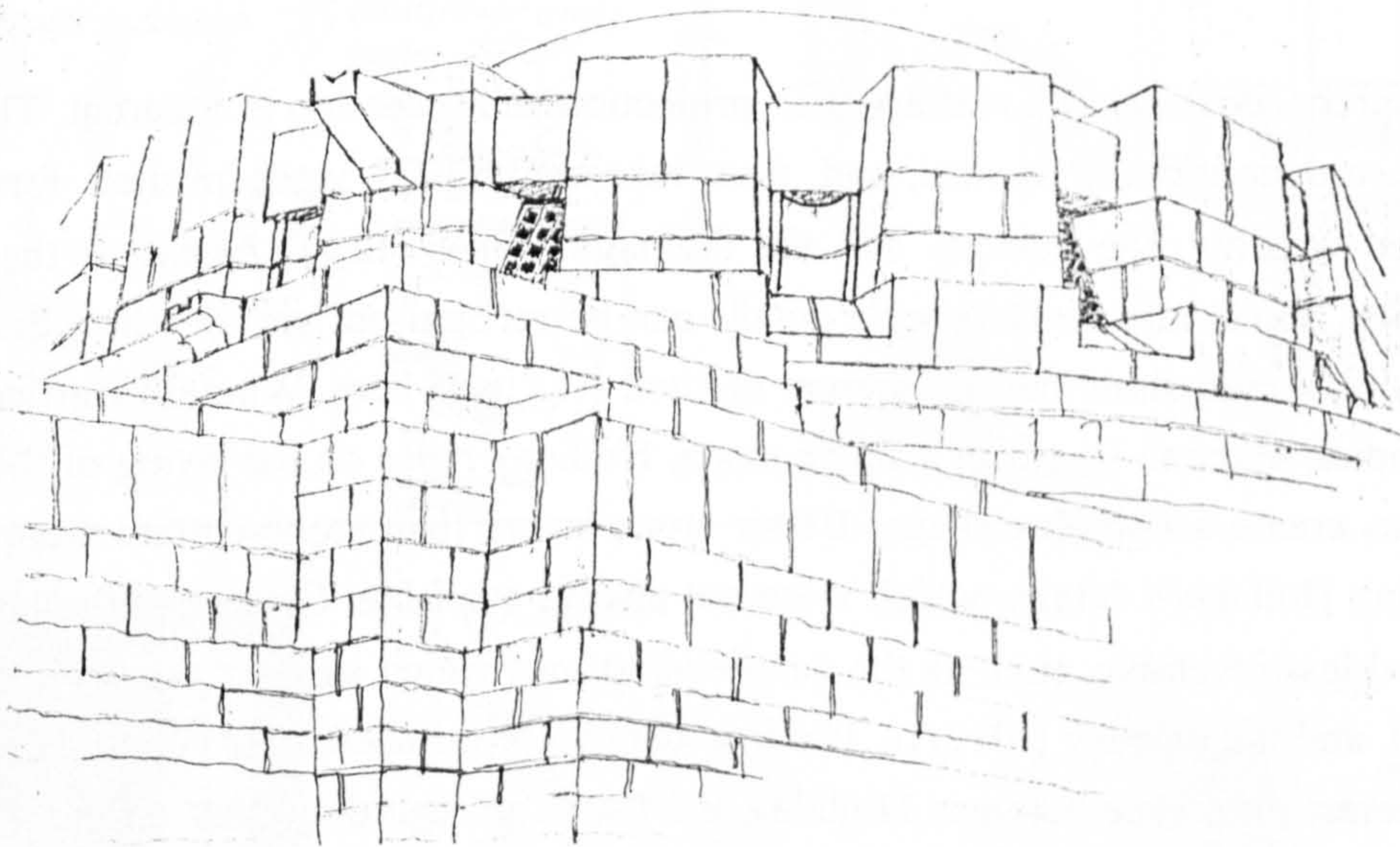




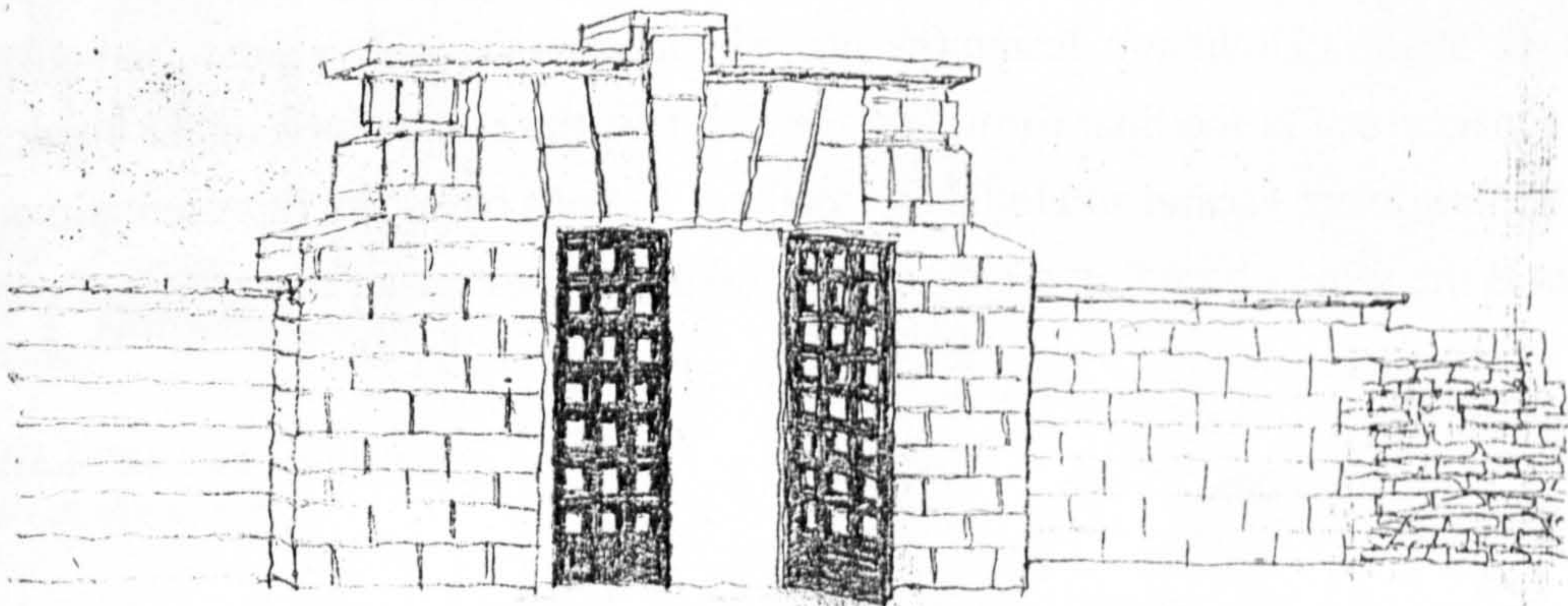
*III.1 The main Chaple - viewed from the west.*



*III.2 The cross of Sacrifice - from the east.*



*III.3 The main Chaple - detail of the dome and the corner.*



*III.4 The entrance gate.*



## PLATES 16,17 *ST. ANDREW'S SCOTS MEMORIAL CHURCH and HOSPICE*

Of all buildings examined herein, the Scottish Memorial Church and Hospice is the most apparent case of fragmentation. Alternatively, it is an assemblage of individual built forms joined together, recalling the compact configuration of the Old City as viewed from a distance. The Church and the Hospice, are linked together by an internal passage way, but function independently. Smooth yellowish stone blocks were used for the entire building, and its different tones were caused by fungus and by weather erosion. All vertical masses terminate with a very low triangle - an Art Deco motif to be found in all of Holliday's buildings.

### **PLATE 16**

#### **The Hospice**

The preoccupation with masses, their projection and recession is apparent. The elements which were considered typical, and thus representational were pushed forward - the projected window, the balcony and the drainage stones (Ill.1). As far as the details are concerned, similarities to Harrison's details can be recognised, yet only at a first glance. A closer look would show that a different method was used here. Whereas Harrison designed the complex shape to be cut in a single stone, Holliday relies on the laying of the simply cut stones to create a complex shape. Better stone-layers than stone-cutters were needed for producing Holliday's details, which were not always available. Consequently, his details are plain and less inventive, such as the cantilever stones which support the projected window (Ill. 3B), and the balcony (Ill. 2A). The iron bars were installed after construction (Ill. 3C). The greatest difference between Holliday and Harrison regarding their different methods of construction is exemplified in the ornamented hole (Ill.3A), based on the rotated squares. Whereas in Harrison's design the single block contains the right angle and the 45 degree cuts (Pl. 8, Ill. 2,3), in Holliday's design the single block contains only a small triangular cut. The risk of inaccuracy in the final form, and the risk that the stone block might break while being worked on, were greater in Holliday's method. In both cases the representational role of this form is the same - based on the method of taking shapes out of their original context.

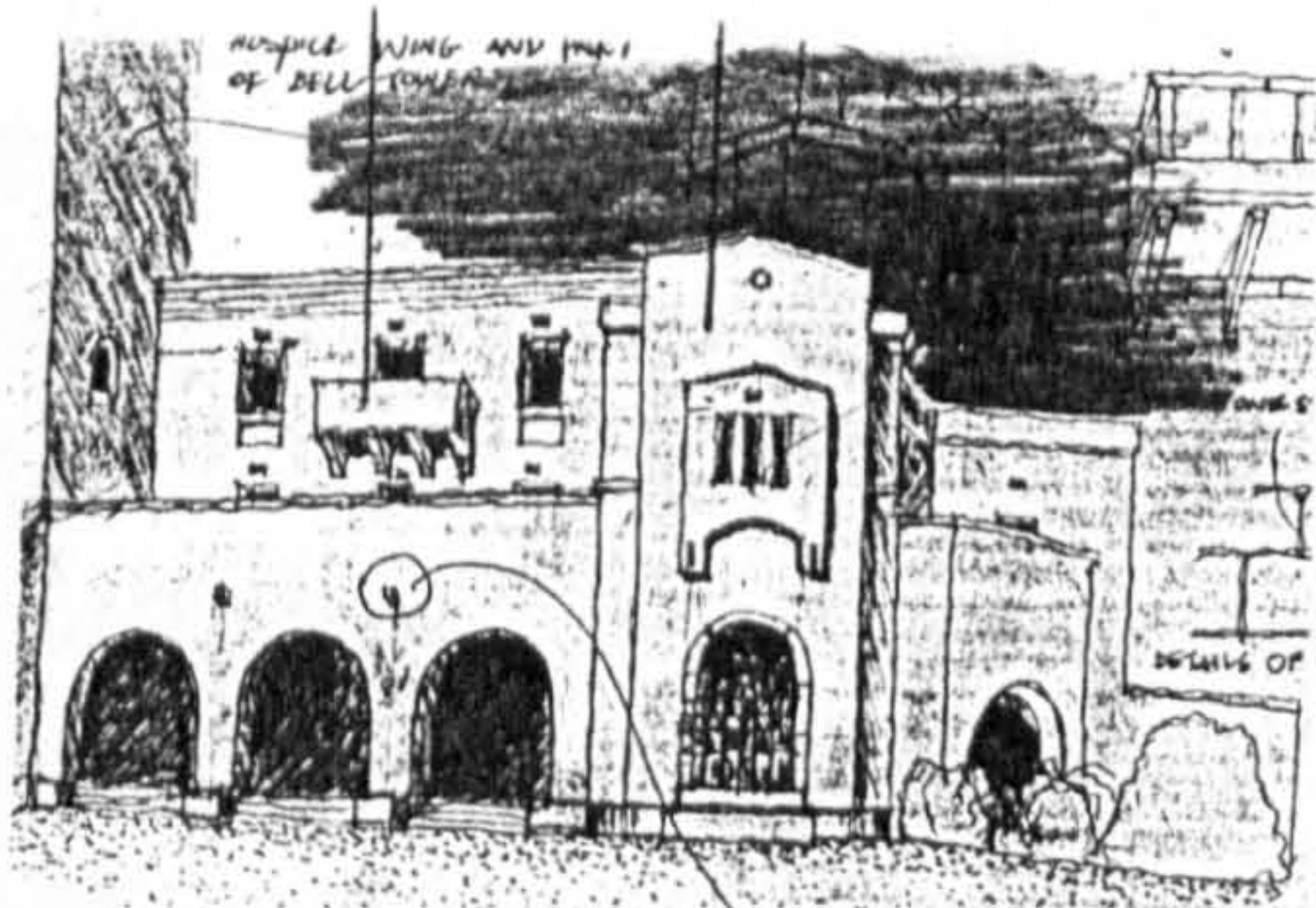
### **PLATE 17**

#### **The Church**

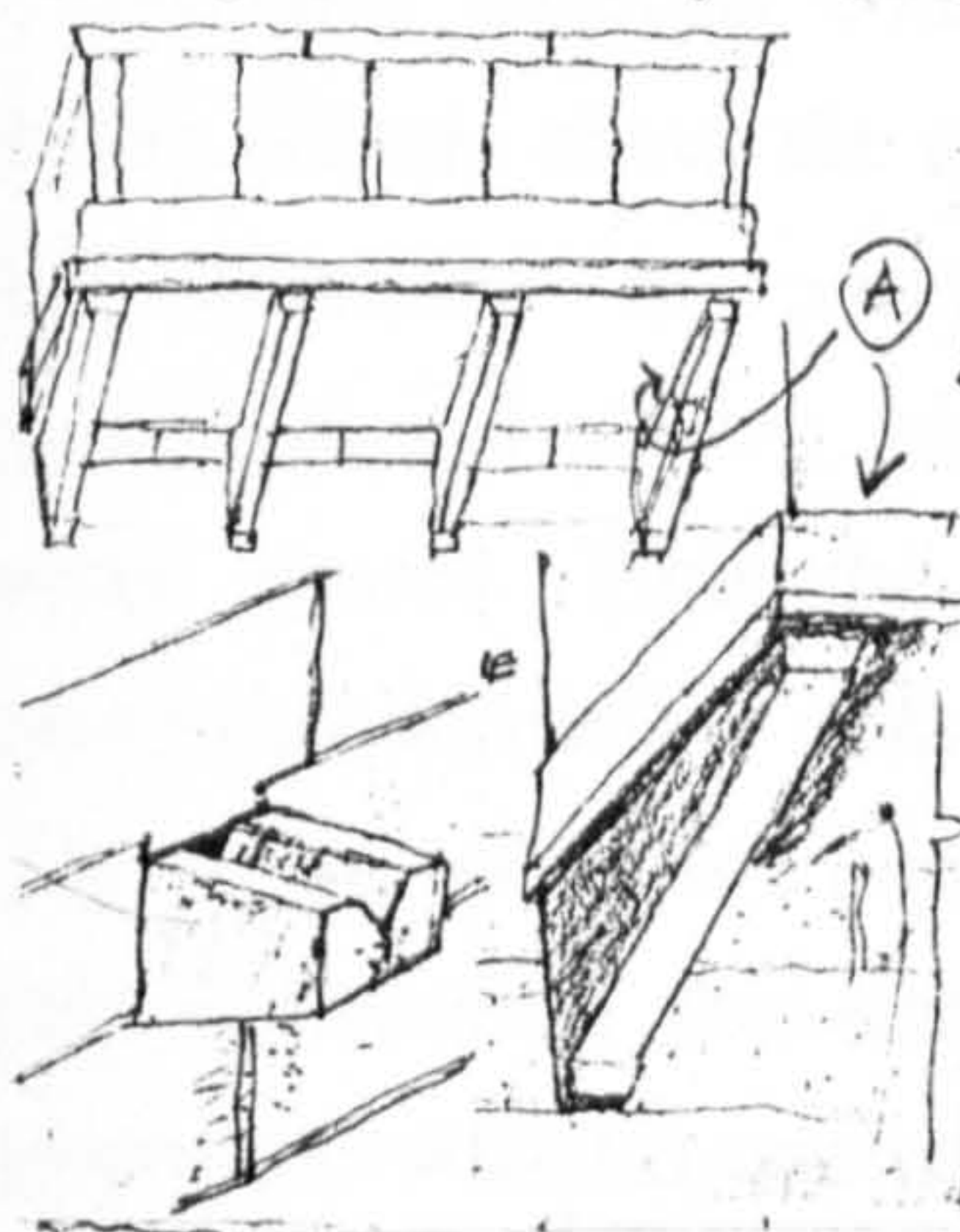
A rather 'Modernistic' attitude is expressed in the articulation of the church. The schematic tower and the bluntly projected altar are the only religious traditional expressions of this rationalistic composition (Ill. 1). This can also be recognised in the geometric patterns of the ornamented stained glass window of the church (Ill. 3). These are plaster casts - produced on site. The double corner (Ill. 2) intensifies the fragmentation of the mass, and is a common articulation in many other buildings as shown above.



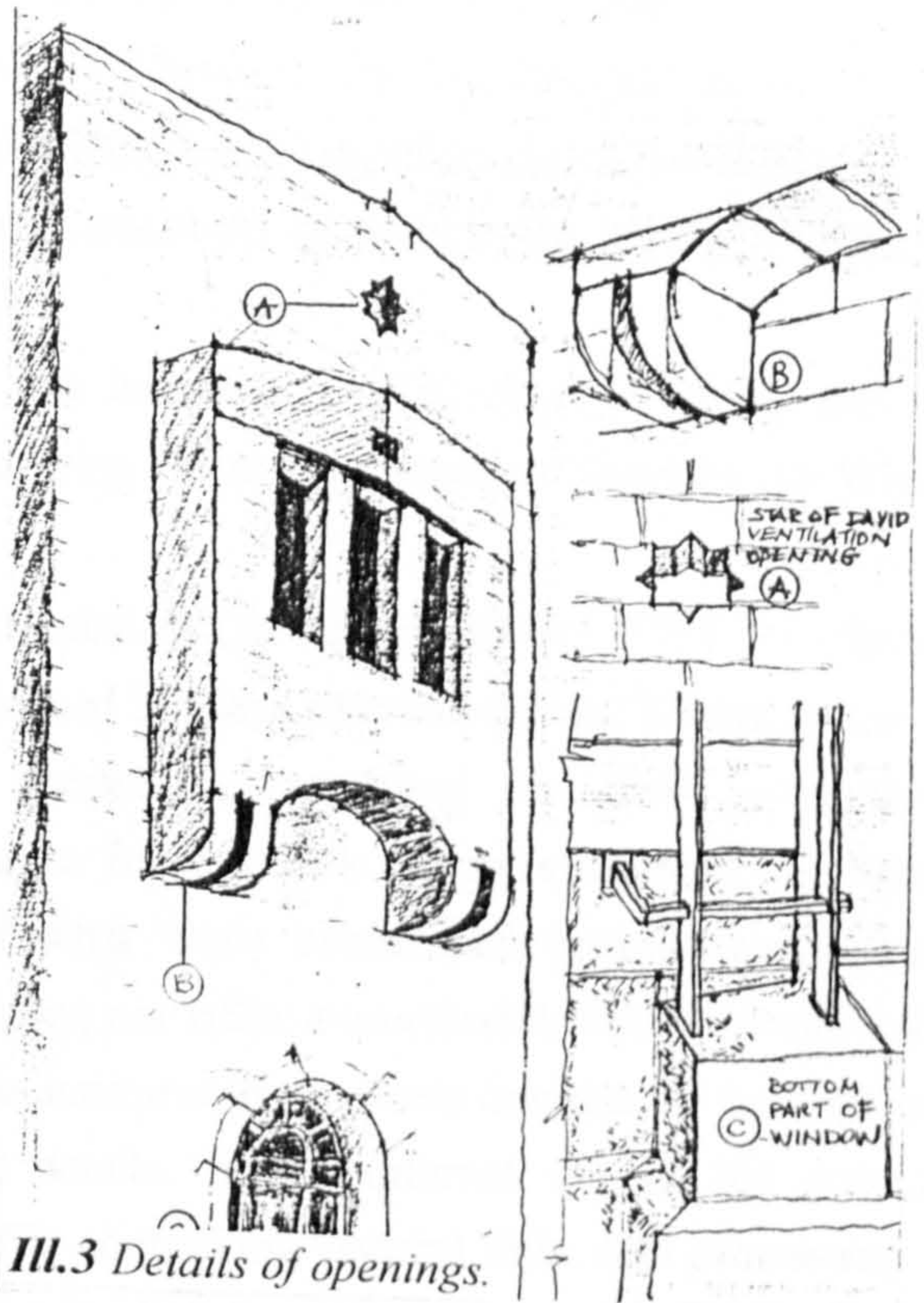
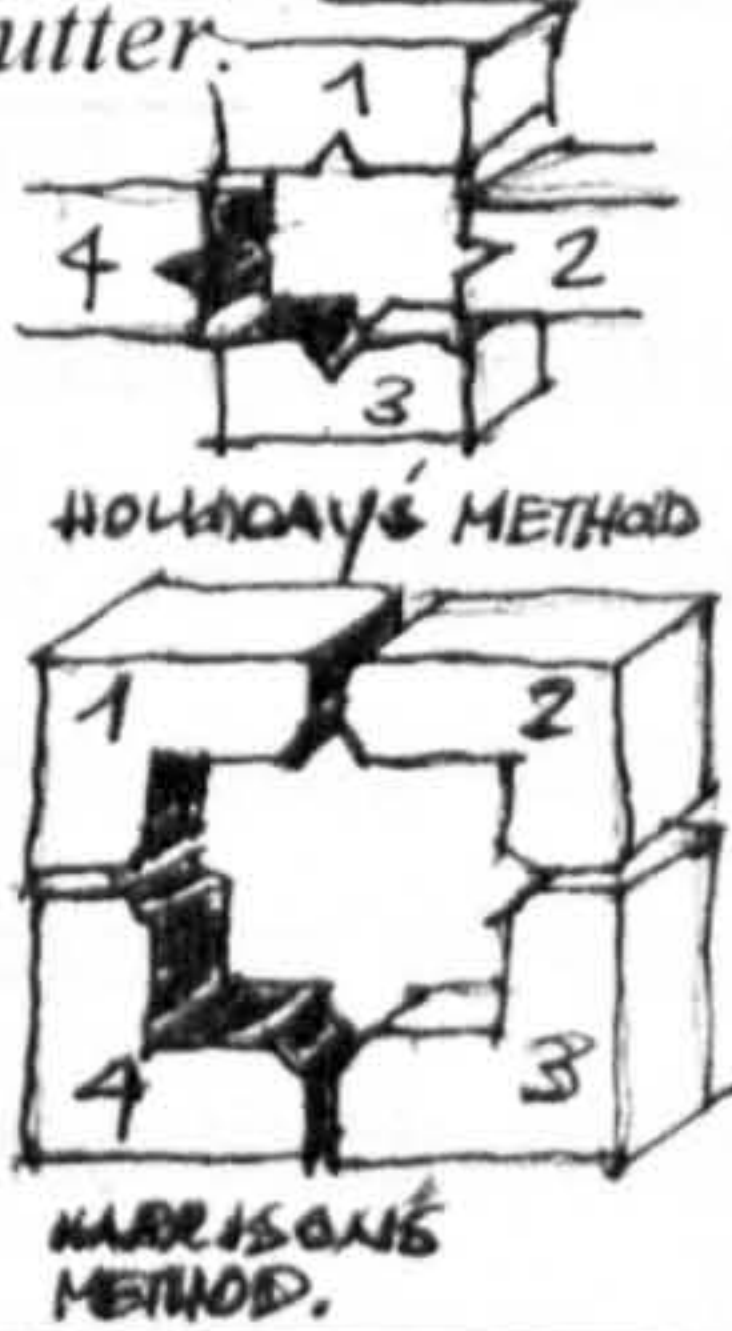
**PLATE 16**



**III.1** The Hospice viewed from the east.

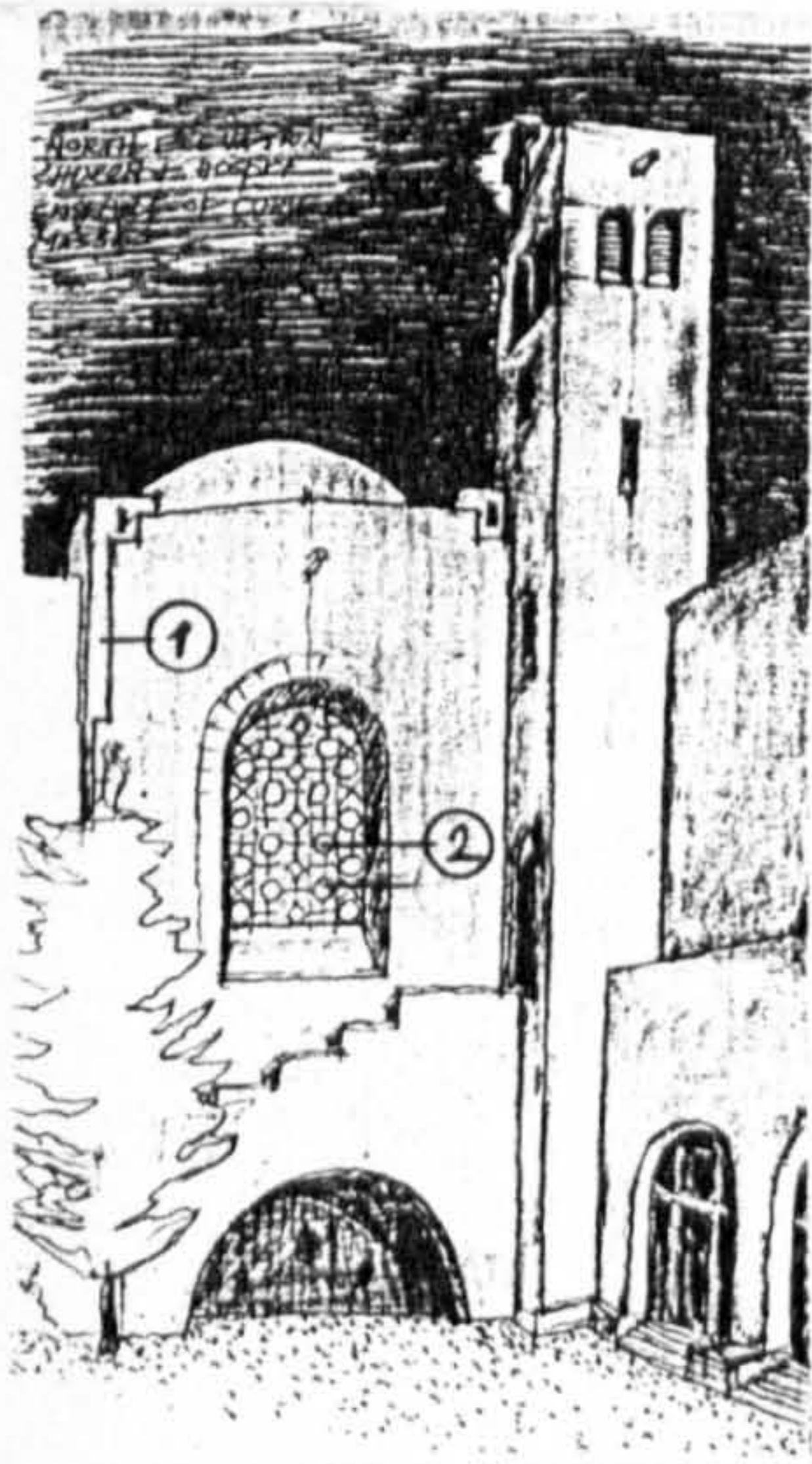


**III.2** Details of balcony's cantilever and gutter.

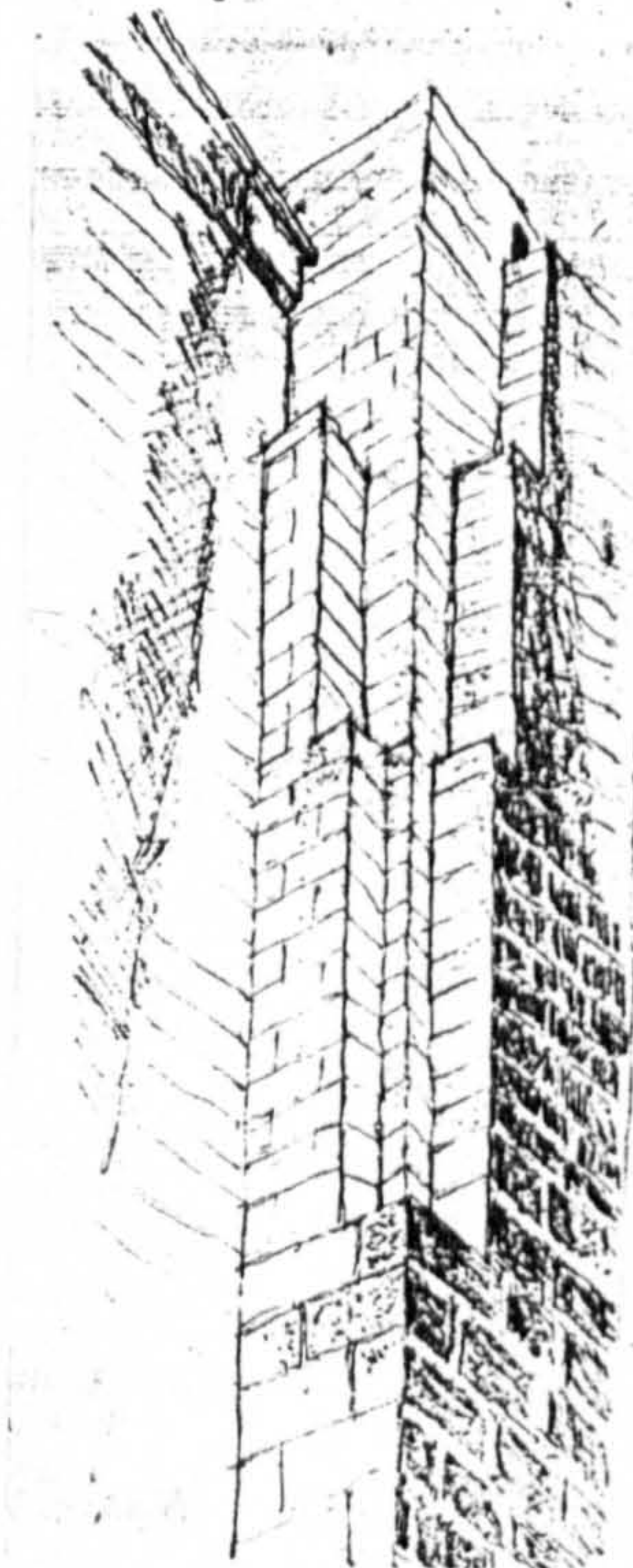


**III.3** Details of openings.

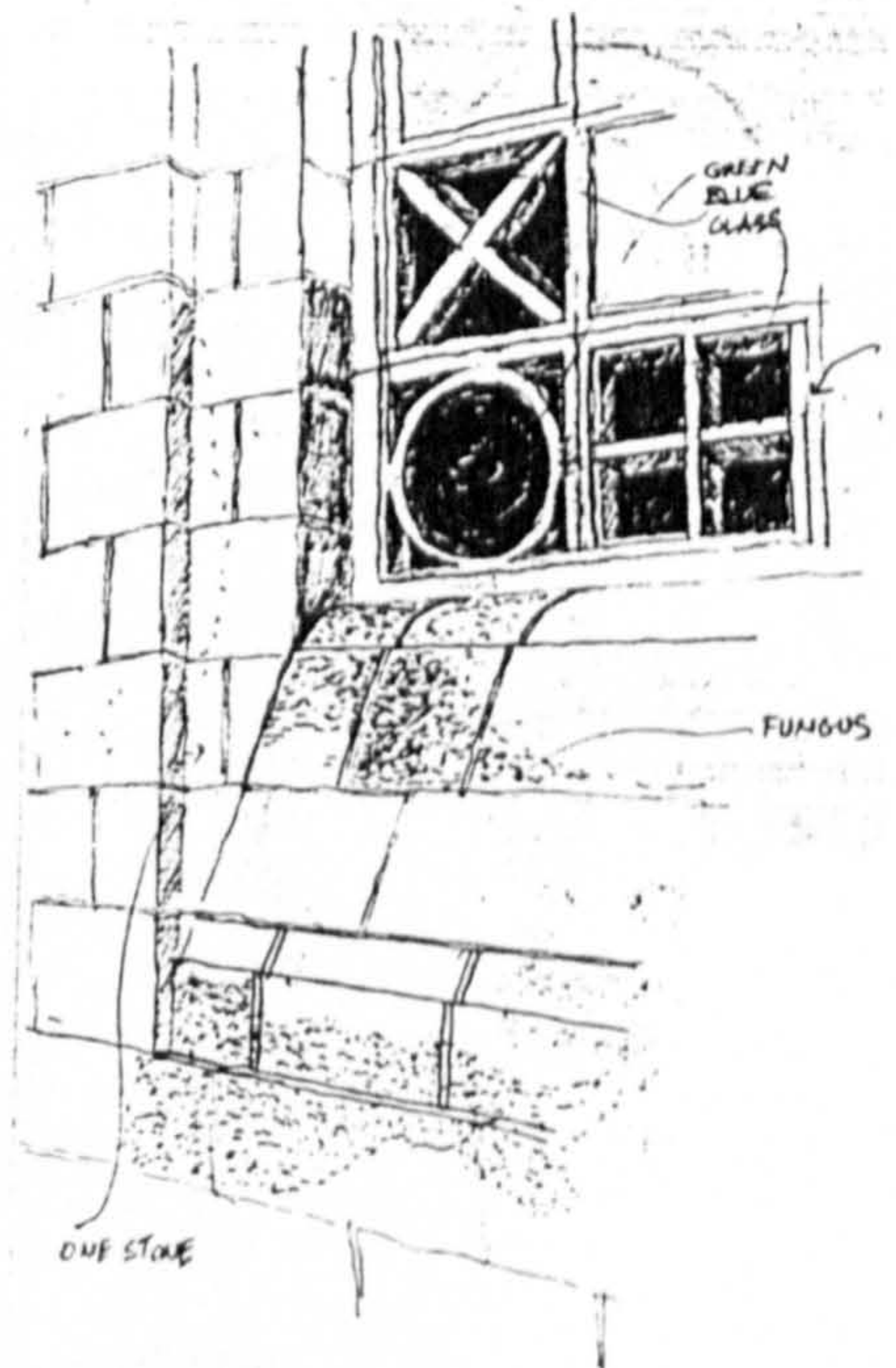
**PLATE 17**



**III.1** The Church viewed from the north.



**III.2** Detail of the double corner.



**III.3** Detail of the stained glass window.



#### 9.5.2.4. Internal Critical Elements

Only the most representational interior spaces of the following three buildings were chosen to be examined herein: the Rockefeller Museum, the Government House and the Scots Memorial Church and Hospice. These are high spaces; often octagonal domed vaults, lit at the top by skylights or by high windows; enclosed by thick walls, usually coated with whitewash plaster, or with unpainted stucco.

Ornamentation is to be found in very few locations around these buildings and were usually generated by isolating and manipulating Islamic ornamental patterns on Western aesthetic norms.

Like their external configuration and articulation (as shown above, 9.5.2.3.), there is nothing Islamic about the atmosphere experienced in these internal spaces. Meaning that the great attention to parts, details and ornaments, ascribing to them exceptional representational power, could not compensate for the lack of understanding of Islamic internal spaces. Thus the incorporation of what were considered typical local Islamic elements could neither convey a sense of locality, nor offer a worthwhile interpretation of it.

However, as shown above, some valuable interpretations were introduced by Harrison, mainly concerning the elaboration of stone details. In the internal spaces, his principal achievement was his use of the thick walls for controlling natural light and preventing its direct penetration into the display spaces of the Rockefeller Museum.



## PLATE 18

### ROCKEFELLER MUSEUM

#### The Conference Room

Located on the top floor of the southern tower (Ill. 1A). The arched niches and the cruciform dome are the critical elements which characterise the space (Ill. 2).

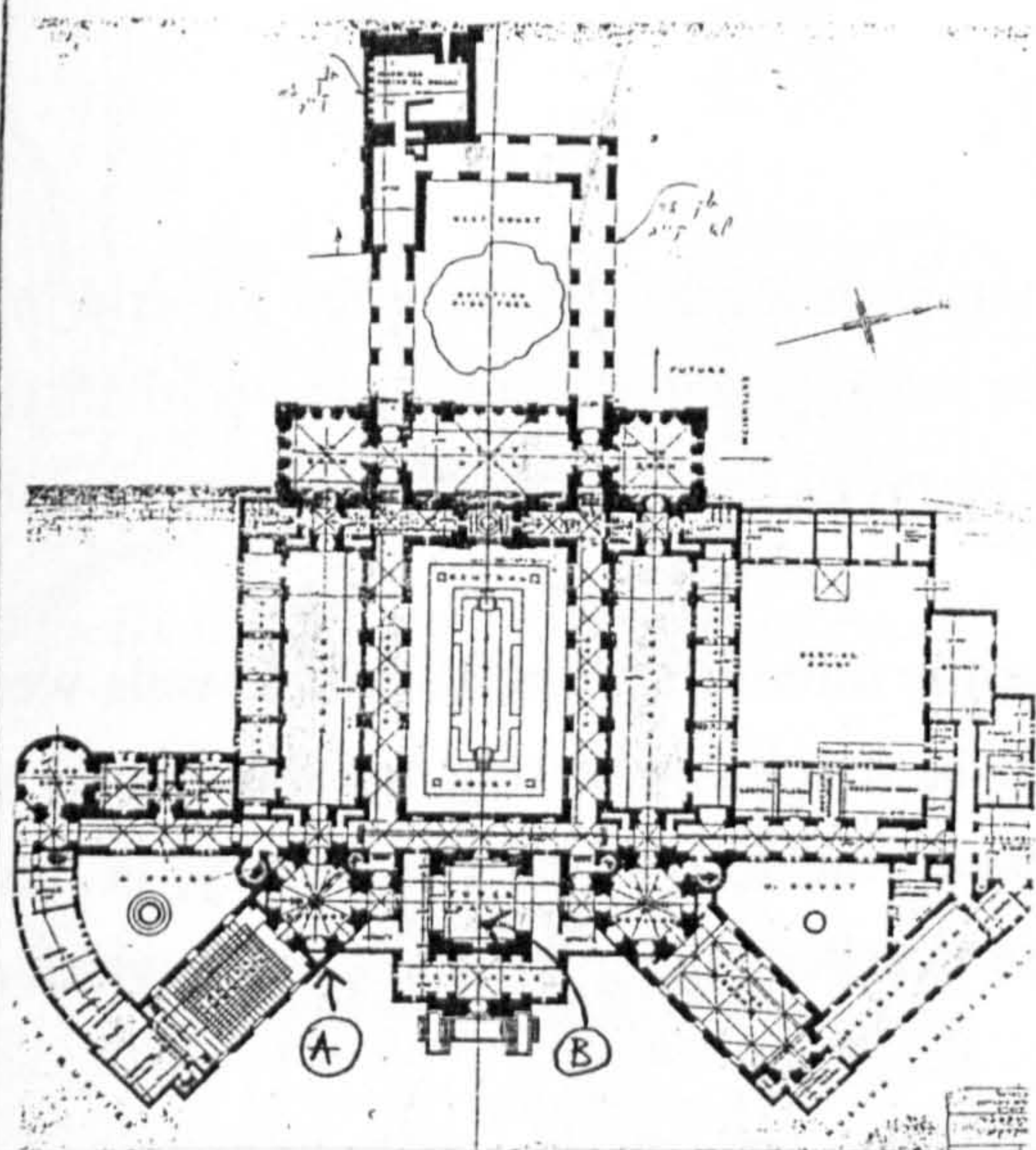
The band of Greek inscription (Ill. 3A) is a quotation of Hippias' answered to Socrates, who asked him what is it in his spaces that people admire. Hippias said: "On the nation, Socrates, the heroes, and on the people and on the settlements how, in antiquity, the cities were founded, and, in short, all about ancient history, that is what they like to hear" (Plato, Hippias 285 D; translation as displayed on the wall).

The surface of the dome is rough unpainted stucco, while the rest of the room is whitewash plaster going down to the stone *Dado* (Ill.2). The thickness of the walls and dome is expressed by the articulation of the top windows of the dome and by the niches which contain built-in stone benches and a fire place (Ill. 3).

#### The Entrance Lobby / Tower Hall

Located under the main tower, on the central axis of the building it is the first representational space to be experienced by the visitor (Ill. 1B). It is also the main junction of the circulation system of the building, from which it is possible to see the Central Courtyard and the Fountain Pavilion. The articulation of the windows at the base of the dome, and the *Pendentive Bracketings* on the corners of the space are all done in whitewash plaster, and function as representational elements of Islamic space (Ill. 4).

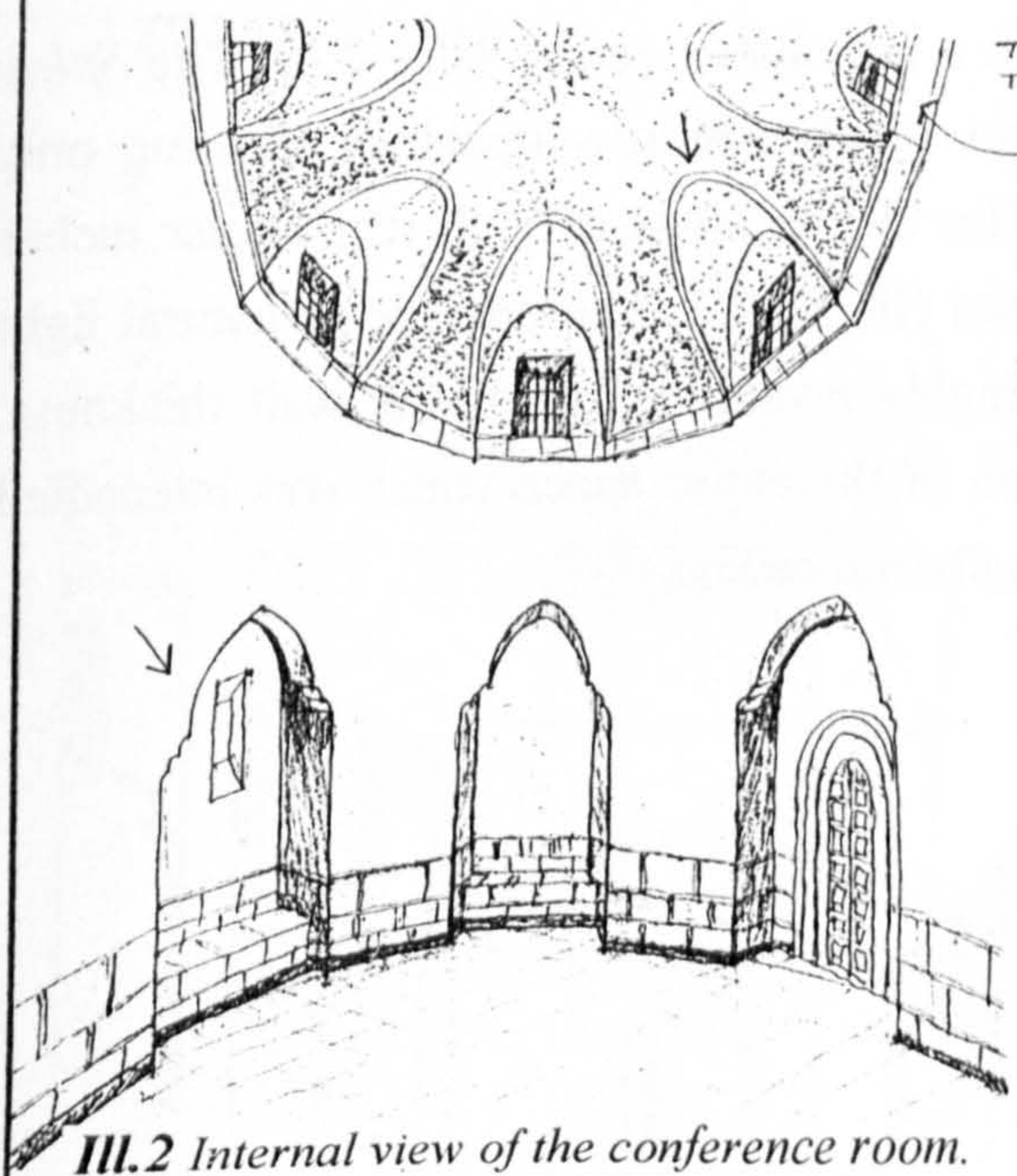




III.1 General plan.



III.4 View of the Lobby's internal space.



III.2 Internal view of the conference room.



III.3 Details of a high window and a niche.



## PLATE 19

### ROCKEFELLER MUSEUM

The North-West and South-West Rooms, and the two Galleries, North and South, are the internal display spaces of the Museum.

#### The North-West room

Only part of the natural light coming through the high windows penetrates directly into the room (Ills. 1,2). The thick wall allows for the internal window to be lower than the external one (Ill. 3 A). As a result a considerable amount of the light is reflected back by the mass between the two openings.

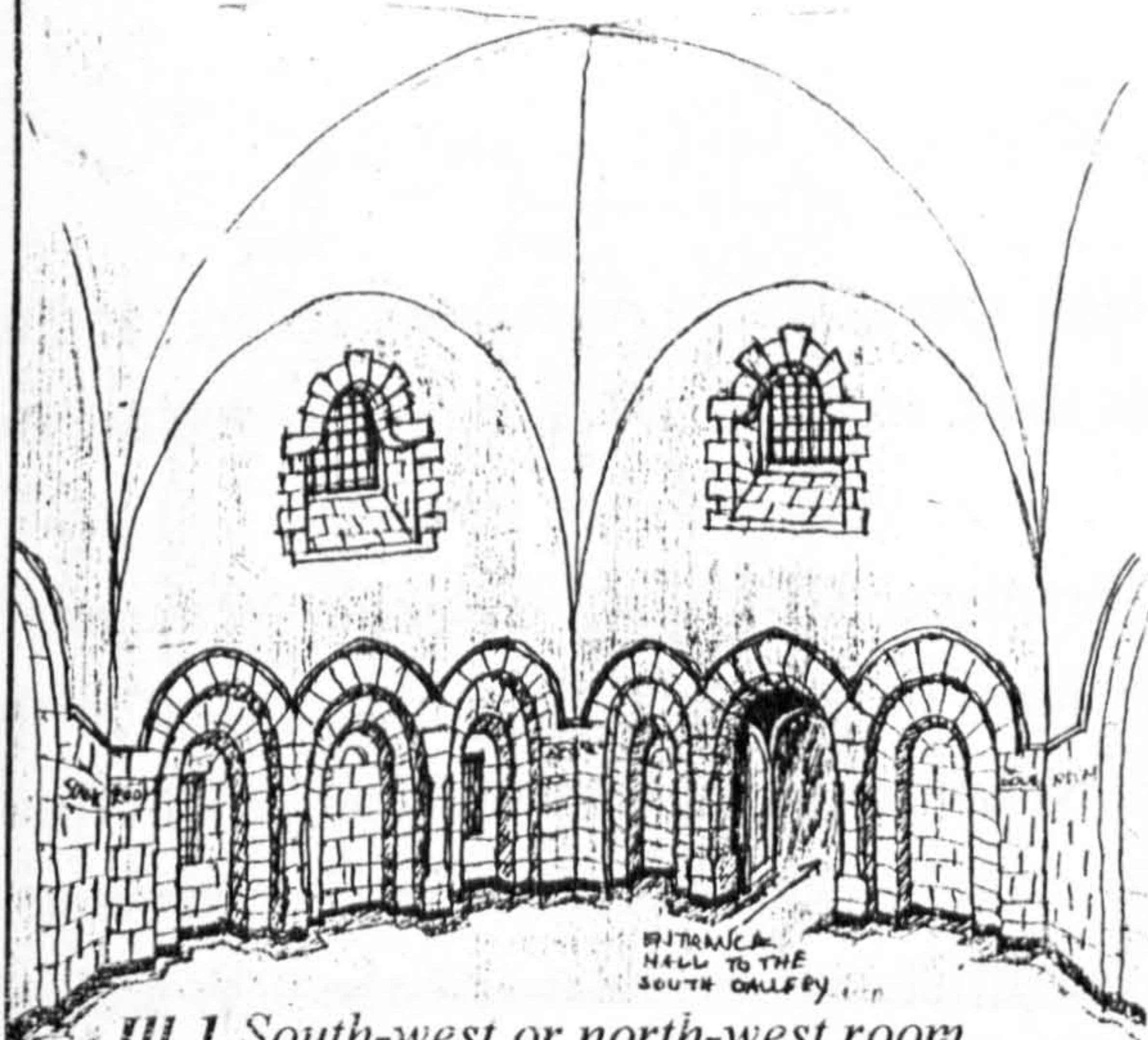
Apart from their practical advantages, insulating the interior spaces, the thick walls were intended to portray antiquity, which was regarded as a suitable setting for the display of ancient remains. Thus, even the interior wall between the Room and the Gallery is very thick. At this point two arched doorways were installed, set apart at the exact width of the door (Ill. 3B).

The stone *Dado* reaches the top of the doorways and display niches, creating an impression of the room being a higher space than it actually is (Ill. 1).

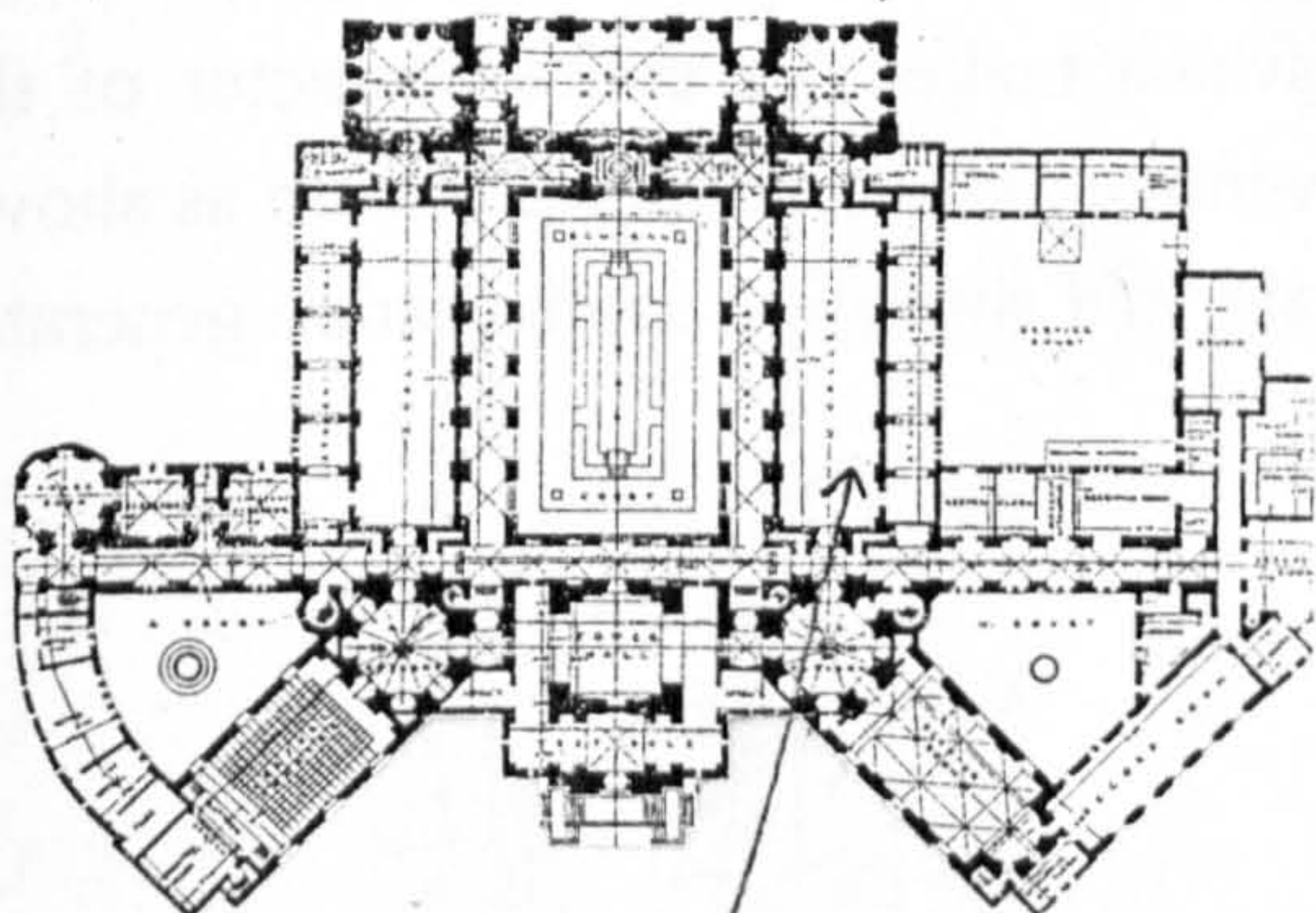
#### The North Gallery

The Gallery is a longitudinal high space with a reticulated ceiling (Ills. 2,4). The *Splay* which connects the wall and the ceiling consists of deep narrow openings, allowing only reflected light to penetrate through (Ill. 5A). The wall consists of high rectangular niches where windows are placed above the show cases (Ill. 5B,C). The amount of natural light coming into the space was reduced by the highly inventive use of the wall thickness. Another achievement was the archaic impression of the entire space which was intensified by the fine coating of unpainted stucco on the walls and ceiling.

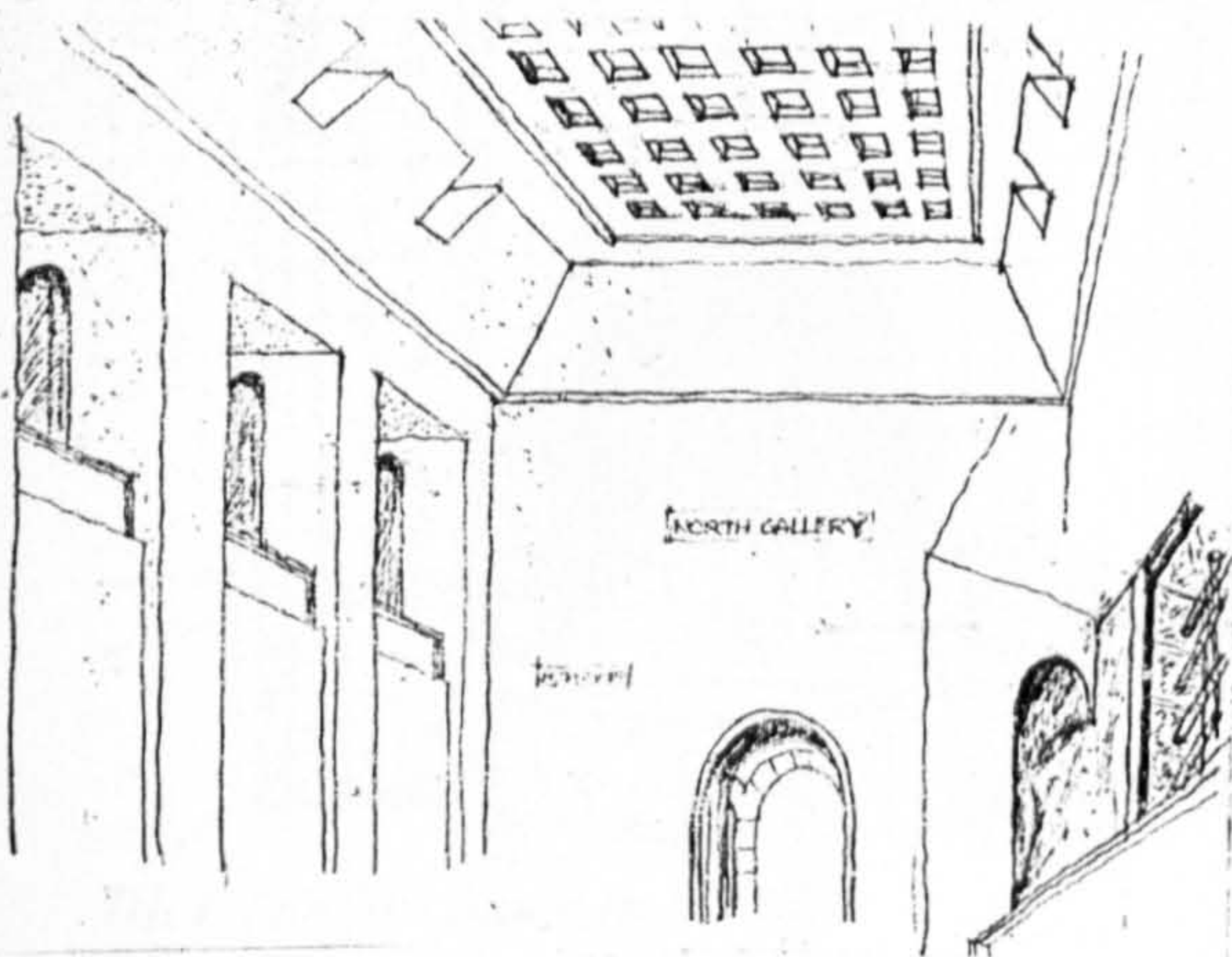




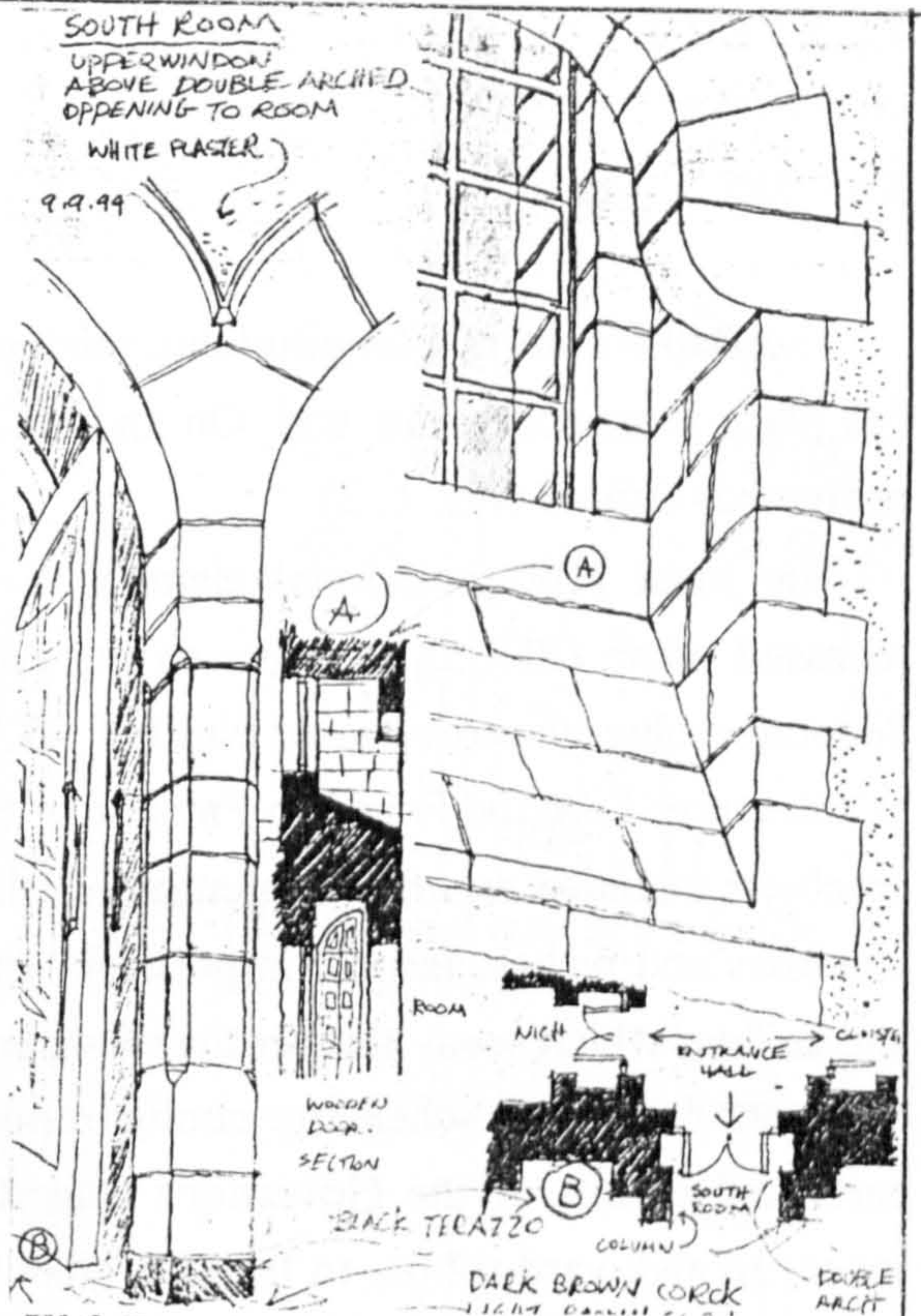
III.1 South-west or north-west room.



