

The Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory:
An Example of Islamic Ornamental Architecture in Germany

by

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Abstract

Stylistic elements of “Oriental” architecture became a popularized design feature for industrial buildings in Europe during the 19th century—especially within the context of Germany. As an Islamic ornamentation program unfolds, the production and dissemination of pattern books and building manuals brought forth by French and British amateur architects and designers become important factors in establishing and inventing this stylistic trend. This thesis investigates Islamic ornamentation and its occurrence and utilization on Prussian, Bavarian, and Saxonian industrial architectural examples. The Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory (1909) serves as a model in emphasizing the implementation and extrapolation of these 19th century pattern books and building manuals. In shedding light on the ways in which the tobacco factory serves as a continuer of a self-referential legacy, this architectural example will ultimately illuminate the stylistic trend’s own discursivity. Interpreting the continuation of this design trajectory, the tobacco factory’s architecture will further be contextualized within its own geo-agricultural and geo-political associations as regards to broader historical, mercantile, and imperial precedents.

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Introduction

This thesis stems from an interest of a contemporary German art historical source, Hans Belting's *Florence and Baghdad* and later David Roxburgh's response, "Two-Point Perspective." Belting's text, published in 2011, serves as a largely Orientalist project which highlights misconceptions of Islamic art and architecture within a broader field of Western Art History as a crystalized, aniconic, and ahistorical field of research. This text, and Roxburgh's review, serve as my springboards into understanding *why* and *when* these preconceptions were formulated and how they are further perpetuated through time.

Edward Said's *Orientalism* has been critiqued for various reasons, but in this particular case one of the most relevant critiques draws upon his exclusion of German Orientalism.¹ Revolving predominantly around two main imperial powers, France and Britain, Said claims that the cultural works produced by these powers to be more of "quality" and "consistency."² But one should not be quick to delimit a relationship between Germany and the "Orient." The artistic, infrastructural, and intellectual interactions between the two establish a greater connectivity which deserves closer attention and examination.³ Suzanne Marchand mentions the importance of investigating this relationship through a case by case basis.⁴

¹ James Clifford, "Orientalism: Review Essay," *History & Theory* 19, no. 2 (1980): 204-233.

² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978. 17.

³ Nina Berman, *German Literature on the Middle East: Discourses and Practices, 1000-1989. Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011. See also Peter H. Christensen, *Germany and the Ottoman Railways*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017.

⁴ Suzanne Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.

By investigating the dissemination and production of 19th century pattern books and building manuals, this thesis sheds light on the ways in which “Islamic ornament” becomes a product invented by amateur French and British architects and designers who attempt to articulate an *essence* or “*genie*” of “Arab” or “Oriental” architecture. This thesis investigates Islamic ornamentation and its occurrence and utilization on Prussian, Bavarian, and Saxonian industrial architectural examples. The Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory, built in Dresden in 1909, will serve as a model in emphasizing the implementation and extrapolation of these 19th century textual evidences onto a 20th century model. In shedding light on the ways in which the factory serves as a continuer of a self-referential tradition, this architectural example will ultimately illuminate the stylistic trend’s own discursivity. Interpreting the continuation of this design trajectory, the tobacco factory’s architecture will further be contextualized within its own geo-agricultural and geopolitical associations as it regards to broader historical, mercantile, and imperial precedents.

The first chapter of this thesis investigates the conceptualization of Islamic architecture as an *ornamental* program in the printed and textual materials of Pascal-Xavier Coste (1787-1879), Owen Jones (1809-1874), Émile Prisse d’Avennes (1807-1879), and Jules Bourgoïn (1838-1908). This chapter works towards establishing a groundwork of the ways in which Islamic architecture was being studied, documented, catalogued, and represented within the context of the late 18th and early 19th by examining two historic moments; Napoleon’s French Campaign of Syria and Egypt in 1798-1801 and the World’s Fair Exhibitions which began in 1851. By establishing a power-knowledge dynamic between the representator and the represented, this sets an understanding for the ways in which these architects, who were employed during these projects, continue to work within the Cairene context and go on to publish illustrated

documentations. These manuals which conceptualize Islamic ornament by prioritizing elements of *essence*, form, and color establish a larger connectivity of “Arab” or “Cairene”, furthermore—“Oriental”. The last section of this chapter interprets these textual evidences as they relate to themes of orientalism, eclecticism, and a pursuit for a stylistic modernization.

The second chapter goes through examining three architectural examples which utilize Islamic ornamentation programs within the context of Prussia and Bavaria: the Dampfmaschinenhaus (pump house) in Potsdam (1841-43), the Neue Synagoge in Berlin (1859-66), and the Moorish Kiosk of Schloss Linderhof (1867). Through dense visual analysis of these architectural examples, these selected works serve as interpretive platforms in the investigation of *how* an Islamic ornamentation program is being implemented from the aforementioned textual evidences and *why* this stylistic trend might be occurring in Germany during the 19th century. This section is followed by a historiographical examination of the ways in which scholars have analyzed these instances of Islamic ornamentation as they relate to evocations of the *exotic* or *mythic*, a utilization of Islamic ornamentation as an economic strategy, or as a mode in articulating a modernization of style.

The third chapter closely examines the Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory, as a visual model which utilizes Islamic ornamentation in its own design program within the German context. The first portion of this chapter provides a historical overview and the origins of the tobacco factory as it burgeons from the late 19th century which then establishes a centralized industrial factory in the beginning of the 20th century. The second portion of the chapter goes through an in-depth formal analysis of the building’s exterior which ultimately sets the stage for the final fourth chapter.

The fourth chapter provides a cross-textual analysis between both the aforementioned pattern books and building manuals and the Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory. In shedding light on the ways in which the factory borrows from previous textual elements, this chapter will aim to establish a permanence of preconceived notions of Islamic ornamentation and how these formal elements are reused and appropriated within the context of an industrial 20th century building. The chapter concludes with final remarks attached to the building's own identifications as a project centered around interests of modernization, mechanical reproducibility, and industrialization.

Ultimately, I hope this thesis will shed light on the ways in which these pattern books and building manuals have established a structure and a typological classification towards articulating an Islamic style and ornamental program through the attempt of piecing out *essences* or *genies* of “Arab”, “Cairene”, or “Oriental” architecture. These textual evidences which remain as important tools become referred back upon well into the construction of industrial buildings well into the 20th century. This can be seen in the architecture of the Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory which becomes an exemplar model which amalgamates and synthesizes different iterations in articulating an “Oriental.” Therefore, this thesis sheds light on Islamic ornamentation as a discursive and self-referential tradition.

Chapter I:

Illustrating Islamic Ornament during the 19th Century:

A Codification of Pattern Books and Building Manuals in Europe

In conceptualizing a “modern” taste within the age of mechanization and industrialization in Europe during the 19th century, Islamic art and architecture become important facets in the articulation of a new and innovative style. Documentation and record keeping of Islamic art and architecture which was fulfilled by European architects and draftsmen often employed by colonial programs aided in Islamic architecture’s discovery during the beginning of the 19th century.⁵ Presets of Enlightenment thinking which lingered well into this “discovery” phase led to motivations in establishing a new stylistic program which was spear-headed by two similar interests: a surge of eclecticism and a will for modernizing style.⁶ This established “Islamic” ornamentation as an “oriental” style and further refined a palatable taste for the *Orient* which was interconnected to broader themes associated with orientalism, eclecticism, and modernization.⁷

This chapter will investigate the conceptualization of Islamic architecture as an ornamental program brought forth by European architects and designers such as Pascal-Xavier Coste (1787-1879), Owen Jones (1809-1874), Émile Prisse d’Avennes (1807-1879), and Jules

⁵ David Prochaska, “Art of Colonialism, Colonialism of Art: The ‘Description de L’Égypte’ (1809-1828),” *L’Esprit Créateur* 34, no. 2 (1994): 69-91.

⁶ Gülru Necipoğlu, “Islamic Ornament, Amateurs, and Modernist Abstraction” (HAA 228N, Islamic Ornament: Aesthetics of Abstraction and Theories of Perception, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, February 13, 2020).

⁷ Rémi Labrusse, “Islamic Arts and the Crisis of Representation in Modern Europe,” in ed. B. Flood and G. Necipoğlu, *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture*, vol. 2, 2017, 1196-1217. See also alternative article: *Purs Décors? Arts De L’Islam, Regards Du XIXe Siècle: Collection Des Arts Décoratifs* (Paris: Arts Décoratifs: Musée Du Louvre, 2007).

Bourgoin (1838-1908) in their printed and textual materials such as pattern books, building manuals, and illustrations. These materials not only centralized an interest in classifying Islamic architecture, but further played a role in inventing an “Islamic” ornamentation which would be further utilized for industrial building designs during the 19th century. This chapter will first work towards establishing a groundwork of the ways in which Islamic architecture was being studied, documented, catalogued, and represented within the context of the late 18th and early 19th century. The investigation will continue in understanding how Islamic art and architecture was further conceptualized as *ornamental* by our key players. The third section will interpret these textual evidences as they relate to themes of orientalism, eclecticism, and a pursuit for a stylistic modernization. Overall, this chapter will aim to situate the production and dissemination of these European pattern books and building manuals and the influence these texts had towards inventing an Islamic ornamentation.

With means to solidify a background on account of how Islamic art and architecture was studied during the 19th century, it is important to point out one of the first and largest documentation projects to catalogue aspects of Islamic architecture brought forth within the context of Europe. Napoleon Bonaparte’s French Campaign of subsequent Ottoman territories of Syria and Egypt in 1798-1801 produced the twenty-three-volume corpus, *Description de l’Égypte, ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été en Égypt pendant l’expédition de l’armée française* (1809-1828) and is a fine example. The project which employed a little more than 160 civilian scholars, architects, designers, draftsmen, scientists, and engineers aimed to propagate knowledge of Egypt’s ancient and Islamic aspects by recording social,

material, and geographical conditions in nine written and fourteen illustrated volumes.⁸ By classifying, defining, and categorizing evidences during Napoleon’s expedition of Egypt, this publication therefore becomes one of the first representations which aimed to define and categorize parts of Egypt’s Islamic identity.⁹ This monumental responsibility undertaken by France in the interests of “documentation” and “categorization” highlights motivations linked to *classifying* and *ordering* aspects of Egypt. These acts and responsibilities can be interpreted as a means to *know* which are linked to inherently broader themes such as assertion of dominance, *knowing* as a means to control its subsequent colony, and *ordering* as a tool of rationalization.¹⁰ The relationship between France and Egypt as an interaction of a colonial motivation establishes a relation based on a power-knowledge dynamic which harnesses *ordering* and *knowing* with means to rationalize the un-ordered or un-rational.¹¹

Aside from mentioning *Description de l’Égypte*’s topographical and knowledge-power dynamics, it is also important to touch upon the European architects, designers, and draftsmen who were employed during this project and later serve as important catalysts in recruiting other members who go on to articulate Islamic art and architecture as it relates to ornamentation. A notable editor, commissioner, and accompanier of Napoleon’s campaign, Edme-François Jomard, plays just this role. In 1817, Jomard recruited French architect Pascal-Xavier Coste to serve as one of Mehmet Ali Pasha’s chief architects.¹² Coste spent a considerable amount of time

⁸ Mercedes Volait, “History or Theory? French Antiquarianism, Cairene Architecture and Enlightenment Thinking,” *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 39, (2010): 231.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Prochaska, “Art of Colonialism, Colonialism of Art: The ‘Description de L’Égypte’ (1809-1828),” 69-91. See also Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, (1973), xv-xxiv. And Foucault, “Truth and Power,” 1972.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Kara Marietta Hill, “Pascal-Xavier Coste (1787-1879): A French Architect in Egypt,” PhD diss. Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1991), 31.

in Cairo from the years 1818-1826, with one visit back to France in 1822.¹³ During his time abroad, Coste heavily surveyed and documented profuse amounts of monuments in the city and generated a vast amount of incredibly detailed illustrations and drawings of what was to be considered Cairene architecture.¹⁴ Both educated at École des Beaux-Arts, the relationship between both Jomard and Coste highlights the interconnectivity produced by the school as a disseminator in producing French architects and designers trained in documentation and survey work employed under Napoleon's campaign heading.¹⁵ Émile Prisse d'Avennes is another key figure who was also recruited under the government of Mehmet Ali Pasha as a civil engineer brought forth under the catalyst of the French occupation.¹⁶ Therefore, as a product of the colonial occupation of Egypt, *Description de l'Égypte* asserts itself within the larger temporal frameworks of universalism and modernization which utilized documentation, illustration, and classification as a means to know, order, and dominate the unknown.¹⁷ The project publication not only utilized documentation and implemented scholars, architects, and designers from the Beaux-Arts lineage, but also later repurposed these players within the Egyptian context who not only continued documentation and survey work but further formulated a new expression of ornament which hoped to establish a new modern language for building design.

¹³ Nasser Rabbat, "Architecture," in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Arab Culture*, ed. Dwight F. Reynolds (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 209–223.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Irene Bierman, "Disciplining the Eye: Perceiving Medieval Cairo," in ed. N. AlSayyad & N. Rabbat *Making Cairo Medieval* (2005), 12-13.

¹⁶ Gülru Necipoğlu, "Ornamentalism and Orientalism: The Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth-Century European Literature," in *The Topkapi Scroll- Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (1995), 69-70.

¹⁷ Ibid., 69. See also, Juan Cole, *Napoleon's Egypt: Invading the Middle East* (Cairo: The American University of Cairo Press, 2008), 3.

Although *Description de l'Égypte* serves foundational, the relationship between Islamic art and architecture within the framework of the 19th century was posed in a new direction during the middle of the century with the advent of the World's Fairs. Founded in 1851, these fairs aimed to display knowledge oftentimes of subaltern peoples through the use of exhibition, collection, and representation.¹⁸ Industrialization, imperialism, and colonialism heightened the widespread economic growth of the Western world during the middle of the 19th century which incentivized these ritualistic celebrations to take place.¹⁹ Not only were these collections and acknowledgements made as a way to share the *culture* of colonies, but it also became a marker for the Western world to withhold a position as a representator of those being represented.²⁰ Though through the use of understanding the dynamics of power, it is also important to keep in mind that these exhibitions served as a platform of interdisciplinarity and diversification which translated to broader material and cultural values.²¹ Meaning that these exhibitions added to the nexus of hybridity, plurality, and the multivalent fabric of modernization as a universality within the 19th century.²² This is important to acknowledge for the fact that Islamic ornamentation, in the latter portion of the 19th century, becomes utilized as a tool in attempting to establish a transnational and modernized style for universal application of building design.²³

¹⁸ Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, 2 (1989): 217-236. See also Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth Century World's Fairs* (1992), 1-15.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ See Zeynep Çelik and Leila Kinney, "Ethnography and Exhibitionism at the Expositions Universelles," *Assemblage* 13, (1990): 34-59. See also Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (1996), 37-71. And Nasser Rabbat, "Under the Influence," *Artforum* (2016): 71-74.

²¹ David Raizman and Ethan Robey, *Expanding Nationalisms at World's Fairs: Identity, Diversity, and Exchange, 1851-1915* (2018).

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Christian Hedrick, "Modernism with Style: History, Culture, and the Origins of Modern Architecture in Berlin, 1780-1870," PhD diss. Massachusetts Institute of Technology (2014).

The World's Fair Exhibitions played a key role in the conceptualization of Islamic art and architecture as *ornamentation* as it manifested within a European context. Within this context, there became a re-formatting and re-presenting of Islamic art and architecture as a new and modern ornamental language within the context of industrialization and mechanization. Islamic art and architecture modeled under the framework of these exhibitions ultimately began to highlight a taste, refine a palate, and accentuate a desirability for Islamic art and architecture as *ornamental*. The hybridity and diversification of these World Fairs went on to establish an interest in technology and innovation with hopes to modernize as its background and re-present Islamic art and architecture as *ornament* in its foreground. Within this context, a fashion and keen interest of the "oriental" becomes desirable when represented through exhibitions and collections through Islamic art and design.²⁴ And through these exhibitions, people across the West were able to come together and recognize Islamic ornament as an aesthetic program which could further be appropriated in Western art and design.²⁵ Our architects and designers such as Owen Jones, Jules Bourgoïn, and Émile Prisse d'Avennes all had connections to these fairs which were linked to their participation and/or curation of "oriental" art and architecture in these exhibitions.²⁶ Through this reception, an "oriental" taste quickly emerged and spread itself across Europe impacting and inspiring Western art and design during the 19th century.

²⁴ Zeyneb Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth Century World's Fairs*, 1-15.

²⁵ Ibid. See also Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," (1989): 217-236.

²⁶ See Ariane Varela Braga, "Owen Jones and the Oriental Perspective," in *The Myth of the Orient: Architecture and Ornament in the Age of Orientalism* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2016), 149-65. See also Volait, "History or Theory? French Antiquarianism, Cairene Architecture, and Enlightenment Thinking," 231-254. See also Heghnar Watenpaugh, "An Uneasy Historiography: The Legacy of Ottoman Architecture in the Former Arab Provinces," *Muqarnas* 24, no. 1 (2007): 27-43.

Codification of Textual Materials in Articulation of Islamic Ornament

In 1837, Pascal-Xavier Coste published: *L'Architecture Arabe ou Monuments du Kaire (mesurés dessinés de 1818 a 1826)* which comprised of two written sections and a third section which documented monuments, objects, and natives through illustration. The preface of the book explains the importance of Coste's consolidation of illustration monuments and their measurements with interest and reasoning towards documenting "monuments dedicated to the Mohammedan religion" as "hidden treasures."²⁷ The preface continues forth with a history of "Arab" peoples and later with descriptions of the mentioned Cairene architectural monuments.²⁸ The final section's elaborate illustrations detail and measure floorplans of buildings, building design, street views, and views of interior and exterior spaces which ultimately showcase Cairene architecture and complements the descriptions provided in the previous sections (see Figures 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3). Coste's documentation and detailed study of Cairene architecture aids him in establishing, elaborating, and formulating a Mamluk Revival (also known as neo-Mamluk) which can be seen in his mosque plans for Mehmet Ali Pasha in 1825-1827 who commissions plans for the Citadel of Cairo and mosque for Alexandria, (Figure 1.4).²⁹ Although never materialized, these plans conceptualize a design indicative of Cairene architecture and reformat it as a new framework to modernize building style within the Egyptian context.³⁰ In Coste's designs, the re-use of Mamluk ornament such as *ablaq* (dual marble stone striped masonry) and Ottoman pencil-like minarets aim to provide a new framework of design through

²⁷ Pascal-Xavier Coste, *Architecture Arabe, Ou Monuments Du Kaire, Mesurés Et Dessinés, De 1818 à 1826 / Par Pascal Coste*. Paris, (1837): Preface.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Nasser Rabbat, "The Formation of the Neo-Mamluk Style in Modern Egypt," in *Mamluk History Through Architecture: Monuments, Culture, and Politics in Medieval Egypt and Syria*, (2010): 173-188. See also Volait, 244.

³⁰ Ibid.

the recollection of past “Arab” building styles with responsibilities linked towards nationalism, modernization, and nostalgia for a dynastic identity.³¹

Coste’s traineeship under the Beaux-Arts tradition in documentation and survey serves as one of the very first instances in *how* Islamic art and architecture was continued to be studied after the heading of Napoleon’s campaign well into the beginning of the 19th century. Through Coste’s own publication, *L’Architecture Arabe ou Monuments du Kaire*, there becomes a theoretical interest in the pursuit of understanding and classifying “Arab” or “Mohammedan” architecture.³² This publication ultimately aimed to conceptualize and provide a framework of the application of knowledge and stylistic exchanges between Arab and Gothic.³³ Coste’s occupational time studying Cairene architecture led him towards formalizing and conceptualizing a new *modern* language of design for architecture being built in Egypt. This can be seen in his mosque proposals for Mehmet Ali Pasha which utilized a Mamluk Revival within the workings of an Egyptian context which collected aspects of Mamluk and Ottoman architectural elements into one stylized form. Therefore, as a French architect and designer and amateur to the field of Islamic architecture, Coste’s building manual on “Arab” architecture becomes a foundational text as it relates to how Islamic architecture was being viewed and understood within the beginning of the 19th century. In this case, there was a willingness to acquire a knowledge of

³¹ At one point, the aim of this thesis was to interpret and examine a “neo-Mamluk” architectural style as it exists within the European context. But through thorough investigation, I found that a “neo-Mamluk” architectural style can only exist within the pre-sets of the three mentioned ideologies and mostly within an Egyptian or Syrian context. Although there are examples of “neo-Mamluk” architecture outside of this region, such as the National and University Library in Bosnia, the geographic context of Europe becomes dissimilar as it provides a different social, political, and cultural fabric. Therefore, a “neo-Mamluk” application within the European context cannot necessarily exist without the foundations of these three ideologies.

³² Volait, 231-254.

³³ Ibid., 244.

application and establish a theoretical framework of what constitutes of “Arab” architecture or “Mohammedan” monuments.

Our second figure, Owen Jones (1809-1874), constitutes as an important member who comes out the British context as an architect, designer, and scholar in decorative arts and ornamentation, especially as it relates to Islamic art and architecture. Most importantly, his publication, *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856), becomes an indicative example of how Islamic architecture was understood and taken up as ornamentation during the 19th century. Jones began his architectural career in 1825 under the apprenticeship of architects Lewis Vulliamy and William Wallen and gained experience as a surveyor and documenter.³⁴ In opposition from our French architects who were educated in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts tradition, Jones’ experience was heavily dependent on his Grand Tour (1831-1834) where he embarked to study Ancient Greek buildings.³⁵ His journey led him across Egypt, Spain, and back to Europe where he participated in the World’s Fairs exhibitions of London and Paris in 1851 and 1855.³⁶

The Grammar of Ornament comes out of the result of the participation of these World’s Fairs exhibitions and serves as a pattern book to articulate and establish the universality of ornament through one encompassing law: nature.³⁷ Jones’ recollections, documentations, and surveys of Arab, Turkish, Moresque, Persian, Indian and Hindu architecture in his pattern book are translated into theory of ornament, nature/universality, and chromolithography (Figures 1.5 and

³⁴ Jonathan M. Woodham, “Jones, Owen.” In *A Dictionary of Modern Design*: Oxford University Press, 2004.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Braga, “Owen Jones and the Oriental Perspective,” 147.

³⁷ “That whenever any style of ornament commands universal admiration, it will always be found to be in accordance with the laws which regulate the distribution of form in nature.” In Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament: Illustrated by Examples from Various Styles of Ornament*, (1856), 2.

1.6). Braga points out that Jones did not use the word *Islamic* to describe these geographic contexts of ornament, but he rather used the word *orient*.³⁸ Therefore, the orient for Jones was not an amalgamated place—there were specific distinctions between this geographic context. But it is interesting to see the ways in which language is used as a symbiotic tool in differentiating one from the other. Hence, we can perhaps also think about the ways in which Jones helped established a broader taste and eclectic sensibility of an “oriental” fashion and palette in Europe during the 19th century.

Broadly, set within the context of Europe during the mid-19th century, Jones’ pattern book as it comes forth with and as a result in his participation in the World’s Fairs, becomes an outstanding marker in setting the stage of perception of Islamic architecture *as* ornamental within a transnational framework. In 1865, *The Grammar of Ornament* was translated into French and German which led to the text to become widely disseminated and popularized all throughout European countries.³⁹ Jones’ response to neo-Gothic imitations in 1852 as a “reproduction of a galvanized corpse” also lead to the ways in which Jones was trying to establish and generate a new method of ornamentation during the 19th century in the framework of art and industry as it related to pure form and chromolithography.⁴⁰ His use of the word *oriental* as it relates to Islamic architecture can also be seen as a catalyst for a “oriental” taste and palette for an Islamic design program within the age of industrialism and mechanization.⁴¹ Rather than building, Jones’

³⁸ Braga, 148. See also Michael Darby, *The Islamic Perspective: An Aspect of British Architecture and Design in the Nineteenth Century*, 1983. See also Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture*, 37-71.

³⁹ Rémi Labrusse, “Grammars of Ornament: Dematerialization and Embodiment from Owen Jones to Paul Klee,” In *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, 2016, 320-322. See also Labrusse, *Islamophilies: L’Europe modern et les art de l’Islam* (2011).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 320.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

interest in *styles* of ornamentation becomes a key facet of the ways in which Islamic architecture has provided itself to be meaningful within the age of mechanization and industry as a generative model which encompasses near perfect elemental features of color, pure form, nature, and universality and which can be further utilized and implemented within industrial and mechanical art. Jones' attributions to the Gezira Palace in Cairo (1869) serves as an example of the ways in which an "oriental" ornamentation program was used for industrialized buildings as a means of utilizing a method of modernization (Figures 1.7).⁴² Another example can be seen in Jones' participation in the construction of the World's Fair Glass Palace Exhibition in London in 1851 where the use of cast iron was employed to exhibit and produce "oriental" decorative modules for another industrial building (Figure 1.8).⁴³

As we can see, there becomes a major break in the reception of Islamic architecture as ornamentation during the middle of the 19th century. But there are also non-amateur figures to the field of Islamic architecture who relate to understanding it within a broader scope of history. One of these key figures was the French archaeologist, architect, and Egyptologist Émile Prisse d'Avennes (1807-1879). Educated at the École d'arts et métiers at Châlons, Prisse d'Avennes completed his training as an engineer and draftsman and partook in a Grand Tour after his studies which led him to Egypt and the Middle East.⁴⁴ Like Coste, he was employed under Mehmet Ali Pasha's Khedival government as a civil engineer where he was commissioned to

⁴² Kathryn Ferry, "Owen Jones and the Alhambra Court at the Crystal Palace," in *Revisiting al-Andalus*, (2007), 225-45.

⁴³ Anna McSweeney, "Versions and Visions of the Alhambra in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman World," In *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 22, (2015): 44-69.

⁴⁴ Watenpaugh, "An Uneasy Historiography: The Legacy of Ottoman Architecture in the Former Arab Provinces," 28.

work on projects which dealt with hydrology and engineering.⁴⁵ In 1867, he worked on the Egyptian display at the Exposition Universelle in 1867.⁴⁶ Returning to Egypt, Prisse d’Avennes documented ancient Pharaonic and Islamic monuments which he saw both as two separate and discontinuous entities.⁴⁷

Prisse D’Avennes’ documentations of Islamic monuments were published in 1877 titled *L’art arabe d’après les monuments du Kaire depuis le VII^s siècle jusqu’à la fin du XVIII^e* (Figure 1.9). His study of Arab architecture in Egypt was subdivided in three periods from the conquest of ‘Amr bin al-‘As until the medieval 13th-15th centuries under Mamluk dynastic rule.⁴⁸ His illustrations depict his own documentations and classifications of “Arab” architecture within the context of Egypt and exhibit a breadth of highly calculated analyses. Measurements of façades, fragmented pieces of design and ornament, and partial viewings of buildings all allude to the ways in which his understanding was dependent upon an extraction (Figures 1.9, 1.10, and 1.11). Interestingly, his reception towards documenting Arab architecture within this geographic context is unique for the fact that his main interests lay within an willingness to interpret the intrinsic “Arab” quality of the architecture which he calls “*le genie arabe*.”⁴⁹ This is somewhat similar to Coste’s publication as it aimed to interpret the same theoretical and foundational constituents of categorizing and classifying Arab architecture. Although there were overlaps in categorizing and classifying in comparison to Owen Jones, Prisse d’Avennes’ publication and

⁴⁵ Ibid., 29. See also Volait, “History or Theory? French Antiquarianism, Cairene Architecture, and Enlightenment Thinking,” 241.

