

9 War, Propaganda and Architecture

Cemal Pasha's Restoration of Islamic Architecture in Damascus during World War I

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In the following I am sending a few notes on the German survey of Damascus. The copy I am sending, from which the accompanying plan is taken, was torn down on the last day of the German occupation, from the wall of a German official's room, and with his permission.

Those who knew Damascus before the war will recognize that great alterations have taken place ...¹

With these words James Hanauer begins his short article in which he reports on the changes in the urban fabric and built environment of Damascus during World War I when Ahmed Cemal Pasha (1872–1922), Ottoman Minister of the Navy, was stationed in Syria as governor-general and commander of the 4th Army. Cemal Pasha arrived in Syria in December 1914 and left in December 1917.² During his three-year stay he ruled Syria in an authoritarian way and his “reign of terror” alienated the local population from Ottoman rule.³ Cemal Pasha's policies were directed at strengthening Ottoman state power in Syria and increasing the sense of Ottomanness among the local population. Hoping to become the founder of a modern and developed Ottoman Syria, he embarked upon ambitious plans of urban modernization in the main cities of Greater Syria such as Beirut, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Aleppo and Damascus. His modernization project comprised the widening of existing streets, the building of new roads both between cities as well as within urban centres, and the construction of public parks, ponds, fountains and various public buildings ranging from state offices, schools, banks and post offices to hotels.⁴ In the beginning of 1916 Minister of War Enver Pasha sent the Swiss architect and director of the German Fine Arts Academy in Rome, Maximilian Zürcher (1868–1926), to Damascus. Zürcher became Cemal Pasha's architectural consultant and was responsible for the planning and designing of various projects,⁵ most of which were never realized.⁶ In his dedication in a copy of *Alte Denkmäler aus Syrien, Palästina*



FIGURE 9.1 Hanauer's German plan of wartime Damascus. Courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London.

und Westarabien Cemal Pasha refers to this period of cooperation with Zürcher as an “era of serious works.”⁷

Another part of Cemal Pasha's ambitious plans consisted of the restoration of selected pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Islamic monuments. Among the projects were the restoration of the citadels of Jerusalem, Aleppo and Damascus, clearing the Noble Sanctuary in Jerusalem of detrimental additions, the restoration of the Aqsa Mosque, the restoration of the Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya and the Madrasa al-Salimiyya and the ‘sanitization’ of the environment of the Great (Umayyad) Mosque and the tomb of Salah al-Din in Damascus. In the same period the Ottomans also undertook the restoration of the Holy Mosque in Mekka.⁸ These restoration activities in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire mainly focused on symbols of state power (citadels) and religious architecture (mosques and tombs) and aimed at heightening the government's profile in the Arab provinces and at gaining Muslim support for the Empire during World War I.

Cemal Pasha's interest also extended to pre-Islamic antiquities. On 1 November 1916 he had a meeting with the German archaeologist Theodor Wiegand (1864–1936) who served in the German army in Syria. During this meeting Cemal Pasha expressed his wish to place the monuments of Syria under special supervision provided he could

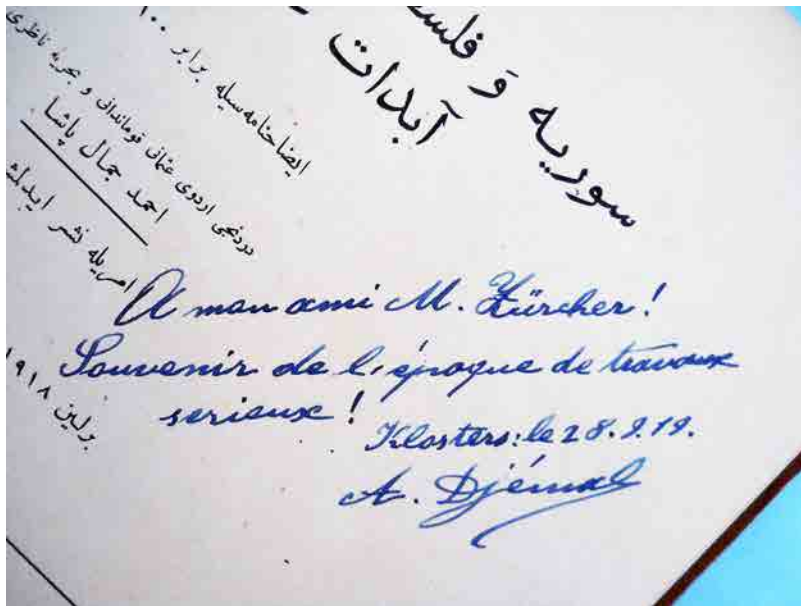


FIGURE 9.2 Cemal Pasha's dedication in *Alte Denkmäler aus Syrien, Palästina und Westarabien*: 'A mon ami M. Zürcher! Souvenir de l'époque de travaux sérieux! Klosters: le 28.9.19. A. Djémal.' Courtesy of Erik-Jan Zürcher, Leiden.

find the right person for that task. The German consul Julius Loytvet-Hardegg immediately suggested that Wiegand was the most suitable man for that job. Subsequently Cemal Pasha appointed Wiegand as Inspector-General for the Antiquities of Syria and Palestine and head of the *Deutsch-Türkische Denkmalschutzkommando für Syrien und Palästina* (German-Turkish Monument Protection Unit).⁹ In his introduction to *Alte Denkmäler aus Syrien, Palästina und Westarabien* Cemal Pasha lists the goals he wanted to achieve with his initiative: creating a reliable inspection service, preventing the construction of detrimental new buildings inside and in the direct environment of ancient structures, cleaning ruins, prohibiting the local population from using ruins as building materials, providing better access to ruins and accommodation for visitors, and collecting antiquities.¹⁰ The clearing of "detrimental buildings" and the demolition of residential and religious architecture for the widening of streets or the construction of new roads turned out to be one of Cemal Pasha's most problematic policies because it implied expropriations of private property for high prices and led to opposition, court cases and, last but not least, resentment towards the Ottoman authorities and Cemal Pasha in particular.¹¹ Although his urban policies were also directed at gaining

popular sympathy, Cemal Pasha's *modus operandi* merely fuelled the melt-down of Arab support for the Ottomans.

In recent years Cemal Pasha's rule in Syria has attracted the attention of a number of scholars who usually also deal with aspects of his urban policies. Kayalı (1998) only summarizes his urban policies, but clearly links these to the state's policy to assert central authority.¹² Hudson (2008) argues that Cemal Pasha's "program of architectural and archaeological patronage was central to his attempts to re-mobilize much-depreciated Islamic capital to consolidate his control over Muslim Damascus and muster popular support for the failing empire."¹³ However, she mainly focuses on the *Deutsch-Türkische Denkmalschutzkommando für Syrien und Palästina*. Consequently German specialists such as Wiegand play a dominant role in her discussion of Cemal Pasha's urban works.¹⁴ The most recent discussion of Cemal Pasha's programme of public works is presented by Çiçek (2014) who argues that urban modernization and restoration were aimed at strengthening Ottoman state authority (and diminishing foreign influence) and at creating loyal citizens by investing in the infrastructure and thus (economic) development of Greater Syria.¹⁵ Çiçek focuses on modernization and restoration but, unlike Hudson, does not pay attention to the religious-propagandistic dimension of Cemal Pasha's wartime urban works. None of these three authors deals with Cemal Pasha's projects in detail, and as a consequence their discussion is limited to general overviews which pay little attention to World War I as the context of Cemal Pasha's urban works and their religious-propagandistic function in times of war. Moreover, the role of the Germans is often over-emphasized, whereas the role the Ottomans themselves played is almost invisible. In this chapter I provide a complementary point of view by focusing on three specific projects in more detail: the renovation of the Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya and Madrasa al-Salimiyya, the "sanitization" of the area around the Great (Umayyad) Mosque and the tomb of Salah al-Din, and the construction of the Cemal Pasha Boulevard. I will present chronological reconstructions of the projects, try to determine what their goals were and describe what kind of works were carried out. I argue that all three projects formed part of a programme of Ottomanization and pan-Islamic propaganda which aimed to strengthen Ottoman state authority in Syria and gain popular support among the Muslim population for the empire in times of war. This programme materialized in various urban works which emphasized a shared Islamic past and a joint Muslim goal during the war, and paved the way for a (planned but unrealized) common future under Ottoman rule after the war.



FIGURE 9.3 *The Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya and the Madrasa al-Salimiyya Complex shortly after World War I (from a postcard in the collection of the author).*

The Second Conqueror of Egypt

On 11 May 1916 Cemal Pasha obtained the sum of 6,000 *lira*¹⁶ from the Ministry of Pious Foundations for the restoration of the most prominent sultanic complex built in Ottoman Damascus.¹⁷ The document dealing with the finances for the restoration refers to the mosque of the complex as the Selimiye and the hospice and dervish lodge as the Süleymaniye. In reality we are dealing with a large multi-functional complex which consists of two main components: the Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya and the Madrasa al-Salimiyya. The Takiyya (mosque-hospice complex) was constructed on the orders of Sultan Süleyman (1520–1566) in the years 1554/55–1558/59 and consisted at that time of a mosque, ablution pool, guest rooms, a hospice (composed of a kitchen, bakery, refectory and pantry), caravanserais with stables, and latrines. The complex was designed by chief royal architect Sinan. With the complex Sultan Süleyman visually confirmed the consolidation of Ottoman political power in Syria after his father's conquest of the region in 1516. The adjacent madrasa complex reached completion in 1566/67, early in the reign of Süleyman's successor Selim II (1566–1574) and consists of a religious school with a prayer hall-classroom and rooms for staff and students, and a shopping arcade. By the end of the sixteenth century the complex was enlarged with a dervish convent.¹⁸ However, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the construction of the complex was generally

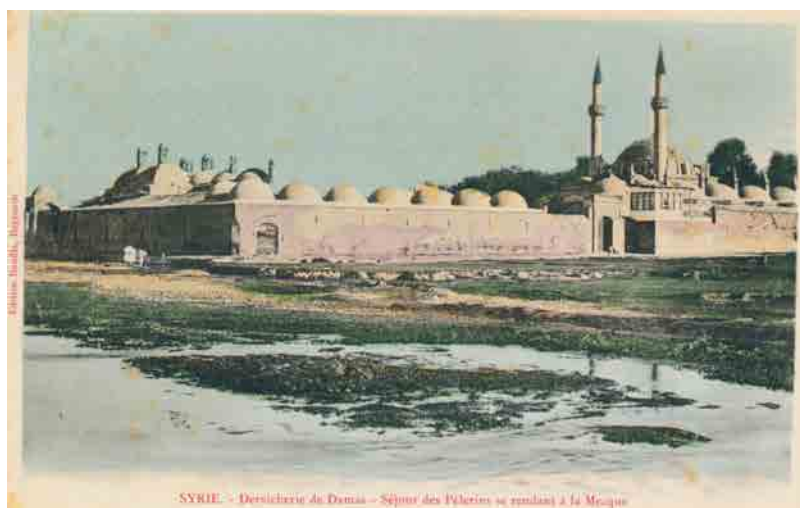


FIGURE 9.4 *The Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya and the Madrasa al-Salimiyya Complex in the second half of the nineteenth century (from a postcard in the collection of the author).*

attributed to Sultan Selim I (1512–1520), who had conquered Damascus in 1516 and Egypt in 1517. Consequently the complex was usually referred to as the Takiyya or Mosque of Selim.¹⁹ According to Wiegand Cemal Pasha expressed his admiration for Selim I, the conqueror of Egypt, “by restoring the buildings of this sultan in Syria.”²⁰ Cemal Pasha considered Selim I as his role model and he had the ambition to capture Egypt as Selim I had done 400 years before. In a telegram dated 19 January 1915 Enver Pasha wrote to Cemal Pasha “God willing I shall be able greet you as the Second Conqueror of Egypt.”²¹ However, all Cemal Pasha’s efforts to reconquer Egypt from the hands of the “imperialist” British failed. Nevertheless this did not stop him from restoring the complex. There were apparently more reasons for Cemal Pasha than just his personal admiration for Selim I.

Originally the complex played an important role in the yearly hajj. The buildings were located in the meadows along the Barada river to the west of Damascus *intra muros*. In this area named “al-Marj al-Akhdar” or “Gök Meydan” (Green or Sky Blue Hippodrome) pilgrims would assemble before embarking on the last part of their journey to Mekka. During the hajj season the complex offered various facilities (such as lodging and food) to certain groups of pilgrims (for instance dervishes). The complex thus also articulated the role of Damascus as an important station on the Ottoman hajj route and the role of the Ottoman dynasty as guardians of the Holy Cities and defenders of the hajj.²² In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries parts of the complex were used as a Naqshbandi

dervish lodge,²³ a religious school²⁴ and a refuge for the destitute.²⁵ By the beginning of World War I the complex seems to have been in a run-down state; at least that is what German and Ottoman sources indicate. The German officer Hans von Kiesling labelled the complex dilapidated.²⁶ Mehmed Nihad Bey (1880–1945), the Ottoman architect in charge of the restoration, was even more gloomy. In his memoirs he gives an extensive (and almost apologetic) description of the neglected state of the complex. He also writes that no part of the complex still retained its original function.²⁷ The sad state of the buildings and loss of proper function no doubt formed additional reasons for Cemal Pasha to initiate a meticulous (and costly) renovation. The complex was by far the most prestigious Ottoman monument in Damascus and its run-down state must – in the eyes of Cemal Pasha – have been symptomatic of the lack of state authority in Syria. If the empire wanted to reassert central authority it should also take responsibility for its most emblematic monuments. As such the project was also the result of the ongoing discussion about “national heritage.”²⁸ Islamic architectural landmarks in particular played an important role in this discussion as a means to “raise consciousness of the value of the Islamic past.”²⁹ Cemal Pasha also explicitly referred to this goal in his meeting with Wiegand.³⁰

The restoration of the complex was a symbolic act which aimed at reaffirming the vigour of the state, raising its visibility and thereby strengthening its authority. Moreover, it is likely that Cemal Pasha would have ensured that after the renovation the complex would have regained functions in accordance with its high status, for instance as part of a religious university,³¹ and in line with urban developments in the close vicinity. The area around the complex had from the late nineteenth century onwards developed into a cluster of medical and educational institutions including the Medical Institute and Gureba Hospital, the Pedagogical Academy and the Council for Education. Not surprisingly this cluster in 1923 merged into the Syrian University.³² The various religious functions of the complex throughout history attested to the long-standing Ottoman role as champions of Sunni Islam and thus also supported the claim to the caliphate, which from a late Ottoman point of view had passed to the Ottomans as the result of the conquests of Selim I. Renovating the complex thus also aimed at the reaffirmation of Ottoman religious authority in Damascus and the realignment of the local population with the religious standards and religious and educational practices of the modern Ottoman state. As such the project was also the outcome of a pan-Islamic propaganda programme which tried to gain support for the state and to increase the sense of Ottomanness among the local population based on Sunni Muslim solidarity.