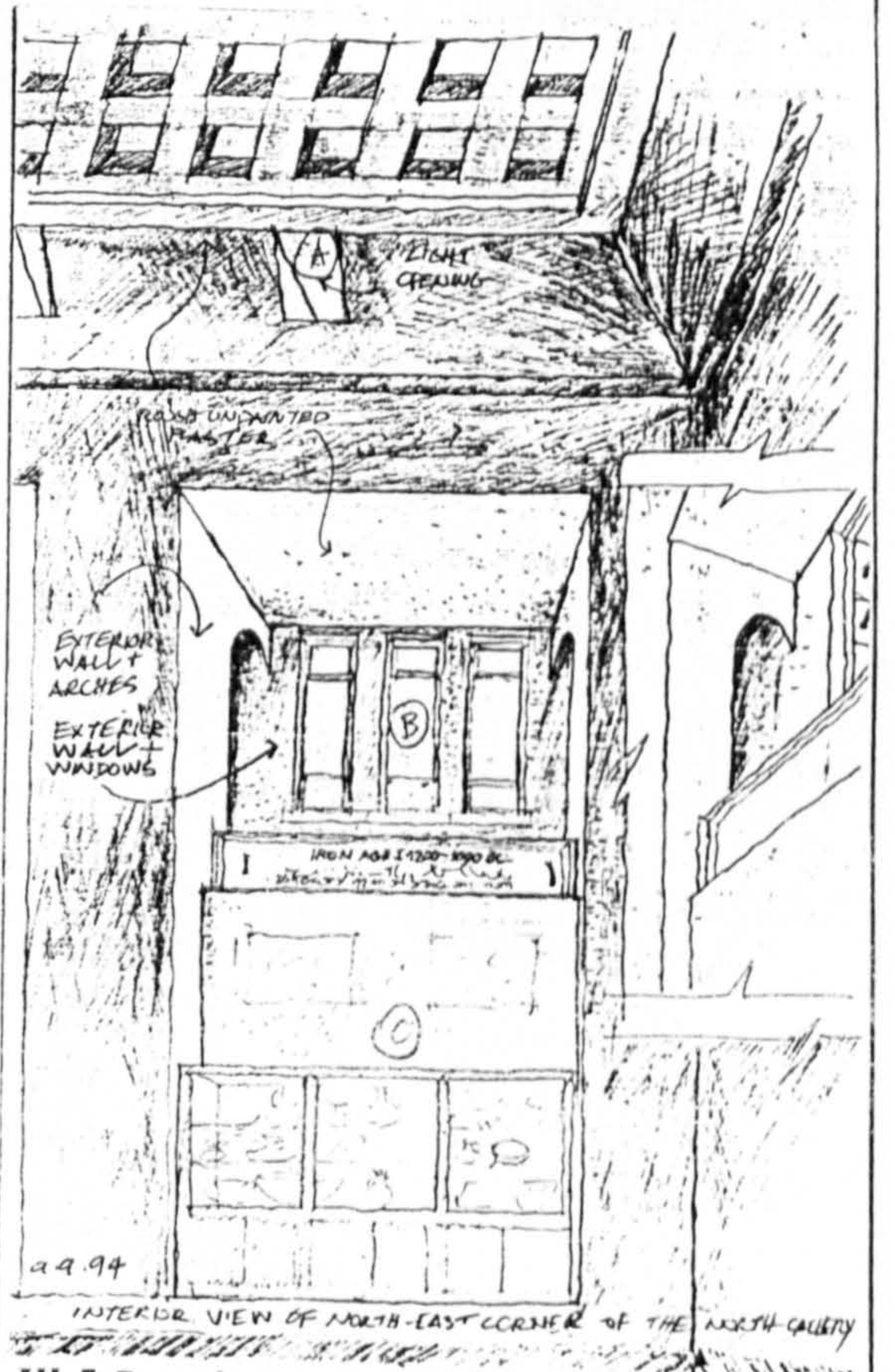
III.2 General plan.



III.4 North or south gallery.



III.3 Details: window (A); doorway (B).



III.5 Details: reticulated ceiling & opening (A); window (B); show case (C).



## PLATE 20

### GOVERNMENT HOUSE

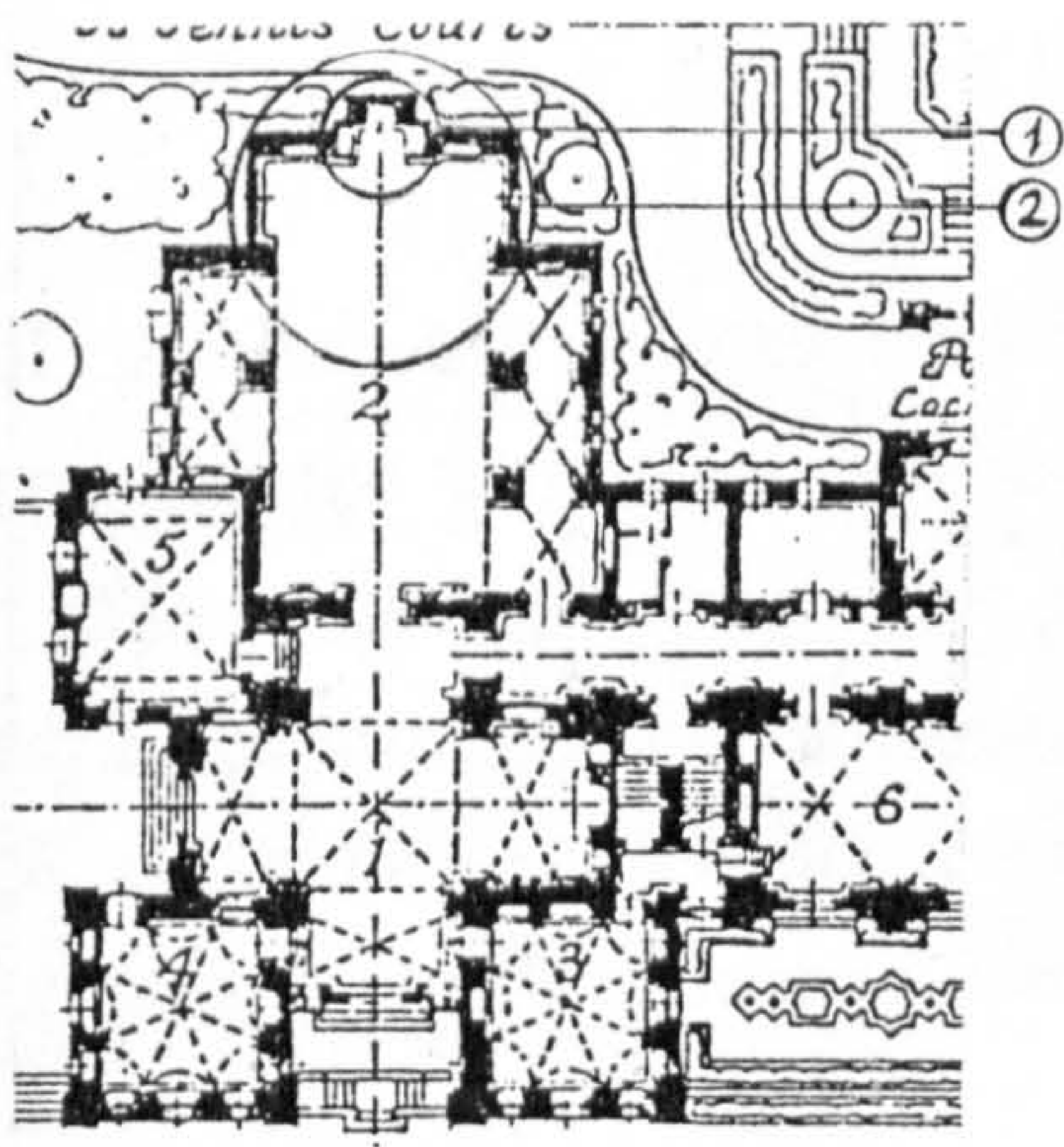
#### The Ball Room

The Ball Room is a longitudinal, relatively high space, with a reticulated ceiling, and a fire place at its south-east end. On its long sides there are four arched openings leading to protected terraces (Ills. 1, 2).

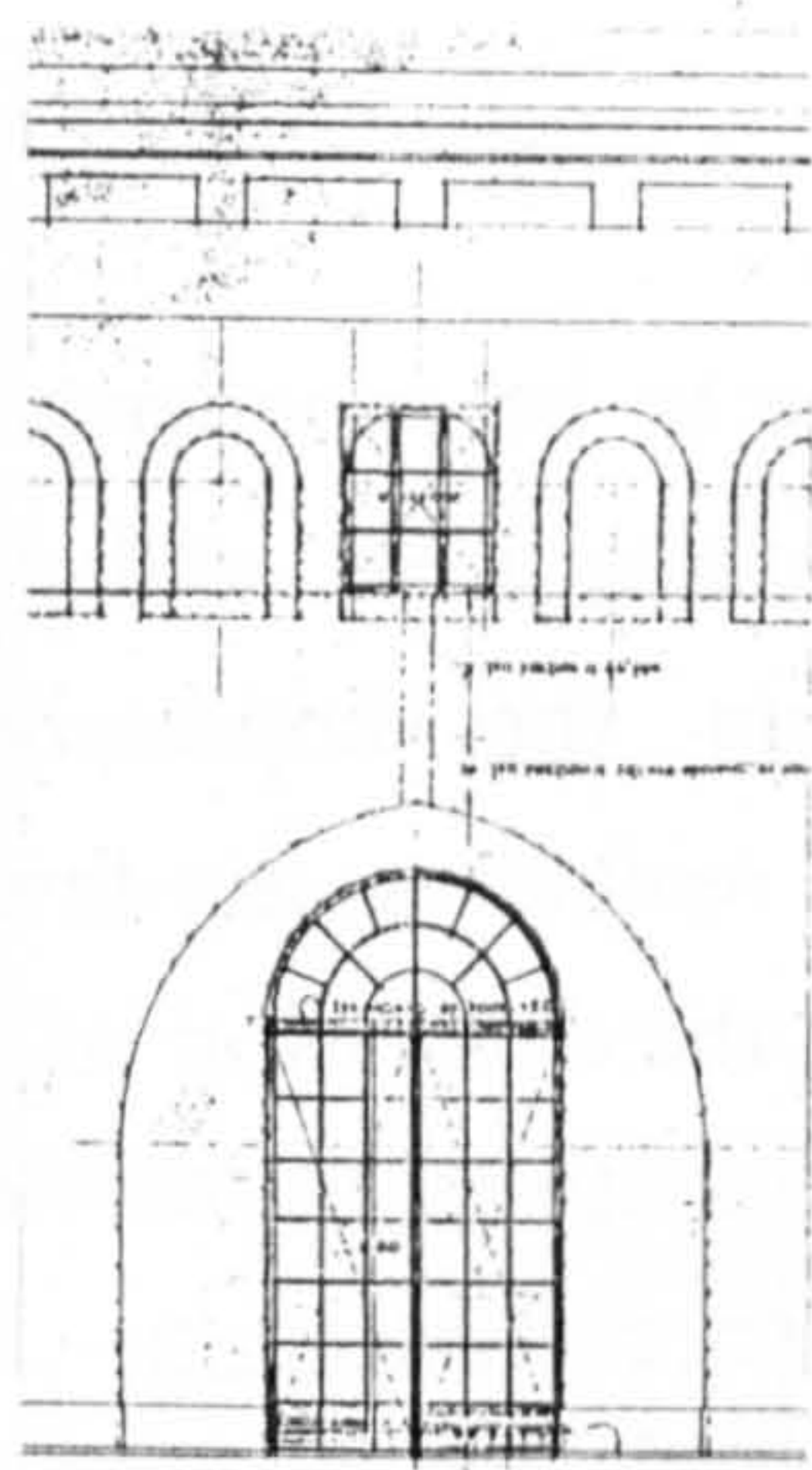
The most representational element is the fireplace. Contained within a rectangular recessed plane (Ill.3,5), it refers to the Islamic form of a *Mihrab*, entirely clad with decorated blue glazed ceramic tiles (Ill. 4). This type of fireplace can be found in Ottoman architecture. Like the Fountain Pavilion at the Rockefeller Museum it is a display element - an object intended as a representation of Islam. Other Islamic reminders are the high arched windows and niches. Islamic impression was also intended by the reticulation of the walls and ceiling, which seem thicker than they are.

Apart from the schematic configuration of these elements, it is their employment as parts and details of the Governor's Ball Room which makes the entire character of the space an awkward tribute to Islam. Unlike the inventive and subtle interpretation as shown in the Rockefeller Museum, here, their reduced scale and simplified configuration generates a false impression.





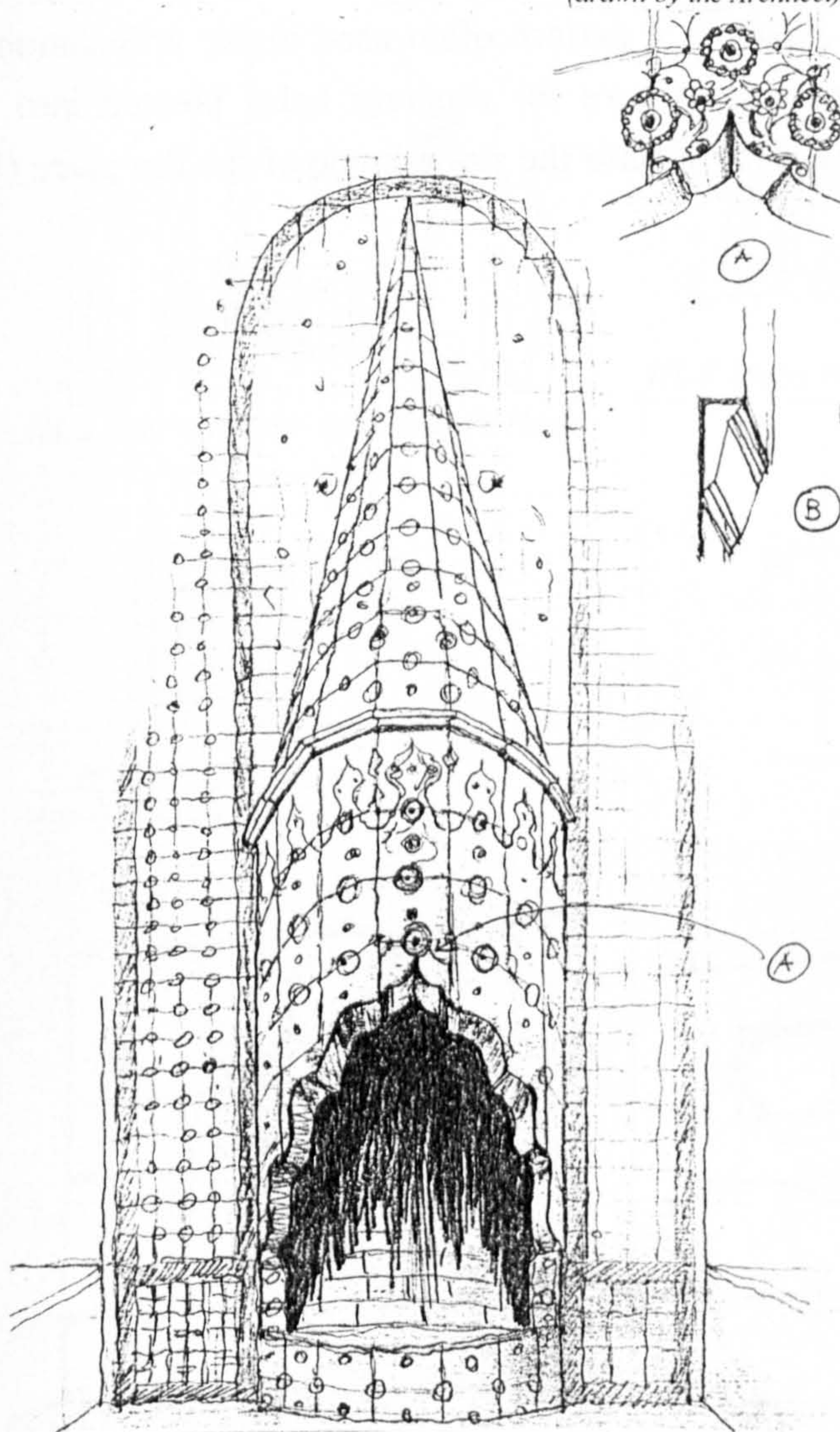
III.1 Plan of the southern wing.



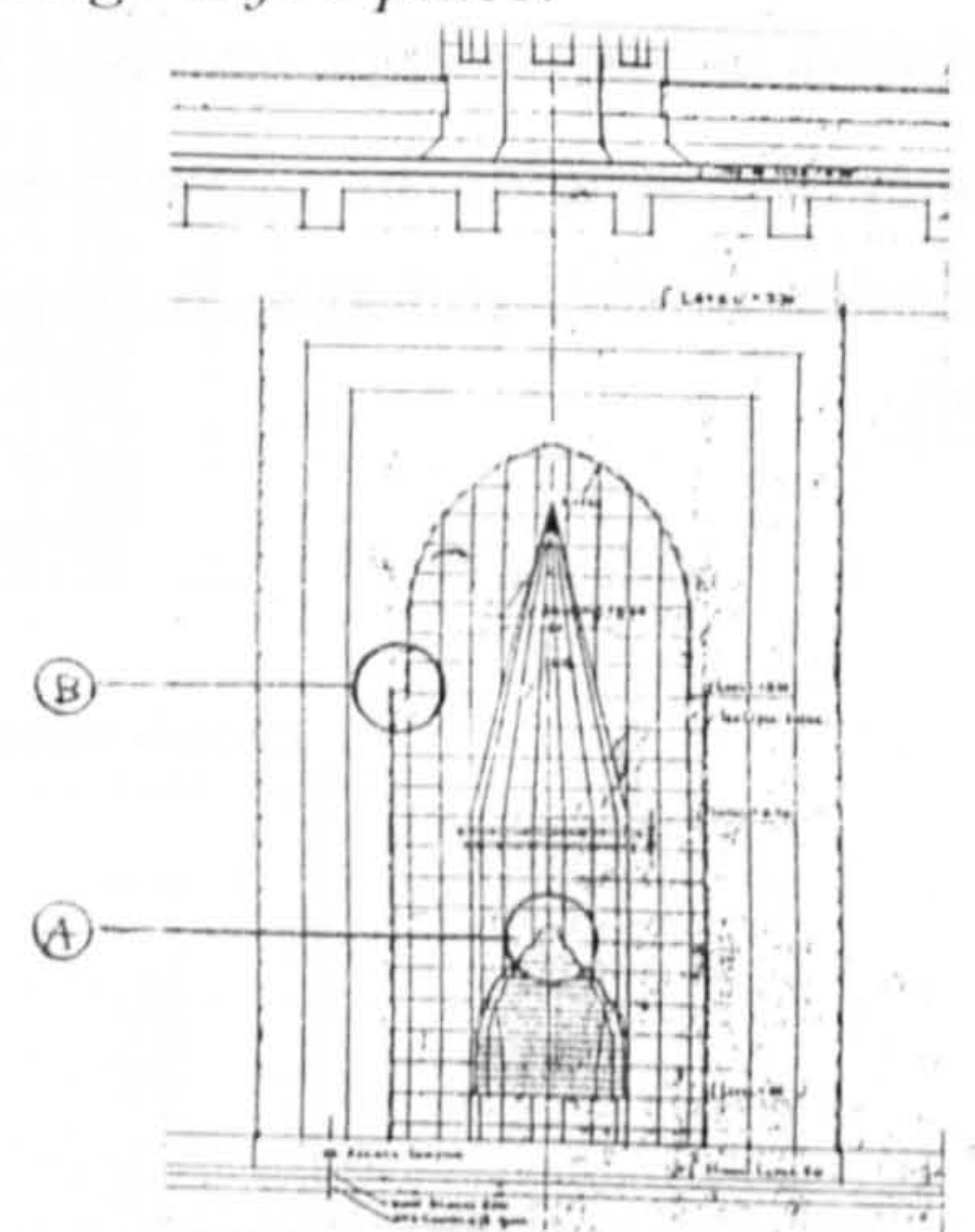
III.2 A segment of the Ball Room elevation (drawn by the Architect).



III.3 Internal view of the Ball room facing the fire place.



III.4 The fire place in detail.



III.5 The fire place, elevation (drawn by the Architect).



## PLATE 21

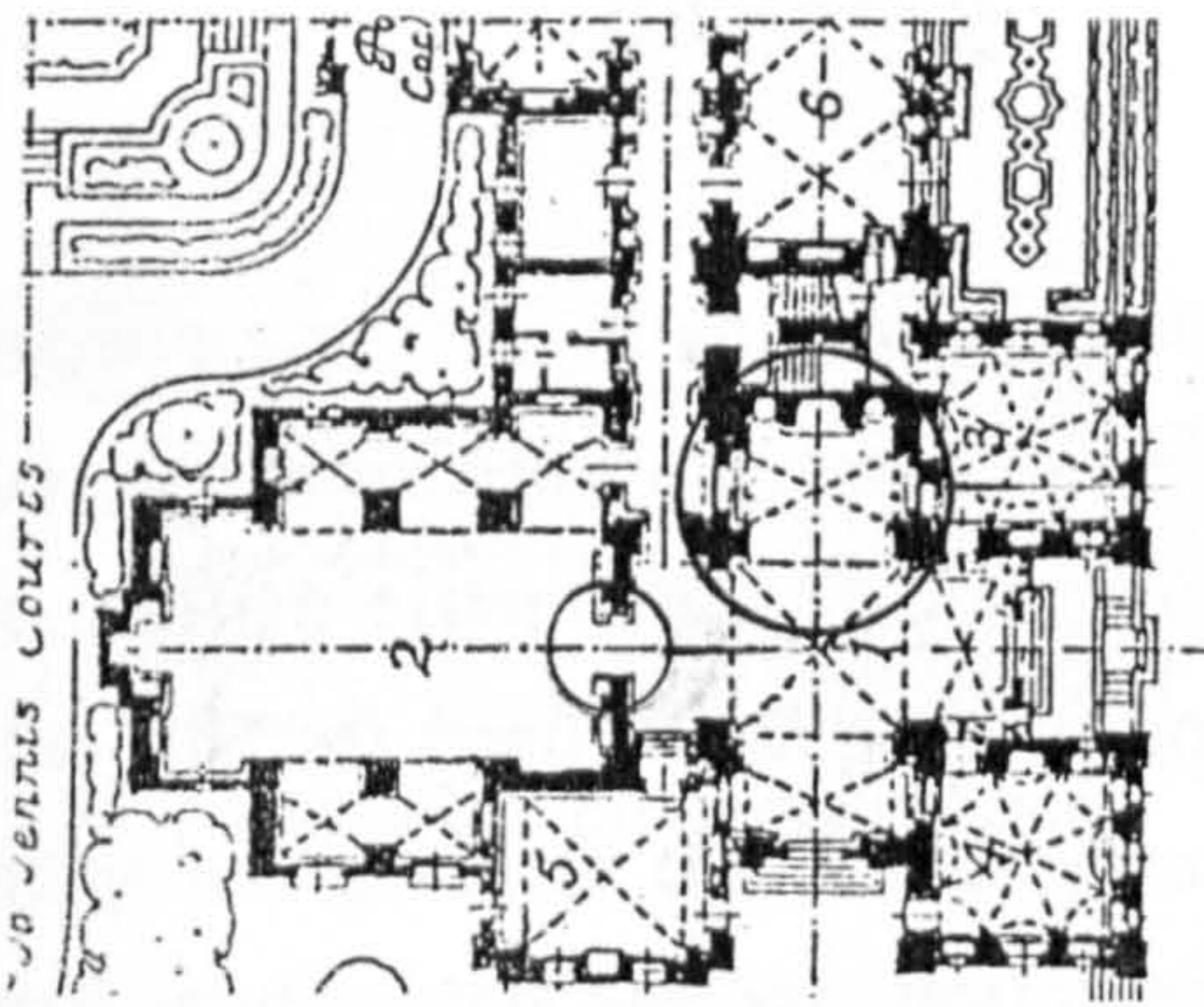
### GOVERNMENT HOUSE

#### The Main Hall

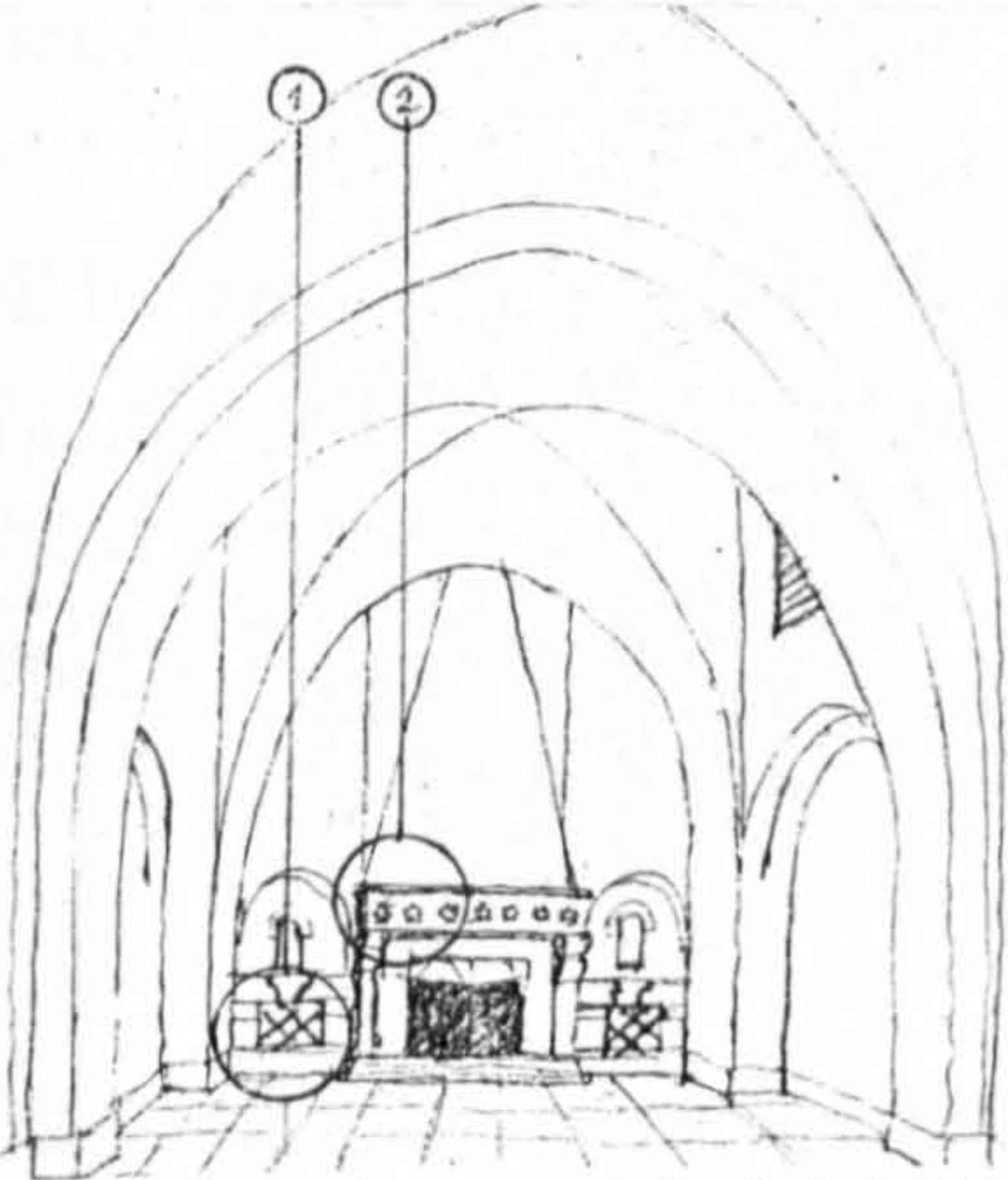
The Main Hall is the first space to be experienced after entering the building. It is a spacious room containing several sitting areas, and doorways leading to other rooms and corridors (Ills. 1,2). Apart from the impressive, cruciform domed ceiling, the representational elements - Islamic reminders, are few ornaments, incorporated in the fire place stone frame, coal box, and in the decoration of the wooden door panels (Ills. 3,4,5). The common denominator here is the use of an individual geometric shape, originally used as a repetitive element in Islamic surface decoration.

The shape used for decorating the Coal Box wooden door, is a magnification of a shape often used in repetitive patterns of wooden *Mushrabias* (Ill. 3). The design of a diagonally rotated square within another square, which is a pattern often used in the articulation of stone balustrades in Islamic buildings, is used here for separate holes pierced into the wooden doors, and as individual shapes relieved onto the stone frame of the fire place (Ills. 4,5).

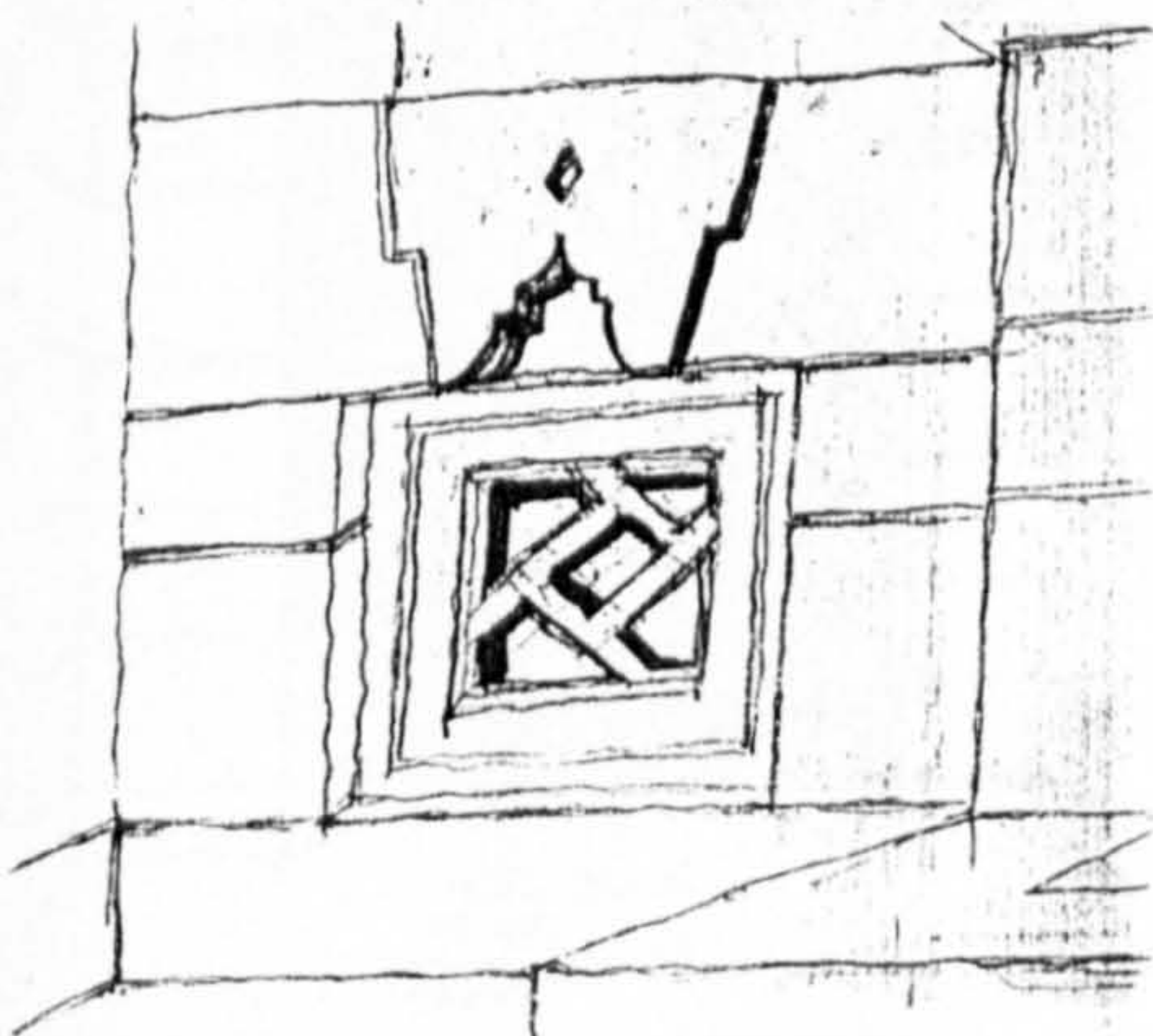
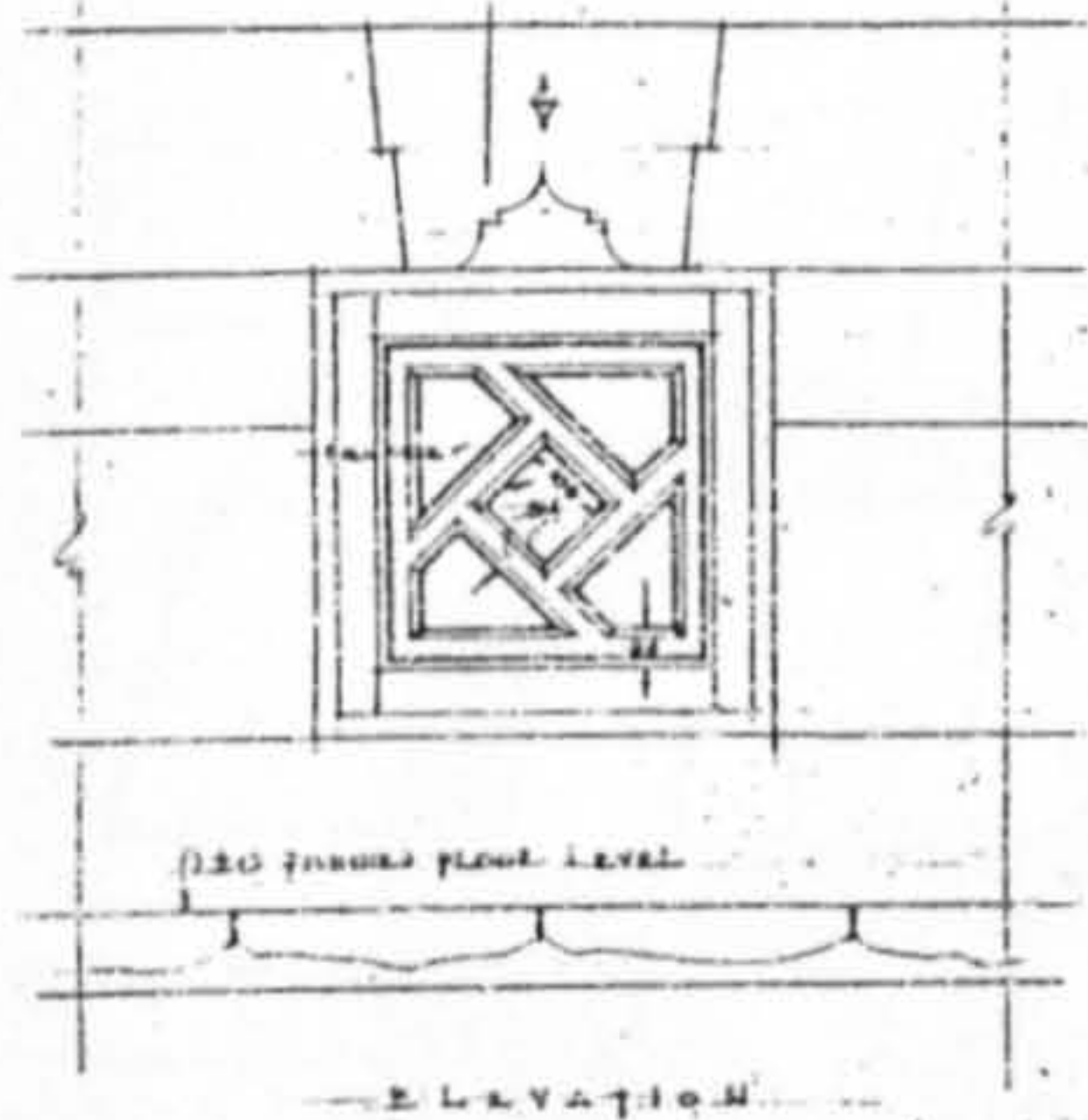




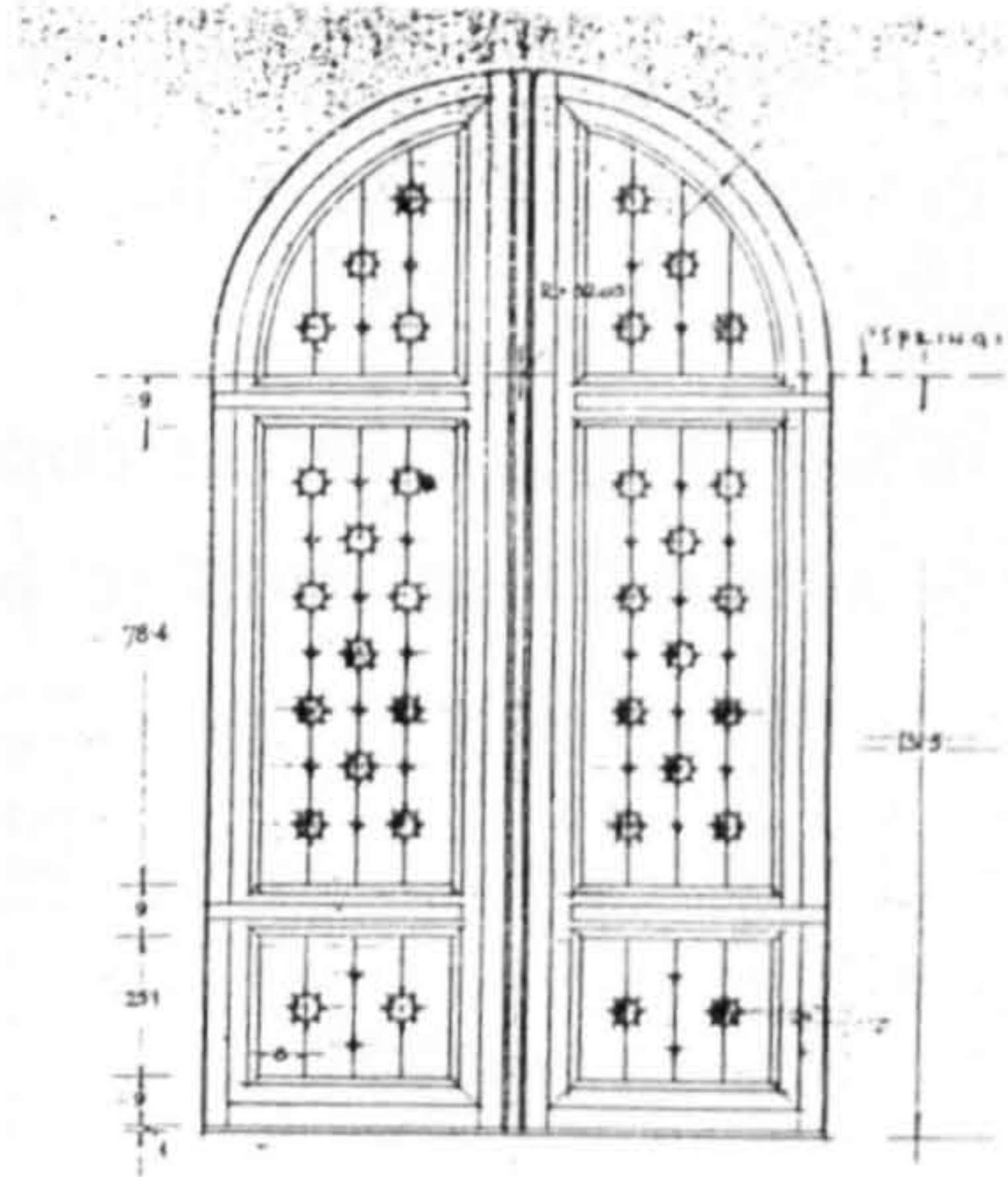
III.1 Plan of the southern wing.



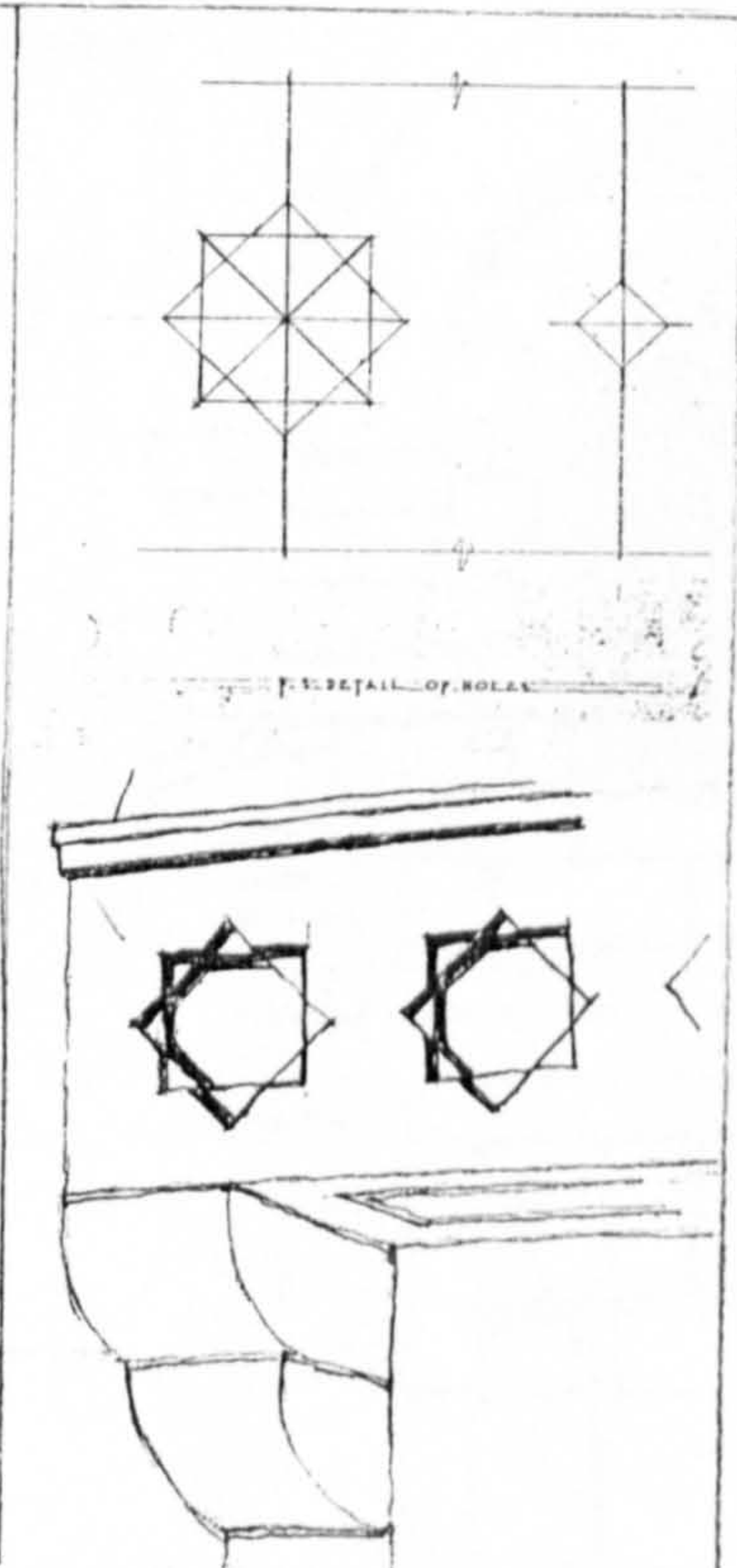
III.2 Internal view of the Main Hall.



III.3 Details of the coal box door.



III.4 Main Hall wooden doors.



III.5 Geometric shape used for decorating the fire place and the wooden doors.



## PLATE 22

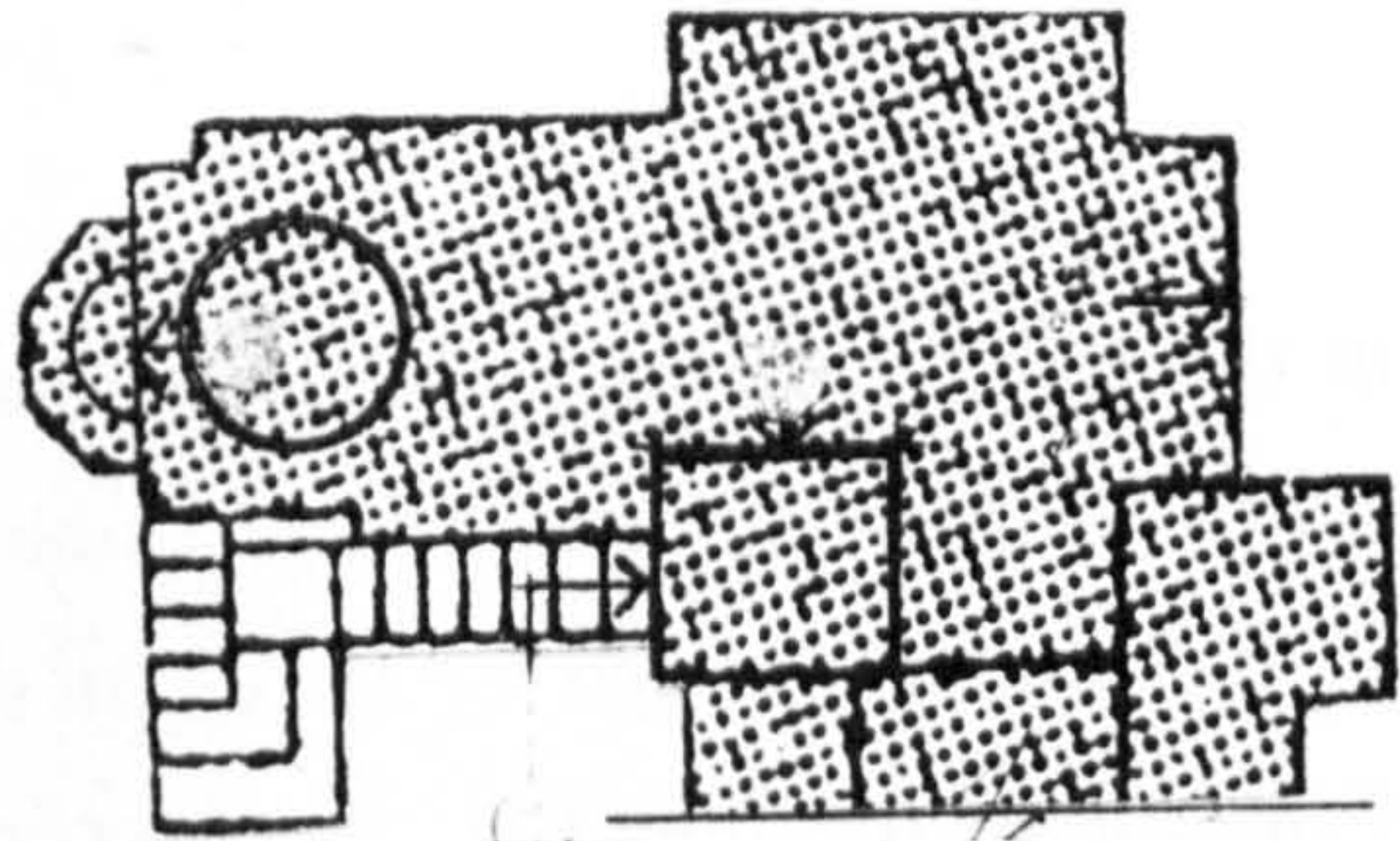
### ST. ANDREW'S SCOTS MEMORIAL CHURCH and HOSPICE

#### The Church

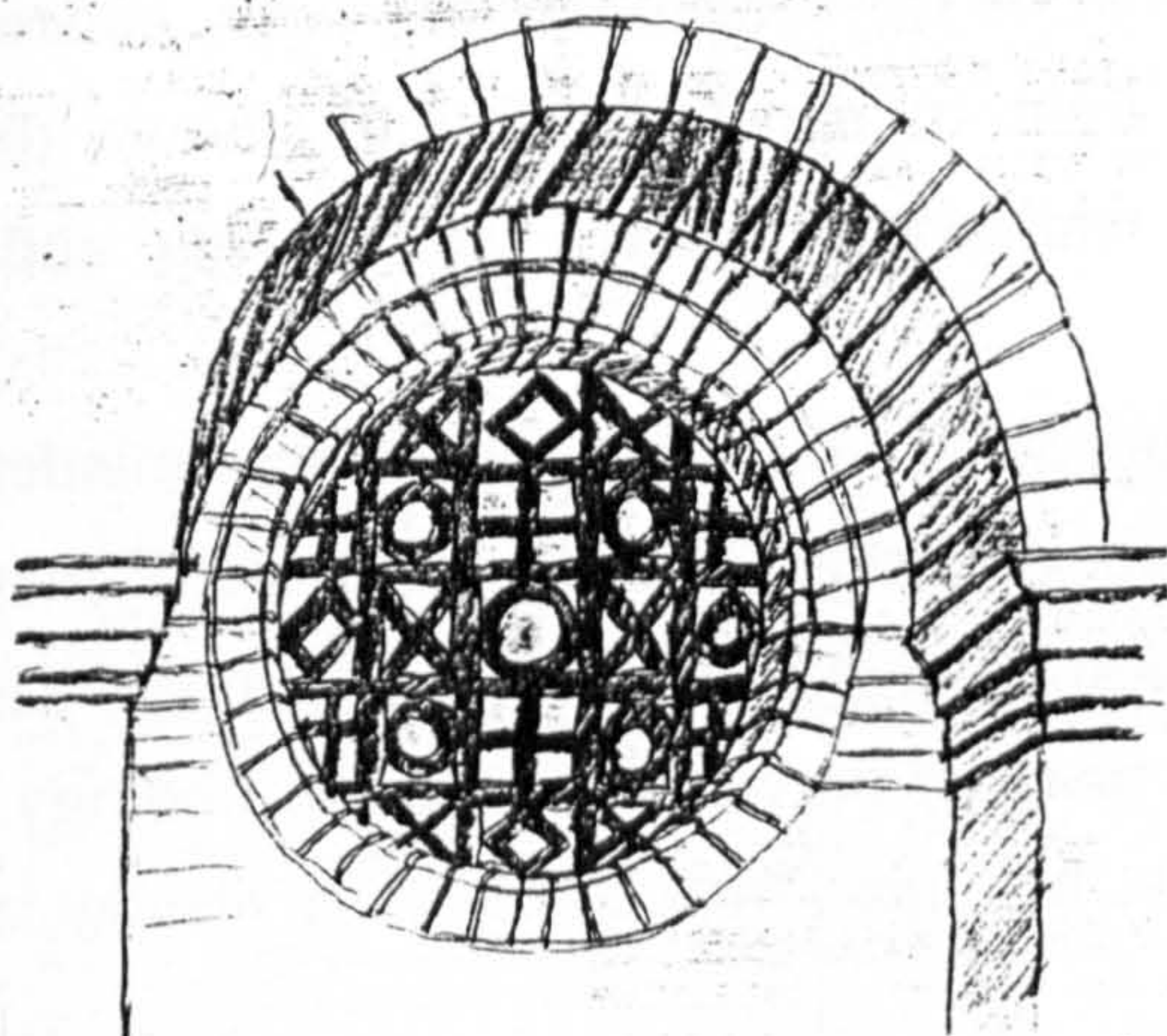
Naturally there are no Islamic references to be found inside the St. Andrew's Memorial Church (Ill.1). The reminders of locality which do exist are the vaulted ceilings, coated with fine, unpainted stucco, the blue vault of the altar and the geometric pattern of the stained glass round window (Ill. 2,4). The same type of stonework used for the external walls (Ill. 3) is also used inside the Church, and works as a *Dado* reaching the springing line of the arches (Ills. 5). The absence of any ornamentation, and the semicircular Roman-like arches, give an impression of antiquity which suited the image expected to be experienced in Jerusalem.

A slight triangulation which articulates the coping of all vertical masses and all lintels of rectangular openings is an Art Deco motif to be found in all of Holliday's buildings in Jerusalem (Ills. 3,5).