⁴⁶ Watenpaugh, “An Uneasy Historiography: The Legacy of Ottoman Architecture in the Former Arab Provinces,” 30.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

overall interests were more focused on political and social sensitivities rather than generating a conceptualization of a grammar or syntax of ornament.⁵⁰

Prisse d’Avennes becomes a figure who establishes an interest in categorizing and understanding the foundational elements of the constituents of “Arab” architecture through a historical, political, and social lens. Similar to Coste, Prisse d’Avennes’ employment under the Khedival government was centered around a willingness to modernize Egypt. As Volait points out, this can be associated with his sympathy towards the Saint Simonian ideology of elitist utopianism to advance the fusion of both the East and the West in order to “regenerate both worlds” by “recruiting followers particularly among the technical professions and well represented among French engineers employed in Egypt.”⁵¹ Therefore, as a figure studying artifacts, architecture, and monuments of Egypt, Prisse d’Avennes becomes a more associated with political and social emancipation of the Middle East. His catalogue entry in understanding “Arab” architecture becomes important avenues as a means to understand motivations which surround eclecticism and modernization. The “Arab” architectural style becomes an inventive tool which aids in modernization and which could be generally applied to a universal framework cross-culturally and transnationally.

Our last figure upon examination is French architect and designer, Jules Bourgoïn (1838-1908). Bourgoïn’s relationship to Islamic art and architecture embodies a late 19th century fascination and evolving interest of Islamic ornamentation as it relates to geometrization and arithmetic. After his studies at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, Bourgoïn participated in a Grand Tour and eventually spends three years in the Middle East visiting cities such as Cairo,

⁵⁰ Volait, “History or Theory? French Antiquarianism, Cairene Architecture, and Enlightenment Thinking,” 235.

⁵¹ Ibid.

Damascus, and Jerusalem.⁵² While in Alexandria, he was appointed to supervise architectural works at the French consulate.⁵³ This experience allowed Bourgoïn to study, document, and ultimately establish a deeply embedded relationship and familiarity with Islamic architecture through examining historical expression and technical craftsmanship of the “geometrical ornament.”⁵⁴ In his studies, Bourgoïn was ultimately fascinated with “Arab methods of designing” rather than building, which is similar to Jones’ absorption, and was further able to attune his interests as they related particularly to architectural ornamentation.⁵⁵

Many of the designs Bourgoïn produced during his time abroad were published in his first book, *Les éléments de l’art arabe, 1873*. The publication goes through in illustrating two-dimensional designs of Arab ornamentation which diagrams multiple architectural details of works in wood, marble, tile, and glass (Figures 1.12, 1.13 and 1.14).⁵⁶ Bourgoïn’s intention of applying “methods of the modern scientific spirit” towards his studies of Islamic ornamentation relied heavily on mathematic, geometric, and arithmetic understandings which then could be traced to linking “races” and “societies” towards one another.⁵⁷ It is here that Bourgoïn’s pursuit in understanding and studying Islamic architecture, or “Arab” ornament, becomes similar to his counterpart predecessors such as Pascal Coste and Prisse d’Avennes for their willingness to incorporate an intrinsically “Arab” rendering of architectural building design. Jones also becomes an important figure to mention as a similar counterpart for the fact that Bourgoïn is also committed towards establishing a syntax of ornament as it relates to providing for a

⁵² Ibid., 245.

⁵³ Ibid., 246.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Necipoğlu, “Ornamentalism and Orientalism: The Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth-Century European Literature,” 66.

⁵⁷ Volait, 246.

contemporary of industrial and applied arts.⁵⁸ Flat patterning, arguably, let itself to industrial reproduction.⁵⁹

Evidently, we see a pattern of similarities with the ways in which Islamic architecture has been understood and invented within the context of the latter portion of the 19th century. For Bourgoïn, there still remains an interest to articulate an intrinsic *nature* of an inherently “Arab” ornamentation through the incorporation of understanding a social and political schema which is similar to the ethnographic and scientific investigations of Pascal Coste and Prisse d’Avvenes. This is brought forth by Bourgoïn’s expression of the “scientific spirit” as it relates to models of mathematics, geometry, and arithmetic. Each become central towards classifying a near perfect example for the two-dimensional replication and reproducibility of ornament during this 19th century context. Similar to Jones, Bourgoïn is also attuned towards communicating and establishing a syntax of design through the device of establishing an ornamentation of Arab art and architecture. Here, fragmentation and ahistorical representations of ornament as design becomes a central role in grasping knowledge and the ways in which it posits itself for an appropriation within the realm of industrial art.

Interpreting Aspects of Orientalism, Eclecticism, and Modernization

It is interesting to see the ways in which these figures, through the dissemination of their pattern books and building manuals, constructed a simultaneous and coincidental social, political, and historical fabric in their studies of ornamentation as they relate to ideas of orientalism, eclecticism, and modernization of style. As mentioned briefly before, one of the

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Necipoğlu, “Ornamentalism and Orientalism: The Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth-Century European Literature,” 66.

foundations in the foreground of the early 19th century thinking pivoted off of a model of post-Enlightenment thought where rationalism and individualism were heavily favored. For example, Volait points out that France felt strongly compelled to salvage Egypt under the tyrannical rule of the Mamluk dynasty and to aid in improving social conditions of the country overall.⁶⁰ This goes hand in hand with the ways in which the Orient was inherently linked to a despotic nature, where in which the people of the Orient, a chaotic and irrational context, suffered from the rule of a despot.⁶¹ Therefore, educated Frenchmen of the 19th century see themselves as the bearers of order and rationalism to an inherently chaotic, irrational, and despotic environment.

Romanticism and antiquarianism also play a key role in the foundation of orientalist modes of thinking as it relates to a pursuit of the picturesque.⁶² Archaeology of Gothic architecture and the exploration of exotic lands become centralized themes to the ways in which Islamic architecture was being re-discovered under these particular lenses.⁶³ Therefore, there is not only a commitment towards ordering and rationalizing the orient, but the orient becomes a place which provides itself as an aesthetic landscape, one to be consumed, re-represented, and “discovered.”⁶⁴

Orientalism as an interpretive framework becomes important to consider in examining the pattern books and building manuals. As mentioned before, Pascal Coste’s publication *L’Architecture Arabe ou Monuments du Kaire (mesurés dessinés de 1818 a 1826)* provides an ethnographic viewing of the monuments of Cairo by providing depictions of its people, objects,

⁶⁰ Volait, 235.

⁶¹ Paul Cartledge, *The Greeks: A Portrait of Self and Others*, 2002, 1-62.

⁶² Richard Terdiman, “Ideological Voyages: On a Flaubertian Dis-Orientalism,” In *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth Century France*, (1985), 227-260.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Edward Said, “Narrative and Social Space,” In *Culture and Imperialism*, 1993, 62-79.

and monuments.⁶⁵ Necipoğlu mentions that Coste, in his preface, is attuned to providing a climatic rendering of the architectural design components of “Arab” architecture which inherently leads to a biased and racist interpretation of a people’s customs and overall character.⁶⁶ This is similar to Prisse d’Avennes who believes that the architecture of Cairo is emblematic of the Qur’an and exists as “a faithful embodiment of the aspirations, ideas, and mores of the Semitic races, and manifest sanction of customs appropriate to their character.”⁶⁷ It has also been noted by scholars that Prisse d’Avennes was also largely influenced in locating the “*le genie arabe*” in architecture which ultimately lead to architecture encompassing a somewhat purist rendition which further imbue notions of a special and heightened quality.⁶⁸ Therefore, Coste’s and Prisse d’Avennes’ work under the Khedival government under the heading of architect and civil engineer, respectively, become imbued with qualities to rationalize the irrational around them and further provide plans or *order* through documentation and classification which can be seen in each of their publications, illustrations, and building projects. This is also related to Jones’ and Bourgoïn’s aims to classify and categorize “Arab” ornament, which ultimately fragment and decontextualize work. The pattern books and design manuals also provide largely ahistorical renderings of oriental architecture, especially with regards to Jones’ work.

Eclecticism became another key aspect in shaping a responsibility for a utilization of Islamic ornament under the heading of the 19th century. As mentioned before, each of our key figures played an intrinsic role in the reception and invention of an “oriental” style in hopes to

⁶⁵ Necipoğlu, “Ornamentalism and Orientalism: The Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth-Century European Literature,” 62.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ See Necipoğlu and Volait.

establish an interconnectivity to a transnational and globalized identity. This dissemination and incorporation of cultural and stylistic exchanges during the 19th century sheds light on the ways in which these particular interests valued a hybridity and multi valent fabric which altogether imbued a sensitivity of eclectic tastes. The 19th century becomes a marker which aimed to solidify a foundation of incorporating multiples into singular stylistic inventions. Within the continuation of a post-Enlightenment thought, the 19th century becomes a benchmark towards the articulation and invention of Islamic ornamentation as it relates to a global scale which aims to prioritize ideas of universality, science, and mathematics through the accentuation of form. Here, an eclectic sensibility develops under the lens of modernization which also go hand in hand with the ways in which a cultural exchange and plurality are employed within these 19th century lenses of industrialization and mechanization.

Pascal-Xavier Coste's work displays a deep interest in these stylistic exchanges.⁶⁹ His mosque designs for Mehmet Ali Pasha in 1825-27 which synthesized both Ottoman and Mamluk stylistic precedents became foundational in articulating a Mamluk Revival within the Egyptian context.⁷⁰ Another example can be seen in Coste's documentation of Cairene architecture which were used as a means to calculate and measure—and ultimately to formulate and invent—a new methodological understanding of “Arab” architecture as a universalizing tool. Prisse d'Avennes' affiliation and sympathy of the Saint Simonian ideology point out his own reception towards eclectic tastes and values as it relates to Islamic architecture as he worked within the context of Cairo as a civil engineer.⁷¹ Prisse d'Avennes' publication also highlights the ways in which

⁶⁹ Volait, 244.

⁷⁰ Nasser Rabbat, “The Formation of the Neo-Mamluk Style in Modern Egypt,” In *Mamluk history through architecture: Monuments, culture and politics in medieval Egypt and Syria*. (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010), 174.

⁷¹ Volait, 235.

“Arab” architecture could be taken up and received as a model to appropriate from in attempting to establish a globalism or universalism.

Owen Jones’ trajectory towards inventing an Islamic ornamentation under the heading of eclecticism is similar to Coste and Prisse d’Avennes. Nature, purity of form, and color which are all integral components become foundational elements which go on to embody aspects of universalization.⁷² In the preface of his book, *The Grammar of Ornament*, Jones uses “nature” as a universal benchmark towards establishing order of ornamentation and also serves as a fine example. This is also similar to Jules Bourgoïn who, instead of using “nature” or “color”, classifies the importance of mathematics, arithmetic, and geometry as foundational elements towards understanding “Arab” architecture. Eclecticism is further taken up under Bourgoïn’s publication and overall program as it means to establish and illustrate two-dimensional ornament for the repurpose and reuse of industrial arts which is to be utilized within the Western mechanical and industrial context.

Similar to the orientation of eclecticism, modernization becomes pertinent in understanding the responsibility of Islamic ornament during the 19th century. As mentioned before, industrialism and mechanization become foundational towards recognizing Islamic ornamentation as a player in articulating a modernist style during the 19th century. The World’s Fair exhibitions played a monumental role in the reception of Islamic architecture as ornament which aimed to generate new methods and modalities of industrial and mechanical arts of the industry.⁷³ Scholars have argued the mathematical, practical, scientific, and flat patterned elements of Islamic architecture have been interpreted as a perfect model for reproducibility,

⁷² Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament: Illustrated by Examples from Various Styles of Ornament*, 1856, Preface 1-4.

⁷³ Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth Century World’s Fairs*.

appropriation, and duplication for mass production of industrial art and design which lends itself well to an economic model.⁷⁴

Modernization which not only dealt with industrialism, reproducibility, and mechanization also epitomized a way of thinking. Napoleon's French Campaign of Egypt and Syria has been translated as a method which centered universality and modernization as foundational forerunners to the program.⁷⁵ The publications and textual materials of our architects and designers go on to solidify and establish a stronger connection the idea of modernization as it relates to each of their own projects. As mentioned before, Coste's investment in measuring and calculating "Arab" monuments is a significant marker in means of attempting to record with overall hopes to establish a new and modern method of design as it relates to social and political understandings of Cairene architecture.⁷⁶ His documentations, calculations, and measurements go on to articulate a new language of style in hopes to "modernize" Egypt.⁷⁷

Prisse d'Avennes, whose sympathy and allegiance towards a Saint Simonian ideology sheds light on the ways in which he sought modernization as a tool to regenerate a social and political foundation of a "modern" Egypt with a likened trajectory as the West.⁷⁸ Owen Jones' understanding of Islamic architecture as an ornamental program for modern building design as a un-flawed model for appropriation onto industrial building designs serves as another example of

⁷⁴ Arindam Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of its Global Reproducibility*, 2006. See also Elke Pflugrad Abdel Aziz, "Orientalism as an economic strategy: the architect Carl von Diebitsch in Cairo: 1862-1869," (2001).

⁷⁵ Juan Cole, *Napoleon's Egypt: Invading the Middle East*, (2008), 1-20.

⁷⁶ Volait, 240.

⁷⁷ Cole, 15.

⁷⁸ Volait, 235.

the ways in which modernization translated into his own project.⁷⁹ Jules Bourgoïn is similar to these trajectories as his project highlights Islamic architecture as purely ornamental which could be used as a generative model for appropriation in mass production. This ultimately establishes a static and crystalline understanding of Islamic architecture itself.⁸⁰

To conclude, Islamic art and architecture as an ornamental program was invented within a European context during the 19th century through the production and dissemination of pattern books and building manuals brought forth by French and British architects and designers. With presets and enlivened interests of antiquarianism, post-Enlightenment thought, and Romantic sensibilities in Europe, the reception towards the “Orient” became not only fashionable within a temporal context but also was linked to broader themes such as orientalism, eclecticism, and modernization. The subheadings of a French colonial program and the celebrated industrial World’s Fairs exhibitions further incentivized a taste and ultimately developed a palate for the *oriental*. These pattern books and building manuals go on to express the ways in which universality, transnationalism, and standardization go hand in hand with ideas of modernization and eclecticism which ultimately further shape the contextual fabric and reception of Islamic ornamentation within the realm of the 19th century. Methods of these pattern books which utilized calculation, measurement, classification, documentation, and categorization established in them a knowledge-power dynamic. These textual evidences then bring together a certain understanding of Islamic architecture as an ornamental program which will further be re-used and re-appropriated in multiple temporal frameworks and geographies for mechanized and industrialized buildings. Industrial architecture in Europe built simultaneously and subsequently

⁷⁹ Braga, 150.

⁸⁰ See Volait and Necipoğlu.

parallel to the production of these building manuals continue forth a trajectory based on these “models” which shed light on the stylistic trend as an inherently discursive tradition.

Chapter II:

Architectural Examples of Islamic Ornamentation in Prussia and Bavaria during 1840-1867

The dissemination of pattern books and building manuals brought forth by amateur French and British architects and designers articulated an Islamic ornamentation that went on to establish an array of “oriental” *styles*. This eventually became an essential design program for industrial and mechanical buildings in the middle of the 19th century—especially within the context of Germany. One can deduce that these publications became readily accessible in royal libraries and in larger academic and institutional settings which established these texts as illustrious foundations in educating and influencing German architects and designers in utilizing an “oriental” or “Islamic” stylistic program in their own building construction.⁸¹ The previous chapter mentioned the invention of Islamic ornamentation as a design program which was heavily influenced by general ideas of orientalism, eclecticism, and modernization. This then led to the development of a palate which favored Islamic ornamentation as a fashionable style which then became understood as a perfect model for industrial arts and reproducibility within the larger scope of technological advancement and transnational modernity.

This chapter will go through in examining three architectural examples which utilize Islamic ornamentation programs within the context of Prussia and Bavaria: the Dampfmaschinenhaus (pump house) in Potsdam (1841-43), the Neue Synagoge in Berlin (1859-66), and the Moorish Kiosk of Schloss Linderhof (1867). Through dense visual analysis of these architectural examples, these selected works will serve as an interpretive platform in

⁸¹ Copies of pattern books and building manuals by our key architects and designers have been found at both the Berlin State Library as well as the Saxon State and University Library.

investigating why Islamic ornamentation in Germany might be occurring during the 19th century. This will be followed by a historiographical examination of the ways in which scholars have analyzed these instances of Islamic ornamentation as it relates to evocations of the exotic or imaginary, a utilization of Islamic ornamentation as an economic strategy, or as a mode in articulating a modernization of style. In turn, the last section will aim to interpret these Prussian architectural examples and their proximity or closeness related to imperialism and colonialism under the guise of overarching European empires such as Britain and France.

Islamic Ornamentation in Prussia and Bavaria

Built on the banks of the Neustadter Havelbucht in Potsdam from 1841-43, the Dampfmaschinenhaus is a functioning pumphouse and engine room which, in the past, supplied water pressure for the multiple fountains of the Baroque pleasure garden in Sanssouci Palace. Built in 1744 by Friedrich the Great, the palace ground was made to model the artistic hydraulic features of Versailles but were halted by the king due to over expense of the palace garden.⁸² Britain's rapid development of steam engine power in 1824 cued the Prussian Crown Prince, Friedrich Wilhelm IV (1795-1861), to incorporate a similar and new technology into the summer palace residence.⁸³ Friedrich Wilhelm IV commissioned Karl Friedrich von Schinkel (1781-1841) to build a small engine room to house a modest Prussian-built steam engine which was to be located on the Charlottenhof grounds of Sanssouci Palace.⁸⁴ Schinkel's engine house was built with the design of an antique candelabra which meant to integrate aesthetic elements of a

⁸² Iain Boyd Whyte, "Charlottenhof: The Prince, the Gardener, the Architect and the Writer." In *Architectural History* 43, (2000): 1-23.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

garden.⁸⁵ A Berlin-based engineering firm built the eight-horsepower steam engine which was housed in the room and operated its modest pumping project to supplied water and water pressure for the Charlottenhof grounds. Schinkel's engine room was used until 1873 and was eventually removed from the palace grounds in 1923.⁸⁶

In 1840, Friedrich Wilhelm IV commissioned a new and elaborate pump house to replace Schinkel's engine room with a far more powerful steam engine. The "moschee" pump house project commissioned Ludwig von Persius (1803-45), an architect apprentice under Schinkel, to build an engine room to accommodate August Borsig's new Babelsberg engine. The two-cylinder, eighty-horsepower steam motor and its boilers and pumping machinery allowed for a new and modified hydraulic system to supply and transport water from the Havel River at its new location in Glienicke Park to Sanssouci Palace.⁸⁷ Borsig sent his ground plan of his machine outlining its technical details to Persius fairly quickly in order to complete his architectural renderings.⁸⁸ Persius' renderings of the building included a cube-shaped structure to sit directly adjacent of the Havel River among the outdoor landscape of Glienicke Park. The plan also followed Friedrich Wilhelm IV's request for the pumphouse to be built "in the style of a Turkish mosque with a minaret as its chimney" (Figure 2.1).⁸⁹

The construction of the pump house embodies social, economic, and political assertions in space which aimed to prove Prussia's economic and industrial strength in opposition to Britain as lead in industrial and economic affluency during the mid-19th century. The building's use of materials also become key indicators of the building's mechanized and industrial identity as it

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Wall text, Dampfmaschinenhaus, Potsdam, Brandenburg, Germany.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

incorporates cast iron and zinc components which point to the building's interest of serial reproducibility.⁹⁰ In spite of these ambitions and efforts, the pump house's construction had fallen behind schedule due to a lack of resources which eventually, and ironically, led Borsig to import machine parts from Britain.⁹¹ In 1842, the machinery of the pump house was narrowly complete and was put into operation for the first time in the presence of the King wherein he invited guests to witness the operation's success in supplying water to the main fountain in Sanssouci Park.⁹²

Friedrich Wilhelm IV's request of a "Turkish styled mosque" borrows heavily from "Arab" or "Cairene" architectural traditions through the building's employment of *ablaq* (striped masonry), a dome upon a high drum, and a heavy-bodied stacked minaret.⁹³ This is due to the fact that Persius consulted Pascal-Xavier Coste's *Architecture arabe ou les Monuments du Caire 1837* for his architectural renderings of the pump house.⁹⁴ Interestingly, the interior of the pump house continues a "Moorish" design program which is said to have been attributable to the interior's general polychrome patterning and horseshoe arches with red striped patterning that connect themselves to larger multifoil arches (Figure 2.2).⁹⁵ Interestingly, Owen Jones and Jules Goury's *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra 1834-1837* had just been published in 1842 which I suggest aided in providing a framework for the architecture to

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ I would have said that it borrows from a Mamluk tradition of architecture, but I don't think Persius was invested in re-emphasizing or recreating a genuine or authentic "Mamluk" model. Instead, Persius seems to be driven by reusing a general consensus of "oriental" or "Arab" architecture, one that is pointed out in Coste's publication, within his own lens.

⁹⁴ Christian Hedrick, "Modernism with Style: History, Culture, and the Origins of Modern Architecture in Berlin, 1780-1870." Ph.D. Diss. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2014), 121.

⁹⁵ Wall text, Dampfmaschinenhaus, Potsdam, Brandenburg, Germany.

establishing and utilizing “oriental” or “Moorish” elemental features.⁹⁶ It also becomes interesting to see the ways in which Schinkel’s own receptions and teachings influenced Persius in a building design favoring “Saracenic” models.⁹⁷ This is important to point out for the fact that Schinkel makes a connection, as an architect whose interests lay within a neo-Gothic tradition, connecting Gothic architecture to the Romanesque.⁹⁸ For Schinkel, Gothic architecture becomes further linked to an “oriental” or “Saracenic” origin.⁹⁹

Berlin’s Neue Synagoge (New Synagogue) built in 1856-66 is another architectural example which utilizes an “oriental” building design. Interestingly, there were many synagogues which were being built in “oriental” or “neo-Islamic” styles during the 19th century.¹⁰⁰ The profuse amount of scholarship suggests Jews, living around the Western world, were in search of identity and as a result were attempting to reconstruct a closeness related to the “Orient” which then entailed their religious architecture to model a similar framework of thought.¹⁰¹ Therefore,

⁹⁶ The book has been acquired by the Berlin State Library so it may be possible that Persius might have been aware of the publication as a reference tool in building his commissioned steam engine room. Interestingly, J.P Girault de Prangey’s work also becomes useful in piecing together a “Moorish” style. His publication *Essai Sur L'architecture Des Arabes Et Des Mores, En Espagne, En Sicile, Et En Barbarie*, (Paris: A. Hauser, 1841) becomes an important focal point which illustrates aspects of “Moorish” architecture in Sicily and Spain.

⁹⁷ There is no evidence that Schinkel visited Spain, but he did have a close connection to Italy, perhaps a speculation of Palermo and Sicily would be useful. See *The Romanesque Revival: Religion, Politics, and Social Exchange*, “Chapter 3: Friedrich Wilhelm III and the Prussian Civil-Servant State,” 94-95. Where there is mention of the interest of “Saracenic” architecture which, for Schinkel, connects more broadly to Gothic architecture. See also Hedrick who notes Schinkel’s relationship between Gothic and its Saracenic or Oriental origins, P. 79.

⁹⁸ Christian Hedrick, “Modernism with Style: History, Culture, and the Origins of Modern Architecture in Berlin, 1780-1870,” 109.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Olga Bush. “The Architecture of Jewish Identity: The Neo-Islamic Central Synagogue of New York.” In *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no. 2 (2004): 180-201.

¹⁰¹ John M. Efron, “Of Minarets and Menorahs: The Building of Oriental Synagogues.” In *German Jewry and the Allure of the Sephardic*, Princeton University Press, (2016): 112-60.

architects followed this module of thought and constructed Jewish religious architecture with the understanding and viewpoint of Jews being a part of the Orient.

In the 1850's, Eduard Knoblauch (1801-65), an esteemed architect from the Berliner Bauakademie, submitted drawings for the design of the Neue Synagoge which aimed to accommodate the growing Jewish presence in Berlin. The building project was eventually taken up by Friedrich August Stüler (1800-65) who completed the interior of the building. Knoblauch and Stüler's educational background at the Bauakademie is similar to that of Persius', all of whom were students under the supervision of Schinkel which links the three architects' contemporaneity to one another who continue Schinkel's teachings as stylistic heirs.¹⁰² This is also similar to another Prussian architect, Carl von Diebitsch (1819-69), whose work will be further examined in the following section. Apart from Diebitsch, none of the architects had made visited to the Middle East.¹⁰³ Therefore the commonality between the influence of Schinkel and his teachings onto his students and apprentices becomes important in the wake of constructing and designing with a "oriental" or "Saracenic" style.¹⁰⁴

Nestled between buildings, the synagogue sits on Oranienburgerstraße with a façade surmounted by a bulbous dome and accentuated by two flanking towers (Figure 2.3). Each of the two towers are topped with smaller spherical domes with vegetal designs circumambulating its

Mohammad Gharipour, "Architecture of Synagogues in the Islamic World: History and the Dilemma of Identity." In *Synagogues in the Islamic World: Architecture, Design and Identity*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 6-18.

Annemarie Schimmel, "Islamic Studies in Germany: A Historical Overview." In *Islamic Studies* 49, no. 3 (2010): 401-10.