FIGURE 9.5 *The Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya and the Madrasa al-Salimiyya Complex shortly after World War I. The building behind the Takiyya is the Gureba Hospital (from a postcard in the collection of the author).*

Mehmed Nihad Bey had come to Medina in the spring of 1915 for the construction of the new Islamic University (“Medrese-i Külliye”) in that city. A year later in Damascus he met Cemal Pasha, who asked him to take charge of the restoration of the Takiyya-Madrasa complex. Subsequently he was appointed Head Architect for Syria in April 1916 by the Ministry of Pious Foundations. In the same period Cemal Pasha secured the funding for the project from the same ministry. Mehmed Nihad Bey arrived in Damascus in the summer of 1916 and the project must have started shortly thereafter. The deplorable state of the complex necessitated a comprehensive renovation. The complex was first cleaned and cleared of added constructions. Thereafter began the renovation of the walls, domes, arches, windows and doors.³³ The more delicate restoration work included renewing the gypsum plaster windows with coloured glass and the tilework of the complex. According to Mehmed Nihad Bey some of “the valuable tiles had been stolen.”³⁴ However, the rather cryptic sentence in his memoirs that he “had the broken tiles removed and again inserted into their place”³⁵ does not really enlighten us about the work done. The tilework no doubt formed one of the most important decorative features of the complex and gave it an unquestionably Ottoman visual identity.³⁶ Necipoğlu gives the following description of the tilework of the Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya:



FIGURE 9.6 *The Madrasa al-Salimiyya during the renovation: Damascus – The dervish lodge of Sultan Selim (Şâm – Sultân Selîm dergâhı). Courtesy of Wolf-Dieter Lemke, Berlin.*



FIGURE 9.7 *The Madrasa al-Salimiyya during the renovation: Damascus – The entrance of the dervish lodge of Sultan Selim (Şâm – Sultân Selîm dergâhı kapısı). Courtesy of Wolf-Dieter Lemke, Berlin.*

Arched lunettes with underglaze-painted tile revetments decorating the porticoes of the guest-houses and the hospice visually unify the central courtyard ... The window lunettes are decorated with underglaze-

painted tiles of uniform design in white, sage green, cobalt blue, turquoise, and a pale red that tries in vain to approximate the intense tomato red of Iznik. Lacking naturalistic flowers, the designs are dominated by palmettes, rosettes, and saz leaves. The local workshop that produced them in the late 1550s seems to have been associated with Süleyman's renovation of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem with tile revetments. According to Mustafa 'Ali and the signature of a Persian tilemaker, 'Abdullah Tabrizi, the renovation project was completed in 1551–1552. Perhaps the potters moved to Damascus after the conclusion of work at the Haram (briefly resumed in 1561–1562), establishing a local industry that catered to the needs of late-sixteenth century Ottoman monuments in the city. In terms of their colour scheme and patterns, the locally produced tiles of the Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya are less innovative than those made in Iznik for the sultan's mosque complex at the capital. They nevertheless introduced to Damascus a novel mode of decoration associated with Ottoman visual culture.³⁷

Although the tile lunettes on the façades of the mosque, the guest-house, and the hospice do indeed contribute to the visual coherence of the various buildings around the courtyard, Necipoğlu's observation that "the window lunettes are decorated with underglaze-painted tiles of uniform design in white, sage green, cobalt blue, turquoise, and a pale red" is not correct. There are in fact four distinctly different sub-groups of designs which use various colour palettes, and this remarkable diversity – when understood correctly – reveals a fascinating history which begins in the second half of the sixteenth century and ends with Cemal Pasha's renovation project.³⁸

The 12³⁹ guest rooms of the Takiyya – six on each side of the courtyard – have entrances and windows crowned with tile lunettes in two slightly different designs. The designs of the lunettes above the entrances are all the same (Type 1a), as are those above the windows (Type 1b). The tile revetments above the entrances use the colours cobalt blue, turquoise, green, black, white and aubergine purple. The tile revetments above the windows use the same colours but slightly less aubergine purple. This regular distribution of tile lunettes with a specific design and colour scheme either above an entrance or a window is unusual for sixteenth-century Damascus. The tile lunettes of the Zawiyya al-Sa'diyya (Zawiyya Sa'd al-Din al-Jabawi) (1560s), the Derviş Pasha Mosque (1571–1574/75) and the Koca Sinan Pasha Mosque (1586–1591) are in fact almost all different from each other and not distributed in any kind of regular sequence. Some colours used on the tile lunettes of the guest rooms also vary substantially in tone and saturation. The greens range from bright to



FIGURE 9.8 Tile lunette Type 1a. Photograph by the author.



FIGURE 9.9 Tile lunette Type 1b. Photograph by the author.

very dark, the turquoises from azure blue to a more green turquoise and the aubergine purples from a deep purple to almost black. In addition, most tile lunettes of the guest rooms do not exactly fit in the available space. Sometimes parts of the borders have been cut off to fit the tiles in the available space; in other cases additional tile strips have been inserted to fill empty spaces.



FIGURE 9.10 *Tile lunette Type 3. Photograph by the author.*

Two other tile lunettes on the façade of the mosque have an identical design (Type 2) which is a variation of those of the guest rooms (Type 1). However, these tiles are not glazed and as a consequence the pigments are discoloured and faded.

The courtyard façade of the hospice shows by far the greatest variety in tile patterns. Of the 11 tile lunettes six panels above the windows have the same design and colours as the lunettes above the windows of the guest rooms (Type 1b). Two other lunettes above entrances have a design that resembles those of the lunettes of the guest rooms, though it is not identical (Type 3). Interestingly, the designs of these two lunettes are painted in a more refined manner than those on the tile panels of Type 1. The tiles of these two lunettes are also smaller than those of the other lunettes. Moreover, these two lunettes use less black (and more cobalt blue), a light green, only a little pale aubergine purple, and the turquoise is often discoloured (turned grey). One of these lunettes shows traces of a rather clumsy later restoration. However these two tile panels, unlike most of the other tile lunettes, fit perfectly into the available space.

Another tile panel above the main entrance of the hospice uses the same design as that of the lunettes above the entrances of the guest rooms (Type 1a), but is painted in a different colour palette. Apart from cobalt blue, green, turquoise, aubergine purple, white and black (only for thin lines) this lunette also uses a thick, dull red slip which tries to imitate the bright tomato red of İznik. A slightly different design but with the same colours is also used for the nine tile lunettes⁴⁰ in the interior of



FIGURE 9.11 Tile lunette Type 1c (with red) in the interior of the mosque.
 Photograph by the author.

the mosque (Type 1c). In addition the tile lunettes in the interior of the mosque have a wide aubergine purple border, whereas the tile panel above the entrance of the hospice only has a very narrow aubergine purple border. This wide border was necessary because the tile makers used approximately the same design (in dimensions) as outside, but because the lunettes in the interior were of a slightly different shape and higher (five tiles in stead of four tiles) they added a wide border in order to bridge the difference in shape and height. The use of a thick red slip is intriguing because sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Damascene tilemakers never used this colour (but used aubergine purple instead) because they could not master the production of tomato red, unlike their contemporary colleagues in İznik.⁴¹ The rare tiles with tomato red in buildings in Damascus are all imports from İznik. However, the tile lunettes with red in the Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya do not resemble İznik tiles from the second half of the sixteenth century in either design, style or colours. Interestingly, the patterns of the tile panels often have more in common with cuerda seca tile lunettes produced in Istanbul in the first half of the sixteenth century.

The last sub-group consists of two tile lunettes above windows (Type 4). One of these two lunettes is partially preserved and consists of only five tiles. The second lunette is complete and decorated with a cartouche with the calligraphed text of (part of) an invocation in Arabic: Verily, there is no god but God (لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ حَقًّا حَقًّا) surrounded by an intricate pattern



FIGURE 9.12 *Tile lunette Type 4. Photograph by the author.*

consisting of mainly arabesques, rosettes and palmettes. The second, partially preserved panel is decorated with similar motifs but has a wide border with rosettes. The colours used on these two panels are mainly dark cobalt blue, light blue (more azure than turquoise), white, black, green and aubergine purple. Interestingly, the design of these two tile lunettes bears a close resemblance to the designs of the tile lunettes of the Zawiyya al-Sa'diyya which was renovated by Lala Mustafa Pasha,⁴² when he was governor-general of Damascus in the years 1563–1567/68,⁴³ and the tile lunette above the entrance in the interior of the Madrasa al-Salimiyya which was completed in the same period, in 1566/67.⁴⁴ Chronologically speaking the Zawiya al-Sa'diyya and Madrasa al-Salimiyya were the first (still existing) buildings in Damascus decorated with tile revetments after the completion of the Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya (1558/59).⁴⁵

The adjacent Madrasa al-Salimiyya, which was completed in 1566/67, is also decorated with tile revetments. Necipoğlu, however, does not give a description of this tilework. The tiles are used on the entrance façade and in the interior of the prayer hall-classroom. The windows and entrances of the rooms around the courtyard do not have any tile decoration, unlike the guest rooms of the Takiyya. The spandrels above the entrance are inlaid with tiles decorated with a pattern of palmettes, rosettes, arabesques and saz leaves in cobalt blue, green, turquoise, black, white and aubergine purple. Both the design and the colours used closely resemble those of the tile lunettes of the Takiyya (Types 1–3). One important difference, however, is that turquoise blue has been used only for details. The main



FIGURE 9.13 Tile lunette in the Zawiyya al-Sa'diyya. Photograph by the author.

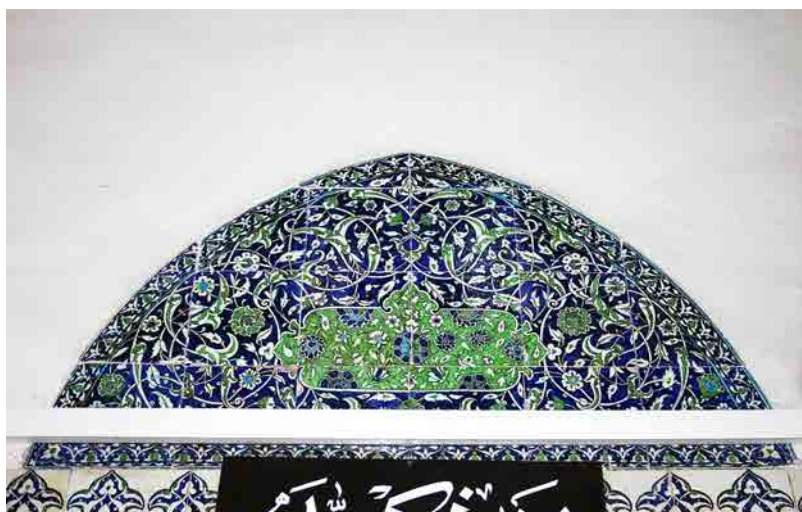


FIGURE 9.14 Tile lunette in the interior of the Madrasa al-Salimiyya. Photograph by the author.

colours are cobalt blue and green. The white upper wall of the entrance façade has a tile border decorated with palmettes and arabesques in cobalt blue, green, black and white. The background of most tiles is a warm white; some tiles, however, have a blue-ish white background. This same border is also used in the interior as a separation between the lower tiled



FIGURE 9.15 *The entrance façade of the Madrasa al-Salimiyya. Photograph by the author.*

walls and the (nowadays) undecorated white upper walls. Here too we see tiles with two different nuances of white as background. The lower walls of the prayer hall-classroom are decorated with tile panels. Originally there must have been 12 tile panels. However, two panels are no longer extant.⁴⁶ The panels consist of two types of repeating modular tiles: border tiles which combine a border motif of palmettes and arabesques with a surface filling repetitive pattern of cartouches filled with arabesques, and stylized, curving tendrils which emanate from palmettes and rosettes and end in saz leaves. The design is painted in cobalt blue, green, turquoise and black on a white background. The second type of tile is decorated with only these last motifs. Once laid together these tiles form panels with larger repetitive patterns. Not all tiles have the same colours. The background of part of the tiles is a warm ivory white, whereas other tiles have a cold bright white background. The cobalt blue on these last tiles is a thick blue slip; the cobalt blue on the ivory white coloured tiles, however, has no relief. The greens sometimes have different nuances and the turquoise on the ivory white tiles is sometimes discoloured just as in the two tile lunettes of Type 3 in the Takiyya. The mihrab is also tiled with five vertical rows of identical tiles with a pattern of cartouches with palmettes and arabesques surrounded by Chinese cloud band motifs and borders with palmettes and arabesques. The design is painted in cobalt blue, green, turquoise and black on a white background. Once again some tiles have a soft white background, whereas other tiles have a bright white



FIGURE 9.16 *The interior of the Madrasa al-Salimiyya. Photograph by the author.*

background. Some of these last tiles also have some details of the Chinese cloud bands painted in cobalt blue. The cobalt blue on these tiles is also a blue slip. The spandrels above the mihrab are inlaid with tiles with a decoration of palmettes, rosettes, arabesques and saz leaves similar to the design on the spandrels on the façade of the building. Above the entrance in the north wall is a tile lunette with a design which – as mentioned before – resembles the designs of the two slightly earlier tile lunettes of Type 4 in the Takiyya and the tile lunettes of the contemporary Zawiyya al-Saḍiyya. (Figs 9.12–14) The design is painted in cobalt blue, green, turquoise, black and white. When compared with the tile lunettes in the Takiyya and the Zawiyya al-Saḍiyya this tile panel uses more green. On some tiles the turquoise is discoloured. Above the cupboards in the middle of the west and east walls are two other tile lunettes with an identical design painted in cobalt blue, green, turquoise, aubergine purple, black and white. Both the design and the colours used closely resemble those of the tiles of the spandrel on the façade of the building and the tile lunettes of the Takiyya (Types 1–3). One important difference from the Takiyya tile lunettes, however, is that – as on the spandrel tiles – turquoise blue has been used only for details. The location of these two tile lunettes is unusual because in a sixteenth-century Damascene context tile lunettes were mainly used to accentuate entrances and windows, not cupboards. Two wall cupboards in the interior of the mosque of the Takiyya are also crowned with tile lunettes, but these complement the



FIGURE 9.17 *Original (sixteenth-century) and copied (1916–1918) tiles in the interior of the Madrasa al-Salimiyya. Photograph by the author.*

tile lunettes above the windows in this building. However, none of the windows in the madrasa is crowned with tile lunettes; only the entrance in the north wall. Therefore this specific combination in the madrasa is unusual.

