

Stefan Koppelkamm  
**The Imaginary Orient**  
Exotic Buildings of the  
18th and 19th Centuries  
in Europe

1. The Yenidze Cigarette Factory in Dresden  
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Die Orientalisierung der Architektur ist eine architektonische Tendenz, die in Europa im 19. Jahrhundert aufkam. Sie ist nicht mit dem Begriff des Orientalismus gleichzusetzen, obwohl sie sich auf diesen bezieht. Der Begriff Orientalisierung beschreibt einen Prozess, der sich in drei Phasen unterteilen lässt. In der ersten Phase wird der Orient als ein fiktiver Raum, der durch die Phantasie und die Kreativität der Architekten geprägt wird. In der zweiten Phase wird der Orient als ein realer Raum, der durch die Erfahrung und die Beobachtung der Architekten geprägt wird. In der dritten Phase wird der Orient als ein kultureller Raum, der durch die Interaktionen und die Beziehungen zwischen den Architekten und den Menschen des Orients geprägt wird.

#### Editorial note

This book was first published in the context of a series of exhibitions staged in 1987 by several museums in Stuttgart, Germany, under the title *Exotische Welten – Europäische Phantasien* (Exotic Worlds – European Fantasies).

The theme of this work is buildings in faux-Oriental styles designed by European architects for European clients. The adoption of Oriental forms in terms of an »architecture parlante« were intended to evoke the image of a fairy-tale, sensual »Orient« which existed only in the imagination of the Europeans.

In the nineteenth century a previously often vague appropriation of Eastern architectural models shifted to a more and more erudite reception of Islamic styles. But in spite of an increasing differentiation between the cultures of the East a popular notion of the »Orient« without any geographical specificity lived on, often defined by different cultural perspectives and political interests.

Why translate and reedit a book which focusses on a marginal aspect of architectural history? The reason lies not only in its undisputed value as a sourcebook but as well in its, admittedly small, potential to contribute to a better comprehension of the cultural misunderstandings between the Western and the Eastern world. In these days we witness the revival of historic stereotypes in the mutual perceptions of the West and the Islamic world and its violent consequences. A better knowledge of the encounters between the West and the »Orient«, of their historical conflicts and cultural interferences could help to overcome these stereotypes.

Another reason for translating Koppelkamm's book lies in the fact that a new generation of historians in and from the Middle East have been approaching the subject from their perspectives. This will eventually lead to a new and different history of Orientalism.

## A guilty pleasure?

What do a garden pavilion, a tobacco plant, a synagogue and a bathhouse have in common? As Stefan Koppelkamm aptly demonstrates in this richly illustrated work, many of such eighteenth- and nineteenth-century buildings were designed to appeal to the senses by reproducing what were thought to be the architectural and decorative forms of the East. As a result, they shared, if not a style, at least a common intention of embodying forms that were associated with the Orient. Indeed, Orient, rather than the more neutral East, is the term that first comes to mind when describing these architectural fantasies. Domes and minarets, kiosks and pagodas, arabesques and tiles were combined, sometimes in the most unexpected ways, to create the illusion of an exotic and wonderful world, transplanted as if by magic into the gardens and cities of Europe. A flexible and eclectic definition of the Orient made it possible to integrate practically everything that was not European, from Japan and China to the Maghreb, or from the Indian subcontinent to the Ottoman Empire.

The chronological, geographical and stylistic scope of this phenomenon is extremely wide and in many ways defies generalization and solid taxonomy. Indeed, can one consider under a same category the turqueries and chinoiseries of the eighteenth century and the Orientalist fantasies of the nineteenth? Can one lump together a Chinese pagoda, a Central European synagogue, and a Moresque mansion and still be talking about one and the same thing? Likewise, is an eighteenth-century English garden Chinese fantasy really comparable to the massive structure of the Yenidze cigarette factory in Dresden? Depending on focus and approach, the answers to these questions may vary from a very inclusive perception of continuity to a more rigorous periodization of very distinct contexts. Generally speaking, Stefan Koppelkamm has chosen a middle ground, relegating eighteenth-century constructions to a sort of prelude to his main point of focus, the massive exploitation of faux-Oriental style throughout the nineteenth century.

The distinction may be expressed in physical terms, especially with respect to the relative superficiality of eighteenth-century structures compared to the mammoth constructions of the following period. One is struck by the ephemeral nature of the Oriental kiosks and pagodas of the Baroque and Rococo eras, in a way confirmed by the observation that they have to a large extent disappeared, with their memory relegated to period drawings and engravings. Not so for the massive structures of the nineteenth century, many of which have managed to survive the cataclysms of two world wars and are still deeply embedded in the urban and suburban fabric of some of the major cities of Europe. From this perspective alone, there is certainly enough evidence to support such a rough distinction between these two centuries.

There are, however, other ways of looking at it; among these, the political dimension is probably one of the most meaningful. The ephemeral and superficial nature of eighteenth-century Orientalist structures resonated with a state of mind that was dominated by curiosity and playfulness, much in the style of the musical, theatrical and artistic productions that paralleled them. In the following century, on the contrary, Europe was much less curious, for it knew everything that had to be known about the Orient. It was much less playful, for it took very seriously the matter of representing the objects of its scientific inquiry. A convenient turning point may well be Bonaparte's famous expedition of 1798, when curiosity and conquest merged to form a new and triumphant kind of Orientalism. Quaint, exotic and decorative as they may seem, there is no way these nineteenth-century structures can be fully dissociated from the dark face of Orientalism, which Edward Said analyzed and denounced in his eponymous book. For each of these structures one could find some link to a colonial context, to a racist perception, to a demeaning stereotype and to an abusive form of appropriation.

Nothing describes better the powerful impact of this stylistic wave than the remarkable diffusion it enjoyed outside of Europe. Stefan Koppelkamm has wisely limited his study to an Orient produced and consumed by the West, but one can hardly refrain

from thinking about scores of buildings erected in the East in emulation of Western Orientalist structures. True, many of these cases were a direct consequence of colonial rule, an expression of the stereotypical identity imposed upon a subdued land and its people. Yet even those rare Eastern powers, like the Ottoman Empire, which managed to ward off actual colonial domination, easily fell for the formidable attraction exerted by this very particular architectural symbolism. The very styles and motifs that defined the colonial appropriation of the Orient were used by these states to allegedly revive their own architectural heritage. Today, the specter of Owen Jones and of some of the most extravagant displays at the world expositions still looms over much of the architectural production in the Middle and Near East ...

And yet, one must also be able to enjoy the almost guilty pleasure of browsing through this fascinating compendium of architectural fantasies and follies. Reducing them to the simple expression of an ideology would be missing the larger picture of an artistic and architectural appropriation so typical of the long nineteenth century. In some ways, Orientalist fantasies belong to a larger framework of architectural and decorative quests, ranging from Neoclassicism to the rise of the Gothic, including a wide variety of revivalist styles. It is rather characteristic of this period that creativity often fed on images and forms of the past, freely reinvented and adapted to suit the needs of an increasingly powerful modernity. No wonder, then, that these works should have so often flirted with disproportion and bordered on outright kitsch.

What Stefan Koppelkamm proposes is a fascinating and erudite journey through one of the most complicated visual legacies of Europe. At times charming and endearing, at times irritating and embarrassing, this architectural heritage brings together the most unlikely opposites of grace and bad taste, of arrogance and naiveté, to form a unique panorama deeply entangled in the history and culture of a bygone era.

Edhem Eldem, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul

# The attraction of the foreign culture: An introduction

## Disconcertment

After the train, en route to West Berlin (this journey took place in the early 1980s), had passed through the station that a sign identified as »Potsdam West«, I caught a momentary glimpse of a strange scene: At the end of a bay of the Havel River, at the very edge of the water, stood a building that looked strangely out of place surrounded as it was by modern blocks of flats and late-nineteenth-century tenements. In passing I was able to recognize a small cupola, a minaret-type tower and a conspicuously striped façade. This conglomeration of a building evoked in me vague ideas of a region which, while I was hardly able to localize it, immediately made me think of the name »Orient«. I was at a loss as to the significance of the fleeting image.

However, it dropped into place like the new piece of a larger puzzle I had been carrying around in my head for a long time. This picture was composed of the palm trees and pyramids on cigar boxes, Ceram's book *Gods, Graves and Scholars* in my parents' bookcase, an old postcard showing a group of Arabs with their camel in the desert, another one with a view of the Elephant Gate at the Berlin Zoo, and memories of my travels with *Doctor Dolittle*.

The view from the train window awakened in me not so much the longing for »far-away lands« than the yearning for a naïve and poetic form of appropriating the world characteristic of a long-gone era.

It seems paradoxical: Although blank spots on the map of the world where the Garden of Eden might still be presumed to exist are a thing of the distant past, millions of people from the rich industrialized countries set out every year to fulfil their longing for exotic paradises. You would think their dreams had faded away: It's been a long time since the Europeans destroyed the »paradieses« with which the tourism industry lures travellers.

## Passion for discovery and disillusionment

People journeyed to New Worlds out of a thirst for adventure and lust for gold, out of longing for Utopia or Paradise. Later the journeys became part of a middle-class education programme and a means of gaining romantic self-awareness. From the very beginning the journey to foreign lands was also a flight from the civilization of Europe, which even in the early days seemed to fill many with »disgust and abhorrence«.<sup>1</sup> At the same time the story of the journeys was the story of a progressive disillusionment.

In the preface to his illustrated report on *An embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham, emperor of China ...*, first published in Amsterdam in 1665 and later translated into English, French, and German, the dutch traveler Johan Nieuhof (1618–72) still spoke of the »strange desire and longing / to explore the glory and treasures of foreign lands«. China was still »concealed from the world in great darkness«. The author saw a natural urge in the »strange desire and longing«: »For it seems to have been implanted in mortals by nature / that they constantly explore / and want to see with their own eyes things / that either / because of their remoteness / are obtained at the cost of great effort and difficulty / or are by nature, out of envy as it were / kept secret at a far distant place on Earth / and not permitted to be viewed by the eager explorer.<sup>1</sup>

When Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) was born, foreign countries were no longer concealed in »great darkness«: Humboldt's worldview, from childhood on, was composed of images supplied by those who were travellers before him: »Childlike joy in the form of countries and enclosed seas as shown on maps, a desire to see the southern constellations, ... depictions of palm trees and Lebanese cedars in an illustrated Bible can plant the earliest urge to travel to distant countries in one's soul. Were I permitted to invoke my own memories, to ask myself what it was that provided the first impetus for an ineradicable longing for the tropics, I would have to mention: Georg Forster's descriptions of the South Sea islands; paintings by Hodges showing the banks of the



Ludwig Persius, Steam-Engine House in Potsdam,  
1841–43.

Ganges, in the house of Warren Hastings in London; a colossal dragon tree in an old tower of the botanical garden near Berlin.<sup>2</sup>

The travellers who were driven by longing alone were disappointed, however. In 1843 the French writer Gérard de Nerval (1805–55) wrote to his friend Théophile Gautier from Constantinople: »I have already lost kingdom after kingdom, province after province, the loveliest half of the universe, and soon I will no longer know where my dreams can still find a refuge.<sup>3</sup>

What Nerval and many other writers and painters were looking for no longer existed or had never existed. It existed only in their imagination: »For the word »Orient« to produce its full impact on your mind it is important, above all, that you have never been in the inadequately identified region the word refers to. From pictures, reports, readings and a few objects you should have only the most inexact, the least scholarly and even the most confused knowledge of it. That is how you create the stuff that dreams are made of. For that you need a mixture of space and time, of pseudo-truths and false certainty, of infinitesimal details and grossly broad generalizations. That is the Orient of the mind.<sup>4</sup> The »Orient« of which Europe had been dreaming since the conquest of Algiers (1830) was undergoing far-reaching changes in the nineteenth century. Cities like Cairo and Constantinople were modernized based on a European model, splitting into an old Islamic and a new Western district inhabited by foreigners and members of the upper class.

This was another reason many travellers were disappointed: Their civilization had always arrived before them. Théophile Gautier took a train from Alexandria to Cairo and stayed at Shepheard's Hotel. Sentimental travellers like Nerval or Pierre Loti purchased Oriental clothing and rented houses in the traditional residential districts. But even then they remained strangers in the other culture. Their Orient, like that which the painters painted in the studios upon their return, was a fiction that left out the present. It showed the idyll of unalterably continuing traditions into which Europe had not yet irrupted with its armies, parties of tourists and railroad trains.

Thus it could happen that in isolated cases the Orient that Europeans staged at home was already a re-imported Europe: The Turkish Salon that King Ludwig II of Bavaria furnished on Schachen was modelled on the hall of a palace on the Golden Horn that was clearly influenced by the Occidental Rococo style. As early as the eighteenth century, people in the Ottoman Empire had begun to follow Western cultural and political models.



The Chinese House in the Désert de Retz. From: Georges Louis Le Rouge, *Jardins anglo-chinois à la mode*, 1785.

The garden as a museum of world architecture. Frontispiece to: Jean Charles Krafft, *Plans des plus beaux jardins*, 1809/10.

#### An imaginative appropriation of the world

In order to appropriate the world, Europeans had two possibilities: authentic experience and imagination. You could travel like Pierre Loti or stay at home like Ludwig II. The writer spent quite a long time in Turkey and in Japan, and longed to find total fulfilment in a new identity. The Bavarian king never left Europe and created an artificial exotic world for himself in which there was nothing to remind him of present-day realities. But even the self-made experience of the world always had an admixture of imagination. No one who left Europe could have left behind his knowledge, his judgements and learned perspectives. Most people were not aware of this. However, this form of perception could also be made into a consciously applied principle: In his *Essay on Picturesque Travel*<sup>5</sup> (1792) William Gilpin developed a theory of travel that gave memory priority over the actual experience, and placed hindsight above the present moment. The »picturesque« traveller went in search of images, not of new insights. He collected sensory impressions, only to fit them into a mental image composed according to the rules of landscape painting. Selective perception excluded all that was not worthy of depiction. In retrospect what had been seen could be corrected and reassembled according to the rules of good taste. Gilpin's essay was clearly related to the theory and practice of garden design: The landscape gardens laid out by English landowners beginning in the 1730s were less about the imitation of nature than about subtly improving it by means of art.

Not only nature, but culture, too, was the theme of the gardens. In them, ideas about the world and history were translated into three-dimensional images. Especially in France, where the nobility of the ancien régime adopted the English model, the garden became the »land of illusion«.

#### Gardens of illusion

»If one can make a picturesque garden into a land of illusion, why not do so? One can be diverted only by illusions; ... Nature varies depending on the climate; let us try to change the climate by means of deception, or at least make people forget where we are; let us bring the changing stage sets of the opera into our gardens; let us here show as reality what the most skilful painters offer as decoration there, all periods and all places.«<sup>6</sup> The garden became the experimental site of the architects: Chinese pagodas, Egyptian tombs and Turkish mosques, along with Gothic stables and Greek and Roman temples, formed a microcosm in which distance and past were intermingled.

Tartar tent in the garden of Monceau. Engraving from Louis Carmontelle, *Jardin de Monceau, près de Paris*, 1779.



The »jardin anglo-chinois« – the term assumed that the English for their part merely imitated the Chinese – was not only the amusement park of the aristocracy, but also the simplified model of an educational world built out of materials that were available and of current interest. Underlying the attempt to represent the world in the model was the wish for an encyclopaedic overall view and comparability. On a larger scale and with a vastly increased amount of knowledge, the world exhibitions of the nineteenth century continued the encyclopaedic tradition.

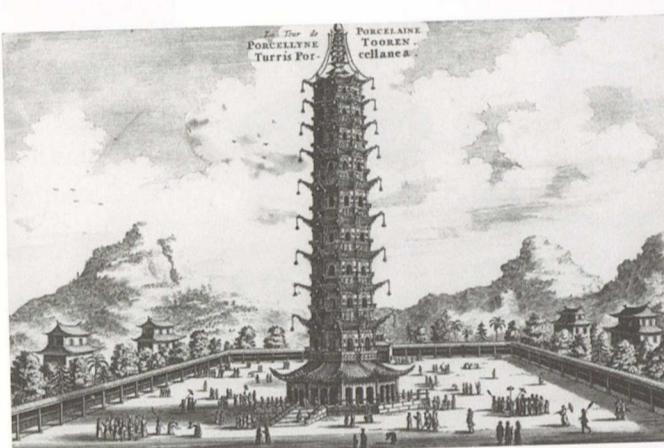
Buildings that were, or at least claimed to be, exotic had existed even in the gardens of the Baroque era. Probably the earliest building whose name referenced a foreign culture was the »Persian House« in the park of Schloß Gottorf near Schleswig (1651–54), which had been designed by the court scholar Adam Olearius. Like numerous objects of the ducal art collection, the building, about whose appearance little is known, was a memento of an ambassadorial journey to Persia led by Olearius.