¹⁰² Hedrick, "Modernism with Style: History, Culture, and the Origins of Modern Architecture in Berlin, 1780-1870," 27 and 119.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 265-67. Similar to Schinkel, Knoblauch had visited Italy but not Spain. Both had not traveled to Cairo.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

bases which ultimately imitate the larger glass bulbous dome. The architecture's façade includes three large horseshoe arches as entrance portals and employs an *ablaq* program of alternating striped brick pattern work on its overall façade. The interior of the synagogue continues the exterior design program by incorporating horseshoe arches and more Alhambresque features (Figure 2.4). The popularization of Owen Jones and Jules Goury's building manual of the Alhambra becomes a crucial point as it establishes "Moorish" or "Alhambresque" elemental features which can be appropriated onto modernization programs for design reproducibility during the middle of the 19th century.¹⁰⁵ Our Prussian architects and designers were likely attending the World's Fair exhibitions, especially the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition in London, and were perhaps encountering "Moorish" elemental features as a modernization method in working towards industrial and mechanical building technologies.¹⁰⁶ The building's materiality which also utilizes iron and glass also adds to the building's overall reproducible identity.¹⁰⁷

Though the synagogue's façade alludes to "Moorish" elemental features such as the horseshoe arches in the interior and exterior of the building, it also includes architectural elements reminiscent of "Cairene" or "Arab" architecture. This can be seen in the building's domal features as well as the *ablaq* striped masonry. As mentioned before, Pascal-Xavier Coste's publication highlights these features as almost quintessential architectural elements of "Cairene" or "oriental" design features. I believe that Knoblauch may have borrowed directly from Coste's publication in his reuse of the interwoven pattern display on the synagogue's main dome which is reminiscent of Coste's illustration of the Mausoleum of Qaitbay which highlights this exact

¹⁰⁵ Owen Jones and Jules Goury, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra: From Drawings Taken on the Spot in 1834*. (London: O. Jones, 1842).

¹⁰⁶ Hedrick, "Modernism with Style: History, Culture, and the Origins of Modern Architecture in Berlin, 1780-1870," 239.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

feature (Figure 2.5). Therefore, the synagogue's architecture becomes a model rendered after multiple foliations of Islamic ornamentation into one given model. This not only points out to the ways in which an "oriental" quality of architecture was being prioritized through the dissemination of pattern books and building manuals, but it also alludes to the fact of the ways in which Prussian architects and designers favored and ultimately re-articulated and reused an invented Islamic ornamentation program brought forth previously.

Carl von Diebitsch (1819-69), a "specialist" in the field of Islamic ornamentation within the Prussian context, aimed to utilize the program as a means of generating a modernization of style within the 19th century.¹⁰⁸ The third-generational architect after Schinkel began his education at the Berliner Bauakademie in 1839 under the supervision of Wilhelm von Steir (1799-1856) where he inherited knowledge and philosophy of architecture through history and practice.¹⁰⁹ In 1841, Diebitsch completed his degree in reading architecture at the Berlin Technische Universität and within a year later completed postgraduate studies as a surveyor.¹¹⁰ The architect traveled considerably after his formal education during the years of 1842-48 where he embarked on a Grand Tour.¹¹¹ By the suggestion of Stier, Diebitsch extended his journey to Sicily where he documented and illustrated formal qualities of La Zisa Palace.¹¹² In meditating upon the relationship between a "Moorish" style as it occurs in Sicilian architecture, Diebitsch's focus

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 193.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Elke Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz, "A Proposal by the Architect Carl von Diebitsch (1819-1869): Mudejar Architecture for a Global Civilization." In *L'orientalisme architectural entre imaginaires et saviors*, (2009): 69.

¹¹¹ Ibid. His first destination was to Venice and then to Florence. He continued his journey southward to Rome and Naples.

¹¹² Ibid.

centered around “oriental” or “Saracenic” origins of architecture which connected him to his contemporaries who viewed Gothic architecture as a germination of the idea.¹¹³

After his time in Sicily, Diebitsch visited Algiers via Marseilles and eventually travelled to Spain where he spent about six years (1842-1848) visiting cities such as Toledo, Tarragona, Murcia, Seville, Madrid, Burgos, Cordoba, and Granada documenting and studying architecture.¹¹⁴ During his time in Granada from 1846-1847, Diebitsch spent an extensive amount of time illustrating the Alhambra Palace where he produced a hefty sum of watercolors and drawings only a year after Jones’ departure from Spain to Britain.¹¹⁵ Over a period of six months, Diebitsch spent about twelve hours a day documenting ornamental aspects of the palace.¹¹⁶ Alongside Jones’ work, Diebitsch was also working closely towards connecting a “Moorish” style as a modernized method for an architectural design program.¹¹⁷

Returning to Berlin in 1848, Diebitsch established an architectural practice and began to give lectures on the implementation “Moorish” elemental features as formal elements which serve as perfect models for industrial and mechanized architectural reproducibility in Germany.¹¹⁸ He explained that this would be useful for the fact that “Arab ornament” was easy to replicate onto cast iron and that the cost of execution would be minimal to what was in comparison of that time.¹¹⁹ In 1862, the architect participated in the London World Exposition

¹¹³ Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz, “A Proposal by the Architect Carl von Diebitsch (1819-1869): Mudejar Architecture for a Global Civilization,” 69.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 77.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Hedrick, “Modernism with Style: History, Culture, and the Origins of Modern Architecture in Berlin, 1780-1870,” 110. Hedrick points out his lecture at the seventh annual assembly of engineers and architects in Braunschweig in 1852.

¹¹⁹ Elke Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz, “Carl von Diebitsch (1819-1869): Moorish Style as State-of-the-art Architecture in 19th Century Cairo,” 75.

where he exhibited a five-meter zinc caste vase, which ended up winning an award for its execution and style.¹²⁰ The monumental vase, which unfortunately does not remain today, incorporated a number of Moorish design motifs and “allegorical representations of the sciences, arts, industry, and agriculture as well as a portrait of Queen Victoria, and the Prussian King Wilhelm I enthroned, with his son the prince and his brothers.”¹²¹ Pflugradt Abdel-Aziz points out that Diebitsch’s success at the exhibition established his reputation as an “absolute” specialist of the “Islamic style” on an international level where he went on to meet with representatives of Egypt’s high finance who eventually invited him to build in Cairo and Alexandria from 1862-1869. During his time in Cairo, Diebitsch was commissioned to build the Oppenheim Villa (1862-64) and al-Gezira Palace (1868).¹²²

Most notably, Diebitsch participated in the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris where he displayed his “Moorish Kiosk” (Figure 2.6). Interestingly, Diebitsch believed the kiosk would be purchased by the khedive, Ismail Pasha al-Faransawi, but was not due to the khedive’s frustration upon Diebitsch’s choice of exhibiting the kiosk in the Prussian section of the fair rather than the Egyptian section.¹²³ This led to the kiosk laying largely disassembled in the attic

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Christian Hedrick, “Modernism with Style: History, Culture and the Origins of Modern Architecture in Berlin, 1780-1870,” 265. See also, Elke Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz, “Carl von Diebitsch (1819-1869): Moorish Style as State-of-the-art Architecture in 19th Century Cairo,” 75.

¹²² Elke Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz, “Orientalism as an Economic Strategy: The Architect Carl von Diebitsch in Cairo (1862-1869),” In *Le Caire - Alexandrie architectures européennes 1850-1950* ed. Mercedes Volait., 2001, 7.

See also the works he produced during his time in both cities. The first building which was commissioned for him to design was the Oppenheim Villa for a Jewish banker, Henry Oppenheim between 1862-1864. One of the most famous building designs attributed to Diebitsch during this time period was the al-Gezira Palace commissioned by the viceroy of Egypt, Isma’il Pasha in 1868. Diebitsch is attributed to the iron work, interior design, and the kiosk.

¹²³ Stefan Koppelkamm, *Der Imaginäre Orient: Exotische Bauten Des Achtzehnten Und Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts in Europa.* (Berlin: W. Ernst & Sohn, 1987), 94. Diebitsch wanted to

of Diebitsch's "Moorish House" in Berlin until his widow sold it after his death in 1870 to a railway magnate in Strausberg.¹²⁴ It wasn't until 1876 when King Ludwig II of Bavaria purchased the kiosk to have it reassembled and installed at his summer residence at Schloss Linderhof (Figure 2.7).

In terms of its floorplan, as presented in the Exposition Universelle, the kiosk takes a rectilinear plus-shape form with a cube shaped building in the center surrounded on all four sides by a garden.¹²⁵ The cube is surmounted by a small singular dome with four towers or minarets which are also domed. Most of the material used for the production of the kiosk utilizes cast iron, plasterboard on wood panel with zinc sheets, and glass which add to Diebitsch's will to accentuate Islamic ornamentation as it relates to industrial building as an economic sensitivity.¹²⁶ In terms of the kiosk's appearance, its rail ornamental border takes a vegetal design around the building's perimeter. The design beneath the cornice repeats a niche pattern with a singular capital to mark friezes and the arches above the capitals are shell-like in the shape of horseshoes. The exterior façade of the building embodies a polychrome program with tones of blue, gold, and red all which accentuate the replete geometric and vegetal ornamental designs.

The interior of the kiosk continues a polychrome scheme replete with reds, blues, yellows, greens, and gold. Diebitsch continues the same exterior border on the inside, but this time with double capitals—a direct integration from his studies from the Alhambra.¹²⁷ The interior also

accentuate that the kiosk's style be used as a universal application, hence he chose to display it in the Prussian section rather than the Egyptian section.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 73.

¹²⁵ Pflugrad-Abdel Aziz, "A Proposal by the Architect Carl von Diebitsch (1819-1869): Mudejar Architecture for a Global Civilization," 80. See diagram of the building as it has been presented at the Exposition.

¹²⁶ Koppelkamm, *Der Imaginäre Orient: Exotische Bauten Des Achtzehnten Und Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts in Europa*, 94.

¹²⁷ Pflugrad-Abdel Aziz, "A Proposal..." 81.

incorporates three horseshoe arches which become an indicative feature of the borrowing from Alhambresque and Nasrid architecture. Most of the windows and other light sources such as lanterns and the grand chandelier continue to embody a polychrome program through the use of stained glass. There are several pieces of furniture such as small stools, tables, and vases which take geometric ornamentation. An elaborate fountain/pedestal features a domed kiosk structure with capitals and crescent moons (Figure 2.8). Under the additions of Ludwig II, a “peacock throne” which is taken from royal Buddhist imagery (Figure 2.9).¹²⁸

What becomes interesting to point out is that the kiosk, as exhibited in the Exposition Universelle, was displayed surrounded by a garden with multiple fountains.¹²⁹ This is perhaps due to the fact that the kiosk was eventually intended to be purchased by Ismail Pasha to be placed in his garden, but never purchased on his end.¹³⁰ The kiosk’s reference as a prototype or model for the universal applicability of “neo-Moorish” design onto industrialized buildings therefore becomes convoluted within its display in a decontextualized garden space, which alludes more to ideas of escapism or fantasy rather than mechanization or industrialization. Another point of curiosity is the use of domal architecture. If Diebitsch was truly proposing “neo-Moorish” as a design program in terms of its universal applicability, then “Moorish” architecture becomes inconsistent here due to the kiosk’s quadruple domed minarets and its larger golden dome. Hedrick suggests that this is due to the fact that Diebitsch was working on articulating a “neo-Islamic” method of ornamentation.¹³¹ But in this case again a “Moorish” style can be interchanged with an “oriental” style which ultimately becomes somewhat reductionist as

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Hedrick, “Modernism with Style,” 248.

it synthesizes “Islamic” into a garden space, dome, and minarets to encompass one consumable image of the “orient.”

Overall, the kiosk was built as a prototype in proposing a universalizing style as it relates to ideas of modernization of style as a method of building technology and design.¹³² The “neo-Moorish” design program, for Diebitsch, hoped to communicate the ease of reproducibility in terms of cost efficiency and the integration of a polychrome agenda, similar to Jones, as a new method of approach for ornamentation and the modernization of buildings. In the latter portion of the kiosk’s life, when purchased by King Ludwig II and placed on his palace grounds of Schloss Linderhof, the kiosk becomes an emblem which aimed to elucidate feelings and emotions associated with the “Orient” as a place of flaneur, the erotic, and the exotic.

Historiography of Islamic Ornamentation

The various interpretations scholars have produced on the topic of Islamic or “oriental” ornamentation as it occurs in Germany during the 19th century sheds light on the multi-fold perspectives and attitudes which have assembled a general knowledge as to *why* such a stylistic program is becoming iterated and valued within the given specific sphere. One of the first to publish on the topic is Stefan Koppelkamm in his book *The Imaginary Orient: Exotic Buildings of the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe* (1987). Going through a number of different architectural examples within the European context, Koppelkamm’s publication establishes Europe’s interest in representing the “Orient” as an exotic, fantastical, mythic, or imaginary.¹³³ One of the examples Koppelkamm touches upon in his investigation is the aforementioned pump house built

¹³² Koppelkamm, *Der Imaginäre Orient*, 94.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 92.

by Ludwig von Persius in Potsdam. In his interpretation Koppelkamm points out the building as a means not only to celebrate Prussia's industrial achievements, such as the Babelsberg engine, but also inadvertently showcases the selection of a *style* ultimately becoming a selection of a "costume."¹³⁴ The pump house's *costume* which flaunts a dome, striped masonry, slender tower, and crescent embellishments ultimately embody stereotypical and categorical elements in classifying and establishing an "Orient" or "Oriental."¹³⁵ Koppelkamm, who would perhaps agree that the pump house also acts as an amalgam wherein it goes onto establish a "mixing" and "matching" of elements to evoke the tasteful, colorful, and enticing "Orient."

Koppelkamm's interpretation of the Neue Synagoge further proves his point as he points out that the synagogue's architecture was built and received as an "oriental" model. He quotes Gustav Knoblauch in the reception of the building: "The architect has taken the Moorish-Arabian style as the basis for his design, as a style so resplendently and richly developed in the Alhambra. We are sure this choice was dictated by both material and spiritual considerations. For on the one hand the slenderness of the iron columns corresponds to the proportions of that Arabian architecture; on the other hand, a specifically Oriental design is well-justified because of the ritual and religious purpose of the building."¹³⁶ Interestingly, this quote establishes the ways in which the "Orient" becomes a synonymous example of the "Arab" or "Moorish." For the architects and its audience, there is no need or aim in distinguishing or defining "Arab" and "Moorish"—that is of no concern. Therefore, Koppelkamm goes on to suggest that within this

¹³⁴ Ibid., 85.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 102. Koppelkamm quoting Gustav Knoblauch in the construction of "Die Neue Synagoge in Berlin: Zietschrift für Bauwesen," 16, 1866, col. 6.

context the multi-fold becomes singular and the amalgam ultimately quiets the plurality and multi-valency of the “Orient.”

With regards to Diebitsch’s Moorish Kiosk, Koppelkamm emphasizes the importance of its geographic placement which ultimately shifts the perspective and attitude of the building overall. For example, if the kiosk would have been purchased by Ismail Pasha al-Faransawi and placed within his garden setting the kiosk would have evoked ideas regarding nationalism and nostalgias of dynastic identities. In other words, the kiosk would have served as a model in *restoring* “the honor” of old Islamic cultures.¹³⁷ But since it was instead purchased by a railway magnate and placed in his palace in Bohemia and then later repurchased by King Ludwig II to be rebuilt on the grounds of his summer residence, the reading of the kiosk becomes more embedded with ideas of the fantastical and the imaginary.¹³⁸ Therefore, for the latter the “Orient” remains in the imaginary, but under the Egyptian khedive it becomes linked to an actualized *Orient* associated with nostalgias, nationalisms, and evocations of one or many cultures.

Elke Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz’s scholarship centers around Carl von Diebitsch’s transnational career in Germany and Egypt as known as a “specialist” in establishing and articulating an “Islamic style.”¹³⁹ In analyzing Diebitsch’s career span over multiple geographic contexts, Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz mentions the varied reception of his work in both Prussia and Egypt. In the latter geography, Diebitsch’s work was preferably favored over a local Egyptian craftsmanship which, according to Europeans, was “in decline since the end of the eighteenth century.”¹⁴⁰ His career in Europe as an awardee of the 1862 World’s Fair Exhibition and his use of “Arabian

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 94.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz, “Orientalism as an Economic Strategy: The Architect Carl von Diebitsch in Cairo (1862-1869),” 7.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 8

ornament” catapulted his reputation as an “absolute specialist on an international level.”¹⁴¹ Pflugrad-Abdel Aziz points out the fact that *specialization* becomes an important term when reconciling and recognizing Diebitsch as an international figure who popularizes and appropriates the “Islamic style” as a local tradition even when the local is no longer favored.

A key aspect of Pflugrad-Abdel Aziz’s scholarship on the topic of Diebitsch relates to his conscious motivations in utilizing an “Islamic style” for building programs as a perfected economic model. These pursuits revolve around a choice of materiality in the use of cast iron, a standardization for industrial production, and prefabrication.¹⁴² These motivations become largely indicative of Diebitsch’s decision to utilize Islamic ornamentation as an international design program because it provides itself as a perfect model to be copied and reproduced through a heightened economic consciousness. Therefore, Pflugrad-Abdel Aziz sheds light on the ways in which Diebitsch, as an architect who was firmly interested in the modernization of a style, was navigating in proposing Islamic ornamentation as a model for mechanical and industrial reproduction and its economic validity under the headings of its reproducibility.

In understanding Diebitsch’s career within an Egyptian context, Pflugrad-Abdel Aziz differs from Koppelkamm’s analysis for the fact that she is not so much interested in Diebitsch’s evocation of the “exotic” whereas Koppelkamm believes Diebitsch’s work to be intrinsically classified to evoke the “exotic” regardless of the building’s geographic context.¹⁴³ Pflugrad Abdel-Aziz’s elucidation is much more concerned with understanding Diebitsch as an international figure who represents and utilizes aspects of Islamic architecture within the context of the 19th century in German as a perfect model for reproducibility. In other words, focusing on

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 7.

¹⁴² Ibid., 4.

¹⁴³ Koppelkamm, *Der Imaginäre Orient*, 91-97.

Diebitsch's international career who builds in an Egyptian context as well as a European one Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz showcases Diebitsch as an important player who establishes a methodology in utilizing Islamic ornament not only as a tool of beautification, but also as a reproducible and economically conscious model.¹⁴⁴

Christian Hedrick's scholarship provides another lens in understanding Islamic ornamentation utilized under each of these architectural programs within the 19th century German context. His dissertation, "Modernism with Style: History, Culture and Origins of Modern Architecture in Berlin, 1780-1870," outlines the reception of Islamic art and architecture as it inhibits attractive qualities in accentuating and articulating a modernization of style during the 19th century in its own hurdle in bypassing a "crisis of style."¹⁴⁵ Hedrick defines 'Modernism' as it relates to a transnational connectivity and as a global condition within the age of technological advancement and industrialization.¹⁴⁶ In understanding 'Modernism' as a global condition, Hedrick's scholarship outlines German architects and designers and their trajectories and reasoning in formulating and articulating a rootedness in the formulation of a new style within the age of modernity.

Hedrick mentions the importance of investigating these three architectural examples through a case by case basis.¹⁴⁷ His weariness of a post-colonial discourse also suggests the ways in which understanding 'Modernist architecture' has fallen pit to homogenization which ultimately becomes problematic in the assessment of such.¹⁴⁸ For Hedrick, this relates especially to a German context as it does not necessarily "fit into the traditional modernist or colonial studies

¹⁴⁴ Hedrick, "Modernism with Style," 19-20.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 23

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 16

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

model.”¹⁴⁹ Therefore, Hedrick’s pursuits becomes linked towards revealing the complex issues centered around a “(global) modernization project” which have thus been disvalued and largely ignored.¹⁵⁰

In doing so, rather than focusing on architectural examples, Hedrick instead focuses on the career of Carl von Diebitsch who is seen as a crucial figure in the study of a modernization of style in utilizes aspects of Islamic architecture and design for a global stylistic initiative during the 19th century. Hedrick points out that Diebitsch’s work as paramount in coming forth within a tradition linked to the Bauakademie and extrapolates upon the residual questions of a “crisis of style.”¹⁵¹ For Hedrick, Diebitsch becomes a key figure of the 19th century whose work aims to universalize a style through the inclusion and appropriation of Islamic ornamentation as methods in proposing a “neo-Islamic” style by incorporating “Moorish” architectural elements. Thus, in assessment of Diebitsch, Hedrick views the architect’s works to reflect upon an “extraordinarily deep synthesis of form and content” unlike later eclecticism “which was to obscure varieties of ‘historicist’ architecture that preceded it.”¹⁵²

Therefore, for Hedrick, Islamic ornamentation as it occurs within the 19th century is born from an international rupture towards a willingness to generate a new style. Hedrick’s assessment and scholarship makes a distinct effort in utilizing the work of Diebitsch whose transnational career and global trends in articulating a modern architecture is distinguished as a different “case” which cannot be allotted towards rectifying a dichotomous East and West division.¹⁵³ His overall analysis mitigates upon a global turn in “cultural” diversification rather

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid., 29.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

than one centered upon a response to divide.¹⁵⁴ Hedrick's pivots off of Suzanne Marchand's critique of Said's Orientalism where there becomes a difficulty in linking an imperial-colonial order due to the lack of a German empire before 1871.¹⁵⁵ In further response, the Saidian Orientalist model, for Hedrick, cannot be universally applied as in the German case.¹⁵⁶

Interpretations of an Islamic Ornamentation in Prussia and Bavaria

It is interesting to see the ways in which scholars have interpreted Islamic ornamentation as it occurs within the 19th century as either an evocation the exotic or imaginary, distinguishing an economic model through standardization and prefabrication, or lastly as a proposition in articulating a universal project through a generative rendering of *new style*. Commonly, the historiography of scholarship based upon the given tends to reflect upon, diverge, or negate from the notion of a colonial-imperial relationship within assessing Islamic ornamentation of the 19th century German context. In this rendering, Koppelkamm's reflection of Islamic ornamentation comes forth in establishing the "Orient" as "exotic" or "fantastical" model of building under the gaze of European imperial powers such as Britain and France, but Pflugrad-Abdel Aziz doesn't tend to think imperialism or colonialism as useful spearheads in her assessments of Islamic ornamentation.¹⁵⁷ Her work tends to accentuate Germany's "case-like" distinction between the aforementioned imperial powers which is altogether similar to Hedrick's analysis who too believes the importance in distinguishing between the two.

¹⁵⁴ See Hedrick, "From London to Paris (via Cairo): The World Expositions and the Making of a Modern Architect, 1862-1867." In *Expanding Nationalisms at World's Fairs: Identity, Diversity, and Exchange, 1851-1915*. Routledge, 2017.

¹⁵⁵ Hedrick, "Modernism with Style," 18.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 19-20.

¹⁵⁷ Pflugrad-Abdel Aziz, "Orientalism as an economic strategy," 19.

Thus, I believe it becomes difficult to distinguish and apply an overarching imperial and colonial project to a “German empire” during the middle of the 19th century as it relates to an “Orientalizing” agenda.¹⁵⁸ As Pflugradt Abdel-Aziz and Hedrick have pointed out in their analysis, it becomes important to think within a case by case basis in how architecture of the 19th century within the German context comes to implement an Islamic ornamental program and varies in execution from “specialist” to non-specialist of an “Islamic style.” But one should not diminish “Germany’s” geographical proximity to imperial powers such as Britain and France, but perhaps even acting within their ideological gaze. Although Germany’s late coming to colonialism, scholars have pointed out a ‘semi-colonial’ relationship the geographic context held with the Ottoman empire during the late 19th century and early 20th century.¹⁵⁹ Whilst Germany did not hold any formal territories in the subsequent empire, it did aid in execution of infrastructural programs such as completions of railway systems in the Ottoman empire.¹⁶⁰ Perhaps this economic and political acquaintance points out again to Marchand’s interpretation as Germany as “neither conquerors nor friends”—but instead as a “modernizer.”¹⁶¹

But as we have seen previously in the French Campaign of Syria and Egypt (1798-1801), the colonial project was spearheaded by modernization and universalization motivations.¹⁶² Although one should be weary in applying an overarching project of colonial and imperial

¹⁵⁸ Malte Fuhrmann, “Germany’s Adventures in the Orient: A History of Ambivalent Semicolonial Entanglements” in *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany* ed. Volker Langbehn and Mohammad Salama, (2011): 123-145.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ Peter Christensen, *Germany and the Ottoman Railways: Art, Empire, and Infrastructure*.

¹⁶¹ Suzanne Marchand, *German Orientalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 143.

¹⁶² Juan Ricardo Cole, *Napoleon’s Egypt: Invading the Middle East*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, 1-20.

relationships to broad interactions between the “Orient” and Germany, we can perhaps instead interpret this relationship as a “proxy-colonial” investment which serves as a tool into understanding the ways in which Germany saw itself in relation to the Middle-East. This is important because there is a distinction being made between the two: one sees itself as a “modernizer” and the other sees itself as one which could potentially benefit from this service. In all, this interpretation simply aims to refocus and re-identify the un-use or divergence in applying a proximity to imperial and colonial relationships. Although specialists become important in the excavation and generation of new and standardized global models, it also is important to think about the ways in which the reception and viewpoint of the “Orient” as a place to “modernize” which can be further “represented” which in turn becomes a place of admirability or a re-justification of power.

Chapter III:

Historical Overview and Visual Analysis of the
Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory

As we have seen in previous chapters, Islamic ornamentation is brought forth within the 19th century as a discursive tradition by the dissemination of pattern books and building manuals. These textual evidences, which were later implemented in architectural examples, aimed to establish a framework within larger lenses of modernization, industrialization, and mechanization. The formation of an “Islamic” or “oriental” architectural style is utilized within a German context by the circulation of these textual evidences, which remain influential far into the 20th century. One architectural example which perpetuates this discursive tradition is a tobacco factory in Saxony, the Orientalische Tabak und Cigarettenfabrik Yenidze (in English, Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory), built in 1909. The factory’s architecture, which aimed to take the “shape of a mosque,” oscillates between previous understandings of Islamic architectural and textual elements which reiterate and preserve a knowledge and intellectual tradition that further develops as a discursive tradition.¹⁶³

By providing an in-depth visual analysis of the Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory, this chapter will examine the building’s usage of “oriental” or “Islamic” architectural elements. The first section of the chapter will provide the setting and origins of the tobacco company in establishing a context in which it grew out of. The second section will provide a

¹⁶³ Typescript document: “Werbematerial der Orientalischen Tabak und Cigarettenfabrik Yenidze”, 1925-26, Archive No: 10722- Sächsische Gesandtschaft für Bayern München, Stadtarchiv Dresden, Saxony, Germany. One of the documents in this hefty folder goes onto describe the formal elements of the building’s architecture which takes “the shape of a mosque” as a branding and advertising agent.

close examination of the building's ground plan and its formal/decorative features. This section serves as a useful tool in interpreting *why* an Islamic stylistic tradition was being reiterated into a German context during the 20th century. In all, this chapter will provide a background in shedding light on the ways in which the building not only acts as a representation of an insular and introspective style established in the 19th century, but will also function as a preserver of an intellectual building tradition continuing a legacy well into the 20th century.