On the basis of this formal analysis some conclusions can be drawn. It seems likely that we are dealing with tiles from two distinctly different periods: the 1550s–1560s and the years 1916–1918. Only four tile lunettes of the Takiyya belong to the original sixteenth-century tilework: the two tile panels of Type 3 and the two tile panels of Type 4. The tiles of the two lunettes of Type 3 have different sizes, the designs are more refined and have more details, the tiles have slightly different colours and the turquoise often turned out discoloured. This discolouration links these tiles to the slightly later tiles of the Madrasa al-Salimiyya, some of which also suffer from the same imperfection. This probably explains why the tilemakers in later projects (i.e. after the Takiyya, beginning with the Madrasa al-Salimiyya) no longer applied turquoise to larger surfaces, but restricted their use of this colour to smaller details and borders. It also explains why during the renovation of 1916–1918 these tile lunettes were replaced with new panels. It is thus likely that originally part of the tile lunettes had a similar design and were painted using the same colour palette. The tiles of the two lunettes of Type 4 use exactly the same colour palette, though sometimes in different nuances. The aubergine purple, for instance, is much darker. These two tile panels



FIGURE 9.18 *Cuerda seca* tile lunette of the Sultan Selim Mosque in Istanbul (1520s). Photograph by the author.

closely resemble tile lunettes in other sixteenth-century buildings in Damascus. The combination of two different types of design (Types 3 and 4) in one building is not unique. Exactly the same two types of design (one with stylized vegetative and floral motifs and one with religious epigraphy)⁴⁷ are also combined in the Koca Sinan Pasha Mosque which was built in 1586–1591, some 30 years after the completion of the Takiyya. The tile designs of the Koca Sinan Pasha Mosque were thus most likely inspired by those of the Takiyya. Like the two tile panels of Type 3 in the Takiyya, the resembling tile panels in the Koca Sinan Pasha Mosque are painted less schematically, and are more refined and with more details than the tile panels of Type 1 in the Takiyya which were made in the years 1916–1918. The colour palettes of the sixteenth-century tiles of the Takiyya and the Koca Sinan Pasha Mosque are also comparable although, as in the other sixteenth-century buildings with tiles in Damascus, the tilemakers of the Koca Sinan Pasha Mosque also avoided using turquoise for large surfaces. The sixteenth-century decorative programme of the Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya (like that of the Koca Sinan Pasha Mosque) was thus based on a combination of two different tile designs (Types 3 and 4). The source of inspiration for the design of the tile lunettes of Type 3 was most likely formed by *cuerda seca* tile panels from the 1520s–1550s in mosques and other buildings in Istanbul. This further strengthens the hypothesis that tilemakers – some of whom may originally have worked in the royal ceramics workshop in Istanbul – moved to Damascus after finishing

their work on the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. The sixteenth-century tilework of the Takiyya was characterized by the use of three main colours: cobalt blue, green and turquoise, and three supporting colours: black, white and aubergine purple. This is confirmed by a nineteenth-century description of the tiles of the Takiyya:

The ogee pediments over the doorways and grated windows of these apartments were fitted with exquisitely designed tiles, made expressly for their places. The colours were rich dark blue, delicate green, and turquoise blue, all outlined in black.⁴⁸

All other 40 tile lunettes were made in the years 1916–1918 as part of Cemal Pasha's renovation. Interestingly, Wulzinger and Watzinger, who studied the complex in early 1917 as members of the *Denkmalschutzkommando*⁴⁹ and published the first description of the complex after the war, only indirectly refer to the renovation⁵⁰ and describe tile panels without red.⁵¹ Von Kiesling, who visited the complex in the same period,⁵² also still describes the old situation.⁵³ This suggests that the tile lunettes of the Takiyya were replaced later in 1917 or in 1918. None of the subsequent studies dealing with the Takiyya mentions the renovation project and the replacement of the tiles. Consequently, the present tile lunettes are generally accepted as the original sixteenth-century tilework.⁵⁴

However, the refurbishment profoundly changed the visual message of the Takiyya. Instead of a decorative programme based upon a combination of tile lunettes with religious epigraphy and stylized vegetative and floral decorations in the same colour palette, the new tilework created a visual hierarchy with different designs and colour palettes for lunettes above windows and entrances of the guest rooms, above windows and entrances of the hospice and in the interior of the mosque. Highest in the visual hierarchy are the tile lunettes with red above the main entrance of the hospice and in the interior of the mosque. The use of the colour red in these last tile lunettes suggests a conscious attempt to upgrade the status of Süleyman's Takiyya from a complex using a – in late Ottoman eyes – provincial visual language to a complex expressing an imperial Ottoman visual identity by copying the colour palette of classical sixteenth-century Iznik tilework. The tilework of the Takiyya was made more Ottoman than it had ever been. Thus the link between the imperial centre and an Ottoman provincial capital was reinforced by superimposing an idealized state on the provincial past. This was a case of an invented tradition which could be interpreted as a visual expression of a process of top-down Ottomanization.

As in the Takiyya the tile revetments of the Madrasa al-Salimiyya can also be divided into sixteenth-century tilework and twentieth-century tilework. Tilework that was still present in 1916 was retained. A nineteenth-century description of the tiles in the interior suggests that the present lay-out of the tilework conforms to the original situation:

The walls were covered with glazed tiles; those of the *mihrab*, the niche on the south side, were especially beautiful, and the largest I had seen – much too large to be drawn in my sketch-book full size. I told the sheikh that I regretted this. He instantly went to his house on the opposite side of the court, and brought me some very large well-made Turkish paper, and I made a careful drawing of a tile which measured fifteen inches and a quarter by twelve inches and one-eighth, which well represents the style and character of the tiles throughout the building.⁵⁵

During the renovation of 1916–1918 missing (and possibly also damaged) tiles were replaced with new tiles. This is confirmed by Von Kiesling who visited the madrasa during the renovation in late 1916 or early 1917.⁵⁶ Tiles in the borders (on the façade and in the interior) and the tile panels on the lower walls of the interior (including the *mihrab*) with an ivory white background have a sixteenth-century origin.⁵⁷ Those with a blue-ish, bright white background and a blue slip have a twentieth-century origin. Von Kiesling also noticed some of these differences.⁵⁸ The tilework of the spandrels both on the façade and above the *mihrab* in the interior is also of twentieth-century origin, as are the two lunettes above the cupboards.⁵⁹ The lunette above the entrance in the north wall of the prayer hall-class room, however, has a sixteenth-century origin. Most of the new tiles were no doubt directly inspired by the original tilework, both in design and in colour palette, because they were used to repair existing tile panels and had to fit in as perfectly as possible. Nevertheless there are small but visible and tactile differences. The two tile lunettes above the cupboards, however, were directly inspired by the new tile lunettes of the Takiyya.

The tilework of the Madrasa al-Salimiyya (particularly the tile panels on the lower walls) uses motifs which we also find on underglaze-painted tilework produced by the royal workshop of ceramics in Istanbul from the first half of the sixteenth century. Similar motifs are also present on part of the Ottoman tilework of the Dome of the Rock which was most likely the direct predecessor of and source of inspiration for the tilework of the Madrasa al-Salimiyya. This should not come as a surprise because the tilemakers for both projects most likely belonged to the same group of ceramicists. These tilemakers, some of whom may have

originated from Süleyman's royal workshop of ceramics in Istanbul, were familiar with both the designs of the cuerda seca tradition and the designs of underglaze-painted tilework.⁶⁰ Later Ottoman tilework from the second half of the sixteenth century in Damascus shows that the Damascus tilemakers – from a distance and after some delay – followed developments in design from İznik, but stuck to the typical Damascus colour palette of cobalt blue, green, turquoise, black, white and aubergine purple. The tilework of the Derviş Pasha Mosque and tomb (1570s) and the Koca Sinan Pasha Mosque (late 1580–early 1590s) for instance also uses elements of the naturalistic floral style (tulips, roses, carnations, hyacinths, etc.) characteristic of İznik tilework.

The new tilework was most likely made by staff and students of the School of Applied Arts established by Cemal Pasha in the Missionary School of the Sœurs de Charité. From 1916 to 1918 this school had a German director, Karl Stöckle (1872–1931), who was also a member of Theodor Wiegand's *Deutsch-Türkische Denkmalschutzkommando für Syrien und Palästina*.⁶¹ There was also a workshop in the Takiyya-Madrassa complex itself where new gypsum plaster windows with coloured glass were made.⁶² The specialist artisans responsible for these new windows were brought from Istanbul by Mehmed Nihad Bey. Two of them later died as a consequence of the difficult and unhealthy working conditions in wartime Damascus. Mehmed Nihad Bey himself was also forced to abandon his work because of illness (malaria). He returned to Istanbul in the spring of 1918; in July 1918 he resumed his work for the Ministry of Pious Foundations. Supervision of the renovation project was taken over by Reşid Bey who, in October 1918 when British and Sherifial forces captured Damascus, only narrowly managed to escape leaving behind all his personal belongings and returned to Istanbul completely destitute.⁶³ Although the renovation project was nearly finished when Mehmed Nihad Bey left, it is possible that it was actually never fully completed. For Mehmed Nihad Bey the project resulted in a bitter aftertaste. In 1919 he was asked critical questions about the “excessive” sum of money he had “wasted” on the renovation of a complex in a city which was no longer part of the Ottoman Empire. This incident once again underlines the political motives behind the renovation project.⁶⁴ As long as Damascus was Ottoman it was well-spent money; once lost it was wasted money.

The Second Salah al-Din

Another important project of Cemal Pasha's focused on the environs of the Great (Umayyad) Mosque and the tomb of Salah al-Din (Saladin)



FIGURE 9.19 *The Great (Umayyad) Mosque and the tomb of Salah al-Din (Saladin) shortly after World War I (from a postcard in the collection of the author).*



FIGURE 9.20 *Antique remains before the clearing (from a postcard in the collection of the author).*

to the north of that mosque. On 11 May 1916 Cemal Pasha obtained the sum of 100,000 *kuruş* from the Ministry of Pious Foundations for the expropriation and demolition of buildings that in the course of time had encroached on the Madrasa al-Kallasa and the Madrasa al-ʿAziziyya and the adjacent tomb of the Ayyubid ruler Salah al-Din (1137/8–1193).⁶⁵ Although the relevant Ottoman document only mentions the environs of the two madrasas, in practice Cemal Pasha’s “cleaning up” operation also aimed at the demolition of buildings encroaching on the Umayyad Mosque itself. The goal was to clear pre-Islamic remains in the area of detrimental additions,⁶⁶

accentuate both the Umayyad Mosque and the tomb of Salah al-Din (by creating more “monumental” entrance-ways) and obtain less obstructed views of these religiously important monuments by clearing their immediate surroundings.⁶⁷ The ruinous state of many of the buildings including the Madrasa al-ʿAziziyya formed a further detraction and thus motivation for the sanitization of this area.⁶⁸ Although the concept of “glorification by isolation” originates in Europe, Ottoman urban modernizers had in the second half of the nineteenth century already adopted this policy of “selective preservation” of important



FIGURE 9.21 *Antique remains after the clearing (from a postcard in the collection of the author).*

monuments.⁶⁹ In this light Cemal Pasha's project is merely a continuation of an already well-established Ottoman practice, which however – as we will see – in the case of Damascus served pan-Islamic wartime propaganda.