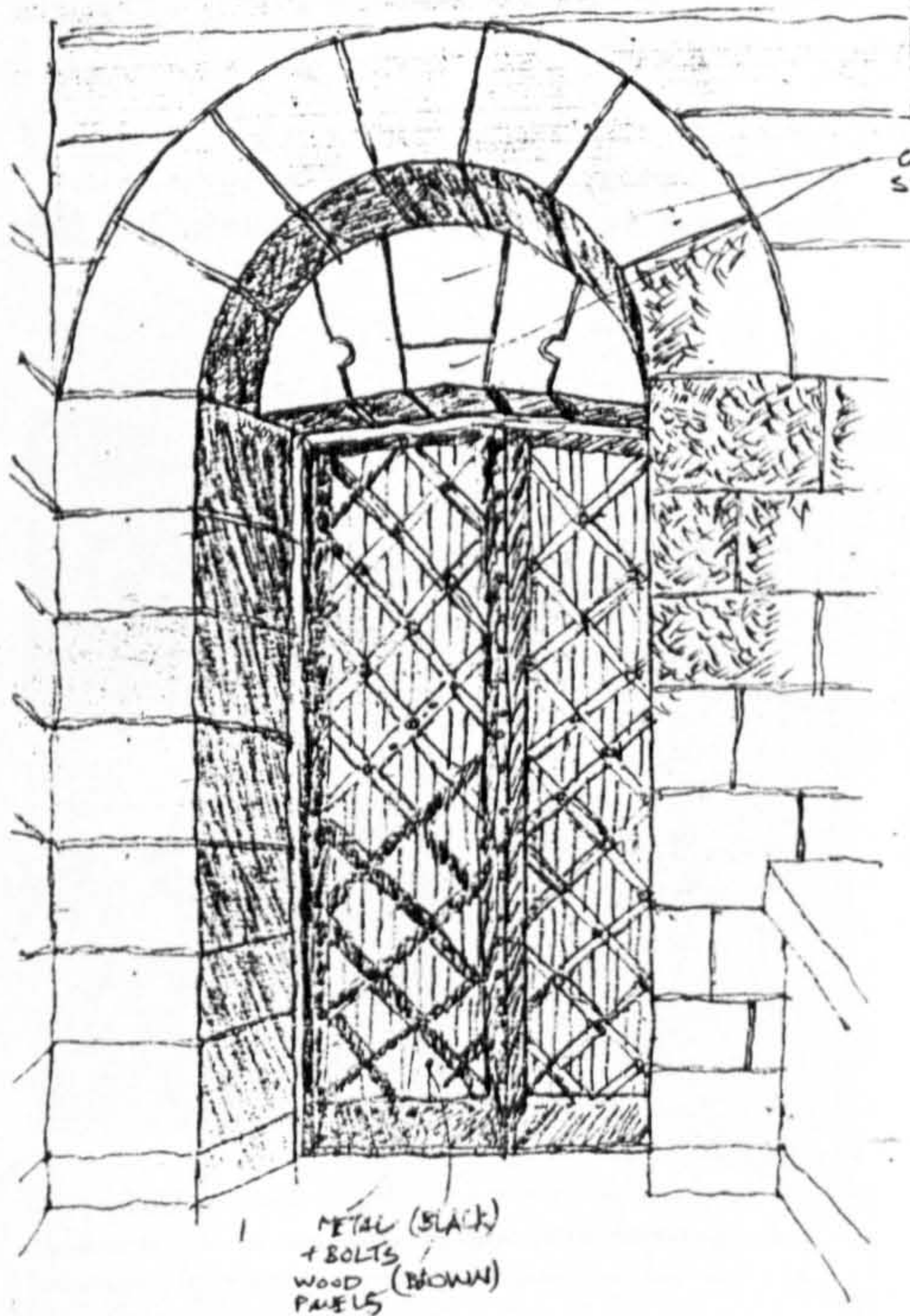




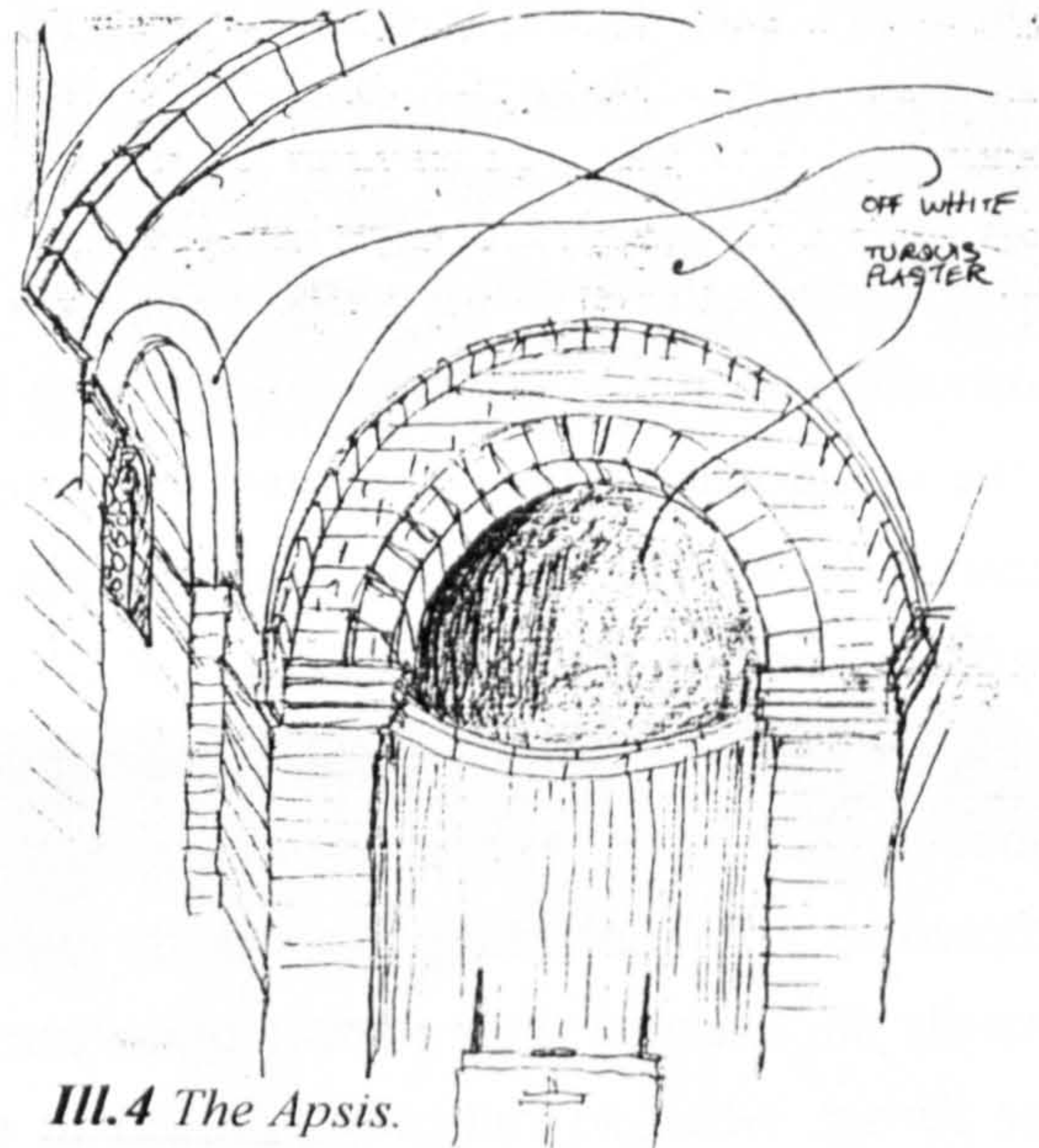
III.1 General plan of the Church.



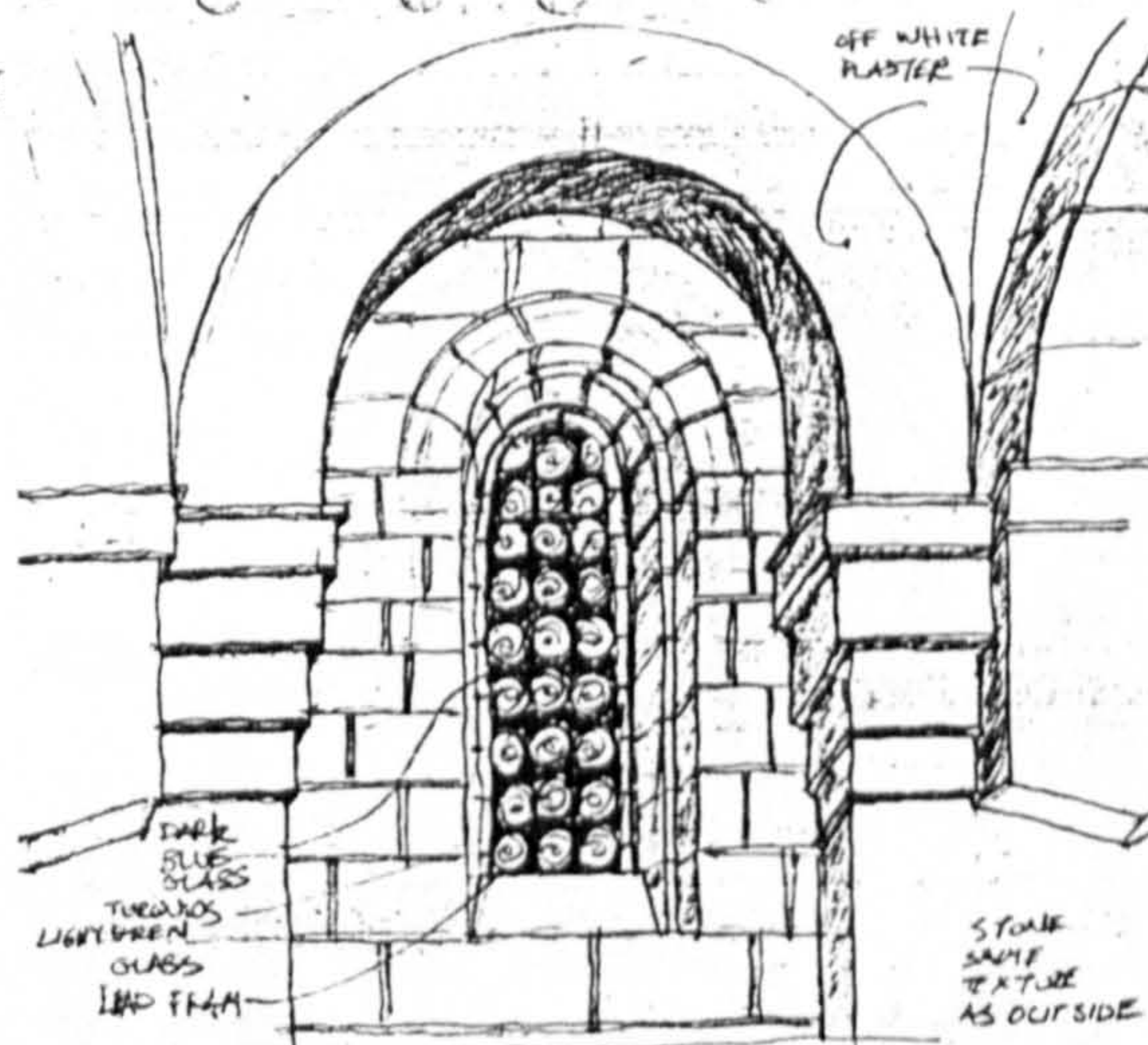
III.2 Stained glass round window. A similar pattern was used for the large arched opening



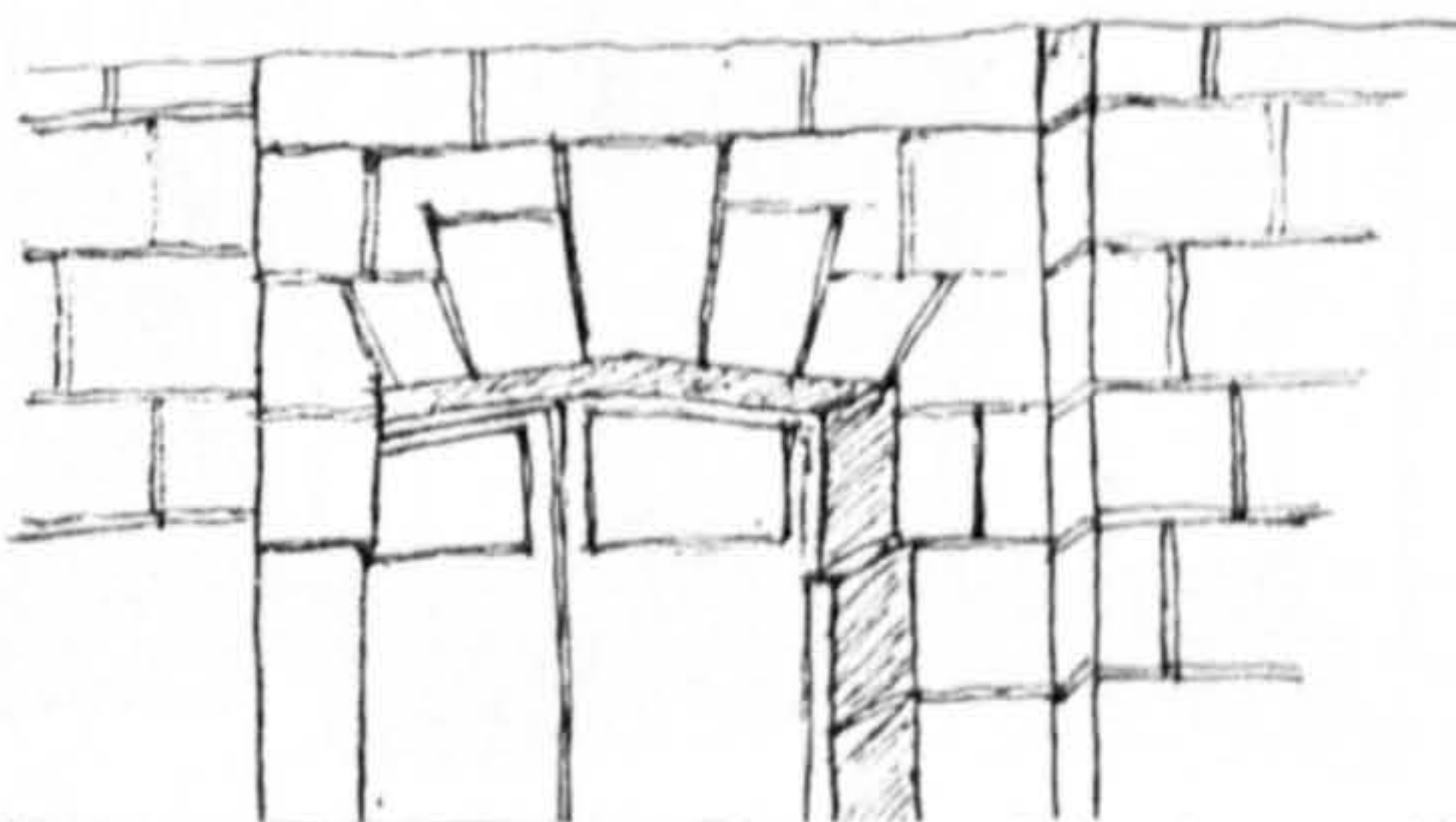
III.3 Exterior view of the main entrance door, leading to a small hall.



III.4 The Apsis.



INTERIOR SPACE - DETAIL OF ENTRANCE TO CHURCH.



III.5 View of entrance door and high window - from the main space of the Church.



## PLATE 23

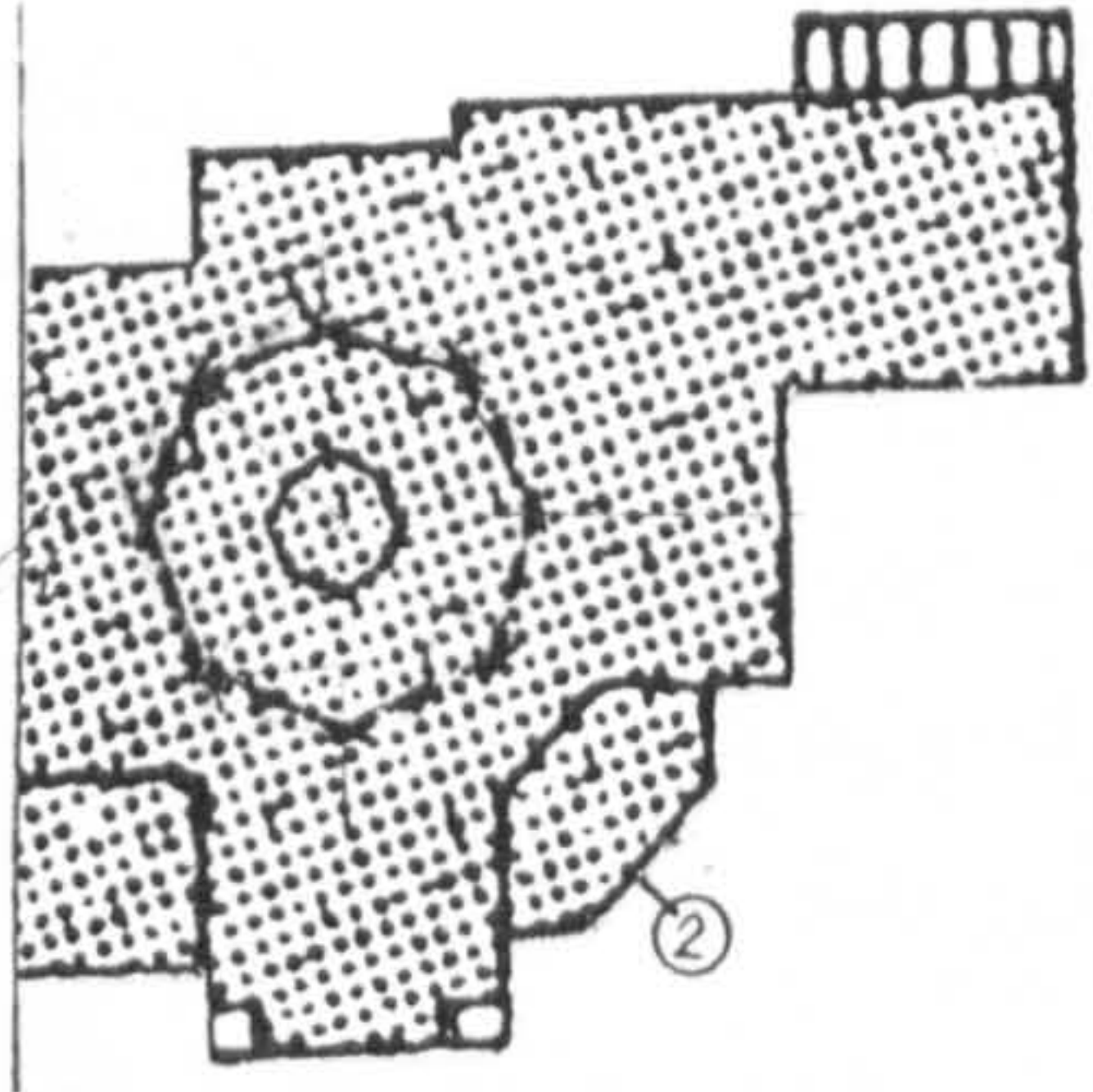
*ST. ANDREW'S SCOTS MEMORIAL CHURCH and HOSPICE*

### **The Hospice - Entrance Lobby**

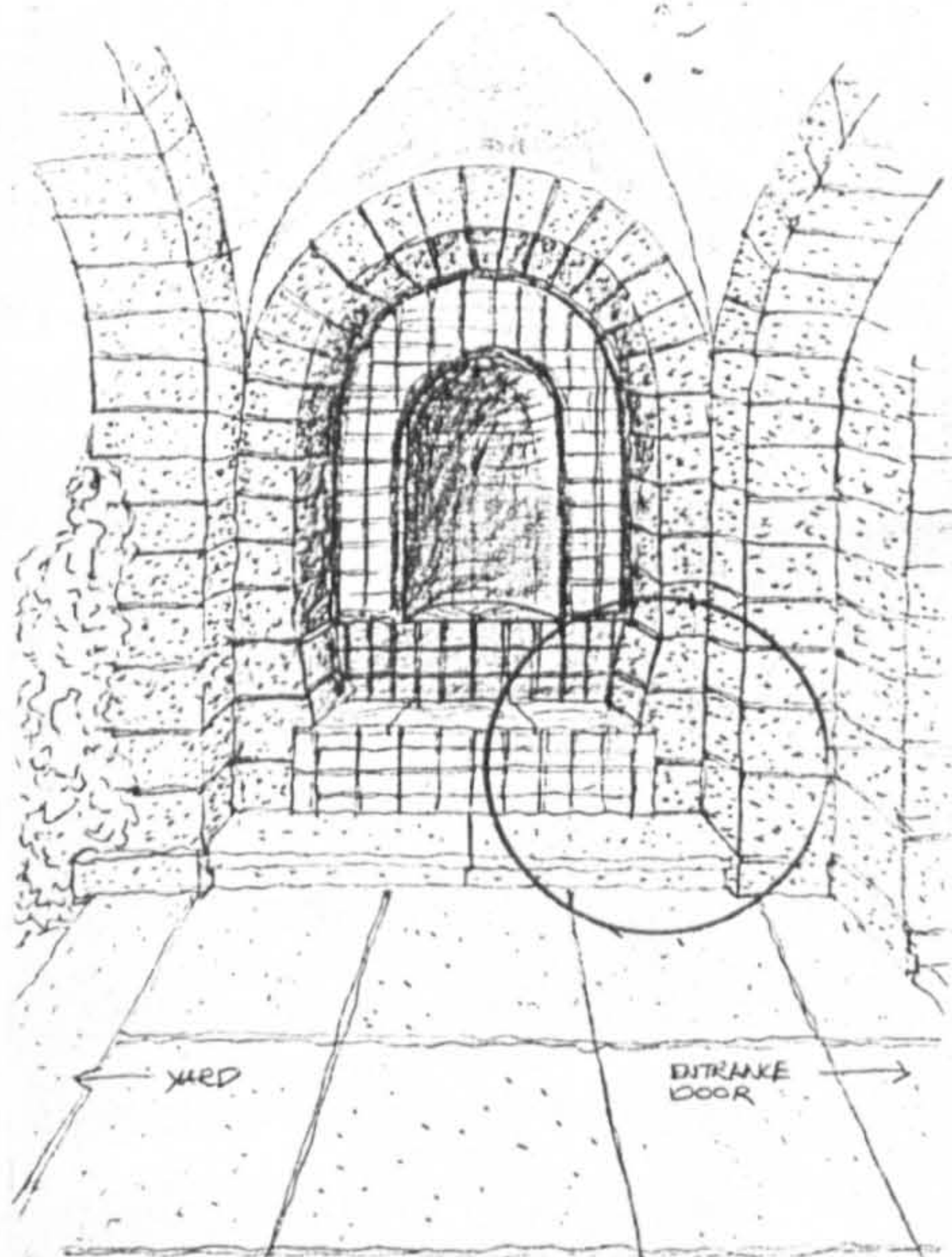
Except for three ornamented niches, as the one in the entrance porch (Ill.2), the spatial Islamic reference is the Entrance Lobby of the Hospice. Located on the ground floor (Ill. 1), it is a rather small octagonal space (diameter of 5.5 meters). Each of its eight sides consists of an arched doorway leading to various locations in the building. It is vertically connected with the first floor lobby, through an octagonal void surrounded by a heavy built balustrades (Ills.4,5). An octagonal skylight located on the roof of the top floor, concentric to the octagonal whole, it allows for natural light to penetrate down through to the Entrance lobby (Ill. 4). The wall surface is whitewash plaster, the flooring and the balustrades coping are blue terazzo.

This is a clear case of an eclectic manipulation, combining some schematic reminders of Islamic architecture with a 'touch' of Art Deco. Whereas eclecticism in itself may be accepted as a type of interpretation, its expression here is more like a caricature. This is primarily so, because such a small space cannot possibly bear such grand morphology. Or, these forms when so radically reduced in scale, become miniatures, as a display in an exhibition pavilion.

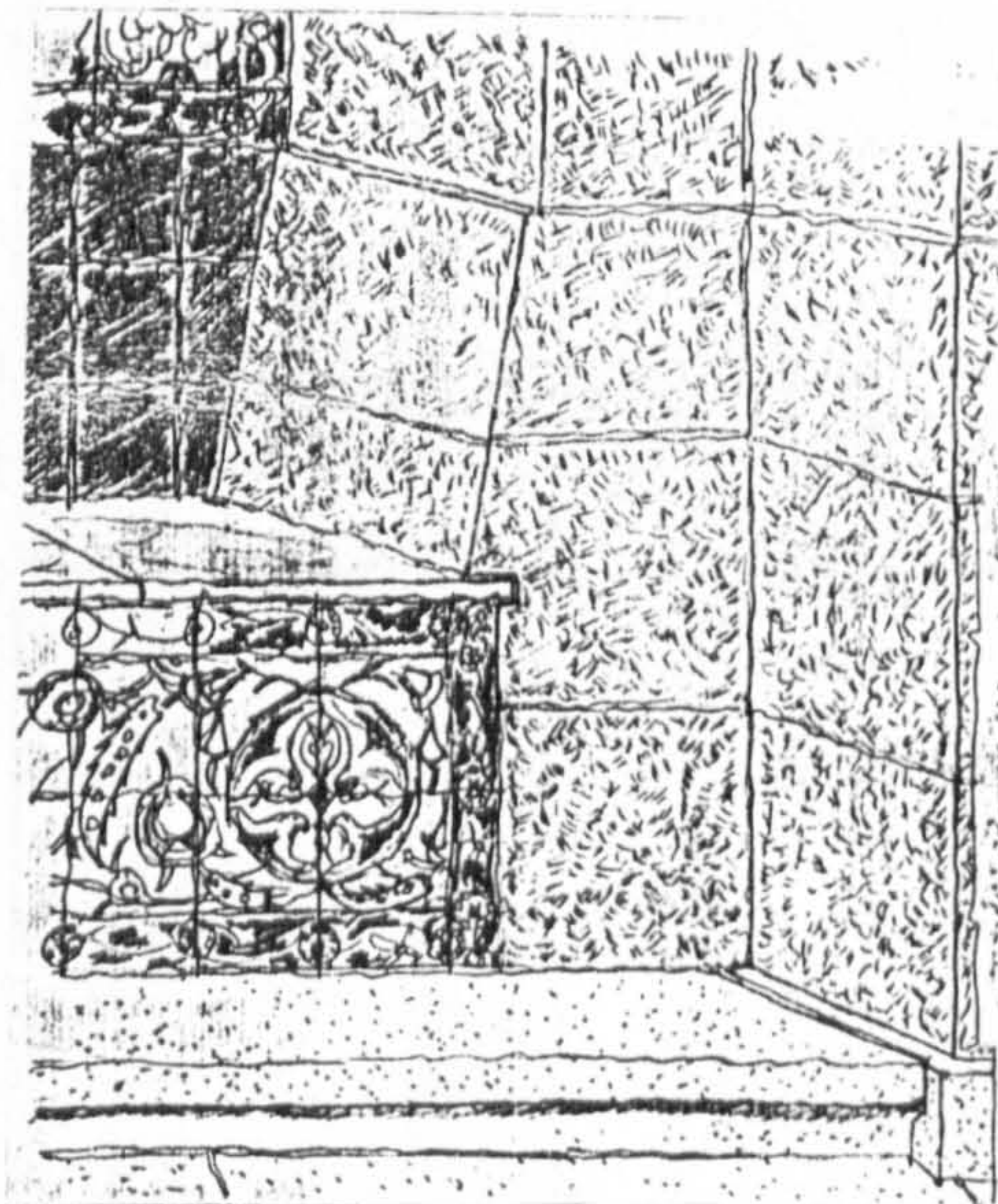




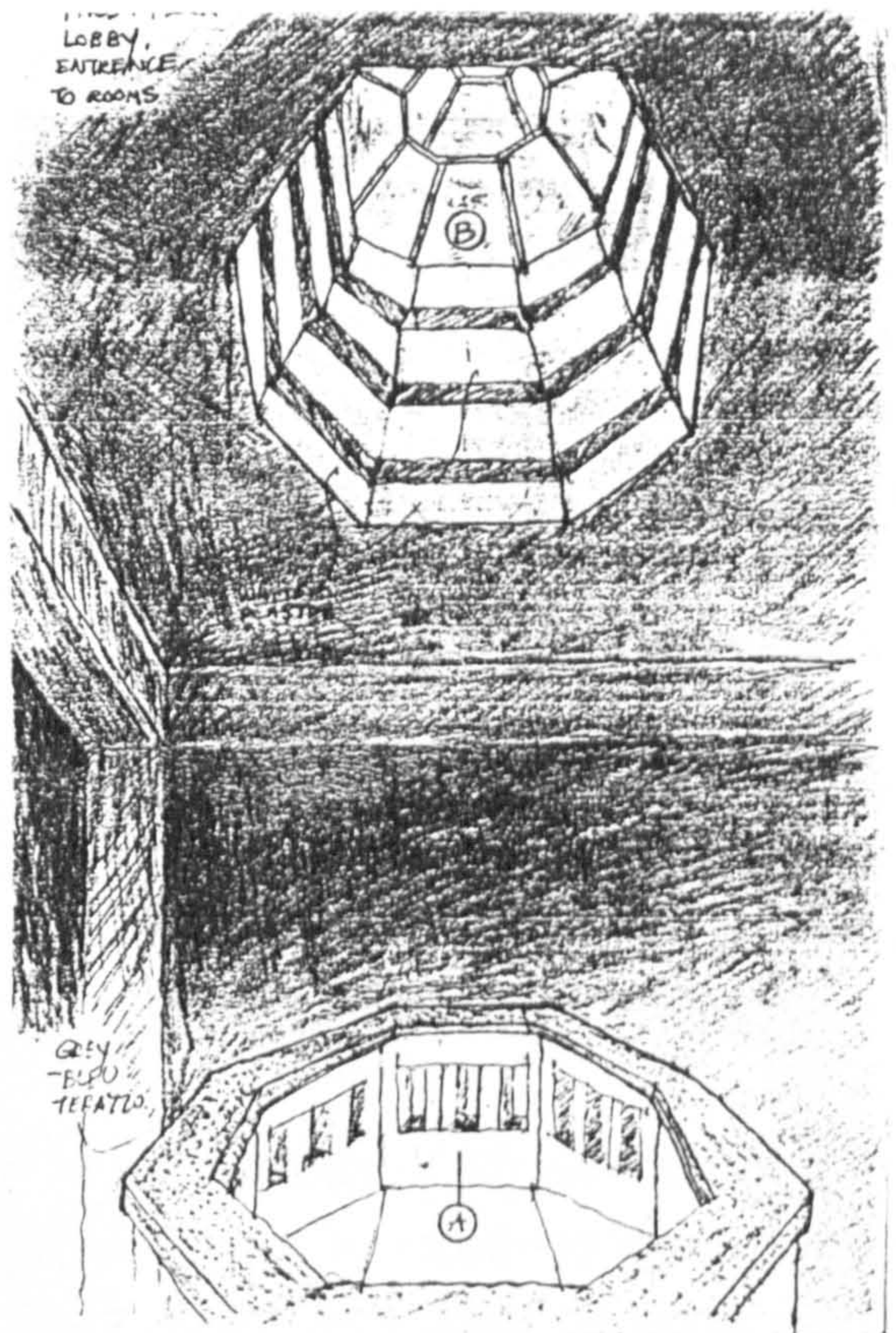
III.1 General plan of the Hospice.



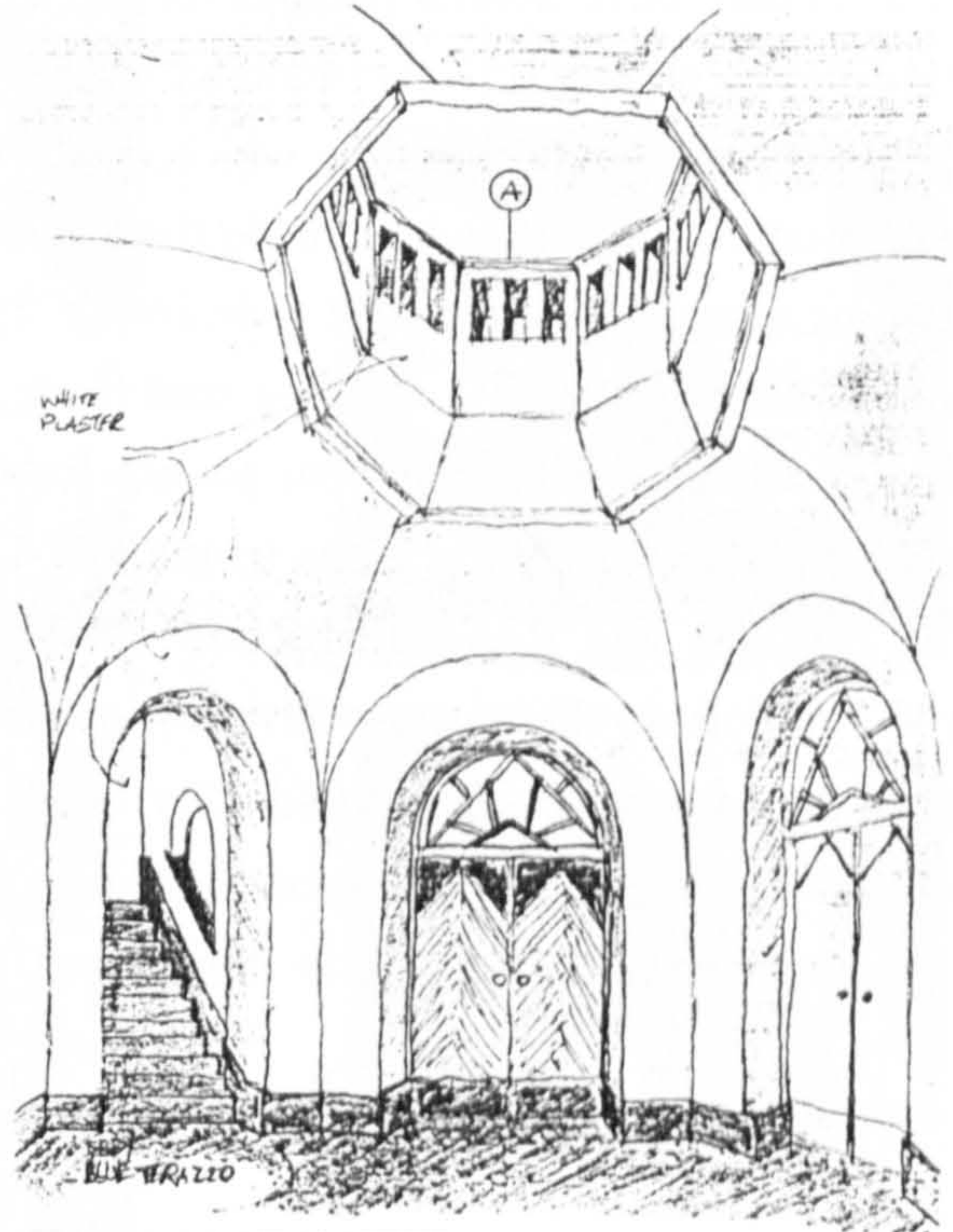
III.2 Entrance porch with stone bench.



III.3 Detail of the bench and decorated niche with ceramic tiles.



III.4 First floor lobby.



III.5 Ground floor lobby.



## PLATE 24

### 9.5.3. Urban Setting

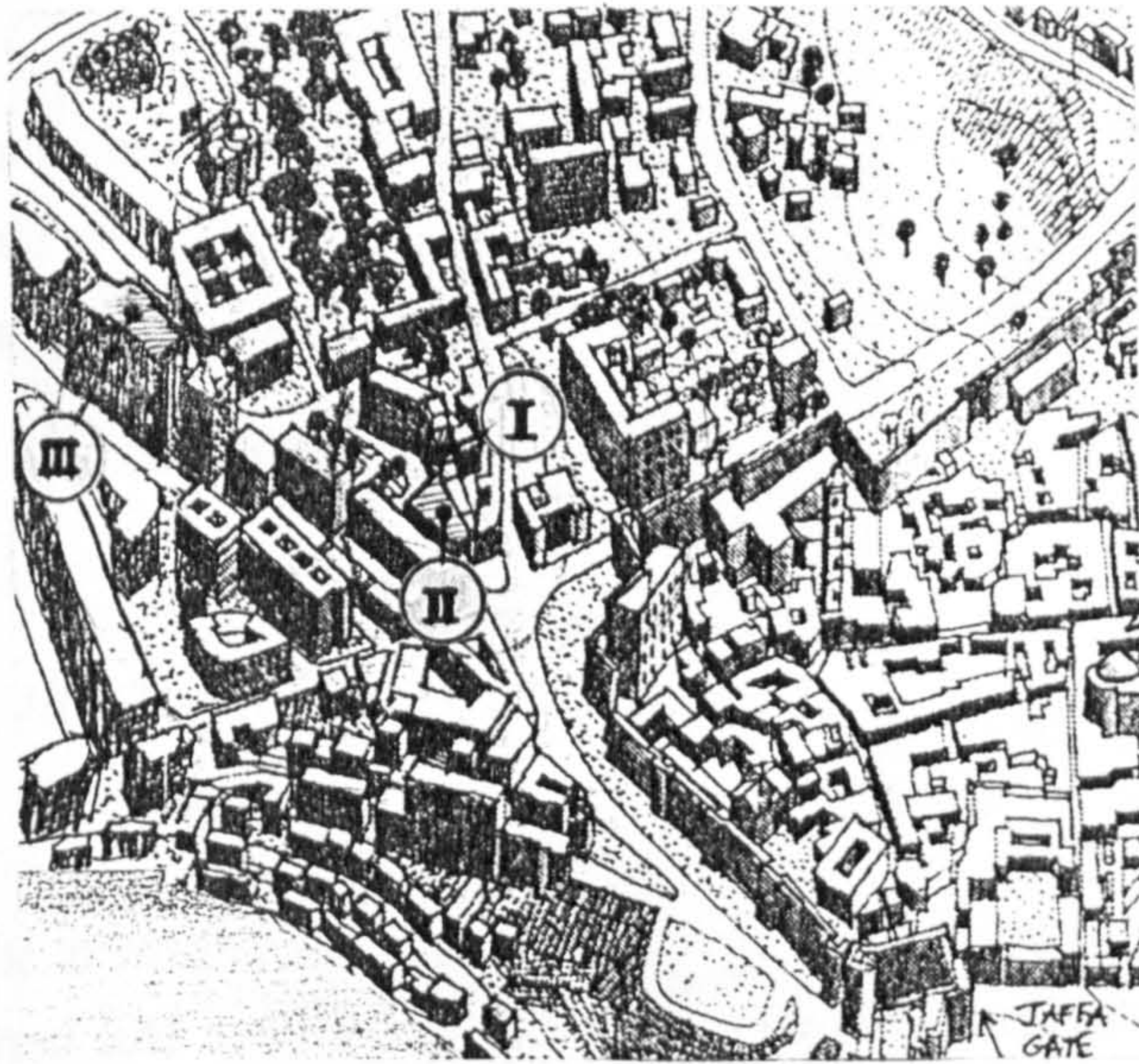
The buildings within the 'Urban Setting' which will be examined below, are located along Jaffa Road, north-west of the Old city (Ills. 1,2,3). They were designed by the same architects who designed some of the 'Semi-Urban' buildings discussed above, which allows for a measure of comparison. It will be shown below that the representational attributes of these buildings were confined primarily to their facades, and were reduced to abstract signifiers of local traditional architecture.

The buildings:

1. *BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY BUILDING (CONNAUGHT HOUSE)* (1926-1928), by Clifford Holliday (Ill. 4).
2. *BARCLAYS BANK AND THE JERUSALEM MUNICIPALITY BUILDING* (1930-1932), by Clifford Holliday (Ill. 5).
3. *CENTRAL POST OFFICE BUILDING* (1934-1938), by Austen St. B. Harrison (Ill. 6).

Compared with the Rockefeller Museum or the Scots Memorial Church, the limited representational attributes of these buildings may seem rather surprising regarding their typically imperial tasks: Post Office, municipality and a colonial bank and a missionary society. There were several reasons for this apart from the general reluctance of the British authorities to getting actively involved in local affairs. One was that the nature of the urban context in Palestine of that time which was predominantly Jewish, and clearly influenced by the Modern Movement, made the use of Islamic elements irrelevant. Another reason, and most relevant herein, is the seclusion of the Old City within its "Park System" (Ill. 3). It implied that the further a building was from the Old City, or outside its visual zone, the less had been the commitment to use local traditional elements. And so, although the 'Urban' buildings are quite close to the Old City (Ill. 1), they are part of a separate zone, "The Business and Residential Zone" (Ashbee, 1924; 18) where the Old City could be viewed only from the eastern elevation of Barclays Bank (Ill. 5), which was also the only one to be viewed from the Old City itself. Another building, the Clock Tower, also designed by Holliday, which stood in front of Barclays Bank (now demolished), was the one to be seen from the Old City (see Appendix II).

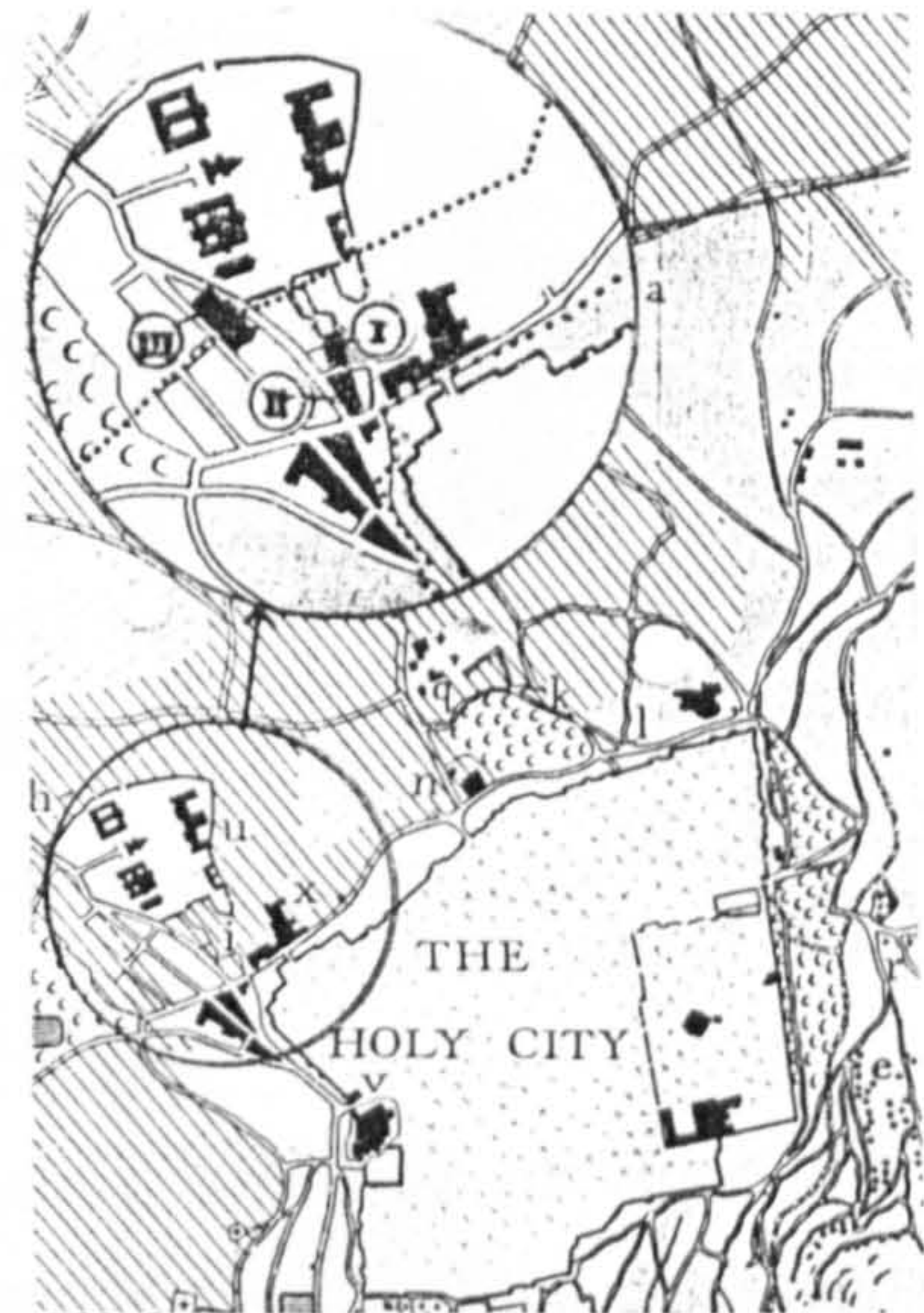




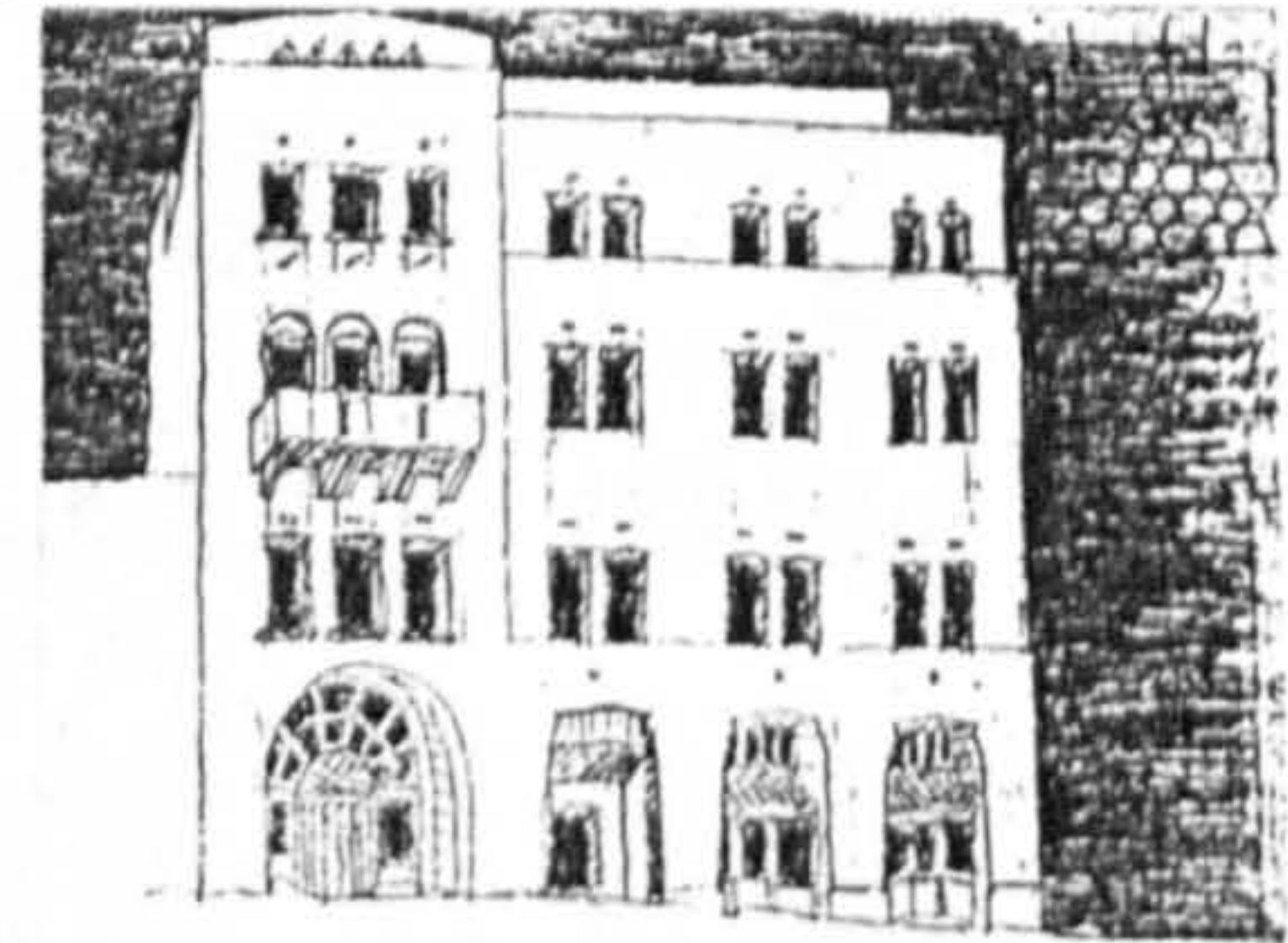
III.1 The Urban-Setting around the north-west corner of the Old City.



III.2 An aereal view showing the three buildings in relation to the Old City.



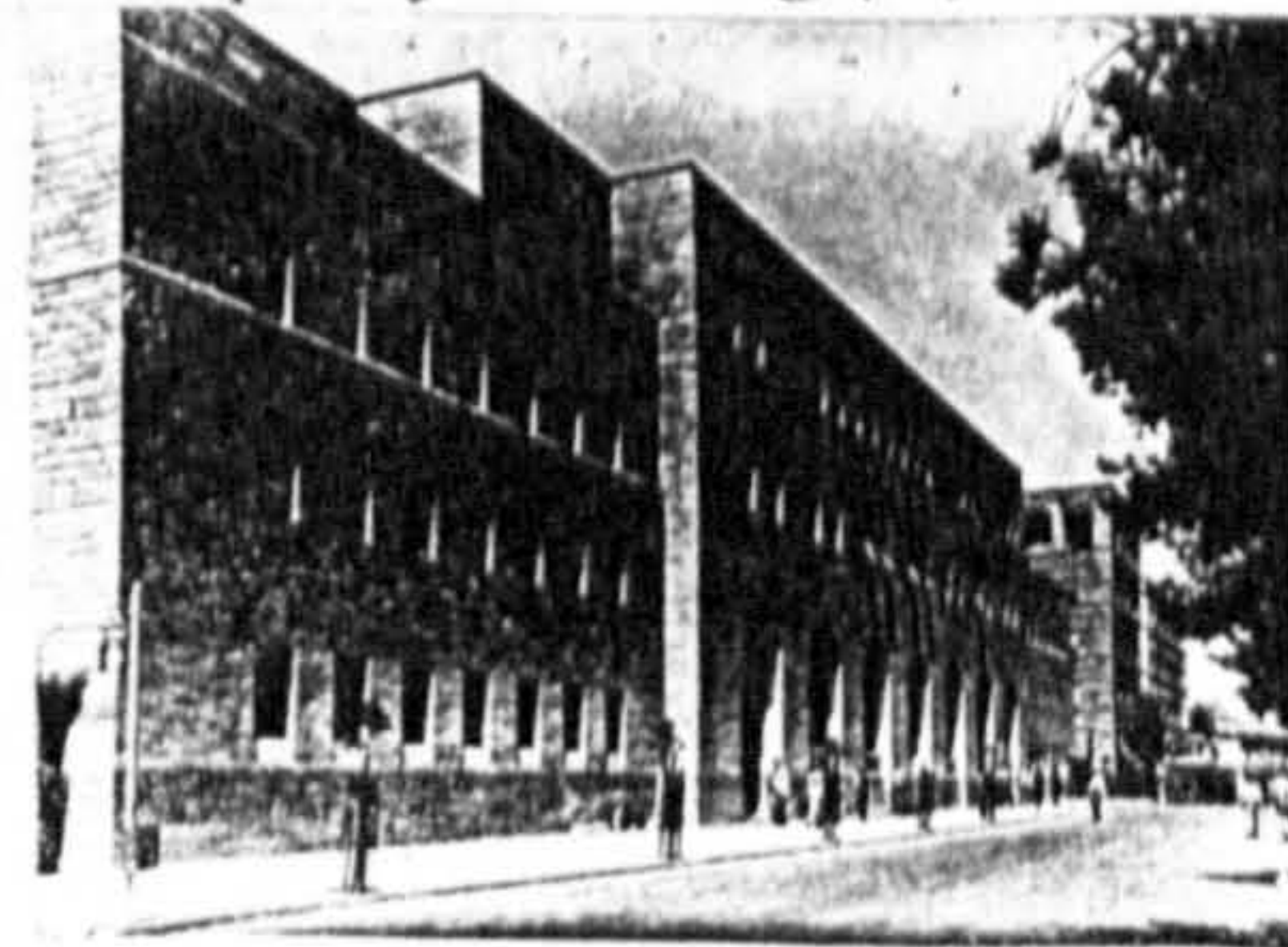
III.3 The Urban setting as part of Ashbee's Town Plan.



III.4 The Bible Society Building (I).



III.5 Barclays Bank & Jerusalem Municipality Building (II).



III.6 Central Post Office (III).



## **PLATE 25**

### 9.5.3.1. Layout and Configuration of Mass

In spite of being proper urban blocks, adjacent to other buildings, minor fragmentation of the mass can still be noticed. The masses over the roofs are articulated as separate cubes. On the exterior envelope facing the street, the facades are subdivided vertically, and certain portions of them are projected.

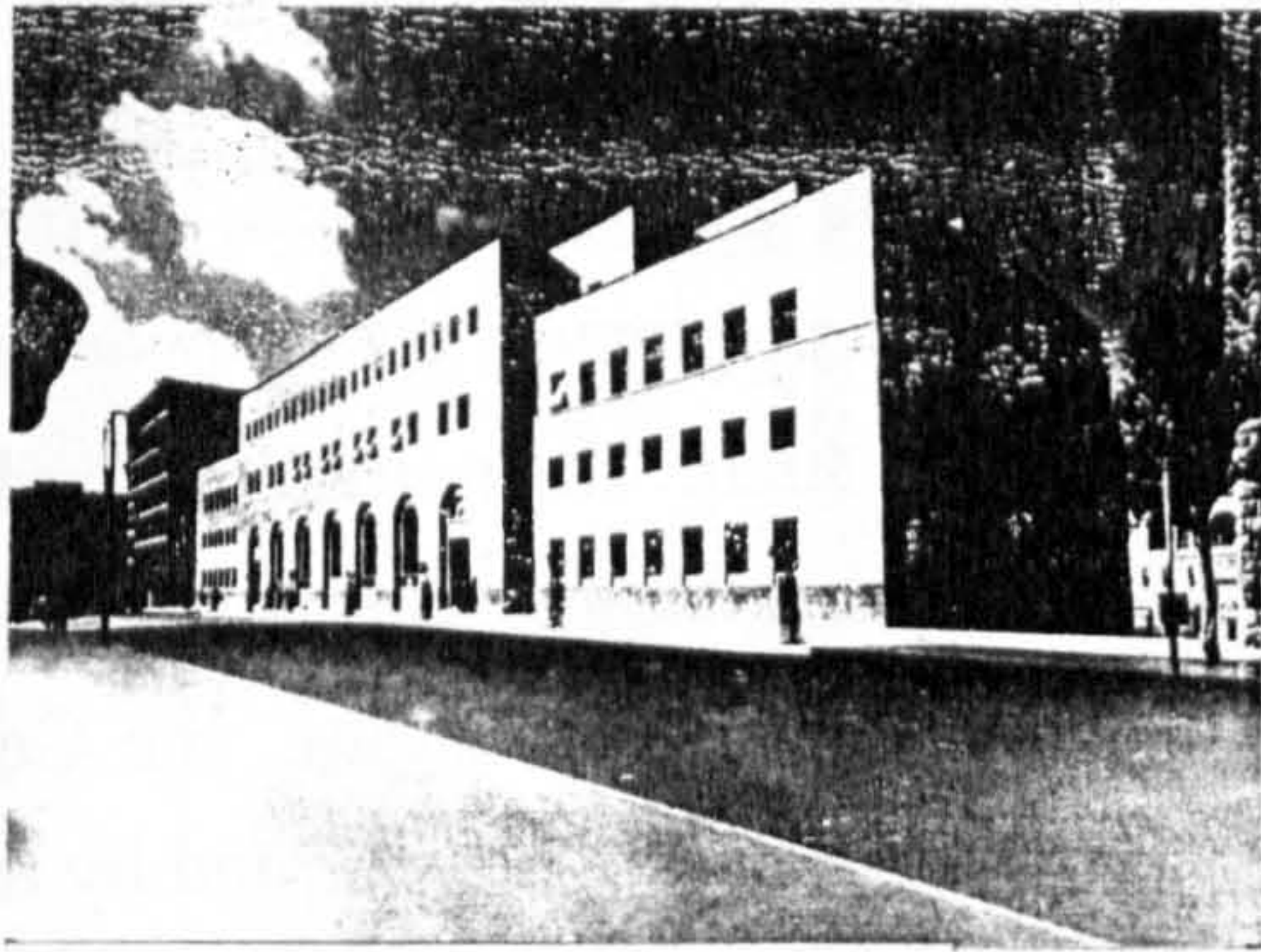
## **PLATE 26**

### 9.5.3.2. Dominant Forms

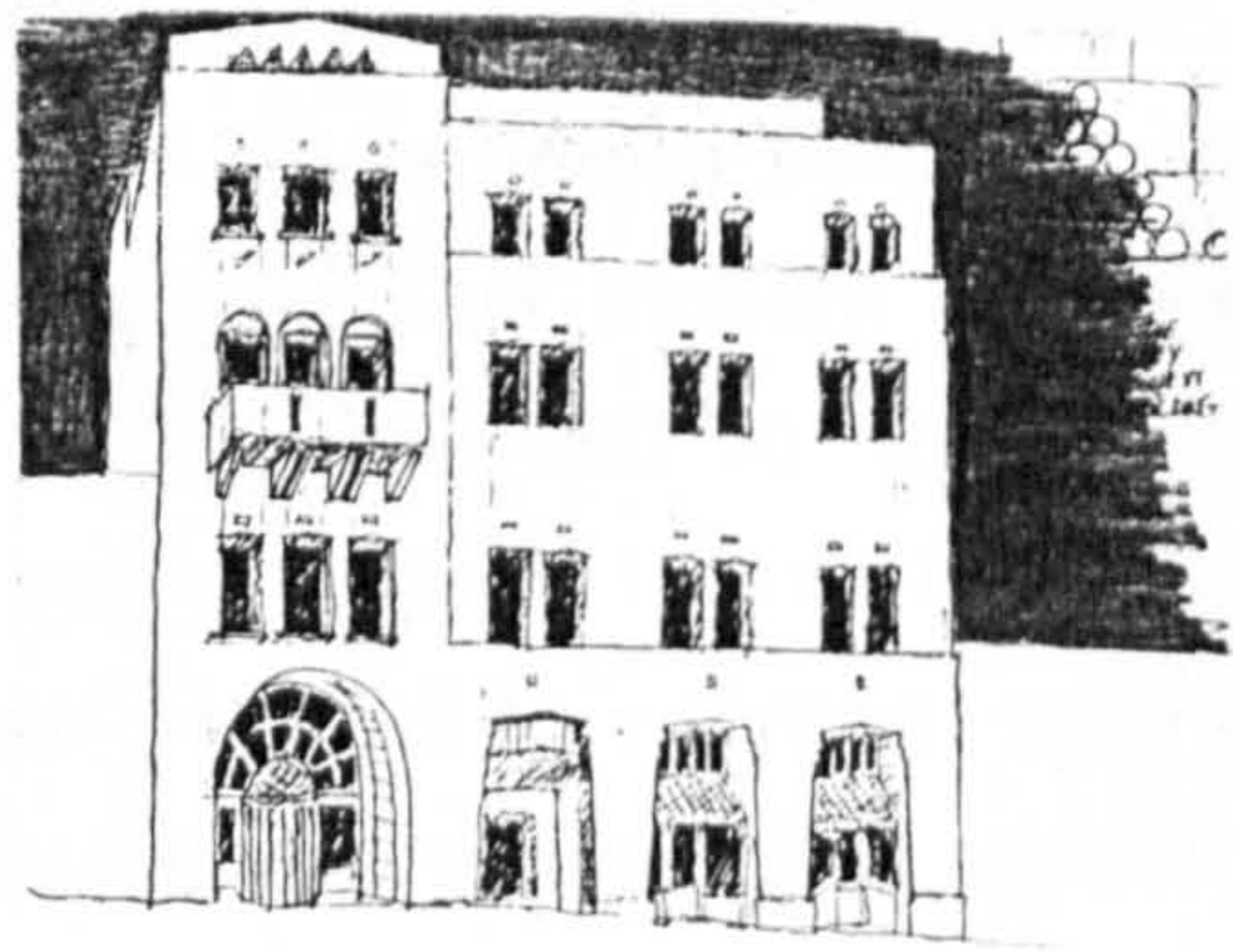
Although not as volumetric as in the Semi-Urban buildings, the dominant form is still a vertical mass with an arched opening, or several openings at the bottom (Ill. 1). But here it is read as a projected vertical plane.