Setting and Origins of the Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory

The Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory was founded in 1886 by Jewish entrepreneur; Hugo Zietz (n/a-1927).¹⁶⁴ The company was housed in many differentially allocated small buildings which worked together as a network before its final centralized location in Dresden's Friedrichstadt neighborhood built in 1909. First, the factory was located on Wallstraße in Antonsplatz. The first floor's building was used as a factory restaurant and served mainly as a marketplace for food. According to archival material, the small building was built in the early 1890's and it became repeatedly necessary for expanding the factory grounds due to the factory's small location.¹⁶⁵ The company then moved to its Güterbahnhofstraße location switching to other locations on Strehleener Straße and Gutzkowstraße which were built in 1898. This last factory served as the center of the various factory branches which remained open for ten

¹⁶⁴ It was interesting to find out about Zietz's Jewish religion according to archival documents. As mentioned before in the previous chapter upon investigating the Neue Synagoge in Berlin, there are many examples which utilize "neo-Islamic" styles for the construction of synagogues. As a confrontation of identity, it may be interesting to think about how Zietz might have saw himself as a part or having a close proximity to the "Orient."

See Olga Bush, "The Architecture of Jewish Identity: The Neo-Islamic Central Synagogue in New York," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 2, vol. 63, (2004): 180-201.

¹⁶⁵ Typescript document, 1913, N/A Stadtarchiv Dresden, Saxony, Germany.

years. Due to the growing manufacturing company, the rooms in Gutzkowstraße could not last long enough due to the limited space which could not accommodate the production of tobaccos and offices. This prompted the opening of the first factory branch in 1902 in Königsberg on Landhofmeisterstraße which initially opened with 22 workers and gradually increased to a several hundred workers. The branch expanded to other locations on Conradstraße, Löbtau, and Tharandter Straße which offered space for 300 to 400 workers each.

Due to a tobacco tax law passed in 1906 which restricted operational planning from decentralized company grounds, Zietz was forced to simplify operations by bringing the entirety of the company under one roof. On April 6, 1907, Zietz acquired land directly adjacent to the Elbe River in Dresden on Magdeburger Straße and broke ground the same year. According to source documents, the factory's building project was heavily contested due to Dresden's architectural regulations, which disallowed the construction of industrial buildings that would ultimately destroy the pastel image of Dresden's Baroque skyline.¹⁶⁶ After the city's building council considered the loss of revenue the tobacco factory would generate into the city's economy and after Zietz threatened to move the building to another city, permission to build the factory was finally given. On January 11, 1909, the Yenidze was eventually brought to completion and opened its gates for the first time.

The location of the tobacco factory reflects Zietz's intentions; it is close to both the Elbe River and the city—a deliberate consideration of advertisement. The factory sits at an odd cross-axial path of Magdeburg Straße, Weißeritzstraße, and the railway tracks of the Elbezweigbahn in the north and east. Although placed at an unfavorable gusset, the factory remains in proximity to major railway lines' Mitte and Dresden Hauptbahnhof stations and gives a particular emblematic

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

quality as it welcomes visitors and foreigners into the city as they arrive via train (Figure 3.1). Trains traveling to and from Berlin, Wroclaw, Leipzig, and abroad pass the cigarette factory every day. Interestingly, the original construction of the factory displayed a lighted neon green headboard lettering “Salem Aleikum Cigaretten” on the façade of its building which further added to the literal iteration of the building’s marketing tactic as a processor of “oriental” tobacco (Figure 3.2). Due to the bombing of Dresden in 1945 during World War II, the signboard did not survive, and the factory building was heavily reconstructed in the following years. Through the building’s intentional placement on a gusset of streets and major railways, one can interpret how the factory aimed to showcase itself deliberately not only as an advertising agent in the commodification of “oriental” tobacco, but also as a fine-tuned industrialized, mechanized, and modernized factory building during the 20th century.

Hugo Zietz hired architect and engineer Martin Heinrich Hammitzsch (c. 1878-1945) to build his tobacco factory. Hammitzsch studied at the Königlichen Gewerbschule Chemnitz from 1894 to 1898 and continued his education immediately after at the Technischen Hochschule Dresden where he received his degree as an engineer in the field of architecture in 1901.¹⁶⁷ In 1902, the architect started his own firm in Nuremberg and worked as a teacher during the winter months and taught construction technology at the Baugewerkschule Nürnberg. Hammitzsch moved to Dresden in 1904 where he received his doctorate degree from the Technischen Universität Dresden the following year. After completion of his dissertation titled, “Die Entwicklung der neuzeitlichen Theaterbaukunst,” (in English, “The Development of Modern

¹⁶⁷ Stephan Luther, “Hammitzsch, Martin Heinrich,” *Sächsische Biografie*, ed. vom Institute für Geschichte und Volkskunde (2005).

Theater Architecture”) Hammitzsch worked as a freelance architect and professor at the Königlich-Sächsischen Baugewekenschule.

In 1907, Hammitzsch began the construction of the Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory—a technologically advanced industrial building at the time which was made entirely of reinforced concrete with a concrete skeletal structure, a 20-meter glass dome, and 600 differently designed windows. Zietz proposed the idea to design the factory in the “style of a mosque” which would not only meet the requirements of the city council, but also became a distinctive monument in showcasing its brand of the tobacco as an “Oriental” commodity.¹⁶⁸ It has been noted that Zietz drew inspiration from mausoleum and tomb complex of the Mamluk ruler; Khair Bak.¹⁶⁹ Hammitzsch cleverly disguised the factory’s chimney by designing its form to take the shape of a minaret and consequently received its nickname “tobacco mosque.”¹⁷⁰ Unfortunately, I am unable to tell if the architect and designer had actually visited the ‘Orient’, especially Cairo in particular, but we can suspect that Zietz did perhaps travel to the ‘Oriental’ locations where his tobaccos were being sourced.

After disputes and irritations over the factory’s architecture, Hammitzsch was removed from Dresden’s Reichsarchitektenkammer (Imperial Chamber of Architects) following the completion of the tobacco factory in 1909.¹⁷¹ The removal prompted him to return to Chemnitz where he was given a professorship position in teaching subjects such as building science construction, drawing, and field fairs at the Königlichen Gewerbschule Chemnitz in 1918 until

¹⁶⁸ Typescript document: “Werbematerial der Orientalischen Tabak und Cigarettenfabrik Yenidze”, 1925-26, Archive No: 10722- Sächsische Gesandtschaft für Bayern München, Stadtarchiv Dresden, Saxony, Germany.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Stephan Luther, “Hammitzsch, Martin Heinrich,” Sächsische Biografie, ed. vom Institute für Geschichte und Volkskunde (2005).

1919.¹⁷² Somewhat simultaneously, Hammitzsch began his military career in 1914 volunteering and serving as the 22nd Engineer Battalion in the World War I until he was released from the army in 1920 in which he was awarded multiple medals in his ranks.¹⁷³ In 1920, he was promoted to a management position at the Technischen Hochschule Dresden. Hammitzsch continued his professorship the following years and in 1922-1933 and served as a municipal councilor in Oberlönßnitz. In 1935 he became an active member of the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP) and took part of Nazi Party rallies from 1935-1938.¹⁷⁴ In 1936, he married the half-sister of Adolf Hitler, Angela Raubal. Two years later, Hammitzsch was appointed government director and head of construction department in the Sächsische Ministerium des Innern and served as captain of the reserve and retired in 1943. On May 12, 1945 he was found dead in the state forest of Oberwiesenthal from suicide.¹⁷⁵

The Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette company grew out of the likeness of other tobacco industries in Germany during the 19th and 20th centuries. During the 1880s, Saxony had over 1,200 cigarette factories which produced an estimated number of six billion cigarettes making it the largest tobacco exporter, processing over sixty percent of Europe's tobacco.¹⁷⁶ Saxony's capital, Dresden, is noted to be the headquarters of the cigarette industry in the late 19th and early 20th century.¹⁷⁷ Thus, the factory emerged out of the familiarity and dominance of Saxony's exportation of tobacco and aimed to stand out from other companies through advertising the production of "oriental" tobacco. Zietz's intent on processing "Oriental" tobacco

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Relli Shechter, *Smoking, Culture and Economy in the Middle East: The Egyptian Tobacco Market 1850-2000*. IB Tauris, 2006, 59.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 60.

was reflected in how he saw tobacco as an influential global commodity.¹⁷⁸ The founder spent decades studying different blends of tobacco which ultimately prompted him to utilize “Oriental” tobaccos in his cigarettes. Aside from its production of an “Oriental” product, the Yenidze company was also highly interested in marketing their tobacco as a public health product which promoted its tobacco and cigarettes as useful and beneficial in maintaining good health and proper hygiene.¹⁷⁹

The Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory only dealt with the production of cigarettes in terms of treatment of its tobacco and the production of cardboard boxes required for the packaging the product.¹⁸⁰ The factory processed raw tobacco which came from Ottoman territories at the time along the Aegean Sea in the towns of Cavalla, Xanthi, and Yenidze.¹⁸¹ Yenice-i Vardar, located in the region of Pella in Central Macedonia or Northern Greece, was founded by Ottoman General Ghazi Achmet Ebernos c. 1372-85.¹⁸² The city retained much of its emphatically Turkish character up until the Balkan wars in 1912.¹⁸³ Minor cities also a part of the Ottoman Empire such as Salonika, Smyrna, and Samsoun were also involved in the production and transportation of the raw tobacco. The “finished” raw tobacco, placed flat in 20-60 kg barrels in compressed layers or packed small bundles, were shipped from the

¹⁷⁸ Typescript document, 1913, N/A Stadtarchiv Dresden, Saxony, Germany.

¹⁷⁹ Pamphlet document: “Werbematerial der Orientalischen Tabak und Cigarettenfabrik Yenidze”, 1925-26, P. 4, Archive No: 10722- Sächsische Gesandtschaft für Bayern München, Stadtarchiv Dresden, Saxony, Germany. One of the documents in this folder how the factory processes different kinds of papers which are the most adequate in maintaining health: “The tobacco smoke disinfected the oral cavity and prevents the development of pathogenic bacteria...”

¹⁸⁰ Typescript document, 1913, N/A Stadtarchiv Dresden, Saxony, Germany.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Elias Kolovos and John Christos Alexander, *The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, the Greek Lands: Toward a Social and Economic History*. Studies in Honor of John C. Alexander. 1.st ed. (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2007).

¹⁸³ Ibid.

aforementioned territories to ports in Trieste where the goods were either transported by land to inland Germany or by water to Hamburg and Bremen and later to Dresden. Thus, it becomes important to mention that the company's name originates from the city whose tobacco it processed and that Zietz marketed the product not as a "Turkish" or "Ottoman" product, but instead as an "Oriental" one.

The processing of tobacco was continued at the factory where the tobacco leaves were taken from the bales and disassembled. After close inspection of the color of leaves and assessing the tobacco's duration and "vintage" periods, the tobacco leaves (approximately 7-30 cm long) were then subjected to a lengthy treatment process. The first step began with the threading of the individual tobacco leaves as a preparation step in drying the tobacco. This was followed by a fermentation of tobacco which usually took months. After the tobaccos had been dried and fermented, the blending process occurred. Subsequent to the tobaccos being loosened, the mixing process would blend 25-30 different types of tobacco which would be cut by special knives. The factory also produced tobacco leaves for personal rolling of cigars and cigarettes. With regards to the production of cigarettes, the rolling of inexpensive cigarettes was usually done by machine which produced 200,000 cigarettes per machine. More expensive and sophisticated cigarettes were rolled by hand and was often done by workers who would produce 1,500 to 2,000 cigarettes a day. The main sale of the cigarettes was often domestic, but relationships to different countries had been established where the company had carried large deliveries to Africa and Asia.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ Pamphlet document: "Werbematerial der Orientalischen Tabak und Cigarettenfabrik Yenidze."

The company's manufacturing of paperware for its packaging, marketing, and advertisements of its products also took place in the factory. The factory's "advertisement floor" was equipped with many special paper processing machines which embossed paper with ornaments of multi-colored reliefs. The department produced a number of different posters of various sizes and mediums, boxes, and vignettes for its product. Aside from the factory's special and architectural element as a deliberate use of advertising and branding, the factory's paperware also played a significant role in the commodification and illustration of its 'oriental' tobacco. Memorabilia at the Stadtmuseum in Dresden reveals Yenidze's manner in commercializing its product to a wider audience. Depictions of 'oriental' barren landscapes with palm trees and camels are portrayed on tin boxes marketing the Yenidze Tobacco and Cigarette Factory (Figure 3.3). Vignettes consisting of images of women in 'oriental' garb becomes a suggestive advertisement of the "Oriental" tobacco (Figure 3.4). Other images depict the factory in a luminous and colorful setting (Figure 3.5). Therefore, Yenidze's entire commodification of its "Oriental" tobacco is not only utilized through an articulation of its architecture, but also through its decisive use and implementation of images of the "Orient."

In sifting through archival evidences, it becomes important to point out that the building promoted itself in the factory's building design which provided its workers with "up to date hygienic facilities" and social care.¹⁸⁵ These facilities included large spaces with natural light for work, clean air circulation brought by the building's extensive number of windows, wash-rooms with equipped showers and linoleum floors ("the hygienically perfect floor covering"), "dust removal systems," a laundry room, multiple cloak rooms, and a cafeteria.¹⁸⁶ The leaflets also

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

mention that the factory also provided excellent “social care” for its workers by stating each worker received health care and monetary bonuses for each employee during the holiday season. This evidence is important to point out in terms of thinking of the factory’s identity as it embraced an industrialized reception through the constructing of hygienic and socially prestigious personalities. The fact that the factory promoted its hygienic identity is somewhat common as Dresden was very conscious of its own hygienic identity during the early 20th century.¹⁸⁷

Another document found at the Stadtarchiv is important to point out as it addresses the way the company regarded itself as a “war economy enterprise.”¹⁸⁸ The letter is dated September 29, 1917 signed by Hugo Zietz stating the certification of a worker. The letter continues forth by saying: “Our company is regarded as a war economy enterprise and is involved—to an outstanding extent—in military deliveries.”¹⁸⁹ Although it is very common for tobacco factories to support military troops with tobacco, especially during World War I, the letter alludes to how the factory saw itself and its overall role in the First World War. What’s extremely interesting about this factory and company, under the ownership of Hugo Zietz, is that the beginning of this factory and its fruition from the 19th century into the 20th century expresses itself not only expressing the “Orient” as a place of enjoyment, color, exotic, sensual, or fantastical, but really embodies a particular identity as an imperial economic model. This factory which utilized itself

¹⁸⁷ The Dresden Museum of Hygiene founded in 1912. These leaflets were also published in 1911-12, interestingly common for attempting to establish an idea as such.

¹⁸⁸ Typescript document: “Prüfung von Belegschaftslisten der Orientalischen Tabak und Cigarettenfabrik Yenidze”, 1917-18, Archive No: 11349- Kriegsamtstele Dresden, Stadtarchiv Dresden, Saxony, Germany.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

saw itself as an enterprise derived from the economy of war. Therefore, the factory's representation of the "Orient" becomes far more serious than playful and innocent one.

The legacy of Yenidze lasted for 15 years until 1924 when Zietz sold the building to Reemtsma Cigarette Empire amounting to 4 million dollars, three years before his death in 1927.¹⁹⁰ During World War II, about one third of Yenidze was destroyed.¹⁹¹ The south wing of the factory was hit by a bomb due to the extensive airstrikes on Dresden in 1945 which left the dome of the factory in almost a complete ruin (Figure 3.6). Due to an emergency protection measure, the demolished wing of the building was knocked down and partially reconstructed. In 1947, the factory began its reconstruction process and housed raw tobacco for the processing of cigarettes again. Though after the second World War, the tobacco industry in Germany forever changed after the US passed the Marshall Plan in 1947 which comprehensively changed a preference favoring American blend cigarettes over other European blends.¹⁹²

In 1953, the building was again reutilized into a tobacco office for VEB Tabakkontor under the German Democratic Republic until 1989 (Figures 3.7). After the German reunification in 1990, the Yenidze was managed by a trust and eventually sold to a rest estate fund in 1991 which initiated the restoration process according to the requirements of "protected heritage" (Figure 3.8).¹⁹³ As part of the restoration process, the south wing was refurbished based on the original design which mimicked its original construction and decorative program under Martin Hammitzsch.¹⁹⁴ Precisely 860 square meters of glass was processed for the renovation of the

¹⁹⁰ *Estate of Zietz v. Comm'r of Internal Revenue*, 34 T.C. 351 (U.S.T.C. 1960).

¹⁹¹ Typescript document, 1913, N/A Stadtarchiv Dresden, Saxony, Germany.

¹⁹² Sarah Milov, "Smoking as a Statecraft: Promoting American Tobacco Production and Global Cigarette Consumption, 1947-1970." In *Journal of Policy History*, 28 vol. 4 (2016): 707-735.

¹⁹³ Typescript document, 1913, N/A Stadtarchiv Dresden, Saxony, Germany.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

glazed dome which was also remodeled according to the original design. In 1997, the Yenidze reopened as an office facility and now provides itself as an office location to numerous businesses (Figure 3.8). The multi-colored glass dome houses a restaurant and leads to a viewing deck of the city.

Visual Analysis of the Yenidze’s Formal and Decorative Elements

Beginning with the floor plan of the factory, the shape takes a rectilinear form. The building has five stories including its ground floor and terrace. The factory is noted to have been one of the most advanced industrial factories of its time as it utilized a ferroconcrete frame construction method in its building technology. For this purpose, the skeleton of the building was put together using individual elements as cover panels, supports, and foundations which are employed to support the overall structure. Subsequently, the raw skeleton was gradually disguised with a façade. The veneer of which is made with artificially colored granite and concrete. The factory’s exterior is said to have been inspired by tomb architecture in Cairo which also incorporate Art Nouveau elements in its design program.¹⁹⁵ This can be seen in its 17-meter high glass poly-chromatic dome and other decorative elements such as mosaic panel inlays for its portals. The dome is surrounded by “minaret” towers, which rise from its central building.

The building’s 600 windows take different shapes and forms from one another: flat arches make up the form of the second floor’s window’s, flat-sided triangular arches on the third floor, followed by a rounded elongated trefoil arches, and lastly a rounded horseshoe arches on the fifth floor. From this postcard, one can suspect the ways in which the building aimed to

¹⁹⁵ Pamphlet document: “Werbematerial der Orientalischen Tabak und Cigarettenfabrik Yenidze.”

display itself through its use of a poly-chromatic program. The building's façade was decorated with a dual striped program of pink and white and used other colors such as greens, blues, and reds to embellish the dome and roof of the factory. This postcard is extremely telling as it showcases an intention on account of how the tobacco factory imagined the "Orient" into a fantastical and colorful imaginary.

With regards to the interior of the original tobacco factory, archival records allude to the factory's departmental placements on each of its floors. Upon entering from the Weißeritzstraße entrance, the visitor would be first greeted by the reception hall where the main office was located, and which one could enter the registration room. An iron spiral staircase from the main office would lead to the factory's archives which were located just one floor above. The main office was also connected to the private offices of Zietz which included conference rooms for the authorized signatory. The machine control center was completely separate from the factory building and was housed in another building apart from the factory grounds. The lower floors of the factory usually stored the tobacco. Often, this is where the fermentation and drying methods took place. It has been noted that the factory had eight elevators which served to facilitate and accelerate the movement of people and goods, two of which would lead to the dining hall which was located on the sixth floor.

The tobacco cutting machines were located in a hall connected to the processing rooms which could be accessed by an elevator. The "cutting room" was walled with cork which was meant to provide insulation for its workers. The basement contained the "collection rooms" where paper waste was packed into stacks and brought directly out to a platform to be collected. The ground floor also had a room where tobacco was loosened and mixed as well as another room for the officials of the Customs Department to attend in controlling tax of the warehouse

and cigarettes. The main portion of the first floor was occupied by the rooms for packaging cigarettes. At long tables, the various small and large cardboard boxes and tin packaging were provided to be counted and filled. The finished products were located in the adjoining room which finalized the product's labeling and banding. These are noted to be the "expedition rooms" prepared the product for either rail or mail deliveries.

The factory's "cigarette production" was located on the second floor which housed large halls each for 400 workers. The handmade cigarettes were often made here. The third floor was set up in the same way as the second also for the production of handcrafted cigarettes. Production for the cigarettes continued onto the fourth floor where the tube and tamping machines for the products were located. These machines were used for the machine-made, or "cheaply made", cigarettes. The other half of the fourth floor was taken up by cardboard manufacturing and the factory's advertisement department. The fifth floor of the building housed the factory's dining hall and other worker facilities. As mentioned before, the factory truly prized itself for providing its workers the utmost hygienic and social facilities not only monetarily but also architecturally from its washrooms, showers, laundry rooms, dining hall and lounges.

Before beginning with an in-depth visual analysis of the building's exterior, it is important to re-emphasize that the building was built many times after its destruction in 1945. Since the factory's reconstruction program in 1991 implemented M. Hammitzsch's original design for its architectural rebuilding, this visual analysis will rely heavily on the factory's current status of the factory as it stands today. Shifting back to the factory's exterior, it is interesting to see the ways in which the dome was portrayed and what form it employed. The dome takes an ogival shape and is placed on a high drum. The original lettering of "Yenidze Cigarettenfabrik" in white letters is removed and replaced with only "Yenidze" which repeated

around the dome's drum. Below the base of the drum lettered a sign in its 1909 construction: "Inh. Hugo Zietz" which no longer stands and is not replicated in the building's new construction. The dome applies multi-colored glass which evokes a luminescent quality due its use of glass which permeates a translucency which allows light and color to filter in and out (if lighted internally) upon the factory's overall industrial building design.

Beneath the base of the dome's lettering of "Yenidze", rounded arch windows circumambulate the drum. This is similar to the Mamluk mosque and tomb complex of Khair Bak which also applies arched "windows."¹⁹⁶ The structure which bears the weight of the dome are similar to inverted muqarnas which have three elongated rounded-arch windows. The sides of the buildings continue their elongated window pattern and are additionally topped with three circular windows. The dome's overall decorative program relies heavily on an Art Nouveau stylistic tradition in terms of the dome's decoration. Continuing the trajectory of moving from the base of the dome towards the top, the glass structure of the dome has three thin green borders on a gold background. Each of these borders hold red medallions which alternate with small green gem-like squares. Above these three bands of alternating gem-like embellishments, is a vertically elongated and interlaced blue design which continues its patterning to its pointed top, gradually become smaller and more condensed. The ogival dome is topped with a gold crown.

Andrea Lerner has suggested that the dome takes its shape similarly to Khair Bak's complex through its dome construction and overall floorplan.¹⁹⁷ Lerner compares not only the formal elements of the complex's dome to the factory's own shape, but also suggests that the

¹⁹⁶ Andrea Lerner, "Von Kairo nach Dresden: Zu den islamischen Vorbildern der Tabak-und Cigarettenfabrik Yenidze," In *The Myth of the Orient: Architecture and Ornament in the Age of Orientalism*. Ed. Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga. Peter Lang, 2016, 114.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 113.

factory borrowed much of its façade from the Khair Bak complex.¹⁹⁸ Although formally similar, I don't necessarily believe that the dome, or the entire factory, nonetheless, employs a *specific* shape or model in its overall formal design program. Rather, I believe that the dome borrows heavily from a generalized understanding of the "tombs of Cairo."¹⁹⁹ I also think that the architecture of the factory is less concerned with extrapolating from an authentic or genuine iteration of a "Mamluk" model, but instead synthesizes elements from a generalized "Islamic" or "Oriental" stylistic tradition which iterates itself as an amalgam.

During the Yenidze's reconstruction program in 1992, the roof of the building was rebuilt to its original and intentional lime green covering. The factory's balustrade repeats an upside-down vegetal design or a triangular pattern which is placed along the lining of the roof (see image). The factory has a total of nine towers, or in its case, "minarets." Six of the towers take a pencil-like shape which are elongated, slender, and pointed at the top. For each of these minarets, the tops of them are embellished with moon crescents. Two of these minarets match in exact form, but also incorporate a "stacking" method which subdivides the minaret in two. This "stacking" style is also directly applied to the factory's largest minaret. Starting from its base, as the tower continues gradually grows in length it decreases in its width. There are three platforms which subdivide the minaret to indicate the next column's smaller width which varies from the previously mentioned pencil-minarets. As its own embellishment, the chimney minaret is topped with a tear-shaped wire structure. There are no particular functions for these towers mentioned, except the largest one which is cleverly disguised as a chimney. The other minarets were solely built for decorative purposes.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 113-115.

¹⁹⁹ Pamphlet document: "Werbematerial der Orientalischen Tabak und Cigarettenfabrik Yenidze."

The minarets are interesting aspects to investigate for the fact that they incorporate formal elements derived from not one Islamic dynasty, but from multiple. For example, the minarets which take an elongated pencil-like form are often indicative of Ottoman architecture.²⁰⁰ The “stacked” minarets which decrease by width as they increase in length are most common in Mamluk architecture.²⁰¹ But as we’ve seen in the previous chapters, there is no consistent knowledge or basis which comes out of the 19th century to indicate borrowing elements of “Mamluk” architecture or “Ottoman” architecture. Instead, the factory reiterates the same knowledge of a stylistic “Orient” or “Islamic” which has been recirculated in Prussian architectural examples with the use of European pattern books and building manuals. The stylistic tradition of “Oriental” remains intact and is further continued as an ahistorical and synthesized iteration which normalizes its amalgamative qualities in its reception.

Interestingly, this factory’s plan in which utilizes each of Ottoman and Mamluk architectural forms is reminiscent of Pascal-Xavier Coste’s sketches for Mehmet Ali Pasha in his mosque plans for the Citadel of Cairo and Alexandria in 1825-27. As mentioned in the previous chapters, Pascal-Xavier Coste’s intention in articulating these plans was heavily dependent on a modernization project spearheaded by Mehmet Ali Pasha which aimed to utilize and embody a Mamluk revival in its own building program.²⁰² Pascal-Xavier Coste’s illustrations, building

²⁰⁰ Gülru Necipoğlu, “Religion and State: Ottoman Socio-Religious Architecture,” (HAA 124E, Architectural Icons and Landscapes of Early Modern Islamic Empires: Between Transregional and Local, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, October 17, 2019).

²⁰¹ Doris Behrens-Abouseif. *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction*. Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture; v. 3. Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1989. See also, her publication *Cairo of the Mamluks: A History of the Architecture and Its Culture*. London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007.

²⁰² Nasser Rabbat, “Architecture,” *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Arab Culture*, ed. Dwight F. Reynolds, 2015: 209–223.

plans, and other textual evidences were then opted to harness ideas of nationalism, a nostalgia for a dynastic identity, and modernization. Although it is uncertain if Hammitzsch had access to Pascal-Xavier Coste's plans, especially the plans commissioned by Mehmet Ali Pasha, the occurrence of these minarets within this context is different as it exists within Saxony. As we have seen with the factory's dome, I don't believe there to be an authentic and genuine observation in the interest of copying a "Mamluk" detail. It seems as though Hammitzsch was much more concerned with representing the "Orient" rather than *how* to go about representing the "Orient." In turn, this becomes another feature of the ways in which the factory was unconcerned with representing another *genuine* or *authentic* Islamic dynastic style, but rather prioritized a previous syncretization as a utilized tool in the forefront of its project.