The tomb of Salah al-Din throughout Ottoman times had gained the attention of Ottoman rulers. A painted Ottoman-Turkish text on a tile lunette in the interior of the tomb (dated 1027 AH/1617–1618 CE) refers to Salah al-Din as the Conqueror of Jerusalem (“Fātiḥ-i Maḳdis”). In the same text Sultan Osman II (1618–1622) is mentioned as “His Majesty Sultan Osman Khan, the Champion of Islam” (“Ḥazret-i Sultān ‘Osmān Han Gāzi”). The newly-enthroned, young and ambitious Sultan Osman II apparently wanted to be associated with the Champion of (Sunni) Islam *par excellence* who had reconquered Jerusalem from the European Crusaders in 1187 and whose Arabic title was “al-Sultān al-Ghāzi.” In the second half of the nineteenth century this important symbolic link between Salah al-Din and the Ottoman sultans gained new momentum. Ziya Pasha, Ottoman governor of Damascus from February to June 1877, started a renovation of Salah al-Din's tomb. This renovation coincided with the outbreak of the Russo-Ottoman War in April 1877.⁷⁰ It is likely that the present state of the interior of the tomb with its partially tiled walls is the result of this renovation.⁷¹ A year later, in 1878, Sultan ‘Abdülhamid II commissioned a new, white marble sarcophagus in Ottoman Baroque-Rococo style for the tomb. ‘Abdülhamid II thus consciously appropriated Salah al-Din's reputation in the aftermath of the Russo-Ottoman war in order to bolster his status as caliph and sultan.⁷² In November 1898 the German Kaiser Wilhelm II during his tour of the Ottoman Empire also visited Damascus and the tomb of Salah al-Din. During his stay in Damascus he delivered a speech on German-Muslim friendship and an eulogy of Salah al-Din in which he described the Ayyubid ruler as “the greatest hero of all past rulers, the noble man whose rank increased by teaching his enemies how heroes ought to be; the fearless fighter, the great Sultan Salah ad-Din al-Ayyubi.”⁷³ In 1900 the Kaiser presented a gilded brass laurel mourning wreath in remembrance of his visit to Salah al-Din's tomb. This wreath was installed in a glass display case at the foot of ‘Abdülhamid II's sarcophagus.⁷⁴ By the beginning of the twentieth century Salah al-Din's exemplary role was well established both in the Ottoman Empire and beyond.⁷⁵ Hence it comes as no surprise that during World War I Cemal Pasha tried to take advantage of Salah al-Din's reputation among the local Muslim population by associating himself with this Champion of Islam against the European Crusaders and presenting himself as the leader of an Ottoman-led counter-crusading

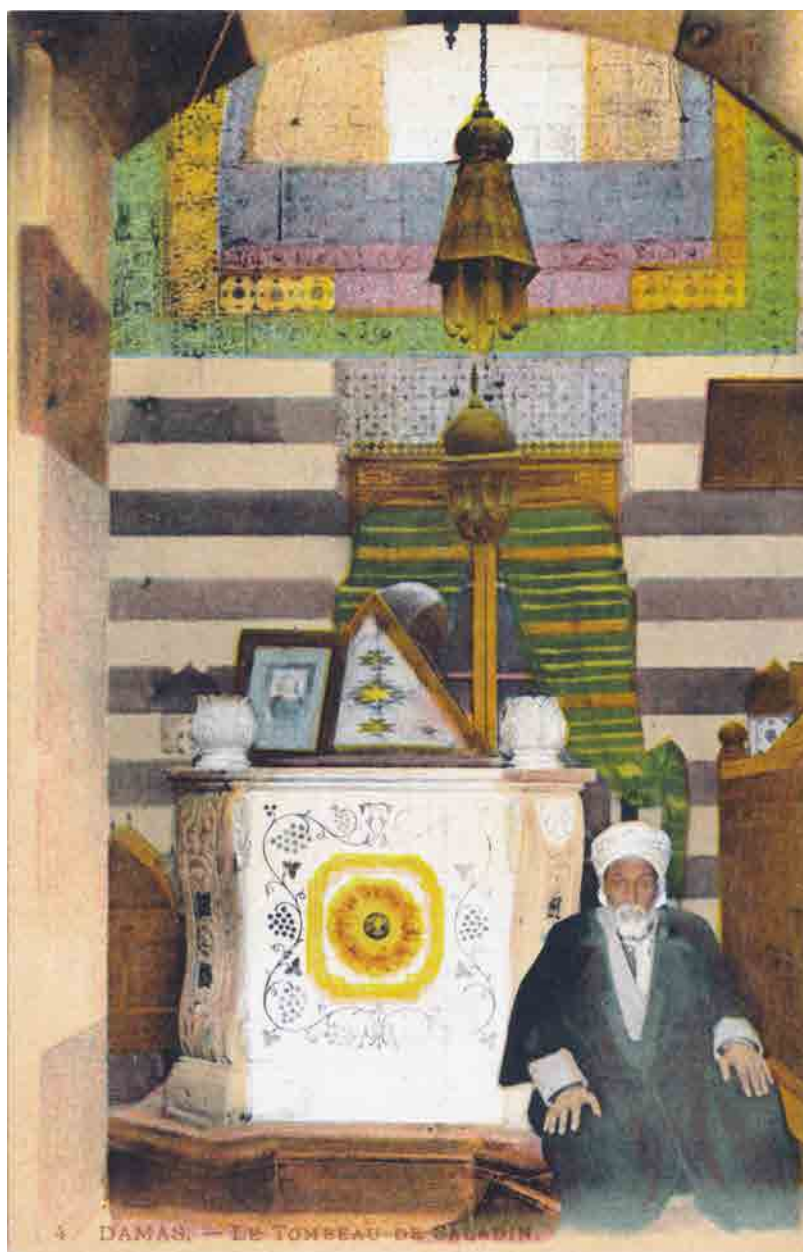


FIGURE 9.22 *The tiled interior of the tomb of Salah al-Din with the white marble sarcophagus given by Sultan 'Abdülhamid II and the lamp with the monograms of Wilhelm II and Sultan Mehmed V (Reşad) (from a postcard in the collection of the author).*

Jihad against the imperialist invaders of the Islamic World. 'Ali Fu'ad Erden in his memoirs mentions that wherever and whenever Cemal Pasha appeared in public he was described in laudatory poems as the "Second Salah al-Din."⁷⁶ In this case Cemal Pasha consciously used pan-Islamic rhetoric in order to rally Syrian support for the Ottoman cause and fight the "imperialist British and French" and undermine the "separatist Arabists."⁷⁷ Cemal Pasha also used Salah al-Din's name and fame to counterbalance French and British influence in Syria. In 1915 he confiscated a French Crusader church complex in Jerusalem and transformed part of the complex into a new Islamic University named after Salah al-Din. This religious academy had to provide an Ottoman alternative for French schools in the area and break the hegemony of Islamic universities under British control in Egypt and India.⁷⁸

Cemal Pasha's attempt to profile himself as the Second Salah al-Din made it necessary to honour the First Salah al-Din by renovating his tomb and its direct environs. Although the money for the project was assigned in May 1916 the clearing and renovation operation apparently made only slow progress because on 8 December 1917 (just before Cemal Pasha left Damascus) Wiegand wrote to his wife that Cemal Pasha had recently agreed to plans for the construction of the entrance to the Umayyad Mosque and clearing of the area around the tomb of Salah al-Din "after the architect sent by the Ministry of Pious Foundations had wrecked the site because he only demolished without knowing how to secure what remained."⁷⁹ It is possible that this architect of the Ministry of Pious Foundations was Mehmed Nihad Bey who was also responsible for the renovation of the Takkiya al-Sulaymaniyya and the Madrasa al-Salimiyya. This reference corroborates the fact that Cemal Pasha used mainly Ottoman personnel for the renovation of religious monuments in Damascus.⁸⁰ Thus not only did the finances for the projects come from the Ministry of Pious Foundations, but also some of the supervising personnel and specialist artisans; additional personnel were hired locally. These religious sites (as religious foundations) fell under the administration of the Ministry of Religious Foundations, and this explains why this ministry was directly involved. However, it is also important to note that Cemal Pasha apparently carefully avoided too much direct and visible German involvement, at least in the renovation of "sensitive" religious architecture.⁸¹ He was no doubt aware of anti-German feelings among the Syrian population who also blamed the Germans for the misery the war had brought them. Moreover, in the eyes of Cemal Pasha the Germans were useful political and military allies in the international arena, but

when it came to internal Ottoman affairs he tried to control German attempts to get a more direct grip on Ottoman Syria.⁸² This no doubt included the religious realm, which was the prerogative of the Ottoman state.

Cemal Pasha's modernization of Damascus also attracted the attention of the Francophone press in Europe which, as part of anti-Ottoman propaganda, severely criticized Cemal Pasha's urban works. He was accused of the systematic demolition of Arab monuments, "even Salah al-Din's tomb would have been destroyed if the German Kaiser hadn't just donated a lamp."⁸³ This lamp with the monograms of Kaiser Wilhelm II and Sultan Mehmed V (Reşad) and dated 1333/1915 symbolized German-Ottoman brotherhood in arms during World War I.⁸⁴ (Fig. 9.22). Although the tomb was not demolished, it is not unlikely that this would indeed have happened in a later phase. Mehmed Nihad Bey's personal archive contains two different designs for new tombs in revivalist styles for Salah al-Din by architect Kemaleddin Bey, the head of the Directorate for Construction and Restoration of the Ministry of Pious Foundations in Istanbul. One design has a more Mamluk-Arab revivalist character; the other design is in the style of the Ottoman revivalist "National Architecture Renaissance." This last style was an attempt to create a patriotic architecture which could refer back to a glorious Ottoman-Islamic past.⁸⁵ These designs suggest that "sanitization" was most probably only the first step in a much more extensive renovation of the area of the Umayyad Mosque and the tomb of Salah al-Din.⁸⁶ The Ottoman renovation of the Umayyad Mosque itself in the years 1895–1910 after the destructive fire of 1893,⁸⁷ which had "punctuated the incorporation of the 'Arab' past into present-day Ottoman identity,"⁸⁸ would thus have been followed up by the cleaning of the area around the mosque and the construction of a new tomb for Salah al-Din. This tomb would have formed the nucleus of an Ottoman *lieu de mémoire* devoted to Jihad against European Crusaders by consciously linking the final resting place of Salah al-Din to the graves of the "martyred" Ottoman airmen who died in plane crashes in 1914 and were buried in the small cemetery next to the tomb of Salah al-Din.⁸⁹ Although Kemaleddin Bey's designs only mention Salah al-Din,⁹⁰ it is not impossible that the design in Mamluk-Arab revivalist style was a design for a new tomb for Salah al-Din and that the second design in Ottoman revivalist style was the design for a martyrium-tomb for the Ottoman pilots. Two of the "martyrs" were also honoured with a monument at the site of their crash and all three with a monument in revivalist style in Istanbul.⁹¹ Cemal Pasha's Salah al-Din project in Damascus, however, never left the drawing board. After he left the city in December 1917 the clearing



FIGURE 9.23 *The graves of (from left to right) Rasid (observer) Sadık Bey, Tayyareci (pilot) Fethi Bey and Tayyareci (pilot) Nuri Bey. The names of the airmen are written in Ottoman-Turkish on the small dark name boards in front of the graves (from a postcard in the collection of the author).*

operation must have dragged on without ever being completed, as can be deduced from Hanauer's description of the area published after World War I:

The great columns of the Roman portico at the east end of the Hamidiyeh Bazaar and the smaller Byzantine colonnade in the former Booksellers' Bazaar, were cleared of the masonry built around them, and set free on all sides. ... The buildings in the region north-west of the Great Mosque and limited on the north by the street running between the Mausolea of Bibars and Saladin, were also demolished during the war, Saladin's tomb alone being spared. The heaps of ruin extend eastward as far as the street commencing at the eastern foot of Madinet el Arūs, and running northward, as far as the above-named street between the Mausolea.⁹²

The Absolute Ruler of Syria

At the point '1' there stood, till the commencement of the Great War, 'a huge old plane tree,' which, according to Murray's Guide for 1868, had 'a custom-house inside it.' This famous tree, as well as the other remarkable

one, at the northern entrance to the Tentmakers' and Saddlers' Bazaar, was swept away when the roads and streets were widened in 1915 by order of Jamâl Pasha.

From the point '1,' the road along the south side of the Tekiyeh Enclosure runs in a straight line due east as far as the new square '2,' in front of the new terminus of the Hedjaz railway. Here a large and imposing station-house with pillared portico and modern 'Sarcenic' façade, arrests our attention. ...

From the Hedjaz station square, a short but wide road leads northward down an inclined plane or ramp, and joins the road up to Şalâhiyeh at the iron bridge over the Barada close to the Victoria Hotel.

From the station square, the great Boulevard of Jamâl Pasha, with its avenues of shady trees, fountains and flower-beds, reaches eastward as far as the tram-line that passes the Citadel on its way to the Merjêh and Şalâhiyeh. At the eastern end of this 'Boulevard' we notice on our right the 'Mushiriyeh,' or Military Administration Building, with a flower garden (marked 'b'), in front of it, and on our left, just opposite, another smaller flower-garden, in which, after the retreat of the Allies from Gallipoli, a very large model, made of cement, etc., representing the Gallipoli Peninsula, the Dardanelles, and the Sea of Marmora, was especially constructed for propaganda purposes. The depression representing the great water-way was flooded from the canal 'Nahr Banias,' and three toy ships floated on the surface of 'the Sea of Marmora.' The sense of proportion shown in the construction of this model may be gathered from the fact that these ships rivalled the mountains on either side in size, and a fourth vessel would have quite choked up 'the sea'!⁹³

Hanauer's description above adequately summarizes the most important component of Cemal Pasha's urban modernization project: the widening of existing streets and the construction of new straight and wide roads, an ideal of Ottoman urban modernizers since the second half of the nineteenth century.⁹⁴ In addition he mentions an interesting example of war propaganda in the front garden of the Military Headquarters: a model of the 1915 Battle of Çanakkale which must have had special meaning for Cemal Pasha as Minister of the Navy.⁹⁵ Cemal Pasha's road building activities mainly concentrated on the area to the west of Dasmascus *intra muros*, where since the second half of the nineteenth century a modern Ottoman city centre had emerged.⁹⁶

The widening of existing roads and the construction of new ones led to expropriations and the demolition of existing buildings in the years 1915–1918. For the construction of the Cemal Pasha Boulevard (Cemal

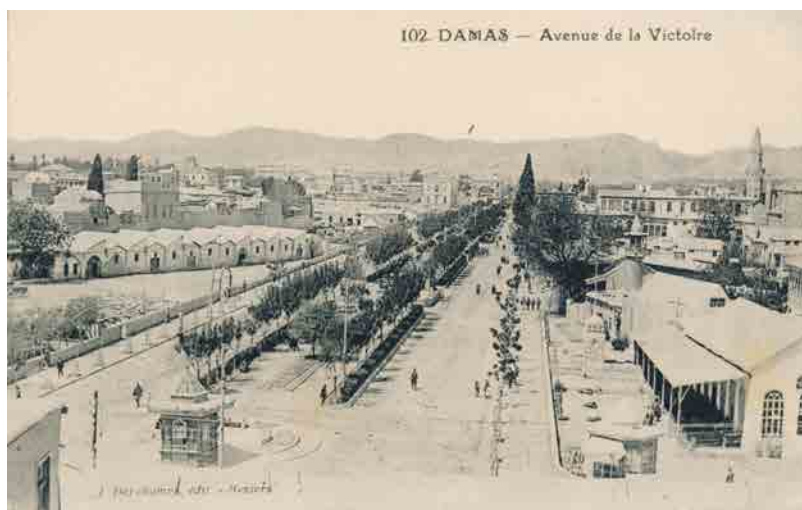


FIGURE 9.24 Cemal Pasha Boulevard after World War I (from a postcard in the collection of the author).