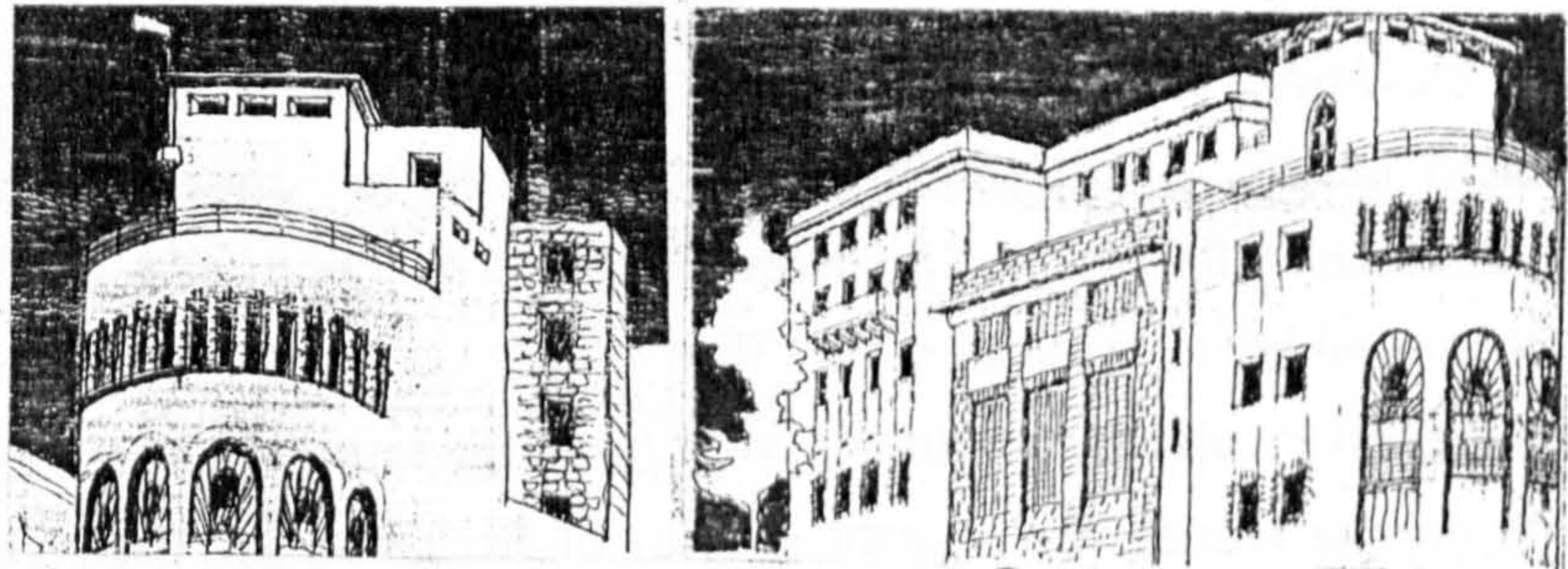
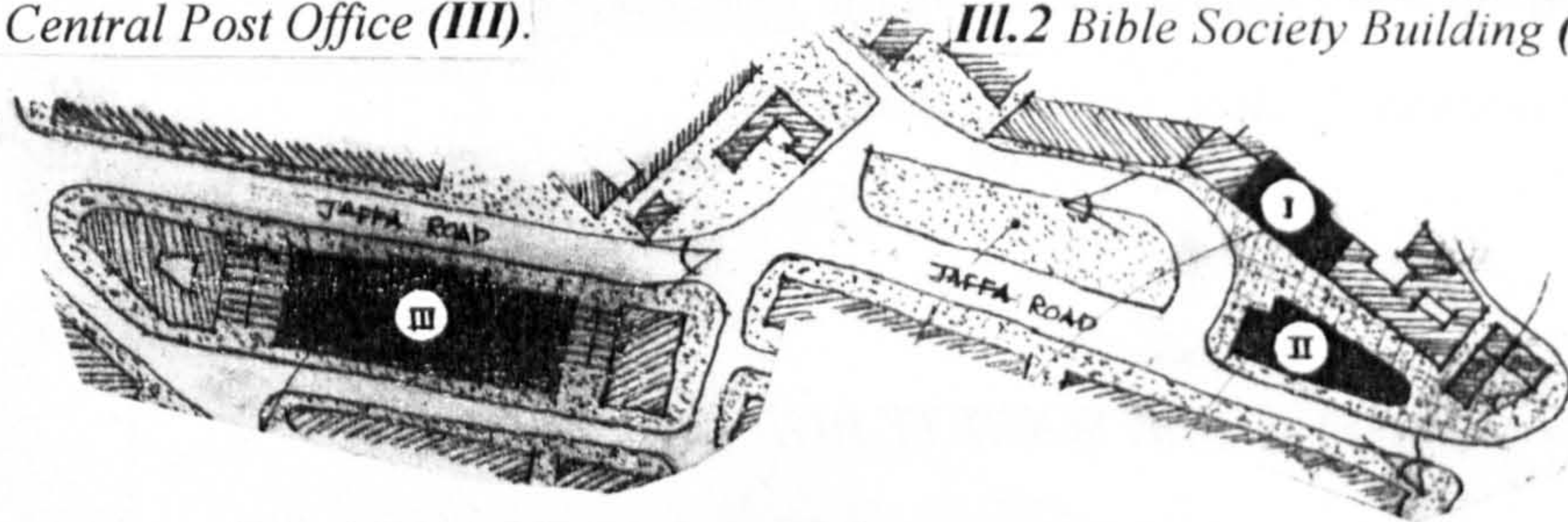
PLATE 25



III.1 Central Post Office (III).



III.2 Bible Society Building (I).

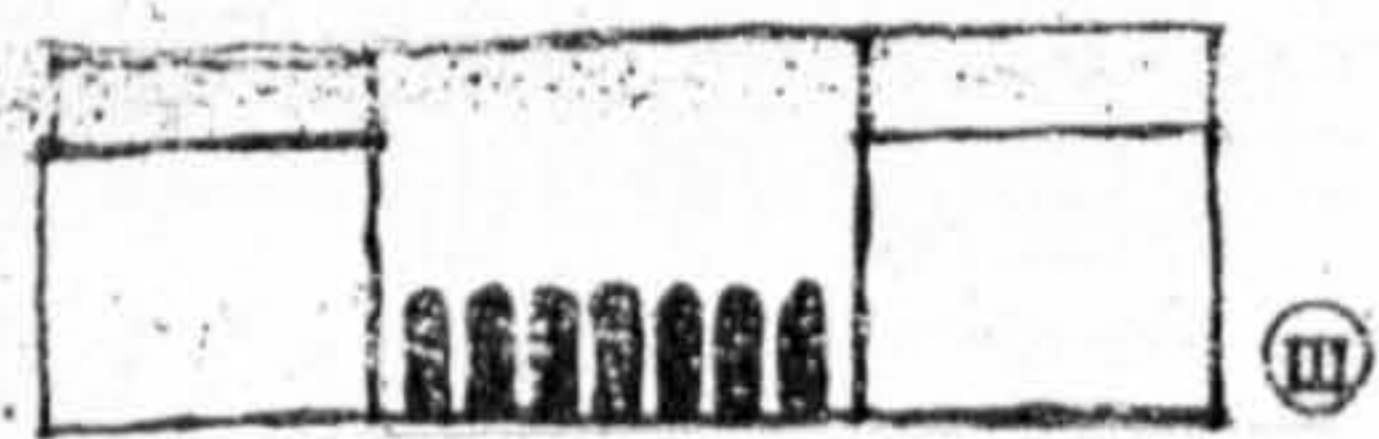


III.3 Barclays Bank and Jerusalem Municipality Building (II).

PLATE 26



III.2 General layout of the buildings.



III.1 Dominant built forms.



### 9.5.3.3. Critical Elements

The representational elements of the three buildings of the Urban Setting which were selected to be examined herein are to be found only on the front elevations, facing the street. Intended as Modern buildings, their representational elements are even more schematic than those of the 'Semi-Urban' buildings. As such, their role of Indirect Representation is in doubt. That is to say that they became almost ordinary Western buildings with few reminders of locality. With the exception of one building, the Central Post Office, where a different interpretation was introduced, locality is represented by minor gestures of applying few local reminders on the front elevations.

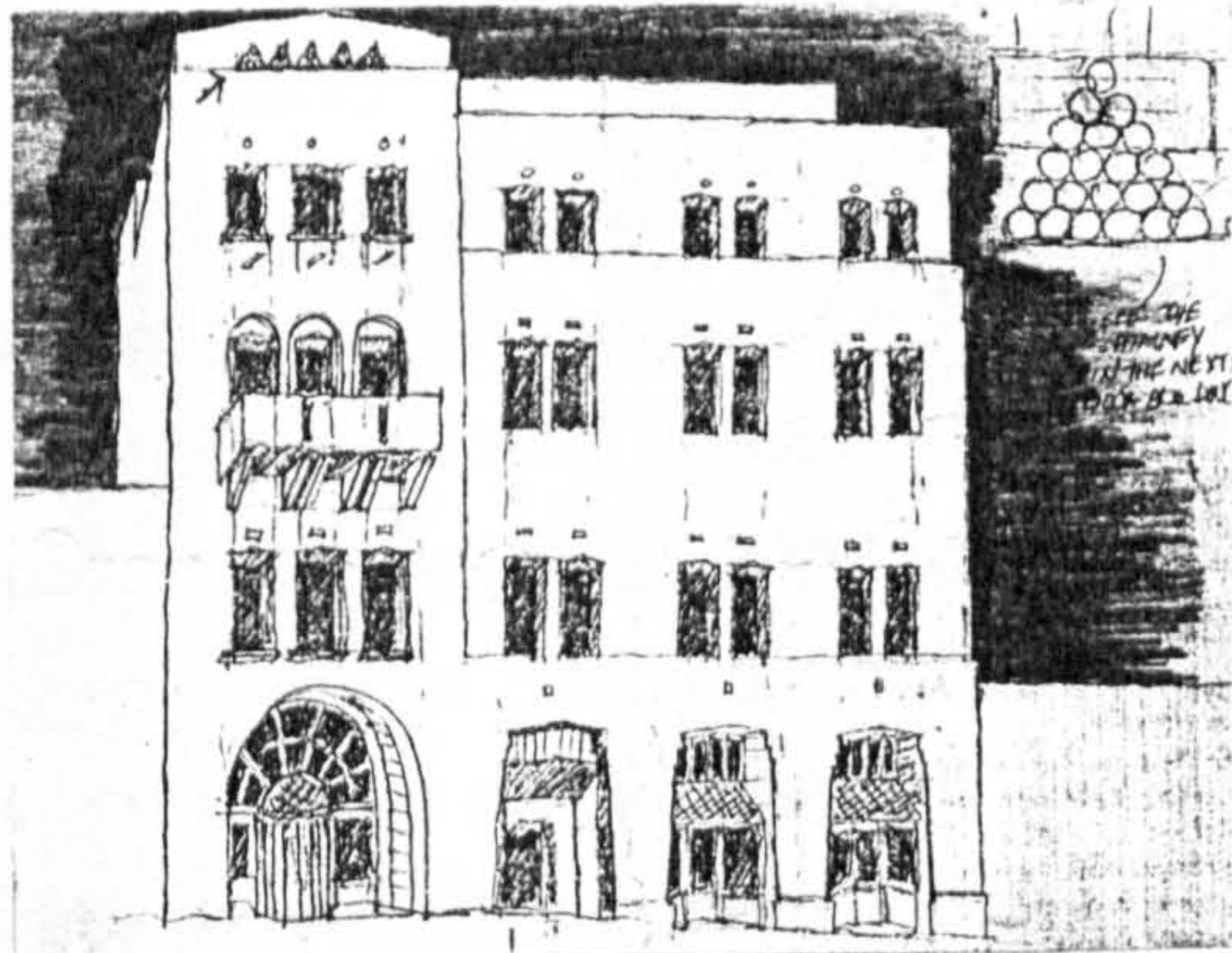
## **PLATE 27**

### *BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY BUILDING*

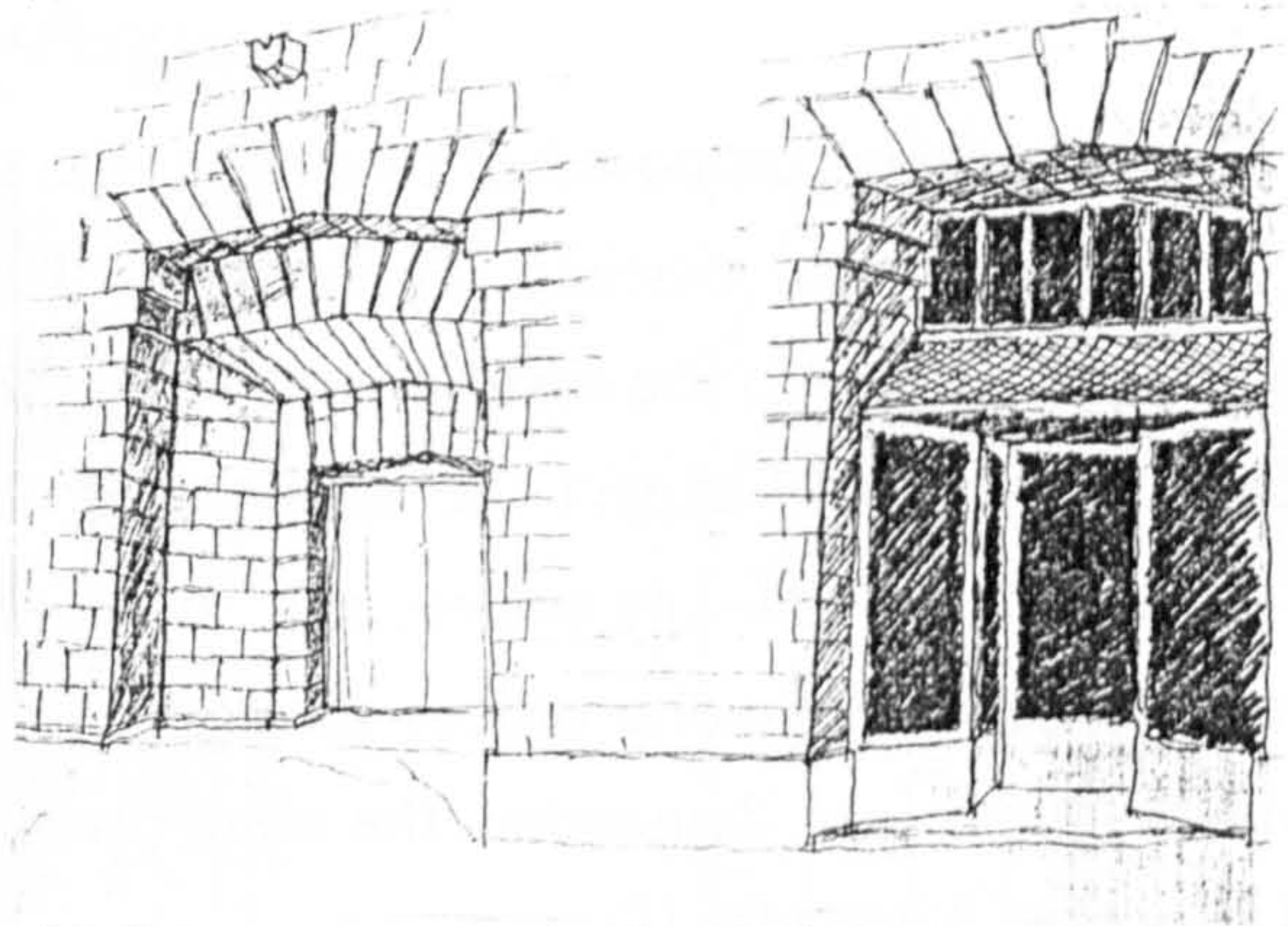
The front elevation, which faces a public garden, consists of local reminders, combined with Art Deco motifs. Local reminders are confined to the arch form and to a few decorative elements (Ills. 1,3). The main entrance is decorated on its underside with Armenian decorated blue glazed tiles (Ill. 3B).

The rotating door, placed within the arch, with its semidome of wooden structure and covered with copper leaves, is a stylistic display of Art Deco (Ill. 3A). The other three shop windows have similar stylistic expressions (Ill. 2). The Islamic pattern of the *Kizan* articulates the top of the building (Ill. 3C).

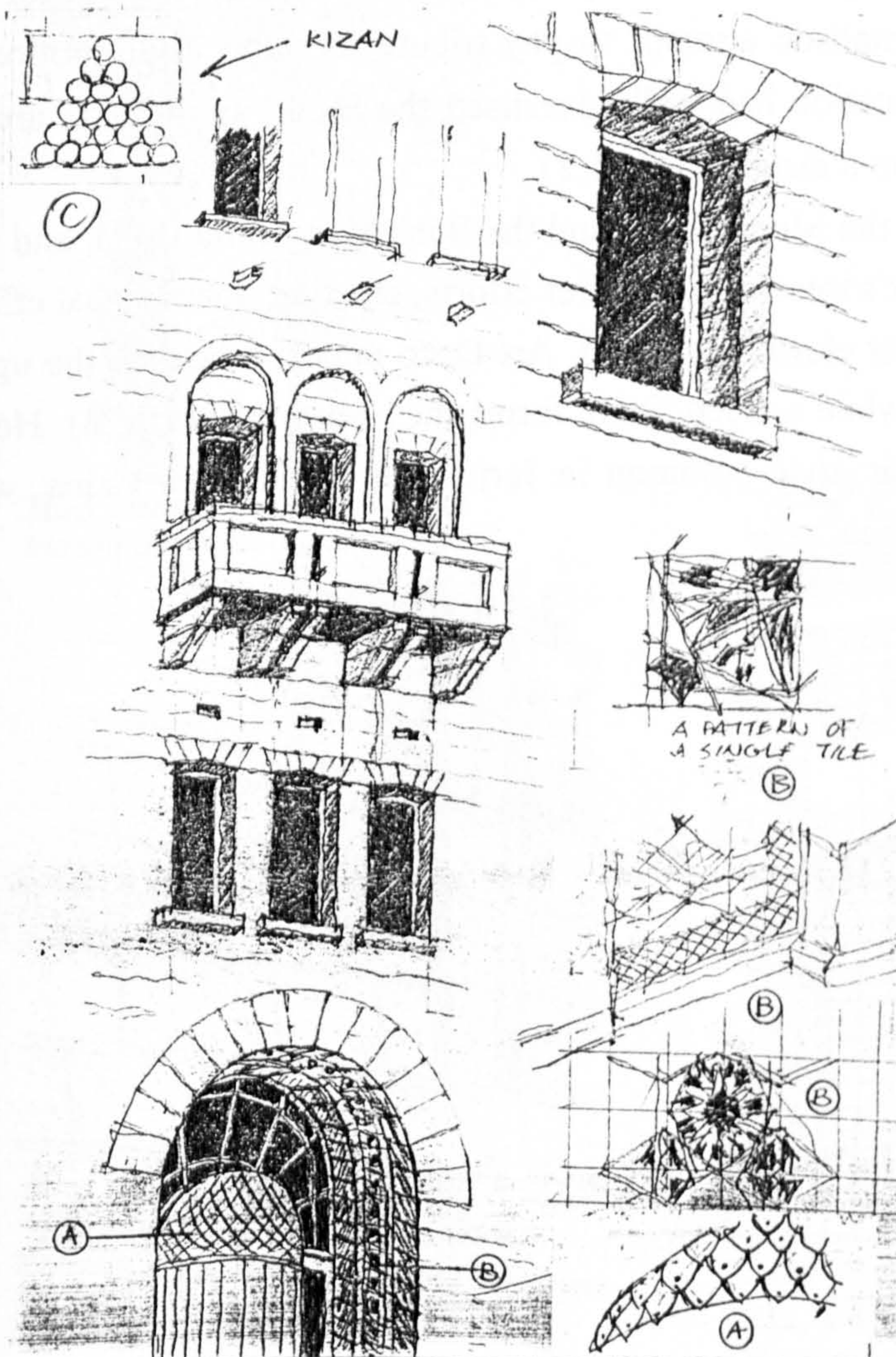




III.1 Front elevation facing the public garden.



III.2 Openings on the front elevation.



III.3 Critical details on the front elevation.



## PLATE 28

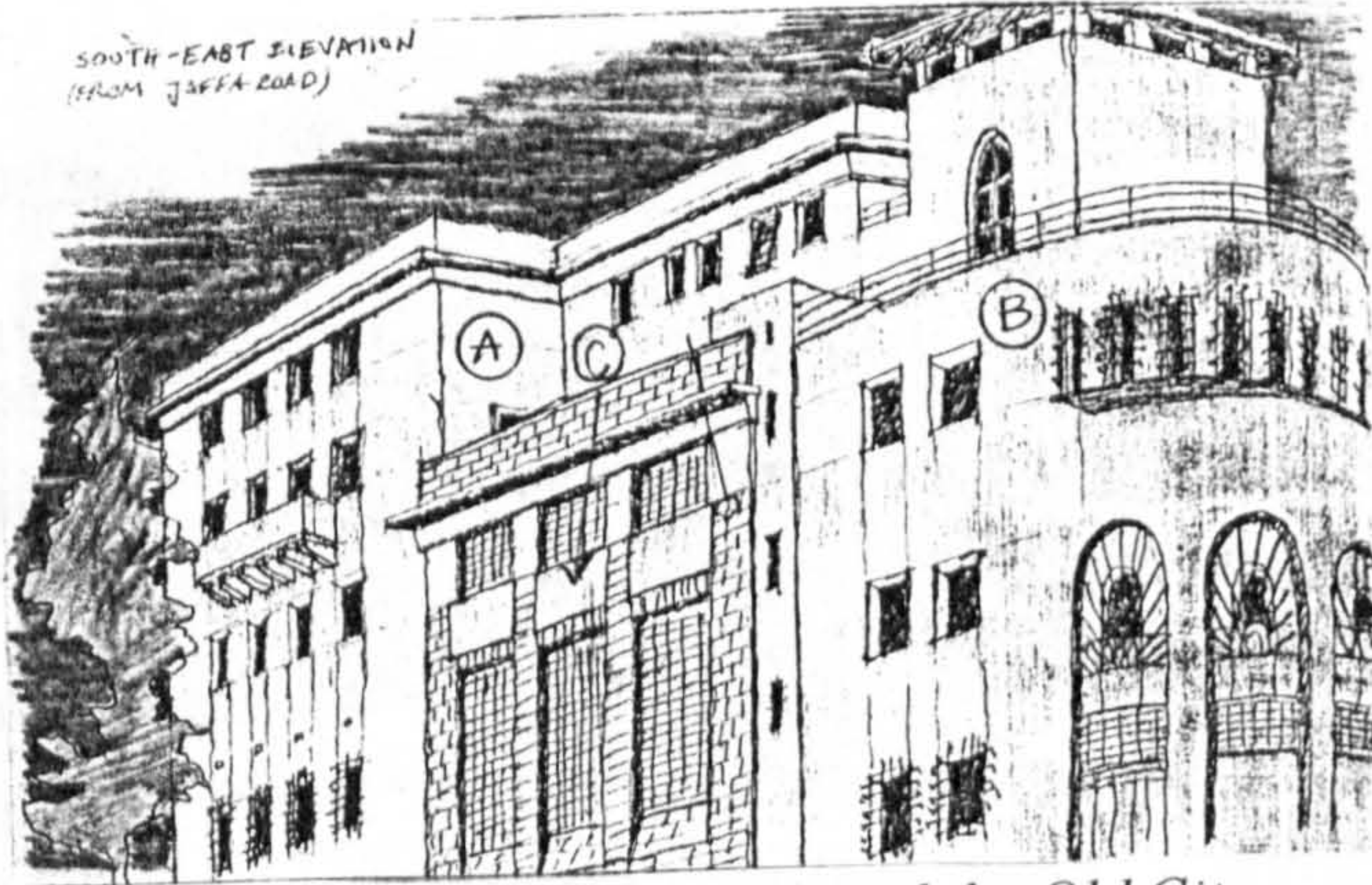
### BARCLAYS BANK AND THE JERUSALEM MUNICIPALITY BUILDING

The building is composed of two parts; the western part facing the public garden and the neighbouring Bible Society Building, which housed the offices of the Jerusalem Municipality (Ill. 1A); the eastern part, facing the Old City, became Barclays Bank (Ill. 1B). Although one would expect the opposite, it should be comprehended as an expression of the Government's low-key policy, and as a gesture to the public, by providing easier access to the Municipality offices through the garden. The Bank, on the other hand, which financed the project, demanded the more prestigious section of the building which faces the Old City (see Appendix II).

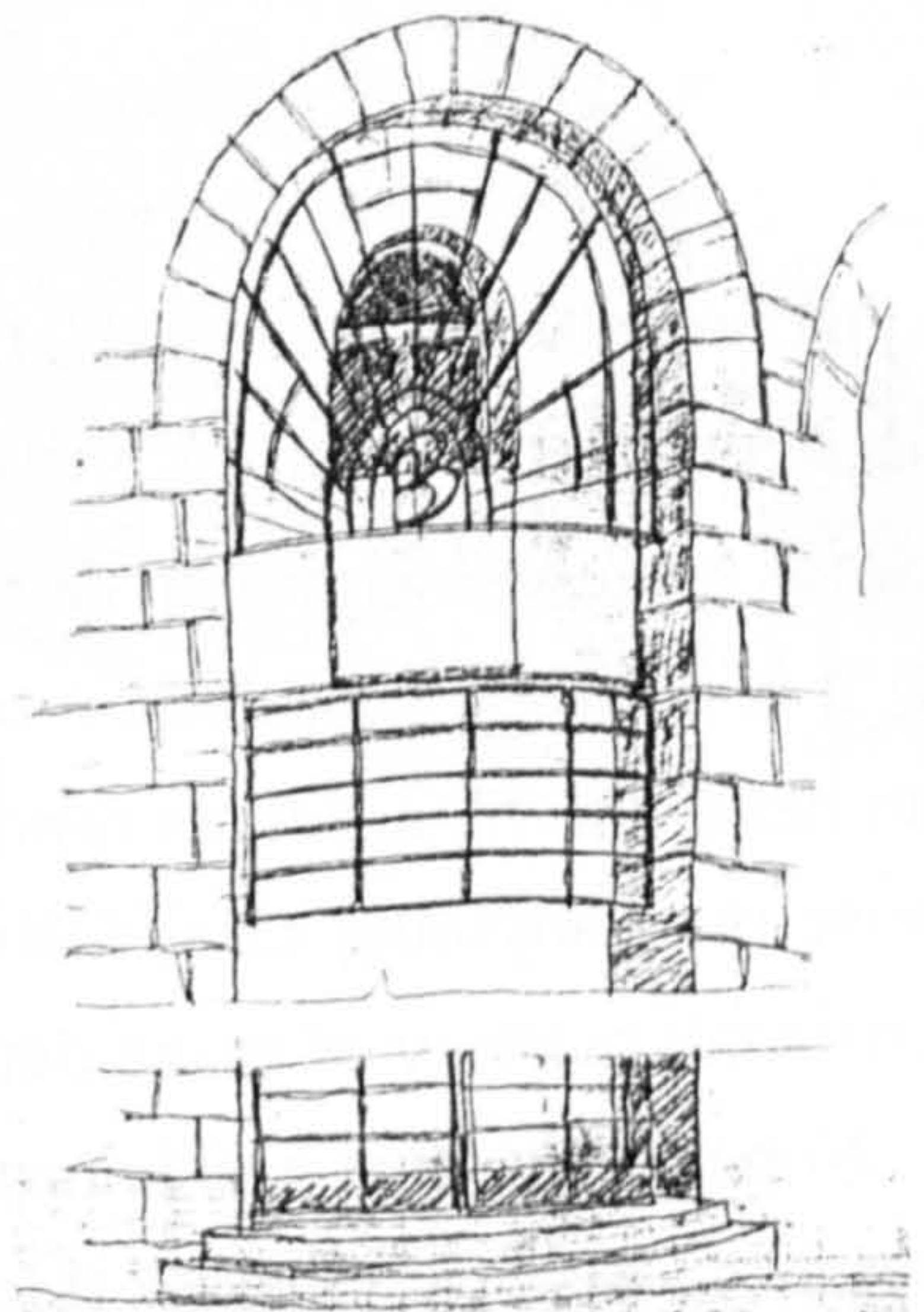
This double function is well expressed in the two fundamentally different facades side by side along Jaffa Road. Whereas the articulation of the western part responds to the neighbouring Bible Society Building, the eastern part which follows the curve of the crossroads is a schematic and simplistic attempt to pay tribute to some vague notion of historicism. Yet this bold manifestation had well advertised the Bank, as the high arched openings are well recognisable from a distance (Ills 1,2).

A middle section (Ill. 1C) links the Municipality and the Bank along Jaffa Road and was probably meant to denote the Bank's treasuries. Greater efforts, creating richer visual effects, were invested here than in the other elevations (Ill.5). Art Deco details articulate the upper parts of the tall openings (Ill. 3), while a steep *Splay* forms their bottom sill (Ill. 4). Heavy iron bars, following the vernacular style common in Jerusalem and also in Cairo, were installed in the openings' stone frames.

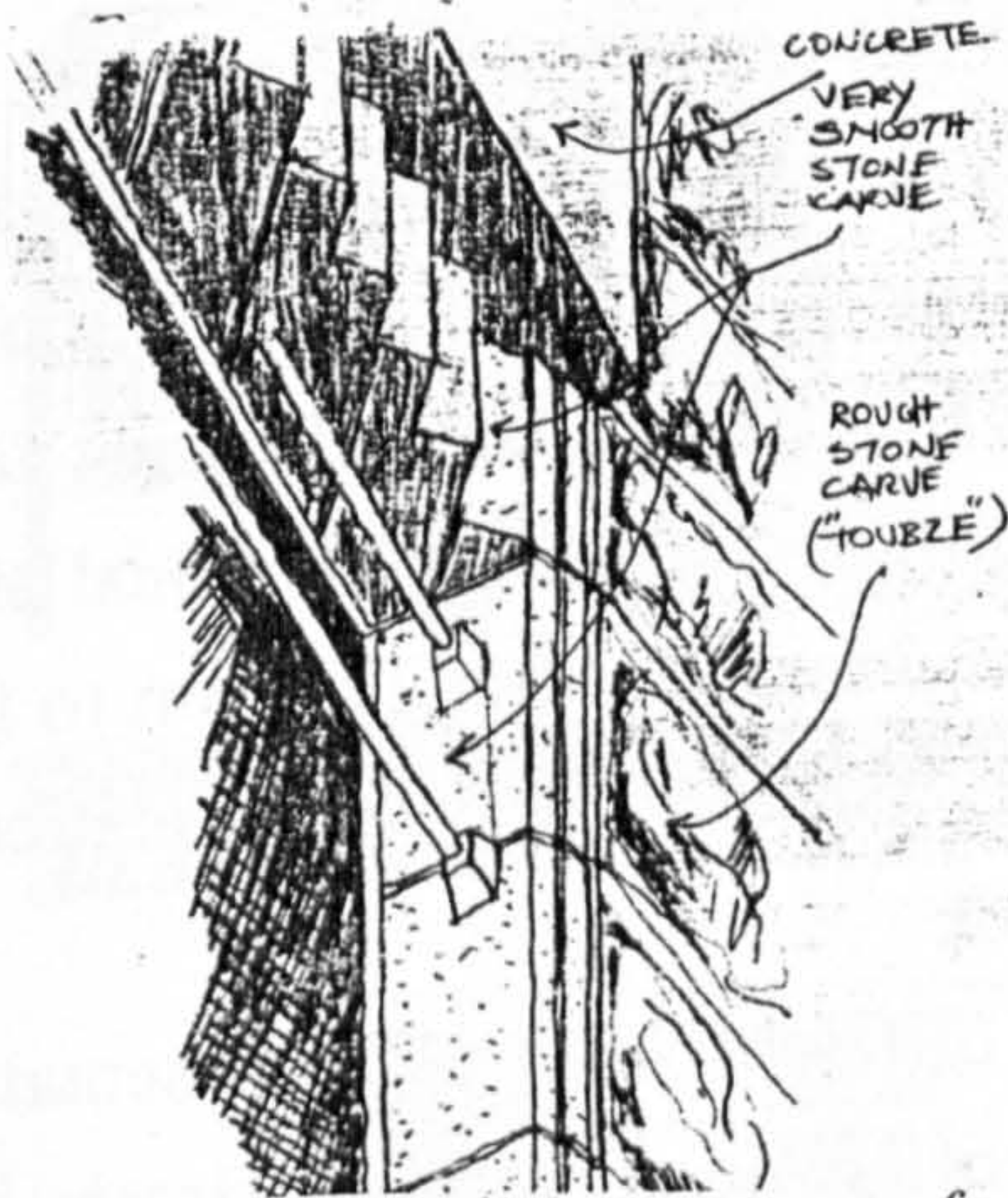




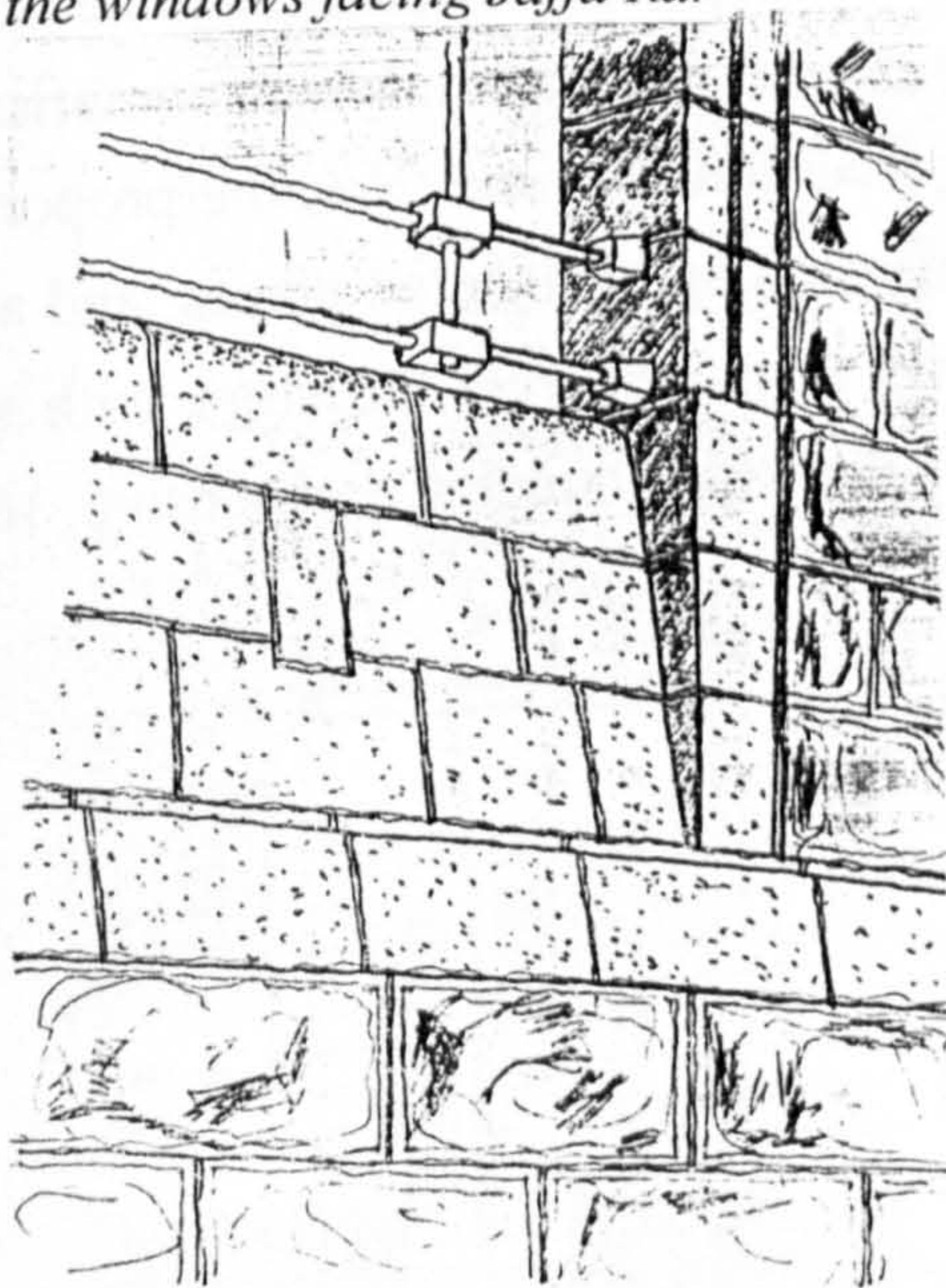
III.1 Elevation facing Jaffa Rd. and the Old City.



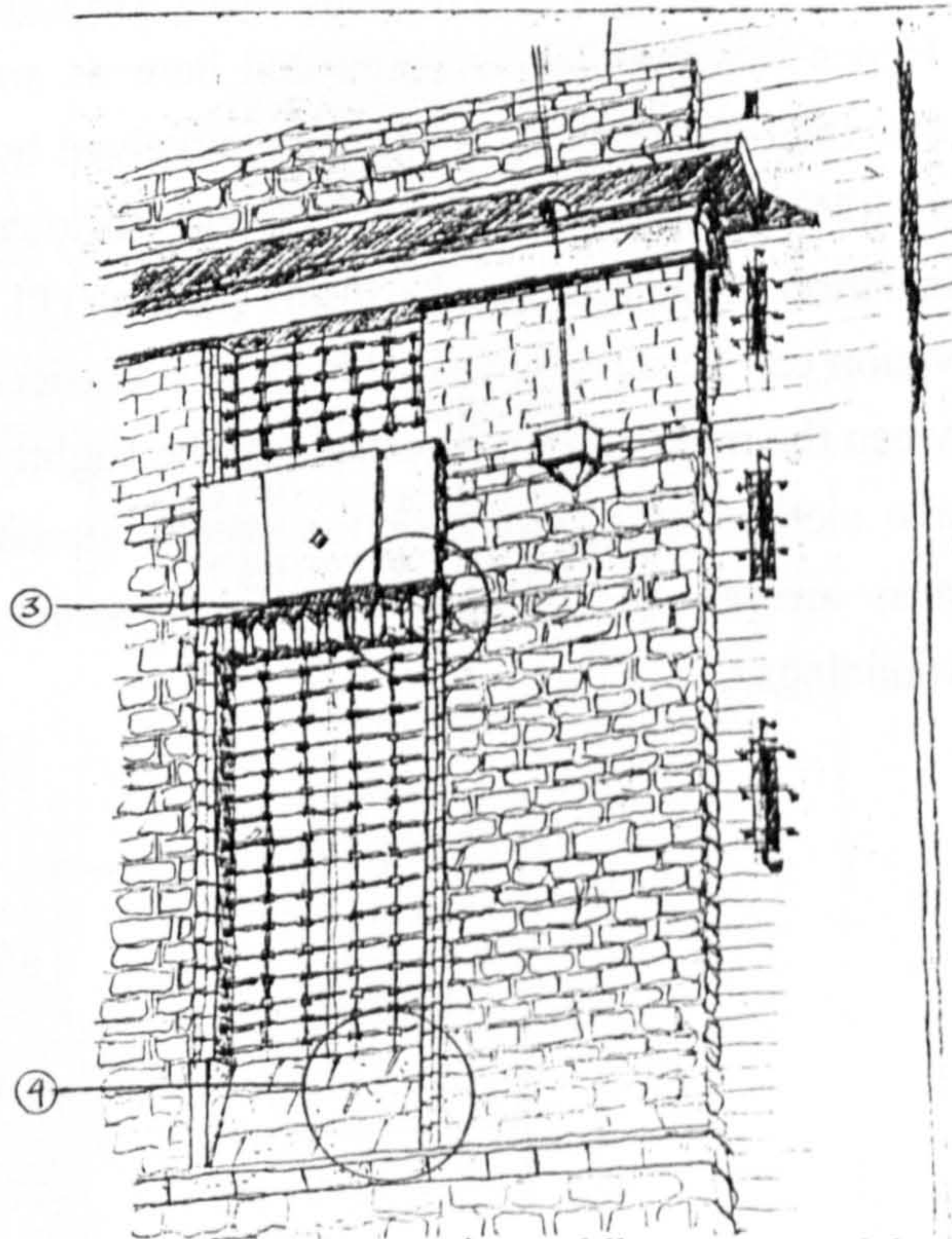
III.2 An opening of the Bank.



III.3 Detail of the top part of the windows facing Jaffa Rd.



III.4 Detail of the bottom part of the windows facing Jaffa Rd.



III.5 A window in the middle segment of the building facing Jaffa Rd.



## PLATE 29

### *CENTRAL POST OFFICE*

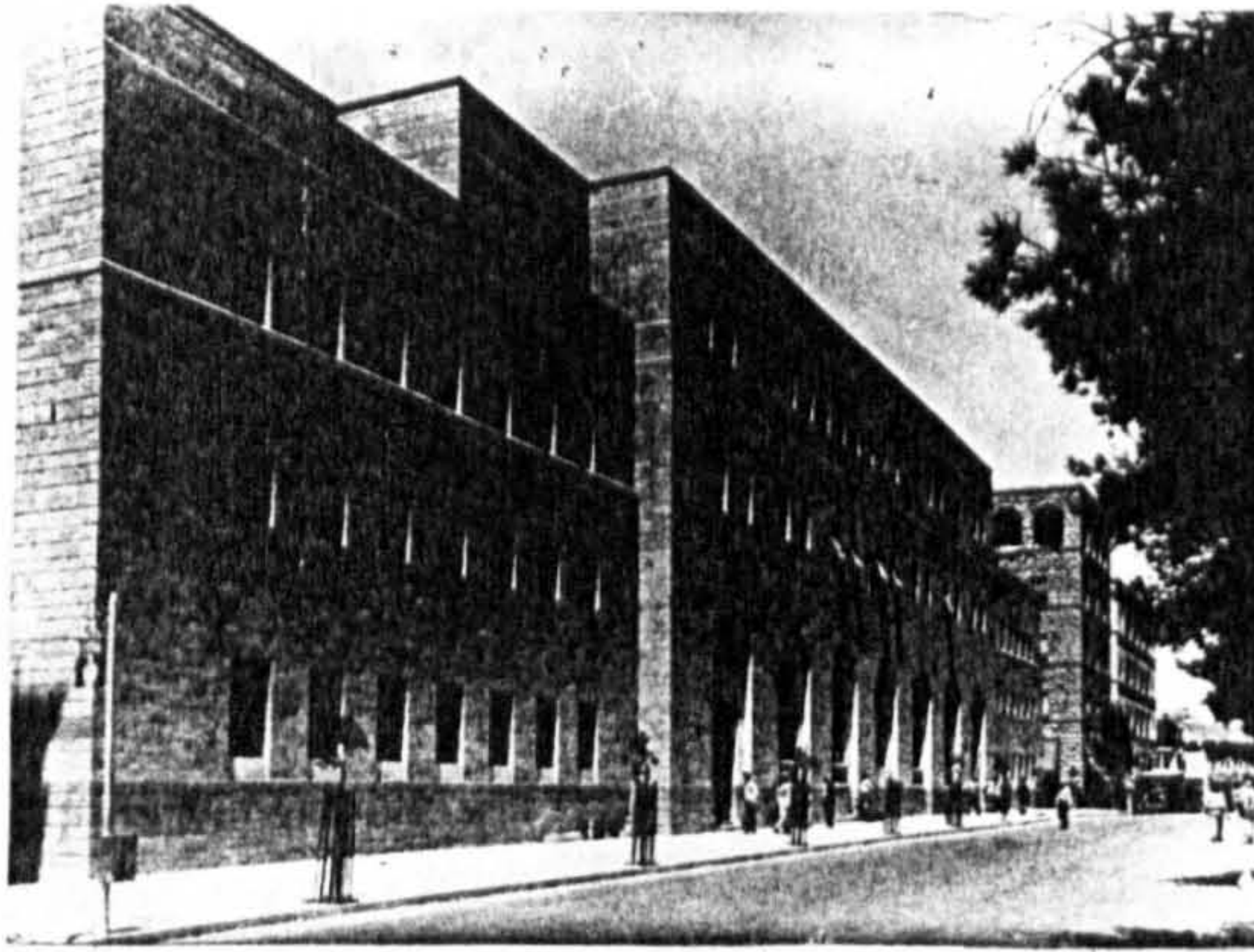
The building occupies a plot between two streets with a level difference of two stories (Ills. 1,2). The front elevation faces the upper street - Jaffa Road, and consists of the main public entrance which leads to the large hall of the Post Office (Ill. 3). The rear elevation faces the lower street - Koresh Street, and leads to the operational departments. The upper stories accommodated the central management of the Royal Mail in Palestine.

It is a rather Modernistic building, of which the arched openings on the front elevation can hardly be regarded as representational elements of any sort, whether Direct or Indirect. More than anything else, their articulation - a recessed arch within a larger one, shows Harrison's mastery of stone details (Ill. 4).

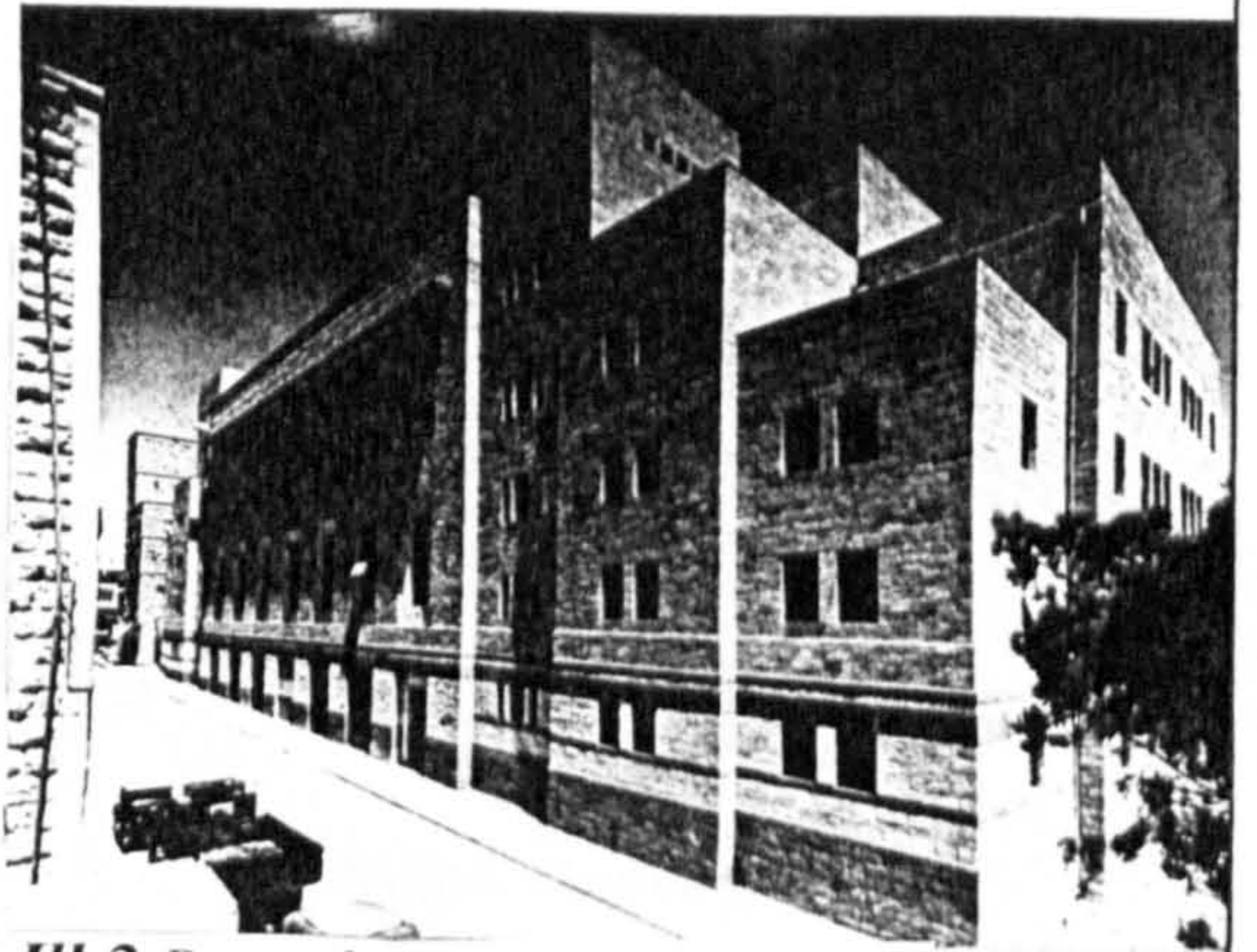
Nonetheless, that highly professional qualification must not be regarded as marginal. It is suggested here to consider this capability of Harrison as a serious modern interpretation of traditional architecture. Meaning, that rather than following the external configuration of shapes or objects to be manipulated aesthetically, or to transplant whole elements taken from their original contexts, it is possible instead to follow the logic of traditional stone masonry, to be implemented in new buildings as an efficient means of adapting them to their traditional surroundings. As shown above, Harrison had introduced a new interpretation to traditional masonry which in some cases was most inventive.

Hence this building is regarded here as an entirely different form of representation. Rather than representing locality as perceived by a Western architect, it demonstrates how new buildings could be built in response to locality. This matter is well exemplified in the articulation of the rear facade of this building (Ill. 5). None of the forms which comprise this elevation can be directly traced back to a particular traditional source. Yet, the proportions between the mass and its fenestration, the slightly recessed and projected planes, and above all the method of its construction which combines a ferro concrete structure with stone details, are all the critical ingredients which make that building responsive to its surroundings.

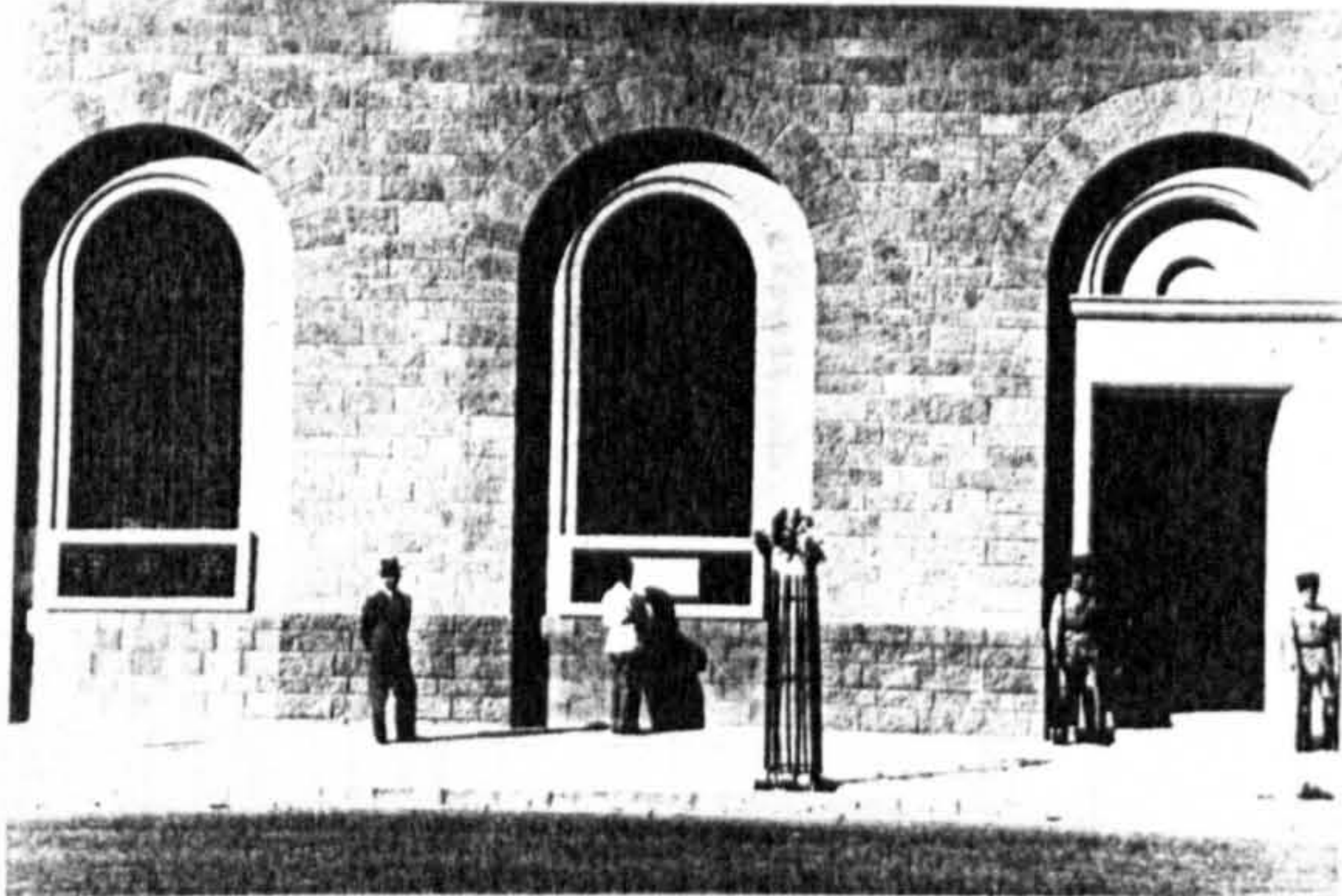




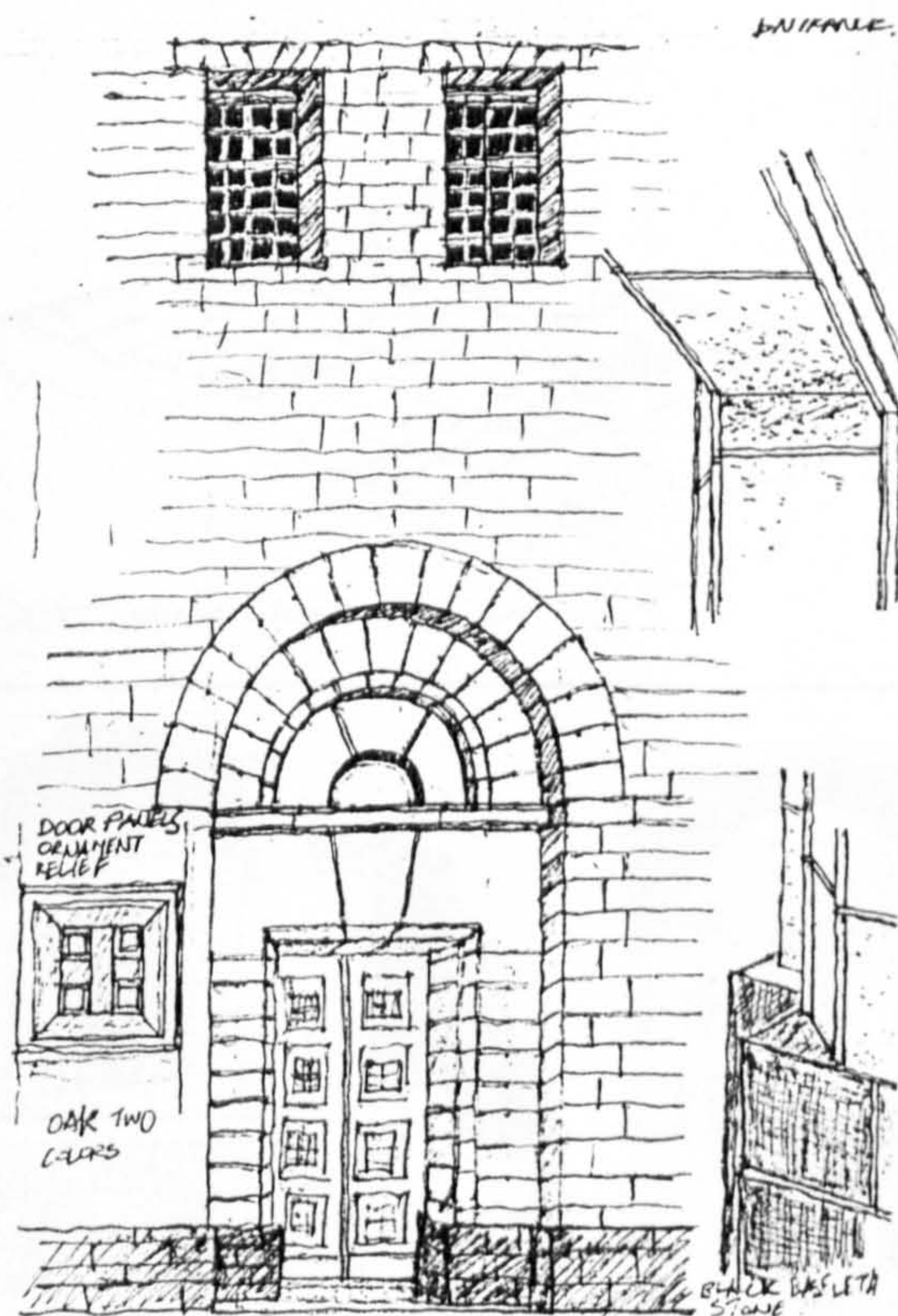
III.1 Front elevation of Jaffa Rd.