#### The fashion for all things Chinese

The »Persian House« remained an exception, however. It was another culture that was to fascinate Europe until the early nineteenth century. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century merchant ships of the East India Company had been bringing vast quantities of porcelain, lacquerwork and wallpaper from China. The Far Eastern curios were not only displayed in art collections and porcelain cabinets, but also had a profound influence on the decorative arts of Europe. Early attempts to imitate Far Eastern models as closely to the original as possible were followed by an ever freer treatment of Chinese motifs. European artisans designed porcelains, wallpaper, furniture and entire rooms in the »Chinese taste«. In the chinoiseries of the Rococo, China was portrayed as a fairy-tale fantasy land in which all people lived in prosperity and happiness. Its droll inhabitants, like the people at the European royal courts, seemed to have only one worry: how to pass their time in the most pleasant way possible.

For a long time architects had lacked suitable models to enable them to construct buildings in the Chinese style. The first travel report to contain depictions of Chinese architecture was the book of Johan Nieuhof, which was disseminated in numerous editions and translations. Nieuhof's *Embassy* continued to be a standard work for a long time, referred to by many later authors: Olfert Dapper, Melchisédec Thévenot, and Christoph Wagner in his volume about *The mighty empire of Sina*.<sup>7</sup> Beside the imperial palace in Peking, it was especially the so-called Porcelain Pagoda in Nanking whose picture was borrowed from Nieuhof by many illustrators.

The pagoda, built in the ancient Chinese capital in the early fifteenth century, was, according to Nieuhof's description, clad entirely in faience tiles and painted red, green and yellow. From the projecting roofs of the individual storeys hung bells that produced a »lovely sound«.<sup>8</sup> An allusion to this famous building was the Trianon de Porcelaine that Louis XIV had built in Versailles by Louis le Vau around 1670. However, the reference to the Chinese model was limited to the material: The Baroque mansard roofs of the Trianon were tiled with coloured glazed faience and the cornices were decorated with vases.<sup>9</sup> Apparently the disconcertment which people still experienced vis-à-vis Chinese architecture became more familiar. The multi-storey pagodas and the houses with curved roofs became popular motifs on cups, plates and wallpaper. In the *Entwurff Einer Historischen Architektur* (A Plan of Civil and Historical Architecture) that the Viennese architect Bernhard Fischer von Erlach published in 1721 we again encounter the buildings that had already been depicted by Nieuhof. Fischer's book was the first world history of architecture. It began with reconstructions of the Seven Wonders of the World, portrayed the buildings of ancient Rome in the second book and then discussed the buildings »of the Arabs and Turks; as well as the new Persian, Siamese, Sinese and



Gate of Honour in Canton. Title page of: Johann Christoph Wagner, *Das mächtige Kaiserreich Sina*, 1688.

Jan Nieuhof, »Porcelain Pagoda« in Nanking.



Japonese style of building». Fischer did not know the exotic buildings from having seen them personally. He had taken all of the illustrations from other books. The views of Hagia Sophia (cf. p. 27) and the Sultan Ahmed Mosque came from Grelot's description of Constantinople,<sup>10</sup> the picture of the royal palace of Isfahan from Jean Chardin's report about his various trips to Persia.<sup>11</sup>

During the same period the first »Chinese« buildings were built in the European gardens. While Joseph Effner decorated only the interior of the Pagodenburg in the park of Schloß Nymphenburg (1716–19) in the Chinese style, the »Indian« summer palaces built by Augustus the Strong in Pillnitz on the bank of the River Elbe exhibited »Chinese« characteristics on the exterior as well: The Baroque mansard roofs were curved after the Chinese model, and the cavetti under the eaves were painted with motifs that were familiar from Chinese-style porcelains and wallpapers. The Rococo era used the epithet »Chinese« as a pretext for playfully breaking up the basic Baroque form. The same process could also be observed in such buildings as the Japanese Palace in Dresden (Zacharias Longuelune, Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann, 1727–37), the Indian Lusthaus (Summer House) in Brühl (ca. 1744–53)<sup>12</sup> and the Entenhaus (Duck House) in the park of Schloß Wilhelmsthal near Kassel (ca. 1747/48).

In Lunéville, Stanislaw Leszczyński, King of Poland and Duke of Lorraine, had a Chinese pavilion built on a cloverleaf-shaped ground plan (Le Trèfle) circa 1738 and a Kiosque à la Turque (1738), by Emmanuel Héré (1705–63). However, the one building was no more Chinese than the other was Turkish: The »Turkish« house had the curved roof edges typical of Chinese buildings, while the »Chinese« house was disconcerting particularly because of its unusual ground plan and the roof with its undulating edges.

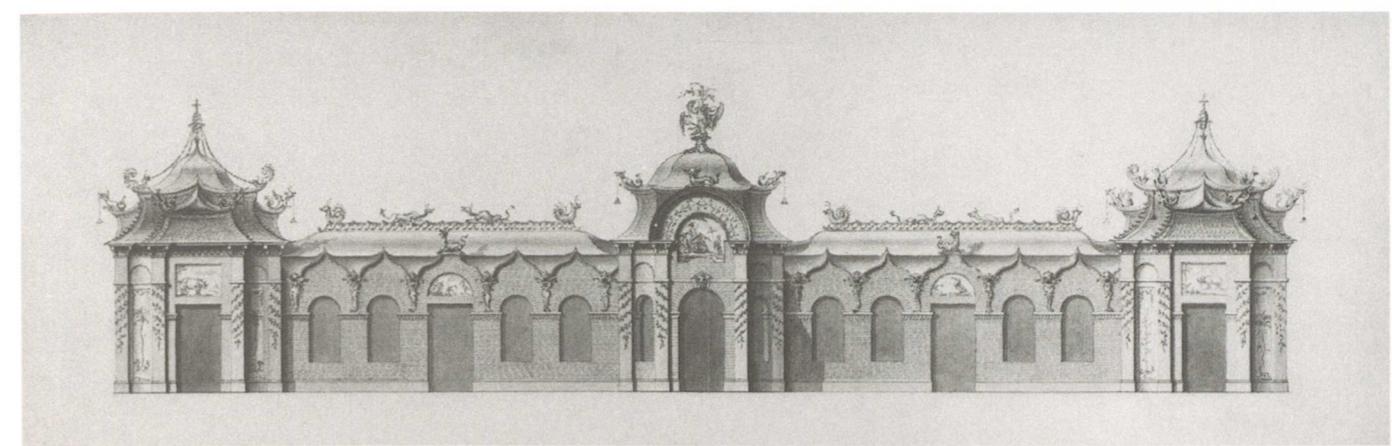
Le Trèfle had a successor in the park of Sanssouci: Héré published his designs for the Polish king in an illustrated book, and Stanislaw sent a copy to Frederick II, King of Prussia.<sup>13</sup> The latter had Johann Gottfried Büring build the famous Chinese Teahouse based on the French model. Büring adopted the ground plan but also decorated the building with gilded palm tree columns, life-size groups of figures and a Chinese man with a parasol, whom he placed up on the roof. In all these buildings, we are struck by a remarkable confusion of terms: They were called »Chinese«, »Japanese«, »Turkish« or »Indian«, yet all meant the same country: China.



William and John Halfpenny, Chinese Garden Temple.

Johann Gottfried Büring, Chinese Teahouse, Sanssouci, 1754–56.

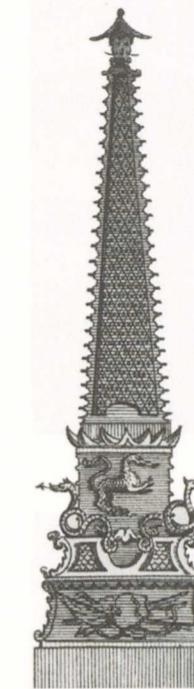
The Indian House in Brühl. View from the east. Painting by Johann Franz Rousseau, ca. 1755–60.



Entenhaus (Duck House) in the park of Schloß Wilhelmsthal, ca. 1747/48.

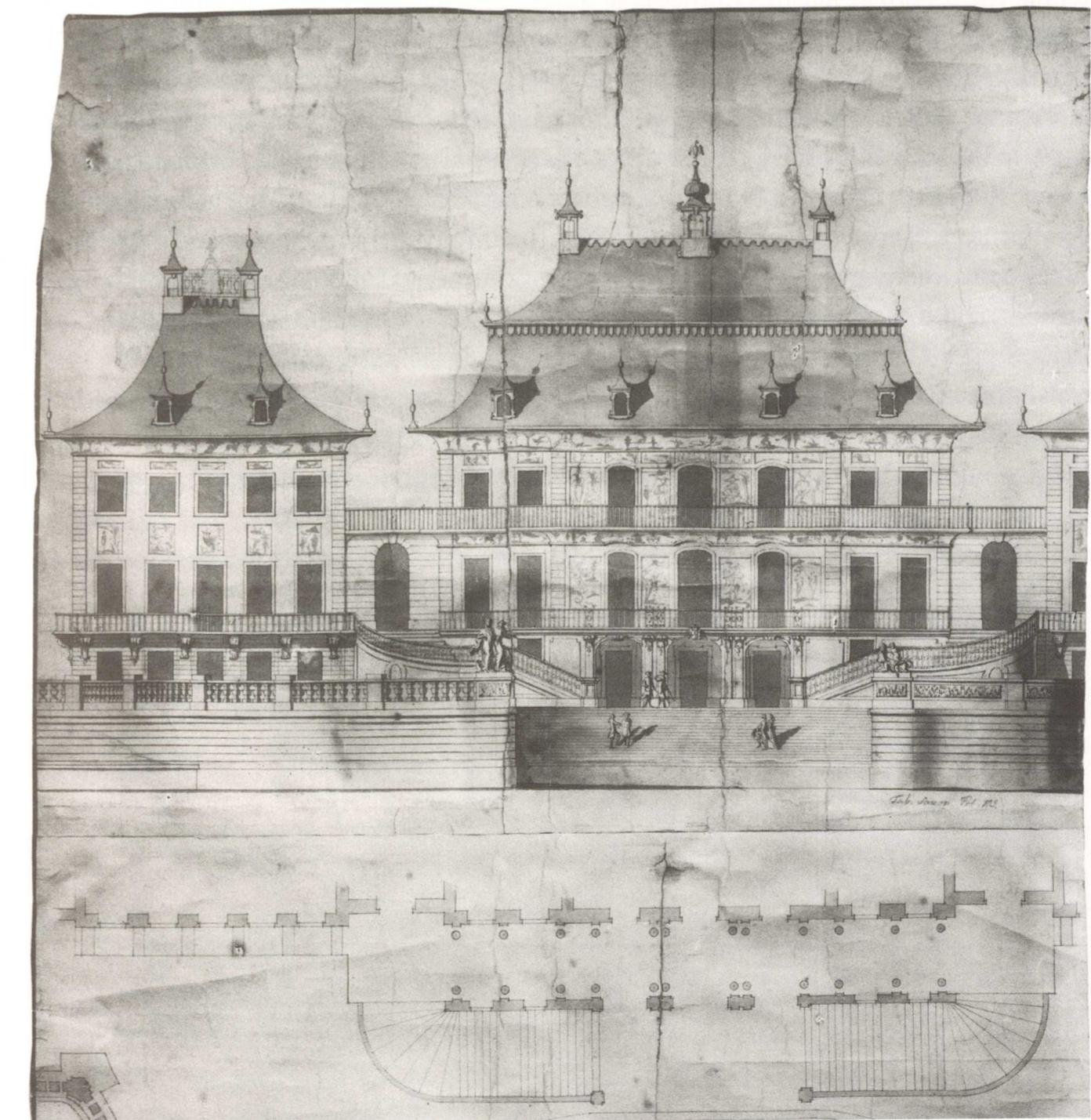
The only actually Chinese characteristic was the curved roofs; otherwise only the paintings and figures referred to the culture which their architects claimed as the model. How little people were still interested in more authentic replicas of Chinese architecture is shown by the specimen designs for garden pavilions, gates, balustrades and bridges that William and John Halfpenny disseminated in their little books.<sup>14</sup> Their garden temples, often »partly in the Chinese taste«, were small Rococo structures with rampant contours in which Gothic and Chinese elements intermingled. In the exotic fantasy world of the Halfpennys even an obelisk decorated with Chinese dragons had a right to exist.

The Rococo chinoiseries, however, soon became obsolete: In 1757 William Chambers (1723–96) published a book titled *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines and Utensils*.



William and John Halfpenny, »An Obelisk in the Chinese taste«.

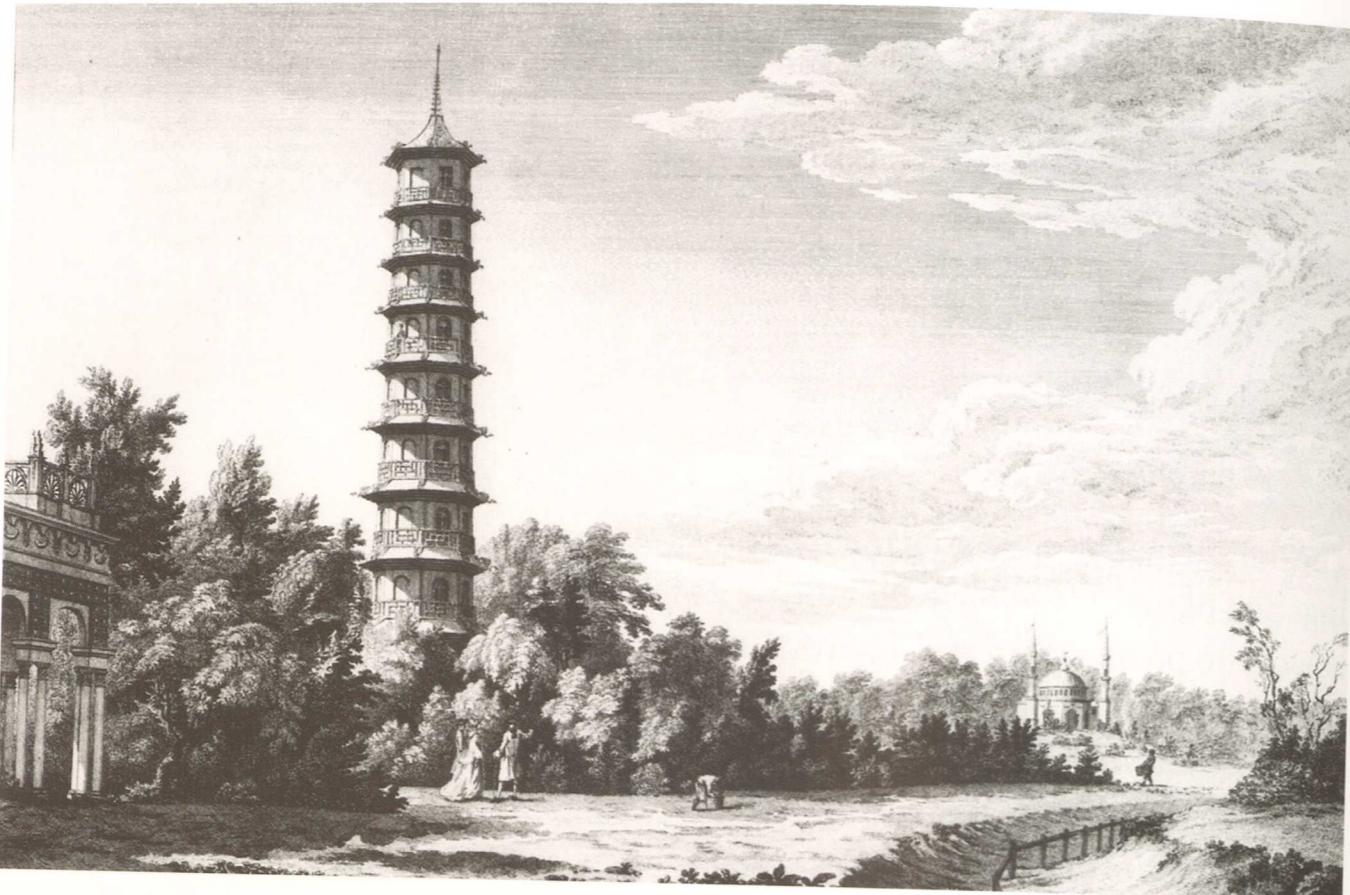
Water Palace in Pillnitz. Elevation of the section facing the River Elbe. Plan by Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann, 1721/22.



William Chambers, The »Wilderness« at Kew with the Alhambra, Pagoda and Mosque. Engraving from: *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew in Surrey*, 1763.