Paşa Caddesi, shortly after the war renamed Nasr Street) part of the old governor's Saray, at that moment used as Military Headquarters,⁹⁷ the Saray Square, and a number of military barracks and depots⁹⁸ along the existing narrow road (Darb al-Marj) to the Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya were demolished. At the beginning of the new boulevard near the citadel, the widening of Sanjaqdar and Darwishiyya Streets and the construction of the new boulevard⁹⁹ resulted in the partial demolition and modification or complete demolition of four mosques,¹⁰⁰ a madrasa,¹⁰¹ the flea market¹⁰² and numerous houses. Watzinger remarked that “not only the front halves of many houses but also a revered mosque were demolished much to the bitterness of the Arabs.”¹⁰³ Although Cemal Pasha also ordered the demolition of Ottoman buildings, these had mainly military and administrative functions. It is likely that in the eyes of Cemal Pasha these buildings were anyhow no longer representative enough and that he planned to construct new ones either along his new boulevard or in other parts of the city. However, when it came to religious buildings he was much more discriminatory. Whereas Arab mosques were wiped off the map with one stroke of a pen,¹⁰⁴ religious buildings from the Ottoman period were carefully integrated in his plans. Both the Takiyya al-Mawlawiyya (Mevlevi Lodge, 1585) and the Mosque and Tomb of Lutfi Pasha (1520s–1530s) were maintained; the last building was also modified and renovated in 1917. Part of the complex of Lutfi Pasha even extended on to the pavement of the new boulevard.¹⁰⁵ (Fig. 9.1)



FIG. 9.25A–B Cemal Pasha Boulevard with the Tomb of Lufti Pasha extending on the sidewalk (from postcards in the collection of the author).



FIGURE 9.26 *Cemal Pasha Boulevard with the Ottoman flag-shaped parterres (from a postcard in the collection of the author).*

The ruthless way in which Cemal Pasha proceeded with his project further contributed to the resentment of the local population towards Ottoman rule caused by his other policies and acts, and the misery the war had brought. It also illustrates how Cemal Pasha considered himself to be the Absolute Ruler of Syria who would suffer no contradiction.¹⁰⁶

Work on his boulevard began most likely in 1915,¹⁰⁷ before the arrival of Zürcher in early 1916. Cemal Pasha in his memoirs writes that the new street was made by “a Jewish engineer named Wilbuschewitz.”¹⁰⁸ It is thus not clear whether Cemal Pasha’s architectural consultant Maximilian Zürcher was actually involved in the planning and designing of the boulevard itself or whether he later only contributed to the designs for new buildings along the street. Cemal Pasha was exceedingly proud of the street which he named after himself. In his memoirs he writes, “The boulevard I had constructed in Damascus is, I think, not surpassed in beauty in any city of the east.”¹⁰⁹ The *pièce de résistance* of Cemal Pasha’s urban projects was a 650 metre long and 45 metre wide street consisting of two lanes lined with trees. In the middle of the two lanes was a promenade also lined with two rows of trees. Between the two rows of trees were parterres with grass, shrubs and single trees. At three intervals the parks alternated with circular ponds. At the beginning of the boulevard near the citadel, the promenade was decorated with parterres in the shape of the Ottoman flag (crescent moon and star)



FIGURE 9.27 *The square in front of the Hejaz Railway Station (to the right) and Cemal Pasha Boulevard (from a postcard in the collection of the author).*

and a small fountain. After the war the star of this symbol of Ottoman rule was replaced by a (similarly symbolic) kiosk in Parisian style and the crescent-shaped parterre remodelled (Fig. 9.24). At the end of the boulevard on the square in front of the Hejaz Railway Station Cemal Pasha wanted a monumental fountain.¹¹⁰ From this square another new wide road, Sa'd Allah Jabi Street built in 1916–1917,¹¹¹ connected the Hejaz Railway Station to the Barada river bridge, and from there to the Marja Square and Salihiyya. Cemal Pasha contacted Wiegand and told him that he wanted Karl Wulzinger to design the new fountain. In a letter to his wife (dated 10 January 1917) Wiegand gave the following description: “[t]he ‘water feature’ should be Oriental, but not a building with a roof (sebil), it should be a fountain, but it should also have cascades, it should, however, not obscure the station and thus be low to the ground. But that will make the cascades difficult then. It should also have lions and the paws of one of these lions should rest on a Turkish banner – well all that will probably be hard to realize. But Wulzinger has made a design and in any case an axonometric perspective will be made.”¹¹² Like many other of Cemal Pasha’s plans this fountain never materialized.

In addition Cemal Pasha had planned to build along the new boulevard a complete range of new public buildings such as a new military headquarters building (replacing the partially demolished complex), a court of justice, a post and telegraph office and various other government

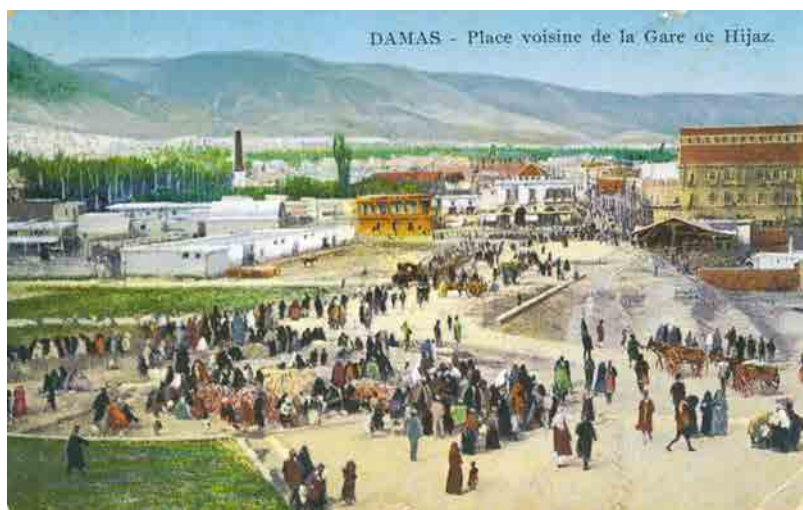


FIGURE 9.28 Construction of Sa'd Allah Jabi Street during World War I (from a postcard in the collection of the author).



FIGURE 9.29 The middle part of Cemal Pasha Boulevard with empty plots of land (to the right of the street) (from a postcard in the collection of the author).

offices such as the municipality.¹¹³ A number of these offices were at that moment still located in the nearby Marja Square, the centre of late Ottoman administration. Cemal Pasha's plans suggest that he wanted to relocate part of this centre to the new ceremonial axis of modern Ottoman Damascus. Among the papers of Kemaleddin Bey in the archive of



FIGURE 9.30 *The crossroads of modern Ottoman Damascus: Boulevard Cemal Pasha, the square in front of the Hejaz Railway Station, Saïd Allah Jabi Street, and in the upper right corner the Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya and Madrasa al-Salimiyya Complex (from a postcard in the collection of the author).*

Mehmed Nihad Bey is also a design for a new six-storey high commercial building at the beginning of the Cemal Pasha Boulevard opposite the Citadel and the Military Headquarters.¹¹⁴ Before the construction of the Cemal Pasha Boulevard and the widening of the Sanjaqdar Street this area had been occupied by a number of buildings which were either partially or completely demolished. The plot of land was the property of the Ministry of Pious Foundations, and head architect Kemaleddin Bey made a design for the new building which closely resembled his designs for similar buildings (*Vakıf Han*) in Istanbul.¹¹⁵ Among the other commercial buildings Cemal Pasha wanted to construct along his street were a bank, a hotel and a bathhouse. In 1917 he also began building a mosque named after himself next to the Takiyya al-Mawlawiyya at the end of the Cemal Pasha Boulevard opposite the Hejaz Railway Station. The mosque was apparently never finished.¹¹⁶

The Cemal Pasha Boulevard aimed at creating a straight and wide connection between the old city *intra muros* and the modern Ottoman city centre. This connection would function as a ceremonial axis from the restored Umayyad Mosque (1895–1910) and renovated (or new?) tomb of Salah al-Din (1916–1918) via the modern shopping arcade Suq al-Hamidiyya (1883–1890)¹¹⁷ and the monumental Cemal Pasha Boulevard (1915–1918) to the new Hejaz Railway Station (1913–1917),¹¹⁸

and the renovated Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya and Madrasa al-Salimiyya (1916–1918) which formed the centre of a developing campus of higher education and medical services. From there an extension of the Cemal Pasha Boulevard created a connection with the Hamidiyya barracks.¹¹⁹ Already during World War I the street was used for various parades which showcased the (military) presence of the Ottoman state and “allowed” the local population to express their allegiance to the state during the war.¹²⁰ The Cemal Pasha Boulevard thus had an important wartime propaganda function. In addition the promenade soon turned out to be a favourite location for the inhabitants of Damascus to go gallivanting.¹²¹ Last but not least, the new street redirected the ceremonial hajj route in Damascus itself which, before the completion of the Hejaz Railway Station in 1917, was still orientated at (the) Qadam (Station) in Midan to the south of Damascus *intra muros*. Although the war had interrupted the yearly hajj it is likely that the authorities after the war would have used the Cemal Pasha Boulevard for some of the religious processions held before the departure of the pilgrims embarking on the last leg of their journey by train from the new Hejaz Railway Station.¹²² The plan for a fountain – an important form of Islamic charity – in front of the station, the construction of the Cemal Pasha Mosque next to the Takiyya al-Mawlawiyya opposite the station, and the renovation of the nearby Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya and Madrasa al-Salimiyya complex which throughout Ottoman times had played an important role in the yearly hajj further strengthens the hypothesis that his boulevard also served pan-Islamic propaganda (Fig. 9.30)

Two documents dated 21 September 1918 deal with the expropriation by the municipality of all land twenty metres deep on both sides of the Cemal Pasha Boulevard. These documents corroborate that the authorities – even after Cemal Pasha had left Syria and shortly before the capture of the city by British and Sherifial troops in October 1918 – were still occupied with the creation of the Ottoman ceremonial axis, which, however, was never completed.¹²³

The restoration of the Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya and the Madrasa al-Salimiyya, the sanitization of the area around the Umayyad Mosque and the tomb of Salah al-Din, and the modernization of the street network of Damascus, which included the construction of the Cemal Pasha Boulevard, all formed part of Cemal Pasha’s comprehensive programme of Ottomanization. His interest in pre-Islamic antiquities and Islamic patrimony in combination with modernization policies is emblematic of late Ottoman modernity.¹²⁴ As such he was a man of his time. However, in the case of Cemal Pasha’s Damascus World War I provided an extra impulse selectively to appropriate the Arab-Islamic past into the Ottoman

present and to focus more than ever before on Ottoman-Islamic heritage in combination with modernization.¹²⁵ This strategy served top-down Ottomanization and pan-Islamic wartime propaganda which aimed to reassert Ottoman state authority in Syria and gain support for the empire among the local Muslim population during World War I. Ironically, Cemal Pasha's surge of state-led Ottomanization and pan-Islamic propaganda had an adverse effect. Discriminatory restorations and unscrupulous urban modernization merely reinforced the resentment caused by his "reign of terror" and further alienated Syrians from Ottoman rule in spite of the fact that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries they had become more Ottoman than ever before.¹²⁶

Notes

- 1 James Edward Hanauer, "Notes on Changes made in the City during the Great War", *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (1924), p. 68.
- 2 M. Talha Çiçek, *War and State Formation in Syria. Cemal Pasha's Governorate during World War I, 1914–1917* (London-New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 1–12.
- 3 Hasan Kayalı, *Jön Türkler ve Araplar. Osmanlıcılık, Erken Arap Milliyetçiliği ve İslamcılık (1908–1918)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), pp. 217–226. For Cemal Pasha's own memoirs dealing with his stay in Syria see Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, İstanbul 2001, pp. 172–371.
- 4 Çiçek, *War and State Formation in Syria*, pp. 16–24, 191–194; and Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2001), pp. 364–367.
- 5 Çiçek, *War and State Formation in Syria*, p. 193; Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, 364; p. and Ali Fu'ad Erden, *Birinci Dünya Harbi'nde Suriye Hatıraları* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2003), pp. 173–175.
- 6 Cemal Pasha's projects were collected in two albums which were kept in the Ministry of the Navy. See Cemal Paşa, *Hatırat*, p. 366; and Erden, *Suriye Hatıraları*, p. 175. My attempt to find these albums in the Archive of the Maritime Museum (*Deniz Müzesi Komutanlığı Deniz Tarihi Arşivi*) in Istanbul was unfortunately not successful.
- 7 Anonymous, *Suriye ve Filistin ve Garbi 'Arabistan Abidat-i 'Atikası/Alte Denkmäler aus Syrien, Palästina und Westarabien* (Berlin: Reimer, 1918). The complete text of the dedication in French is as follows: 'A mon ami M. Zürcher! Souvenir de l'époque de travaux sérieux! Klosters: le 28.9.19. A. Djémal.'
- 8 Çiçek, *War and State Formation in Syria*, pp. 194–196; Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, pp. 364–367; Ali Cengizkan, "Mehmet Nihat Nigisberk'in Katkıları, Evkaf İdaresi ve Mimar Kemalettin", in *Mimar Kemalettin ve Çağı: Mimarlık/Toplumsal Yaşam/Politika*, ed. Ali Cengizkan (Ankara: Mimarlar Odası & Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 2009), pp. 180–190.
- 9 Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, pp. 369–370; Erden, *Suriye hatıraları*, pp. 176–177; Hans von Kiesling, *Damaskus. Altes und Neues aus Syrien* (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche

- Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1919), p. 34; Theodor Wiegand, *Halbmond im letzten Viertel. Archäologische Reiseberichte* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1985), pp. 198–202; Carl Watzinger, *Theodor Wiegand* (München: C.H. Beck, 1944), p. 289; Leila Hudson, *Transforming Damascus. Space and Modernity in an Islamic City* (London-New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008), pp. 124–125; and Çiçek, *War and State Formation in Syria*, pp. 194–196.
- 10 Ahmed Cemal Paşa/Ahmed Djemal Pascha, “İfade-i meram/Vorwort”, in *Suriye ve Filistin ve Garbi ‘Arabistan Abidat-i ‘Atikası/Alte Denkmäler aus Syrien, Palästina und Westarabien*, unpaginated. See also Kiesling, *Damaskus*, p. 35; Wiegand, *Halbmond*, pp. 198–202; and Çiçek, *War and State Formation in Syria*, p. 194. The main goal of the members of the *Denkmalschutzkommando* itself seems to have been the studying, publication and preservation of antique remains. See Theodor Wiegand, “Denkmal-Schutz in Syrien”, *Klio: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte* 15 (1918), pp. 422–425. Watzinger, *Theodor Wiegand*, p. 289, mentions Cemal Pasha’s goal with the publication: “Er sprach von einer Veröffentlichung der antiken und islamischen Denkmäler im Bereich der 4. Türkischen Armee, durch die er bei der Bevölkerung das Verständnis für die eigene Vergangenheit wecken wolle.” According to Watzinger, *Theodor Wiegand*, p. 298, Wiegand did not have a high opinion of Cemal Pasha’s “coffee table book.” “Von der wissenschaftlichen Publikation verspreche ich [Wiegand] mir sehr viel, von der anderen natürlich gar nichts als ein Bilderbuch, das ich auch nicht mit meinem Namen decken möchte.” The members of the *Denkmalschutzkommando* after the war published a series of six scholarly studies: Theodor Wiegand (mit Beiträgen von Friedrich Freiherrn Kress von Kressenstein), *Sinai* (= *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des deutsch-türkischen Denkmalschutzkommandos*, Heft 1) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1920); Albrecht Alt, *Die griechischen Inschriften der Palästina Tertia westlich der ‘Araba* (= *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des deutsch-türkischen Denkmalschutzkommandos*, Heft 2) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1921); Walter Bachmann, Carl Watzinger, Theodor Wiegand (mit einem Beitrage von Karl Wulzinger), *Petra* (= *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des deutsch-türkischen Denkmalschutzkommandos*, Heft 3) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1921); Carl Watzinger und Karl Wulzinger, *Damaskus: die antike Stadt* (= *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des deutsch-türkischen Denkmalschutzkommandos*, Heft 4) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1921); Karl Wulzinger und Carl Watzinger, *Damaskus: die islamitische Stadt* (= *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des deutsch-türkischen Denkmalschutzkommandos*, Heft 5) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1924); Franz Weissbach, *Die Denkmäler und Inschriften an der Mündung des Nahr El-Kelb* (= *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des deutsch-türkischen Denkmalschutzkommandos*, Heft 6) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1922).
- 11 Çiçek, *War and State Formation in Syria*, pp. 191–196; and Watzinger, *Theodor Wiegand*, pp. 300 and 319.
- 12 Kayalı, *Jön Türkler ve Araplar*, pp. 225–226.
- 13 Hudson, *Transforming Damascus*, p. 123.
- 14 *Ibid.*, pp. 122–126. Hudson also makes a number of factual mistakes. For instance *ibid.*, p. 125: “One project particularly important to Jamal was the renovation of the *Selimiyya mosque complex built in the 1550s and 1560s by the Ottoman Sultan Selim, who had conquered Egypt* [*italics added*] – as Jamal himself was hoping to

do in the Suez campaigns he led against the British.” The Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya was built in the years 1554–1559 by Sultan Süleyman (1520–1566) whose father Selim I had conquered Egypt in 1517. The adjacent Madrasa al-Salimiyya, however, was completed by Süleyman’s successor Selim II in 1566–1567.

- 15 Çiçek, *War and State Formation in Syria*, pp. 191–196.
- 16 Wiegand, *Halbmond*, p. 202, gives the sum of 150,000 Deutschmark.
- 17 BOA DH.ŞFR 63/296 (dated 28 Nisan 1332 Rumi/8 Receb 1334 AH/11 May 1916 CE): Şam’daki Selimiye câmi’-i şerifiyle Süleymâniye ‘imâret ve tekiyesiniñ bu sene yapılan ta’miri için taleb buyurılan altı bin liralık ...
- 18 Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), pp. 224–230.
- 19 Josias Porter, *Five Years in Damascus: Including an Account of the History, Topography, and Antiquities of that City ...* (London: John Murray, 1855), 2 vols., I, p. 76: “The mosk and hospital of Sultan Selim is a splendid structure, and beautifully situated on the banks of the river west of the city.”; Isabel Burton, *The Inner Life of Syria, Palestine, and the Holy Land: from my Private Journal* (London: Henry S. King & Co., 1875), 2 vols., I, p. 25: “The first building we passed was imposing – the Tekiyeh, founded in 1516 by Sultan Salim I. for the accommodation of Meccan pilgrims.”; Karl Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien: Handbuch für Reisende* (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1875), p. 509: “Die Tekkiye ist um das Jahr 1516 von Sultan Selim gebaut und zwar besonders zum Zwecke der Beherbergung von Pilgern, wozu sie auch jetzt noch dient.”; and Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf. Durch den Haurân, die Syrische Wüste und Mesopotamien* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1899–1900), 2 vols., I, p. 62: “Damaskus ist der Hauptsammelplatz für die nach Mekka ziehenden Pilgerkarawanen und bildet die letzte grosse Station auf den Routen von Nordwesten und Nordosten nach den heiligen Stätten. Der Beherbergung dieser Pilger dient vornehmlich die grosse, von Sultan Selim (um 1516) zu diesem Zwecke erbaute Tekkije, von deren schönen Minarets sich eine herrliche Rundsicht über die Stadt bietet. In dem riesigen Hofe dieses Gebäudes und auf den benachbarten Feldern, wo zahlreiche Zelte aufgeschlagen werden, sammeln sich alljährlich die Gläubigen zu ihrem frommen Zuge.” See also Kiesling, *Damaskus*, p. 77.
- 20 Wiegand, *Halbmond*, p. 20: “Djemal Pascha überträgt seine Vorliebe für Sultan Selim, den Eroberer Ägyptens, auch auf die Bauten dieses Sultans in Syrien. Ich ging deshalb vormittags 9 Uhr nach der Selimije- und Tekije-Moschee und sah mir die Erneuerungsarbeiten an, für die Djemal vom Evkafministerium 150 000 Mark verlangt und bekommen hat.”
- 21 Erden, *Suriye Hatıraları*, p. 39: “Inşallah sizi Mısır Fatih-i sanisi olarak selamlamaya gelirim.” Cf. Çiçek, *War and State Formation in Syria*, p. 195: “Upon a request from Hüseyin Vassaf to the ‘second conqueror of Egypt,’ Cemal ‘restored, decorated, and furnished’ the tomb of Muhyiddin al Arabi, one of the most prominent figures in Sufi history. The tomb was built by the first conqueror of Egypt, Selim II [sic].” Cf. Stefan Weber, “Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels. Stadt, Architektur und Gesellschaft des osmanischen Damaskus im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert”, *EJOS* 9, no. 1 (2006), p. 412.

- 22 Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, pp. 225 and 229; Kiesling, *Damaskus*, pp. 76–77; Esra Doğan, “Kaçar Dönemi Sefernâmelerinde Osmanlı Hac Kervanları”, in *Dersaadet’ten Haremeyn’e Surre-i Hümayun*, eds. Yusuf Çağlar & Salih Gülen (İstanbul: Yitik Hazine Yayınları, 2008), pp. 220–221; and Murat Kargılı, *Kutsal Yolculuk Hac. Kartpostallarla Hac Yolu* (İstanbul: Denziler Kitabevi, 2014), p. 20.
- 23 Hudson, *Transforming Damascus*, pp. 96 and 122.
- 24 Alfred von Kremer, *Topographie von Damaskus* (Wien: Kaiserlich-Königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1854–1855), 2 vols., II, p. 29.
- 25 Burton, *The Inner Life of Syria, Palestine, and the Holy Land*, I, p. 25: “The Tekiyeh now serves as a ‘refuge for the destitute.’”
- 26 Kiesling, *Damaskus*, pp. 78, 84–85.
- 27 Cengizkan, “Mehmet Nihat Nigisberk”, pp. 187–188.
- 28 For this discussion see Wendy Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Wendy Shaw, “Museums and Narratives of Display from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic”, *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World* 24 (2007), pp. 253–279; and *Scramble for the Past. A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire 1753–1914*, eds. Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik & Edhem Eldem (İstanbul: Salt, 2011).
- 29 Zeynep Çelik, “Defining Empire’s Patrimony: Late Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities”, in *Scramble for the Past. A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire 1753–1914*, eds. Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik & Edhem Eldem (İstanbul: Salt, 2011), p. 469.
- 30 Watzinger, *Theodor Wiegand*, p. 289: “Er sprach von einer Veröffentlichung der antiken und islamischen Denkmäler im Bereich der 4. Türkischen Armee, durch die er bei der Bevölkerung das Verständnis für die eigene Vergangenheit wecken wolle.”
- 31 In the sixteenth century (and later) the professorship of the religious school was assigned to the Hanafi mufti of Damascus. See Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, p. 225.
- 32 Weber, “Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels”, 1–1014, pp. 168–184, 473–474, 493–494, 503–504. Jean Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques de Damas* (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1932), p. 78, indicates that the Takiyya had become a faculty of medicine (after World War I and before 1932).
- 33 Cengizkan, “Mehmet Nihat Nigisberk”, p. 188.
- 34 Ibid., p. 187: “... kıymetli çinileri çalınmış ...” The theft of and international trade in Islamic artefacts (in particular tiles) was a concern of both late Ottoman intellectuals and authorities and played an important role in the ongoing debate on the empire’s cultural heritage. For the theft of and trade in tiles in Syria see Marcus Milwright, “An Arabic Description of the Activities of Antique Dealers in Late Ottoman Damascus”, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 143, no. 1 (2011), pp. 8–18.
- 35 Cengizkan, “Mehmet Nihat Nigisberk”, p. 188: “Bozuk çinileri söküp tekrar yerlerine koydurdum.”

- 36 In the Ottoman revivalist “National Architecture Renaissance” which emerged as the main architectural style in the period from 1908 onwards, tilework played a dominant role as an architectural decoration. This no doubt contributed to the importance of the refurbishment of the tilework of the Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya and the Madrasa al-Salimiyya. For the “National Architecture Renaissance” see Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building. Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle-London: University of Washington Press, 2001), pp. 16–46.
- 37 Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, p. 227.
- 38 Weber, “Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels”, p. 664, mentions an earlier Ottoman restoration in 1261/1845. It is not known what kind of works were carried out as part of this restoration.
- 39 The plan and axonometric projection of the Takiyya in Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, p. 223, mistakenly show only 10 guest rooms. Unfortunately the plan contains several other mistakes. A correct plan is in Karl Wulzinger und Carl Watzinger, *Damaskus: die islamitische Stadt* (= *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des deutsch-türkischen Denkmalschutzkommandos*, Heft 5) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1924), 110; or in Abd Al-Qadir al-Rihawi and Émilie E. Ouéchék, “Les deux Takiyya de Damas. La Takiyya et la Madrasa Sulaymāniyya du Marǧ et la Takiyya As-Salimiyya de Šālihiyya”, *Bulletin d’Études Orientales* 28 (1975): between pp. 224 and 225.
- 40 All tile lunettes have the same design. However, in one of the panels four tiles have been incorrectly positioned, thus creating a slightly distorted design.
- 41 Wulzinger & Watzinger, *Damaskus*, p. 13.
- 42 Abdurrezzak Tek, “Sadılık ve Sa’diyye Kültürünün Bursa’daki Temsilcileri”, *T.C. Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 18, no. 1 (2009), p. 227.
- 43 Enver Çakar, “xvi. Yüzyılda Şam Beylerbeyiliğinin idarî taksimatı”, *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 13, no. 1 (2003), pp. 364–365. Wulzinger & Watzinger, *Damaskus*, p. 44, give ca. 970 AH/1562–1563 as the date. Cf. Weber, “Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels”, p. 136, footnote 436.
- 44 Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, p. 225.
- 45 Wulzinger & Watzinger, *Damaskus*, pp. 13–15 and 17. The no longer existing Lala Mustafa Pasha Mosque built in 1566/67 also had tilework. For this mosque see Weber, “Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels”, p. 136; and Wulzinger & Watzinger, *Damaskus*, pp. 44 and 52–55.
- 46 One panel on the west wall and another panel on the north wall. Some of the missing tiles are nowadays in museums such as the National Museum in Deir ez-Zor (Syria) which before the civil war had a small panel with six tiles on display. These tiles must have been removed from the Madrasa al-Salimiyya after 1918 because some of the tiles have a warm ivory white background and others a cold, blue-ish white background.
- 47 Seven tile lunettes of the Koca Sinan Pasha Mosque have a design which resembles that of the Type 1–3 lunettes of the Takiyya. However, 28 other tile lunettes of the Koca Sinan Pasha Mosque have unique designs which resemble the designs of the Type 4 lunettes of the Takiyya.