Another curious element of the factory building's exterior are its entrance portals which are located on the building's south façade facing Marienbrücke Straße (which faces the railway tracks making this side the most predominantly viewed side of the factory.) The portals occur twice, each time on the south façade's opposite ends. Interestingly, these portals were never used as the factory's "main" entrance. The main entrance of the building was located on the building's north façade which runs parallel to Weißeritzstrasse which would lead into the factory's main office. The west façade, to my knowledge, was used for the exportation of tobacco. Today, guests or visitors of the building are rerouted to the east side which includes a separate and smaller entrance to a hallway which would lead directly to the fifth floor to the dome's restaurant. The north façade utilized the original entrance to access the building's office spaces

These portals which are about 4 meters high take the shape of a flat arch and are not exactly replicated from one another. The first portal on the left side of the building consists of a flat arch and within it an ogee four-centered arch. The second portal to the right side of the

building is more intricately decorated (Figure 3.9). Its border is surfaced with a green tile mosaic with floral embellishments made of stone which are repeated both horizontally and vertically around the portals first flat arch. The interior of the border is followed by a horseshoe arch painted in pink and white vertical stripes and is medallioned in its middle with a round polychrome window. The window is decorated with an eight-pointed star shape (which is cut off at the bottom) and is colored with green, blue, red, and yellow glass. The corners of the horseshoe arch are filled with mosaics of vegetal designs and intricate gold details. The bottom of the horseshoe arch is followed by an internal flat arch which again continues the same corner mosaics which are elaborated in blues, greens, and reds. The mosaic inlays interweave vegetal and arabesque motifs with checkered patterning around its borders (Figure 3.10). The last portion before its doorway entrance are stone structure honeycombs that hang directly overhead. These structures which are reminiscent of *muqarnas* contain different vegetal ornaments in each of its niches or vaults. The design changes as each row begins.

The portals become another way in which the factory showcases itself in representing the “Orient” as a singular, ahistorical, crystalized, and amalgamated impression which is articulated in the 19th century and reiterated into the 20th century. The mosaic inlays depicted on the interiors of the tile work is a perfect example of how the ornamentation of the Yenidze aims to implement notions of “Arabian” architecture into its own design and decorative program. The tile works which depict interlacing and interweaving “arabesques” and vegetal designs include a touch of art nouveau elements with its utilization of colored tile. Therefore, these design features become hybrids as they synthesize representation which utilizes previous architectural and textual references of the “Orient.”

The portals which also employ a horseshoe arch with pink and white vertical striped patterning is reminiscent of Umayyad architecture with its predominant example being appropriated from the Great Mosque of Cordoba in the South of Spain. This exact reuse can be seen in the interior of the Pumphouse in Potsdam (1843) which utilized this same decoration for its design of the steam engine. The redistribution of this particular idea which utilizes “Moorish” elements with “Arabian” elements is a direct correlation of the ways in which the “Orient”, within the German context, was always a place for amalgamation and synthesis. An intellectual tradition which came forth from the 19th century is replicated well into the beginning of the 20th century which rearticulates the same ahistorical and amalgamated ideas which ultimately prove it to be a discursive tradition.

The last decorative element which deserves final mention is the tobacco factory’s implementation of *ablaq* or “striped masonry” on its building façade. The horizontal pink and white stripes are painted over plastered granite and concrete building structures which reserve the building’s concrete skeletal structure. The “*ablaq*” is not implemented on the entirety of the building’s façade, instead it occurs only on the first and second floors of the building. As the building continues upward, the striped masonry is minimized to being depicted only on the corners of its building. Continuing an upward progression, the building’s windows implement a solid pink banding which highlights the differentiated arch shaped windows. The minarets are the only structures which consistently continue a painted striped feature on the entirety of its structure, except for the very top. Interestingly, this feature again adds to the building’s polychromatic and colorful quality.

The building rearticulates and reemphasizes a usage of striped masonry onto its architecture which seems to be borrowed from other Prussian architectural examples which we

have seen in the previous chapter, especially in Berlin's Neue Synagoge as well as Potsdam's Pumphouse, both which employ a "striped masonry" on their façades. This mimetic representation which borrows heavily from Mamluk architecture interestingly showcases what seems to be a defining element of "Oriental" or "Islamic" architecture. Therefore, the factory building becomes an immediate carrier of preconceived notions of "Oriental" or Islamic ornamentation from the middle of the 19th century into the 20th century. In seeing this factory continue its legacy in re-appropriating previous Islamic ornamental examples within its own specific Saxonian context, the building establishes Islamic ornamentation as an intellectual tradition as a self-referential and discursive tradition which perpetuates a similar historicity.

To conclude, it is interesting to see the ways in which the Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory emerged from the tail end of the 19th century and into the beginning of the 20th century as a processor of "Oriental" tobacco. The company which showcased a particular identity as an advertising agent of its tobacco is problematized through its decisive use and implementation of particular architectural ornamentations which borrow heavily from different aspects of an Islamic architectural history. The building, which clearly does not consider the "Orient" to be a multi-valent structure presupposes the same crystalized, stationary, and ahistorical narrative onto the "Orient" by representing its "various" aspects into one unifying architectural form. The architecture of the building embodies a usage which has been previously established within its same German context and is further reiterated which ultimately takes part in continuing a self-referential and ultimately discursive tradition.

Although, one may assume the building's innocence in representing the "Orient" as a colorful, exotic, imaginative, and alluring place; it is important to think back critically of the company's history as one of the biggest processors and "producers" of "Oriental" tobacco and

cigarettes during the early 20th century. Archival evidence suggests the ways in which the tobacco factory's geo-political and geo-agricultural associations heavily mediated upon the factory's sourcing of raw tobacco, how the tobacco was meant to be used as a product of "hygiene", and lastly how the factory saw itself as a "war economy enterprise." Therefore, the Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory acts as an important vehicle as it re-articulates a discursive ornamental building tradition which comes forth from the 19th century, but also as a representative model of an imperial market economy as it is placed within its own historicity and geographic setting.

Chapter IV:
Cross-Textual Analysis and Concluding Remarks on the
Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory

Through the chapters, we have seen an architectural relationship unfold between Germany and the “Orient” through the former’s usage of Islamic ornamentation as a stylistic trend for building design. The re-use and appropriation of these elements depended largely on the dissemination and production of a textual lineage including pattern books and building manuals brought forth within the 19th century by French and British architects and designers. Architectural examples in Prussia and Bavaria became models which extrapolated elemental features from these books and further presented a display of these representations in their own design programs. The Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory, through its architecture, perpetuated and continued forth a self-referential ornamental discourse as the factory reused similar key elements brought forth by the aforementioned textual and architectural examples.

The aim of this chapter is to provide a cross-textual analysis between the Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory and its usage of 19th century pattern books and building manuals within its advertisement and branding programs, but also within the factory’s formal architectural elements. This cross examination will also implement and include previously mentioned Prussian architectural examples which sustain an “oriental” style in Germany through the 19th century well into the beginning of the 20th century. Following this section, the factory will be placed within its own geo-agricultural and geo-political identifications. This relates to the ways in which the factory not only saw itself as a model of modernization, mechanization, and reproducibility, but also within its several related microcosms such as the factory’s

implementation of advanced building technologies, its assertion and interest of producing and sustaining a hygienic identity, and more generally as a producer and processor of “Oriental” tobaccos. The final section will reflect upon the ways in which the factory’s architecture serves as a continuer of self-referential discursive tradition of an invented Islamic ornamentation with aims to reiterate an “Oriental” image-identity.

Cross-Textual Analysis

The illustrated textual manuals produced by Pascal-Xavier Coste, Owen Jones, Émile Prisse d’Avennes, and Jules Bourgoïn gathered, shaped, and structured an “Islamic” or “oriental” ornamentation which served as tools in transferring and circulating a stylistic trend for art and architecture across Europe during the 19th century. The mobility and portability of these pattern books can be seen as a platform which educated a generation of European architects and designers and which also served as instruments for extrapolation for the re-use of Islamic decorative features. Interestingly, we have seen these texts utilized as tools in the construction of “oriental” architecture in Prussia. For example, chapter two mentions the employment of Pascal-Xavier Coste’s publication, *Architecture arabe: ou Monuments du Kaire, mesurés et dessinés, de 1818 à 1826*, and how it was referenced and utilized in the construction of Ludwig von Persius’ Dampfmashinenhaus in Potsdam.²⁰³ We can also interpret the influences of Owen Jones and Jules Goury on Prussian architect, Carl von Diebitsch, in his use of a “Moorish” style.²⁰⁴

²⁰³ Christian Hedrick, “Modernism with Style: History, Culture, and the Origins of Modern Architecture in Berlin, 1780-1870,” 121.

²⁰⁴ Elke Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz, “A Proposal by the Architect Carl von Diebitsch (1819-1869): Mudejar Architecture for a Global Civilization.” In *L’orientalisme architectural entre imaginaires et saviors*, (2009).

The production and dissemination of these illustrated pattern books and building manuals allowed European architects and designers to utilize “oriental” or “Islamic” architectural style without having to visit the “Orient” per se. Although it is assumed that the founder of the Yenidze Tobacco company, Hugo Zietz, has visited the “Orient” where he sourced his raw tobacco it remains unclear if his architect, Martin Hammitzsch, ever visited the place he comes to represent through the factory’s architecture. I believe that the building manuals and pattern books became important devices in the articulation of the factory’s architecture as well as its branding program which seem to borrow heavily from this particular textual tradition. In my research, I’ve found that the Sächsische Landesbibliothek- Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (Saxon State and Dresden University Library) and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Berlin State Library) have copies of these pattern books and building manuals by each of the aforementioned architects and designers. Therefore, I believe that a cross textual analysis between the building of the Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory and the presence of these textual evidences becomes useful in understanding how an “Oriental” ornament was conceived in the 19th century and utilized and continued forth well into the 20th century.

In referencing back to the tobacco factory’s formal and decorative elements, it becomes evident that these textual materials were heavily referenced and reused. Perhaps the most eye-catching feature of the tobacco factory is its striped façade. Painted in alternating pink and white stripes on the building’s granite exterior, the building mimics what seems to be an indicative feature of “oriental” architecture: *ablaq* or striped masonry. This is certainly not the first instance of “striped masonry” emulated within the German context as it has also been found on the façade of Ludwig von Persius’ Dampfmaschinenhaus in Potsdam as well as the façade of the Neue Synagoge in Berlin. What becomes interesting is the transmission of knowledge which begins to

generate an association between striped masonry and the “Orient.” As I have understood the occurrence of *ablaq*, there seems to be a general intellectual interest during the late 19th century which attempts to connect between both architecture of the East and West and between “Saracenic” architecture and “Gothic” or “Romanesque” architecture.²⁰⁵ This connection which becomes somewhat popularized within the lens of the 19th century concurrently solidifies a background for the ways in which “oriental” architecture was beginning to be perceived, understood, categorized, and further represented in terms of elemental and stylistic features.

I believe this striped masonry quality, therefore, comes from an extension of 19th century building manuals which emphasize *ablaq* as a classified ornamental quality indicative of an “Arab” architecture. Coste’s 1837 aforementioned publication, *Architecture arabe: ou Monuments du Kaire, mesurés et dessinés, de 1818 à 1826*, serves as an important example which illustrates and emphasizes the striped program as a stylistic feature of Cairene architecture (Figures 4.1) The other publication which goes through in *essentializing* this quality through illustration is Émile Prisse d’Avennes’ manual published in 1877, *L’art arabe d’après les monuments du Kaire: depuis le VIIe siècle jusq’à la fin du XIIIe* (Figure 4.2)

With both of these manuals at the Saxon State Library as well as the Berlin State Library, I believe it is possible that Hammitzsch consulted these texts as reference points in constructing the architecture for the Yenidze Tobacco Factory. As mentioned in chapter one, Pascal-Xavier Coste and Émile Prisse d’Avennes had similar intentions in attempting to clarify and articulate an “essence” or “*genie*” of “Arab” or “Cairene” architecture. If Hammitzsch is indeed consulting

²⁰⁵ I believe idea becomes popularized with the writings of J.P Girault de Prangey. See also the mention of Schinkel who wishes to establish a greater connectivity between “Saracenic” architecture to Gothic architecture. See also, Banister Fletcher’s “Tree of Architecture” diagram from 1901.

these textual references in the construction of the tobacco factory, the texts re-emphasize the ways in which their usage was dependent upon their attempt towards grasping knowledge of the quintessential *essence* of an “oriental” architecture.

The factory’s application of its dome and other domical structures also become key focal points which I believe further highlight Hammitzsch’s review of Coste and Prisse d’Avennes building manuals. The inverted *muqarnas* which support the weight of the dome, the three elongated rounded-arch windows which are topped with three circular windows in a triangular arrangement, the band of short-rounded arch apertures which circumambulate the drum of the dome, and the shape of the ogival dome all seem to borrow from the aforementioned texts. Prisse d’Avennes’ illustrations of “Mosquée S pulcrale de Qaytbay,” “Dome et Minaret de la Mosqu e de Khairbekyeh,” and “Tombeau du Sulttan Tarabey” illustrate each of these domical elements which I believe are further utilized onto the tobacco factory’s architecture (Figures 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5). These architectural elements therefore showcase Hammitzsch’s borrowing, copying, and appropriation of “Arab” or “Cairene” architectural elements in his own building design for the Yenidze tobacco company.

Another architectural feature I believe Hammitzsch reutilizes in his “tobacco mosque” are the “minaret” towers. The factory has a total of nine towers, eight of which are pencil-like (elongated and slender with pointed tops.) The ninth minaret is a four-stacked tower which also serves as the factory’s chimney. I believe the implementation of these “minaret” towers are interesting qualities which shed light on the probability of Hammitzsch’s consultation of Ottoman architectural features. As noted in the previous chapter, the slender and pointed top minarets (oftentimes, multiple applications to a single structure) are said to be indicative of Ottoman architecture and the heavy-stacked minaret (single application to a single structure) is

often seen in Mamluk architectural programs. I believe the popularization of an Ottoman minaret style might have been mobilized by the illustrated publications by Leon Parvillée and Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-duc.²⁰⁶ Interestingly, this particular minaret style occurs within the context of Kosovo, Bosnia and other examples of German mosques.²⁰⁷

What I think becomes pertinent to point out is Hammitzsch's application of two different types of minarets in his architectural program. I don't necessarily believe the architect had the intention of extracting "Mamluk" or "Ottoman" architectural elements in the formulation of the tobacco factory's architecture. In fact, I don't think this distinction between the two was even important for the architect. Instead, I remain convinced that Hammitzsch was most concerned with effectively extracting and communicating a style through the essentializing elements of "oriental" architecture. This sheds light on the ways in which the factory had no intention in representing an *authentic* model of a dynastic style or even a revivalist style, but rather was largely interested in constructing a *mosque* architecture as a means of establishing a generalized and standardized understanding of an "oriental" architecture. Interestingly, this intentionality which reflects a generalized model of "oriental" architecture also sheds light on the factory's disinterest in articulating a "Turkish" or "Egyptian" blend of tobacco, but instead a standard "Oriental" one.

²⁰⁶ Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 97-100. Çelik points out that the historiography of Ottoman architecture and the interest in articulating an Ottoman national style at the 1867 World's Fair Exhibition. She also points out a particular issue, *Gazette des architectes et du bâtiment*, (Paris, 1867) which Leon Parvillée has illustrated Ottoman mosque types. I don't know how accessible this publication might have been, but it is probable that the dissemination of the illustrations of Ottoman architecture formulated an interest in this stylistic trend.

²⁰⁷ One example which was built a little bit later than the tobacco factory was the Wünsdorf Mosque built in Berlin around 1915.

The factory's portals become another key feature which highlight the reuse of textual evidences in articulating a generalized, and ultimately synthetized, "oriental" architecture. The formal qualities of these two portals include a flat-arch design and a smaller horseshoe arch fitted within it painted with horizontal pink and white stripes. These arches are reminiscent of an elemental feature associated with Umayyad architecture. The Great Mosque of Cordoba in the south of Spain employs the same internal horseshoe arch with alternating striped banding with an exterior flat-arch as its frame in the mosque's construction of its *mihrab*. Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (1804-92) becomes a figure worth mentioning as his 1841 illustrated publication, *Essai Sur L'architecture des Arabes et des Mores, En Espagne, En Sicile, Et En Barbarie*, highlights these key elements in his illustrations of the Great Mosque of Cordoba (Figures 4.6 and 4.7). The publication which illustrates "Arab" and "Moorish" monuments in Spain and Sicily also become an interesting factor which weighs in on the construction of the *essential* qualities of "oriental" architecture. The Berlin State Library which holds a copy of this building manual which leads me to suspect that Hammitzsch perhaps used this text as a resource for his construction of the tobacco factory's portals.²⁰⁸

The mosaic panels and medallioned exterior border of the portals also seem to borrow heavily from a textual tradition of pattern books and building manuals. Starting with the exterior and moving inwards, the medallioned eight-pointed embellishments with a background of green tile inlay look like reminiscent constructs of ornaments articulated in Jules Bourgoïn's 1873 publication, *Les Arts arabes: architecture--menuiserie--bronzes--plafonds--revêtements--marbres--pavements--vitraux--etc. Avec Une Table Descriptive Et Explicative, Et Le Trait*

²⁰⁸ Although the Berlin State Library has faced notorious devastation during world war ii. I still think the fact that the library has a copy of this manual to prove the popularity of this text.

Général De L'art Arabe (Figure 4.8).²⁰⁹ Beneath the striped horseshoe arch is a second flat-arch which emphasizes the building's door and is adorned with elaborate and colorful tileworks which depict interlacing and interweaving "arabesques" and vegetal designs. These inlay mosaic pieces seem to reiterate the same ornamental quality Owen Jones also depicts in his own publication in his section of "Moresque Ornament" (Figure 4.9). The factory's embellished panels, which iterate uses of Islamic ornamentation, also establish a synthetic quality as it incorporates features of Art Nouveau elements such as the foiled and colored tilework. This further alludes to the factory's overall interest in amalgamation and synthezation through its application of such decorative features.

The last formal element I would like to suggest which implies a borrowing from the aforementioned textual references can be equated with the embellished rail border which lines the perimeter of the factory's lime green roof. The decorative feature takes a stair step crenellation program: a triangular shape in its center with smaller tripartite forms around it. The repeated program appears both at the top and bottom half of the roof. In terms of how the ornamental feature occurs in texts, this element appears first in Owen Jones' *The Grammar of Ornament* in his section on "Arabian Ornament" (Figure 4.10). Jones illustration of the stair step crenellation design provides a more detailed and intricate version rather than the simplified version which is applied and chosen to the factory's façade. Another publication which highlights this architectural feature is Jules Bourgoïn's 1873 publication, *Les Arts arabes*:

²⁰⁹ It has been noted that a more accurate formal comparison might be found in the 1873 Vienna exhibition publication, *Usul-i Mimar-i Osmani-L'Architecture Ottomane- Die Ottomanische Baukunst*, a tri-lingual publication in French, German, and Turkish on Ottoman architecture and ornament. See also Gülru Necipoğlu's article, "Creation of a National Genius: Sinan and the Historiography of 'Classical' Ottoman Architecture," In *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 141-83.

*architecture--menuiserie--bronzes--plafonds--revêtements--marbres--pavements--vitraux--etc. Avec Une Table Descriptive Et Explicative, Et Le Trait Général De L'art Arabe.*²¹⁰ Bourgoïn's illustrations of "Mosque d'el-Ghoury" emphasize the site's use of this stair step crenellation which occurs in a simplified manner compared to Jones' (Figure 4.11). I believe that the fact this architectural element is repeated in both texts alludes to how this feature becomes translated as a part of an *essence* of "Arab" architecture. In the case of the "tobacco mosque", Hammitzsch must have interpreted this feature as another important marker of "oriental" architecture.

The factory's architecture isn't the only program which relies heavily on the pattern books and building manuals in the construction of an "Oriental" image, this relationship can also be seen in the company's branding and advertising program. In constructing and maintaining a company identity, I believe that the factory focused a rendering centered upon preexisting understandings of what the "Orient" was within its own contemporary lens. This construction which depended on a common and popularized body of literature, such as narrative, prose, and travelogues, aided in maintaining the company's image of the "Oriental."²¹¹ A culture of art, literature, music, and theater during the 19th century supposed a sexualization, exoticization, and idleness onto the "Orient" which I think is recollected and reutilized in the company's advertising program and overall image and identity (Figure 4.12).²¹² Although there are parallels between the aforementioned pattern books and building manuals within the company's advertising program (Figure 4.13) the factory taps into a larger body of preexisting associations of the "Orient" as a colorful, fantastical, and exotic place. The company's advertisement

²¹⁰ A copy of this manual was found at the Saxon State and Dresden University Library as well as the Berlin State Library.

²¹¹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, Vintage: 1979. See also, Said's *Culture and Imperialism*.

²¹² *Ibid.*

program, therefore, reiterates and reuses these pre-existing themes and motifs in representing an image of the “*Orient*.”

Therefore, when Andrea Lerner noted that the building takes the shape of Khair Bak’s mausoleum in Cairo, I tend to disagree.²¹³ Instead I believe that Hammitzsch was using building manuals of Coste, Jones, Prisse d’Avennes, Girault de Prangey, and Bourgoïn in assessing general elemental and stylistic features indicative of “Oriental” architecture. Thus, I further suspect that Hammitzsch’s primary motive did not center upon extracting *authentic* models of “Mamluk”, “Ottoman”, or “Moorish” architecture such as precise replications of mausoleum complexes and so forth, but instead the architect’s motive was dependent on amalgamating and synthesizing aspects of “Oriental” architecture into one unifying form. These texts, which were each held in both the Saxon State and Dresden University Library as well as the Berlin State Library, gesture towards Hammitzsch’s probable review and consultation of these building manuals and pattern books in the construction of his tobacco factory. Hence, the reuse of the 19th century textual evidences shed light on the ways in which an invented understanding of an Islamic or “oriental” ornament continued forth as a referential and discursive stylistic tradition well into the 20th century.

Micro and Macrocossms of the Yenidze Tobacco Factory

Placing the factory amongst its own geo-political and geo-agricultural associations becomes essential towards establishing and compartmentalizing the factory’s multiple identifications and self-imposed responsibilities. Burgeoning from the late 19th century, the

²¹³ “Von Kairo nach Dresden: Zu den islamischen Vorbildern der Tabak-und Cigarettenfabrik Yenidze,” In *The Myth of the Orient: Architecture and Ornament in the Age of Orientalism*, 2016, 113-114.

Yenidze Tobacco Factory becomes a locus where industrialized reproducibility, mechanization, and modernization intersect with one another. The company which saw itself as a prototype for implementing hygiene in its products and its spatial architecture, a war enterprise, and as a translation of an imperial economic model also becomes key features in understanding the role of the factory during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. By interpreting the ways in which these inputs and outputs shaped the company's responsibilities, one can critically understand its stance within its historical placement associated with the factory's formal representations alongside its imbued power-structures which seem to either continue or discontinue a similar trajectory over time.

In distinguishing itself amongst a competitive number of other tobacco companies in Saxony, the Yenidze Tobacco Factory's pursuit in setting itself apart was set in a multi-fold system with incentives to produce a broader identity associated with modernization. One of the key aspects of this initiative can be seen in the factory's architecture which employed a set of advanced building technologies in its construction. Archival evidence has pointed out that the factory took on the "most advanced" building technologies due to its utilization of a ferroconcrete frame construction. The concrete skeletal structure which compartmentalized individual building elements was used to add support to the factory's foundation and overall structure. Archival evidence promotes the factory's building technology as methods of modernization points out this technique had never been used in industrial architecture which makes the Yenidze Tobacco Factory the first to do so. The factory's architecture, therefore, becomes a key marker of how it promoted itself through its technological building advancements as a key method of a "modern" industrial building.

The implementation of machine technology as it relates to processing and producing tobacco products also sheds light on the factory's self-attunement as a "modern" company. The tobacco factory which implemented both old and new techniques in the production of its products ultimately showcases an interest geared towards industrialized reproducibility and mechanization all of which establish a larger connectivity to methods of modernization. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Zietz employed up to 1,500-2,000 workers who worked on a variety of different projects from preparing raw tobaccos for the fermentation stage, hand-rolling cigarettes, and packaging products. Zietz's factory also had a vast number of machines for printing packaging and advertising material as well as for rolling cigarettes (which were relatively low in cost compared to the hand-rolled cigarettes.) This goes on to allude to the ways in which the factory which implemented both machine labor as well as labor from its workers establishes a commitment towards innovation and originality by simultaneously maintaining an industrial reproducibility and mechanized identity.

The company's social care and hygienic facilities provided for its worker also denotes an interest in separating itself from un-ethical working environments and further establishing itself as a prized "modern" factory. As mentioned in the previous chapter, archival evidence has showed the ways the factory workers were treated and taken care of—almost as a direct comparison to other neighboring tobacco factories in the Saxonian region. By receiving health care and monetary bonuses during the holiday seasons, the company prized itself for providing "excellent social care" for its workers. The architecture of the factory also emulates a similar line of thought as it provided "up to date hygienic facilities" for its workers. The amenities which included large spaces with natural lighting, clean air circulation (by the factory's vast 600 windows), wash-rooms (equipped with showers and linoleum floors—"the hygienically perfect

floor covering”), “dust removal systems”, laundry rooms, cloak rooms, and cafeteria emblemize the health and hygiene precautions the company had in mind in building its factory. Therefore, the Yenidze Tobacco Factory became highly interested in showcasing itself as a product of the innovative and modern 20th century by promoting the ways in which the company treated its workers with fair compensation, health care, and providing hygienic facilities.

The prioritization of hygiene was not only embedded within the context of the factory’s workers’ facilities or other spatial references within its architecture. Hygiene, for the Yenidze company, becomes a monumental component in furthering the factory’s image and identity as a “modern” factory which is sustained and maintained throughout the beginning of the 20th century. As mentioned in chapter three, the company was committed towards marketing their tobacco and cigarettes as a hygienic product. The company promoted its own specially processed wrapping papers as “the most adequate in maintaining health” and “good oral hygiene.” Interestingly, the company’s tobacco products also claimed the smoke of the tobacco to disinfect the oral cavity which largely “prevents the development of pathogenic bacteria.” In promoting its product as an essential hygienic product, the company overall aimed to promote and claim a larger responsibility garnered towards public health.

I believe the Yenidze Tobacco Factory’s construction of a hygienic identity was largely motivated by Dresden’s own proximate relationship to hygiene in the early 20th century. In 1911, the city hosted the first International Hygiene Exhibition and in the following year the city opened the Deutsches Hygiene-Museum. Interestingly, the Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette factory participated in Dresden’s 1911 International Hygiene Exhibition where it used the platform to exhibit and promote its company identity associated with public health and hygiene (Figure 4.14). In promoting its *hygienic tobacco* and *cigarettes*, the factory was able to

establish itself as a truly innovative and “modern” company cognizant of current ideologies and modes of thinking. Therefore, factory’s locational placement within the city of Dresden adds a contemporaneous effect on the company’s construction and maintenance of a hygienic identity. In sustaining its image as a producer and processor of hygienic tobacco as a public health good, the factory willfully represented itself as a current and model version of a “modern” tobacco company.