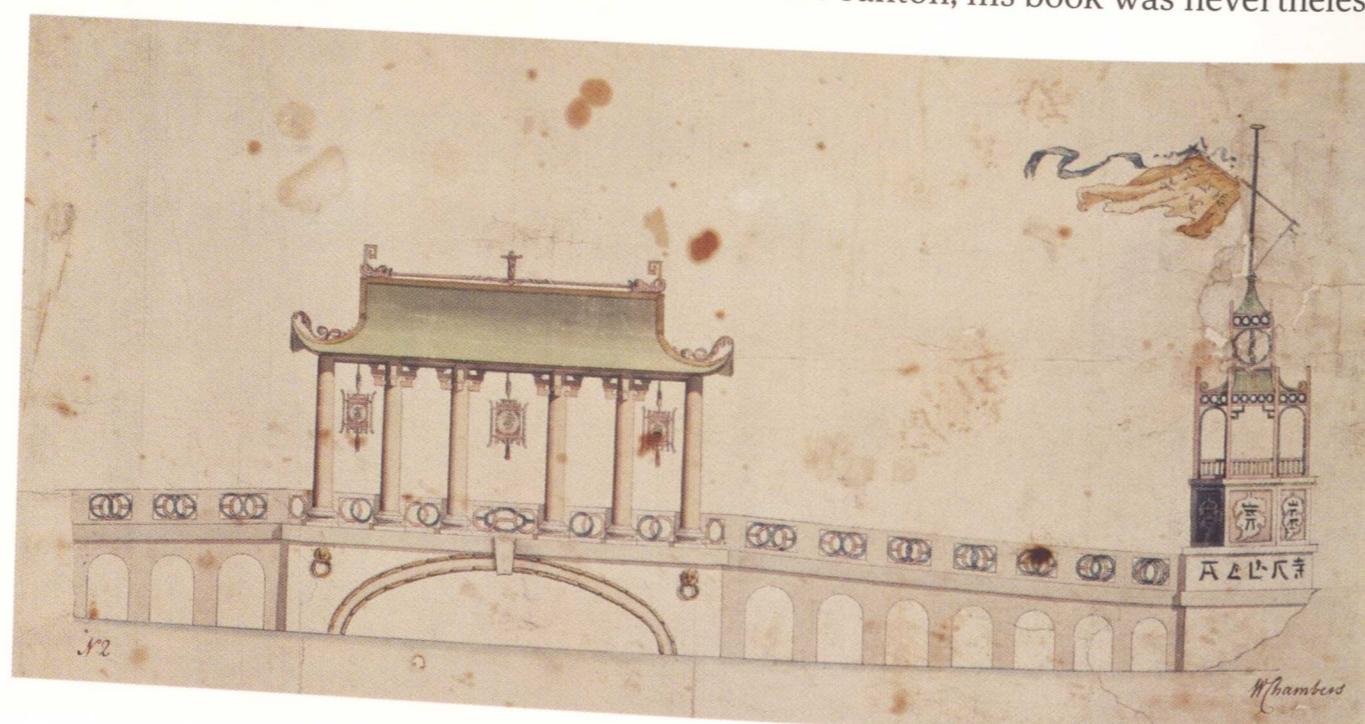
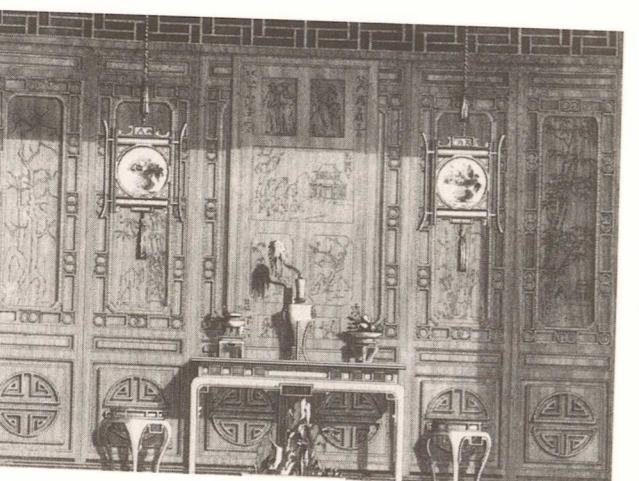
William Chambers, House of a Chinese Merchant and Chinese Interior. From: *Designs of Chinese Buildings*, 1757.

William Chambers, Sketch for a Chinese bridge in the Deer Park, Sanssouci, 1763.



William Chambers<sup>15</sup>

Chambers had served in the Swedish East India Company and had been in India and China several times, where he was also engaged in architectural studies. His knowledge, however, remained limited to Canton, since Europeans were not permitted to travel in the country's interior. After his return from China, he began his training as an architect at the school of Jacques-François Blondel in Paris, continuing his studies in Rome. In 1755 he settled in London. Thanks to his good connections to the royal family, this marked the beginning of an extremely successful career for him. As court architect and later as surveyor at the Office of Works he designed numerous public and private buildings. In the year in which his book about Chinese architecture appeared, he also began his work at Kew Gardens: Princess Augusta commissioned him to transform the royal estate into a landscape garden. In England the enthusiasm for Chinese garden structures had already passed its peak, but on the Continent Chambers' book and his exotic buildings at Kew, which he documented in a lavishly illustrated volume (*Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew in Surrey*, 1763), were greeted enthusiastically. Frederick II asked Chambers for a design for a Chinese bridge, which was never implemented, however.<sup>16</sup> Even though the buildings depicted in the *Designs of Chinese Buildings* are implausible in many details<sup>17</sup> and Chambers even admitted in one case that his design was »taken from various buildings of that kind«<sup>18</sup> that he had seen in Canton, his book was nevertheless



Joseph Frey, Chinese tower in the Englischer Garten, Munich, 1791.

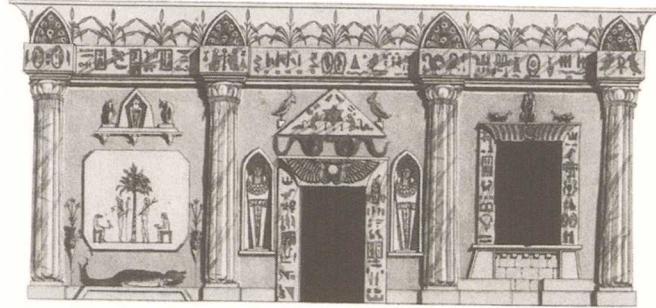
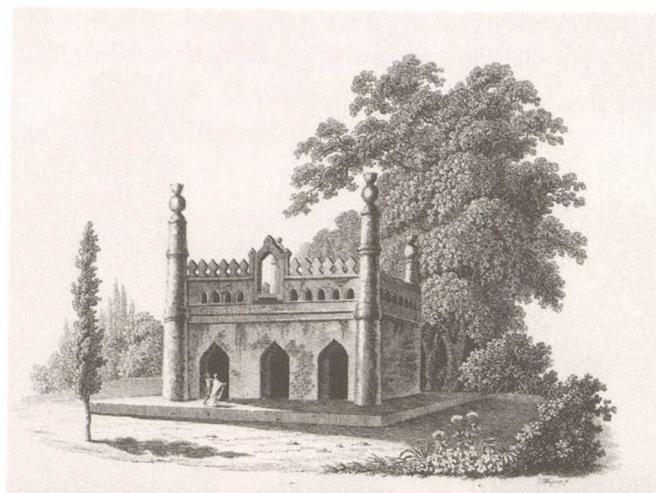
Georg Christoph Hesekiel, Chinese Bell Tower in the park of Oranienbaum.

the first homage to Chinese architecture from the perspective of architectural history. It was Chambers' intention to correct the Europeans' distorted view of Chinese architecture. At the same time he wanted to put a stop to the »extravagancies that daily appear under the name of Chinese«.<sup>19</sup> But Chambers did not want to compromise himself with his publication: In the preface he assured the readers that it was not his intention to »promote a taste so much inferior to the antique«.<sup>20</sup> At Kew he created the prototype of the »Anglo-Chinese« garden that was soon to have many imitators on the Continent. Along with numerous little classicistic temples, Kew had a Pagoda, the House of Confucius, an Alhambra and a Mosque. The Pagoda was to have many successors: in Potsdam, Oranienbaum, Chanteloup, Montbéliard and Munich.<sup>21</sup>

#### Pattern books for garden lovers

The significance attached to all issues concerning garden design in the eighteenth century is attested to by the large number of specialized publications: Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, numerous illustrated books and periodicals were published to provide the landowning aristocracy and middle-class amateur gardeners with sample designs and detailed descriptions of the best-known parks and gardens. The *Détails des nouveaux Jardins à la mode* by Georges Le Rouge, which appeared from 1770 to 1787, Johann Gottfried Grohmann's *Ideenmagazin* and Jean Charles Krafft's *Plans des plus beaux Jardins* ensured that certain models were disseminated throughout Europe.<sup>22</sup>

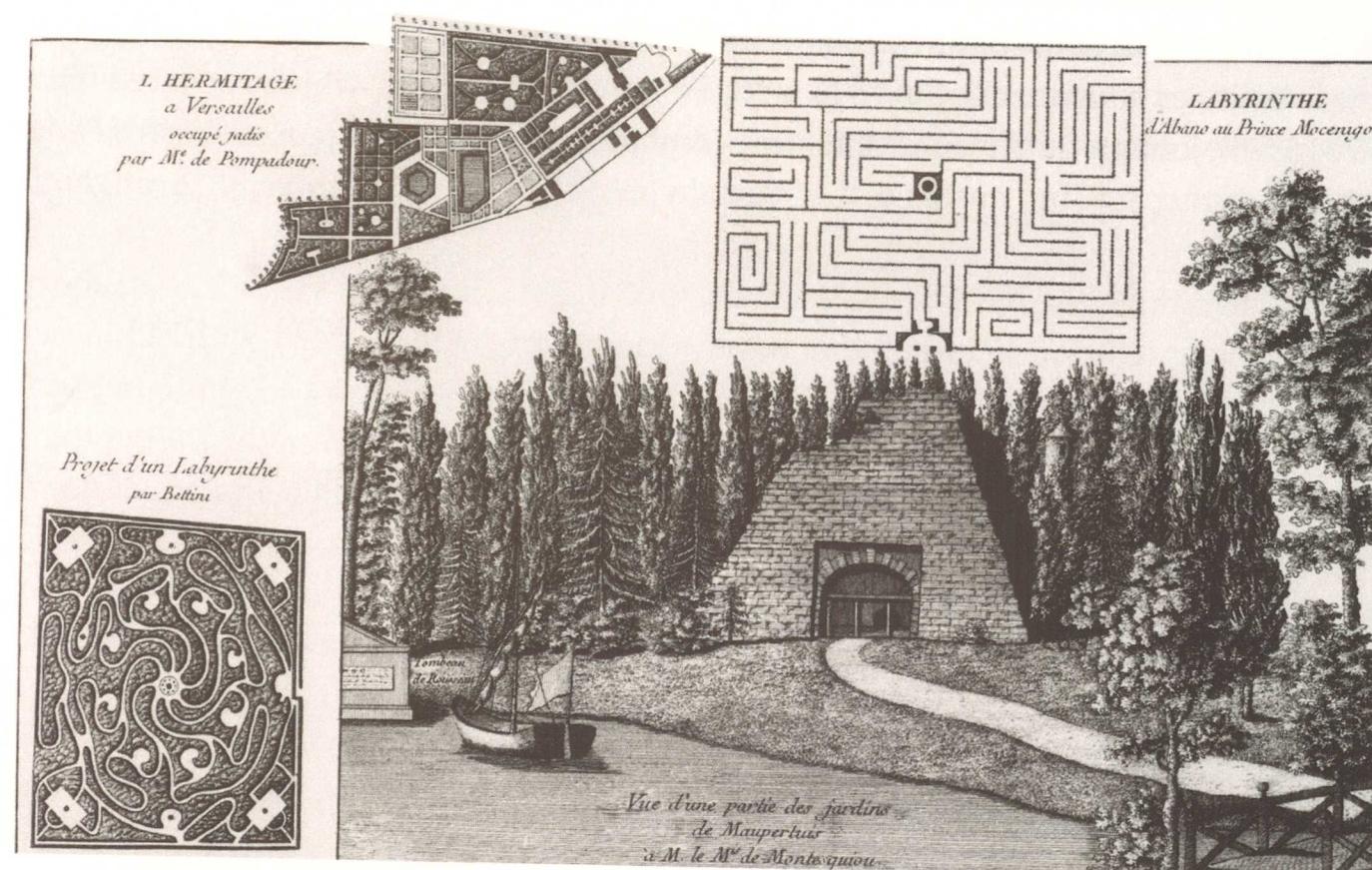
Grohmann offered the most fantastic mixture of all cultures and periods: The issues of his magazine depicted »Turkish tents« and »Moorish temples«, along with »Chinese« pavilions, bridges and gondolas, »Tahitian« huts and summerhouses, »Egyptian« pyramids, portals and garden seats as well as indoor furniture in the »Persian«, »Egyptian« or in the »lavish Oriental taste«.<sup>23</sup> That his stylistic distinctions fell behind the knowledge available at the time is shown, for instance, by the caption of the »Caravanserai in the Moorish style«: »This type of building is found very frequently in India.«<sup>24</sup> However, Grohmann and his readers were hardly interested in the actual appearance of Indian or Moorish buildings. His comment on »Interior décor in the Egyptian style« is revealing:<sup>25</sup> The selection of an exotic architectural style made it possible to break with the rules of good taste, i.e., with the aesthetic norm based on the buildings of Greek and Roman antiquity. »Lack of taste« became acceptable as long as it was simply called



Johann Gottfried Grohmann, »Caravanserai in the Moorish Style« and »Egyptian« interior.

»Interior décor in the Egyptian style: We deliberately do not say 'in the Egyptian taste', for the Egyptians had no taste in art, as attested to by the works of figurative art they left behind. Therefore do not accuse this page of lack of taste: It would stop being in the Egyptian style if you took away from it this characteristic - chaotic confusion and proliferation of colours in every respect.«

The Pyramid in Maupertuis. From: Georges Louis Le Rouge, *Jardins anglo-chinois à la mode*, 1784.

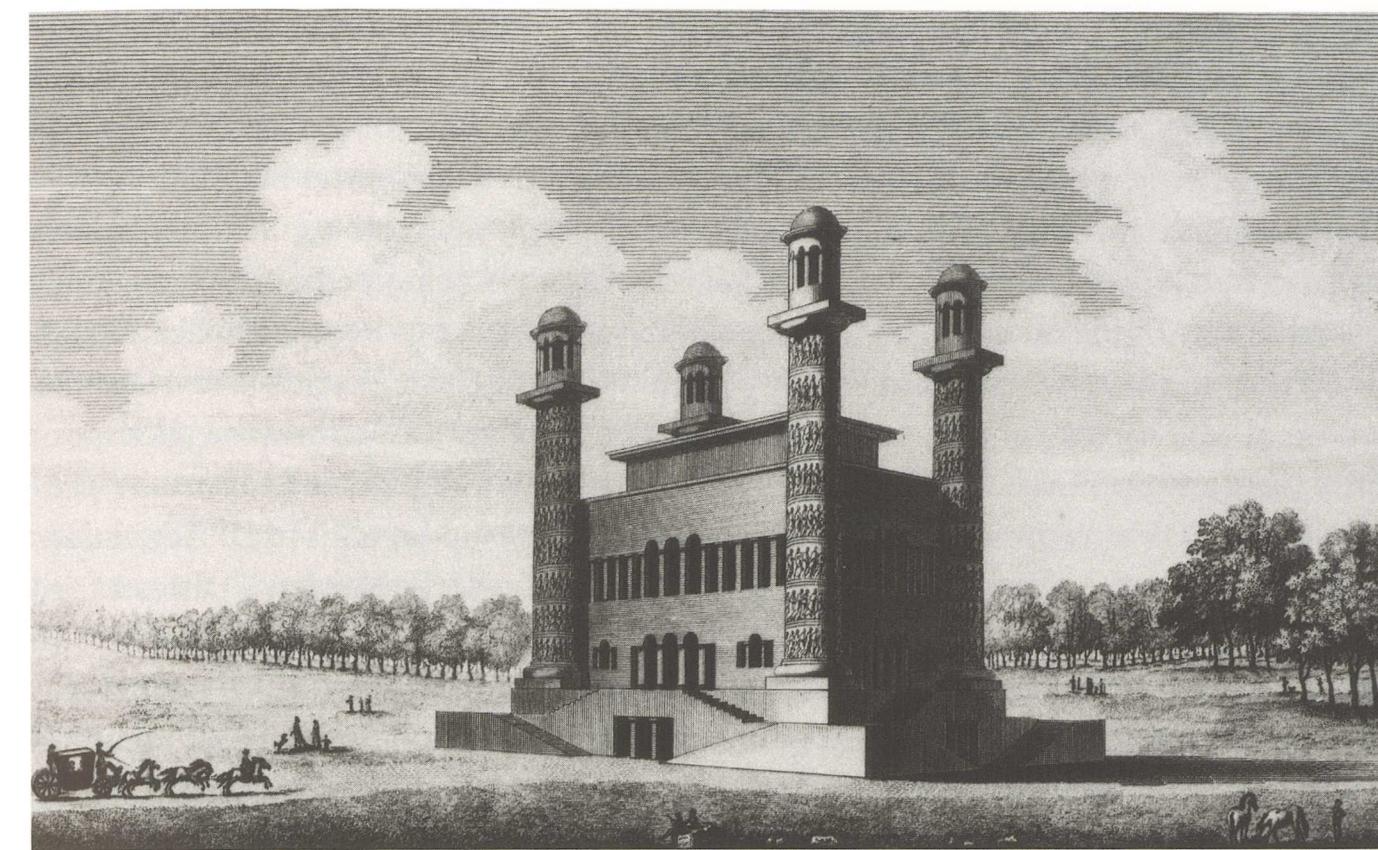


»Chinese«, »Egyptian« or »Oriental«: The blame for the aesthetic aberrancy was thus shifted to a foreign culture, and people could indulge in their own frivolous penchants with a clear conscience.