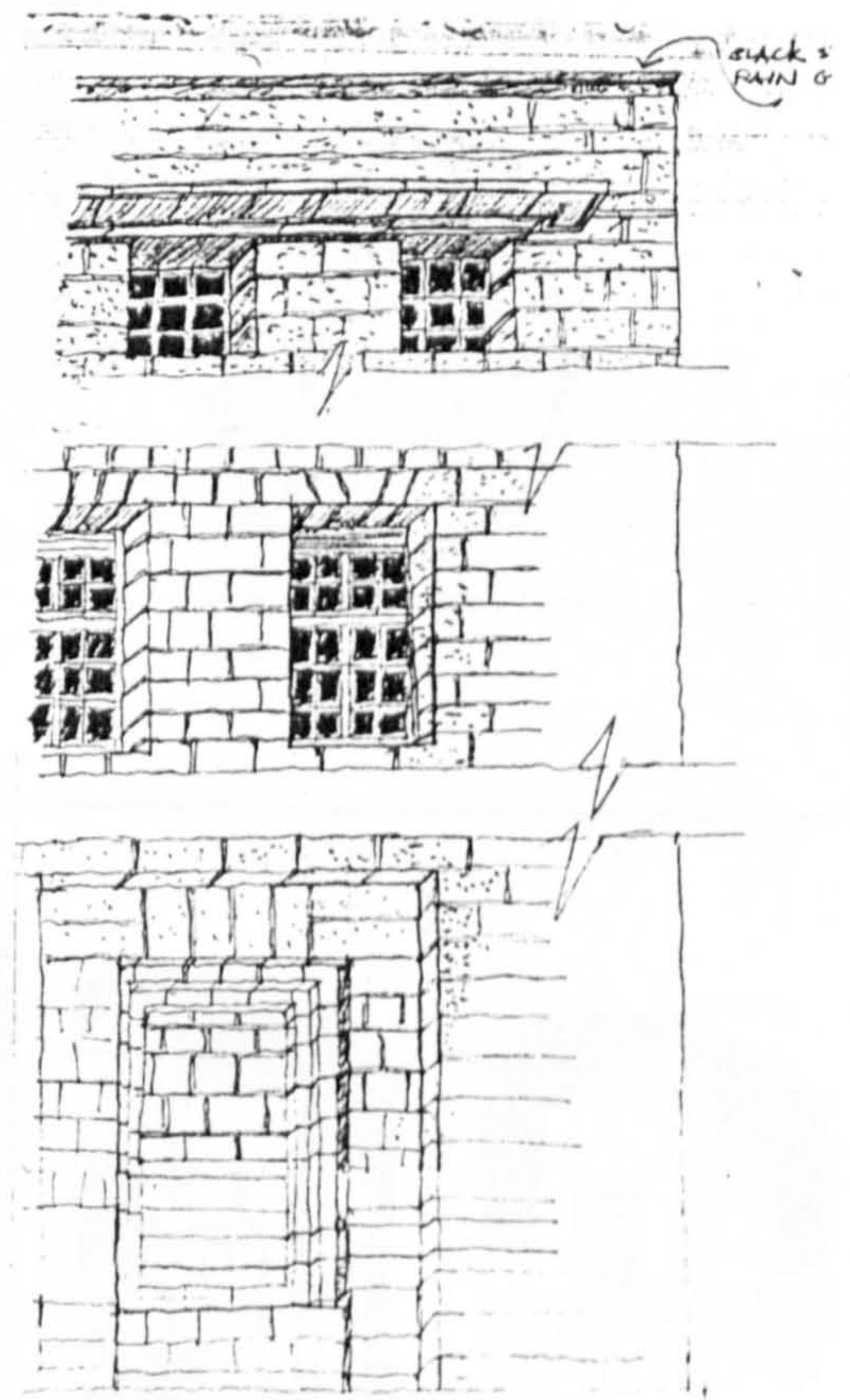
III.2 Rear elevation on Koresh St.



III.3 Main entrance on Jaffa Rd.



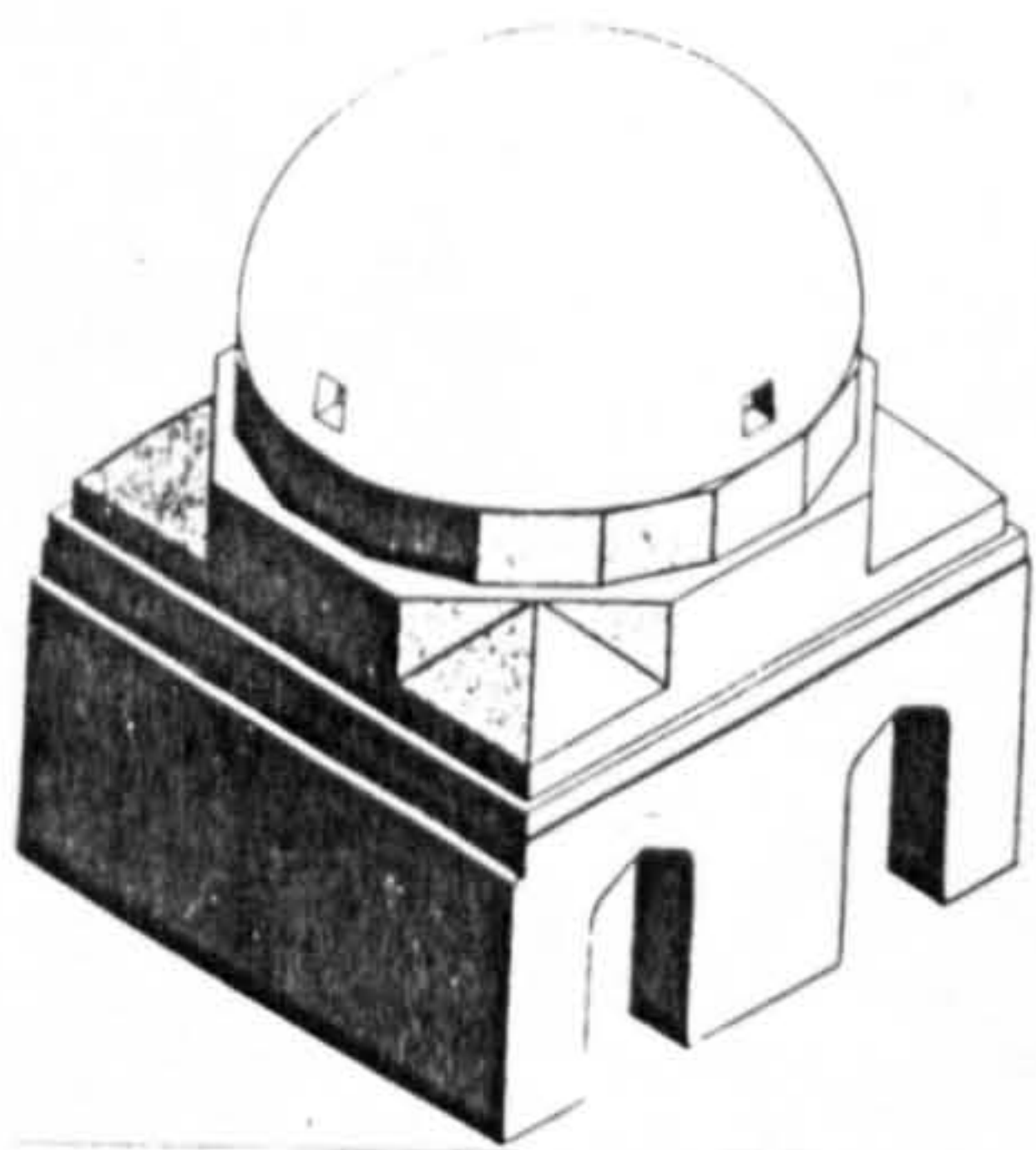
III.4. Details of main entrance.



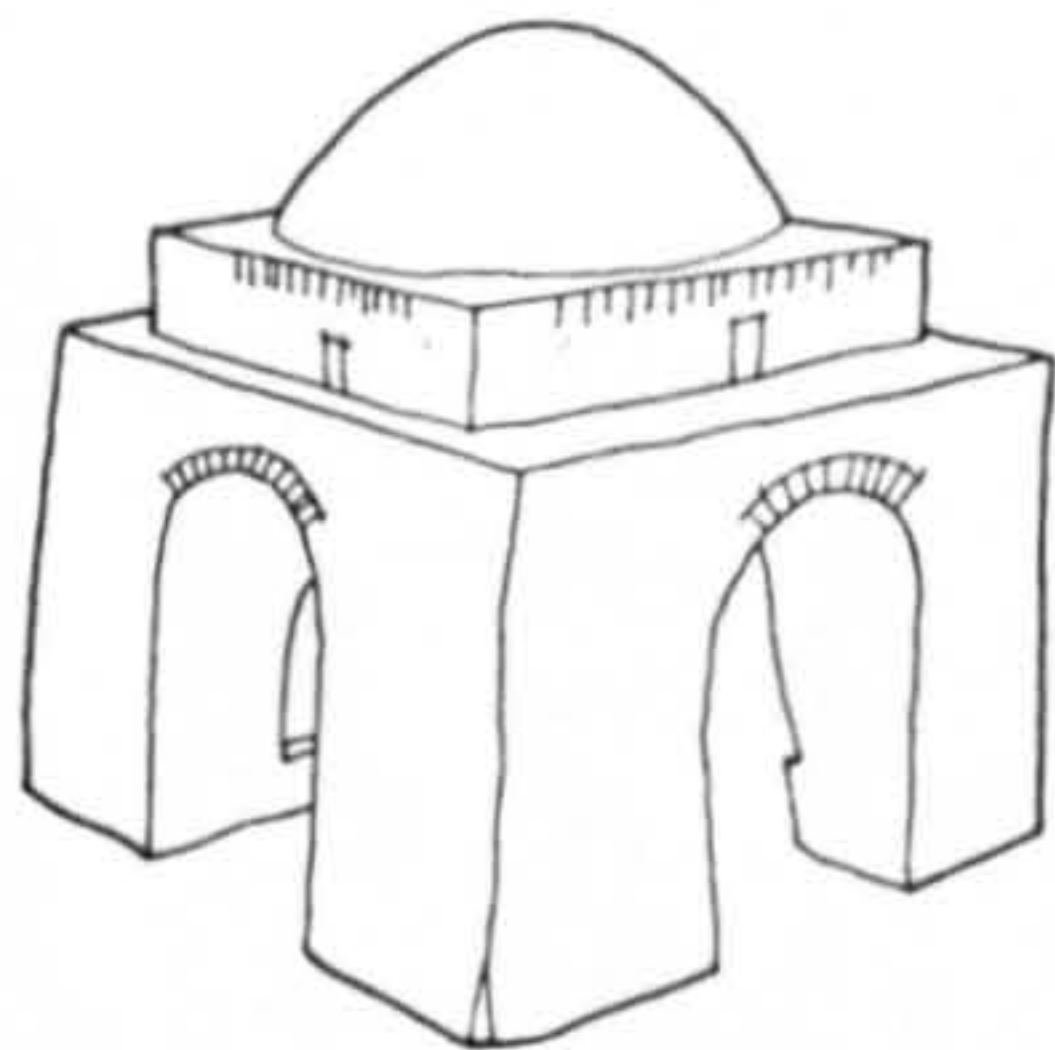
III.5 Details of the rear elevation.



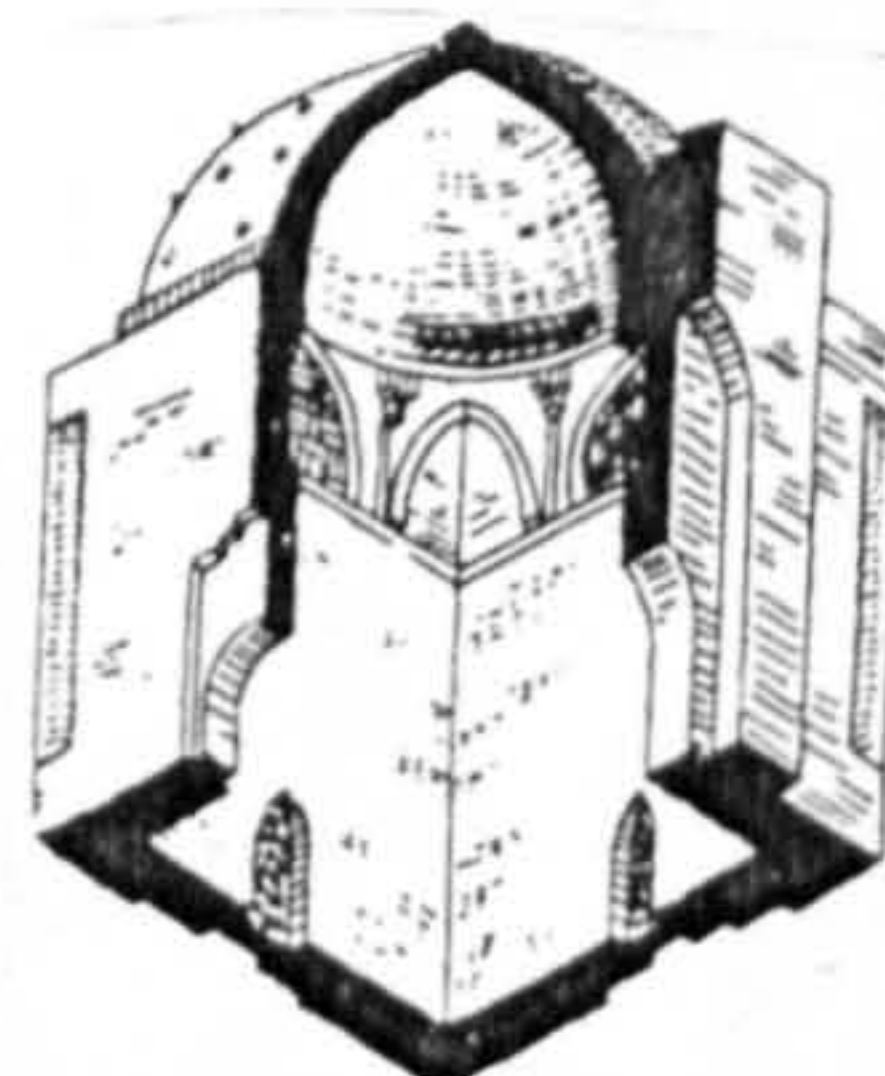
ISLAMIC REFERENCES: - DOMES & CUBES



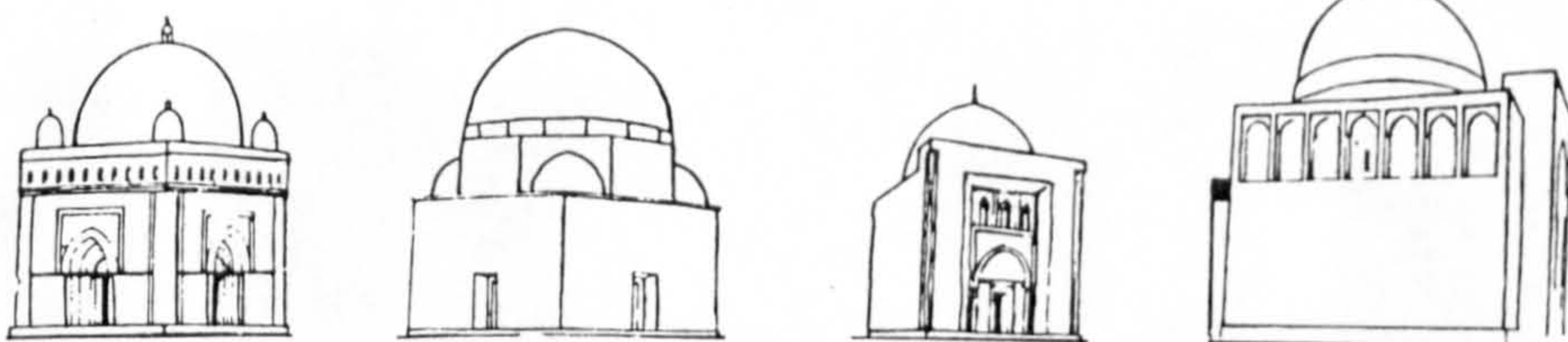
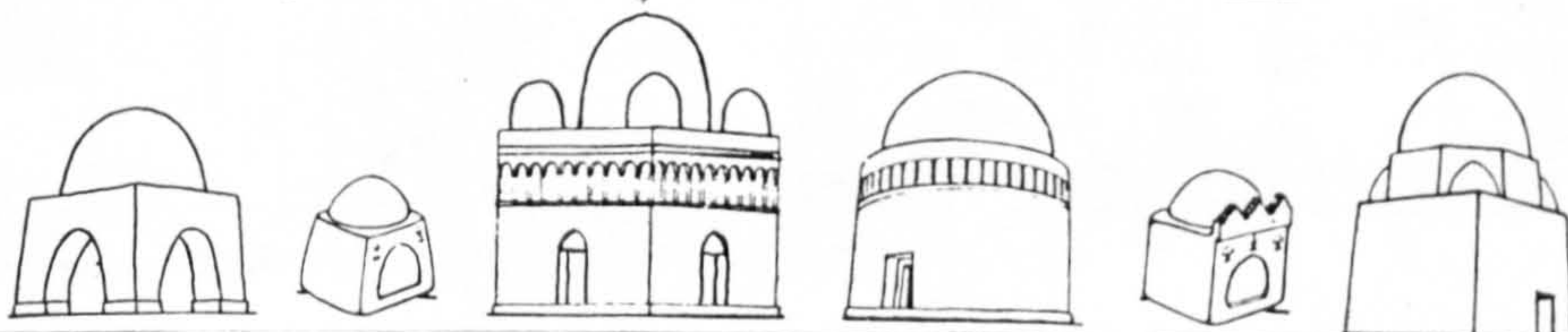
*Sujas, Friday Mosque.*



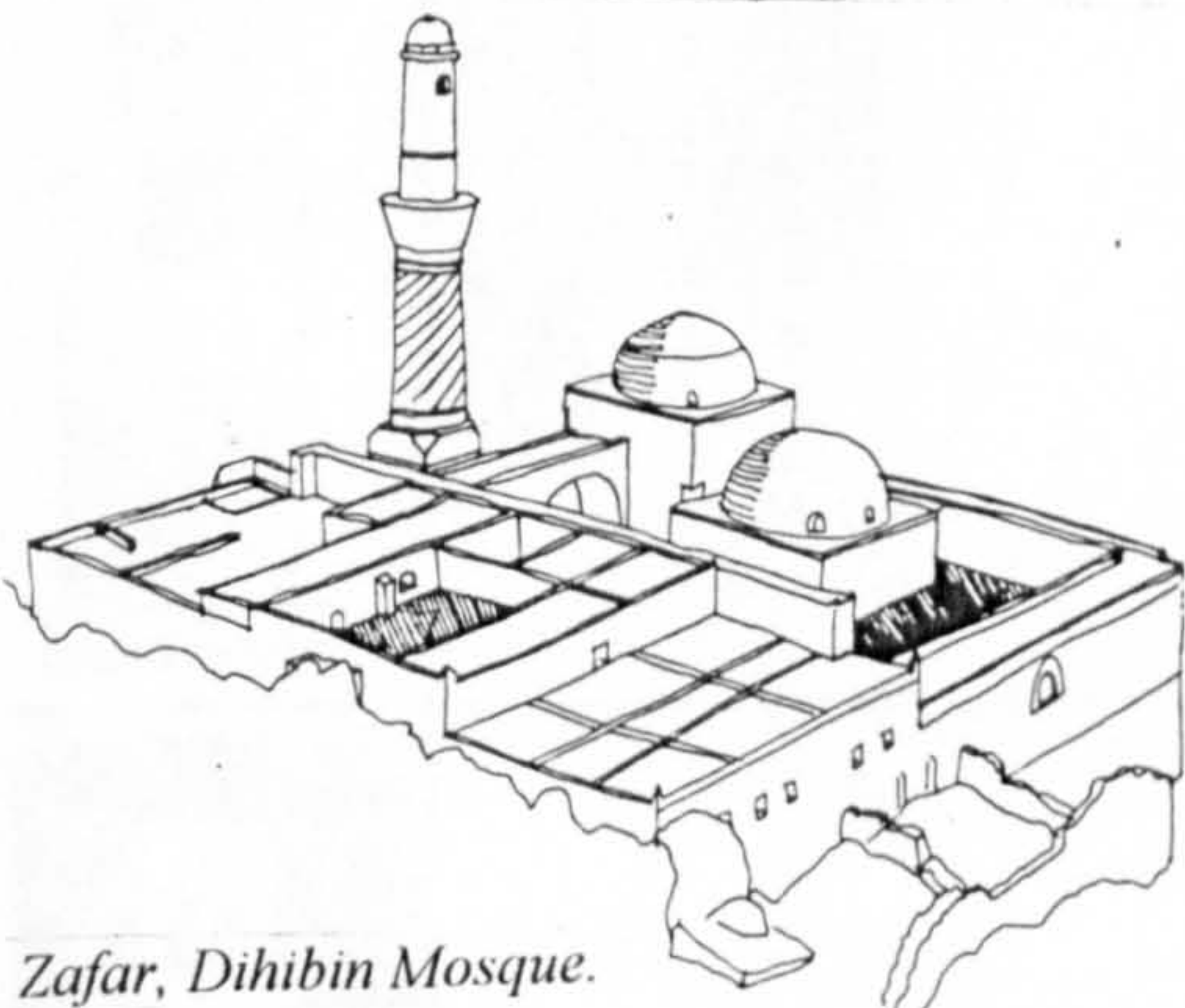
*Naisar, Fire Temple.*



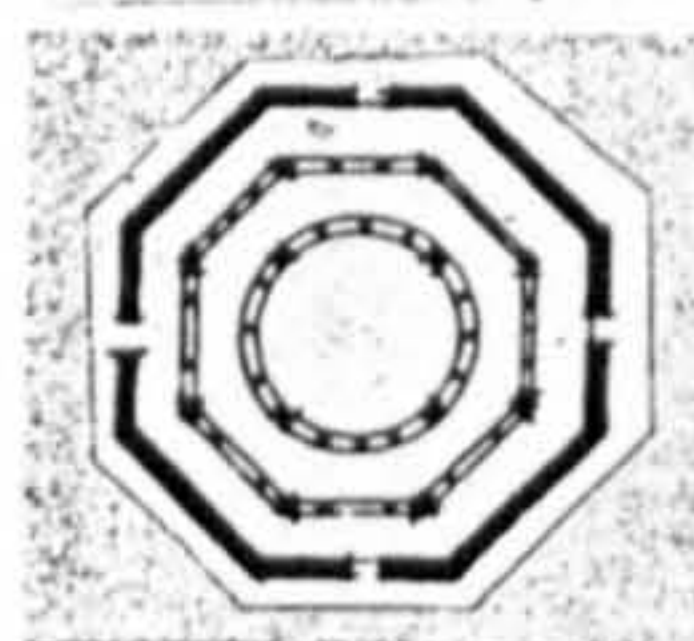
*Fudina, Mausoleum.*



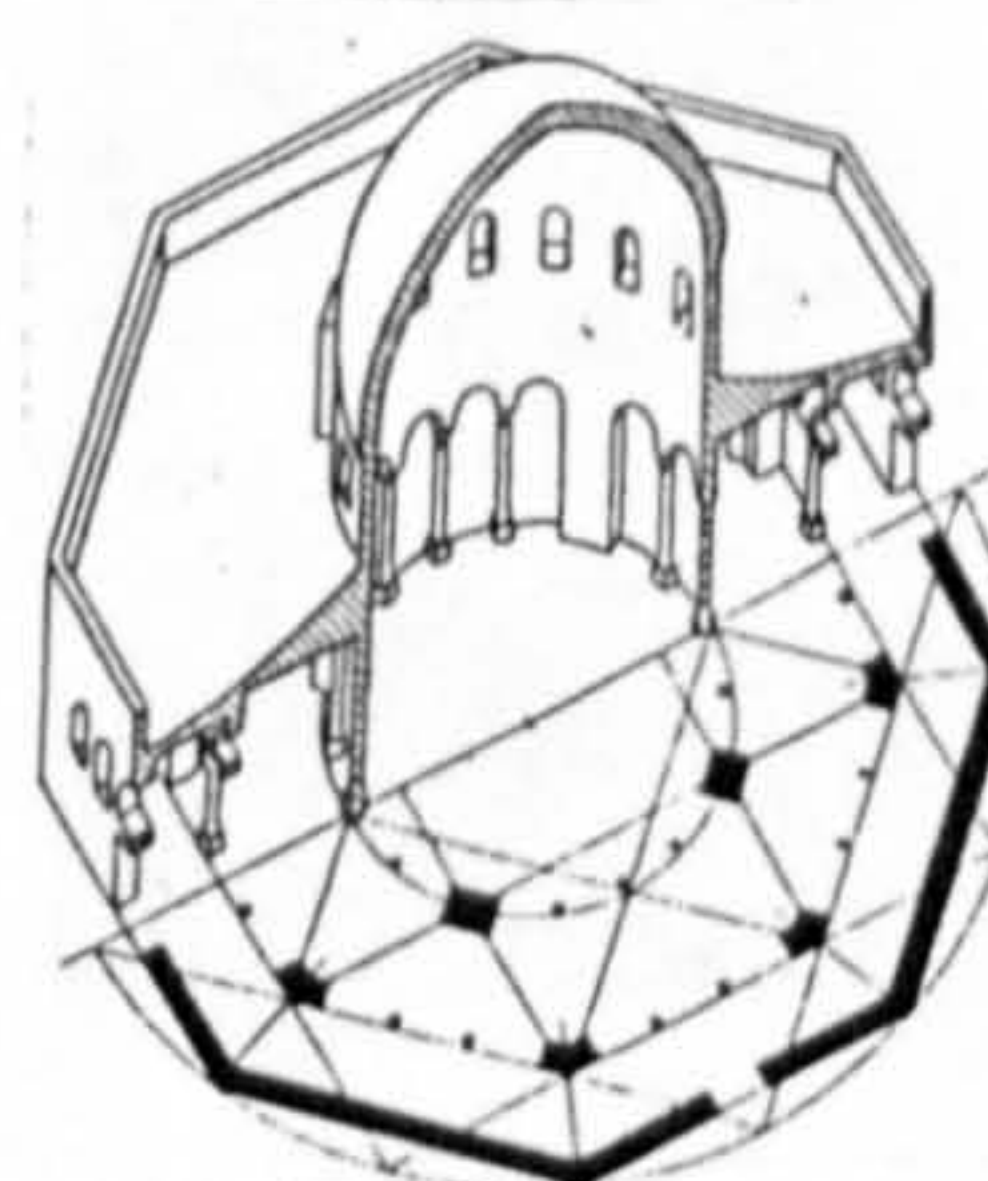
*Central Asian, Iranian & Iraqi mausolea buildings; all to the same scale.*



*Zafar, Dihibin Mosque.*



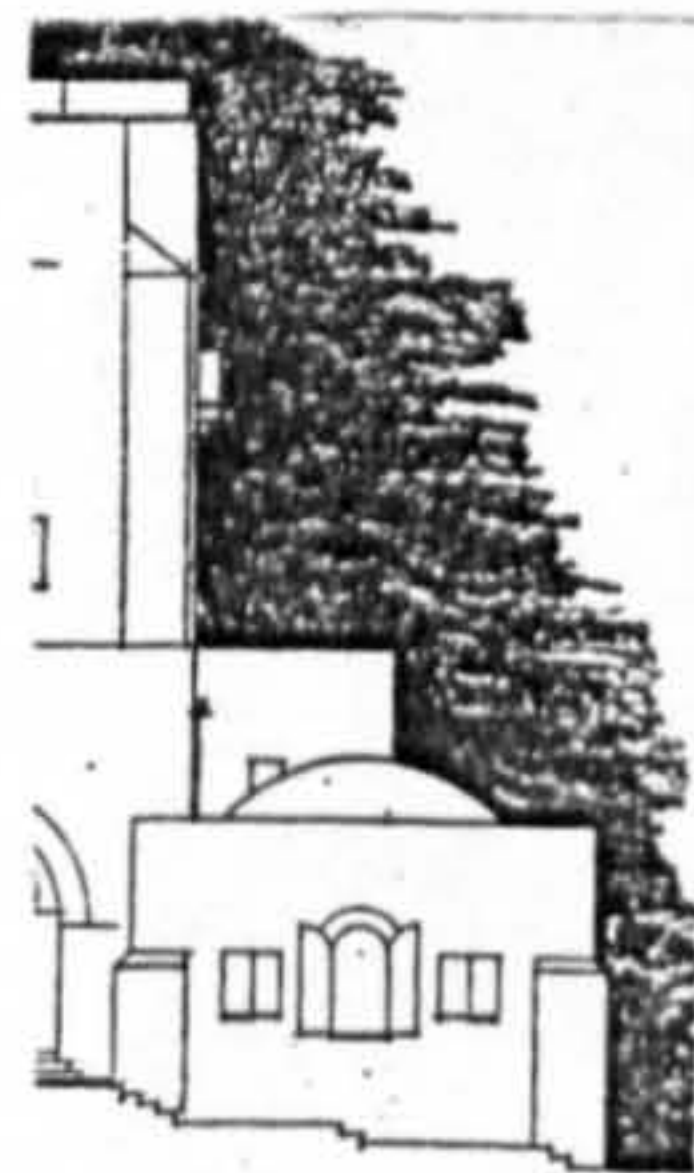
*Plan 1: 3000.*



*Jerusalem, Dome of the Rock.*



*Rockefeller Museum.*



*Government House.*



*Hebrew University Main Library.*



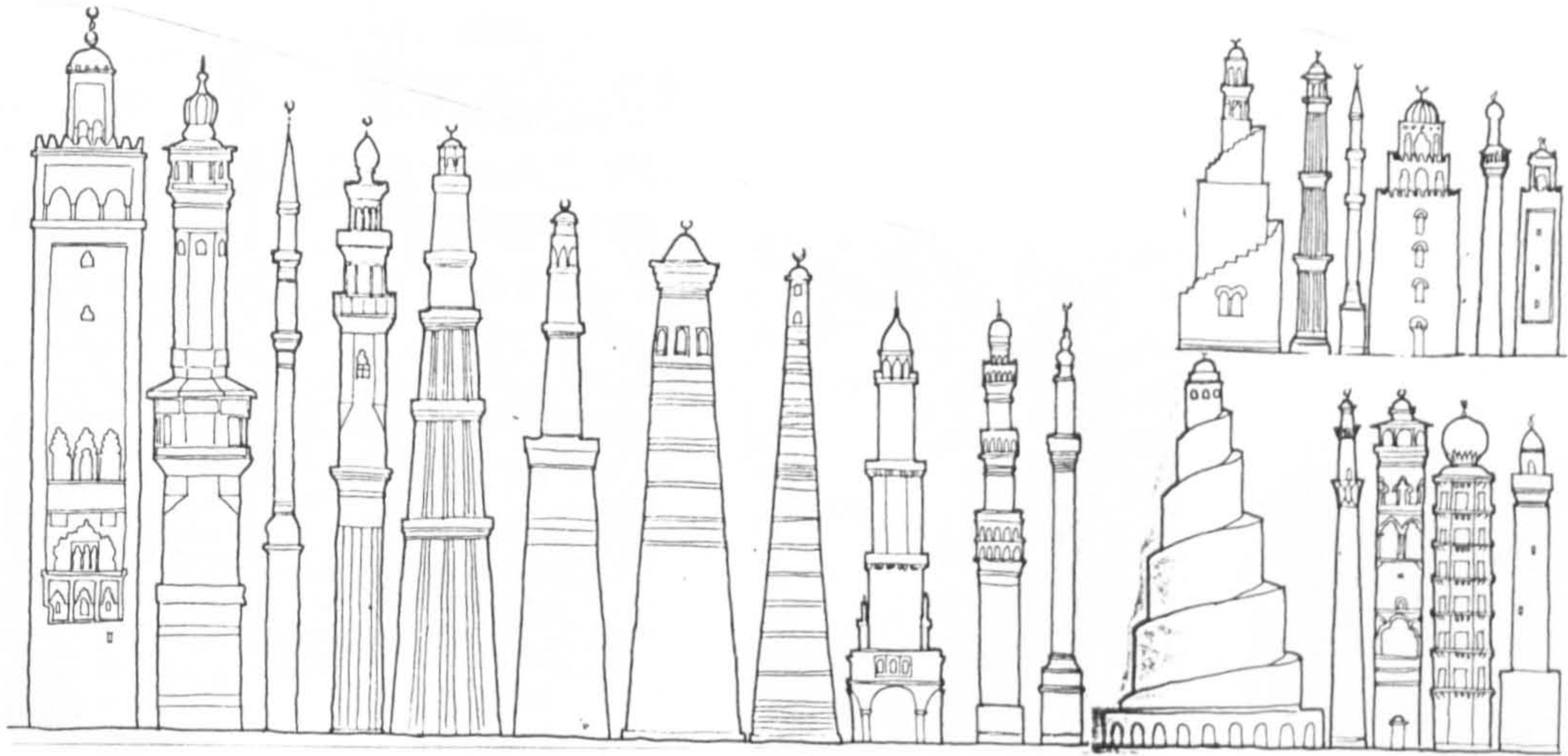
*Scottish Church.*



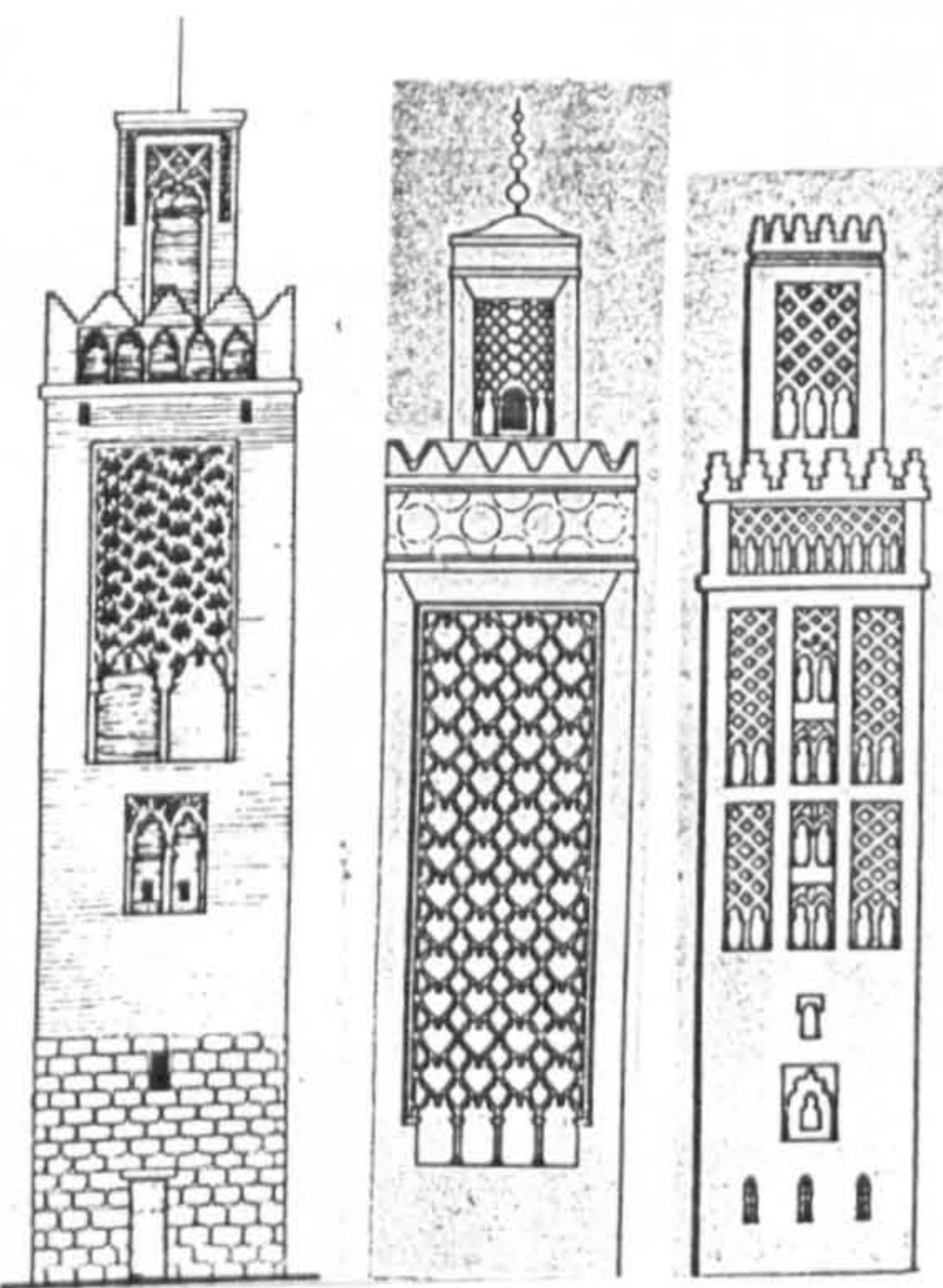
*British Imperial War Graves Cemetery.*



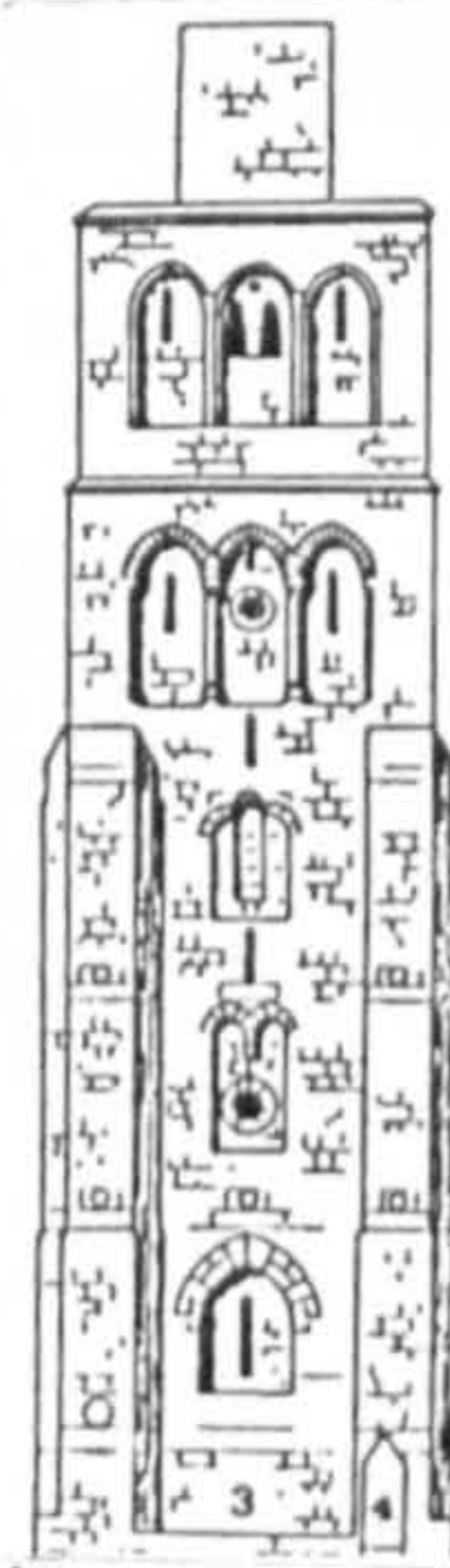
ISLAMIC REFERENCES: TOWERS & MINARETS



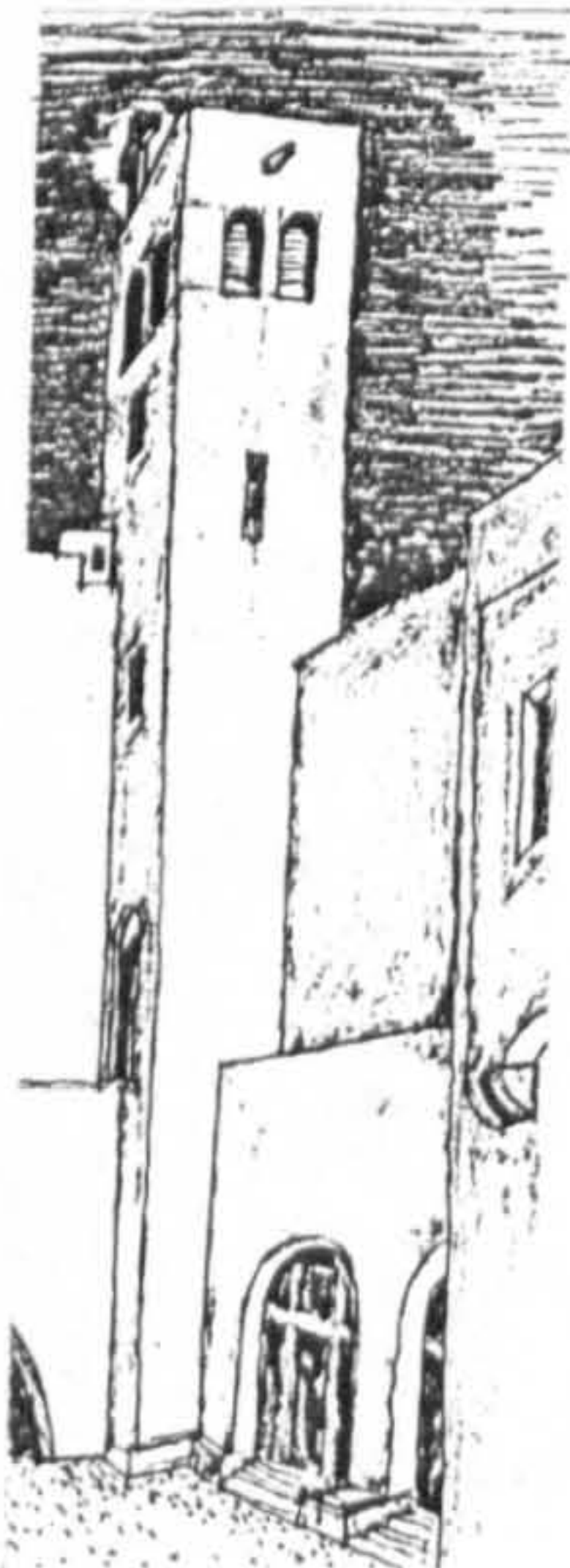
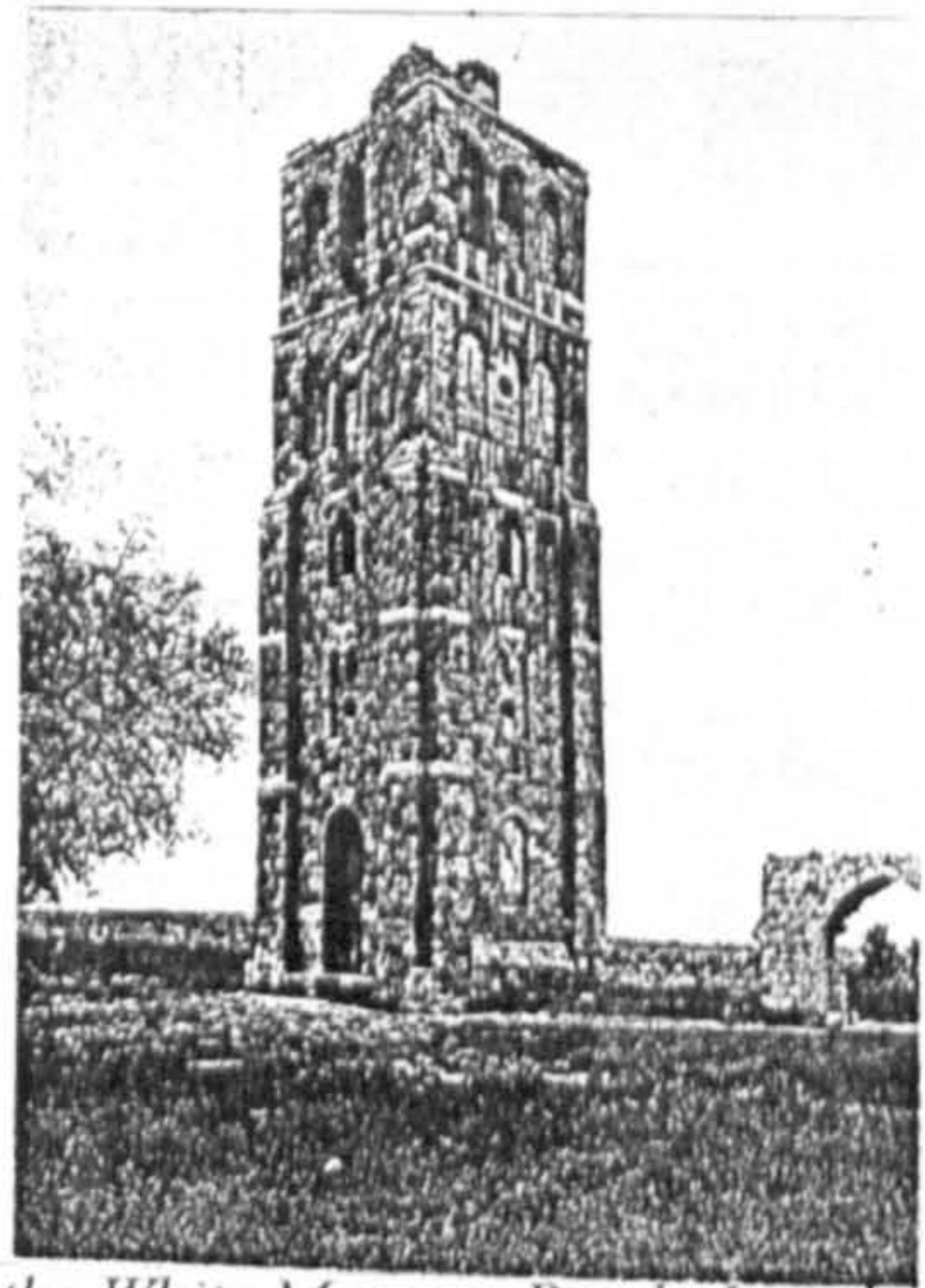
Examples of 25 minarets arranged according to scale.



Rectangular minarets.



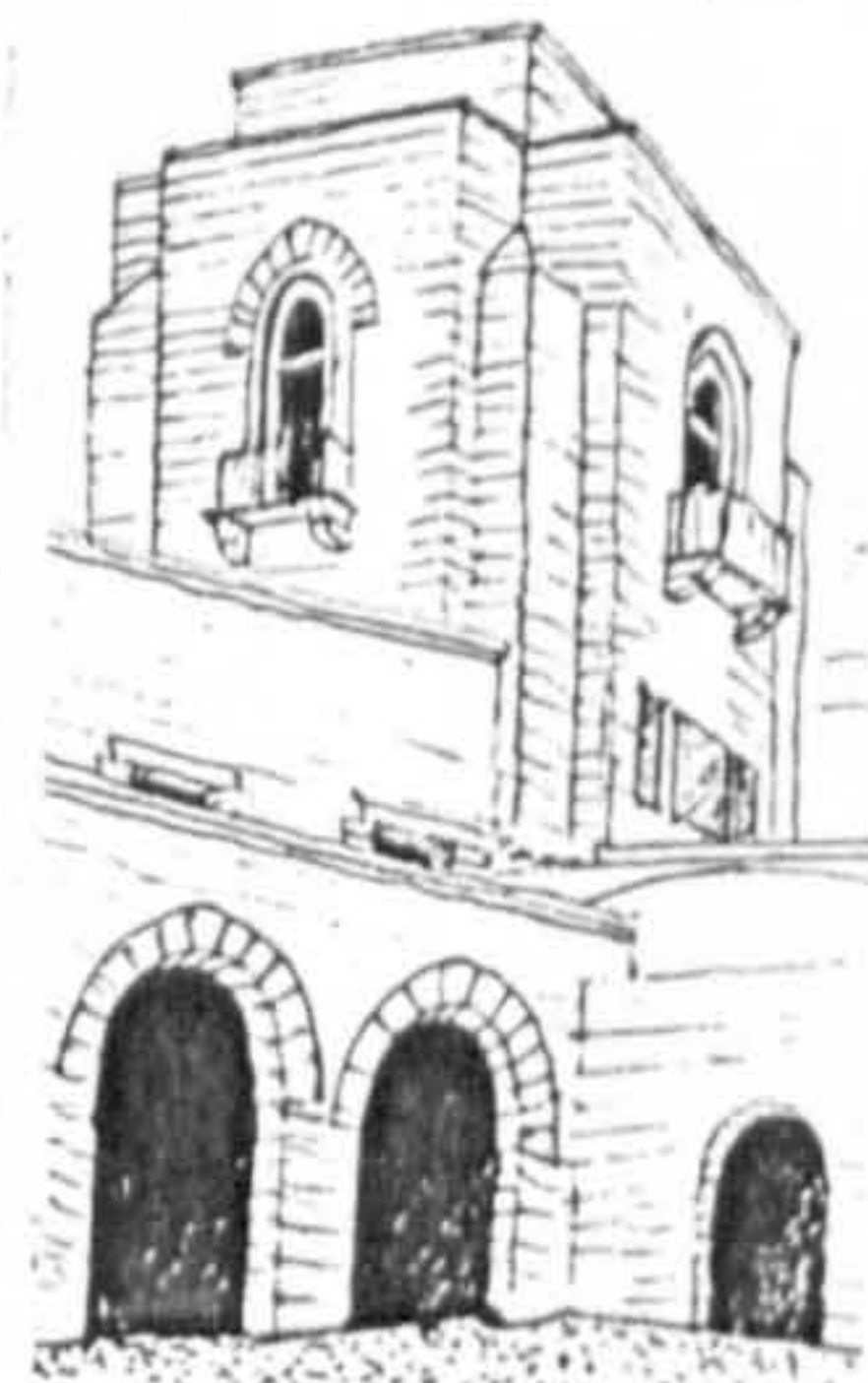
The minaret of the White Mosque, Ramla Israel.



Scottish Church.



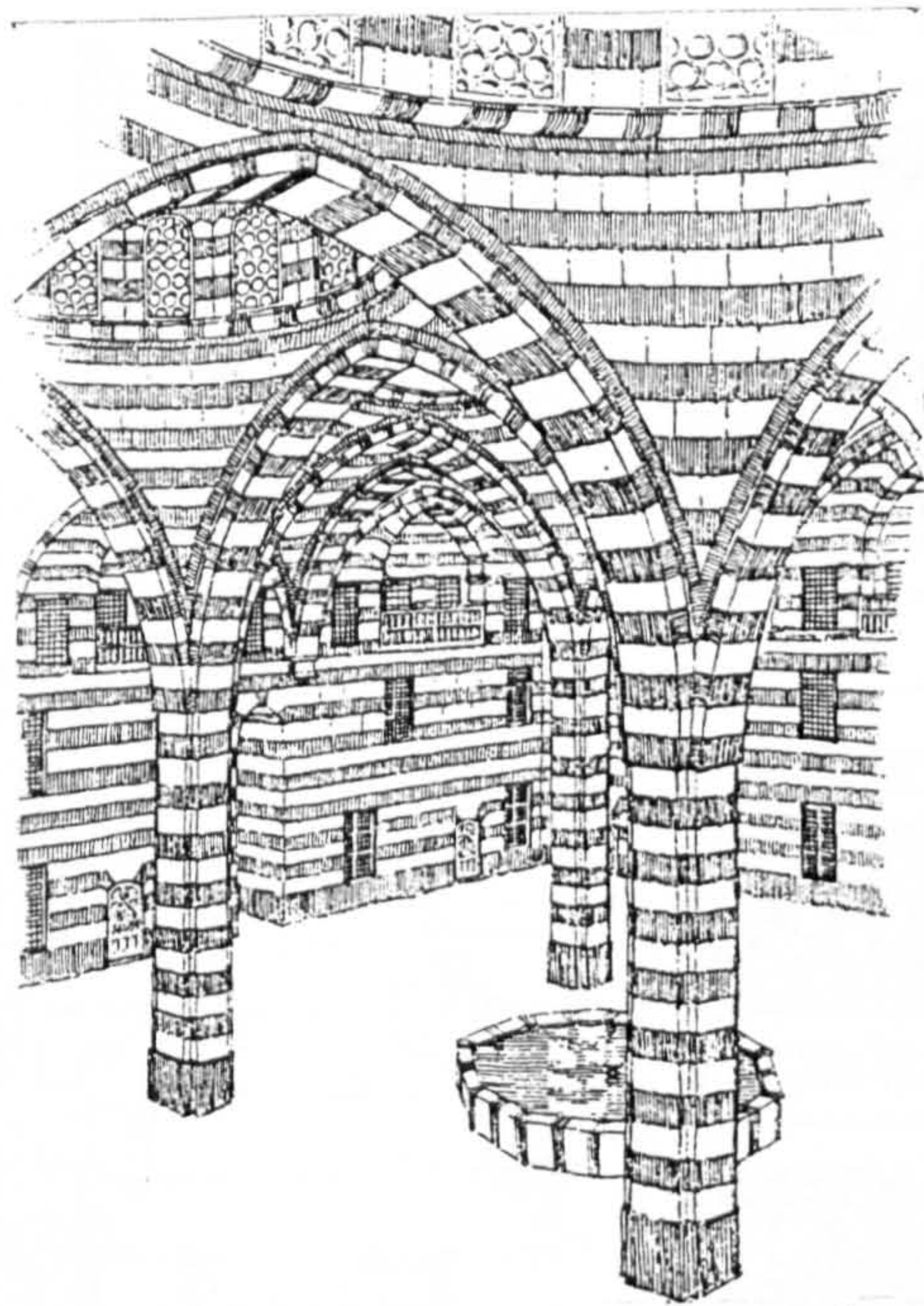
Rockefeller Museum.



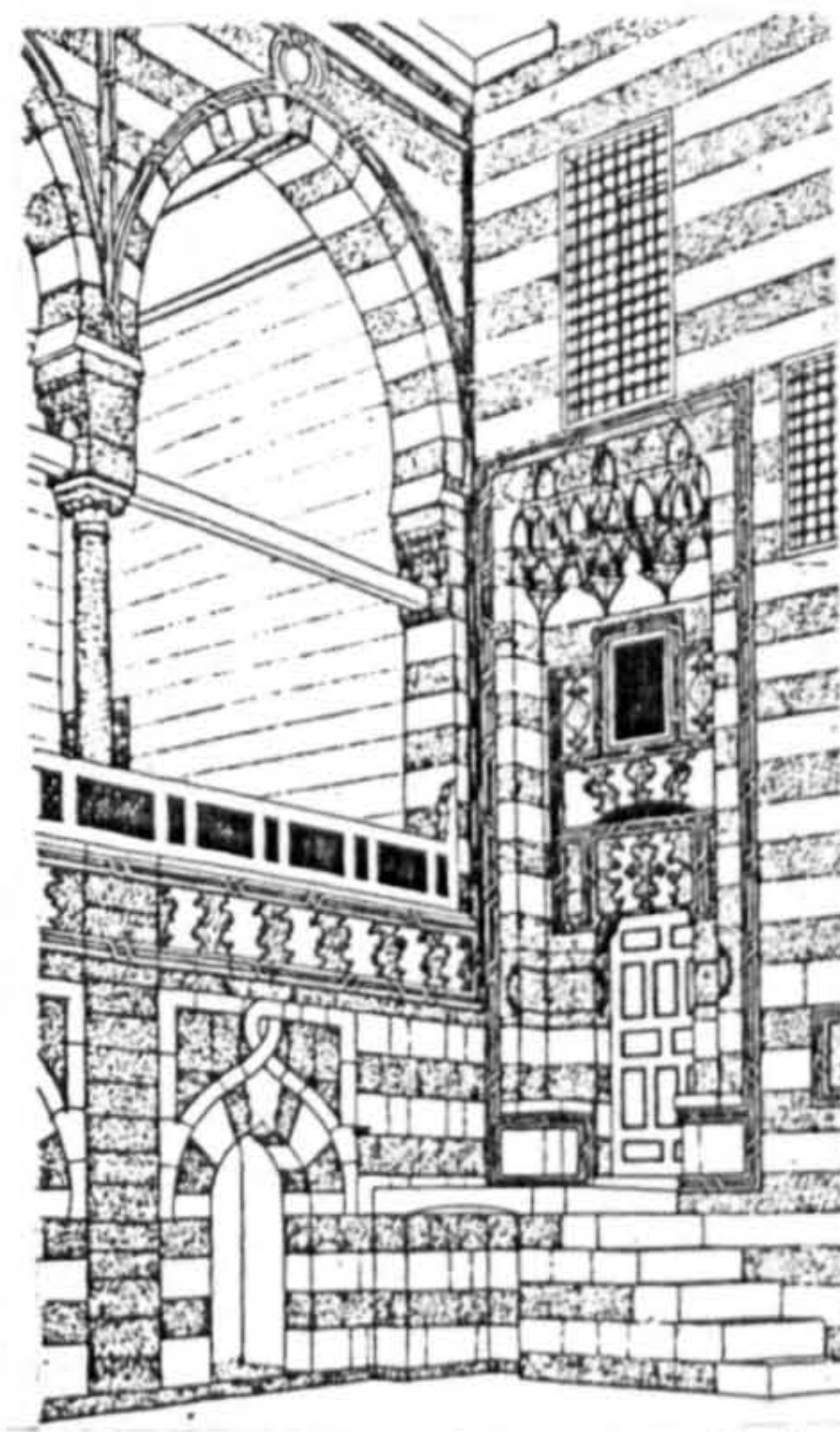
Government House.