Another key aspect which highlights the company’s program in establishing a “modern” identity can be viewed in the factory’s relations to World War I. In viewing the factory’s advertisement program, one can deduce an abbreviated relationship between the ways in which the company promoted its products within the setting of First World War (Figure 4.15). It becomes necessary to broaden this relationship in order to better grasp a more concise understanding of the company’s social, historical, and political landscape within its overall proximity to war. Archival evidence has suggested the ways in which the factory regarded itself to aid and benefit in the economies of war. In a letter signed by Hugo Zietz in 1917, the owner of the factory expressed an “outstanding” involvement in military deliveries and further amplified its interest and relationality to the contemporaneous First World War by claiming itself as a “war economy enterprise.” I’ve interpreted the company’s claim as a form of allegiance and overall support of World War I which further holds the company as a beneficiary of war economies. Therefore, in asserting itself as a “war economy enterprise” the company sheds light on the ways in which its own modernization program was heavily integrated and cautiously strategized around an attempt to connect to a broader model of power.

Finally, it is important to extrapolate the ways in which the Yenidze Tobacco Factory sought itself as a *producer* and *processor* of “Oriental” tobacco. As mentioned in the previous

chapter, the factory is noted to have sourced its raw tobacco from the subsequent Ottoman territories located along the Aegean Sea in the towns of Cavalla, Xanthi, and Yenidze. The raw tobacco was then shipped from these providences to ports and was further transported to inland Germany and to its final destination: Dresden. By sourcing and extracting raw tobacco from the “Orient” the factory which was later processed and produced into a final consumable product, I believe this sheds light on the company’s relationship to an overall imperial economic model.

Interestingly, Zietz had no intention of marketing his tobacco as “Turkish” or “Egyptian” products and ultimately avoided using such terminology (the opposite, as a matter of fact, from what other companies were doing in Europe.) Instead, the tobacco factory marketed its product as “Oriental tobacco.” Archival evidence has pointed out that the company completed some deliveries to Africa and Asia, but the its largest clientele was located predominantly in Europe. This sheds light on the ways in which the factory saw itself as a company committed towards a program of globalization. With Zietz’s intention of marketing his tobacco as an “Oriental” product, it seems as though the owner, in a way, universalizes his product by stripping it of its geo-locations or associated nationalisms. By avoiding these usages and terminologies, the company allows for a more *globalizing* and *universalizing* identification of its product and its brand. In all, this again sheds light on how the factory is ultimately imbued as an imperial economic model. In extraction of raw tobacco from the “Orient”, a generalized and non-geographic landscape, and producing and processing the good to a globalized market the factory becomes linked to a broader trajectory associated with universality which goes hand in hand with modernization.

In all, it is interesting to see the ways in which the factory took on a proximate identity associated with universalization, globalization, and modernization. Through the factory’s own

architecture and spatial references, we can understand the ways in which the company attuned itself to become a fitted and formatted version of a project largely garnered towards the aforementioned sensibilities. In implementing modernization and innovation as forefronts, the company uptakes industrial reproducibility, mechanization, building technologies, social care for workers, and hygiene as factors towards showcasing a new version of what a successful industrial model looks like for the 20th century. More broadly, through these responsibilities, the company reveals itself as a “war economy enterprise” and largely as an imperial economic model. Through these associations, the factory’s own social, historical, and political become translated into it’s a larger geo-agricultural and geo-political framework.

* * *

Concluding Remarks

In witnessing industrial architectural examples unfold within the contexts of Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony it becomes interesting to see the ways in which pattern books and building manuals played an influential role in the establishment and popularization of an “Islamic” or “Oriental” style. Of course, Europe’s fascination with the “Orient” comes from a larger interest brought forth and iterated through a network of several cultural contexts which Said reflects heavily upon in his writing, but the translation of these associations onto architecture and infrastructure becomes interesting to witness within a sweeping German context. Interestingly, these architectural examples which seem to borrow heavily from a textual tradition exemplify the ways in which an “Islamic” or “Oriental” style was being categorized, invented, and further established. The architectural examples’ reuse of these texts further ground and solidify a connectivity to an overall discursive, insular, and self-referential tradition.

Interestingly, these buildings showcase the ways in which *authentic* representations and replicas were of no interest in the reiteration and appropriation of an Islamic ornamentation program. Instead, the majority of these architectural references were more concerned with establishing and iterating an “oriental” style which lends weight to amalgamation and syncretization. I came to this thesis with the hope of being able to identify a *pure* style within what these architectural examples presented themselves as. Either claiming to be a representation of neo-Mamluk or a neo-Islamic style, I was committed towards proving an interest and attachment to a revivalism and replication of a dynastic stylistic identity. But what I learned when looking at the occurrence of Islamic ornamentation in industrial architecture in Germany is the lack of interest in devising and distinguishing “Mamluk” or “Ottoman” or “Nasrid”, but instead what was manifested was a generalized and all-encompassing “Oriental.” Therefore, as

these architectural examples occur within this context, I believe there is no interest in establishing or perhaps even *understanding* differences between dynastic styles, but instead establishing one singular “Oriental” style. Thus, the “Oriental” within this context becomes a synthesis or amalgam which translates as one.

The Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory is not any different in establishing a different line of path when coming to represent the “Orient” through its architecture. As a matter of fact, the factory reuses many previous textual and architectural motifs in articulating the “Oriental.” The company which was established within the late 19th century solidifies a unifying company ground in 1909 when its factory is built in Dresden. The factory then posits itself in an interesting position with one foot in the 19th century and one in the 20th century. What I have come to understand through this positionality is the fact that there is no break in time. In continuing forth its trajectory as a tobacco company into the 20th century, the company utilizes the same elemental features and understandings brought forth within the 19th century. This then alludes to the ways in which the factory acts as a continuer of Islamic ornamentation as a discursive tradition.

But the factory’s continuation does not “end” when its building was constructed in 1909. After the bombings of Dresden in 1945, the factory faced serious damage and was reconstructed many times after that. In 1991, when the “tobacco factory” was sold to a private estate it was decided that the building is in fact a part of the city of Dresden’s cultural heritage was rebuilt to its original design implemented by Hammitzsch. No longer functioning as a tobacco factory, it opened its doors to house office facilities in 1997 which a rooftop restaurant which overlooks the city skyline. This factory then highlights the ways in which it continues forth its traditional mode of understanding “Oriental” architecture. In rebuilding the factory as its same replica of when it

was built in 1909 alludes to the same way its geographic context understands the orient: a colorful, fantastical, and whimsical *costume*.

In all, I believe that the tobacco factory and its relationship to the “Orient” is embedded within a proxy-colonial relationship. Through investigating the geo-political and geo-agricultural relationships of the Yenidze Tobacco Factory we have come to understand the company’s associations and links to modernization, war, and as an imperial economic model. I believe that a proxy-colonial association can also be applied to the company’s overall identity. As the factory paints a colorful and exotic model of the “Orient” it also sees the “Orient” as a place of extraction and commodification. Therefore, in understanding the tobacco factory’s overall sensibilities towards modernization one can interpret and understand embedded dynamics of power and representation it holds.

Figures

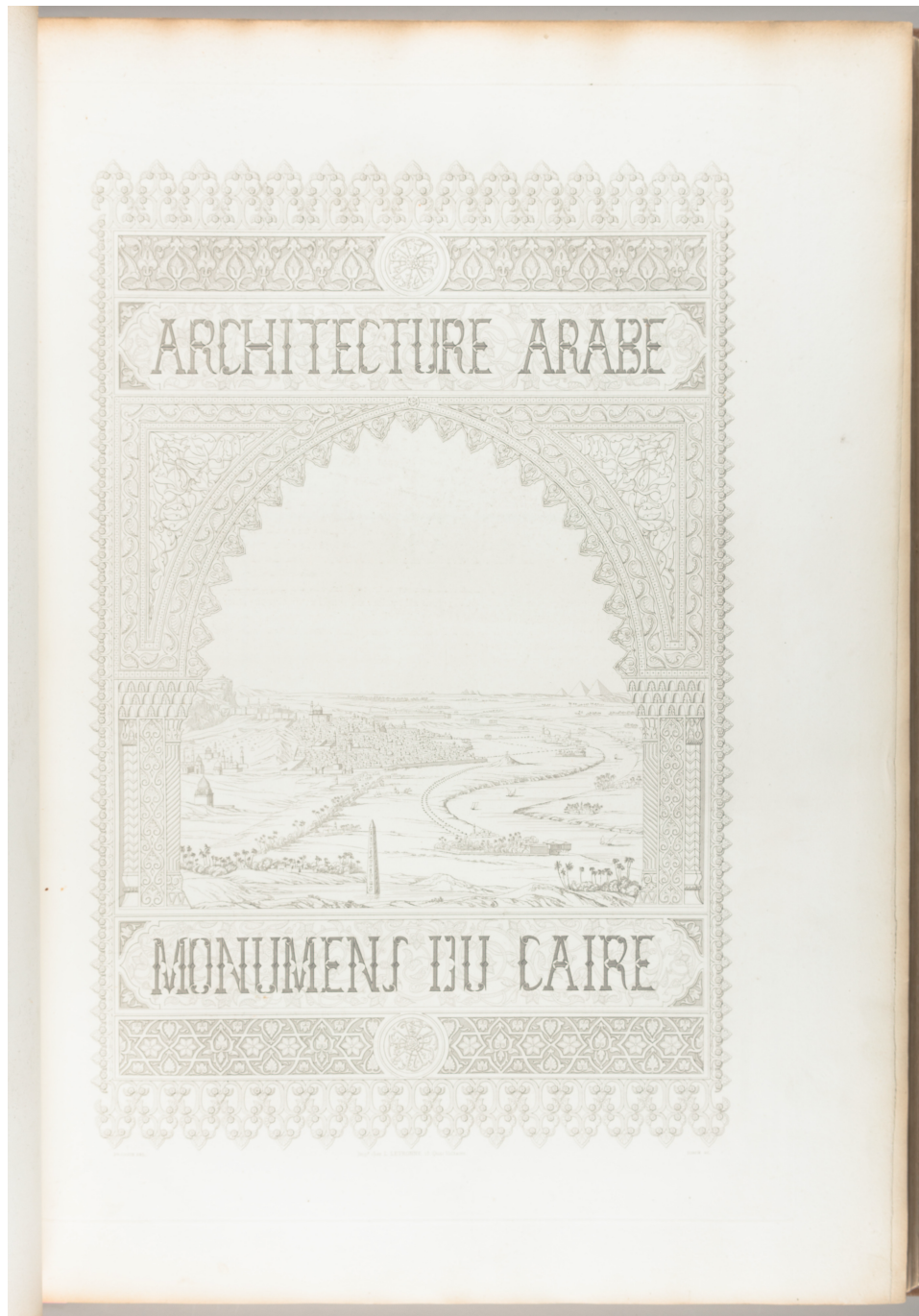


Figure 1.1

The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection, The New York Public Library. Opening Folio, *Architecture arabe, monuments du Caire, Mesurés Et Dessinés, De 1818 à 1826 / Par Pascal Coste*, New York Public Library Digital Collections.



Figure 1.2

The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection, The New York Public Library. "Coupe sur la ligne C,D, du plan de la Mosquée Kaid-Bey," In *Architecture arabe, monumens du Caire, Mesurés Et Dessinés, De 1818 à 1826 / Par Pascal Coste*, New York Public Library Digital Collections.



Figure 1.3

The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection, The New York Public Library. "Vue extérieure de la Mosquée Hassan et de la Place Roumeyleh" In *Architecture arabe, monumens du Caire, Mesurés Et Dessinés, De 1818 à 1826 / Par Pascal Coste*, New York Public Library Digital Collections.

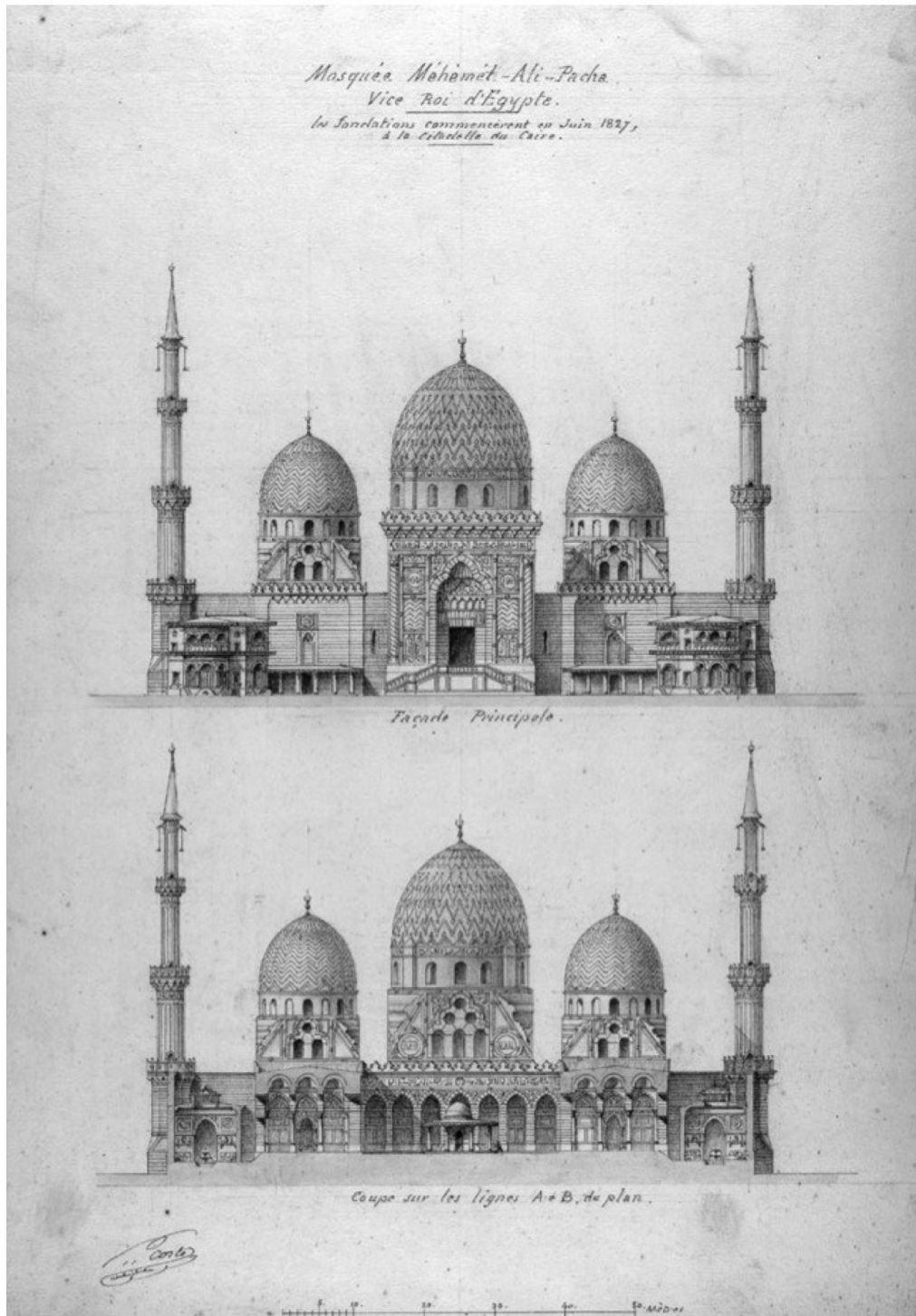


Figure 1.4
Pascal-Xavier Coste, Mosque Plans for Mehmet Ali Pasha (1825-27).
Image via Archnet.



Figure 1.5
Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament: Illustrated by Examples from Various Styles of Ornament [by] One Hundred and Twelve Plates*. Folio ed. (London: B. Quaritch, 1868).
Opening Folio.



Figure 1.6

Owen Jones, "Arabian No. 5," In *The Grammar of Ornament: Illustrated by Examples from Various Styles of Ornament [by] One Hundred and Twelve Plates*. Folio ed. (London: B. Quaritch, 1868), 26.



Figure 1.7
Postcard of Qasr al-Gezira.
Image via Archnet.



Figure 1.8

The Alhambra Court at Crystal Palace, south London, designed by Owen Jones, photograph by Philip Henry Delamotte, 1854, London. Museum no. 39315.

Image via Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 1.9

Émile Prisse D'Avennes, *L'art Arabe D'après Les Monuments Du Kaire Depuis Le VIIe Siècle Jusqu'à La Fin Du XVIIIe*. (Paris: Ve A. Morel Et Cie, 1877), Opening folio.



Figure 1.10

The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection, The New York Public Library. "Mosquée de Qaytbay, ensemble et détails du minaret (XVe. siècle)," In *L'art Arabe D'après Les Monuments Du Kaire Depuis Le VIIe Siècle Jusqu'à La Fin Du XVIIIe.* (Paris: Ve A. Morel Et Cie, 1877), New York Public Library Digital Collections.

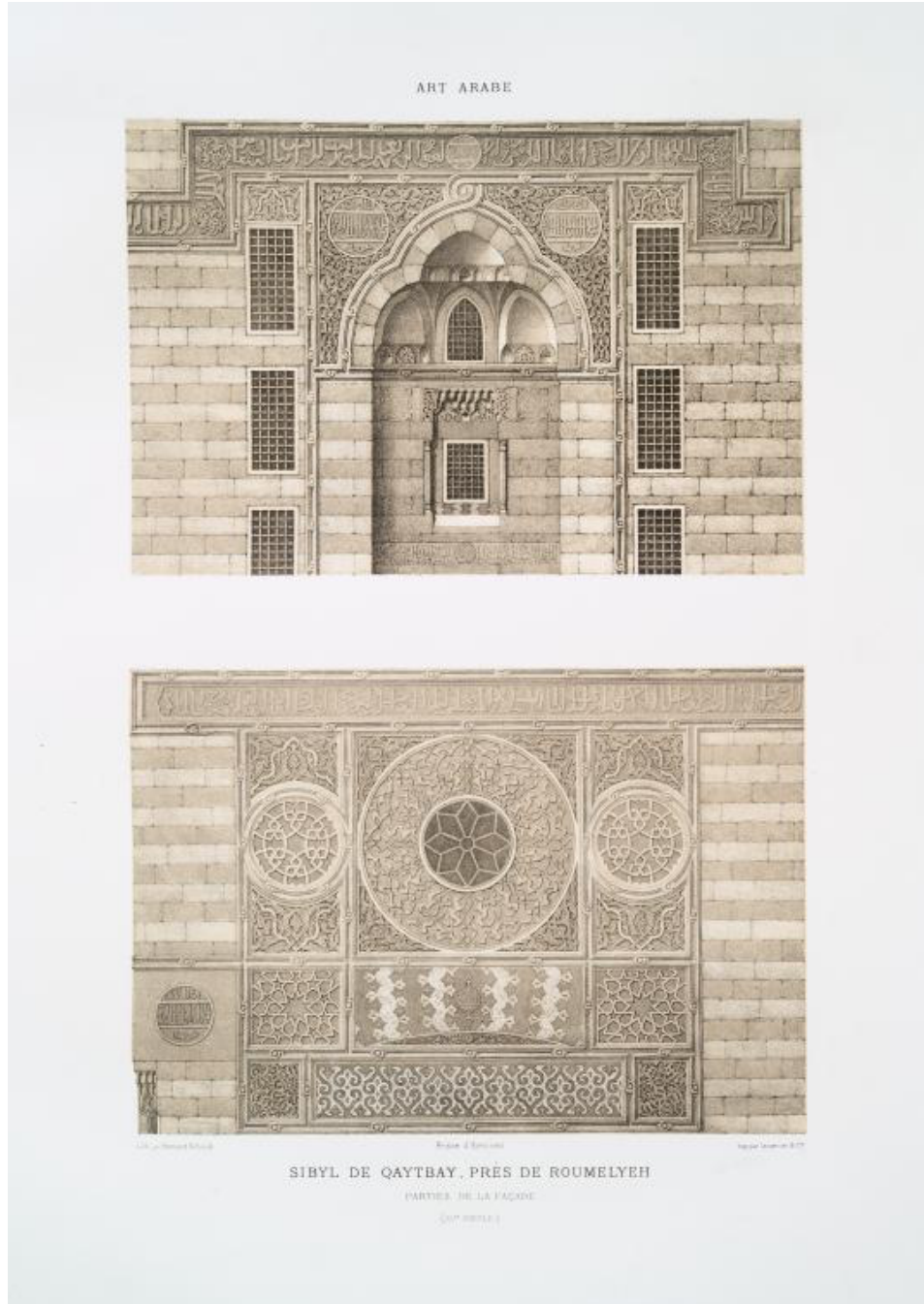


Figure 1.11

The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection, The New York Public Library. “Sibyl de Qaytbay, près de Roumelyeh, parties de la façade (XVe. siècle),” In *L'art Arabe D'après Les Monuments Du Kaire Depuis Le VIIe Siècle Jusqu'à La Fin Du XVIIIe*. (Paris: Ve A. Morel Et Cie, 1877), New York Public Library Digital Collections.

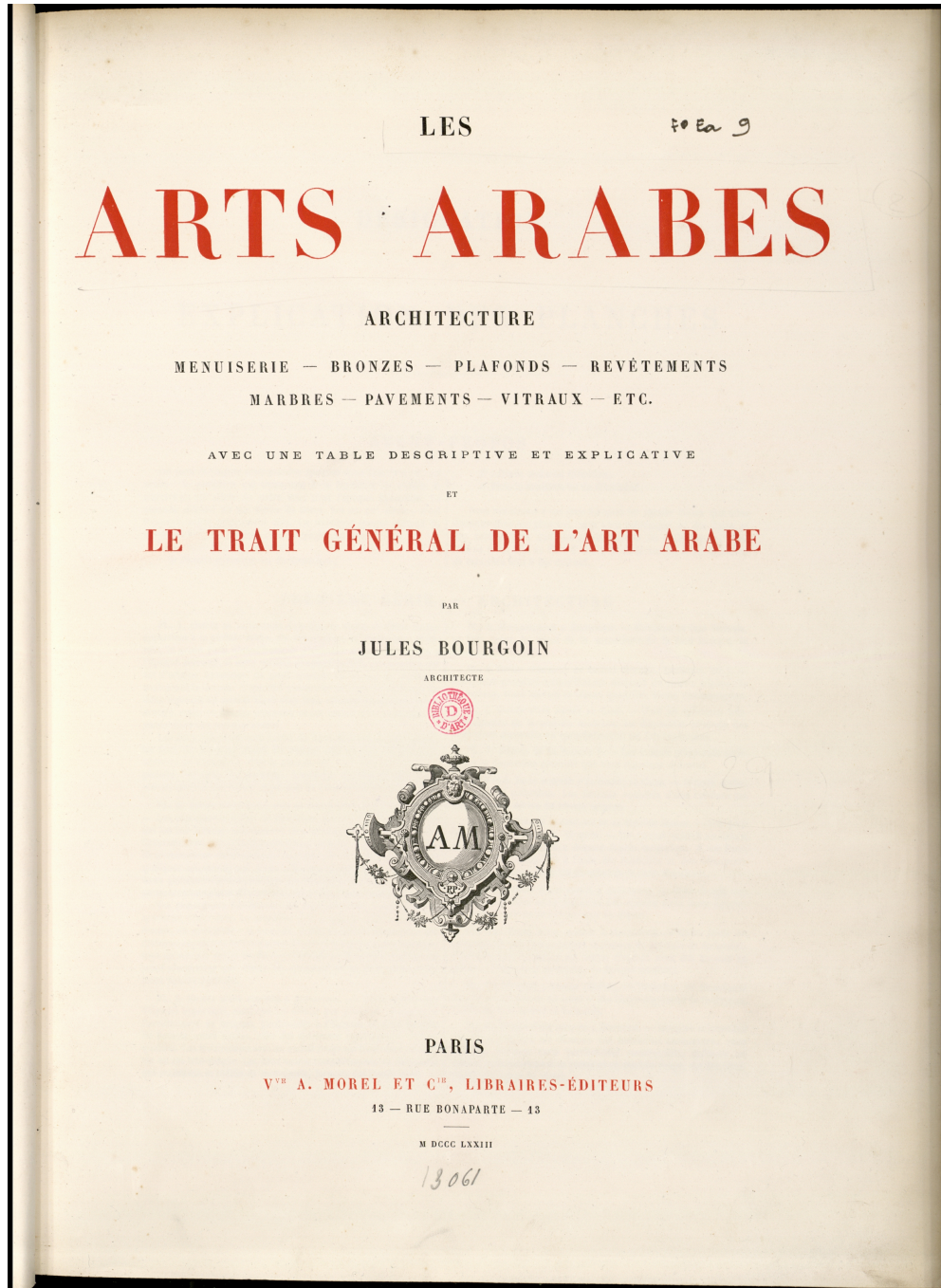


Figure 1.12

Jules Bourgoïn, *Les Arts Arabes: Architecture--menuiserie--bronzes--plafonds--revêtements--marbres--pavements--vitraux--etc. Avec Une Table Descriptive Et Explicative, Et Le Trait Général De L'art Arabe.* (Paris: Vve. A. Morel, 1873), Opening folio.