The reference to a fictitious exotic model was intended to justify not only the divergence from the standard of taste but frequently also experimentation with outlandish ground plans and new building materials. Thus the use of iron was permitted as long as one moved outside traditional aesthetic categories. Moreover the static properties of the new building material, which many rejected as not being suitable for architecture, were frequently the ideal prerequisite for the playful use of the forms of nature and exotic architectural motifs. Not only slender bamboo columns or entire bamboo staircases (cf. p. 54) but even complicated Islamic decorative forms could be cast in iron and efficiently reproduced. Particularly in the Moorish structures of the nineteenth century we are struck by the frequent use of cast iron: The filigree effect of the Moorish arcades on their tall, slim columns could hardly have been better produced by using any other material.

The choice of styles was intended to correspond to changes in moods, carefully calculated by the garden designers. Confined or open space, darkness or light, fecundity or austerity could be produced by the appropriate use of plants, the decision in favour of light-filled deciduous trees over dark coniferous woodland, the modelling of the terrain and the creation of artificial rocks, waterfalls and lakes. The walk through the park was dictated by a predetermined script: In a dark grove the sight of ancient funereal monuments inspired the solitary stroller to melancholy reflections about life and death. Perhaps he then had to cross a narrow and gloomy ravine before entering, to his relief, a rural idyll with rustic huts, ancient little temples and grazing cows.

The sentimental values assigned to the different styles reflected the idea people had of the particular culture or epoch. Since China was considered to be the land of care-free earthly happiness, it was associated with the bizarre and colourful chinoiseries of cheerful conviviality. The Egyptian architectural decorations, on the other hand, gave rise to thoughts of eternity and the cult of the dead, unfathomable secrets and magic rituals: »... that behind everything they created are concealed profound wisdom and impenetrable mysteries, and that those who put a structure built in the Egyptian taste in a place, in a scene that are not analogous to this feeling would incur the censure of anyone who knows the least thing about the ancient Egyptians.«<sup>26</sup>



Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, »Maison de Campagne, ou Temple de Mémoire«. From: *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation*, 1804.

Jean-Jacques Lequeu, Indian Pagoda. The caption indicates that the design is a »feuille imaginaire« - an imaginary page.

Louis Jean Desprez, Design for one of the tents in Haga Park, 1787.

### Revolutionary Architecture

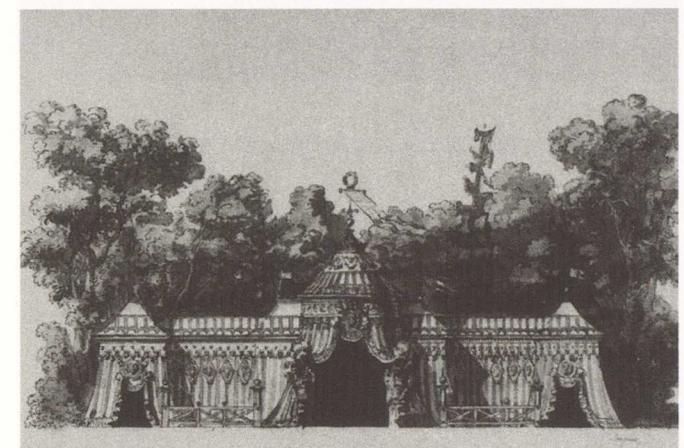
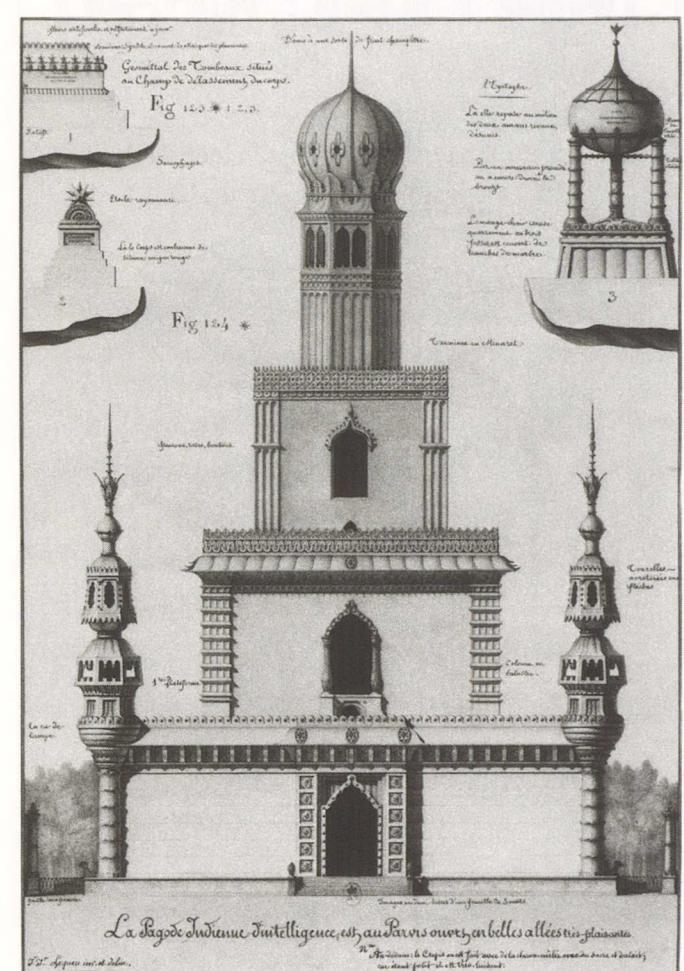
The projects of the so-called Revolutionary Architects reflected a comparable view of architecture. They too believed in the symbolic power of forms. However, their »architecture parlante« was not intended to serve the amusement of privileged idlers, but rather the education of the masses. The euphoria of the revolutionary period is clearly shown by the unimplemented designs of Etienne-Louis Boullée (1728–99). It was in these monumental geometrical structures that the ideals of the bourgeois republic were to be manifested, and it was assumed that like the Egyptian pyramids they would survive through the ages. Boullée's spheres and pyramids, columns and cones would guarantee the continuation of social progress by their huge masses of stone alone. Architecture was to be the equal of the great emotions; the form of a building was to proclaim its purpose clearly: »Our public buildings were meant to be true poems in a certain sense. The images they offer our senses should trigger emotions in our souls that are commensurate with their intended function.«<sup>27</sup>

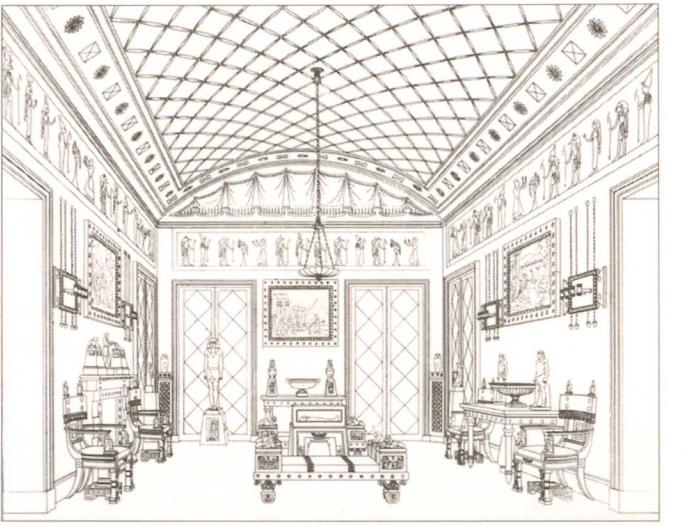
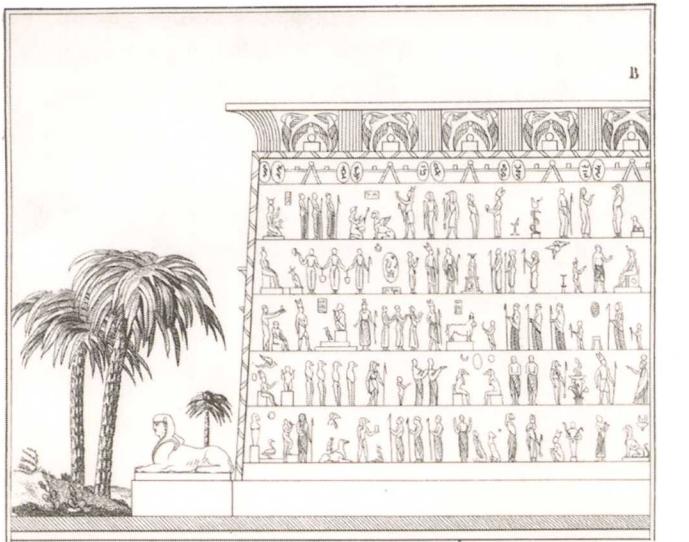
The close resemblance of the Revolutionary Architects and the experiments around the landscape garden becomes even clearer in the works of Claude-Nicolas Ledoux (1736–1806), Jean-Jacques Lequeu (1757–1826) and Louis-Jean Desprez (1743–1804).

Ledoux, who unlike Boullée was able to implement many of his ideas, was, like the latter, fascinated by basic stereometric forms: For the Marquis de Montesquiou, he built a castle with various outbuildings. The spherical house of the park watchman remained unbuilt; Ledoux did build a still extant pyramid whose dimensions were admittedly modest compared to what he might have had in mind.

Lequeu, whose career had come to an abrupt end with the revolution, had to earn his living as a cartographer. In his plans, the precision of a technical draughtsman was intermixed with an unbridled fantasy. The imaginary projects for Indian pagodas, Egyptian residential houses and Chinese pavilions show the influences of the pattern books of Grohmann and Le Rouge. But Lequeu transformed the material available there to create new eclectic combinations.

Like Boullée, Desprez, who primarily worked as a draughtsman and etcher, designed a few monumental but imaginary projects; he lived in Rome and then in Sweden, where he designed theatre decorations and garden structures for Gustav II. He created one of the three large sheet copper tents in Haga Park.<sup>28</sup>





Egyptian temple in the park of the Prince de Benevent in Valancé, 1805/06. From: Jean Charles Krafft, *Plans des plus beaux jardins*, 1809/10.

The Egyptian Room in the house of Thomas Hope, Duchess Street, London, ca. 1800. From: *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*, 1807.

The museal room was furnished with ancient Egyptian artworks and new creations in the Egyptian style. In addition to a comprehensive collection of antiquities, the house, which was open to visitors, also contained an Indian Room, whose classicistic rigour equalled that of the Egyptian one.

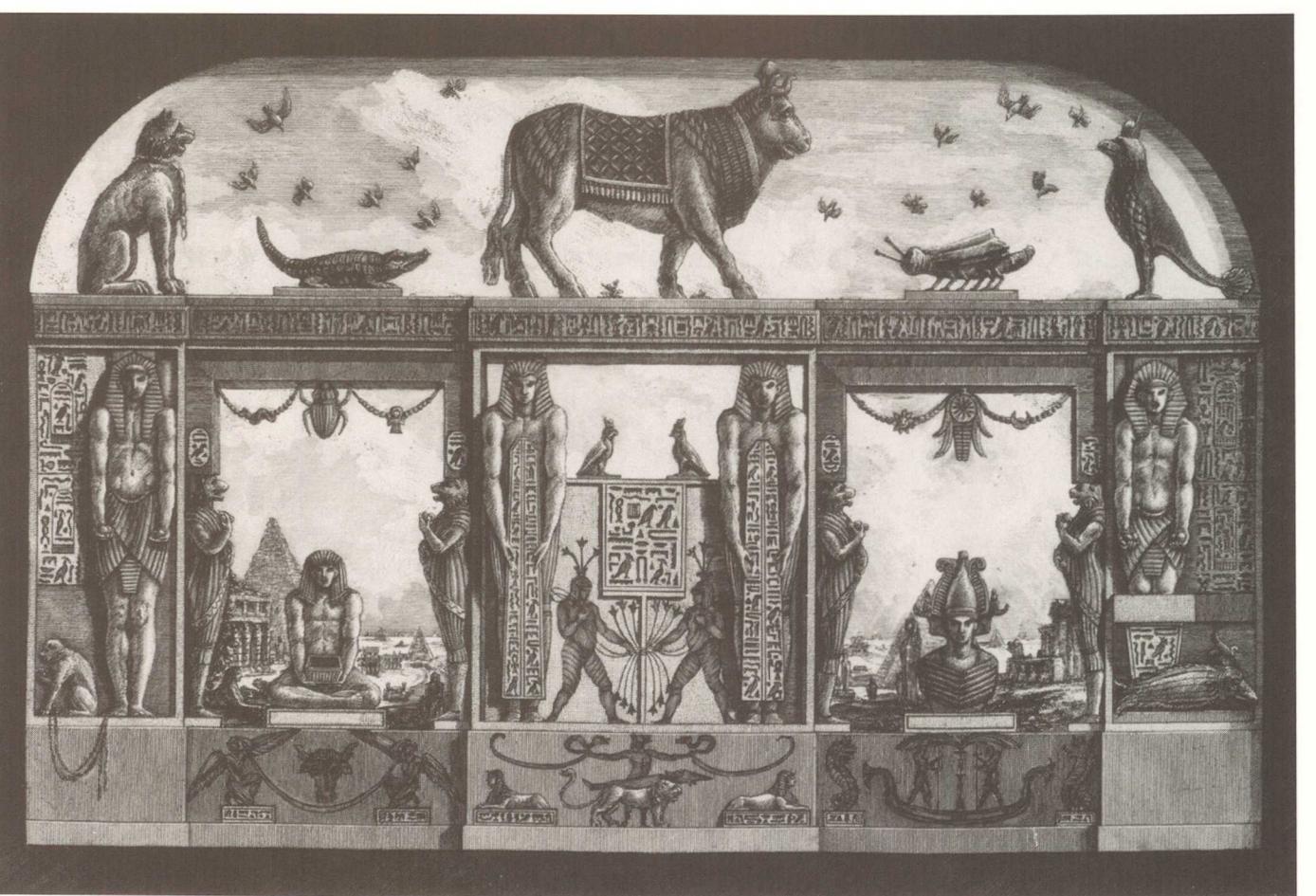
Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Decoration of the Caffè Inglese in Rome, ca. 1760. From: *Diverse maniere d'adornare i cammini*, 1769.

### Egyptian Revival<sup>29</sup>

Desprez had also etched a few imaginary designs for neo-Egyptian monuments. His interest in Egyptian architecture began during his years in Rome. There he became familiar with the work of Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–78), who had developed a highly imaginative decorative style not only in his fireplace designs, published in 1769, but also in his furnishings for the Caffè Inglese; his style combined every imaginable Egyptian motif in great profusion. European Egyptomania can be traced back to classical antiquity, as shown not only by the pyramid tomb of Gaius Cestius (a smaller-size replica of which exists in the park of Schloß Wilhelmshöhe, Kassel) and the obelisks of Baroque-era Rome, but also the numerous seventeenth- and eighteenth-century publications. Pictorial representations range from the fantastic inventions of Athanasius Kircher to objective depictions by John Greaves and Frederik Norden to attempts at reconstruction by Fischer von Erlach.<sup>30</sup>

But the playful and decorative use of Egyptian motifs during the Rococo period was replaced by a revival of ancient Egyptian architecture that not only strove for more grandiose effects but also revealed distinctly archaeological interests. It was Napoleon's campaign in Egypt (1798–1801) that triggered the Egyptian Revival. For the first time there was an attempt to document the pharaonic architectural monuments systematically. Scientists, architects and artists accompanied the military expedition. The result of their work were the 23 monumental volumes of the *Description de l'Égypte* (1809–22), which contained a comprehensive description of the country and also depicted select Islamic structures. Artists and architects throughout Europe and the US<sup>31</sup> took up the Egyptian theme.

The monumental geometry of the Egyptian edifices, their unadorned, monochrome surfaces and the column orders that looked like archaic precursors of the classical orders were in conformity with the changed aesthetic and social paradigms. The Rococo, the last exuberant expression of the feudal era, had been superseded by Classicism, which had been preceded by the archaeological and journalistic rediscovery of antiquity. However, Egyptian stylistic forms continued to be used on the basis of their content. Neo-Egyptian structures, by conjuring up eternity, were meant to awaken »sublime« feelings or even evoke awe and a terror intended to be educational. The use of the Egyptian style was particularly preferred in museums, schools, libraries, prisons and



cemetery portals, but also in synagogues and Masonic buildings. It was Boullée who had shown that the style was suitable for demonstrating the power of the state. Its adaptation in the decoration style of the First Empire was also determined by ideological motives: Even today, many monuments and buildings in Paris recall Napoleon's Egyptian adventure. Among these are the portico of the Palais Beauharnais (1805) and the obelisk on the Place de la Concorde erected there as late as 1836 in praise of the Emperor. The *Recueil des décos intérieures* (1801) by Percier and Fontaine, who as Napoleon's official architects profoundly influenced the style of the Empire, even contained depictions of Egyptian-style furniture.