- 48 Charles Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine, Sinai and Egypt* (London: J.S. Virtue & Co., 1881), 4 vols., II, p. 163. For a rare nineteenth-century photograph of the hospice with its tile lunettes (unfortunately not clearly visible) see Badr el-Hage, *Des photographes à Damas 1840–1918* (Paris: Marval, 2000), p. 98. More nineteenth-century photographs of the complete complex are on pp. 77, 104, and 105.
- 49 Watzinger, *Theodor Wiegand*, p. 299: “Am 21. Januar [1917] trafen Wulzinger und Watzinger nach sechstägiger (!) Fahrt von Jerusalem in Damaskus ein. Nach den ersten Orientierungsgängen wurde sofort mit der Aufnahme der islamischen Bauten begonnen, zunächst der Selim- und Suleiman-Moschee, die als erste türkische Baudenkmäler auf arabischem Boden gerade im Auftrag des Paschas restauriert wurden.”
- 50 Wulzinger & Watzinger, *Damaskus*, p. 111: “Die Sulaimânije ist das Geschenk der osmanischen Eroberer an die syrische Stadt, ein novum. Es war kein Zufall, daß sich Dschemal Paschas Eifer besonders der Erhaltung dieses Baues zuwandte.”
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 111: “Ferner wirken als farbige Belebung die Kielbogigen Fayencelünetten, die über allen Fenstern und Türen eingefügt sind In der Zeichnung gehen diese Fliesen durchaus mit den persisch-osmanischen Mustern des 16. Jahrh. überein. Gefüllte Kranz- und Kelchpalmetten verschlingen sich mit den an Spitze und Kanten eingerollten Lanzettblättern. Die Fliesen, die technisch zu den sogenannten türkischen Halbfayencen gehören, da sie unter durchsichtiger Glasur auf einer Engobe gemalt sind, werden doch wahrscheinlich in einer Damaszener Werkstätte hergestellt sein, da nirgends Bolusrot angewendet ist und nur ein tiefes Kobaltblau als Grund, hellgrün in zwei Nuancen, kaltes Meergrün (vert émeraude) und warmes saftiges Gelbgrün, neben einem braunen Manganviolett vorkommen. Letzteres dient auch zur Konturierung ...”
- 52 In late 1916 or early 1917. Kiesling, *Damaskus*, p. 78: “Die von Dschemal Pascha in die Wege geleitete Restaurierung hat erst begonnen.” Von Kiesling was a military friend of Wiegand whom he visited in Damascus somewhere in the period January–March 1917 before he was sent to Mesopotamia as commander of the 56th Ottoman infantry regiment. See C. Watzinger, *Theodor Wiegand*, p. 302.
- 53 Kiesling, *Damaskus*, p. 80: “Auch die Suleimanie, die größere und imposantere der beiden Tekkien, besitzt prachtvolle Fayencen. Hier finden sie sich hauptsächlich in Spitzbogen- und Kielbogenform über den Zellentüren des Hofes zu einem harmonisch zusammenschwingenden Ornament vereinigt. Als besonders eigenartig muß bei diesen Fayencen die sonst überaus seltene Zusammenstellung von Blau und Gelb erwähnt werden. Merkwürdig ist, daß, die rote Farbe, die bei den Azulejos der maurischen Kunst häufig ist, bei sämtlichen in Damaskus vorgefundenen Fayencen nicht vorkommt.” Von Kiesling mistakenly writes that the tiles combine the colours blue and yellow. He is probably mixing up the tiles of the Dome of the Rock and those of the Takiyya. His second observation, however, is important because it corroborates that the original tiles of the Takiyya did not use the colour red.
- 54 For instance Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques de Damas*, pp. 78–81; Godfrey Goodwin, “The Tekke of Süleyman I, Damascus,” *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*

110–111 (1978–1979), pp. 127–129; and Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu, “‘In The Image of Rûm’: Ottoman Architectural Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Aleppo and Damascus”, *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World* 16 (1999), pp. 70–96. The first scholarly publication which mentions the renovation project is Weber, “Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels”, p. 413. Weber, however, does not deal with the refurbishment of the tilework.

- 55 Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine, Sinai and Egypt*, II, p. 164.
- 56 Kiesling, *Damaskus*, p. 79: “Die teilweise zerstörten Kachelflächen sind durch Neuinzufügungen ergänzt.” Wulzinger & Watzinger, *Damaskus*, pp. 112–114, give a description of the tiled walls and mihrab, but do not mention the tiled spandrel, the tiled border and the tile lunettes. Wulzinger & Watzinger also do not mention the renovation; their description on page 113, however, corroborates that the original layout of the tilework was maintained: “Im Innern der Moschee fesselt uns vor allem die Bekleidung der Wände mit Fliesen, die auch statt Marmorprofilen den Mihrâb umfahren. Teppichartige Felder werden von lockeren Rankenmuster durchzogen, in das regelmäßig Mandorlen mit Arabesken eingestreut sind; gleiche Lanzettblattarabesken in den Randleisten; die Farben sind Hellblau, Dunkelblau, helles und dunkles Grün und Weiß. Die Mihrâb-nische hat ein halbes Zehneck als Grundriß. Jeder Zehneckstreifen ist einzeln gerahmt und umschließt in den Farben der Wände Mandorlen, die auf einen weißen Grund mit dem chinesischen Wolkenmuster (Tschü) in Hellgrün und Blau gebracht sind.”
- 57 Kiesling, *Damaskus*, p. 80: “Im Mihrab der Selimie befinden sich hervorragend schöne Kacheln. Ihr Muster ist ein teppichartiges, das die ältesten und schönsten persischen Elemente in sich schließt. Weiße Linien wechseln mit blaugemusterten Kachelreihen, voneinander jedes einzelne Stück die typische Dekorationsordnung des persischen Teppichs aufweist, nämlich das Mittelmedaillon und das Eckmedaillon. Als Füllung ist das Wolkenband verwendet, das die persische oder besser gesagt zentralasiatische Teppichknüpfkunst aus China übernommen hat.”
- 58 Ibid., p. 79: “Hierbei ist der Unterschied zwischen alten und neuen Fayencen ganz deutlich erkennbar. Während die alten Arbeiten viel künstlerischer, feiner in der Linienführung, viel schwungvoller in der Zeichnung der Arabesken sind, sieht man der modernen Kachel überall das Gezwungene des Handwerks an, das in der peinlichen Nachahmung einer gegebenen Vorlage seine Stärke sucht. Der Unterschied zwischen dem Handwerker und dem frei schaffenden Künstler tritt deutlich zutage. Auch die Technik hat sich trotz aller Bemühungen noch nicht auf die Höhe der alten erheben können. Es ist noch nicht gelungen, die satte warme Farbgebung der alten Stücke zu erreichen. Das Weiß alter Fayencen ist elfenbeinfarben, während neue stets ein kaltes blaues Weiß zeigen; auch der tiefe Ton von Blau und Grün ist noch nicht erreicht. Die Farbauftragung bei neuen Kacheln ist viel plumper und dicker.”
- 59 On two photographs taken during the renovation (see Figs 9.6–7) the spandrels of the façade are still empty. The new tiles apparently had not yet been inserted. On one of the photographs the upper row of border tiles is also not yet (re-)installed. This is also the case on the drawing by Karl Stöckle in Wulzinger & Watzinger, *Damaskus*, p. 107.

- 60 See Gülru Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman: a Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramic Tiles", *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World* 7 (1990), pp. 136–170; and idem, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: Abd al-Malik's Grand Narrative and Sultan Süleyman's Glosses", in *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World* 25 (2008), pp. 57–65.
- 61 Kiesling, *Damaskus*, p. 80: "Das ganze altorientalische Kunsthandwerk wurde dort getrieben, Fayencen gemalt, Gipsfenster hergestellt, Metallarbeiten gemacht, Gewebe geknüpft." The drawing of one of the tile lunettes published in Wulzinger & Watzinger, *Damaskus*, p. 106, was also made by Karl Stöckle. For this school see Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels", p. 500; and Stefan Weber, "Images of Imagined Worlds. Self-image and Worldview in Late Ottoman Wall Paintings of Damascus", in *The Empire in the City. Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, eds. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp & Stefan Weber (Beirut: Orient Institut, 2002), p. 159.
- 62 Kiesling, *Damaskus*, p. 80.
- 63 Cengizkan, "Mehmet Nihat Nigisberk", pp. 188–190.
- 64 The costly urban modernization projects also attracted criticism from both Ottoman and German officers. See Çiçek, *War and State Formation in Syria*, p. 196; and Erden, *Suriye Hatıraları*, pp. 174–175. The Syrian journalist Muhammad Kurd 'Ali later also remembered the Takiyya project as a grotesquely lavish restoration. See Hudson, *Transforming Damascus*, p. 122.
- 65 BOA DH.ŞFR 63/298 (dated 28 Nisan 1332 Rumi/8 Receb 1334 AH/11 May 1916 CE): "Câmi'-i şerif-i Emeviye'ye muttaşıl Kellâse ve 'Azîziye medreseleri havâlilerindeki mebânîniñ istimlâkiyle Şalâh el-Dîn-i Eyyûbî hâzretleri türbe-i şerifesiniñ hâl-i sâbıkına i'âdesi için taleb buyurılan yüz biñ gurusluk havâle-nâme pöstaya verilerek şarfi telğrafla evkâf müdiriyyetine tebliğ kılınmışdır efendim." For this area see Wulzinger & Watzinger, *Damaskus*, pp. 62–66; and Abd al-Razzaq Moaz, "Note sur le mausolée de Saladin à Damas: son fondateur et les circonstances de sa fondation", *Bulletin d'études orientales* 39–40 (1987–1988), pp. 183–189.
- 66 Watzinger, *Theodor Wiegand*, p. 299: "Als nächste Aufgabe [after the study of the Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya and Madrasa al-Salimiyya in early 1917] kam die Untersuchung der Omaiadenmoschee und ihrer Umgebung, des antiken Tempel- und Marktbezirks, in Frage, die dadurch erleichtert war, daß Dschemal befohlen hatte, die an die Umfassungsmauern des Bezirks angebauten Häusern und Läden zu enteignen und abzureißen."; and Kiesling, *Damaskus*, p. 36: "Seit unter Leitung des schweizerischen Ingenieurs Hauck die Freilegung erfolgt ist, bildet sie zusammen mit den byzantinischen Säulen des westlichen Marktdurchgangs nicht nur ein malerisches Denkmal alter längst verschwundener Zeit, sondern auch eine reizvolle Unterbrechung des dichten Straßengewirrs der modernen Stadt."
- 67 Nineteenth-century European travellers often decribe the dense urban fabric of the area around the Umayyad Mosque. For instance Burton, *The Inner Life of Syria, Palestine, and the Holy Land*, 1, pp. 84–85: "I think you would regret missing the roof of the book bazar, which leads to the west gate of the Mosque. On its left is a curious flight of steps through private houses. Arriving at the

head of these stairs you can see four massive columns in a line, and at each end a square pier of masonry with a semi-column on the inner side. The shafts alone are visible from the bazar, as the capitals rise over the domed roof. The people will not mind our scrambling over their roofs, as we are 'harim,' and then we can examine both capitals and superstructure. These pillars formerly formed part of the magnificent pagan temple, which must have extended some 600 yards square, for there are columns here and there in situ, all in four straight lines. They are unnoticed, because the bazars, houses, and mud walls cling to them like wasps' nests. They support a rich and beautiful arch, of which only a fragment remains above the roofs; but if you examine this remnant you will say that it is one of the finest of ancient art in Syria. This noble gateway must have been at least 80 feet long and 70 feet high."; and Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, I, pp. 64–65: "Leaving the mosk by the southern door, called *Bab ez-Ziâdeh*, we observe two colonnades running southward parallel to each other. Following the line of these through the silk-thread bazaar, we enter the silversmiths' bazaar, to the roof of which we ascend by a rather difficult staircase, and from it obtain one of the finest views of the southern side of the mosk. Here we see a long range of round-arched windows, which, together with the character of the masonry, seem to indicate that the whole of this wall was erected before the Mohammedan era. At the south-western angle is a section of masonry with pilasters, of a still earlier date; and on proceeding to the great windows in the end of the transept we can trace with ease and accuracy the limits of another ancient fragment. This latter is of high antiquity, and formed part of a once splendid edifice. It was left in its present position in order to preserve a spacious doorway whose sides and top are richly ornamented with sculptured scroll-work and leaves, somewhat similar in design and execution to those in the great temple at Bâ'albek. On each side of this door is a smaller one of similar workmanship. The circular top of that on the east can just be seen above the roof of the bazaar; but by looking down a little opening to a chamber on the west, its fellow may be perceived entire." See also pp. 61–62. For similar descriptions see Kremer, *Topographie von Damaskus* I, pp. 34–48, and II, pp. 10 and 12; and Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*, pp. 502–506.

68 Kiesling, *Damaskus*, p. 38, describes the area as "düster und verfallen."

69 Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul. Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 59–63.

70 Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels", p. 665, dates the renovation by Ziya Pasha to 1293 AH/1876 CE. However, it is likely that the year 1293 is not hijri (AH) but *rumi* (financial year). Hence the renovation coincides with the short governorship of Ziya Pasha in 1877 and the outbreak of the Russo-Ottoman war which in Turkish is called the '93 *harbi*' because it coincides with the *rumi* year 1293 (1877–1878 CE).