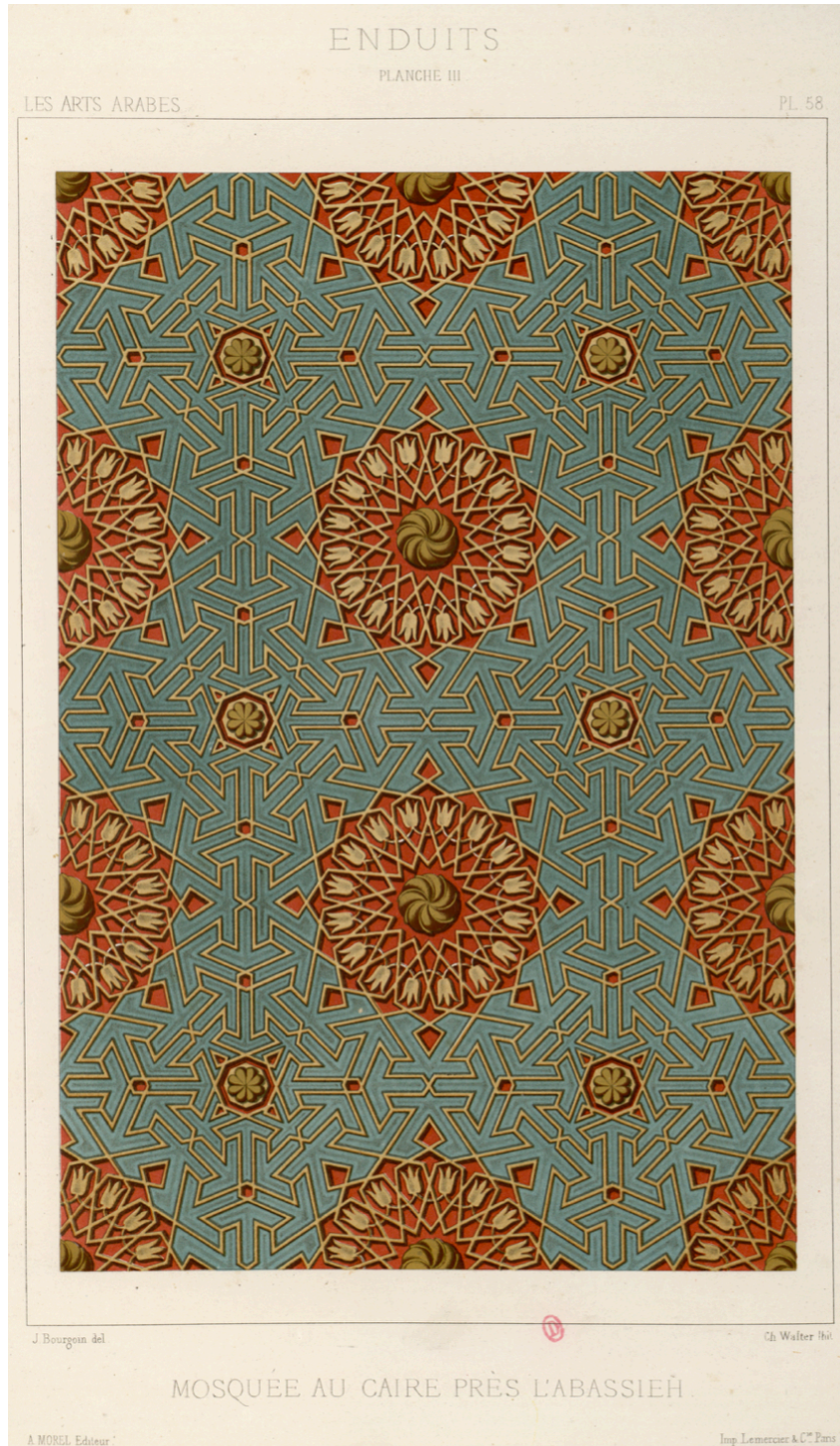


Figure 1.13

Jules Bourgoïn, "Mosquee au Caire Prés l'Abassieh," In *Les Arts Arabes: Architecture--menuiserie--bronzes--plafonds--revêtements--marbres--pavements--vitraux--etc. Avec Une Table Descriptive Et Explicative, Et Le Trait Général De L'art Arabe*. (Paris: Vve. A. Morel, 1873).



Figure 1.14
 Jules Bourgoïn, “D’une Mosquée Près l’Abbasieh,” In *Les Arts Arabes: Architecture--menuiserie--bronzes--plafonds--revêtements--marbres--pavements--vitraux--etc. Avec Une Table Descriptive Et Explicative, Et Le Trait Général De L’art Arabe*. (Paris: Vve. A. Morel, 1873).



Figure 2.1

Karl Eduard Biermann, "Maschinen-Haus bei Sanssouci." Steel engraving, 1846.

Image via Potsdam Museum-Forum für Kunst und Geschichte. "Das Dampfmaschinenhaus von Sanssouci an der Havelbucht."



Figure 2.2
Exterior (left) and Interior (right) of Ludwig von Persius, *Dampfmaschinenhaus* 1841-1843,
Potsdam, Brandenburg, Germany.
Images are author's own.

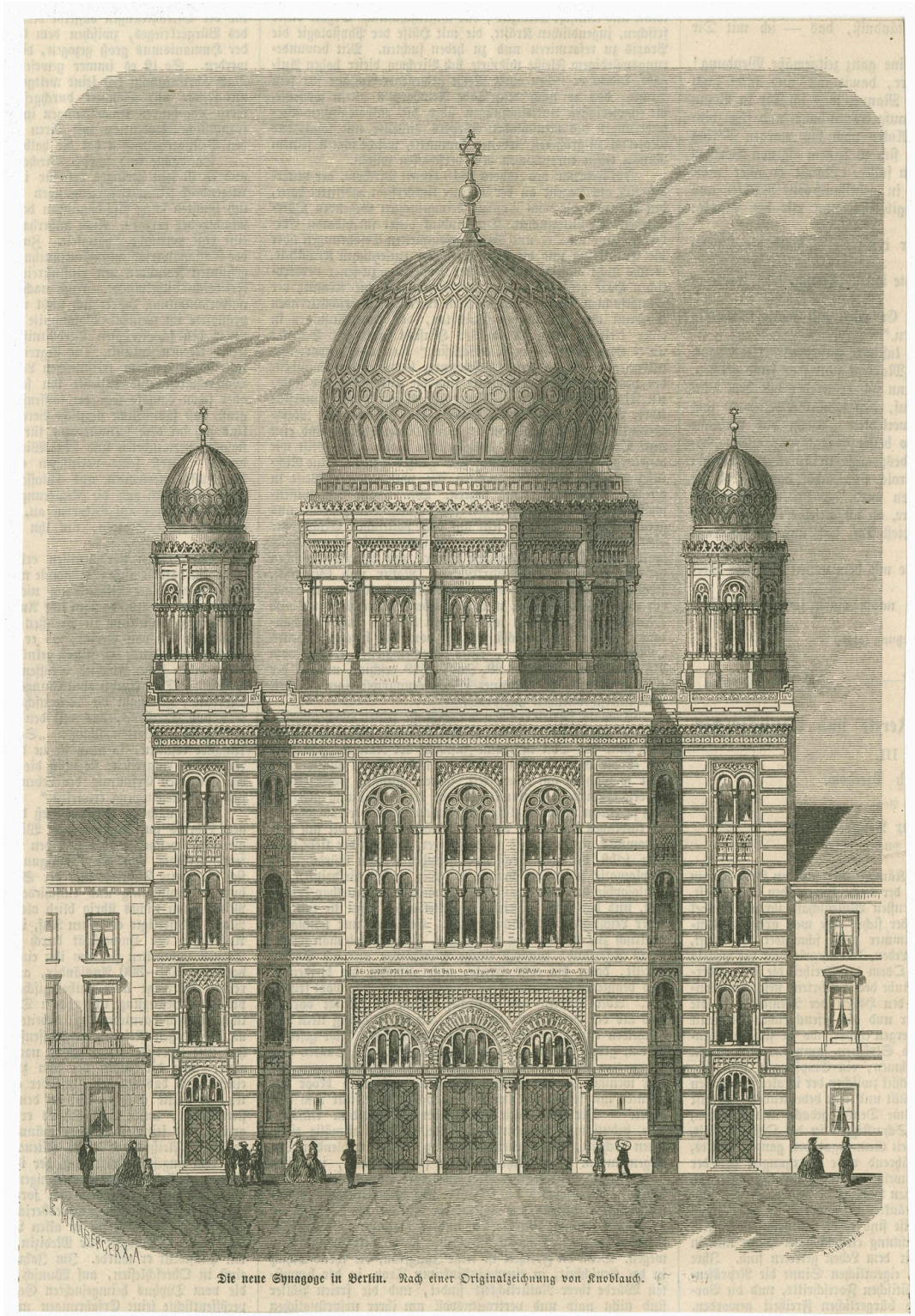


Figure 2.3
 Exterior of the Neue Synagoge in Berlin. Published in *Über Land und Meer*, Jahrgang 5, Band 10, Heft, 32, 1863.
 Image via College of Charleston Libraries.

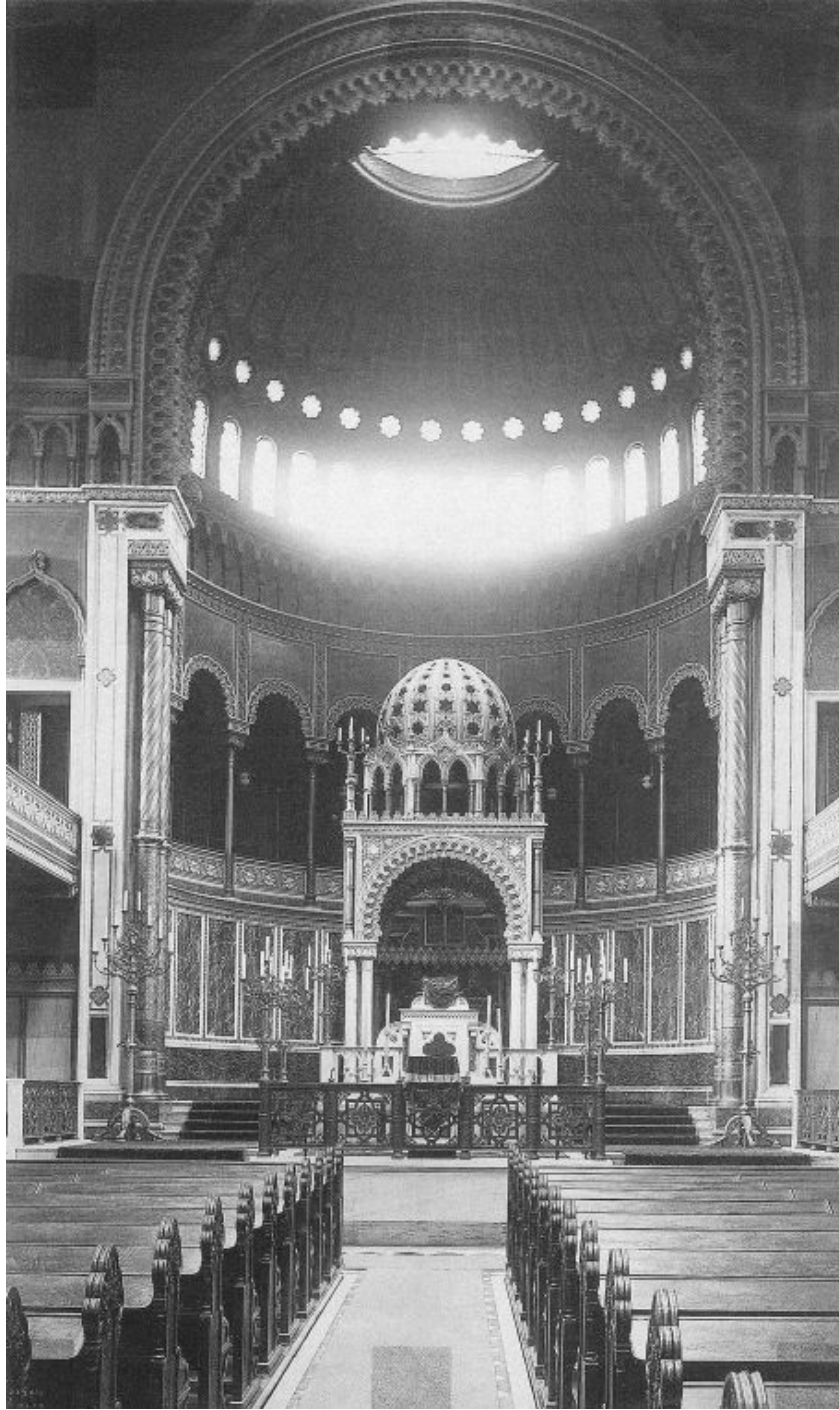


Figure 2.4
Anonymous, Interior of the Neue Synagoge in Berlin.
Image via Photographic Institute of the ETH Zurich.



Figure 2.5

The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection, The New York Public Library. "Vue extérieure de la Mosquée Kaid-Bey," In *Architecture arabe, monumens du Caire, Mesurés Et Dessinés, De 1818 à 1826 / Par Pascal Coste*, New York Public Library Digital Collections.

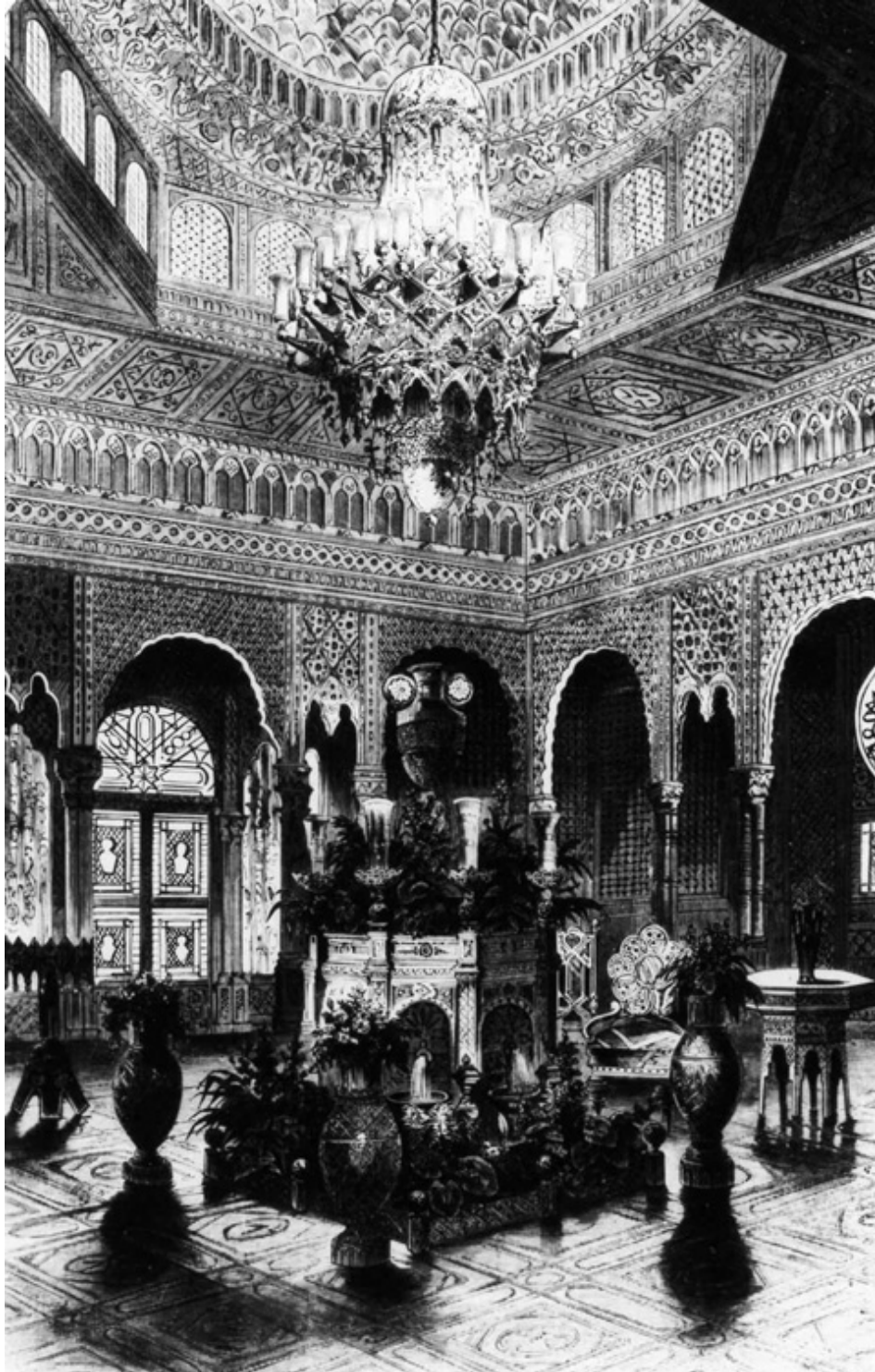


Figure 2.6
Carl von Diebitsch, Moorish Kiosk at the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1867.
Image via *Illustrirte Zeitung*, 27 Juli 1867, Nr. 1256, P. 69.



Figure 2.7
Carl von Diebitsch, Moorish Kiosk built in 1867 and rebuilt on the premises of Schloss Linderhof in Ettal, Bavaria, Germany.
Image is author's own.



Figure 2.8 (left) and Figure 2.9 (right)
Interior of Carl von Diebitsch's Moorish Kiosk built in 1867. Image to the right is the fountain/pedestal with "Oriental" motifs. Image to the left is King Ludwig II's "peacock throne." Images are author's own.



Figure 3.1
Postcard of the Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory, 1911.
Image via Stadtarchiv Dresden.



Figure 3.2
The Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory from southeast, 1920-1930.
Image via Photograph Archive of Marburg, image no. fm82021



Figure 3.3 (left)

Zigaretten Dosen (Cigarette boxes), "Fiori," Orientalische Tabak- und Cigaretten-Fabrik Yenidze, Dresden, um 1910. Feine Industrien, *The Bourgeois City: The Long Nineteenth Century*, The Dresden City Art Museum, Dresden, Saxony, Germany.

Image is author's own.

Figure 3.4 (middle)

Vignette no. 1, Orientalische Tabak- und Cigaretten-Fabrik Yenidze, Dresden, date unknown, Feine Industrien, *The Bourgeois City: The Long Nineteenth Century*, The Dresden City Art Museum, Dresden, Saxony, Germany.

Image is author's own.

Figure 3.5 (right)

Vignette no. 2, Orientalische Tabak- und Cigaretten-Fabrik Yenidze, Dresden, date unknown, Feine Industrien, *The Bourgeois City: The Long Nineteenth Century*, The Dresden City Art Museum, Dresden, Saxony, Germany.

Image is author's own.



Figure 3.6
“Rubble Train passing the Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory,” 1945.
Image via ID Historische Friedrichstadt.



Figure 3.7

Photograph by Paul Haag, The Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory in 1990 after the factory's post-WWII reconstruction and before its current seconding rebuilding.

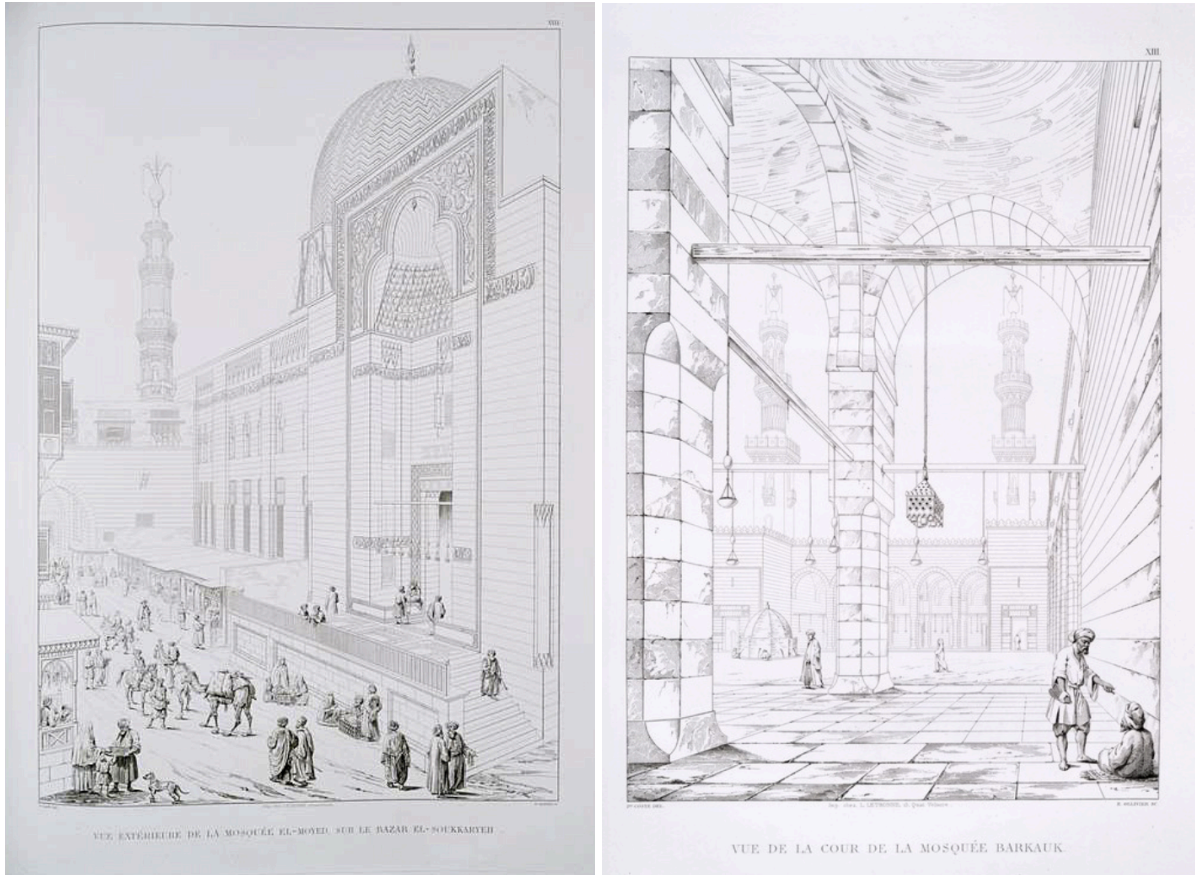
Image via Photograph Archive of Marburg, image no. 416.872.



Figure 3.8
The Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory after its 1997 reconstruction program.
Image via ID Historische Friedrichstadt.



Figure 3.9 (left) and Figure 3.10 (right)
Entrance portal on the factory's south side and its ornamental detailing.
Images are author's own.



Figures 4.1 (left) and 4.2 (right)

The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection, The New York Public Library. “Vue extérieure de la Mosquée el-Moyed sur le Bazar el-Soukkaryeh” (4.1, left) and “Vue de la cour la Mosquée Barkauk” (4.2, right). In *Architecture arabe, monumens du Caire, Mesurés Et Dessinés, De 1818 à 1826 / Par Pascal Coste*, New York Public Library Digital Collections.



Figures 4.3 (left)

Émile Prisse d'Avennes, "Mosquée sépulcrale de Qaytbay (XVe. siècle)," in *L'art arabe d'après les monuments du Kaire: depuis le VIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe.*

Image via The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection, New York Public Library Digital Collections.

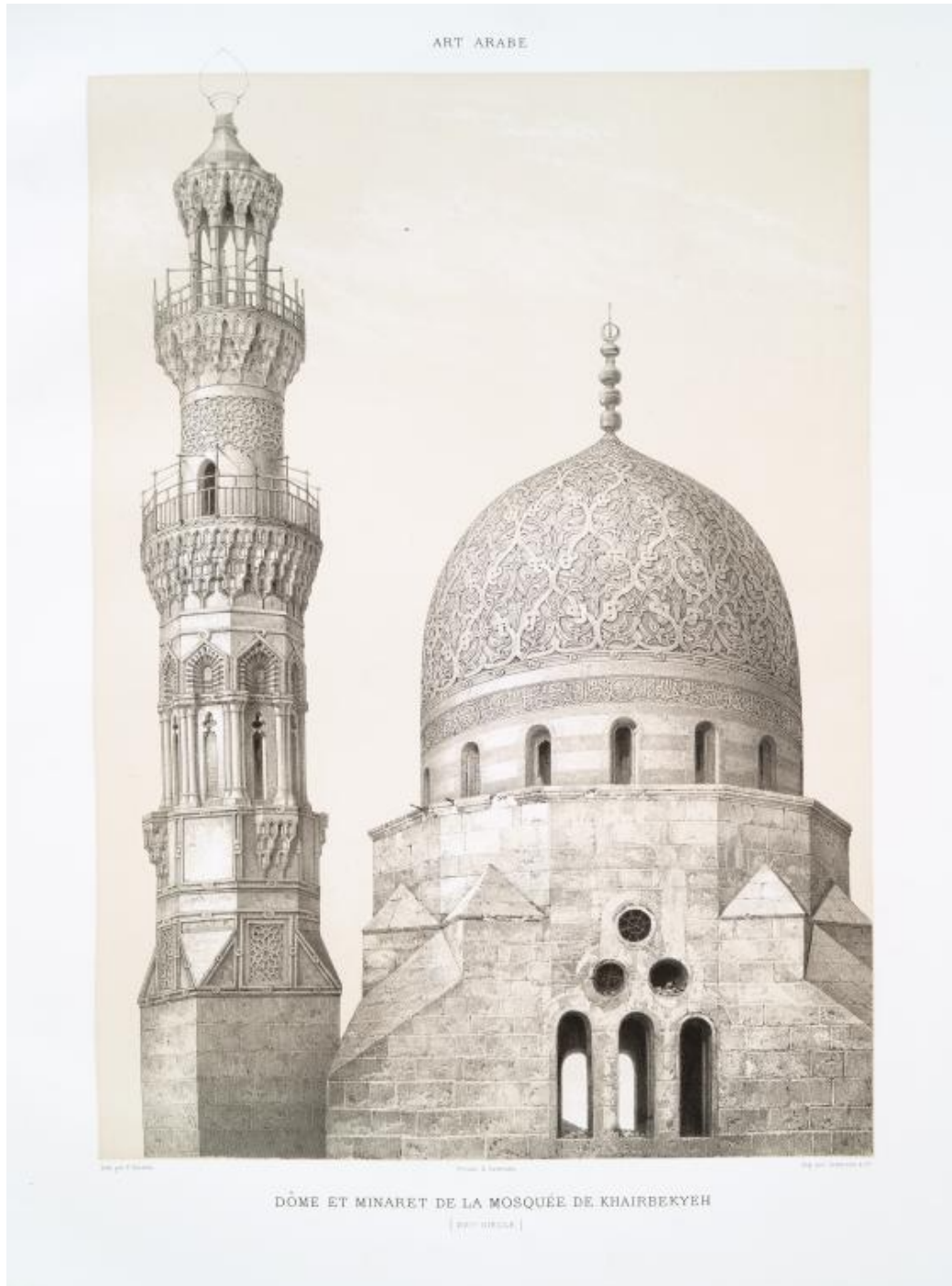


Figure 4.4 (right)

Émile Prisse d'Avennes, “Dôme et minaret de la mosquée de Khairbekyeh (XVIe. siècle),” *L'art arabe d'après les monuments du Kaire: depuis le VIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe.*

Image via The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection, New York Public Library Digital Collections.



Figure 4.5

Émile Prisse d'Avennes, "Tombeau du sultan Tarabey (XVIe. siècle)," in *L'art arabe d'après les monuments du Kaire: depuis le VIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe.*

Image via The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection, New York Public Library Digital Collections.