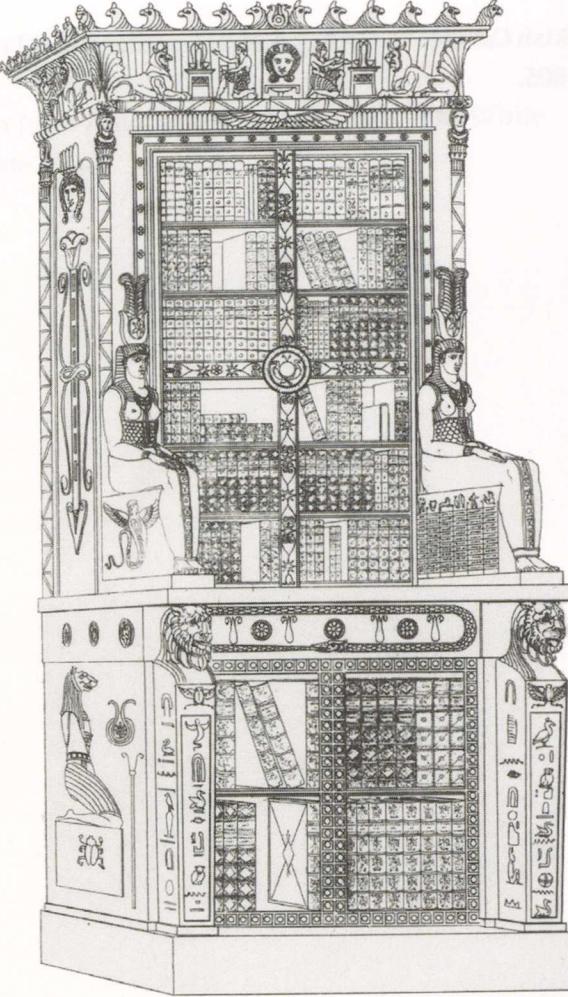
In Germany the use of Egyptian forms was limited to a few funereal monuments, unrealized projects and theatrical scenery.<sup>32</sup> Haller von Hallerstein's competition design for the Munich Glyptothek (1814) and Karl Friedrich Schinkel's stage designs for Mozart's *Magic Flute* (1815) should suffice as examples.

### Choice of style

The fact that in working out a project architects were faced by a choice between different styles was the result of growing interest in their own history and in cultures outside Europe. Admittedly not every style could be used for every project. The question as to which architectural style was suitable and appropriate in each case was regulated by a convention that assigned a different value to each style.

Classicism, which was based on the monuments of Greek antiquity, had for a long time ranked first in the hierarchy of styles. However, its supremacy began to wane with the increasing number of new options. The long-despised Gothic style gradually gained official recognition and, from an architectural style that was merely conceded to have a »picturesque« effect, was elevated to a style of national importance, used for parliaments and town halls. In the period of Classicism, the Gothic style and along with it the »painterly« or »picturesque« styles had been an expression of a romantic counter-movement.<sup>33</sup> Contemporaries did not feel the two poles were contradictions. Architects such as John Nash and Karl Friedrich Schinkel incorporated both sides in their work. They designed urban residential houses and representative public buildings in a classical idiom and built rural villas in a style with which they were familiar from the houses of the Roman Campagna. Nash built an Indian palace for the British crown prince and rustic huts for wealthy urbanites. The exotic styles started to get emancipated. Their use, which had thus far been limited exclusively to the park, was increasingly expanded. As second-rate styles, however, they were only rarely used for serious projects. They almost always signalled the exception from the rule of the ordinary and proclaimed that a building served a cheerful, sociable function. In the »codified«<sup>34</sup> eclecticism of the nineteenth century, historical styles were predominant. Exotic styles continued to play an outsider role.

Architecture owed the extensive repertoire of styles to increasing specialization and scientification in the appropriation of the world and of history. Archaeology and architectural description developed into disciplines in their own right. The enormous increase in knowledge was reflected in a growing number of publications, which were often painstakingly and precisely illustrated and became an important tool for architects. The poetic exoticism of the Baroque and Rococo was transformed into a scientific one. It became more and more difficult for architects to adopt a non-academic position. Depictions like those by Fischer von Erlach that imaginatively filled in gaps in knowledge had long become obsolete. It was no longer possible to call a building »Oriental«. People learned to make a distinction between »Persian« and »Moorish«, »Indian« and »Chinese«. In popular usage and even in architectural periodicals, however, the new terms were often misused as frequently as the designations »Indian« and »Chinese« had been during the Rococo period.



Percier and Fontaine, Bookcase in the Egyptian style.

Egyptian House, Penzance, Cornwall, ca. 1830.

Turkish Cabinet in the Palais Beauharnais, Paris,  
ca. 1805.



### Exoticism

Exoticism<sup>35</sup> (from the Greek *exotikós*, foreign) is a phenomenon that is not limited to architecture. The encounter of foreign cultures is also reflected in the visual and applied arts, in literature, music and even in the daily habits of consumers. In contrast to a gradual assimilation<sup>36</sup> of foreign motifs, stylistic characteristics and customs, exoticism refers to their conscious and voluntary use. In the pictorial representation of foreign nations, landscapes and cultures, it emphasizes the appeal of the unfamiliar and fantastical, whose special impact is due to its contrast with what is habitual and commonplace. There is evidence of instances of exoticism in many periods and cultures. We find them not only in Roman antiquity, which was fascinated by ancient Egypt, but also in eighteenth-century China, where Emperor Qianlong had the Jesuit Giuseppe Castiglione build him several Baroque palaces in Yuanming Yuan, the gardens of his summer palace northwest of Beijing.<sup>37</sup> When it comes to recent European history, exoticism is part of a complicated process of cultural interrelations that was set in motion by the voyages of discovery and colonial expansion. The fact that these relations were not between partners who were equal in terms of political power significantly determines the character of European exoticism.

Exoticism always implies an ethnocentric perspective that assesses all things foreign by its own standards. It is not an exclusively art-historical phenomenon but a general attitude that first and foremost sees the people of other nations and the achievements of foreign cultures as curiosities that serve only to satisfy the hunger for new sensory stimuli and the longing for new cultural models. Thus the curiosity people in Europe experienced when encountering all things foreign was often due not so much to a willingness to understand another culture as to an interest in their own society, for whose inadequacies they sought counter-models. In the literature of the French Enlightenment there were numerous examples – from Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* (1721) to Diderot's *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville* (1796) – of a social critique that concealed its own viewpoint behind the alleged foreign position: The exotic mask served as camouflage and at the same time ensured greater interest for the authors' line of reasoning, as it was entertaining. The numerous depictions of harems by writers and painters, on the other hand, reveal more about the fantasies and desires of European men than about the reality of an institution to which Europeans hardly ever gained admission.

Defined in this way, exoticism became the driving force behind ethnographic<sup>38</sup> and archaeological studies, and colonial and touristic conquests.

In architecture the appropriation of foreign architectural styles is in stark contrast with the »export« of European types of construction, forms of buildings and technologies to the colonies. However, this export is not an exact reflection of the »import«. In point of fact, the transfer of European models to foreign cultures was an important element of imperialistic policies, while on the other hand the »import« was always also a symbol for the domination of other parts of the world.<sup>39</sup>

What is true of chinoiserie and Egyptian Revival is equally true of the exotic fashions of the nineteenth century: None of them is solely the product of artistic fantasies; they always arise in connection with the political and economic strategies of the major Western powers. The encounter with non-European cultures was now primarily mediated by England and France, whose colonial empires assumed gigantic proportions during the nineteenth century. In Germany, political fragmentation delayed not only economic and industrial development but also intervention in world politics: It was not until the 1880s that the German Reich began to establish colonies in Africa and in the South Pacific. The »geography« of European exoticism was determined by prevailing colonial policies: While in England it was primarily the conquest of the Indian subcontinent that inspired fantasies, for France the conquest of Algiers triggered an Oriental fashion that radiated from Paris across the entire continent. Meanwhile, the use of Indian motifs was almost exclusively limited to Britain.

### The »Orient«

»In the age of Louis XIV you were a Hellenist; now you are an Orientalist«, was Victor Hugo's programmatic creed in the preface to his collection of poems *Les Orientales*, which appeared in 1829. One year later French troops occupied the city of Algiers. After Napoleon's unsuccessful campaign this event was the beginning of the systematic establishment of the North African colonies. The »Orient« became the central object of exotic pipe dreams. Writers, painters and tourists, whose number grew from year to year, set out for North Africa. In 1832 Delacroix accompanied an official legation to Morocco. He was followed by Alphonse de Lamartine, Théodore Chasseriau, Owen Jones, Gérard de Nerval, William Thackeray, Théophile Gautier, Hermann von Pückler-Muskau, Alexandre Dumas, Gustave Flaubert and Maxime du Camp, the brothers Goncourt and many others. Many, now forgotten, »Salon painters« specialized their production to easily marketable Oriental themes. Painters such as Jean-Léon Gérôme and Jean-Joseph Benjamin-Constant (cf. p. 111), by their punctilious depiction of buildings, costumes and physiognomies, created the impression of objectivity; similarly architects, when quoting foreign stylistic elements, were increasingly careful to be »scholarly«. In literature too the time of unbounded fantasizing was over: Before Flaubert wrote his 1862 novel *Salammô*, which was set in the ancient Orient, he travelled to Egypt and Tunisia, and endured the arduous study of historical sources.

The objectivization in the representation of foreign cultures and in the use of foreign motifs that could be observed in every sphere of life makes it more difficult to see that the major part of the exoticistic production was shaped by fantasies and ideological prejudices. Many seemingly documentary depictions of people in other cultures and of their daily-to-day lives subtly communicated the conviction of the author's or artist's own cultural and »racial« superiority.

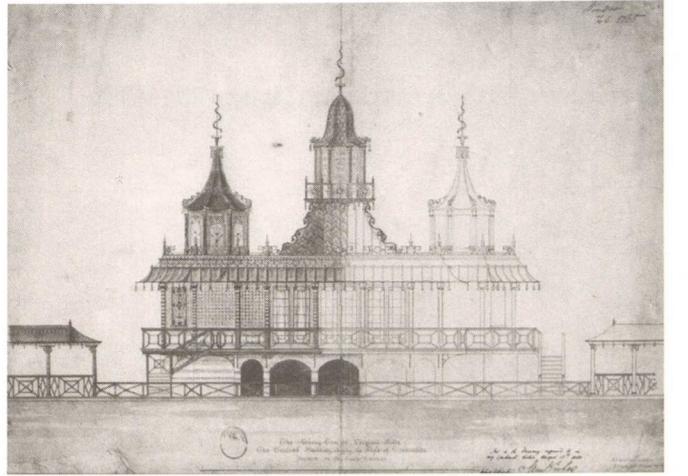
A widespread inability to understand that which was foreign on its own terms affected not only the attitude toward people of other nations but also the value assigned to their culture and – as illustrated by numerous examples – their architecture.

The »Orient« of the Europeans was both real and imaginary: It had reality as the scene of European colonial policy and as a travel destination. This reality made it possible to

Jean-Léon Gérôme, »The Prayer«, 1865.

Jean-Jules-Antoine Lecomte du Nouÿ, »The White Slave«, 1888.





»Chinese Fishing Temple« in Virginia Water. Design for the restoration by Samuel Sanders Teulon, 1860. The long-vanished building had been designed by Jeffry Wyatville; the decorations were by Frederick Crace.

draw more accurately the boundaries of an Orient which had been conjured up since the Crusades in travel reports, pictures, plays and romances. The geographical definition of the Orient, however, depended heavily on the respective colonial interests. Orient (from the Latin *oriens*, rising; the cardinal direction in which the sun rises, the East) is a term no longer current in politico-geographical usage that has been replaced by the Anglo-Saxon distinction between Near East and Middle East. Neither in English nor in French or German has the term ever had a consistent and constant meaning. By »Orient« most German definitions since the Middle Ages have meant the sphere of influence of Islam. But there are also definitions that take »Orient« to mean »all of Asia« (Meyer's *Konversationslexikon*, 1867). The broadening of the definition was favoured by the fact that the cultures of the Far East again moved into the spotlight of public awareness due to the mediation of the international expositions.

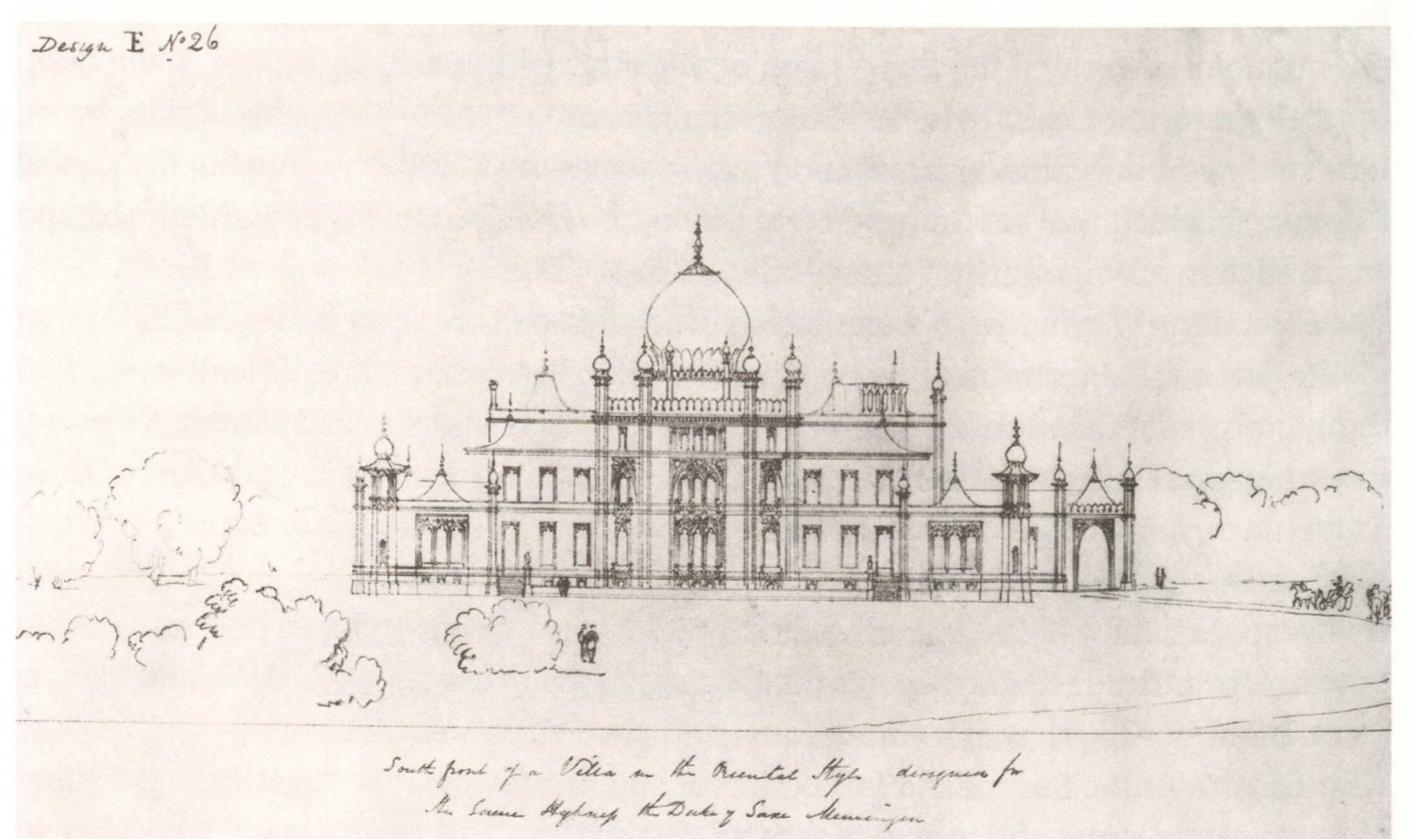
The British Orient had long been located farther east: India and China were traditionally in the centre of British colonial and commercial interests.

More strongly than in England, the idea of the Orient held on the Continent, from the Crusades until long after the Turkish Wars, was shaped by the confrontation with Islam. In pictures and plays, the Turkish motifs that had originated in that period persisted until late into the eighteenth century. This Orient had its centre in the eastern Mediterranean region and the Balkan countries that had long been under Ottoman rule.

When in the early nineteenth century the Romantics began to get interested in Moorish Spain, the concept of the Orient was expanded. From now on it also referred to Andalusia, which had for centuries had Islamic rulers, and their home region in the Maghreb (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia), the westernmost part of the Islamic world. Even Sicily, which had once been ruled by the Saracens, and where Fatimid influences still lived on in the architecture of the Norman kings, was often added to the Orient.