71 The tile lunette from 1618 was most likely already present in 1877. However, most of the other tiles – among which are seventeenth- and eighteenth-century tiles made in Damascus – that either complement the tile lunette on the upper wall or decorate the lower walls and niches were probably added to the interior during

- the renovation of 1877. The earliest known photographs of the interior of the tomb date from after this renovation and already show the present tile decoration.
- 72 Stefan Heidemann, "Memory and Ideology: Images of Saladin in Syria and in Iraq", in *Visual Culture in the Modern Middle East: Rhetoric of the Image*, eds. Christiane Gruber & Sune Haugbolle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), pp. 60–61.
 - 73 Abdel-Raouf Sinno, "The Emperor's Visit to the East as Reflected in Contemporary Arabic Journalism", in *Image and Monument: Baalbek 1898–1998*, eds. Hélène Sader, Thomas Scheffler & Angelika Neuwirth (Beirut: Orient Institut, 1998), pp. 115–136. Electronic version at <http://www.abdelraoufsinno.com/periodicals.html>. Quotation taken from electronic version p. 19.
 - 74 Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels", p. 665. The wreath is nowadays kept at the Imperial War Museum. See <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/30083872>.
 - 75 Late Ottoman hajj pilgrims often visited the tomb during their stay in Damascus. See for instance Yusuf Çağlar, "Mahmil-i Şerif'in Surre-i Hümayun'la İstanbul'dan Haremeyn'e Hac Yolculuğu", in *Dersaadet'ten Haremeyn'e Surre-i Hümayun*, eds. Yusuf Çağlar & Salih Gülen (İstanbul: Yitik Hazine Yayınları, 2008), p. 40.
 - 76 Erden, *Suriye Hatıraları*, p. 231.
 - 77 Çiçek, *War and State Formation in Syria*, pp. 56–58.
 - 78 Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, p. 368; and Çiçek, *War and State Formation in Syria*, pp. 180–184.
 - 79 Wiegand, *Halbmond*, p. 267.
 - 80 Kiesling, *Damaskus*, p. 36, mentions the Swiss engineer Hauck who was involved in clearing the antique remains of later additions.
 - 81 The only German specialist involved in the renovation activities of religious architecture seems to have been Karl Stöckle who, as director of the School of Applied Arts, was involved in the production of new tilework for the Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya and the Madrasa al-Salimiyya.
 - 82 Çiçek, *War and State Formation in Syria*, pp. 150–159.
 - 83 Wiegand, *Halbmond*, p. 237.
 - 84 Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels", pp. 665–666. The lamp still hangs above the white marble sarcophagus given by Sultan 'Abdülhamid II in the tomb of Salah al-Din.
 - 85 Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, pp. 16–34.
 - 86 The archive of Mehmed Nihad Bey also contains a design by Kemaleddin Bey for a new Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. The Noble Sanctuary including the Aqsa Mosque had already been cleared of later additions on the orders of Cemal Pasha. This may also have been the first step in a much more comprehensive renovation project which included constructing a new Ottoman-revivalist Aqsa Mosque. Both Kemaleddin Bey and Mehmed Nihad Bey were in 1922 involved in the restoration of the monuments of the Noble Sanctuary. See Cengizkan, "Mehmet Nihat Nigisberk", pp. 183–184 and 192.
 - 87 Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels", pp. 106–108.
 - 88 Çelik, "Defining Empire's Patrimony", p. 469.

- 89 All three airmen died before the outbreak of World War I during flights to Egypt. Fethi Bey and Sadık Bey crashed their plane on 27 February 1914 near Lake Tiberias. Nuri Bey died on 11 March 1914 when his plane crashed in the Mediterranean Sea near Jaffa. His co-pilot İsmâ'il Hakkı Bey survived the crash. Subsequently, the bodies of the "martyrs" were brought to Damascus and buried next to the tomb of Salah al-Din. See Heidemann, "Memory and Ideology", pp. 61–62; Nureddin Van, "Journey from Istanbul to Cairo and the First Turkish Air Martyrs: Fethi, Sadık and Nuri Beys", *Ozean Journal of Social Sciences* 5, no. 3 (2012), pp. 119–129; and Afife Batur, *M. Vedat Tek. Kimliğinin İzinde bir Mimar* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003), p. 121.
- 90 Cengizkan, "Mehmet Nihat Nigisberk", pp. 194–195: "Şâm-i şerif'de inşâ edilecek Şalâh el-Dîn-i Eyyûbî hâzretlerinin türbelerinin projesidir."
- 91 For the monument for Fethi Bey and Sadık Bey at the crash site see Heidemann, "Memory and Ideology", pp. 61–62. For the monument in Istanbul see Batur, *M. Vedat Tek*, pp. 121–123 and 347–348; and Klaus Kreiser, "Public Monuments in Turkey and Egypt, 1840–1916", *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World* 14 (1997), p. 113.
- 92 Hanauer, "Notes on Changes", pp. 70–71. Photographs in the Creswell Archive (<http://creswell.ashmolean.org/HomePage.html>) show the remains of demolished buildings after World War I (EA.CA.5459; EA.CA.5467–5468; EA.CA.718–720). Wulzinger & Watzinger, *Damaskus*, Tafel 4c, also shows the "heaps of ruin."
- 93 Hanauer, "Notes on Changes", pp. 68–69.
- 94 For these roads see Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels", pp. 151–153 and 681–690. For this ideal see Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, pp. 49–81.
- 95 Cf. Wiegand, *Halbmond*, p. 198: "An der Wand [in the house of Cemal Pasha] ein scheußliches Ding von Seidenteppich in blau und braun: die Landkarte der Dardanellen nebst Ortsbezeichnungen, gewidmet von einem Frauenklub. Donnerwetter! Ich lobe krampfhaft die feine Technik des Gewebes."
- 96 Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels", pp. 1–454; and Stefan Weber, "Der Marğa-Platz in Damaskus. Die Entstehung eines modernen Stadtzentrum unter den Osmanen als Ausdruck eines strukturellen Wandels (1808–1918)", *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 10 (1998), pp. 291–344, Tafel 77–88. Weber's groundbreaking study of late Ottoman Damascus is published in English as Stefan Weber, *Damascus, Ottoman Modernity and Urban Transformation (1808–1918)* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2009).
- 97 Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels", pp. 674–675.
- 98 Ibid., pp. 632–634.
- 99 Ibid., pp. 683–684, 687 and 690.
- 100 Wulzinger & Watzinger, *Damaskus*, p. 59; Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels", pp. 465–468 and 657–658; and idem, "Der Marğa-Platz in Damaskus", pp. 325 and 335.
- 101 Wulzinger & Watzinger, *Damaskus*, p. 59, mention a "Medrese Kadschmâsiye"; Weber, "Der Marğa-Platz in Damaskus", p. 153, footnote 468, mentions a Madrasa al-Bayramiyya.
- 102 Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels", pp. 468–469; and idem, "Der Marğa-Platz in Damaskus", p. 325.

- 103 Watzinger, *Theodor Wiegand*, p. 300: "Er hatte von der Innenstadt aus seinen breiten 'Boulevard' nach dem neuen Bahnhof durchbrechen lassen, wobei nicht nur die vorderen Hälften vieler Häuser, sondern auch eine altehrwürdige Moschee zur Erbitterung der Araber hatte fallen müssen."; and *ibid.*, p. 319: "Auch sonst kam es immer wieder aus Gründen der Verkehrserschließung oder wegen Straßenerweiterungen zu überflüssigen Zerstörungen antiker und altarabischer Bauten, von denen die Formation meist erst nach der Durchführung Kunde erhielt – 'wie denn das Wort "démolir" für die junge Generation etwas Faszinierendes zu haben scheint." Sie also Wiegand, *Halbmond*, p. 267.
- 104 Cf. Erden, *Suriye Hatıraları*, p. 114: "Açılacak olan caddeler şehir haritası üzerinde kırmızı çizgilerle çizilir ve ertesi sabah cadde açılmasına başlanırdı."
- 105 Wulzinger & Watzinger, *Damaskus*, pp. 58–59: "Jetzt als Durchgang des n. Bürgersteiges am Boulevard Dschemal Pascha gestaltet, stellt es einen Neubau mit den alten Werkstücken dar. Die frühere W.-Fassade ist das Hauptschmuckstück. Großes querliegendes Zierfeld. Schlingbänder teilen zwei Kreise und ein Quadrat ab. Dies Mittelfeld wird von Streifen mit Blattzinnen und Steinschnittmustern umzogen. Alles in zartestem flachen Relief, wahrscheinlich zum Teil für Pastenausfüllung vorbereitet und unvollendet geblieben (gerauhter Grund). Ganz ähnlich F2 (I) und F4 (I) kleine Kuppel, zwölfseitiger Tambur mit Fenstern renov., darunter das Grab des L. (zur Seite gerückt). Lutfi Pascha starb 957 (1550)." This Ottoman "anomaly" was demolished not long after World War I (before 1932 because Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques de Damas*, no longer mentions the building). For the fate of Ottoman architecture in Syria after World War I see Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpugh, "An Uneasy Historiography: the Legacy of Ottoman Architecture in the Former Arab Provinces", *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World* 24 (2007), pp. 27–43.
- 106 Erden, *Suriye Hatıraları*, p. 132: "O, resmen değil, ama fiilen Suriye ve Filistin'in Umumi Valisi ve 'hakim-i mutlak' idi." See also Çiçek, *War and State Formation in Syria*, p. 3. Erden also criticizes the construction of Cemal Pasha's opulent roads. See Erden, *Suriye Hatıraları*, p. 114.
- 107 Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels", pp. 151–153 and 687.
- 108 Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, p. 365. Gedaliah Wilbuschewitz (1865–1943) was of Russian-Jewish descent and had migrated to Ottoman Palestine in 1892. He was a mechanical engineer and founded a machine and metal-casting factory in Jaffa. During World War I he served as chief engineer to Cemal Pasha in Damascus. See Yehuda Slutsky, "Wilbuschewitz", in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, eds. Fred Skolnik and Michael Berenbaum (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), 26 vols., XXI, p. 58.
- 109 Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, p. 366.
- 110 Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels", pp. 151–153. Cf. Kiesling, *Damaskus*, pp. 92–93: "In diesem Quartier sind auch die neuen Straßenanlagen, die Dschemal Pascha geschaffen hat und von welchen eine, der Dschemal-Pascha-Boulevard, seinen Namen trägt. Durch die Niederlegung alter Gebäude, die Verbreitung bestehender Staßenzüge ist hier eine etwa 800 m lange schöne Promenade entstanden, auf beiden Seiten mit Fahrstraßen und innen mit einer jungen Anlage geschmückt, in der Wasserbassins in Abständen wiederkehren und zugeschnittene Boskets den Gangsteig einrahmen."

- 111 Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels", p. 689.
- 112 Wiegand, *Halbmond*, pp. 232–233. Cf. Watzinger, *Theodor Wiegand*, p. 300: "Er beauftragte Wulzinger mit dem Entwurf eines Brunnens vor dem neuen Bahnhof nach dem Vorbild des Achmetbrunnens in Konstantinopel." See also Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels", p. 421.
- 113 Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, p. 366.
- 114 Cengizkan, "Mehmet Nihat Nigisberk", pp. 192–193.
- 115 Ibid., pp. 192–193. Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels", p. 468, mentions that in 1933–1934 a new building for the Syrian Administration for Pious Foundations (Awqaf) was built on this apparently still empty plot of land.
- 116 Wulzinger & Watzinger, *Damaskus*, p. 57; and Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels", pp. 413 and 646. Sergey Kravtsov, "Reconstruction of the Temple by Charles Chipiez and Its Applications in Architecture", *Ars Judaica* 4 (2008), p. 37, footnote 42, mentions that the Russian-Jewish architect Joseph Barsky, who migrated to Jerusalem in 1907 designed "a mosque, a school, and a park in Damascus under the guidance of [Gedalia] Wilbuschewitz." It is possible that this mosque designed by Barsky was Cemal Pasha's mosque at the beginning of his boulevard which was built by Wilbuschewitz.
- 117 See Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels", pp. 209–223.
- 118 Ibid., pp. 421–423 and 487.
- 119 Ibid., pp. 631–632.
- 120 Ibid., pp. 151–153; Hudson, *Transforming Damascus*, p. 123. Cf. Kiesling, *Damaskus*, p. 93: "Hier spielte an kühlen Sommerabenden türkische oder deutsche Regimentsmusik und alles wanderte auf und ab, um den seltenen Genuß auf sich wirken zu lassen."
- 121 Ibid., p. 92.
- 122 For a description of these processions in the late Ottoman period see for instance Çağlar, "Mahmil-i Şerif", pp. 37–43.
- 123 BOA DH.UMVM 102/52 (dated 21 Eylül 1334 Rumi/15 Zi 'l-hicce 1336 AH/21 September 1918): "... Şâm'da kâ'in Cemâl Paşa Câddesiniñ tarafeyninden yigirmişer metrönuñ belediye nâmına istimplâki ..."; and BOA DH.UMVM 155/86 (dated 21 Eylül 1334 Rumi/15 Zi 'l-hicce 1336 AH/21 September 1918): "... Şâm'da Cemâl Paşa Câddesiniñ tarafeyninden yigirmişer metrönuñ belediye nâmına istimplâki ..."
- 124 See *Scramble for the Past. A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire 1753–1914*, eds. Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik & Edhem Eldem (İstanbul: Salt, 2011).
- 125 Cf. Çelik, "Defining Empire's Patrimony", p. 469: "Indeed, attention to Islamic culture was as central to late-Ottoman thinking as the desire to compete with Europe for a reputation for modernity."
- 126 Cem Emrence, *Remapping the Ottoman Middle East. Modernity, Imperial Bureaucracy and the Islamic State* (London & New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), pp. 55–74; and Weber, "Zeugnisse kulturellen Wandels", pp. 1–454.