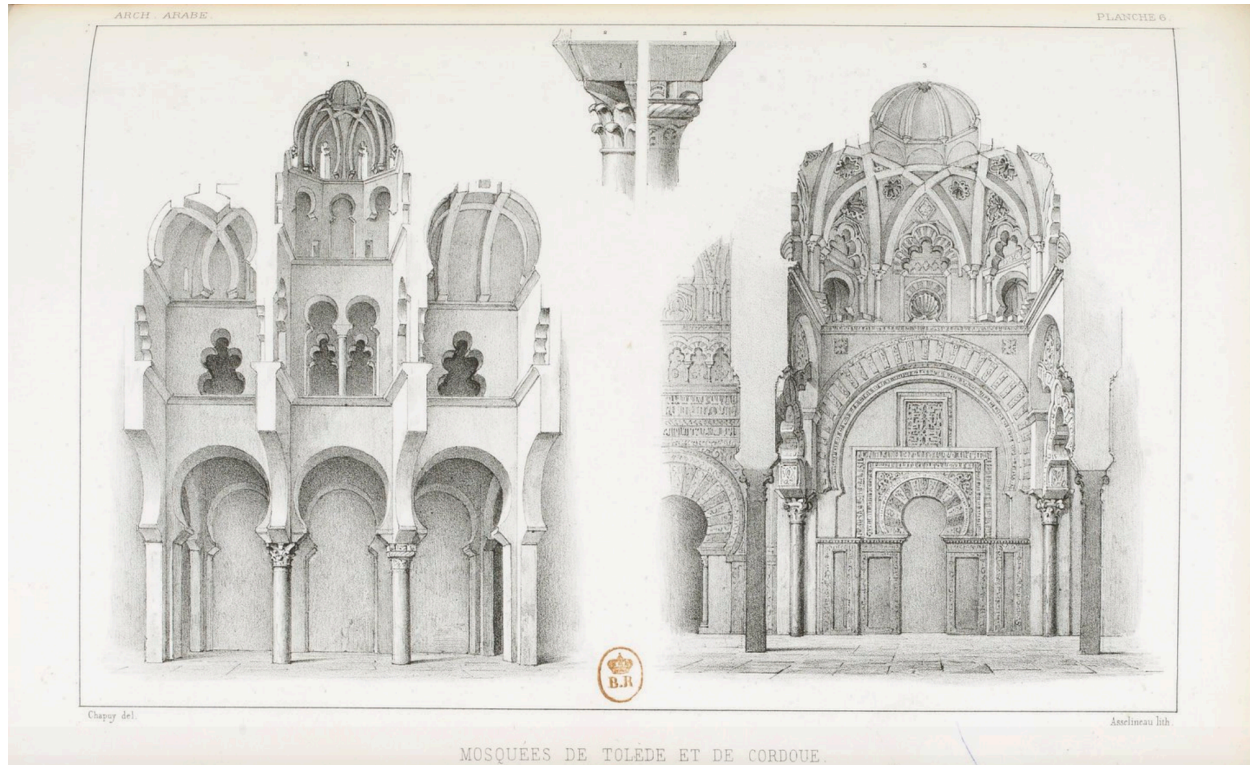


Figure 4.6
 Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey, "Mosquées de Tolède et de Cordoue," In *Essai Sur L'architecture des Arabes et des Mores, En Espagne, En Sicile, Et En Barbarie*, 1841.

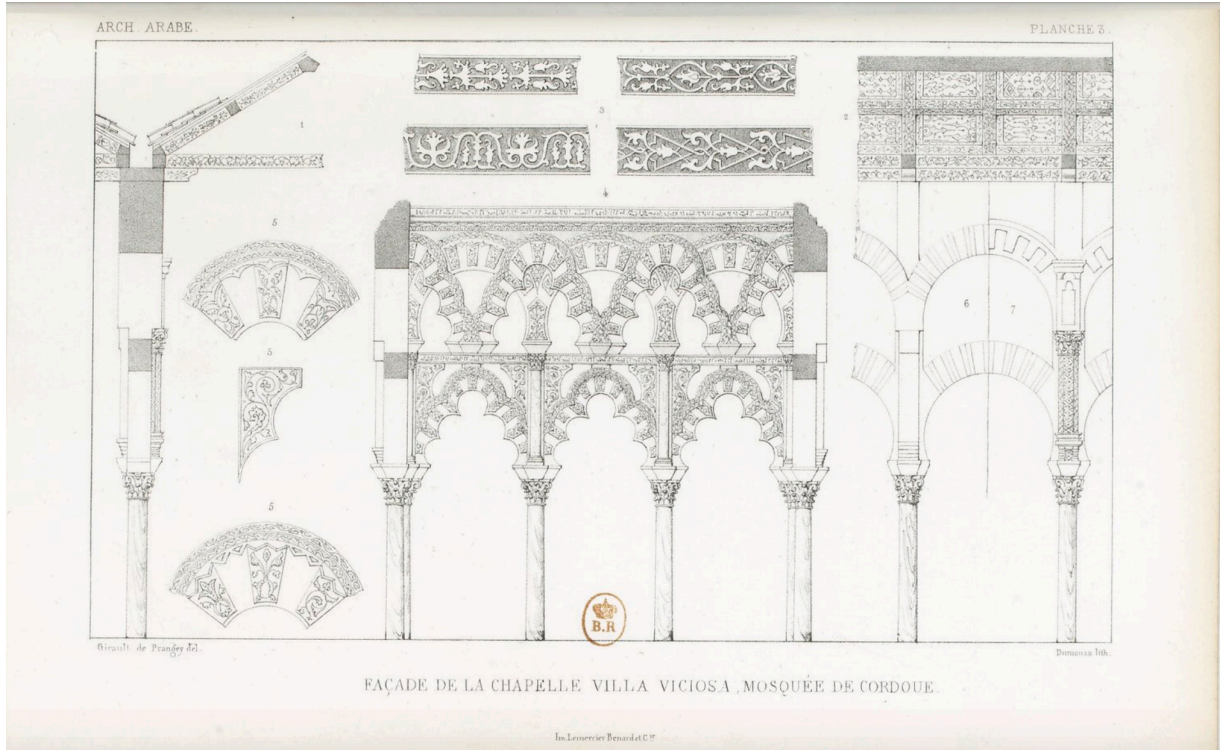


Figure 4.7
 Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey, “Façade de la Chapelle Villa Viciosa Mosquée de Cordoue,” In *Essai Sur L'architecture des Arabes et des Mores, En Espagne, En Sicile, Et En Barbarie*, 1841.

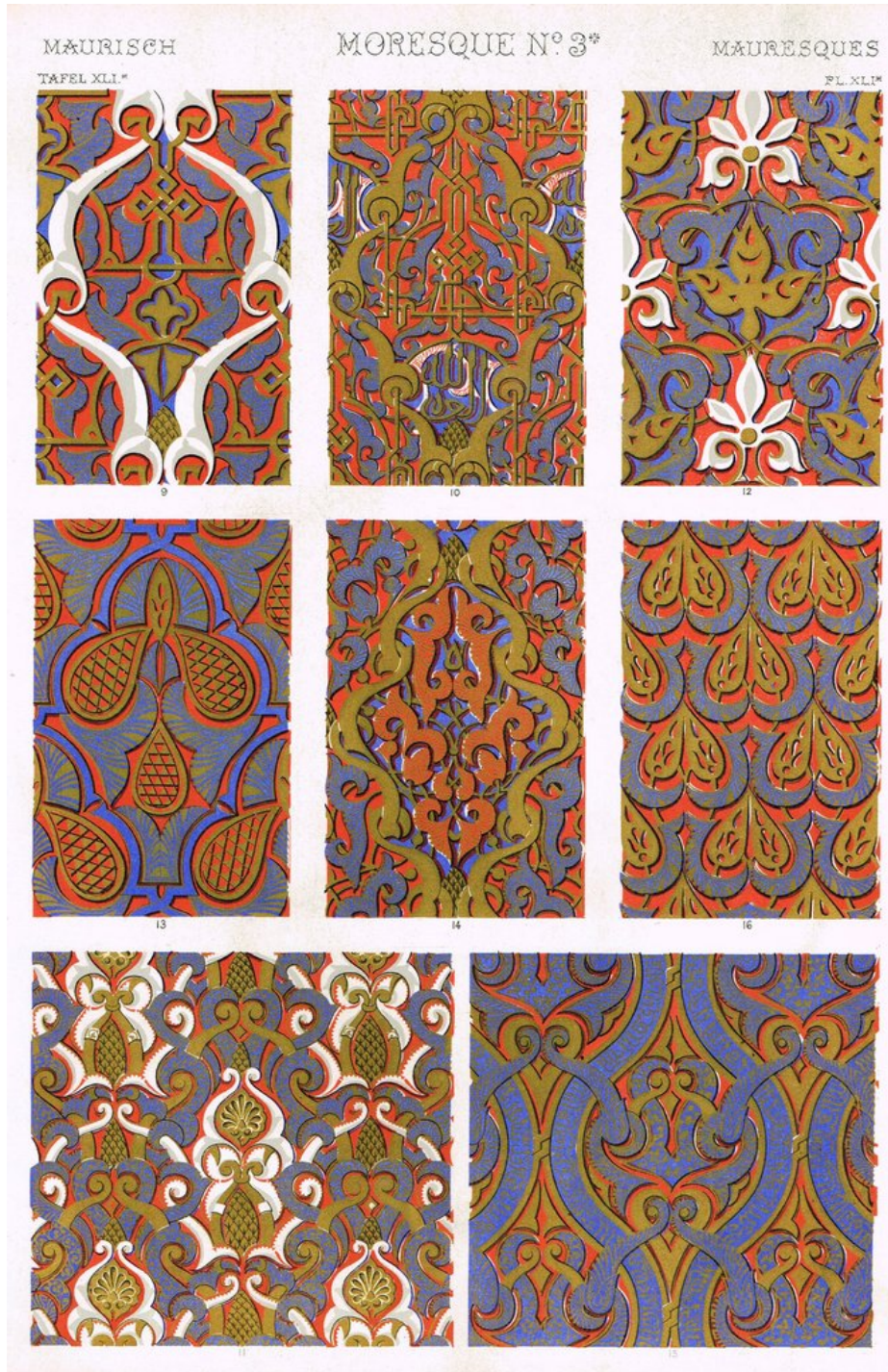


Figure 4.8

Owen Jones, "Moresque No. 3," *The Grammar of Ornament: Illustrated by Examples from Various Styles of Ornament [by] One Hundred and Twelve Plates*. Folio ed. (London: B. Quaritch, 1868), 77.

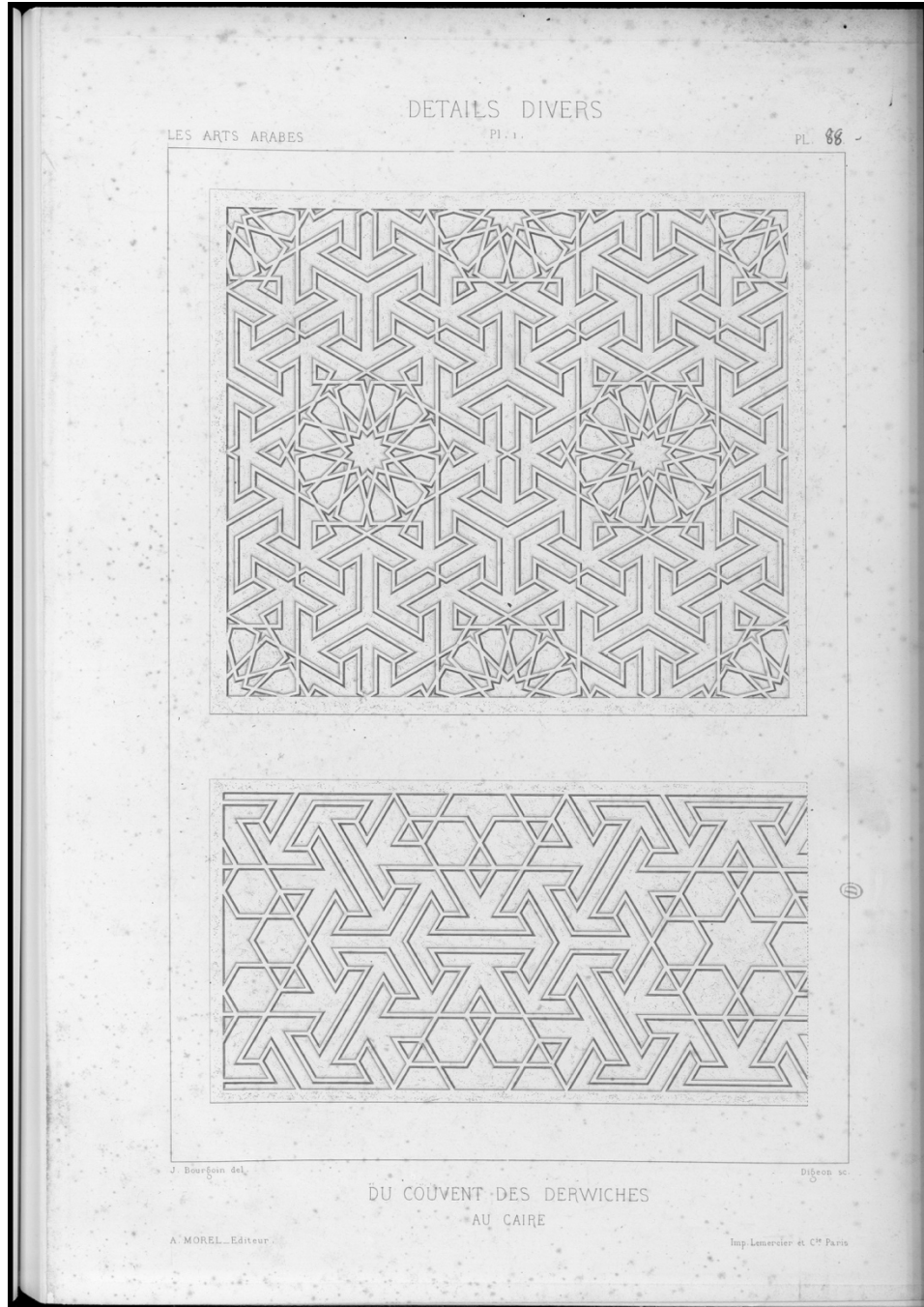


Figure 4.9
 Jules Bourgoïn, *Les Arts Arabes: Architecture--menuiserie--bronzes--plafonds--revêtements--marbres--pavements--vitraux--etc. Avec Une Table Descriptive Et Explicative, Et Le Trait Général De L'art Arabe*. Paris: Vve. A. Morel, 1873.

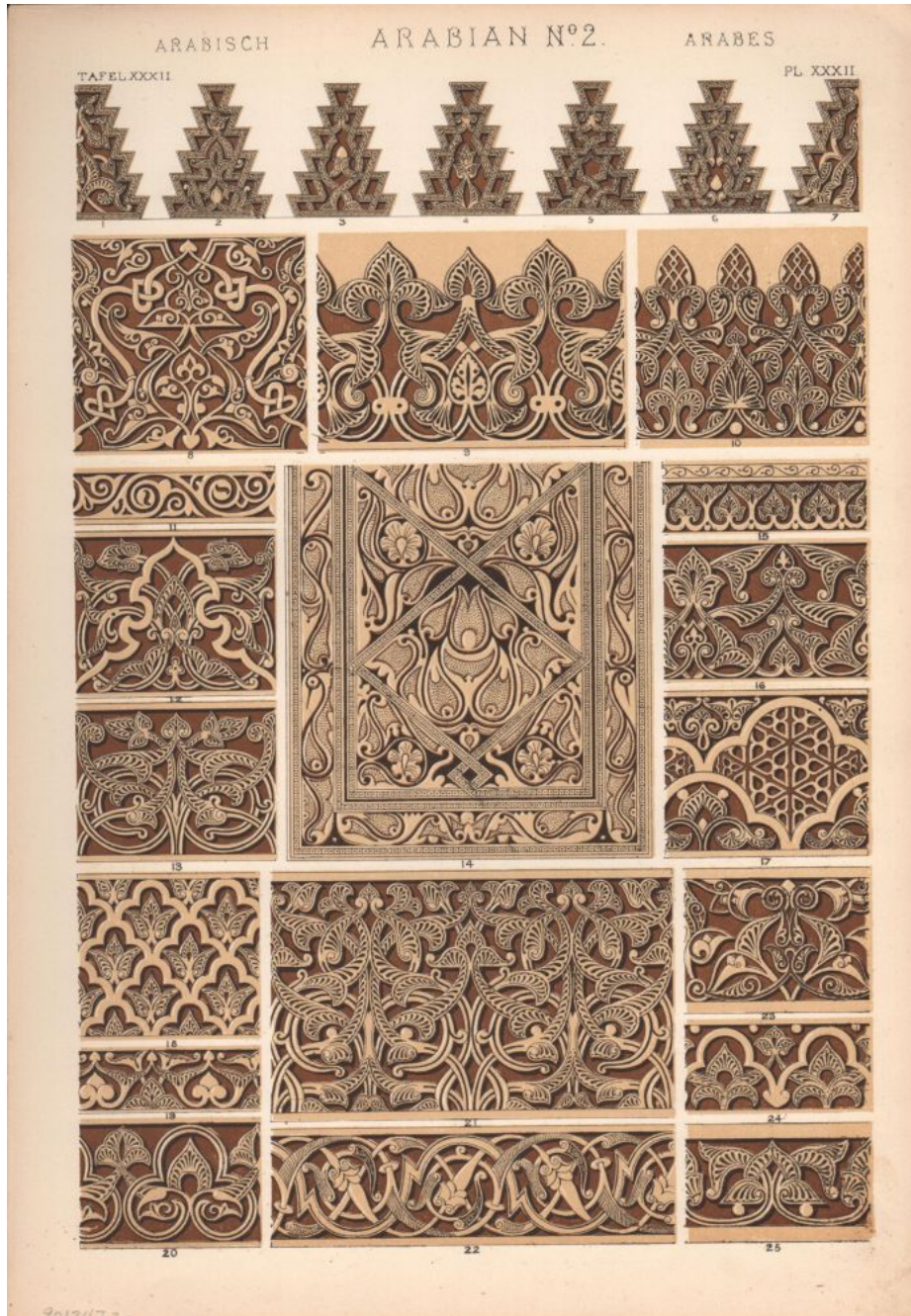


Figure 4.10

Owen Jones, "Arabian No. 2," In *The Grammar of Ornament: Illustrated by Examples from Various Styles of Ornament [by] One Hundred and Twelve Plates*. Folio ed. (London: B. Quaritch, 1868), 23.

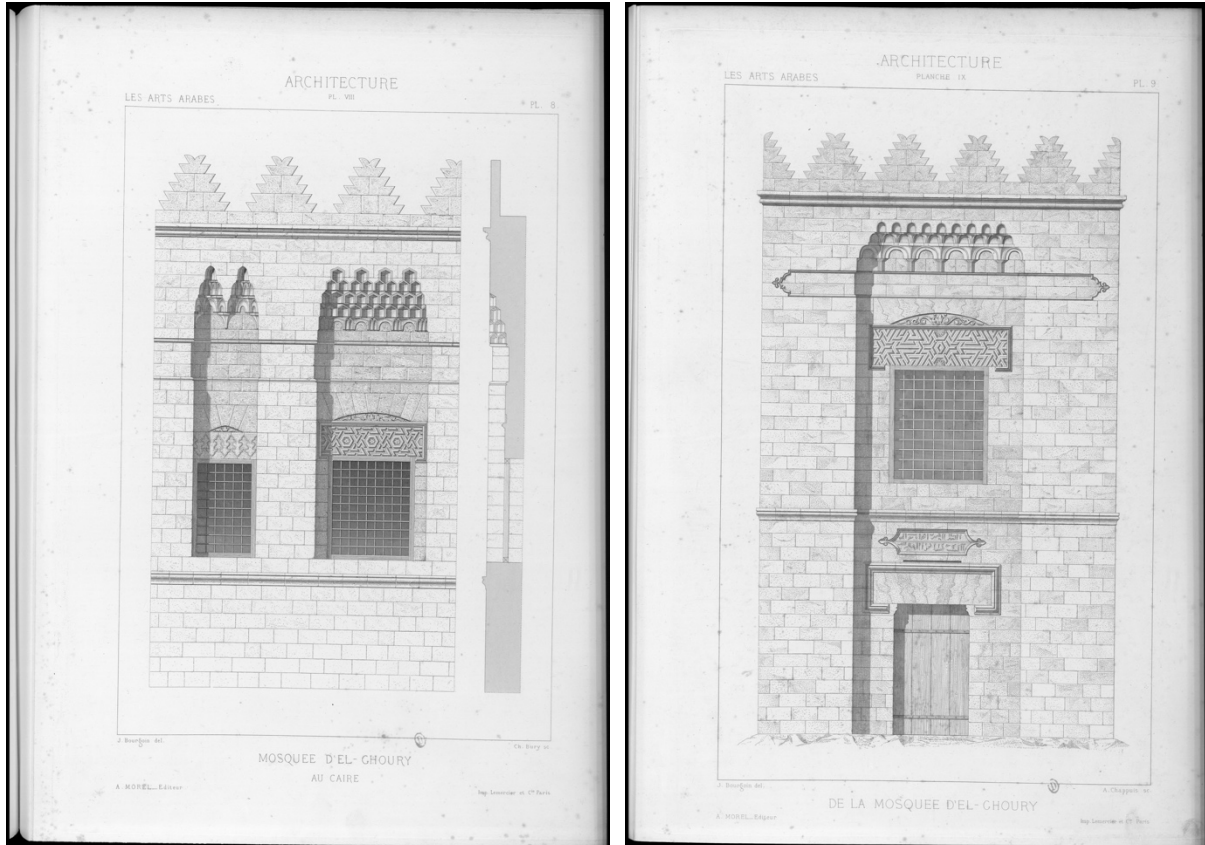


Figure 4.11

Jules Bourgoïn, *Les Arts Arabes: Architecture--menuiserie--bronzes--plafonds--revêtements--marbres--pavements--vitraux--etc. Avec Une Table Descriptive Et Explicative, Et Le Trait Général De L'art Arabe*. Paris: Vve. A. Morel, 1873.



Figure 4.12
Advertisement/Memorabilia of the Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory.
Source and date unknown.



Figure 4.13

Left:

The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection, The New York Public Library. Opening Folio, *Architecture arabe, monumens du Caire, Mesurés Et Dessinés, De 1818 à 1826 / Par Pascal Coste*, New York Public Library Digital Collections.

Right:

Advertisement/Memorabilia of the Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory. Source and date unknown.

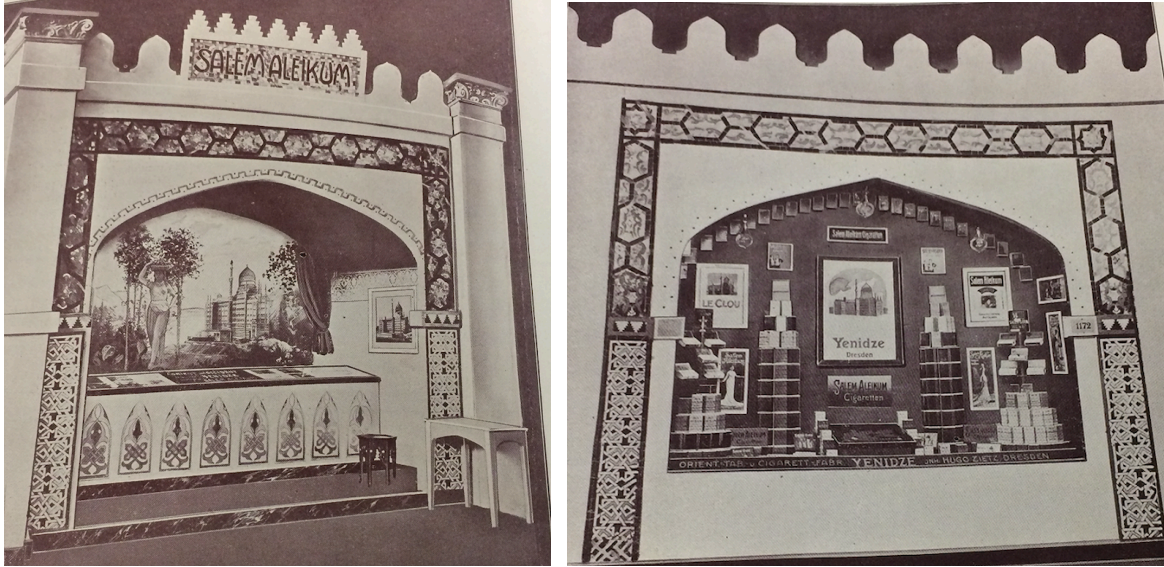


Figure 4.14
“Yenidze” at the International Hygiene Exhibition, 1911, Dresden.
Images via Hauptstaatsarchiv in Dresden, Saxony, Germany

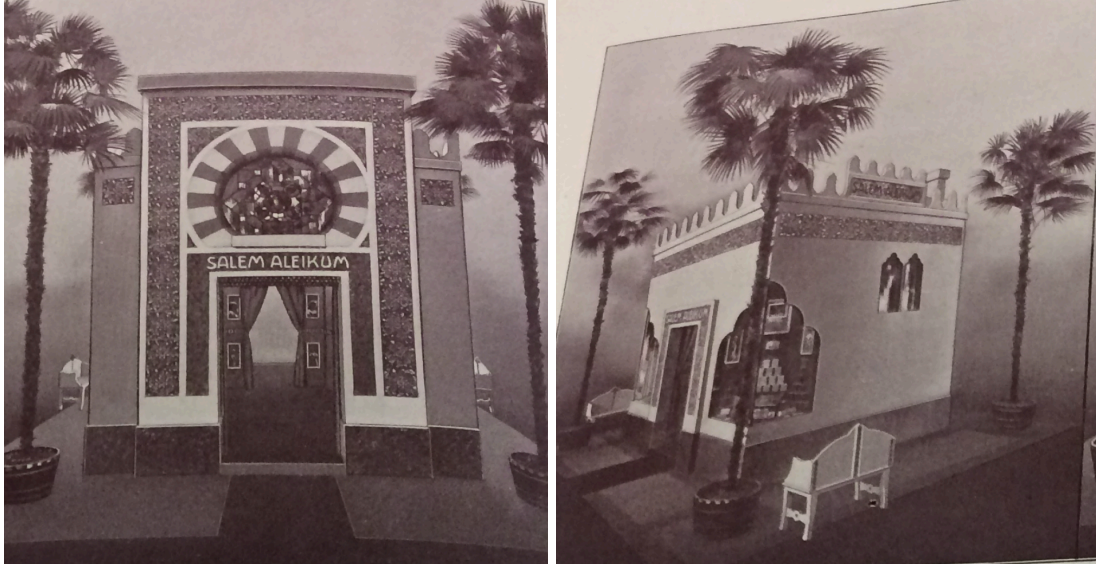


Figure 4.14 (continued)
“Yenidze” at the International Hygiene Exhibition, 1911, Dresden.
Images via Hauptstaatsarchiv in Dresden, Saxony, Germany



Figure 4.15
 Advertisement of the Yenidze Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory.
 Source and date unknown.

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Hauptstaatsarchiv in Dresden, Saxony, Germany

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