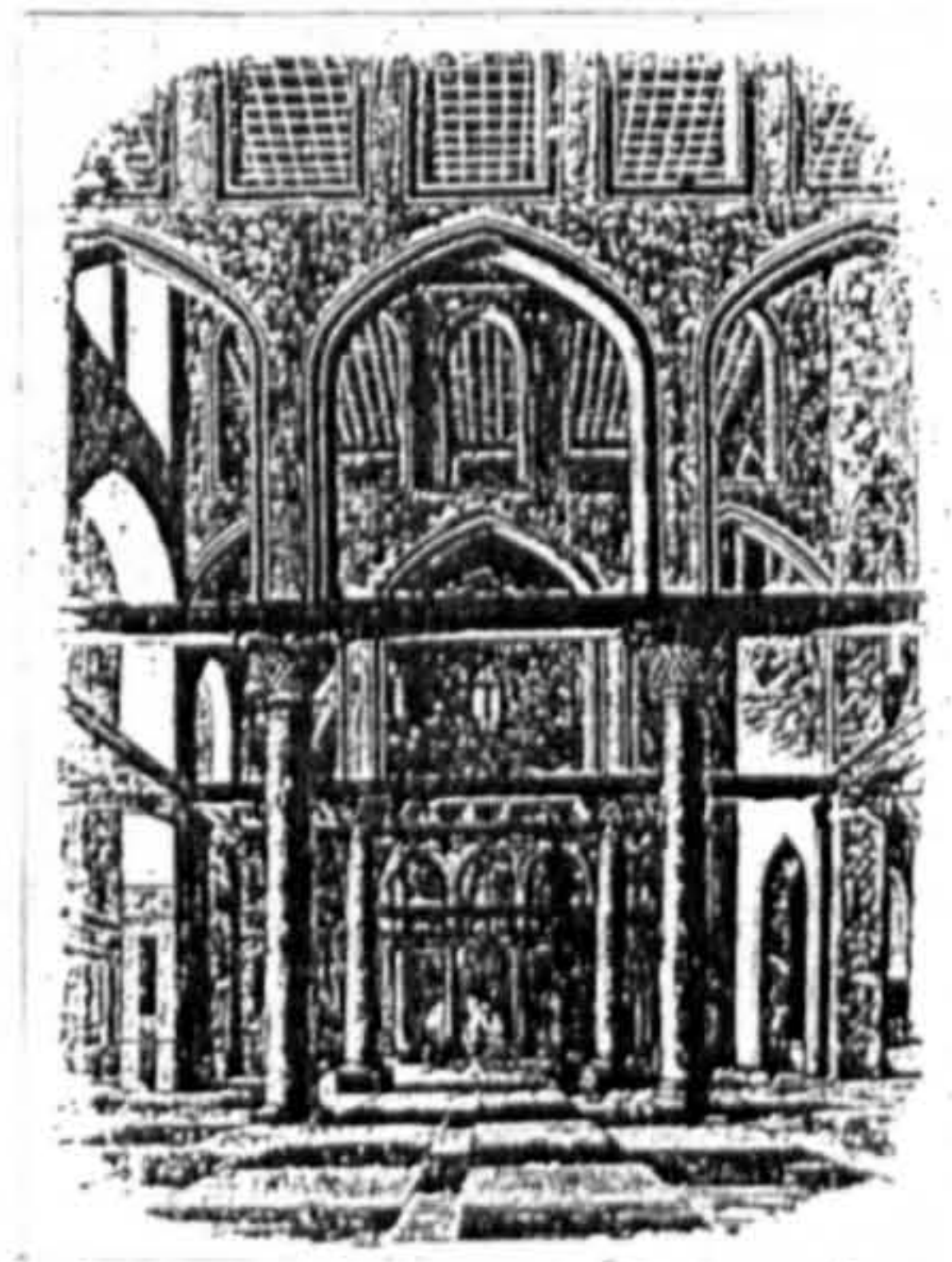
ISLAMIC REFERENCES: ARCHED & DOMED VAULTS



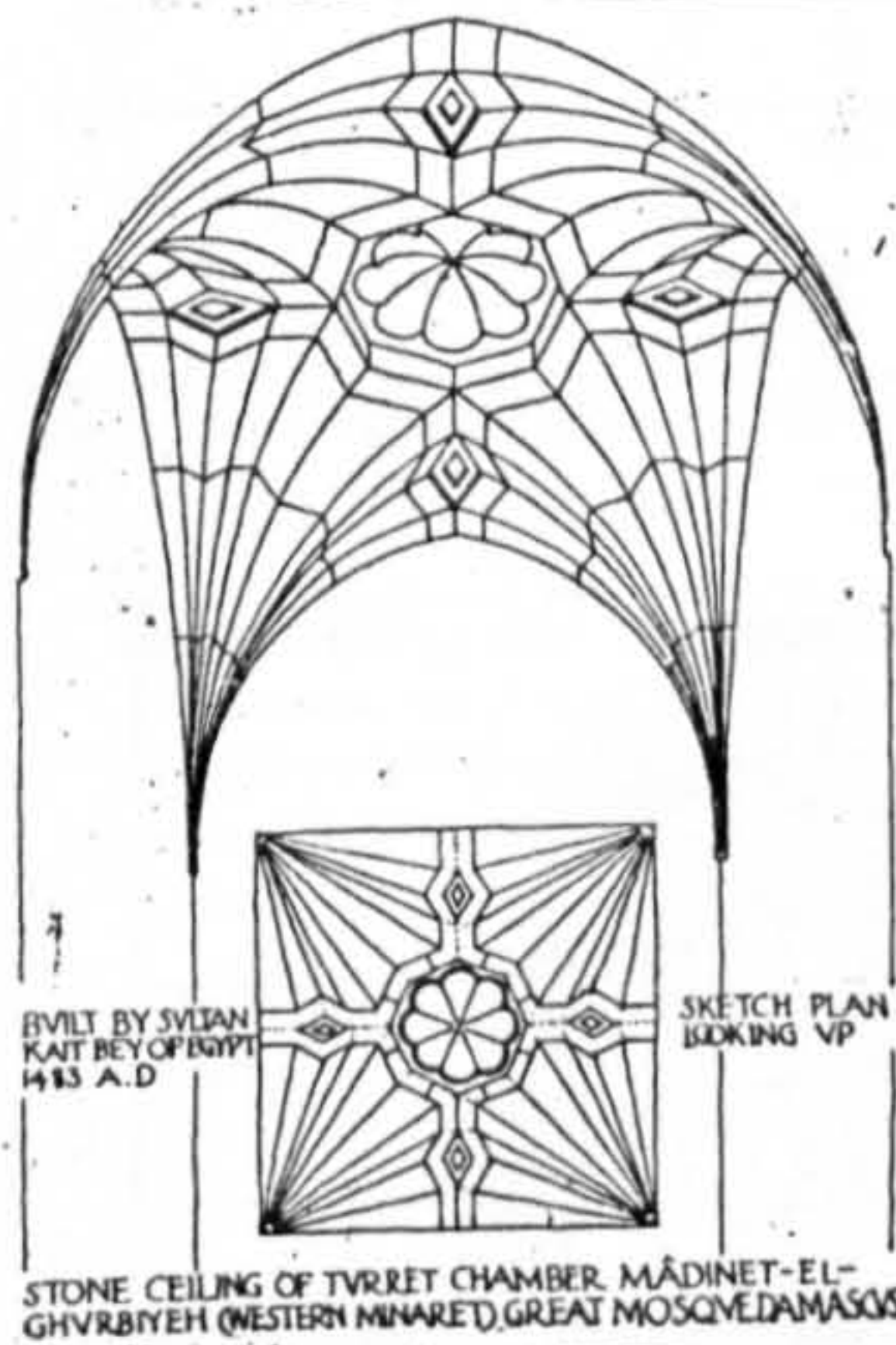
Khan Asad Pasha, Damascus - interiors by M. S. Briggs, 1924.



Courtyard in a house in Cairo by W. Harvey 1912.

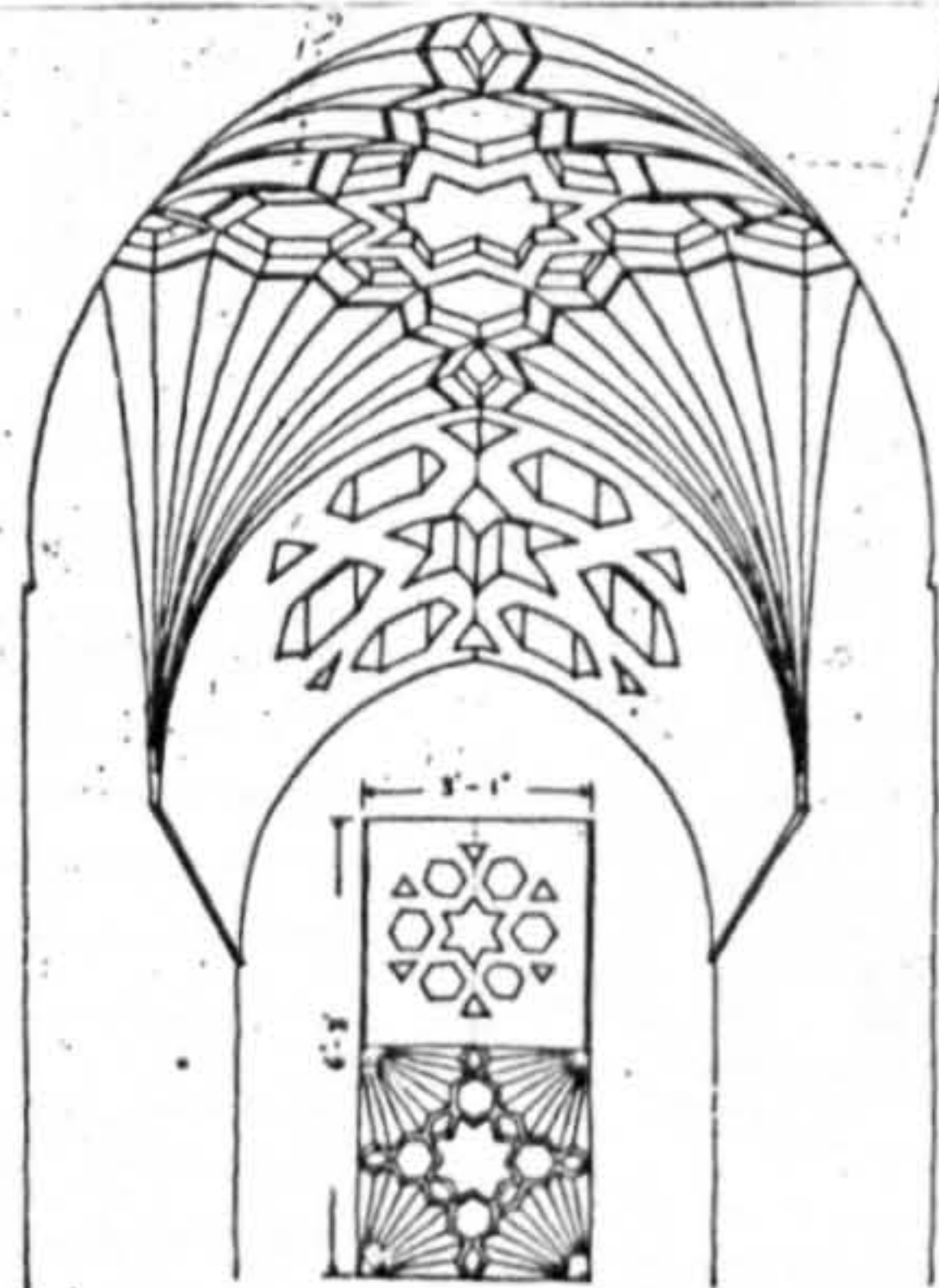


El Aksa Mosque, Jerusalem in J. Fergusson 1855.



STONE CEILING OF TURRET CHAMBER, MADINET-EL-GHVRBYEH (WESTERN MINARET), GREAT MOSQUE, DAMASCUS

by W. Harvey 1911.



VAULTED LOBBY IN A RUINED MOSQUE IN THE EASTERN CEMETARY, CAIRO PART PIERCED FOR VENTILATION

by W. Harvey 1911.



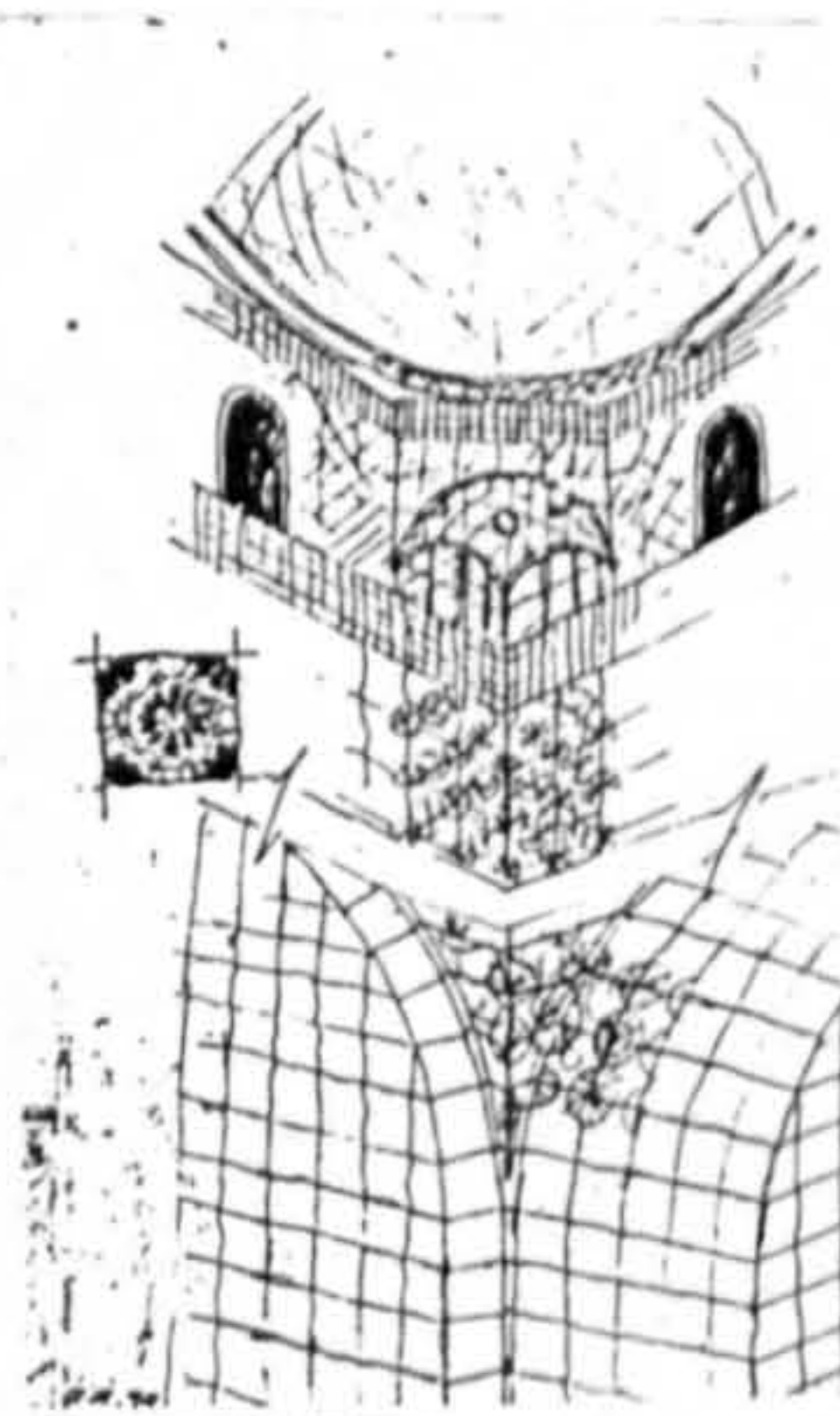
Pendentive, Cairo, by J. Crace 1870.



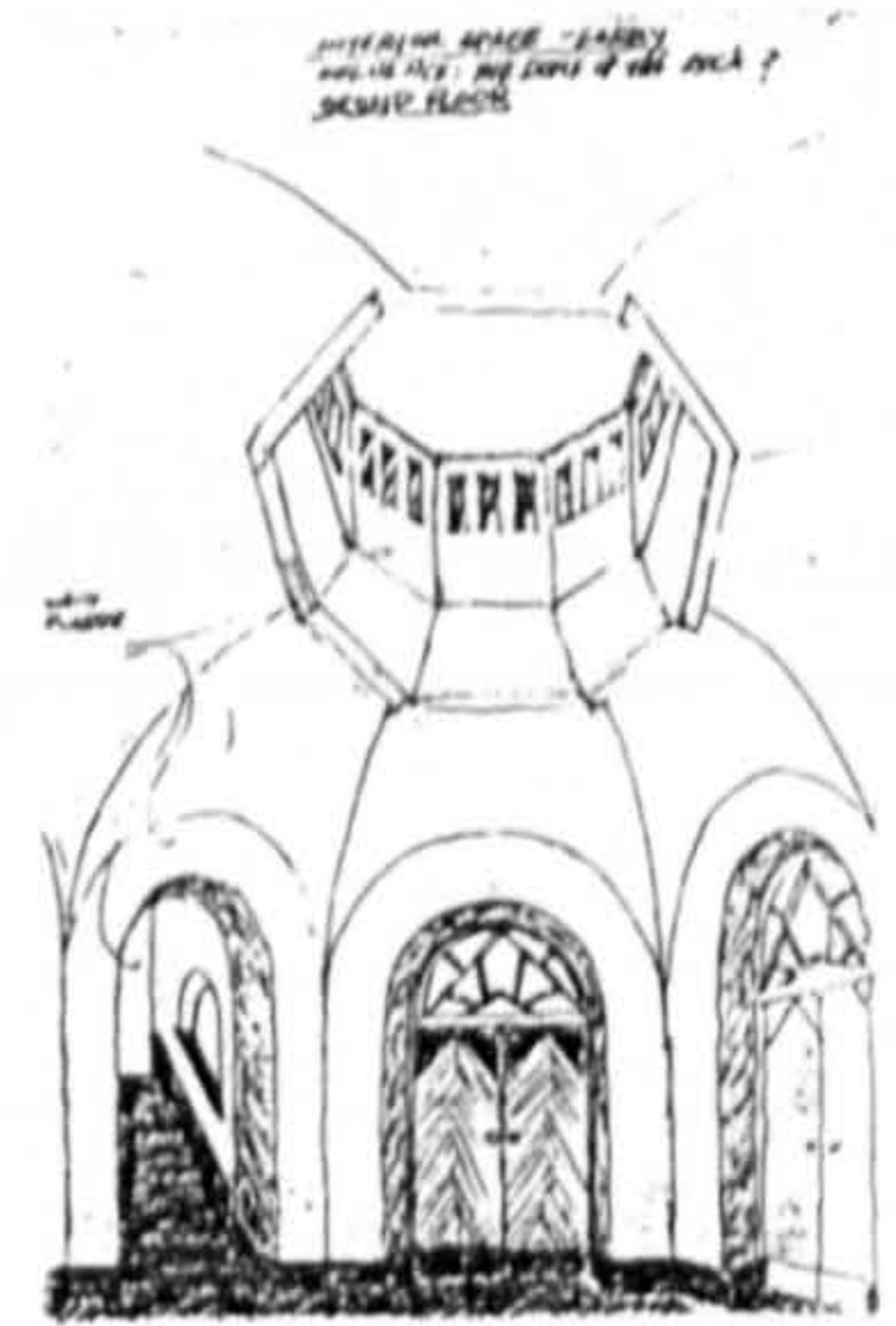
Entrance lobby in Rockefeller Museum.



Fountain pavilion in Rockefeller Museum.



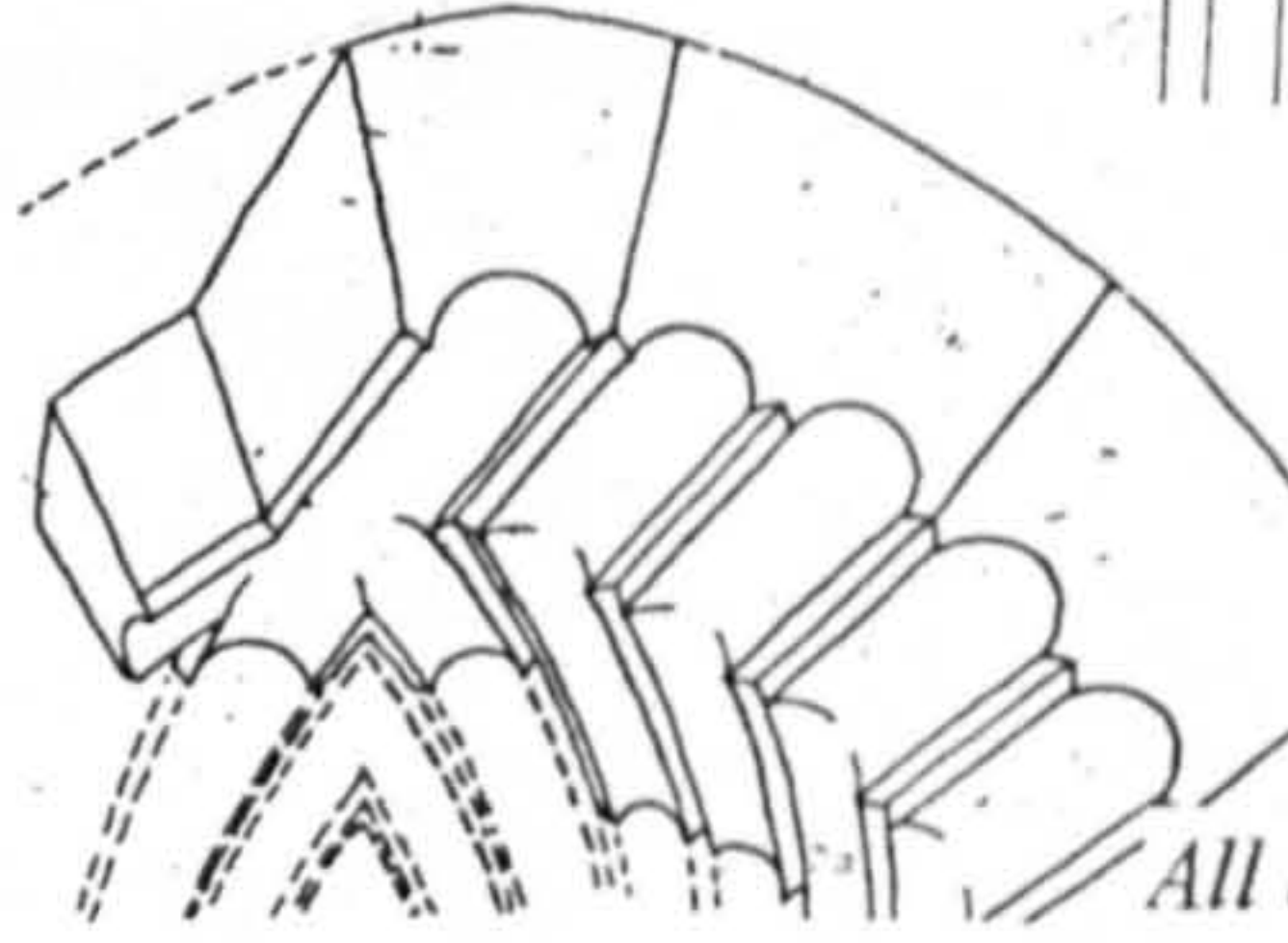
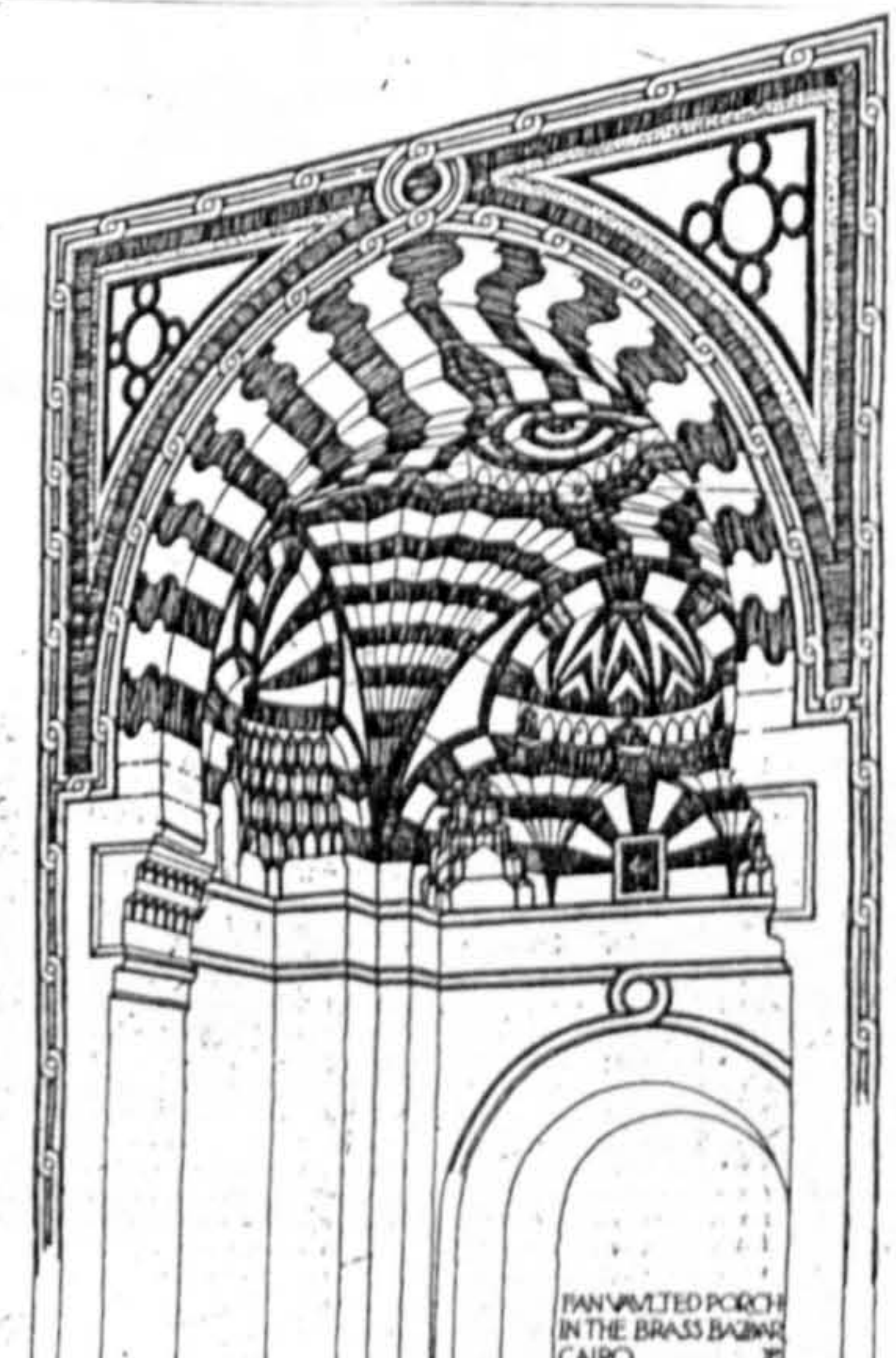
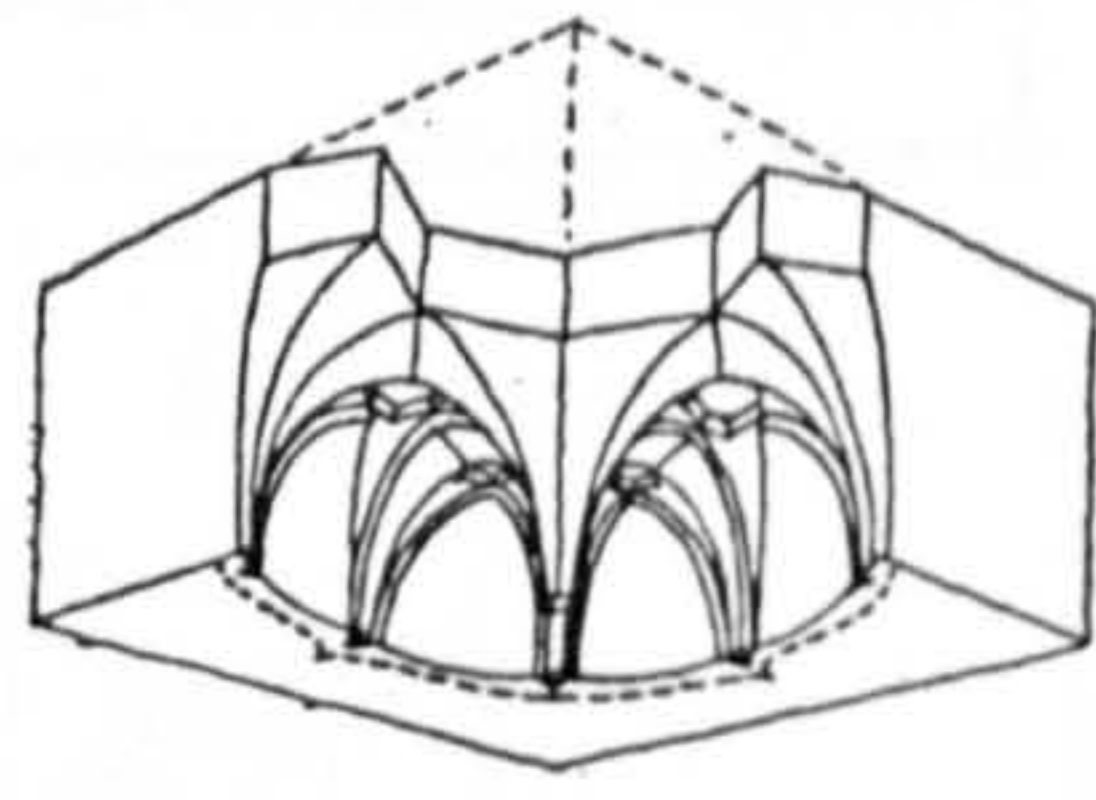
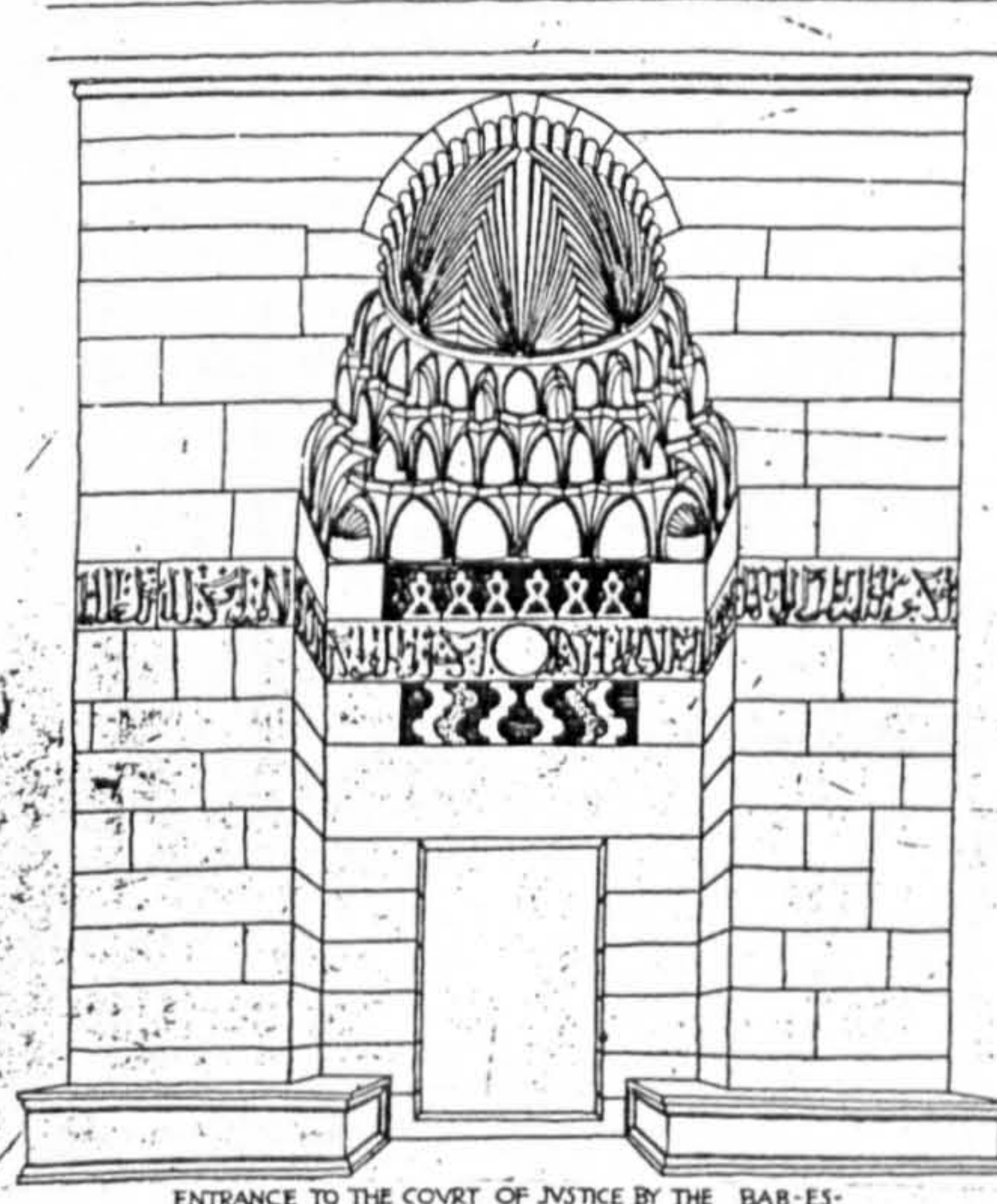
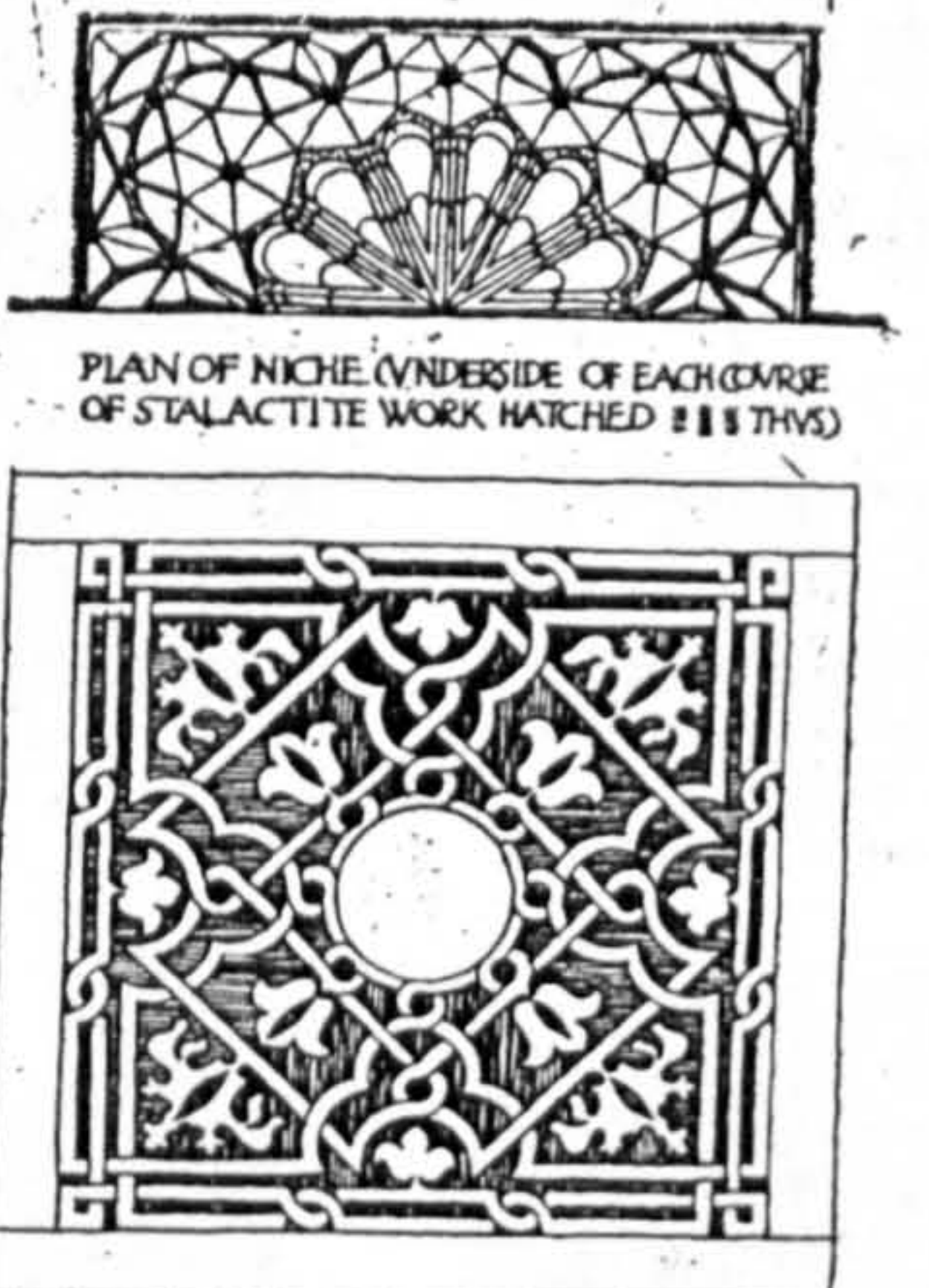
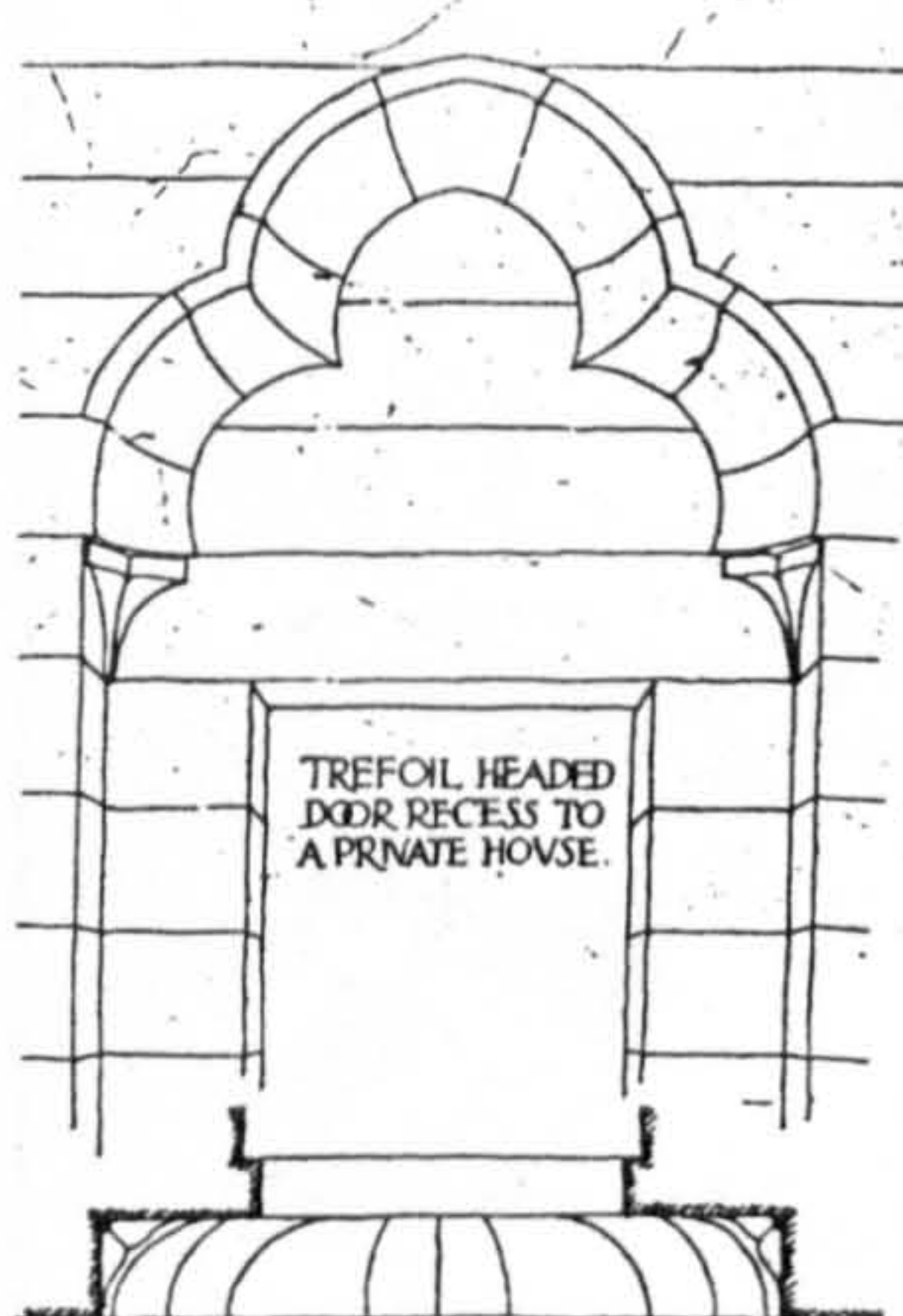
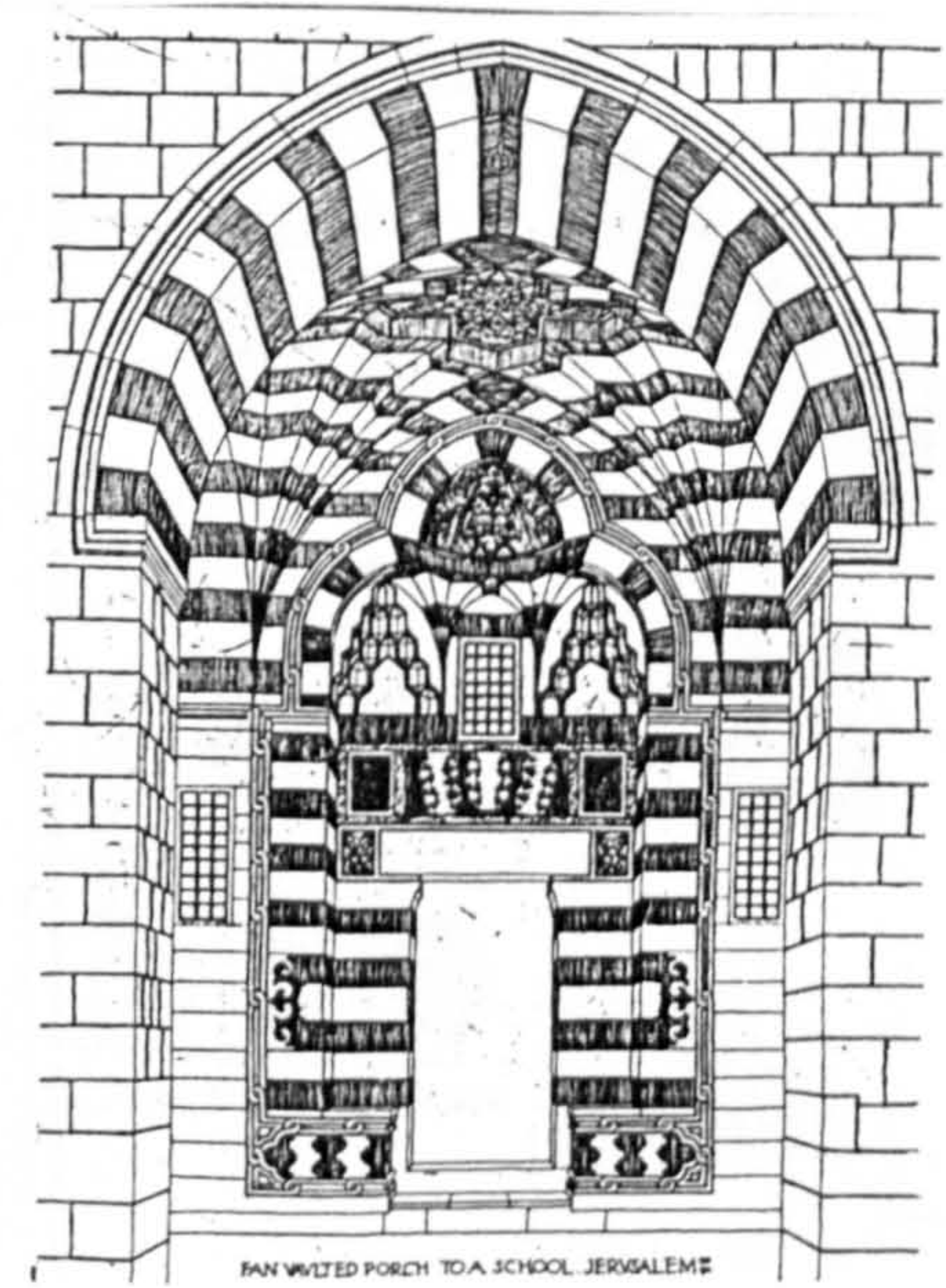
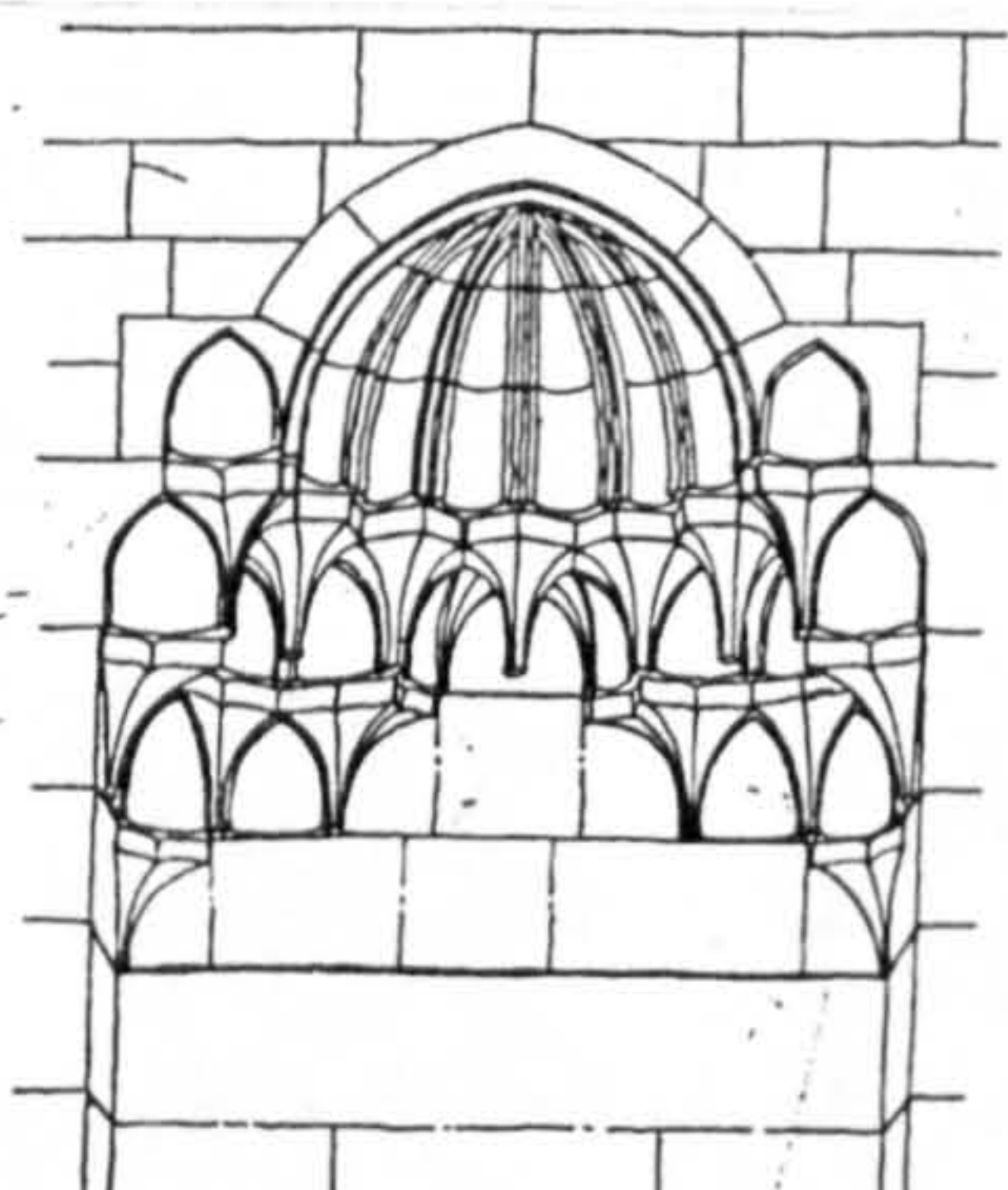
Detail of fountain in Rockefeller Museum.



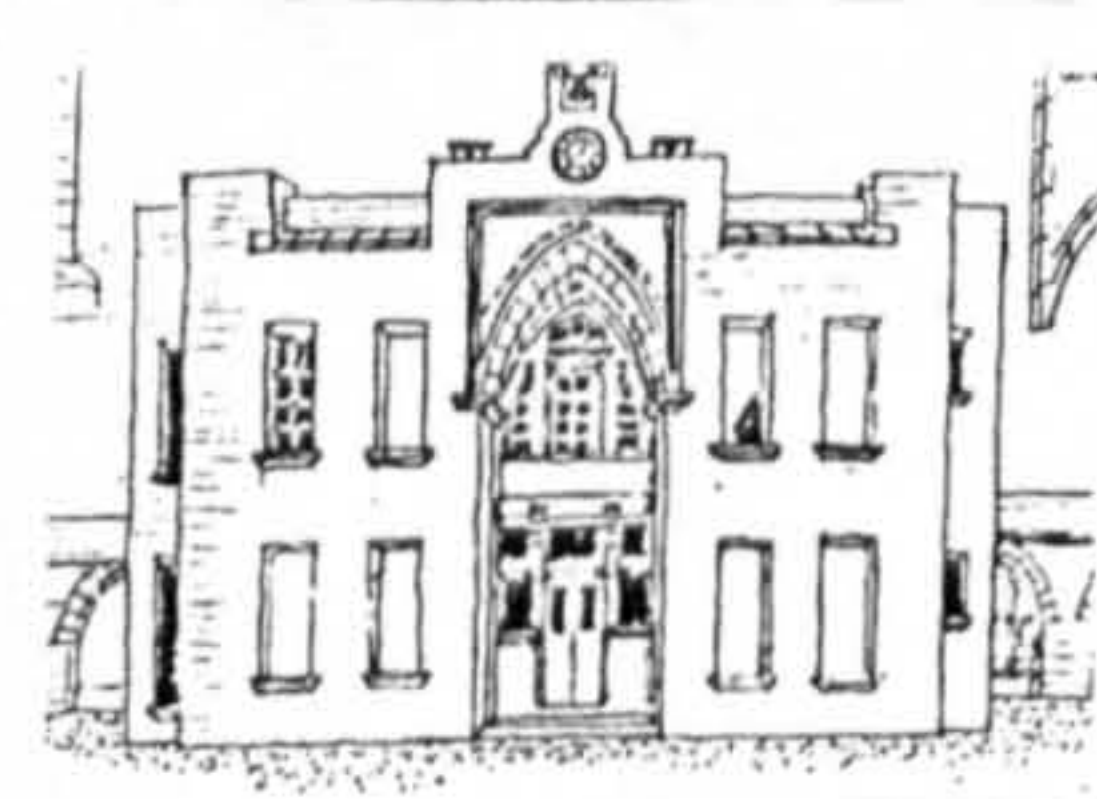
Entrance lobby in the Scottish Hospice.



ISLAMIC REFERENCES: PORTALS



All drawings by W. Harvey 1911-1912.



English Mission Hospital.

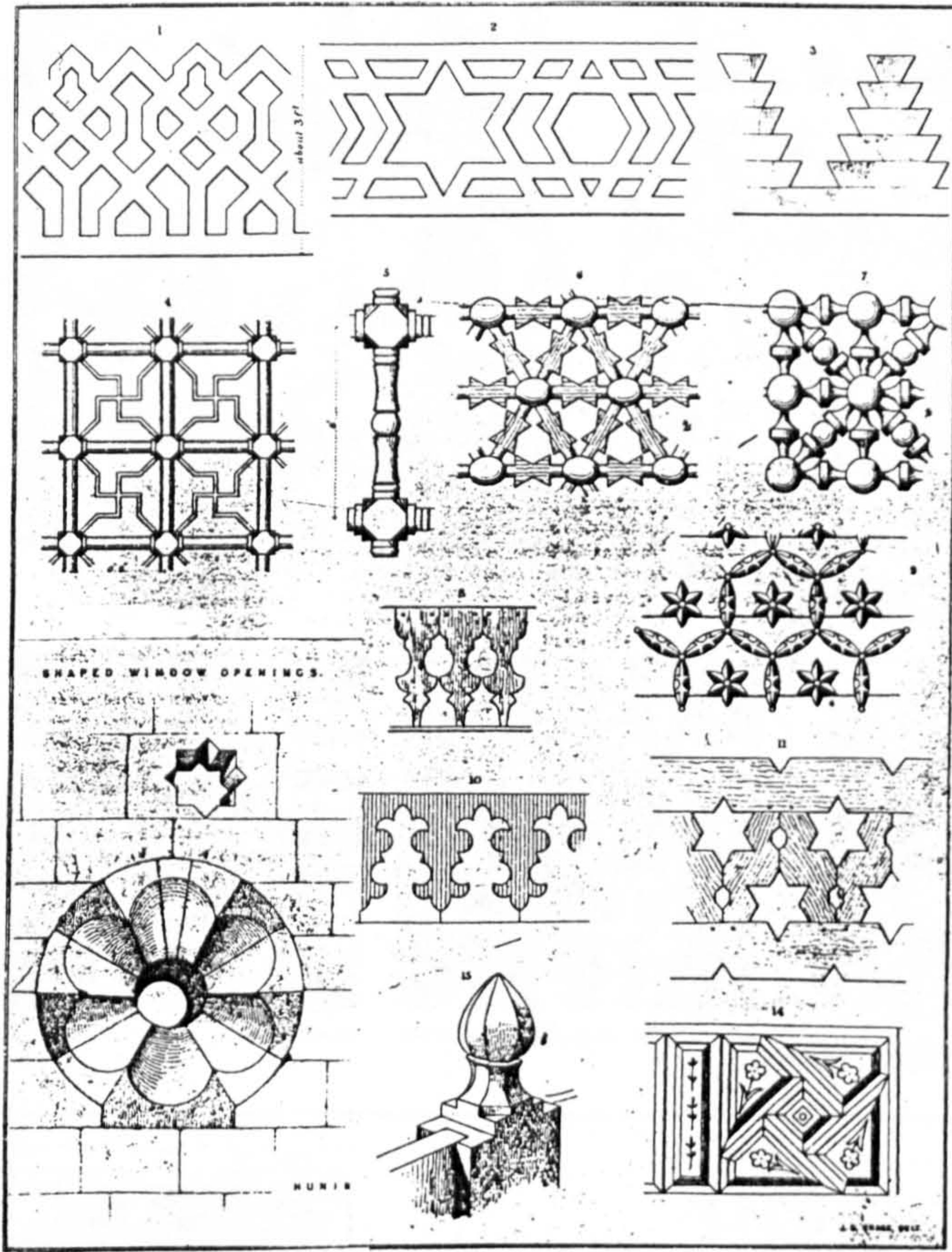


Rockefeller Museum.

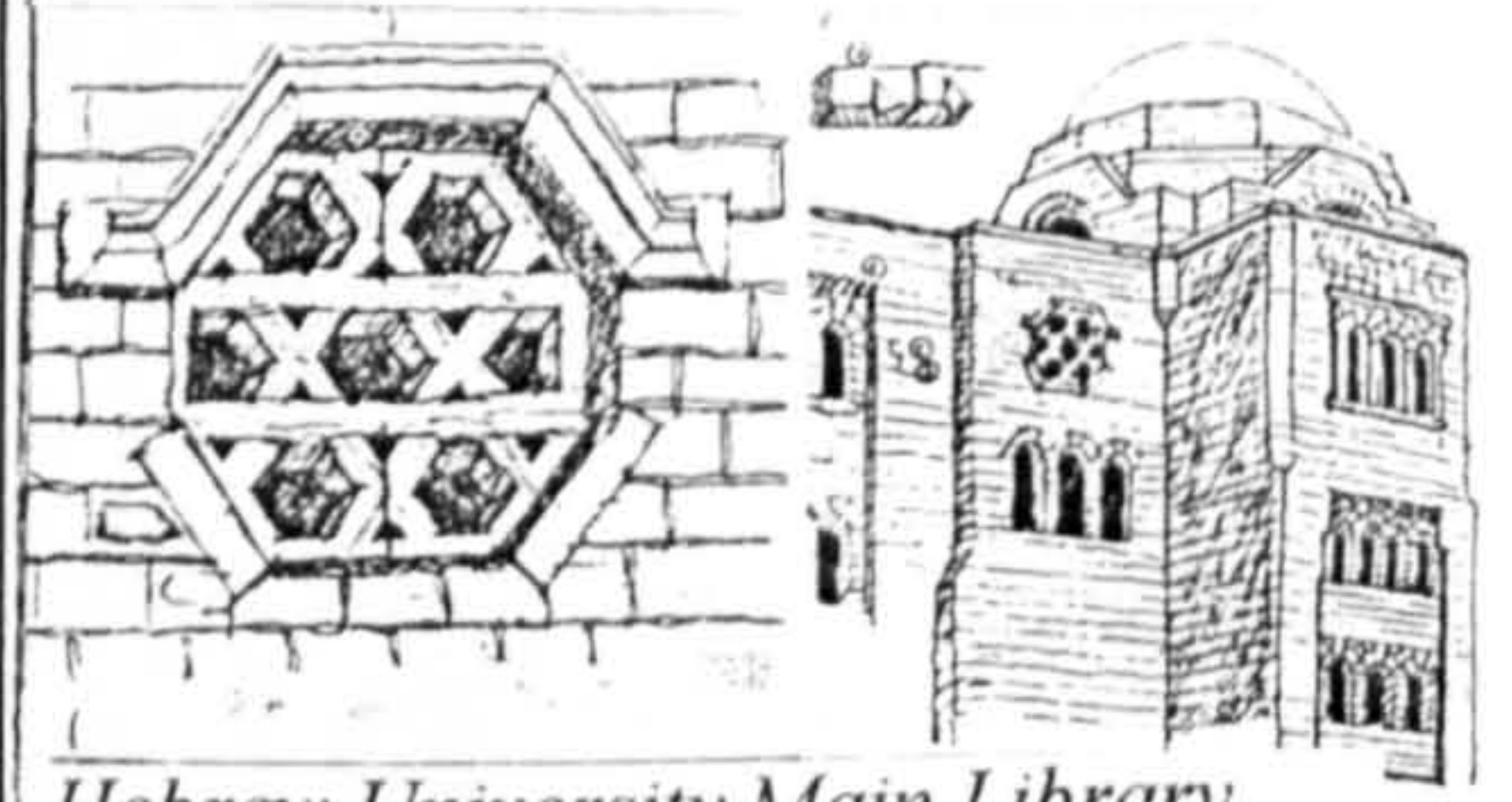


British Imperial Cemetery.