In 1830 the incorporation of North Africa into the Orient of the Europeans was carried out politically by France. In fact the French concept of the Orient, which of course was also determined by the failed French venture in Siam under Louis I as well as by the early reports by Jean Baptiste Tavernier<sup>40</sup> and Jean Chardin about Persia, was to be expanded once more with the incorporation of Indochina into the French colonial empire. This expansion of the concept could be gauged from the French world expositions, which until 1867 had been completely dominated by North Africa and Egypt. In 1889, however, the copy of a pagoda in Angkor signalled to all French people that their territory had expanded. At the London expositions it was India that was the main focus, while in Vienna, in 1873, it was Turkey – and Japan.

Jeffry Wyatville, »Villa in the Oriental Style«, project, 1838. The »indian« design was one of many alternatives that Wyatville had prepared on the recommendation of the English Queen Adelaide for her brother, the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen. None of the projects was implemented.<sup>63</sup>



The attraction of the foreign culture 24

However, in the nineteenth century the imaginary Orient was characterized first and foremost by Islamic culture. This »Orient of the mind«, which became the most important exotic focus of European fantasies, extended around the Mediterranean from Constantinople via Jerusalem and Cairo as far as Granada, thus following a route first established by Chateaubriand with his *Voyage to Jerusalem (Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem, 1811)*.

Interest in a solely Turkish Orient had waned, as had the interest in China. Thus, to be sure, there were »Turkish« cabinets in the Palais Beauharnais and even at Hohen schwangau, but ever since Romantic writers and architects had begun to focus their attention on the Alhambra, only »Moorish« salons were considered to be in keeping with the times. China had lost its fascination. It had long since ceased being the unknown wonderland, which had been idealized as late as during the age of Enlightenment. Even though the British Prince Regent George IV had a Chinese Fishing Temple built in Virginia Water (Jeffry Wyatville and Frederick Crace, 1825–28<sup>41</sup>) and had his Royal Pavilion in Brighton furnished in the Chinese style, Chinese architecture had lost its novelty appeal. Moreover, the public image of China had suffered greatly, since the government in Peking did not want to submit to the will of the Europeans, who wished to expand their trade to the Chinese inland market (cf. p. 143 f.). Instead of glorifying China, the Europeans now disparaged it, and this went so far as to influence their evaluation of Chinese art and architecture.<sup>42</sup>

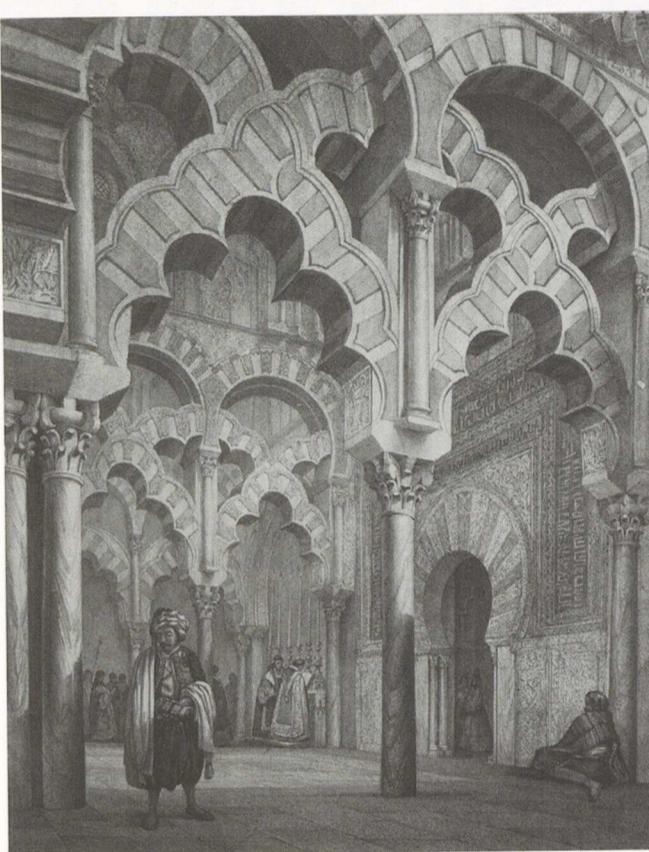
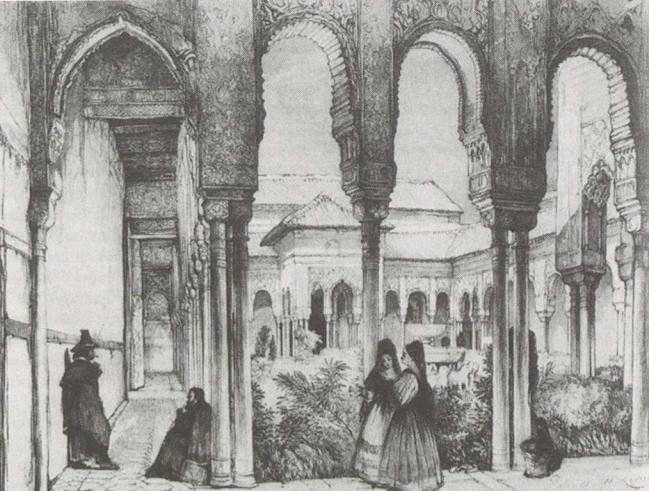
#### The study of Islamic architecture

The study of Islamic architecture was initially concentrated primarily on Egypt, North Africa and southern Spain (on the »discovery« of the architecture of the Islamic Moghul rulers in India (cf. p. 41f.). In Egypt it began with the Napoleonic campaign, in Spain with the interest of travelling writers and artists in the ancient Moorish culture. Two illustrated volumes of the Napoleonic *Description de l'Égypte* were devoted to the »modern« architecture of Egypt. In addition to the urban palaces of Cairo, the first volume also describes two mosques, which were exemplary for the development of architecture from the Abbasids to the Mamluks: the Mosque of Ibn Tulun and the Mosque of Sultan Hassan.

In Spain it was first and foremost the Alhambra that fascinated the architects. Its first detailed description was included in Murphy's huge volume *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (1815), which was illustrated with copperplate engravings. This was followed by a publication by Girault de Prangey (1804–92), who also brought out a book about the »Arabian« architecture of Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor.<sup>43</sup> Probably the most influential, however, were Owen Jones' Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra (1842), which were followed by a second volume with details in colour (cf. p. 63).

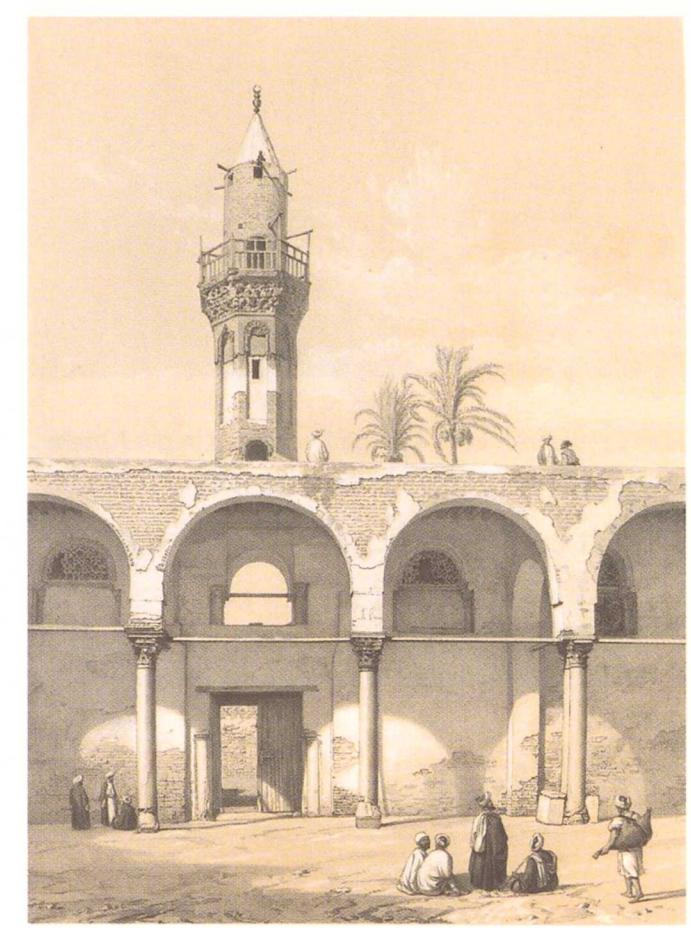
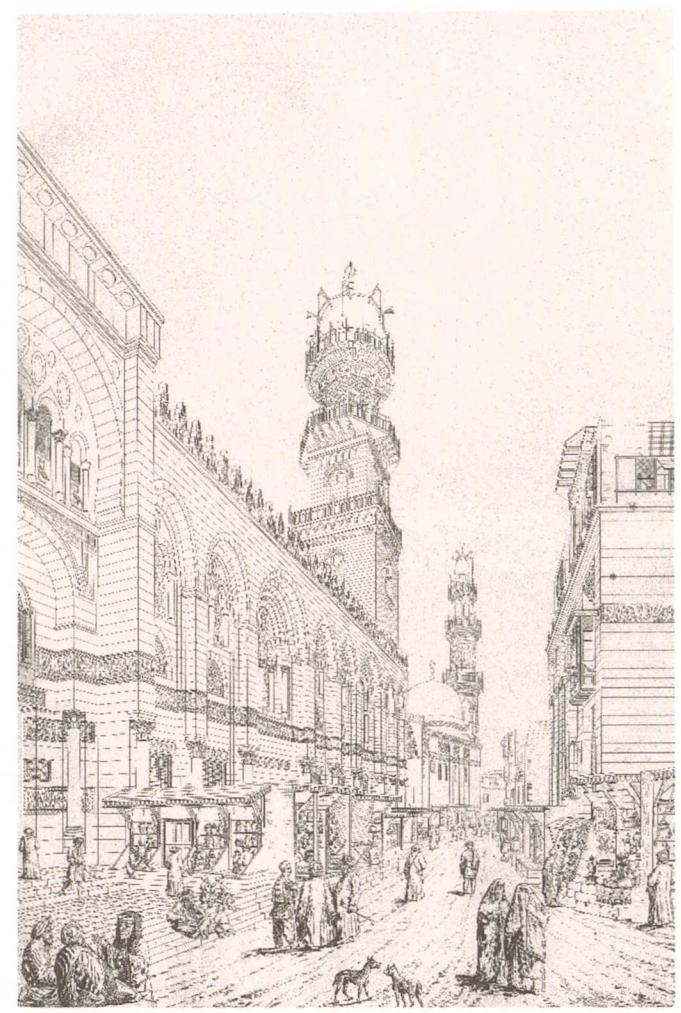
The first separate presentation of the Islamic architecture of Egypt was a book by the French architect Pascal Coste (1787–1879), who had lived in Cairo for nine years and built not only palaces and mosques but also a ship canal for Mehmet Ali.<sup>44</sup> When his *Architecture arabe*<sup>45</sup> appeared, in 1837, Orientalism had already become established in French painting and literature as a movement in its own right.

For the European architects who designed villas or baths in faux-Oriental styles, such works, along with essays in the ever more numerous architectural periodicals, were the most important source of information. Only very few of them knew what they were quoting from having seen it in person. They benefited not only from the authors' yearlong study of their themes but also from the development of reproduction technologies. As late as 1800, most books had copperplate illustrations. For coloured illustrations, aquatint etchings were coloured by hand. Owen Jones, who published his Alhambra work himself, replaced the hand-coloured illustrations with multi-colour printed lithographs.



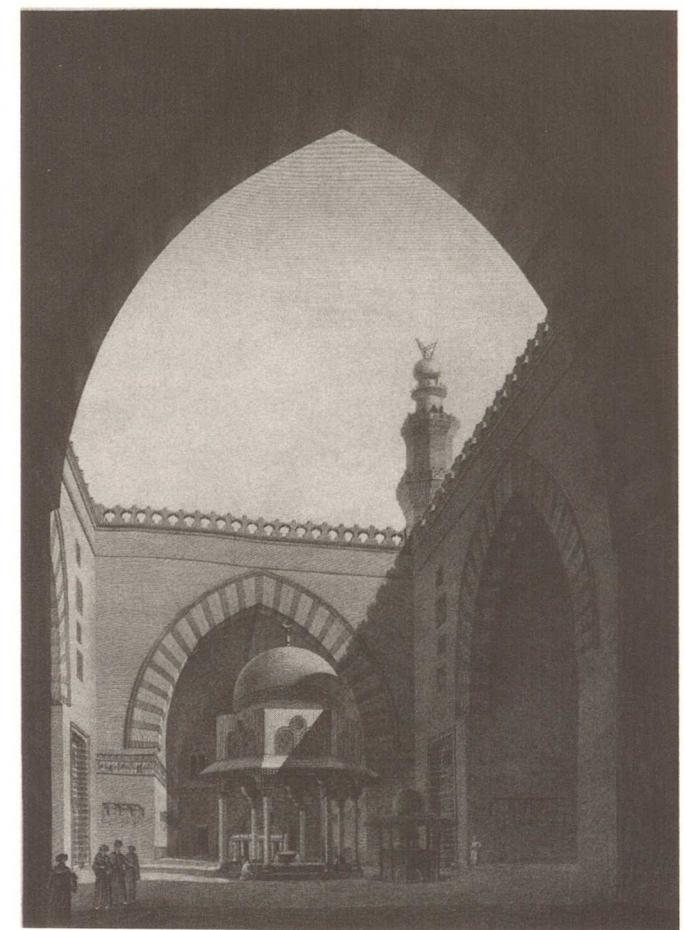
John Frederick Lewis, Court of the Lions in the Alhambra, Granada. From: Lewis's Sketches of the Alhambra, 1835.

Mosque of Córdoba, Granada. From: Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey, *Monuments arabes et moresques de Cordoue, Séville et Grenade, dessinés et mesurés en 1832 et 1833*.

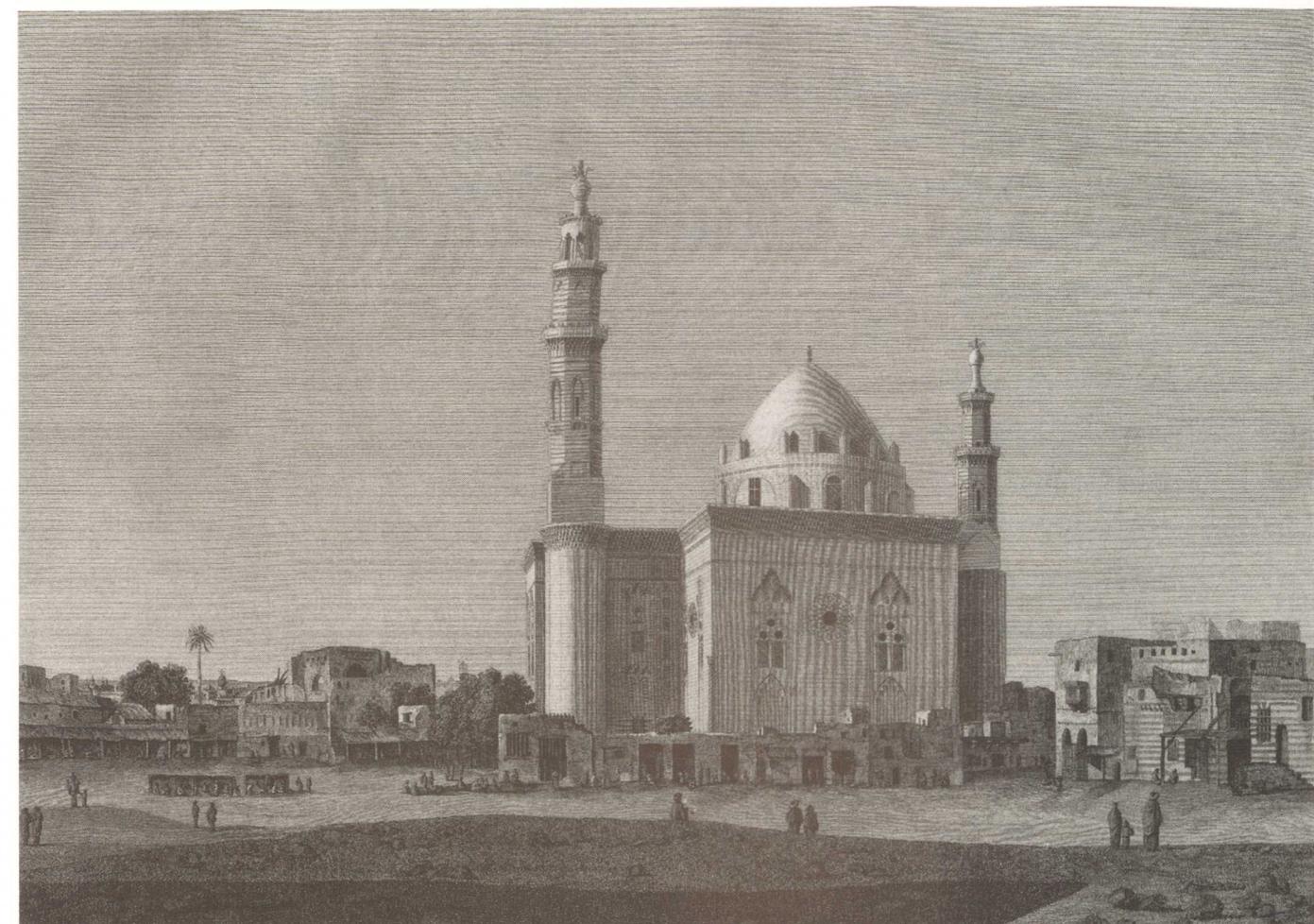


Pascal Coste, Qala'un mosque in Cairo. Engraving from his book *Architecture arabe ou les Monuments du Kaire*, 1837.