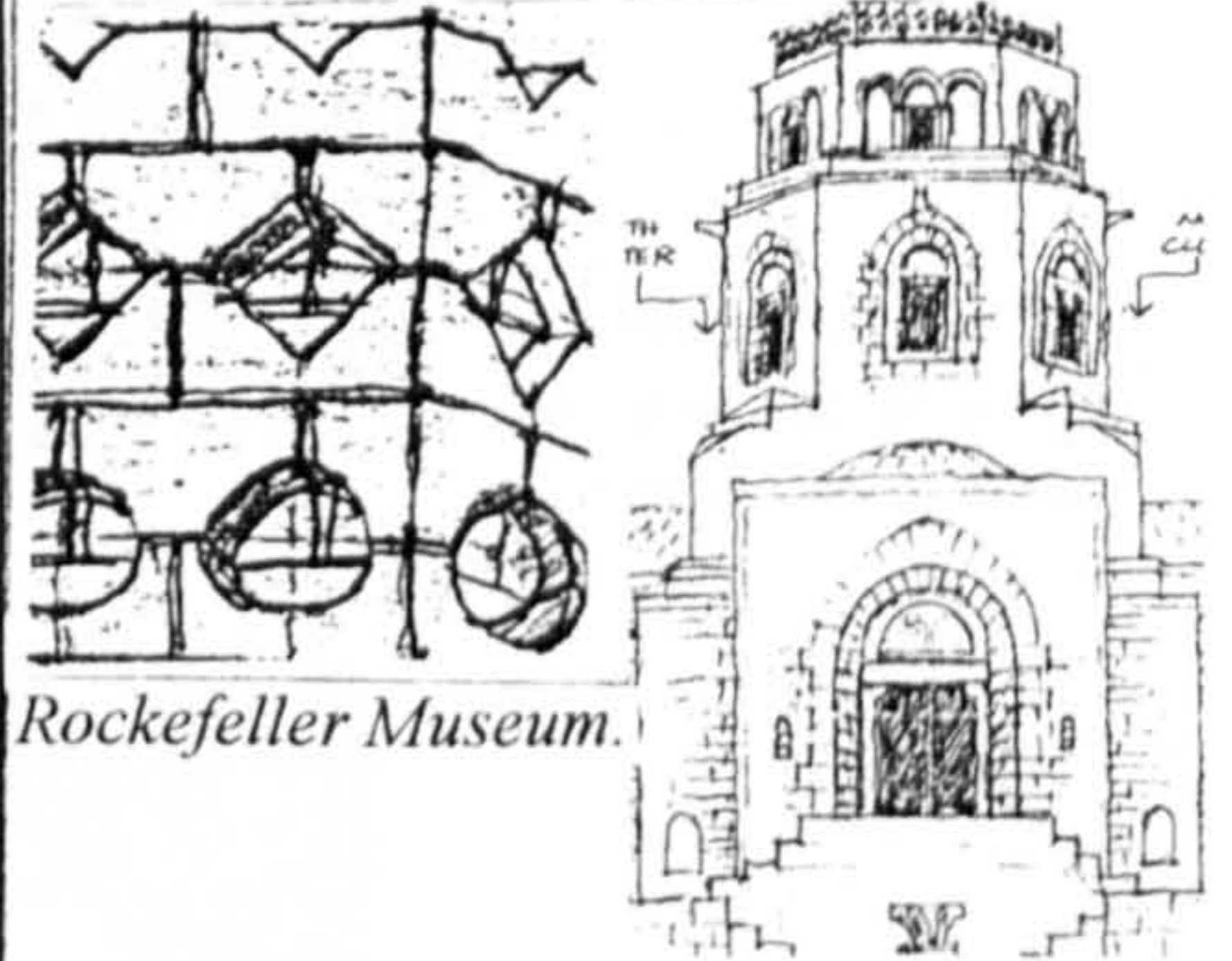




All drawings by J. Crace.



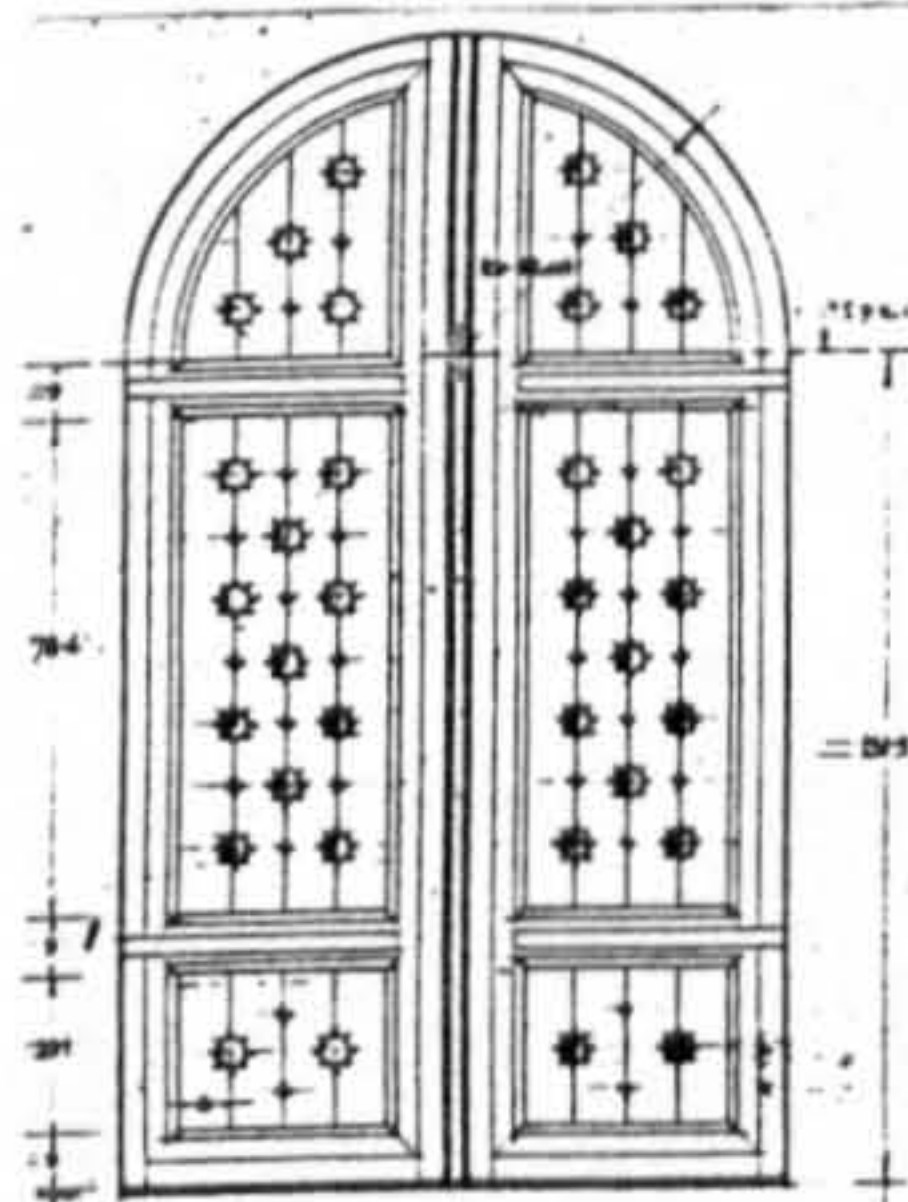
Hebrew University Main Library.



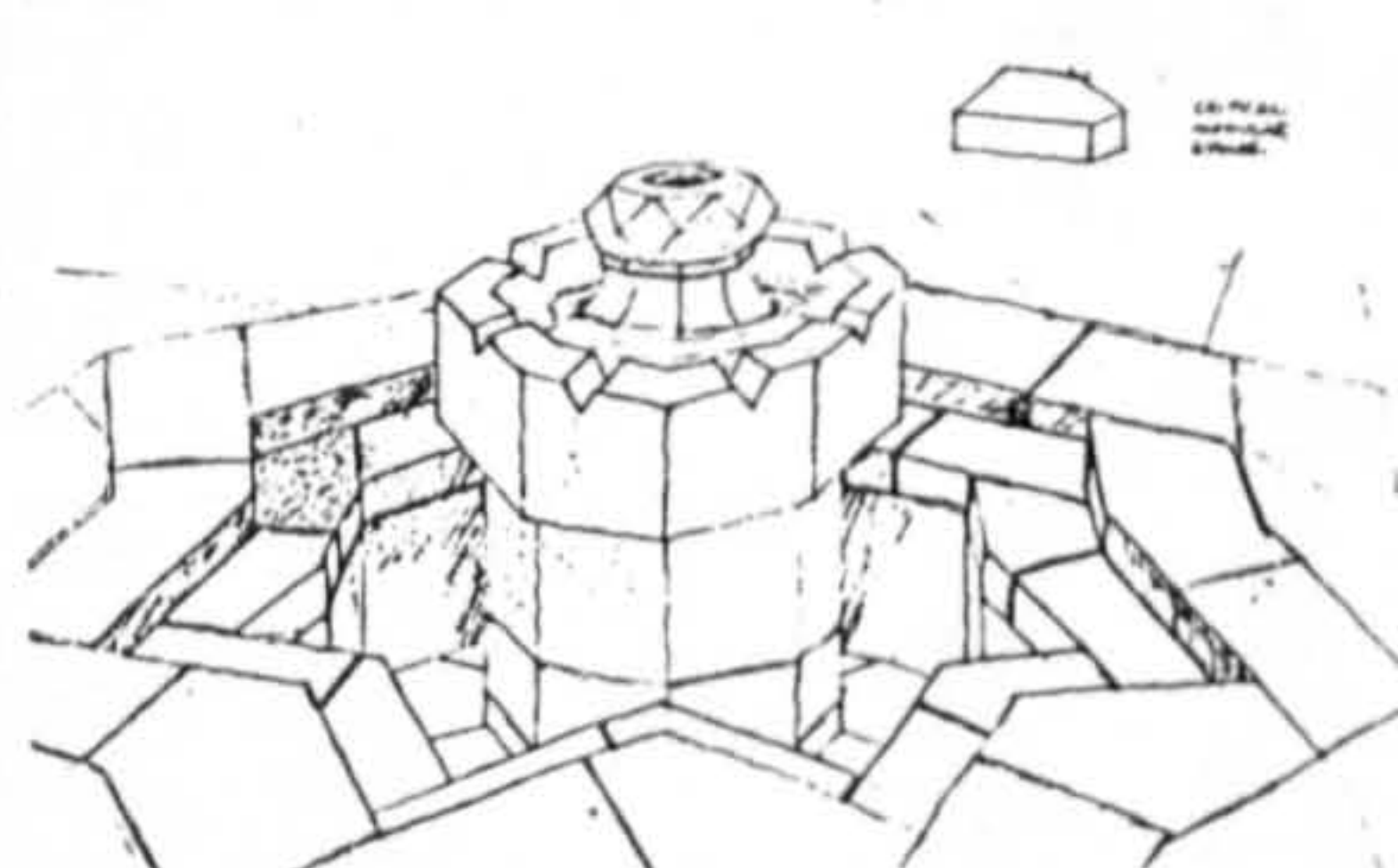
Rockefeller Museum.



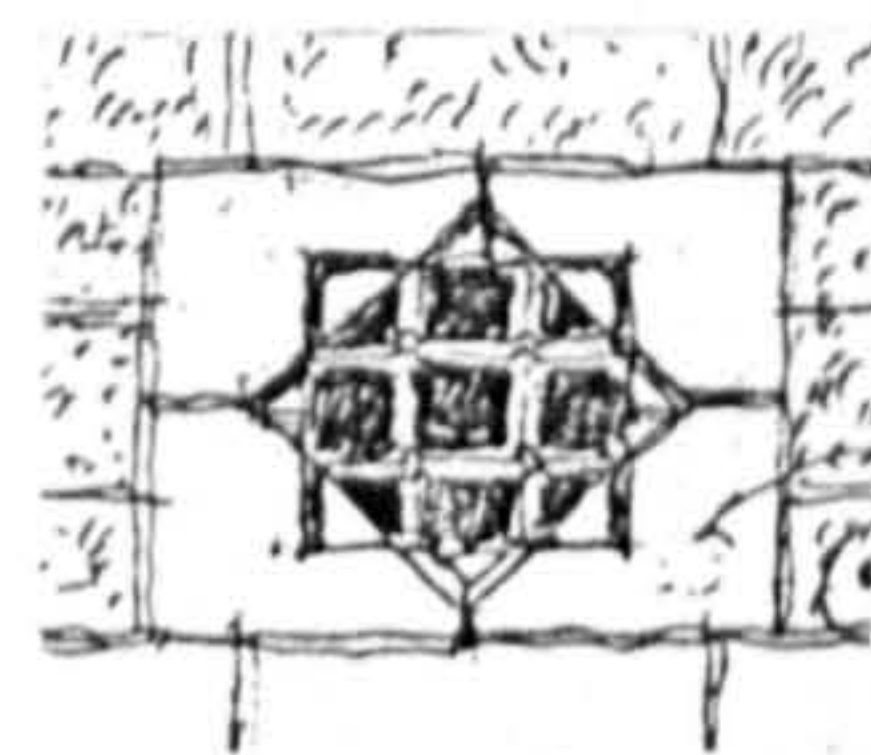
Scottish Hospice.



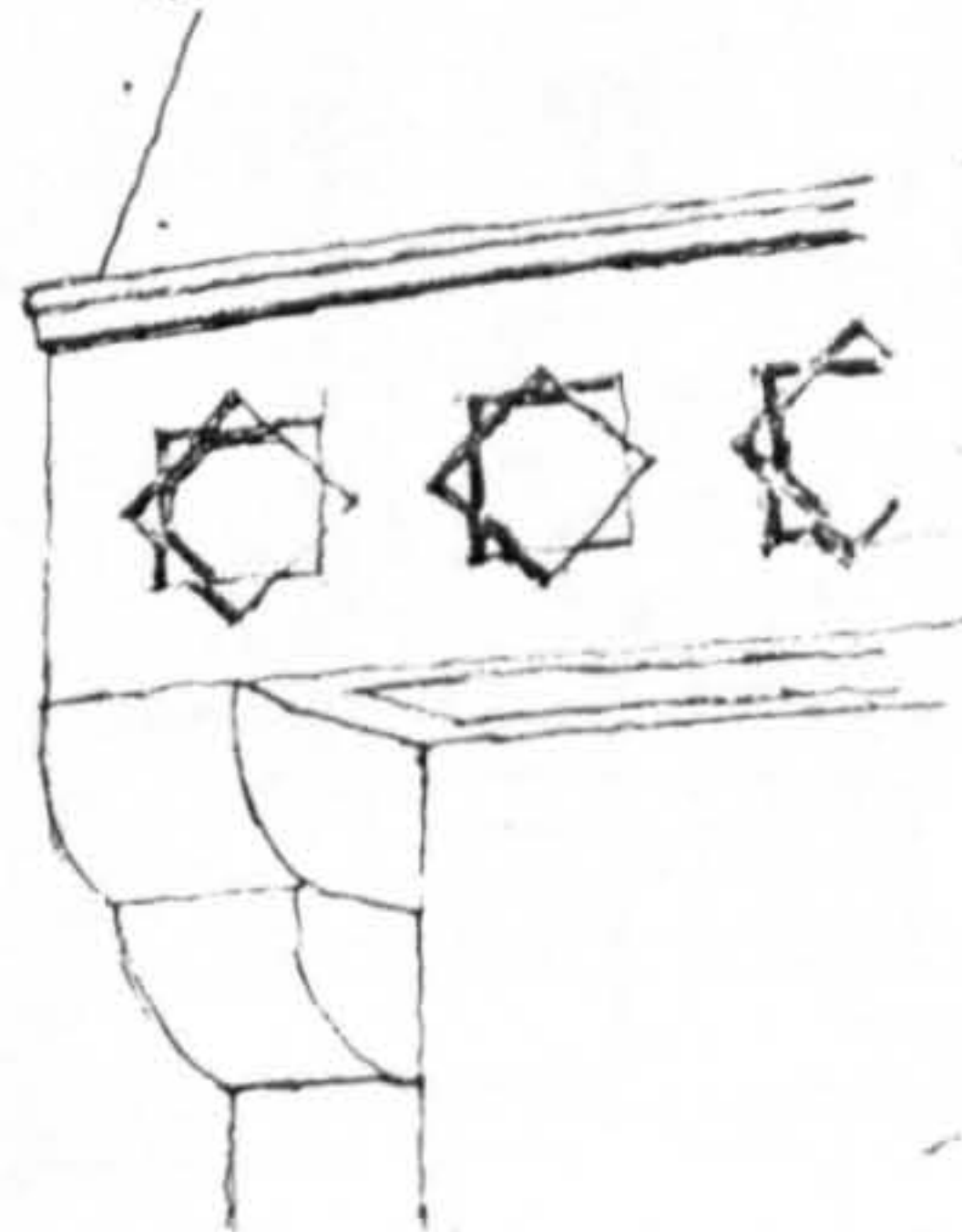
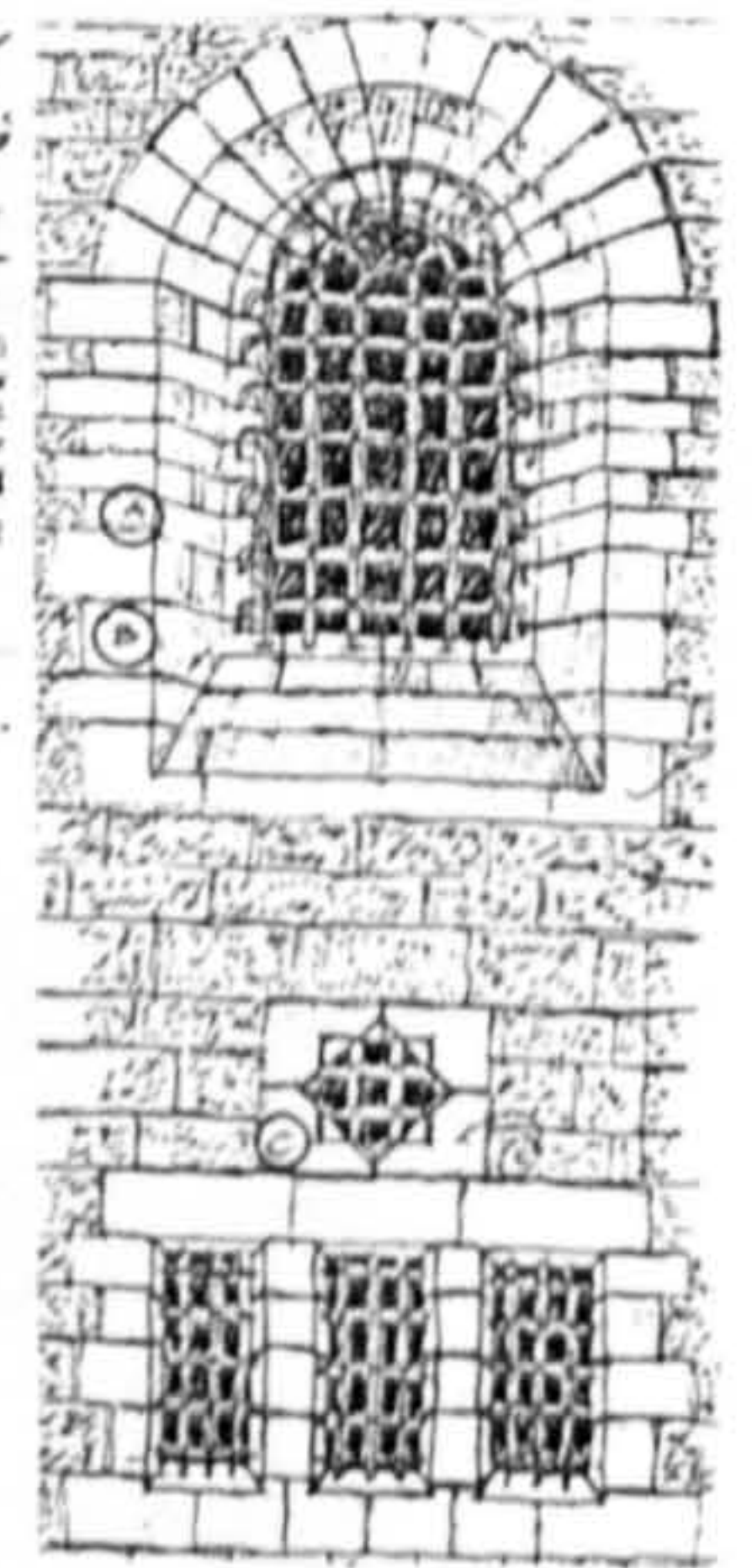
Government House:  
lobby doors



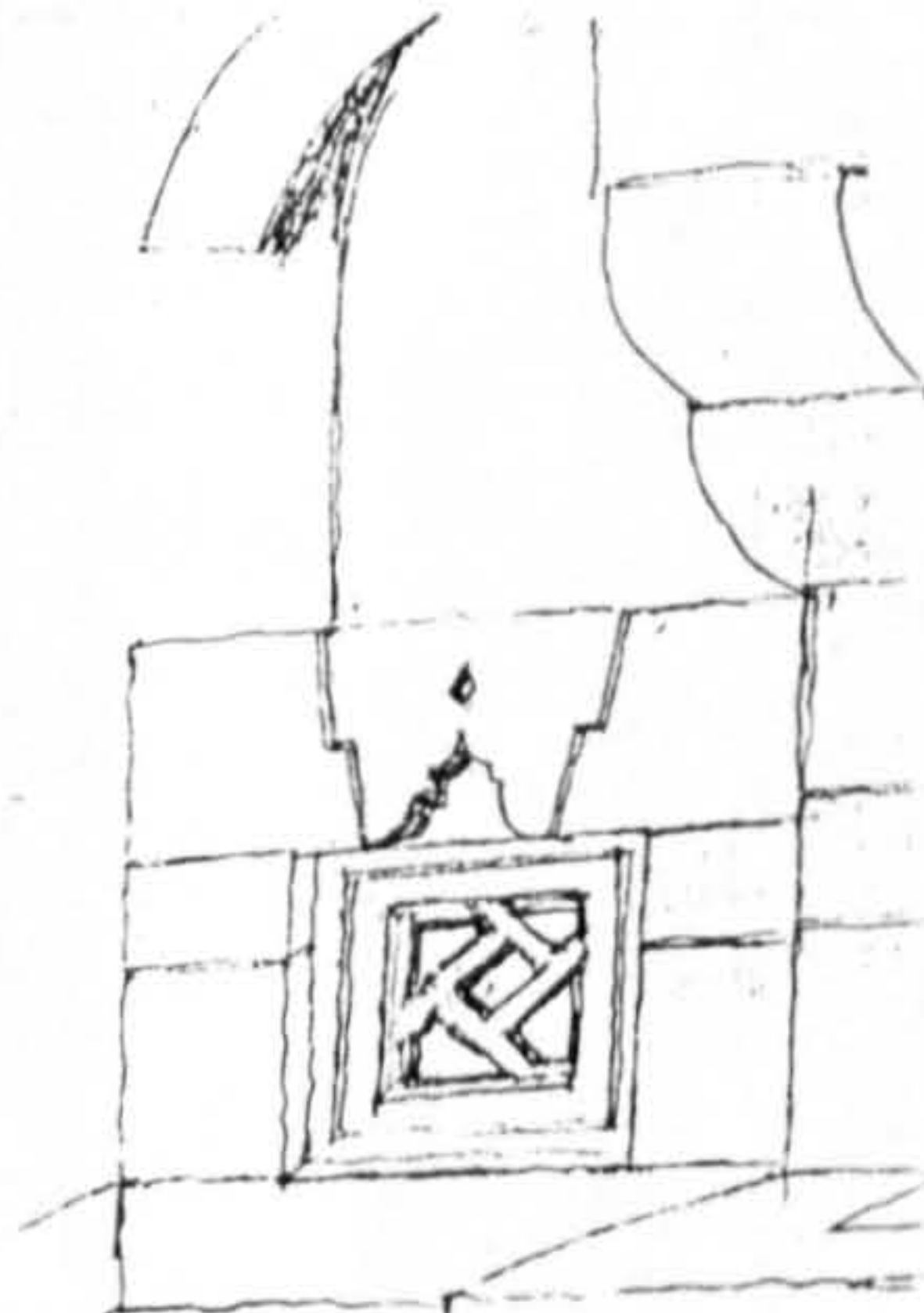
Government House: garden fountain.



Rockefeller Museum.



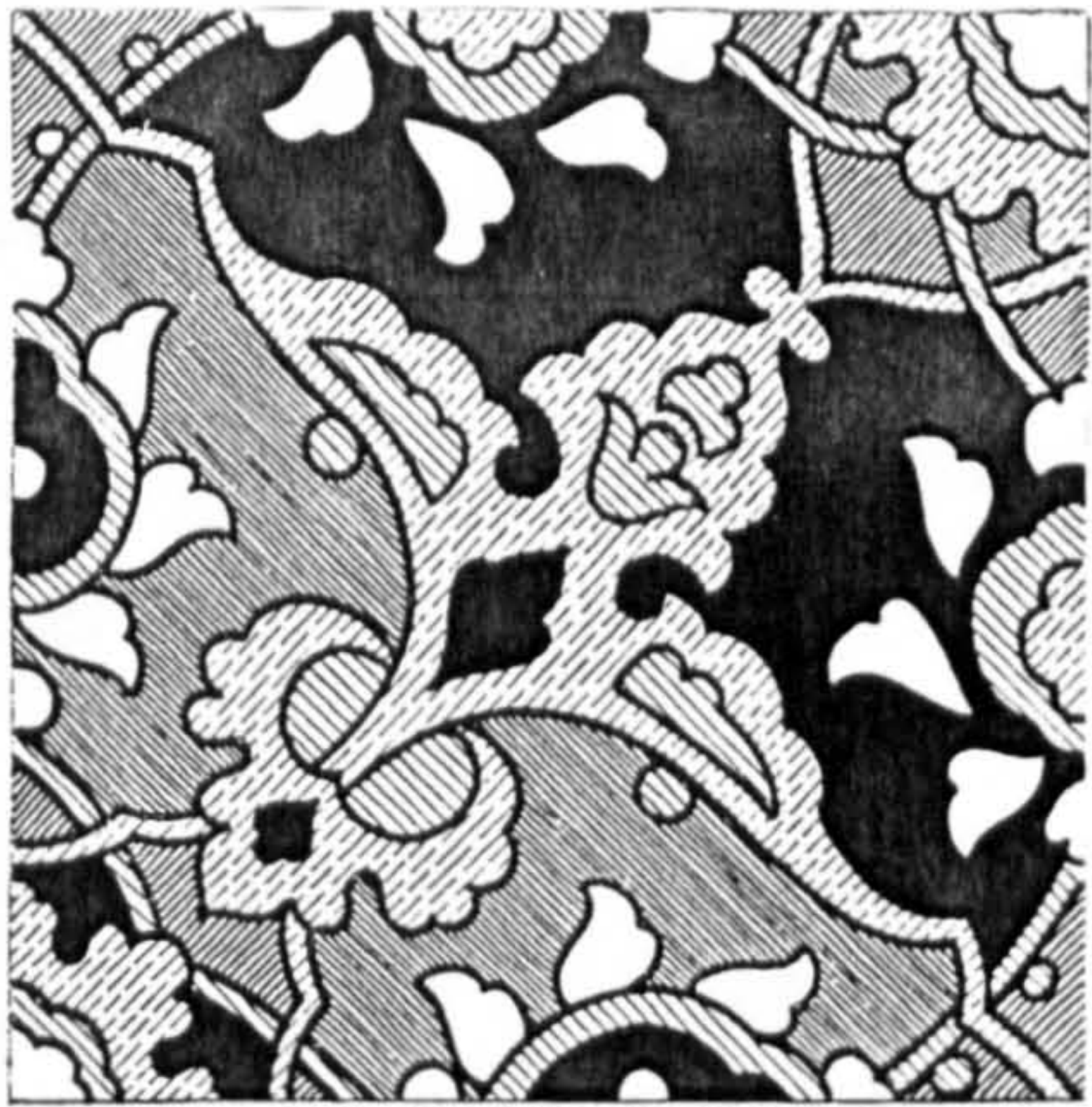
Government House:  
lobby fire place.



Government House:  
coal box.



ISLAMIC REFERENCES: SURFACE DECORATION



Black Dark blue Green Light blue Yellow White

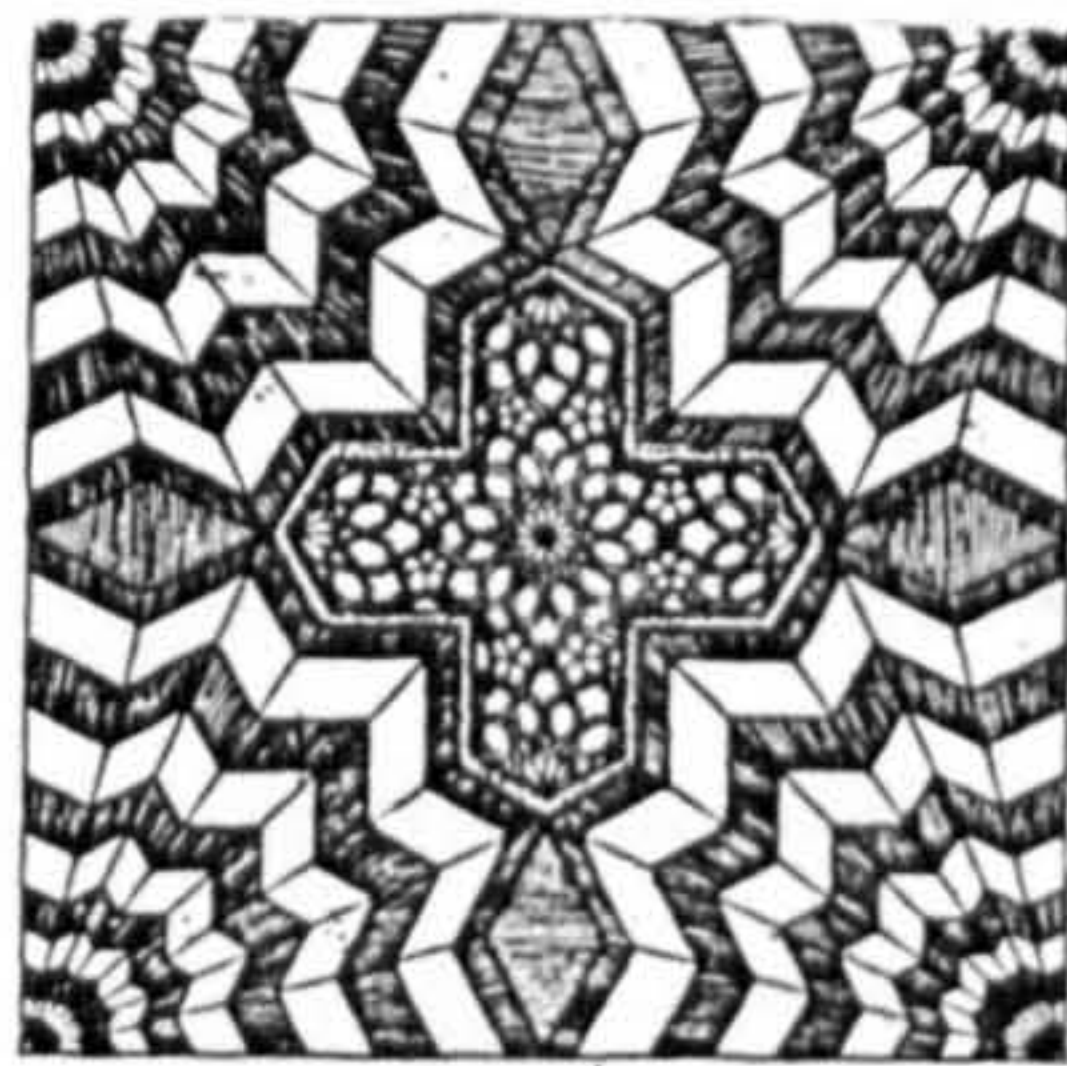


Black Dark blue Light blue White

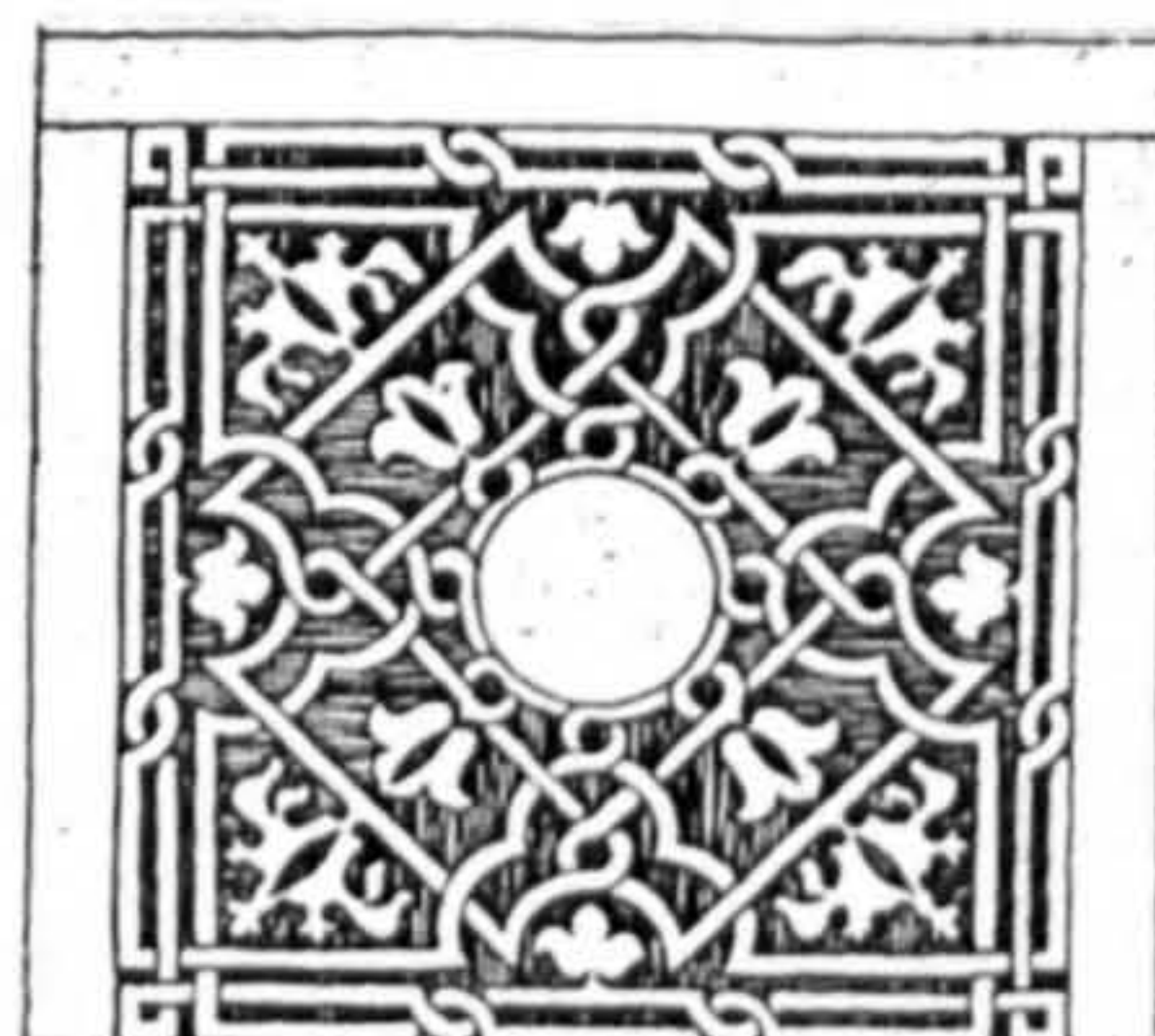
Specimen tiles of the Dome of the Rock, by Richmond in Briggs.



FAN VULTED PORCH BRASS BAZAAR, CAIRO PLAN

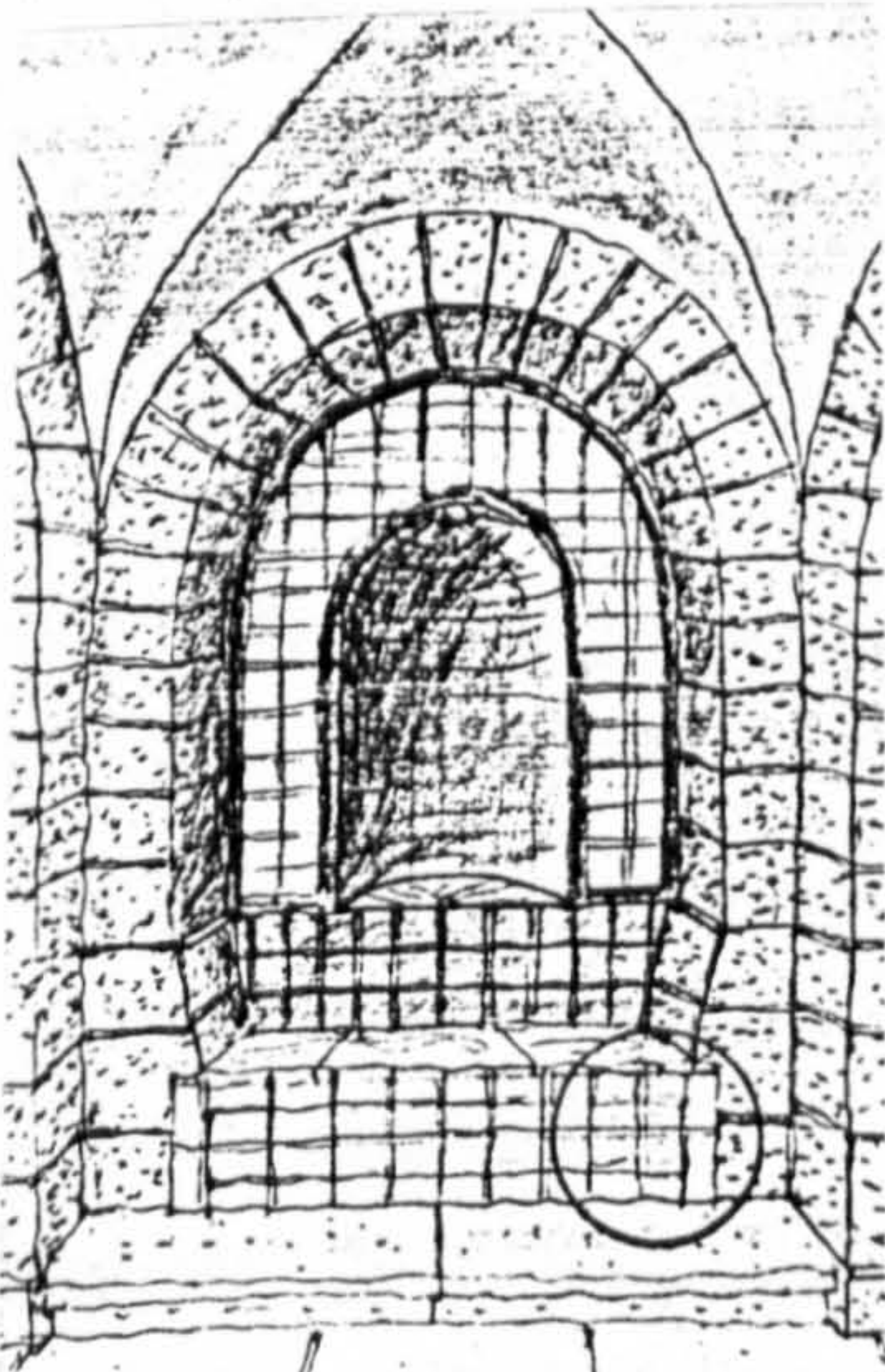
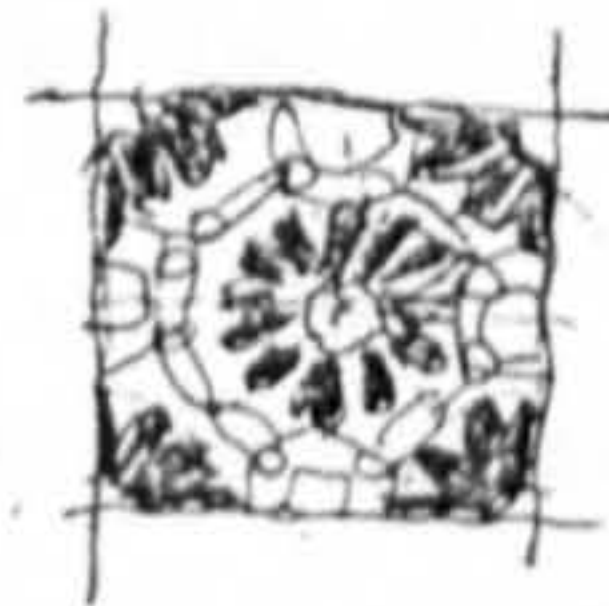
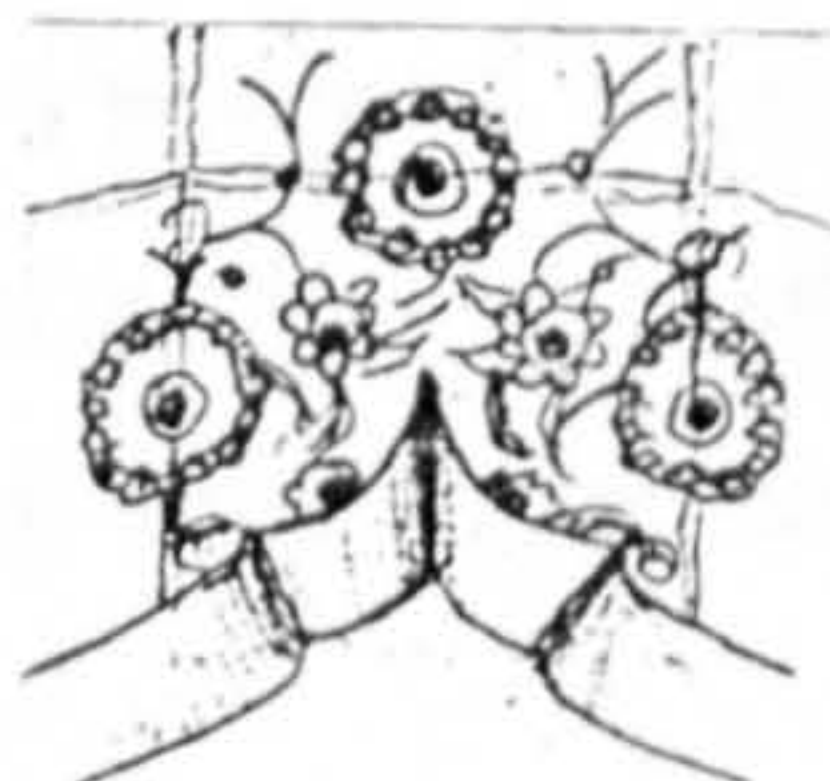
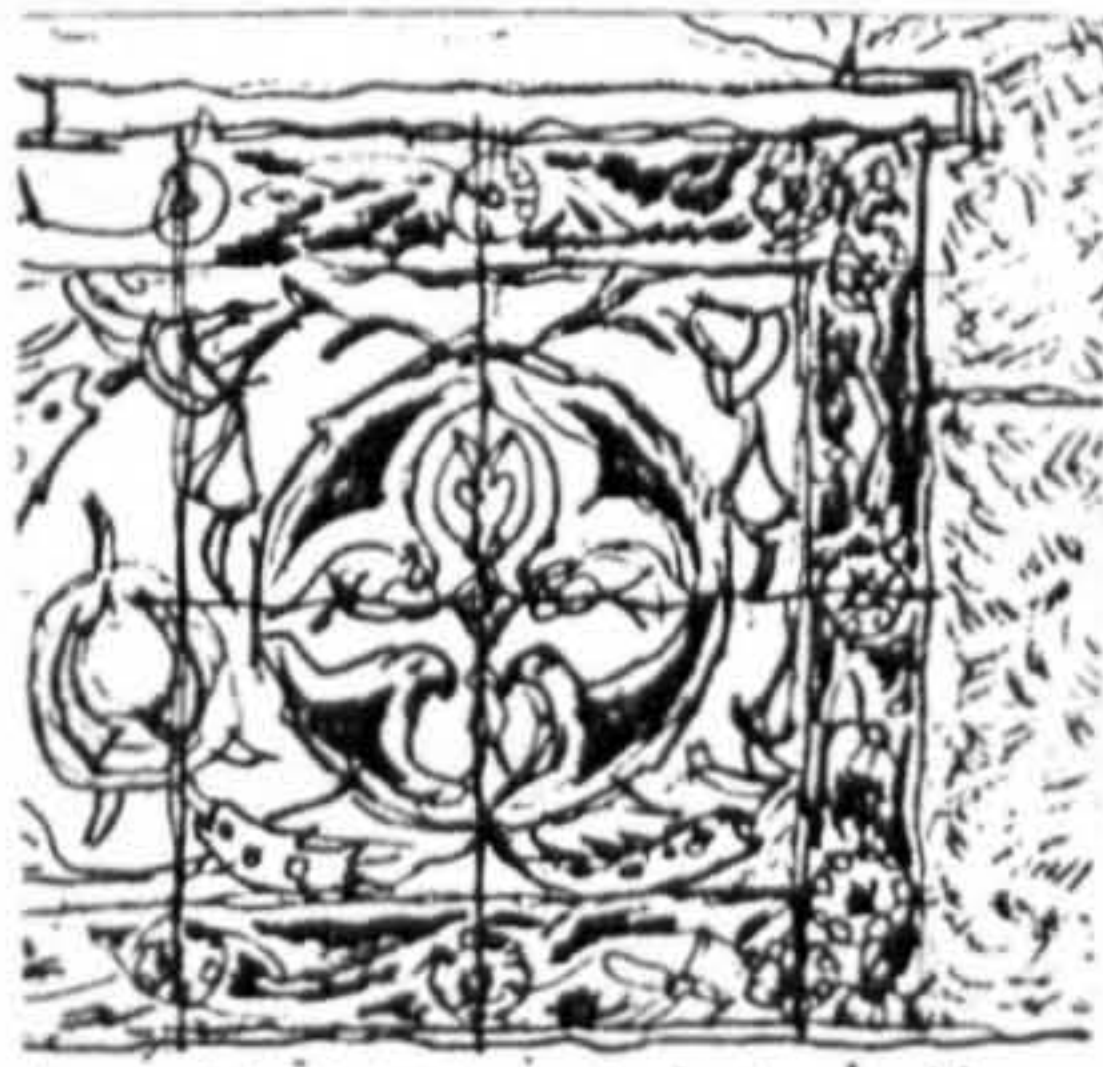


FAN VULTED PORCH TO A SCHOOL, JERUSALEM PLAN

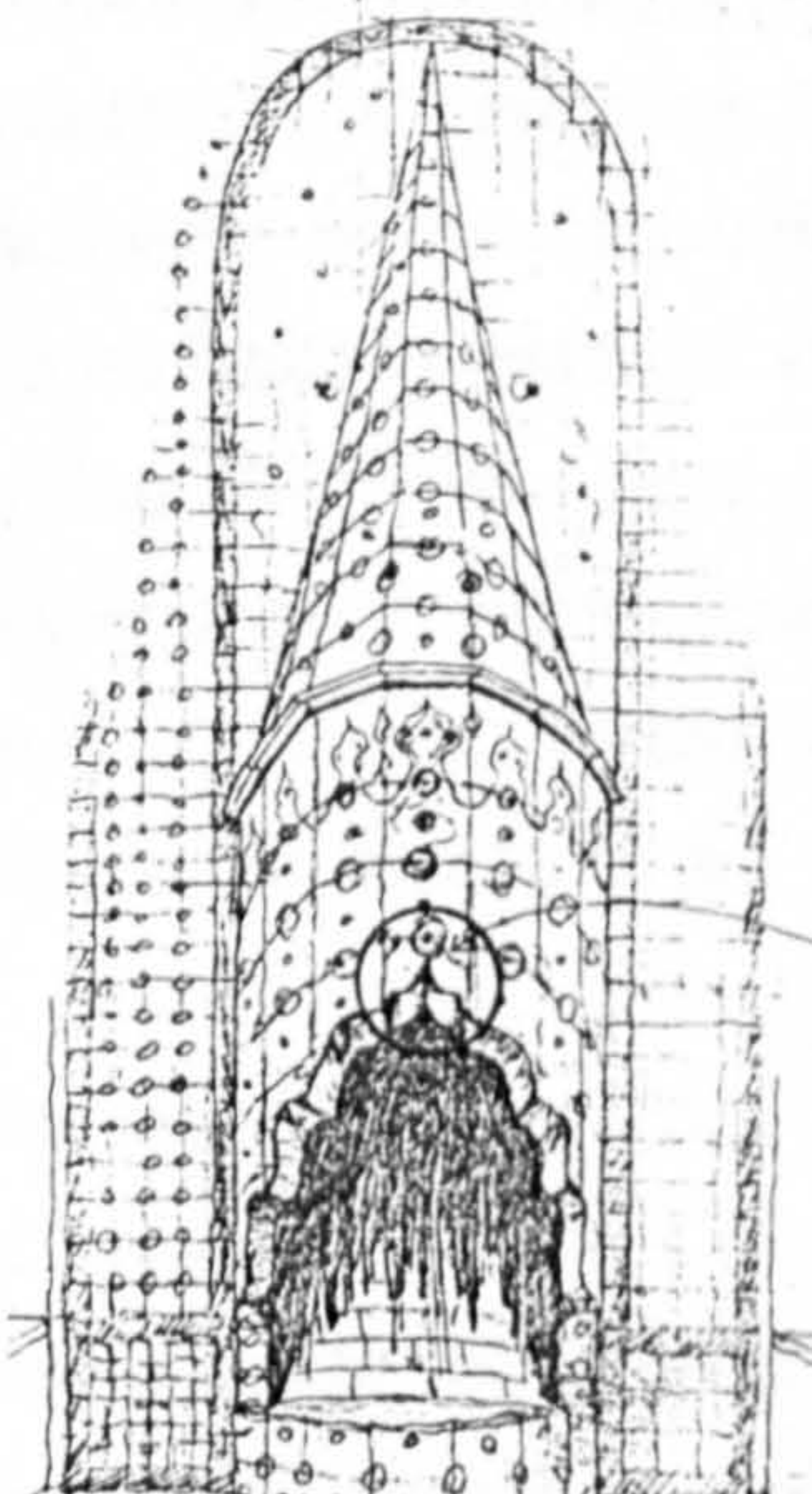


INLAID WALL DECORATION NORTH DOOR OF SERAI

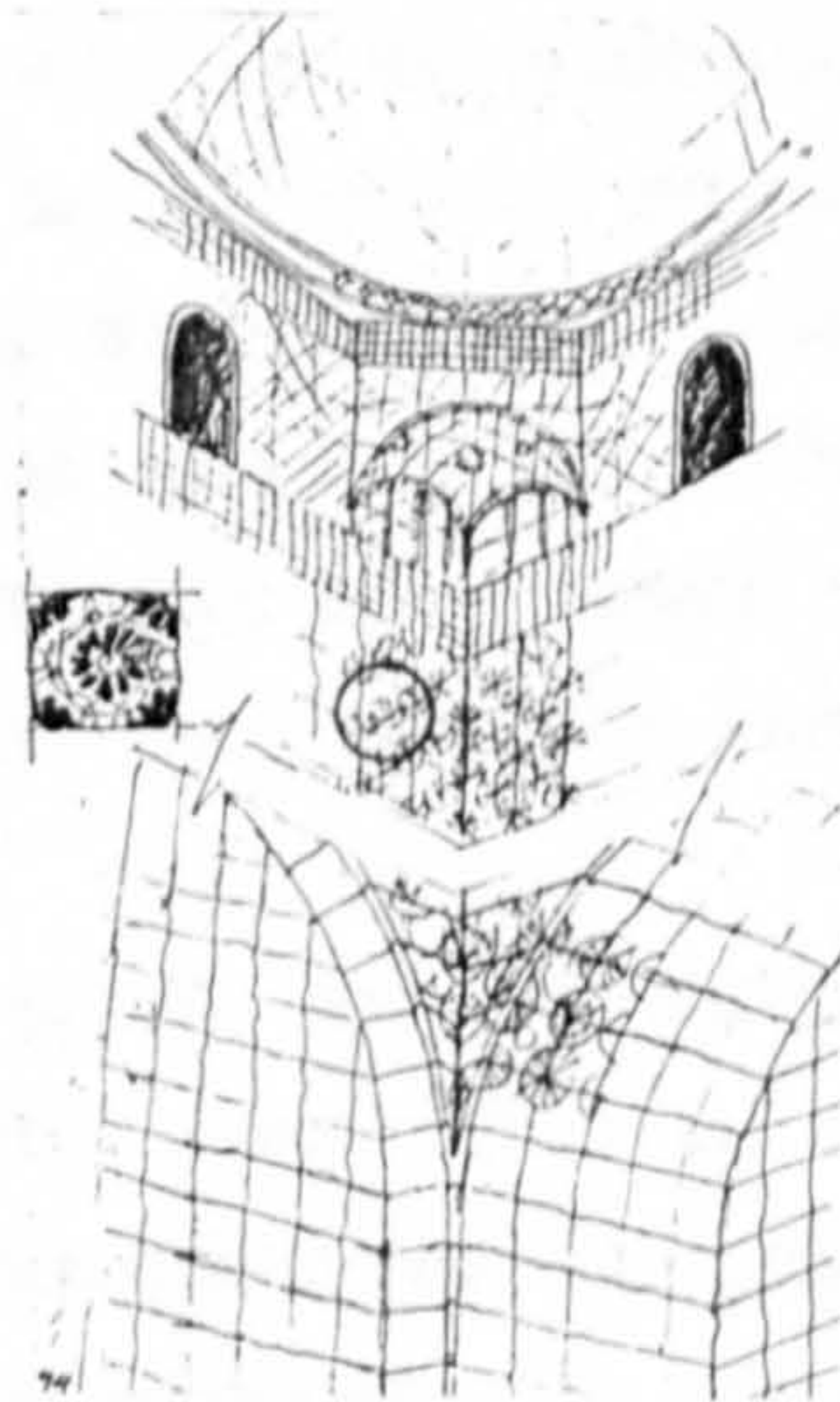
Fan vaults and wall decoration in Jerusalem, by Harvey 1912.



The niche & bench at the entrance porch - the Scottish Hospice - detail.



Fire place at the Ball room of the Government House - detail.



Fountain pavilion at the Rockefeller Museum - detail.



## 9.6. Summary

British buildings which were constructed in Jerusalem during the British Mandate are considered here clear cases of Indirect Representation. That is to say, a form of gaining control and influence through buildings, by which they were expected to be readily accepted by the local subordinate inhabitants and to be perceived by them as part of their milieu. In other words, architecture as a means of gaining hegemony.

For that to be accomplished, British architects who practised throughout the Empire had incorporated in their designs those elements which they perceived as 'typically local', and ascribed to them special power to represent the local traditional architecture.

Based upon what was shown in Part One and Part Two of this dissertation (mainly in regard to 1.3.3., 2.2., 2.3., 3.3., 3.4.3. and Chap. 7), several issues which are especially relevant to Jerusalem, and which formed the background and context for the development of British representational architecture in the City, were discussed in particular. First, as a historic city with deep religious and cultural symbolism, yet neglected and underdeveloped, Jerusalem has embodied the fundamental and timeless conflict between preservation and development. That was the major concern of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, led by R. Storrs, the first Military Governor of the City, and his civic adviser C. R. Ashbee. Second, the efforts of finding suitable criteria for the Society's architectural operations which were mainly Ashbee's endeavours involved a twofold paradox:

1. His rather obsessive search for authentic crafts in Jerusalem had led him to establish a few small industries, none of which originated in Jerusalem, and except for the Armenian tile making, all failed.
2. His efforts of cleaning Jerusalem and making it tidy in order to give priority to what he considered as the City's authentic architecture, led to demolishing the seeds of its potential urban growth, which were no less authentic. As a walled city, predominantly Islamic, which had grown to its limits in terms of vacant land, it began to expand, by which urban tissues had grown along the routes coming from Jaffa and Damascus Gates. Since it was unaesthetic in Western terms - an assault to the authentic architectural heritage of the City - this conflicted with its image as a compact, pure, magnificent entity, Ashbee believed that in order to 'save' the City, those must be urgently removed.

These actions and their consolidation into a Town Plan scheme had determined the future development of Jerusalem, by which the Old City was disconnected from the urban tissue outside its walls. Surrounded by greenery, it became a precious object - a jewel - to be admired from the hills around it. Its importance as a myth was enhanced at the price of it becoming an urban nucleus to that which developed around it.

At that stage there were two kinds of urban tissues around the Old City: one was comprised of isolated, half rural places, atop the hills around the Old City - termed here Semi-Urban Setting; the other was ordinary urban tissue which existed before the



commencement of the British Mandate - termed here Urban Setting. British architects who practised in Jerusalem, or who were involved in its urban planning, shared Ashbee's conception of the development of the new city and designed their buildings to fit those contexts. The buildings which were examined above were divided into two categories accordingly. The more isolated and exposed buildings of the Semi-Urban setting comprised more representational attributes than those which were built within the Urban Setting.

The transverse examination above of the buildings in both settings concentrated on common parameters merely in regard to their representational attributes, leaving out their structure, spatial arrangement, circulation, services etc.

The first parameter is the layout and the configuration of the buildings' mass. All the buildings are highly fragmented. They can be viewed from all directions and the Old City can be fully viewed from various locations in them. With the exception of the British Imperial War Graves Cemetery, the main entrance is located in the rear or side elevations of the buildings. Thus one never turns one's back to the Old City while approaching the building.

The second parameter is the confined repertoire of built forms which characterises all the buildings. They are comprised of a longitudinal mass, connected at one end to a stocky tower or a vertical mass, sometimes covered with a dome, with an arched opening at the bottom part. Their silhouette is reminiscent of the view of the Temple Mount viewed from a distance.

The third and major parameter of the analysis above is comprised of the external and internal architectural elements, in regard to their origin and their role in the building:

1. Individual shapes, originally part of repetitive Islamic surface decoration:

- A square within another square, rotated by 45 degrees, which make the ventilation opening at the Rockefeller Museum eastern elevation (Pl. 8); and as a decorative opening in the gable of the Scots' Hospice (Pl. 16).
- The Terrace Fountain and Garden at the Government House (Pl. 13).
- Decorations of the fireplace cornice and wooden doors at the Government House (Pl. 21).

2. Complete Islamic elements reduced in size used as display objects:

- The Fountain Pavilion at the Rockefeller Museum central courtyard (Pl. 9).
- The Lily Pond at the Rockefeller Museum central courtyard (Pl. 10).
- The Sunken Garden at the Government House (Pl. 13).
- The fire place in the Ball Room at the Government House (Pl. 20).

3. Modifications and transformation of Islamic or local vernacular details and ornaments:

- The *Kizan* was transformed from a detail used for ventilation to an ornament decorating the top of the tower at the Rockefeller Museum (Pl. 7); it was transplanted with no modification in the gable of the Bible Society building (Pl. 27).
- A modern interpretation of an arched opening can be recognised in the narrow window facing the central courtyard at the Rockefeller Museum (Pl. 9).



- An Islamic grid pattern, regularly used for *Mushrabias*, was modified and transformed to serve as a Jewish symbol - the Star of David at the main Library Building of the Hebrew University (Pl. 14).

5. Modernising the traditional methods of stone masonry (mainly in the buildings of Harrison and Burnet):

- The stone details which comprise the ornamentation at the top of the tower in the Rockefeller Museum (Pl. 7).

- The four blocks of stone which make the ventilation opening in the Eastern elevation of the Rockefeller Museum (Pl. 8).

- The differently cut blocks of stone which make the double corner of the tower at the Government House (Pl. 12).

- The high windows underneath the dome of the main chapel at the British Imperial War Graves Cemetery (Pl. 15).

- The high windows of the exhibition spaces at the Rockefeller Museum (Pl. 19).

- The articulation of the rear elevation of the Central Post Office (Pl. 29).

This kind of interpretation, by which traditional stone details were slightly modified to be produced in modern technologies and to be incorporated in new buildings, has proved to be an effective means of adapting contemporary buildings to their traditional historic surroundings. Rather than following the external configuration of shapes to be manipulated aesthetically, or transplanting entire objects and elements taken from their original contexts, it is possible instead to use the logic of the traditional masonry to be implemented in new buildings. Furthermore, Harrison's design of the Lily Pond at the Rockefeller Museum (Plate 10), introduces a subtle and inventive interpretation of architectural milestones (as the Court of the Myrtles at the Alhambra and the Taj Mahal), by which the impression of a large water container was maintained but the actual design was determined by the local constraints.



## CONCLUSIONS

This study goes along with those views which consider imperialism as an important ingredient of Western culture, and not as a ruling mechanism alone. Architecture, being an integral part of any culture, is regarded here as an important ingredient of the *culture* of British Imperialism. It is not merely a manifestation of political power, but also a means of gaining influence and control. It was basically an exercise in gaining hegemony by which British Imperial buildings, which were mostly the interpretations of individual architects rather than of the state, were expected to be readily accepted by the subordinate population and appear natural in their environment.

For that to be accomplished a great body of knowledge about the subordinate cultures and architectural traditions was necessary. Gathered fundamentally from an external point of view, that knowledge was organised in global systems of representational objects, such as the international exhibitions and the encyclopedia, which functioned as mediators between the European person and all that which was not European. Since Western culture is the culture of consumer societies, which are entirely dependent on their capacity to absorb a constant flow of new elements, the desire to own things, to select and collect authentic objects, to classify, to preserve, to exhibit or to sell them, was a natural mechanism - equivalent to the gathering of information and knowledge. For architects, like for other sectors of the British and European societies, it was through that representational system of objects that they were first exposed to the non-European world.

Likewise, with the collapse of the stylistic frameworks in architecture and the emergence of the Crafts movements in Europe, the significance of the individual architectural element was enhanced beyond its traditional role, by which it became an object in its own right. It was considered a key element, to which the power to generate complete architectural or structural forms, and to represent entire traditions was ascribed. Ornaments were regarded as an important means of conveying messages; and qualified workmanship was regarded as a self-realisation of the individual and as a precondition for making good buildings.

The confrontation of British intellectuals with the ideology and reality of the Empire involved moral and aesthetic dilemmas. One which is most relevant herein, especially regarding Jerusalem, was the contradiction between the desire to preserve the primitive person and his creation, and on the other hand, the obligation to modernise and tame him. In professional terms it was 'preservation versus development', a conflict the British architects had confronted while practicing in the 'backward' regions of the Empire. Stemming directly from the notion of representation, it was assumed that by selecting the local authentic elements and incorporating them in modern settings their context could also be 'saved' and preserved.

The Levant, which is where the ideas above had been tested, has its own peculiarities and may not necessarily represent the entire British enterprise of gaining hegemony through buildings. However, as a separate geographical, climatic and cultural zone with deep



Christian and European cultural symbolism, it provides an opportunity to examine some fundamental problems in the relationship between Western and Eastern cultures by focusing on the physical environment. The perceptions by which the natural and built places of the region were regarded as compact entities - as objects (mainly those in the Holyland), were central to the formation of the design attitudes of Western architects who practised in the region, particularly in Jerusalem.

A major issue, whose physical and environmental aspects were tested herein, was E. Said's argument that the Orient was "Orientalised" because it "*could be* - that is, submit to being - *made Oriental*" (Said, 1978; 6). Said is definitely right. It was shown how the physical characteristics of the natural and man-made places in the region could be easily turned into objects - mythical and representational, which appealed to the European mind and soul. It was shown how the mental excursions of gifted individuals had determined the entire European perception of the Levant. The three phases of 'reading' the land; exploring its built environment; and analysing its architecture denote a process - chronological and evolutionary, by which the region was perceived and interpreted by European writers, artists and architects.

In the first phase it was shown how the combination of a compact, intense and figurative landscape, scattered with historical landmarks all made of the local limestone, could be easily turned into best seller narratives - visual or literary. It was demonstrated how the natural attributes of favorite places encouraged their perception as objects, and when slightly exaggerated they became desirable images - spiritual, Biblical or Picturesque.

In the second phase, an entirely new architectural world was revealed to European architects, to be explored, documented and sent home to be used as a source of reference and inspiration. The void which was created with the collapse of the stylistic frameworks in architecture was filled with new stimulants, which challenged the old conventions and suited the new theories of the European crafts movements. A new product was introduced - the architectural catalogue-like chart - a collection of architectural details and ornaments, meticulously drawn in a compact format and classified according to historical and architectural parameters. Like any other collection it became an object in its own right, an independent source of inspiration which was to have a significant impact on later generations of architects. That phase, which was on the verge of being an obsession, involved extensive depredation by which ancient remains were 'saved' and shipped to Europe to be well kept and exhibited in museums.

In the third phase Islamic architecture became the main concern of practising architects and architectural historians who dealt with the region. Preoccupied with details and ornaments, architects acknowledged Islamic buildings as architecture proper, mainly for its mastery in ornamentation and surface decoration. However, they overlooked and misconceived some of its fundamental attributes. Grasping it in aesthetic terms, they failed to recognise the mental and cultural aspects of that phenomenon, as it challenged an important principle of Western architecture - the centrality of mass and structure. The fact



that the main role of Islamic surface decoration was the *dissolution of mass* - made for spiritual purposes, could not be conceived by Western architects. Unfamiliar with the central role of Islamic faith in Islamic architecture, and dominated by the supremacy attached to the individual item in Western culture, their attention was mistakenly drawn to the external configuration of shapes. They were looking for key elements as aesthetic generators of the entire form, regarding them as the most authentic and ascribing to them the power to represent the entire Islamic architectural tradition. Nevertheless, the profound, informative and meticulous investigations of Islamic buildings undertaken by Western architects in an attempt to discover the logic and methods of their production must not be diminished. The problem, then, was their cultural attitude which was basically aesthetic and dominated by their dependence on materialistic things - souvenirs/objects of an exotic world.

The buildings which were selected as the case studies of this dissertation express the two phases of the British presence in Jerusalem, i.e. before and after World War I. As such they are also examples of the two forms of Direct and Indirect Representation in architecture as suggested in this study. In both forms gaining hegemony had been the principal task of these buildings, and critical architectural elements - parts, details and ornaments were considered the principal means of its conveyance. However, whereas in the Direct Representational buildings the elements were simple foreign transplants, only slightly modified as a result of technical and circumstantial constraints, in the Indirect Representational buildings a more complex process took place. Certain architectural elements, mainly Islamic but also of the local Arab vernacular, were reproduced, sometimes interpreted and transformed, and incorporated in the buildings. Stemming directly from the phase of analysing Islamic architecture as described above, architects were fascinated by the aesthetic characteristics and the external configuration of Islamic forms, shapes and repetitive patterns. These were isolated, taken from their original context, reproduced and incorporated in entirely different settings in the buildings. They became objects, sometimes awkwardly placed, assumed as guarantors for the acceptance and adaptation of the buildings which they formed a part.

The more successful cases are those buildings in which the logic and the principals of Islamic or traditional Arab architecture had been followed. Here, it was neither the incorporation of shapes and ornaments taken from a larger whole, nor was it a reproduction of the external configuration of forms. Rather, a transformation of elements was produced which combined new methods of building construction with the principles of traditional stone masonry.

As sometimes happens, some issues herein had grown beyond the original intention and became major themes of this study. One was the problem of the Old City of Jerusalem. Rich with deep religious and cultural symbolism, being the focus of attention and concern for both Western and Eastern societies, it was regarded as a perfect milieu for examining the conveyance of messages through buildings. Nevertheless, it became an issue in its own



right as it embodies all the significant attributes of representation - perceived more as a symbolic object than as an urban ensemble. Rooted in Western culture from a very early stage, this perception had determined the course of the City's later development through the actions undertaken by the British mandatory administration inspired by C. R. Ashbee. The first implication was architectural. As shown above, the Semi-Urban British buildings were carefully positioned on top of the hills surrounding the Old City, allowing its full view from many locations in and around them, and making sure that one would never turn one's back to the Old City while approaching the buildings. Their highly fragmented mass, which contains most of the Jerusalem repertoire of built forms, denotes the tendency to miniaturise and to reproduce the complete City on a smaller scale, which is an essential mechanism in any form of representation and collection of things.

Although initiated with the best intentions those actions had turned out to be a major obstacle for the normal development of Jerusalem. By cutting the Old City off from its life sources - the surrounding urban tissue, it became a pseudo city - a thing to be viewed and admired from a distance. It was prevented from becoming an urban nucleus for what had continued to develop outside its walls, while intensifying the fundamentalist feelings associated with it by the Jews and the Muslims. Unfortunately, none of the administrations which occupied the City after the termination of the British Mandate were ready to free the City from its extremist impact by recovering the urban tissue adjacent to its walls, at least on its north-east and north-west sides, where it is relatively easy due to the moderate topographical conditions.

Neither the Jews nor the Muslims seem to be aware of the fact that the perception of the City as a religious object is basically Western, and contradicts with some of the fundamentals of their own faiths and religions. In Islam, not even a single wall is necessary as a praying place. It is believed that the Prophet himself had said that "Wherever you pray, that place is a mosque (*masjid*)" (in Hillenbrand, 1994; 31). In Judaism the place is altogether irrelevant. The emphasis is on the sense of the community - a prayer can take place anywhere, but always in a group of ten men (*Minyan*).

True, the Temple Mount and the Western Wall had always been places of prayer and pilgrimage, but they were sacred *places* and not sacred *objects*, used for religious practice rather than as pagan fetish. Under the Ottoman administration, when the grandeur and charm of these places was restrained (to say the least), they were perceived basically from within and their external configuration was not yet consolidated into a compact sign. The process of their mystification, as well as that of the Old City at large, reached another climax under the Israeli administration. Various operations such as the expanding of the small, narrow and intimate space in front of the Western Wall and turning it into a monumental plaza, as well as other brutal and aggressive building provocation, were amongst the reasons for the bitter feelings of oppression on the Muslims' side.

Furthermore, Ashbee's idea of a Park System surrounding the Old City was fully implemented and extended. It was even consolidated into a planning and architectural



concept - the so called "Visual Basin" of the Old City. Acknowledged by architects, planners and by the majority of the Israeli public, the City has lost most of its capacities as a living urban entity. It became instead a tourist attraction and the focus of a bitter political confrontation between Israel and the entire Islamic world.

It seems then, that Western hegemony through British mandatory architecture was gained, but not for the best and without control over its cultural and political implications. Accomplished beyond expectations, Western hegemony was readily accepted by the nations formerly under the British Mandate to a point where their own values about religion and urban life were completely abandoned.



## APPENDIX ONE

### *Glossary of Historic European & Islamic Building Terms*

The main sources for this glossary of historical architectural terms which were mentioned above (8.4.1., 8.4.2., 8.4.3.), are the following architectural source books: Harris, 1977; Fleming, Honour, Pevsner, 1982; Lewis, 1986; Hillenbrand 1994; Briggs 1924.

**ABLAQ** - Two tone masonry (Arabic).

**ALFIZ** - A rectangular moulding which frames the Horseshoe Arch; typical to Moorish architecture.

**AMBULATORY** - A covered walk of a cloister; a passageway around the apse of a church.

**BATTLEMENT** - A fortified parapet with alternate solid parts and openings, termed respectively 'merlons' and 'embrasures' or 'crenels' (hence crenelation); generally for defense, but also employed as decorative motif.

**BUTTRESS** - An exterior mass of masonry, set at an angle or bonded into a wall which it strengthens or supports.

**Angle Buttress** - Two buttresses meeting at a right angle of a building.

**Lateral Buttress** - A buttress positioned at the corner on axis with one wall.

**COLLEGIATE GOTHIC** - A secular version of Gothic architecture, characteristic of the older colleges of Oxford and Cambridge.

**CRENELATED** - Having Battlements; or, bearing a pattern of repeated dentations.

**Crenelated Moulding** - (or Embattled moulding) A moulding notched or indented to represent merlons and embrasures in fortification.

**CAVETTO** - Concave moulding, one of the principal forms of moulding; a concave version of the Ovolo, usually a quarter of a circle in section.

**CYMA RECTA** - Wave in Latin; an important compound moulding combining the Ovolo and the Cavetto, with a convex moulding below; in section the moulding is a double curve: concave above, convex below; also known as Ogee moulding.

**CYMA REVERSA** - The inverse of Cyma Recta with the convex curve above, and the concave below.

**CROKET** - A decorative feature carved in various leaf shapes and projecting at regular intervals from the angles of spires, pinnacles, canopies, gables in Gothic architecture; largely abandoned from the mid 13th century. During the Gothic revival Crokets became once more popular ornamental motif in architecture.

**DADO** - In classical architecture, the portion of the Plinth or Pedestal between the base and the Cornice; in modern architecture, the finishing of the lower part of the interior wall from floor to waist height.

**DECORATED STYLE** - The second of three phases of English Gothic architecture (1280-1350), preceded by Early English and followed by the Perpendicular.

**EARLY ENGLISH STYLE** - The first of three phases of English Gothic architecture (1180-1280), based on Norman and French antecedents and succeeded by the Decorated



Style; often characterised by Lancet windows without tracery.

**FLORENTINE ARCH** - An arch whose extrados is not concentric with its intrados, and whose voussoirs are therefore longer at the crown than at the springing; common in the region of Florence in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance.

**FOIL** - In tracery, of any several lobes, circular, or nearly so, tangent to the inner side of a larger arc, as of an arch and meeting each other in points called cusps. Three such lobes make a Trefoil, Multifoil etc., most popular Gothic and Gothic revival ornament.

**GATEHOUSE** - A building, enclosing or accompanying a gateway for a castle, manor house or similar buildings of importance.

**KEYSTONE** - In masonry, the central, often embellished, voussoir of an arch. Until the keystone is in place no true arch action is incurred.

**KIZAN** - A pattern of ceramic cylinders, arranged in triangles, installed in balconies and massive roof ballustrades used for ventilation.

**LANCET WINDOW** - A narrow window with a sharp pointed arch typical of English Gothic architecture (1150-1250)

**MASHRABIYA** - Window-grille or screen of turned wood.

**MIHRAB** - An arch or arcuated niche, flat or concave, which indicates the direction of Mecca.

**MOULDING** - A member of construction or decoration, which introduces a variety of outline or contour edges or surfaces; mouldings are generally divided to three categories: rectilinear, curved, and composite-curved.

*Drip Mould* - Any moulding so formed and located to act as a drip.

*Hoodmould* - The projecting moulding of the arch over a door or window.

*Lable Moulding* - A square-arched Dripstone or Hoodmould; it often appears with an ornamental motif known as a Lable Stop; it is a feature of Tudor and Tudor revival styles.

*Crenelated Moulding* - A moulding notched or indented to represent merlons and embrasures in fortification.

**OCULUS** - A circular opening in wall or at the crown of a dome; also called Roundel or Bull's-eye.

**PARAPET** - A low guarding wall at any point of sudden drop, as at edge of a terrace, roof, battlement, balcony etc.; a defense wall; or, in an exterior wall, the part entirely above the roof.

**PENDENTIVE** - One of a set of curved wall surfaces which form a transition between a dome (or its drum) and the supporting masonry.

*Pendentive Bracketing* - Corbelling in the general form of a pendentive; common in Islamic architecture.

**PERPENDICULAR STYLE** - or Rectilinear Style, the last and longest phase of Gothic architecture in England (1350-1550), following upon the Decorated Style and eventually succeeded by Elizabethan architecture; characterised by vertical emphasis in structure; its final development (1485-1547) is often referred to as Tudor architecture.



**QUAD** - A rectangular courtyard or grassy area enclosed by buildings or a building; most often used in connection with academic or civic building grouping.

**QUOIN** - In masonry, a hard stone or brick used, with similar ones, to reinforce an external corner or edge of a wall; often distinguished decoratively from adjacent masonry.

**REREDOS** - An ornamental screen or wall at the back of an Altar, as a rule decorated.

**SABIL** - A public fountain giving free water.

**SPANDREL** - An area roughly triangular in shape, included between the extrados of two adjoining arches and a line approximately connecting their crowns (or a space approximately equal to half this in the case of a single arch); usually over a doorway, used for decorative ground; often bears paired figures or any symmetrical design.

**SPLAY** - A sloped surface, or a surface which makes an oblique angle with another, especially at sides of openings, so the opening is larger on one side than the other.

*Splayed Arch* - An arch opening which has a larger radius in front than at the back.

**SPRINGER** - the lower voussoir, or bottom stone of an arch, which lies immediately on an impost.

**TRACERY** - An ornamental intersecting work within the upper part of a window, screen or panel, or used decoratively in blank arches and vaults; it consists of ribs springing from mullions, and is usually composed of Cusps and Foils; it became increasingly elaborated through the successive periods of the Gothic, and subsequently in the Gothic revival; the various patterns are: Bar or Geometrical, Flowing (common in England in the 14th century), Intersecting, Kentish or Foiled, Plate (where the Foil is at the centre), Reticulated (much used in 14th century England), and Y-tracery.

**TUDOR ARCHITECTURE** - The final development of English Perpendicular Gothic architecture (1485-1547), preceding Elizabethan architecture and characterised by four-centered arches.



## APPENDIX TWO

### *Additional Information about Architects & Buildings Examined Above.*

#### ARCHITECTS

##### *AUSTEN ST. B. HARRISON (1891-1976)*

There is very little information left about Harrison, partially because of his introverted personality, and also because he incinerated his diaries and sketch books before his death. His architectural career, which took form outside Britain, was mainly associated with the Middle East and with Jerusalem in particular. Except for a single building, Nuffield College in Oxford (1938-1958), Harrison did not build in Britain. Between the years 1922-1937, he served as the Head Architect of the Palestine PWD (Public Works Department) which was a most important period in his personal and professional life. During that period he designed and built a considerable number of buildings throughout the country. The most significant were built in Jerusalem and Amman: Government House, Jerusalem 1928-1933; Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, 1927-1935; Central Post Office, Jaffa Road; Amman, Government House 1923-1926.

The rest of his career was also associated with British imperial assets: between the years 1943-1945 he prepared, with P. Hubbard, a plan for the preservation of the city of Valetta, Malta. The city underwent a most difficult period during World War II, when the island was heavily bombed and 27,000 of its houses were demolished. The plan, which was eventually suspended, proposed a different strategy from the usual schemes for renovation of European cities after the War, as it seriously considered the historic buildings of Valetta and exploited the ruined vacant areas for new buildings, mostly public. The dilemma of style and the introduction of new building technologies was regarded by Harrison and Hubbard as a serious threat to the preservation of architectural heritage of the island, and thus they suggested ways of exploiting the local traditional building methods, which had obviously been learnt in Jerusalem (Harrison and Hubbard, 1945). Later on he designed two hospitals in Aden, a university and a bank in Ghana.

Harrison's architectural training was neo-Classically oriented, strongly influenced by the Beaux Arts theories. Classicism was in fashion towards the end of 1920s, and works of architects such as Lutyens and Holden were extensively documented in architectural journals. In spite of the differences between the ideology of the neo-Classicist school and that of the Arts and Crafts movement, Harrison, like Lutyens, was influenced by both. Yet, unlike Lutyens, traditional architecture of the East had become for Harrison a principal source of inspiration, which he interpreted throughout his career. The manner by which he studied this architecture was through sketching, drawing and measuring existing buildings, which was the customary method among architects of his and of previous generations. Yet to a great extent Harrison managed to go beyond Western cultural barriers and avoid



the external point of view. Though he employed Western methodology of analytical classification, his interpretation was basically different, with local elements being transformed rather than transplanted.

His non-Modern architectural approach coincided with the conception of Palestine as an Eastern country, threatened by Jewish modernistic operations, which had naturally led him to favour Arab interests. Yet that sympathy towards the East and the Arabs was not merely a response to the immediate situation of Palestine, but also had its roots in the heritage of the first Arabists of the previous century, e.g. Richard Burton and Charles Doughty. To some extent their peculiar ways of life had also influenced Harrison's personal life style of withdrawing from the English social life and spending long periods of solitude in the desert.

(The only serious and comprehensive work about Harrison and British mandatory architecture in Palestine was undertaken by R. Fuchs in his unpublished dissertation submitted in the Technion Haifa, 1992, Hebrew. This review is based mainly on pp. 74-79. The following sources were also referred to: Sussmann & Reich, "The History of Rockefeller Museum" in: Zev Vilnay Jubilee Vol. II, ed. E. Schiller, Jerusalem, 1987; 83-91; D. Kroyanker, 1989, vol. 4, pp. 436-437; Stark, 1945, 1986; 99).

### *ALBERT CLIFFORD HOLLIDAY (1897-1960)*

Like Harrison, Holliday's architectural career began with a Beaux Art training in the Architectural School of Liverpool University, and took form in Jerusalem. After a short period of academic research under Patrick Abercrombie, he was invited to Jerusalem in 1922 to replace C. R. Ashbee as R. Storrs' Civic Adviser. He completed some of Ashbee's projects, such as the conservation of the Old City wall, and later, after the disintegration of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, he was appointed as adviser for the Jerusalem Town Planning Committee until 1934. He was involved in preparing legislation and town planning schemes for Jerusalem and two other towns in Palestine. However, unlike Harrison, he was never officially under the mandatory administration, and he designed a number of buildings in Jerusalem as an independent architect.

During his architectural career he went through several changes: quite early in his career he completely abandoned the Beaux Art approach; after 1930 he came closer to the Jewish Modernists and was involved in some of their projects. His important buildings, however, were designed before that period, mainly in Jerusalem: a Clock Tower and a small shopping centre built in 1922, north-west of Jaffa gate (demolished 1934); St. John's Ophthalmic Out-Patient Clinic (1928-1930-1932. The first scheme was designed by Harrison); St. Andrew's Scots Memorial Church (1926- 1930); British and Foreign Society Building (1926-1928); Barclays Bank and Municipality building (1930-1932).

Between 1939 and 1946 he was consultant to the Government of Ceylon and to the Colonial Government of Gibraltar. From 1946 to 1952 he was Chief Architect and Planner



to Stevenage Development Corporation, and from 1952 until his death (1960) he was Professor of Town and Country Planning in the University of Manchester. (R. Fuchs, 1992, 197-199; *The Builder*, October 7, 1960, p. 660; Kroyanker, 1989, vol. 4, 435)

### *SIR PATRICK GEDDES (1854-1932)*

Sir Patrick Geddes is still considered among the greatest town planning theorists. His theory augmented the 'sense' of the world, with emphasis laid on the necessity for preliminary surveys and on the dependence of acceptable town planning on sociological research combining elements of biology. Geddes was, in fact, a trained biologist and zoologist. Though he had never taken a degree, he was a Professor of Botany at Dundee University from 1889-1918, and a teacher of sociology at the University of Bombay from 1929-1932. His principal work on town planning was *City Development*, published 1904.

As a result of years of teaching, Geddes had developed a method of analysing cities and parts of cities. In essence, his method focused on cities in a synthetic, interdisciplinary manner, as a preliminary stage to proposing practical solutions for their problems. Geddes was brilliant, perceptive, enthusiastic, kind, and high-minded. But he was "...impractical and impossible" (Saint, 1991; 209). In the late 1890s Geddes began getting restless in the academic framework of Edinburgh. He wanted to extend his scheme for self-governing autonomous university halls, which had attracted praise. University reform and university extension on the German model were among his ideals and goals, as they were among Ashbee's too. Ashbee and Geddes had met in the mid-1890s. Their careers constantly intersected thereafter, though they avoided working under each other.

Although Geddes had never been part of the British imperial administration, his career was intimately associated with the Empire. It was primarily because his ideology embodied the dilemma of preservation versus development. The imperial framework of underdeveloped countries, especially that of India, had been a perfect context. Apart from his work as a lecturer in Bombay University, he also prepared reports about town planning of Madras, Lucknow, Brno, Indore and Calcutta, and plans for two new universities. He negated ideas of clearing out slums and proposed schemes of "conservative surgery" (Fuchs, 1992, p. 181).

His involvement in Palestinian affairs, which lasted between 1918 and 1929, in connection with his design for the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus, was in collaboration with the Scottish architect Frank Mears. It was during that period that he was asked by Storrs to propose a town plan scheme for the city of Jerusalem.

His encounter with Zionist ideology was through his contact with a number of leading Zionists personalities in Britain. He was fascinated by the Zionist ideology as he interpreted it, and not necessarily as it actually was. For him "reviving Jerusalem stands for... a true re-



Hebraicizing of Europe and the West; that is the renewal of ancient discernment of unity..." (according to Defries, 1928, pp. 268-9, as cited in Fucs, 1992; 182). He saw no conflict of interests between Arabs and Jews and regarded the violent expressions as a transitory situation.

His perception of Arab architecture was that it "seemed to have been Jewish before it was Arab"...(Geddes, an article from 1921, p.477, cited in Fucs, 1992; 184). Though this may seem strange and tendentious, it reveals the dilemma which the Jews themselves were confronting, settling in their old-new motherland, searching for an appropriate architectural expression. During the first quarter of the 20th century, the Zionist movement included a trend which longed to blend with the Arabs. The artistic and architectural expression of this yearning should be considered as just another version of Western attraction to the Orient and the Levant. Thus, Geddes' vision of "re- Hebraicizing", besides being part of that attraction, may also be regarded as a true response to a wish, expressed by some Zionist leaders, especially Dr. Eder, the Chairman of the Zionist Organisation of Great Britain (Dolev and Gordon, 1992, Vol. XXXVI no. 2; 364). It may be argued then, that in a manner of speaking Geddes was trapped as his Western contemporaries had been: i.e. ascribing Eastern elements with rather mistaken representational attributes. The planning and design of the Hebrew University provided for Geddes an opportunity to realise his avant-garde ideals concerning a university. He was rudely dismissed from the job after ten years of work, after only two buildings were built.

(Meller, 1990; Penguin Dictionary, 1982, 132; Saint, 1991, Vol. 34, pp. 207-215; The Palestine Weekly, Vol. I. no.39, Jerusalem October 1920, devoted to Geddes' philosophy about town-planning and universities, in The Jerusalem Municipality Archives, in an un-numbered file about C. R. Ashbee; Dolev and Gordon, 1992, Vol. XXXVI no.2 361-372; R. Fucs, 1992, 180-184).

### *SIR JOHN BURNET (1857-1938)*

Sir John Burnet was a well known Scottish architect with one of the biggest architectural practices in Britain of those days with offices in Glasgow and London. He studied architecture in the Ecole de Beaux Arts in Paris, where he also worked for some time under the French architect Jean-Louis Pascal. When he returned to Scotland he opened his own practice and gradually developed a neo-Baroque style with certain American influence, especially that of Salivan whom he met in Paris. From 1904 until 1914 he was involved in building the new wing of the British Museum in London, where he opened another office which was conducted by two younger architects: David Reaside and Thomas Tait. The latter was quite influential in the London office, and became a partner and head architect. Both Tait and Reaside were involved in building war cemeteries in Palestine and in Gallipoli, amongst which was the cemetery on Mount Scopus (Fucs, 1992; 189-190).



## BUILDINGS

### *Semi-Urban Setting*

#### *GOVERNMENT HOUSE (1927-1933) by A. St. B. Harrison.*

The High Commissioner of Palestine first occupied the great Augusta Victoria Hospital, originally built (1910) to commemorate Kaiser Wilhelm's visit, but supposedly designed as the Government House of an expected German-conquered Palestine. It is a most extravagant building, which had accommodated the German military headquarters during the First World War. In 1917 it was captured by the British Army and in 1919 housed the OETA, and later became the seat of the British High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, until 1925.

Lord Plumer, who succeeded Sir Herbert Samuel, felt Augusta Victoria was inappropriate, both on the economic and representational levels. He was determined to find an alternative accommodation and in August 1926 the Exchequer and the Colonial Ministries in London approved in principle the purchase of an adequate site for a new building. It was agreed, however, that both from the economical and political points of views, such a building should avoid extravagance on one hand, but still be dignified enough to house "His Majesty's representative in Palestine". Thus it was suggested that the house "should correspond rather with a typical modern legation building" (Lord Amery, in a letter to the PWD April 4th, 1927, in CO 733/137/44290, cited in Fucs 1992, p. 91).

The selection of an appropriate architect had been a matter of great controversy between Lord Amery, who proposed the well known imperial architect Herbert Baker, and Lord Plumer who proposed A. Harrison, the architect of the PWD. It was only in September 1928, after Plumer had already instructed Harrison to develop several schemes for various sites, that Lord Amery approved Harrison as the architect of the building.

The site which was finally selected, The Hill of Evil Counsel, was the last of three sites which were found inadequate for various reasons. The committee, appointed by Plumer (1926), examined two types of sites, one for a Town House and the other for a Country House, each not too far from Jerusalem. Although Plumer was in favour of an accessible place and "closely identified with the life of the capital of the country" (memorandum, April 29th, 1926 CO 733/129/12076), the decision was finally taken in favour of the remote and some what aloof site. Harrison, who was involved in that decision, was aware of the special qualities of the place: overlooking the Old City from the south, and to the east, the Dead Sea and the Moab mountains. Though on top of a hill, it does not overwhelm the city and its environs.

Due to the special design and quality of the building, construction works lasted for three years and the expenses exceeded the approved budget. Nonetheless, the travel writer, Freya Stark, who visited the house as a guest of the High Commissioner Sir Harold MacMichael,



had considered it as "the most beautiful modern building in the Middle East". She went on saying that:

"Austen Harrison, who designed it, had placed it with a massive austerity, on the grey hillside, to be the expression and climax of its landscape. In its seclusion, surrounded by descending terraces and lavender, with the steep walled city of Zion catching the sunlight on the opposite hill..." (Stark, 1945, 1986; 99).

(New Government House files of the Public Record Office, London, reproduced by the Israeli Government Archives, no. CO733/129, CO733/137, CO733/145, CO733/194; unnumbered plans, sections and elevations at the Jerusalem Public Works Department; Hussey, October 1931, September 1949; Hopwood, 1989; 123-125; J. Morris, 1979; 263; Kroyanker, 1989, vol. 4, pp. 81-89; Fucs, 1992; 89-98; Stark, 1945, 1986, 99).

*ROCKEFELLER ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM (1927-1935) by A. St. B. Harrison.*

The idea of establishing an archaeological museum in Palestine had already been proposed to be built within the Old City, in 1924, but was rejected for financial reasons. Due to the intensified archaeological activities in the country and throughout the region, accommodating and exhibiting the growing number of finds had become an urgent need. The famous American archaeologist and Egyptologist, James H. Breasted, who had visited the region in 1926, convinced John Rockefeller Jr. to donate \$2,000,000 for constructing the museum, on a site donated by the Palestine British mandatory government, and for financing research, exhibitions etc.

Harrison, who had been involved in the matter since the proposal of 1924, was responsible for the selection of the site for the new museum. He was recommended by Breasted as the architect, and was approved by Lord Plumer. In spite of objections on the part of the Jewish sector, as well as from the RIBA members who were in favour of a design competition, Harrison had managed to prepare preliminary plans by 1927.

The site which was suggested by Harrison is a plateau, above the level of the Old City wall, (Karem el Shieh) opposite its north-east corner. The mandatory government purchased the land from a Hebron family and demolished the slaughterhouse which existed there. Rockefeller's demand that an ancient pine tree (planted around 1711) remain on site was respected and it became part of Harrison's design (though that section of the building was never built).

The foundation stone was laid on June 1930 and the Italian contractor De Farro, from Alexandria, carried out the construction. Work lasted for five years, due to political unrest and to archaeological excavation which had to be undertaken after ancient graves were



discovered on the site. Executing the design elements themselves, which involved complicated original designs and art work (undertaken by the British sculptor Eric Gill 1882-1940), was most time consuming.

(Files of Public Record Office, London, reproduced by the Israeli Government Archives, no. CO 733/96, CO 733/112, CO 733/142, CO 733/146; unnumbered plans at the Jerusalem Public Works Department; Harrison, September 6th 1935; 263-282; Iliffe, 1938; . 1-22; Reich and Sussmann, 1987; 83-91; D. Kroyanker, vol.4, 1989; 113-117; Fuchs, 1992; 106-125).

### *THE SCOTTISH MEMORIAL CHURCH (1927-1939) by Clifford Holliday.*

The two main religious bodies in Scotland, the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church, had decided to establish a church and a hospice to commemorate the Scottish soldiers who died in the battles over Palestine, and to fulfill the last wish of King of Scotland Robert Bruce (1329) to bury his heart in Jerusalem. In 1923 a Scottish delegation set out for Jerusalem in order to look for an appropriate site and select an architect.

The site, chosen by C. Holliday, is a hill south-west to the Old City wall, across the deep ravine of the Valley of Hinnom, beyond which rise the Old City walls. The vast panorama viewed from it is loaded with historical and Biblical connotations. As was agreed upon by the committee, the general style would be "...Eastern to harmonise with the surrounding" (pamphlet, CO733/129 21346, p.12). The building is comprised of a church and a hospice which contains a common room, library, a dining room and fifteen bedrooms.

The aim here resembles that of the foreign European holds at Jerusalem of the nineteenth century: "The Memorial Church will be a witness to the Faith of Scottish Christianity in the city of our Lord's death and resurrection. It will also minister to the religious needs of the many Presbyterian visitors from overseas" (pamphlet, CO733/129 21346, p.12).

(The Scottish Memorial Church in Jerusalem, pamphlet, November 1926, CO733/129; CF /21346 17.11.26; Kroyanker, 1989, vol. 4; 123-124; Fuchs, 1992; 124).

### *BRITISH IMPERIAL WAR GRAVES CEMETERY, MOUNT SCOPUS (1920-1927) by J. Burnet. .*

The cemetery on Mount Scopus was one among six others built in Palestine after World War I, and among numerous other cemeteries throughout the Empire. The recording and commemorating of the burial places of the dead soldiers was started by a civilian, Sir Fabian Ware. Ware's Graves Registration Commission was recognised by the War Office in 1915 and the Imperial War Graves Commission was established in 1917. It was an independent



body, answerable to Parliament alone.

On the advice of Sir Frederick Kenyon, director of the British Museum, Ware first approached Lutyens and Baker for architectural advice, and both architects were sent to France to make recommendations. In August 1917 Lutyens wrote A Memorandum on the Graveyards of the Battlefields, which in most respects determined the character of the permanent war cemeteries created after 1919. He stressed the importance of planting and gardening and recommended that each cemetery have one large, non-denominational monument. In this he agreed with Ware about the necessity of uniform treatment of graves, but disagreed with Baker and many others who desired Christian and other religious symbols in the cemeteries. A compromise was reached and each cemetery was given both Lutyens's Great War Stone and a freestanding Cross of Sacrifice, designed by Sir Reginald Bloomfield. By 1918 Lutyens, Baker and Bloomfield were appointed principal architects for France and Belgium. They were joined by Charles Holden in 1920. Under them served assistant architects who were responsible for the detailed design and execution of most of the separate and individual cemeteries which lie along the Western Front.

A standard plan was adopted for all cemeteries of the different regions of the Empire, consisting of similar gravestones regardless of rank or social status: a rectangular vertical stone block, curved on the top (rather than a cross, as many of the Empire's dead soldiers were non-Christians) upon which personal details and the sign of the military unit were carved. The inscription, "Their Name liveth for evermore" from Ecclesiasticus, was chosen by Rudyard Kipling. Apart from these, there were Record Houses where the lists of buried were kept, which also served for prayer, designed by the architect of each particular cemetery.

Design work had been divided amongst leading British architects on a regional basis. Accordingly, Lutyens, Baker, Bloomfield and Holden had commissions in France. Italy, Macedonia and Egypt were given to Robert Lorimer, and Edward Warren worked in Mesopotamia. John Burnet was commissioned to design the cemeteries of Palestine and Gallipoli in 1918, and later also in Egypt.

That arid, formerly enemy territory, which was inhabited mostly by non-Christians, had made Burnet slightly modify the standard scheme, mainly on the symbolic level. He thus suggested that the cemeteries be designed as walled gardens, with rows of trees on both sides of the wall, enclosing a vast green consisting of the graves. He also thought that the cross and monument should be more modest, and that the entire setting should be constructed strictly from local materials. The committee had partially accepted this view and the cemeteries in Gallipoli, Gaza, Deir-el-Belah, and Ramleh contained shorter monuments and modest crosses. As for Jerusalem, the committee could not accept the notion that Bloomfield's Sacrifice Cross would be absent.

Meanwhile, a spontaneous enterprise initiated by General Allenby began to take form. In 1919, the sum of 11,000 pounds was collected by the soldiers for the purpose of building



a monument for their dead comrades. The site, chosen by Allenby himself, was on Mount Scopus, rich with historical connotations: the place where Titus had camped before laying siege on Jerusalem; and where Alexander the Great had agreed to the plea not to attack the City. All the important sacred sites to all three religions can be viewed from that site. Since such private initiatives were banned in 1919, Allenby, who had already confronted various obstacles in executing his enterprise, transferred the money he had collected to the Imperial War Graves Commission, which had fortunately chosen the same site.

(Annual Reports of Imperial War Graves Commission in the Israeli Government Archives M/858/30/9; Lutyens, in a publication of the Arts Council of Great Britain, for an exhibition held in the Hayward Gallery London, November 1981 - January 1982, Amery and Richardson; 148-155; Fucs, 1992; 188-197)

*HEBREW UNIVERSITY MAIN LIBRARY BUILDING, Mount Scopus (1926-1929) by P. Geddes and F. Mears.*

The Library Building and the Einstein Institute (which was not presented above) are the only buildings built of the preliminary scheme designed by Geddes and Mears. Although considerably altered and not fitting exactly into the original plan of the campus, they embody representational attributes which were studied above. However, regarding them separately as free standing buildings on top of Mount Scopus and ignoring the circumstances behind their creation would be misleading and insignificant.

As far as the Zionist Movement is concerned, there had been no vision of how the university should look. It was only after the laying of the cornerstone that the Zionist leadership, mainly in Britain, became concerned about the physical aspects of the project. One of the first initiatives taken by Dr. Eder was to invite Patrick Geddes to propose a master plan of the entire university. By December 1919, Geddes, with the assistance of Frank Mears, had submitted a scheme which realised Geddes' educational ideology, and at the same time, expressed a wish to blend into the local environment, both into its topography and into its symbolic cultural milieu.

The scheme (see below) comprised of a nucleus - a central hexagon, which is rather like a terrace, enclosing a courtyard, consisting of a large conference hall covered by a dome, which Geddes had called the "Dome of Synthesis" in accordance with the religious domes of the three monotheistic faiths which sanctified Jerusalem. The buildings branching out from the hexagon were to accommodate the different faculties of the university, in a certain hierarchy, following Geddes' views about science and education. The south-west wing of the hexagon remained open to lead the viewer directly to the Old City.

Geddes perceived the dome as a universal symbol, common to all religions, and thus could be easily identified with by members of all faiths and nationalities. He extensively incorporated it in the campus in different sizes and over most of the buildings. As far as



Jewish symbolism was concerned, it was represented by the hexagon stemming from the Jewish Star of David, and according to Geddes' interpretation, by other Arab traditional forms.

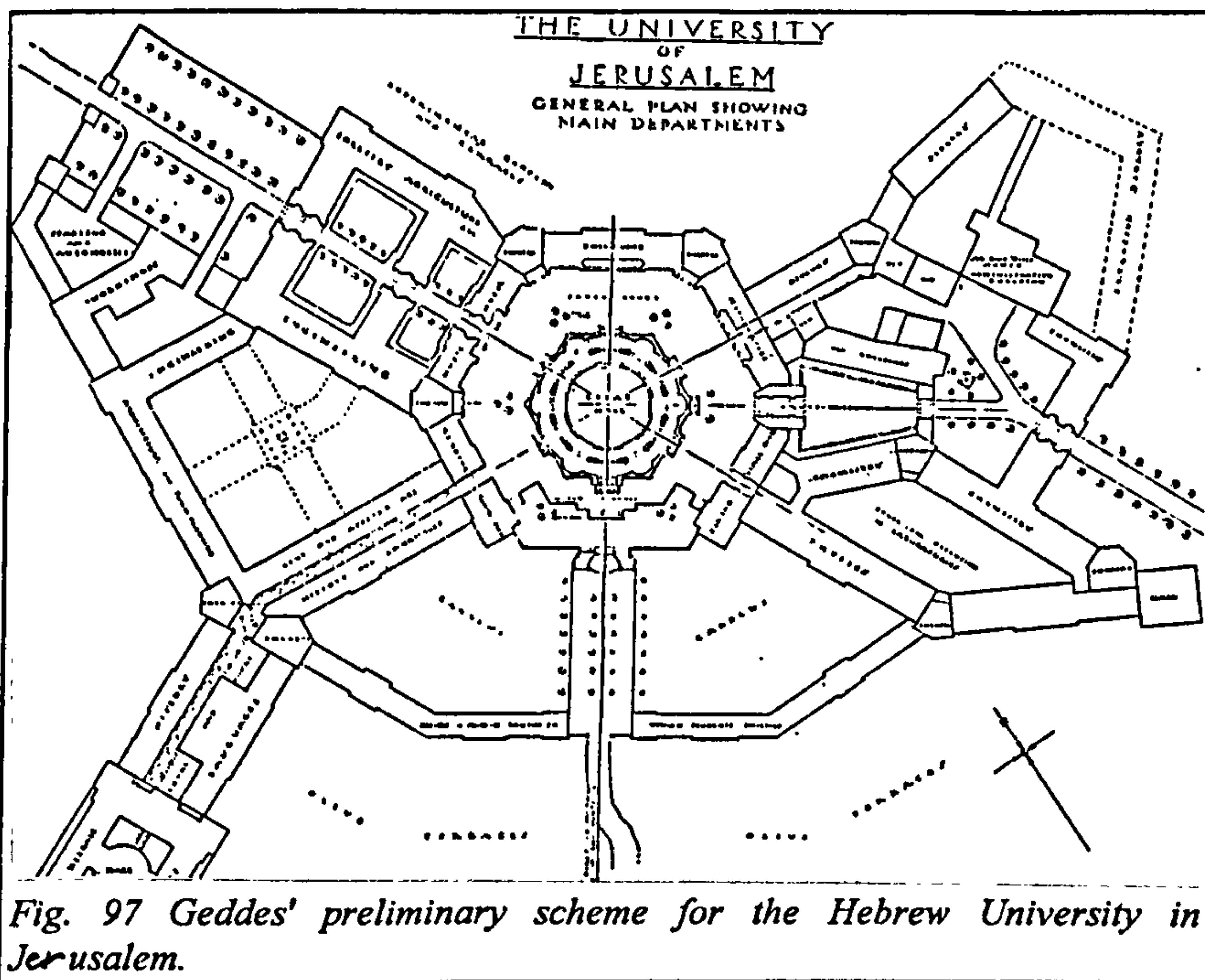


Fig. 97 Geddes' preliminary scheme for the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

This, of course, could not be accepted by the majority of the Zionist leadership, who objected to the plan and presented two types of arguments: the first was rather pragmatic: since "Geddes' plan is one organic whole, no individual part will ever look complete until the central building is put

up" which would urge the purchasing, "at once and at any cost, of all the land required for the execution of the entire Geddes plan". (Dr. Schlesinger, a document prepared on Geddes' plan, for the Friends of the University, undated, file 35/1 University Archives, p. 1).

Behind the second type of argument against the plan, which also included some practical considerations, lay a nationalistic motive which was in favour of Jewish architects taking part in the design. Schlesinger suggested that a general competition be held, "admitting as competitors all Palestinian architects and all Jewish architects outside of Palestine", while the next stage would be "a limited competition inviting five or six of the best Jewish architects from all over the world..." (Schlesinger document, p.4).

Geddes' master plan was never implemented, and the Library and Einstein Institute buildings which were eventually built represent only a fraction of Geddes' grand vision. From 1919 to 1923, no one looked at Geddes' plan or discussed it. Many of those who argued about the character of the University didn't even know that the Geddes master plan existed (Dolev & Gordon, 1992; 365).

(File no. 35/1 at the University Archives; Unpublished dissertation by D. Dolev, "The Architecture of the Hebrew University, 1918-1948", at the Tel-Aviv University, January 1990; Dolev and Gordon, Spring 1992, Vol. XXXVI, no. 2; 361-367; Fucs, 1992; 184-187.)



## *Urban setting*

Between the years 1924 and 1932 Holliday had designed a small urban setting composed of three buildings and a garden. Overlooking the north-west corner of the Old City wall, it was, and is still today, in a most critical urban location: a meeting point of two zones, according to Ashbee: the "Park System or reserved for open spaces", and the "Business and Residential" (Ashbee, Jerusalem 1920-1922; 12-14). The Garden, which was recently altered, and the Clock Tower, above a small shopping centre which was demolished in 1934, were not reviewed above.

### *BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY (CONNAUGHT HOUSE) 1926-1928) by C. Holliday.*

The British and Foreign Bible Society is a missionary organisation for spreading the teachings of the Bible, with branches around the world. It used to be under the patronage of the Crown. Establishing a branch in Palestine became possible after the British mandatory framework had been set up. The organisation purchased a plot of land behind the Clock Tower. The building is an ordinary three-storey office building, of which only the front elevation embodies representational attributes.

### *BARCLAYS BANK AND THE JERUSALEM MUNICIPALITY BUILDING (1930- 1932) by C. Holliday.*

In 1836 the Colonial Bank was established. In 1926 it was merged with the Anglo-Egyptian Bank and the National South-African Bank to become Barclays Bank - Colonial and Overseas Dominions. The bank, which had established several branches in the region shortly after the British mandatory administration was set up, wished to open a branch in the civic centre of Jerusalem. Yet whilst the bank had faced difficulties in acquiring an appropriate site, the newly established municipality of Jerusalem, which owned land in the city centre, could not afford its own building for lack of funds. Thus, according an agreement signed between the Municipality of Jerusalem and Barclays Bank, the bank was to lend the Municipality the sum of 27693 pounds for the purpose of constructing the building. In return the municipality would let part of the building for the Bank's own use for a 30 year period.

The building was thus composed of two sections: a western section, facing the garden, to be occupied by the municipality, and the eastern section, facing the Old City, for the Bank. One would rather expect the opposite, where the municipality would face east, and the bank would face the urban garden and Jaffa road on the west. This somewhat awkward



situation should also be understood as part of the general low-key policy of the British administration, and the demand of the Bank to have the more prestigious facade facing the Old City. Yet attention must be drawn to the fact that during the time of design, and for several years afterwards, the eastern elevation of the building was partially blocked by the Clock Tower, also designed by Holliday.

The Clock Tower was built to compensate for the demolition of a Turkish clock tower built above the barbican of Jaffa Gate in 1907 by the Sultan Abu Hamid. Building of clock towers had become a fashion in many cities of the Ottoman Empire towards the end of the nineteenth century, and several were built in various cities in Palestine. Storrs, who had obviously regarded the Ottoman Clock Tower as an aesthetic offense to Jaffa Gate "too long disfigured", had promised to build another one instead, "less aggressively and shorn... in the central and suitable neighbourhood of the Post Office Square" (Storrs, in Ashbee 1920-1922, p. VI). Holliday, who replaced Ashbee in 1922, was asked to design a new clock tower together with several shops in the site where the old Central Post Office had been.

#### *CENTRAL POST OFFICE (1934-1938) by A. St. B. Harrison*

Post Office buildings were a most common building type constructed by the British Mandatory administration in the major cities of Palestine. The PWD was responsible for their design and construction. Usually their representational characteristics were confined to an institutional appearance, and they were conceived as predominantly utilitarian buildings. Such was the Central Post Office on Jaffa Road.

The building occupies a plot between two streets with a difference in level of two stories. The front elevation, consisting of the main entrance, faces Jaffa Road, while the rear and lower elevation faces Koresh Street. The ground floor consists even today of a large hall of the Post Office, whereas the two upper stories housed the central management of the British Mail in Palestine. The bottom two floors accommodated the operational departments.

(Public Record Office reproduced by the Israeli Government Archives, no. CO733/158; Fucs, 1992; 199-201, 207-208; Eben-Or, "Municipality Building" in Kardom, 33, May 1984, Hebrew, pp. 9-12; Kroyanker, 1989, vol. 4 168-173; E. Schiller, 1979; 51,52)



## APPENDIX THREE

### *Two Buildings in Cairo.*

#### *Islamic architecture in Spain, North Africa*

67) Indirect Representation was practiced in Cairo at an earlier stage than in Jerusalem, side by side, however, with sheer European transplants. Under the British occupation of Egypt (1882-1952), British architects were a minority amongst other European architects who undertook most of the building projects throughout the country. It was a continuous situation which characterised the reign of Muhammad Ali and the Khedive Isma'il, particularly under the supervision of the Minister of Public Works, Ali Mubarak. Mubarak, who spent some time in France, was strongly influenced by European culture that had determined his architectural attitudes and preferences. He encouraged European architects to occupy governmental posts. European, non-British architectural styles are to be recognised in most Cairene buildings, including those which were designed by British architects. The two Buildings which will be presented below are chronologically parallel to those which were built during the two phases of the British presence in Jerusalem, that is before and after World War I.

*Misr (Ramses) Railway Station (1893), by Edwin Patsy (British).*

The Building combines a neo-Classical facade with repetitive Islamic elements at equal intervals. The dominant elements were mainly used to elaborate the main openings, which follow Islamic shapes. The main ornament is a network of interlacing in relief against a turquoise background applied on subtle recesses within projecting panels. The most extravagant is the "Royal Entrance" on the north-west elevation (Fig. 99), whereas the entrances for the general public are simpler, schematised arranged together within a slightly projected panel on the south-east elevation (Fig. 98).



*Fig. 98 Ramses Railway Station, south-east elevation.*



*Fig. 99 The "Royal Entrance".*



The exact sources of the architect's inspiration are not clear. Possibly he studied carefully Islamic architecture in Spain, North Africa and the Islamic vocabulary of Cairo (Sakr, 1993; 67). Nonetheless his interpretation, which attempts to portray Islamic impression as much as possible, mainly in the Royal Entrance, is far more successful than Pite's design for the Mission Hospital in Jerusalem (see above, Pl. 5, p.183). This is mainly because some basic principles of the Islamic gateway (Bab) were maintained, such as the basic proportions between the recessed niche and the actual door, and the effect of an extremely thick wall. The building at large does not portray an Islamic impression, in the configuration of its mass articulated in its lesser important segments with rectangular cement squares.

Railway Stations, Post Office buildings and other utilitarian building types were the main British concern which comprised the greater part of their architectural Imperial enterprise. Here a special attempt was made to communicate with the local inhabitants, through those elements in the building with which the public was in the greatest contact, ascribing to them the greatest representational power.

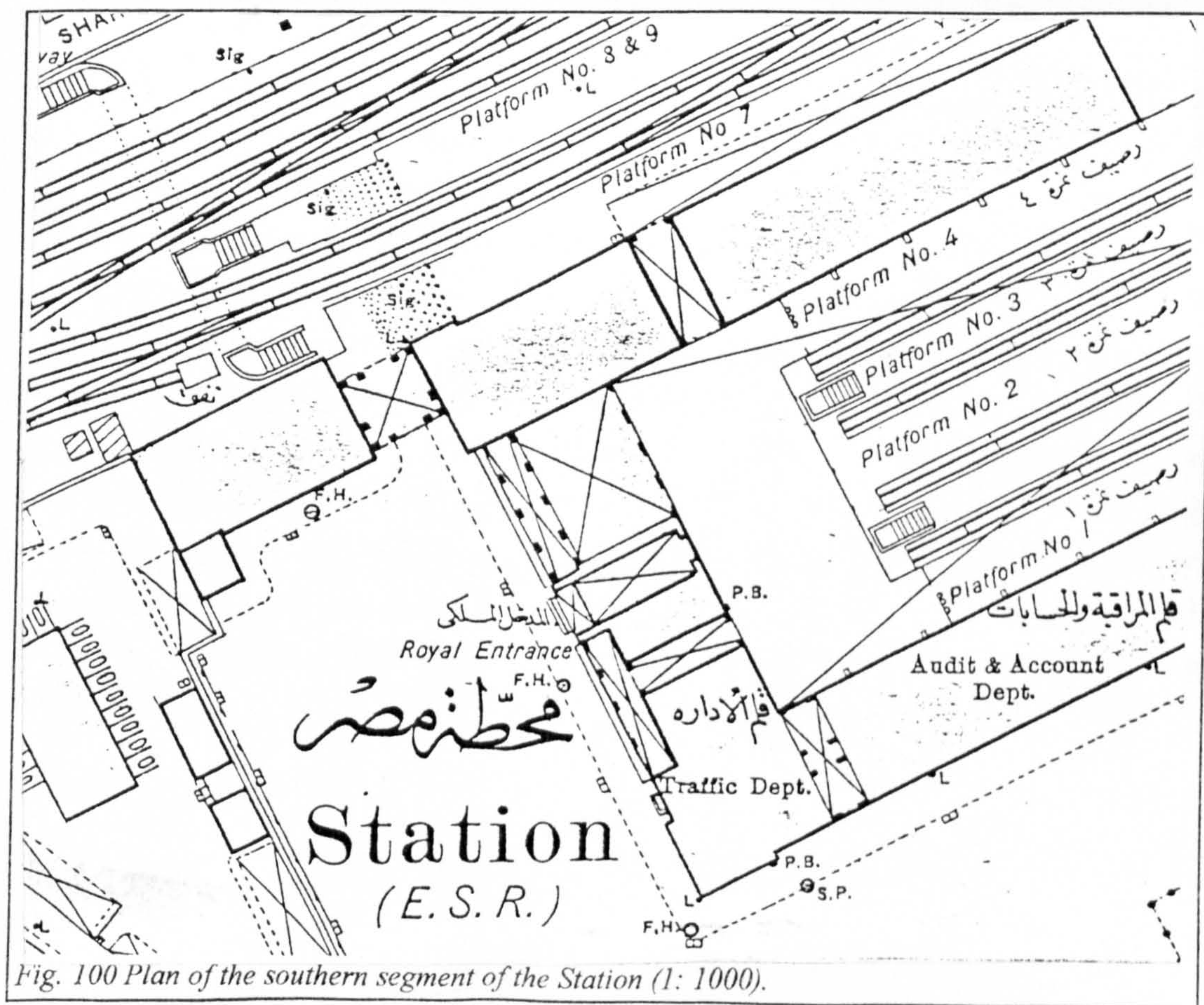


Fig. 100 Plan of the southern segment of the Station (1: 1000).

*Agricultural Society Building (1930), by Mustafa Fahmi*

This modernised building is an early example of the acceptance of Western hegemony by the local inhabitants, by which the Western interpretation of Islamic architectural tradition was adopted - regarded as an appropriate self representation. Mustafa Fahmi (1886-1972)



graduated from the Ecole des Ponts et Chaussees in Paris. After his return to Egypt in 1912, he was appointed as the first Egyptian architect in the Department of Architecture and design in the Public Building Service, of which he became the director in 1926. He also served in many public positions and lectured on architecture in the Royal School of Engineering (1918) (Sakr, 1993; 14).



*Fig. 101 Agricultural Society Building - segment of Main elevation..*



*Fig. 102 Agricultural society building corner tower.*

The building is considered the seed of Fahmi's later style: Classical principles of symmetry, axuality and repetition, combined with simplified Islamic architectural elements. In this respect, most relevant herein is Tarek M. R. Sakr's study of early 20th century Islamic architecture in Cairo (1992). Sakr, a contemporary young Egyptian architect, shows how European interpretation of Islamic architecture was adopted even after the British occupation of Egypt, when "...this Revival style introduced by European architects found in the nationalist movement rich soil in which to grow and develop" (Sakr, 1992; 76). It is not clear whether he accepts that interpretation, nevertheless about this particular building he writes: "The use of vertical triangular-arched recesses with their traditional proportions stresses the Islamic spirit of the Building" (Sakr, 1992, 36).



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