Mosque of Amr ibn al-As (Mosque of Amrou) From: Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangy, *Monuments arabes d'Egypte, de Syrie et d'Asie Mineure, dessinés et mesurés de 1842 à 1845*.



Mosque of Sultan Hassan in Cairo. Engravings from the *Description de l'Egypte*, 1809.



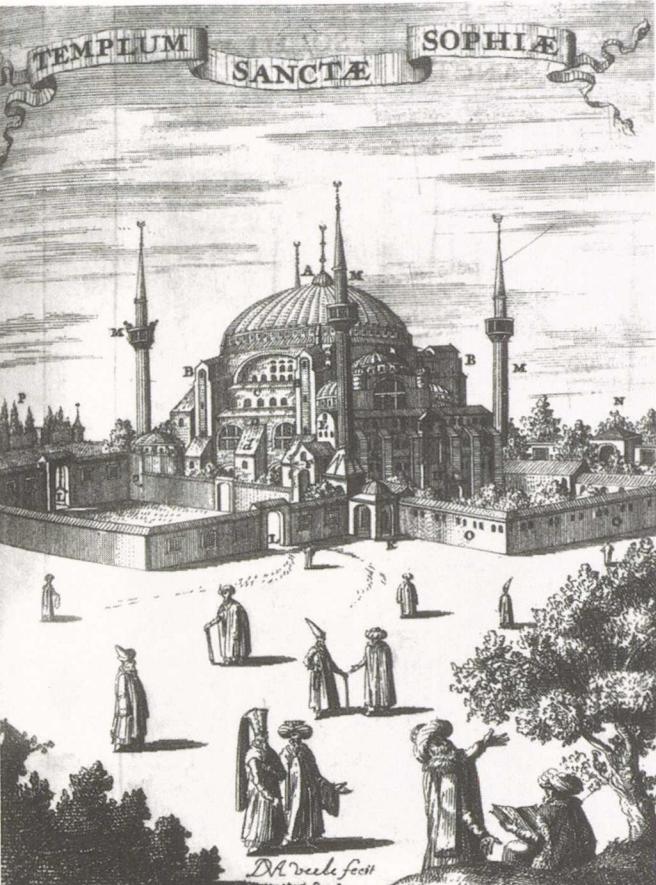
In many books on architecture, illustrations in various techniques could be found side by side: Coloured details and perspectives full of atmosphere were lithographed, while the precise stroke of the steel engraving was preferred for ground plans and sectional drawings. The mid-nineteenth century marked the beginning of the photographic documentation of buildings. But for a long time it was not possible to transfer photographs mechanically to printing plates. However, they frequently served as models that were reproduced manually: Many engravings and lithographs clearly reveal the photographic perspective. When Girault de Prangy left for his tour of the Middle East in 1842 he was no longer a draughtsman only but one of the pioneers of daguerreotype. This makes it very likely that some of the 900 plates he brought back from his trip served as models for the lithographs which illustrated his folio size *Monuments arabes*. Only the figures had to be added to the scenery – due to long exposures photography was still limited to the representation of static objects.

#### The understanding and evaluation of foreign architectural styles

The use of Islamic motifs by European architects and their assignment to very specific building projects was on the one hand dependent on the centuries-old image that people had of the »Orient« and of things »Oriental«, and on the other hand on the evaluation of Islamic styles themselves. Such evaluations were indissolubly linked to the ideas held about the entire cultural context. They never meant the style alone, but always the whole culture as well. Since it was impossible for people completely to put aside their own standards, they kept looking for points of reference in their own experience. To this day, a favourite way of understanding and describing the art of another culture has been to compare it with familiar categories. One of the most frequently used comparisons in describing foreign architectural styles was to juxtapose it with the Gothic style.

The French Jesuit Le Comte, whom Louis XIV had sent to China, felt the architecture of the Imperial Palace in Peking was »bizarre« and consequently called it »Gothic«.<sup>46</sup> His comparison was in accordance with the customary devaluation of Gothic architecture (Gothic = barbaric). It was precisely because he was profoundly impressed by what he saw that he needed to assure himself of his own culture, whose central position in the universe was challenged by the splendour of the Chinese court. Describing the fortifications and city gates of Peking, all he could do was protest: »... the gates of Paris are incomparably more beautiful.«<sup>47</sup> With an eye to his readership Chambers, too, had clearly emphasized the hierarchy of styles and cultures. How little the comparison with Gothic style was based on actual formal analogies is shown by the fact that it was later also enlisted in order to understand Islamic architecture. Even Chateaubriand, discussing the Alhambra, spoke of »Gothic arches«.<sup>48</sup> But he no longer used the term in a derogative way. The attempts to understand exotic architectural styles by means of comparisons with Gothic architecture were also reversed, however. In order to understand the Gothic era, some architects had traced its origins back to non-European influences (cf. p. 62).

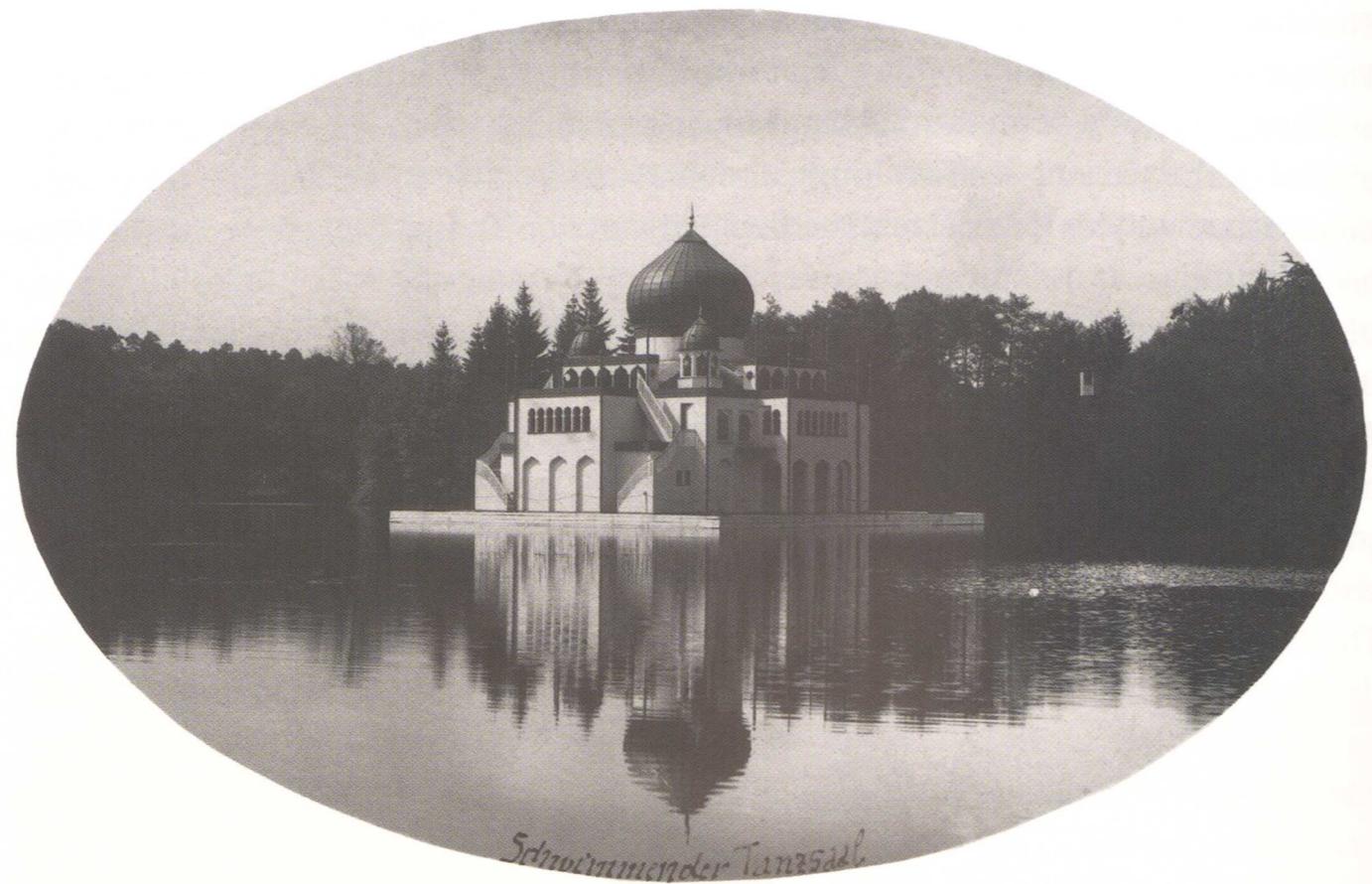
As early as the eighteenth century, a re-evaluation of the Gothic period had begun. In the foreword of his *Monumente indischer Geschichte und Kultur* William Hodges had appealed to the »impartiality«<sup>49</sup> of his readers and explained his unprejudiced view not only of Gothic architecture but also of the foreign architectural styles: »Or should I perhaps close my eyes in the face of the majesty, audacity and splendour of Egyptian, Indian, Moorish and Gothic monuments, these glorious marvels of architecture? Should I find fault with them, mercilessly criticize and despise them because their forms are more varied and cannot be accommodated beneath the rules, the pattern and the columns of the Greek hut?«<sup>50</sup> Hodges argued in terms of an enlightened universalism, like that espoused by Oliver Goldsmith in his *Citizen of the World (The Citizen of the World or Letters from a Chinese Philosopher, residing in London, to his Friends in the East, 1762)* or Johann Gottfried Herder in his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784 /85). When Herder said, »We have no concept of a thing that lies outside the sphere of our perception«<sup>51</sup>, Hodges wrote, in reference to the art and architecture of foreign cultures: »Beauty is perfection expressed in forms: consequently the concept that the CHINESE have of the beauties of their architecture must necessarily be different from the concept that the GREEKS had of the beauty of theirs; and that is why the rules of Greek architecture cannot under any pretext or appearance of right be applied to the design or the materials of Chinese buildings.«<sup>52</sup> For Hodges and Herder the Orient was »the cradle of enlightenment and philosophy«<sup>53</sup>, and »the human race had originated in Asia«.<sup>54</sup> The impartiality of Enlightenment thinkers vis-à-vis foreign cultures was to fall into oblivion in the nineteenth century, however: In an age of imperialist policies there developed a new ethnocentrism, and Herder's concept of »One human race« was replaced by the racial theories of Gobineau.



Hagia Sophia, Istanbul. Guillaume Joseph Grelot, *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople*, 1681. The engraving served Fischer von Erlach as a model for his own depiction of the Hagia Sophia (cf. p. 31).

William Hodges, Gate Building of the Akbar Mausoleum in Sikandra, 1781

Floating ballroom in the park of Schloß Dammsmühle. The builder of the ballroom was Adolf Wollank-Pankow, who had acquired the property on the lake of Summit north of Berlin in 1894.



Franciszek Maria Lanci (1799–1875), Osiek Castle, Poland, 1835–39.

#### Oriental-style architecture: »buildings of a secular, cheerful character«

It was not so much the judgements of enthusiastic connoisseurs of Indian or Moorish architecture like Hodges or Murphy, but associations of a very different kind that determined a widely disseminated assessment of Islamic architecture. People not only took it for granted that Islamic architecture could compete neither with classical antiquity nor with the Gothic era, they even believed that it lacked »architectonic seriousness«.<sup>56</sup> There was talk of »undisciplined taste«,<sup>57</sup> »aberrations« and »unfettered inspiration«.<sup>58</sup> The author of a work published in 1796 wrote about »Arabesque taste«: »The character of this style can most correctly be compared with opium, which Orientals so frequently use.«<sup>59</sup>

Such characterizations alluded to the complicated surface ornamentation and the polychromy that a classically conditioned taste considered unusual and that many felt to be intoxicating. With such comparisons people left behind the architectural frame of reference and sought to explain what was so hard to understand based on the vague ideas they had of the »Orient«: The Orient was not only the country of origin of stimulants with which they had in the meantime become familiar, such as coffee, tea and tobacco, or drugs such as hashish and opium, it was more than that. It was the location of all sensual pleasures. There, people spent their days on the divan contemplating the complicated patterns of wall decorations and carpets; there, people found relaxation and undreamt-of physical pleasures in the bath; there, one was a pasha experiencing erotic fulfilment in the harem.

Fantasies about the Orient were an expression of the shortcomings and obsessions of the European psyche. The »Orient« became the antithesis of Western civilization. It was the restlessness of big-city life, the pressure to succeed in a production-oriented society that produced these fantasies about a different way of living. The contrast between Occident and Orient was experienced as a contrast between work and the enjoyment of life. Since the »Orient« could not be turned into a reality in Europe, the only option that remained, other than flight from civilization, was imagination.

In architecture, Orientalist styles were almost always used in the sense of an »architecture parlante« intended to evoke that Orient in one's mind's eye. The image of the Orient determined the designs of the buildings. The Islamic forms seemed to be especially appropriate for »buildings ... of a secular and cheerful character«:<sup>60</sup> for coffee-houses and baths, for casinos and vaudeville theatres, for lavish summer residences

and middle-class villas in seaside resorts and spas. The effectiveness of exotic motifs was relative, however. What seemed foreign in the north was far from being so in the south. In Spain the Moorish style, but even more the Mudéjar style, owed its revival to a return to Spain's own history. But the neo-Mudéjar style was not so much an exotic style as a historical style with a national flavour (cf. p. 121).

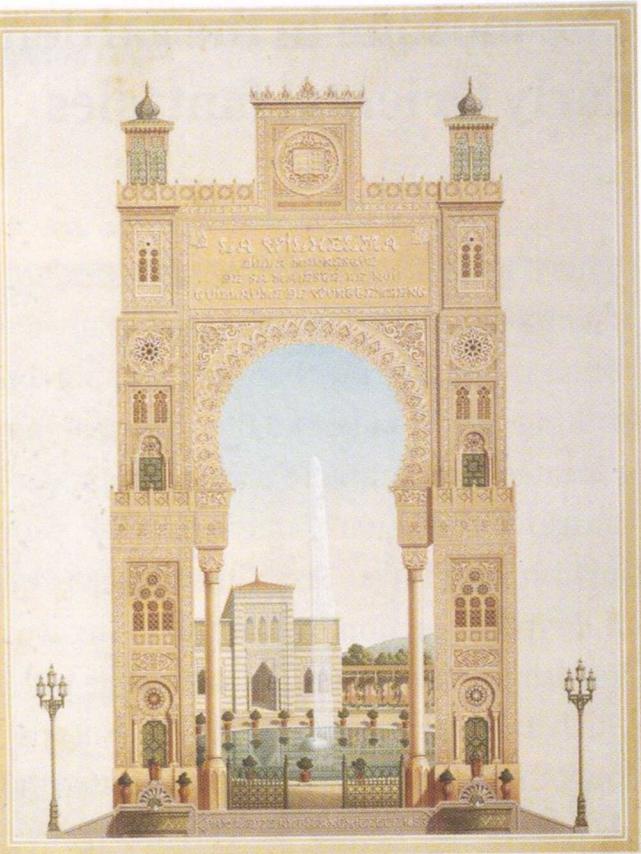
In European synagogue construction, too, the Moorish style was given a role comparable to that of a national style. It served Jewish minorities as a substitute for a lacking tradition of representative sacred buildings. The Moorish synagogues became the architectonic expression of newly won rights and of a new self-confidence. It was thanks to the popularity of the Alhambra that Moorish elements were frequently used in Oriental-style architecture. However, the designation of the style was interpreted generously: In the nineteenth century »Moorish« became a term that often designated Islamic architecture only very generally and made no distinctions between the different Islamic cultures.

The first buildings and interiors based on the publications about Moorish and Arabic architecture were designed in the 1840s. It seems as though Islamic architecture held particular attraction for architects in Northeastern Europe. Some of the earliest examples are found in Poland:<sup>61</sup> Osiek Castle in a still vaguely Orientalist style, Jablonna Castle with its unequivocally Moorish dining room (Henrik Marconi, after 1841) and Kornik Castle (renovated by Adam Titus Dzylinski and Marian Cybulski, 1843–60), a building with towers, merlons and a tall liwan niche in the central projection as well as a Moorish hall in the interior. In Poland it was particularly Henrik Marconi (1792–1863) and Adam Idzkowski who quoted, or used imaginative variations of, Islamic motifs in their buildings and designs.<sup>62</sup> Approximately in the same period, the largest of the neo-Moorish palaces was built in the south of Germany: Ludwig Zanth's Wilhelma in Stuttgart.

Throughout the entire nineteenth century, European architects continued to use Moorish and Arabic, but also Persian and Indian elements in particular building projects. The adaptation of Islamic styles not only continued an exotic tradition that had begun at the princely courts, it was also one of many experiments intended to lead to a new and contemporary style. In the repertory of eclecticism, however, they remained marginal phenomena which were denied official recognition.

The use of exotic styles was no longer an aristocratic privilege. Here, too, the middle class followed the model of the gentry, building their villas and »places of entertainment« in exotic forms. At the international exhibitions exoticism was completely democratized – and trivialized: Its scenery was part of an exotic spectacle staged for the masses that was intended to serve the propagation of the colonial ideology and the demonstration of the superiority of Western civilization over the cultures of the East. The 1900 Paris World Fair marked the final appearance of exoticism and historicism. As historicism was superseded by modernity, the use of exotic styles also came to an end. In an age of mass tourism that was already heralded at the World Fair by new means of transportation, three-dimensional stage productions of exotic fantasies had become superfluous: Today the consumption of the exotic takes place »on site«. Tourism continues colonialism by other means.

At the appropriate place, the austrian architect Hans Hollein (1934–2014) had made an allusion to the longings of the nineteenth century: In the – no longer existing – lobby of his Österreichischer Verkehrsverein (Austrian Tourist Office, 1976–78) on the Opernring in Vienna, next to palm tree columns with metal fronds of a type used by John Nash in the kitchen of the Royal Pavilion (cf. p. 54), stood an Indian kiosk with a golden onion dome. A glass roof arched above the exotic backdrop as in the winter gardens of yore.



Ludwig Zanth, View of the Wilhelma. Title page of his book *Die Wilhelma, Maurische Villa seiner Majestät des Königes Wilhelm von Württemberg*, 1855.

Hans Hollein, Headquarters of Österreichisches Verkehrsamt, 1976–78.

## The mosque in the garden: Early Oriental fantasies

»Take a look at the scene called Mecca, for instance, which consists of a number of Turkish buildings connected by galleries or arcades. These are so narrow that only two persons can pass through them walking side by side; and the strangest thing of all is that this Mecca is located in the middle of a French section where, considering the nature of the square, one would expect anything but a series of Turkish buildings. From the mosque one looks directly toward an Egyptian section that is still being worked on and that, like the Turkish section, seems to have come out of the blue. It is a hill on which a new monument to King Sesostris is being erected. Now, no doubt the monument could have created the illusion of being nothing but a few ruins almost entirely worn down by time. Here, however, everything is new, complete and decorated; time has wrought no change. In the vaults of the hill, there are tombs and mummies, and

the dead are said to be brought there by Charon. Lake Moeris is being excavated around the hill. – How was it possible to come up with such an idea? What interest, what effects can it have? Are they not playing games, both with invention and with money? And why is this installation, supposedly an imitation from distant antiquity – this Egyptian scene – placed so close to a Turkish one? It would have been better if a monument to Muhamed had been erected here.«<sup>1</sup>

The »Turkish« installation that is supposed to have cost so much money – 120,000 gulden, in fact – is located in the park of Schwetzingen Castle, where the counts palatine had their summer residence.<sup>2</sup> The polemical description is by Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld, the author of a five-volume *Theory of Garden Art* and a definitive authority on all questions of garden design. Hirschfeld



Left page:  
Nicolas de Pigage, Mosque in the park of Schwetzingen  
Castle, ca. 1780 to 1795.

Sultan Ahmed Mosque, Istanbul. From: Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, *Entwurf Einer Historischen Architectur*, 1721.

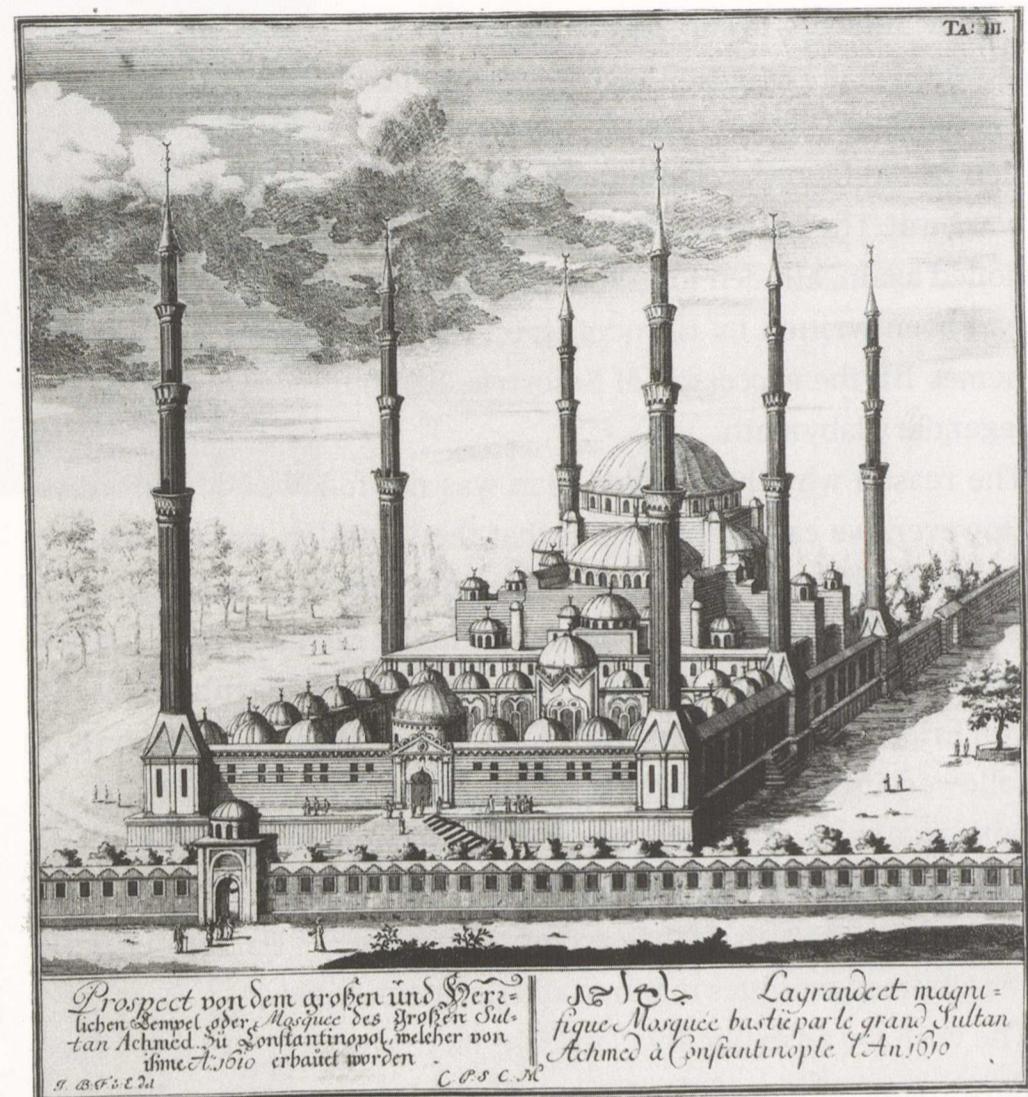
was not the only person to have expressed his criticism. Friedrich Schiller, too, considered »a taste that jumbles together mosques and Greek temples higgledy-piggledy« to be »barbaric«,<sup>3</sup> and Wilhelm Heinse wrote in 1780: »The Turkish building that is being erected now seems quite silly to me; I see neither rhyme nor reason in it.«<sup>4</sup> Hirschfeld and Schiller certainly did not want to question in principle the *raison d'être* of architectonic motifs in garden design. Their criticism referred to the fact that the installation lacked plausibility and that cultures so far removed from each other in space and time were incompatible.

This artificial juxtaposition of motifs that referred to distant countries and bygone periods was the characteristic of »jardins anglo-chinois«, which were just at their heyday in neighbouring France. A naive conception of history bunched everything together in an easily viewable framework, creating a scaled-down model of the world that could be experienced as people strolled through it. Only in exceptional cases were the exotic scenarios mementos of actual voyages. As a rule they were the reflection of an experience one had not had oneself. They mirrored the currently available knowledge of the world conveyed by travel accounts and reports of research.

Perhaps it was this topicality that the critics of the mosque of Elector Charles Theodore (1724–99) missed. They may have felt that the motif and the way it had been implemented was no longer in keeping with the times, since they were interested in new ideas and subjects. While in the Schwetzingen installations one could still feel the spirit of Rococo and of the age of absolutism that was drawing to a close, farther north there were already rulers who were inspired by the concepts of a dawning bourgeois era. Some fifteen years younger than the palatinate elector, Leopold Franz von Dessau embodied the new generation. Franz had a Palladian country house built in Wörlitz in the English style. The many buildings in his garden realm reflected his progressive contemporaries' interest in Italy, in classical antiquity and the Gothic era. One looks in vain for the chinoiseries and turqueries of the Rococo.

The palatine »Sun King«, on the other hand, had grown up in the spirit of a court culture influenced by France. During his reign, which spanned more than half a century, the last phase of the age of absolutism, which was expressed in the Rococo, was replaced by a new middle-class lifestyle and altered views of art. As an enlightened ruler, Charles Theodore promoted the sciences, made a number of attempts at reform in administration and agriculture and, in response to a new and growing national consciousness that wanted to free itself from the cultural domination of France, founded the first German-language theatre, in Mannheim.

The societal and cultural changes that took place during his lifetime may be inferred from his garden designs: They began with the castle park in Schwetzingen and ended with a public park in Munich, the



Englischer Garten, begun in 1789. In the Schwetzingen park, the radical change that occurred has remained visible to this day.

At a time when the first landscape gardens in England had already been completed, Charles Theodore yet again had his gardener Johann Ludwig Petri and the architect Nicolas Pigage lay out a large geometrical garden with avenues that were straight as an arrow, trimmed hedges and a rectangular pool: »The first thing that was wrong with this garden was that the locality chosen did not have more natural variety ... and the second thing was that it was laid out symmetrically, at a time when the English taste was already widely known. But the person who laid it out, Herr von Pigage, the Elector's senior architect, a Frenchman, seems to have known nothing about that.«<sup>5</sup>

It was not until 1772 that Charles Theodore recognized the signs of the times and called the young garden architect Friedrich Ludwig Sckell (1750–1823) to Schwetzingen. It was the latter who added on a few »natural« sections at the edges of the geometrical garden. The other side of the pool was transformed into a lake with an irregular shoreline and thus formed a transition to the new section. The 1770s seem to have been the first time it occurred to anyone to lay out an Oriental garden section: The first plan of a »Turkish Garden«, which was to be laid out west of the circular flowerbed, dates back to 1778.<sup>6</sup> In 1780 the Mosque was already under construction. Its rectangular courtyard is situated in an equally rectangular terrain framed on

two sides by the old geometrical garden but opening toward the northwest into a new section of the garden that was subsequently designed by Sckell in the style of English landscape gardens. When Hirschfeld visited Schwetzingen, the Mosque had been completed except for the minarets, and the lake was just being excavated. Work on the interior decoration dragged on well into the early 1790s. However, the »Egyptian section« mentioned by Hirschfeld was not implemented. To be sure, the lake and hill were completed, but in lieu of the Egyptian monument the tower-like Temple of Mercury was built. The Egyptian theme, which had obviously soon been abandoned again, alluded to Lake Moeris, an early description of which had been written by Herodotus; on the shores of this lake Amenemhat III, the successor of Sesostris, had built a pyramid and the legendary labyrinth.

The reason why the original plan was not followed is not known. However, we can infer from it that the intention was to create an allegory of the Orient that would extend from the pagan world of gods and goddesses in ancient Egypt to the Mohammedan present. Behind it still lay the Baroque view of history of Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, who in his *Entwurff Einer Historischen Architectur* (1721) followed up reconstructions of the Seven Wonders of the World with examples of Islamic and Far Eastern architecture. Fischer's book contained not only a depiction of the pyramids on an island in Lake Moeris but also fairly accurate views of the Hagia Sophia and the Ottoman mosques in Bursa and Constantinople.

The wish for an explicitly »Turkish« motif shows that Charles Theodore's conception of the Orient was a traditional one: From the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans until long after the second siege of Vienna in 1683, the West had equated the Orient and Turkey. At most another relevant factor was the notions people held about Persia. North Africa and Moorish Spain did not become the focus of attention until the nineteenth century.

The image of the Ottoman Empire was characterized by fear and fascination. To experiences in the Turkish Wars were added news of the brutal methods by means of which Turkish rulers shored up their authority. Individual rulers like Suleiman, the first besieger of Vienna and the builder of the most important mosques in Constantinople, had his portrait featured on the signs of the first European coffeehouses and also gained fame as a literary figure. Political events and life at the court of the sultans are the subject of a whole series of Baroque novels and dramas.<sup>7</sup> For a long time, voluptuousness and cruelty continued to be the most striking characteristics of the »infidels« in the eyes of the Christians.

Once there was no longer any danger of an invasion from the East, a new view of the Orient could develop. Galland's translation of *One Thousand and One Nights* marked the beginning of a serious exploration of the literature of the Orient. An abundant collection of subjects and motifs now became accessible, providing material for the philosophical stories and dramas of Enlightenment writers, for operas and operettas.

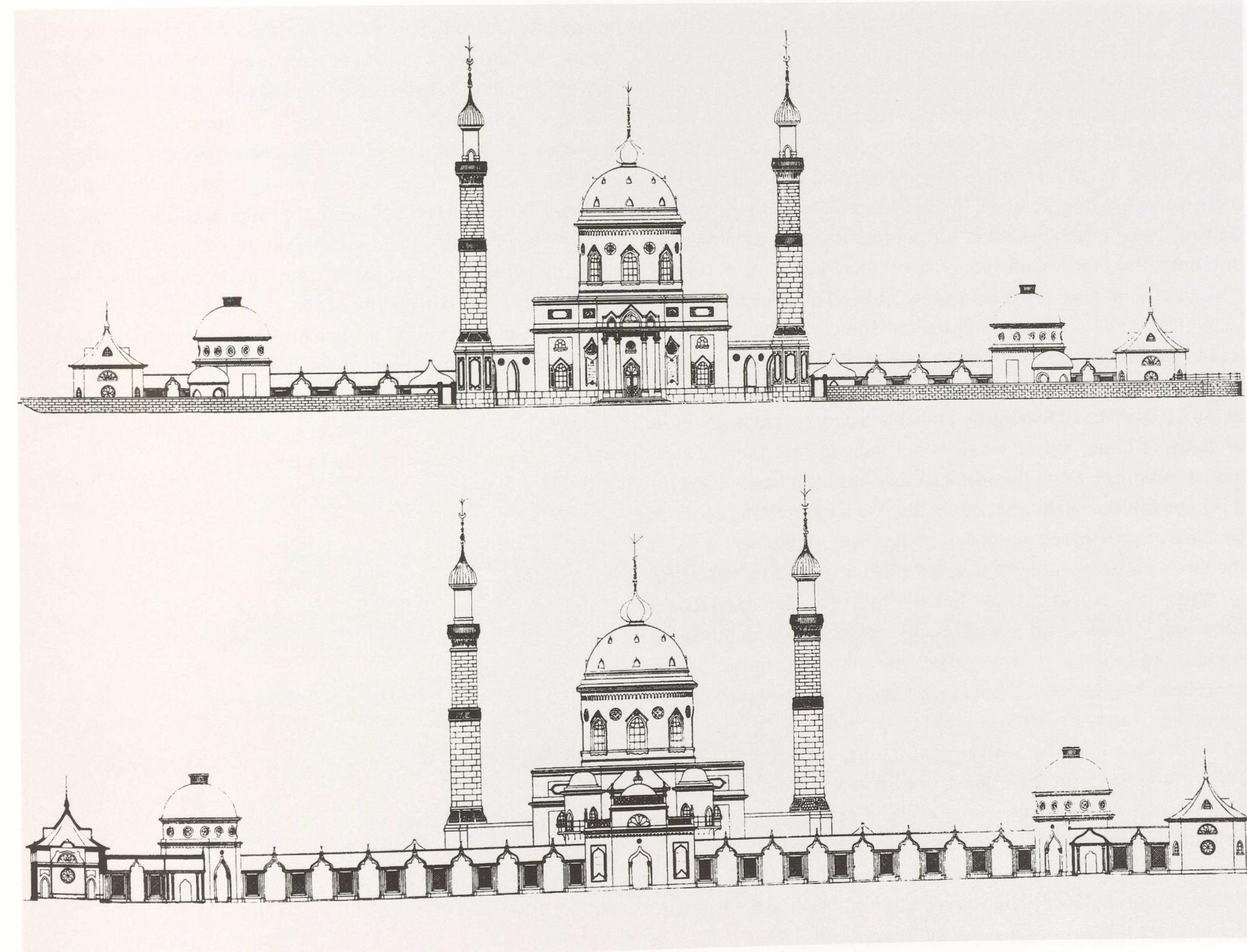
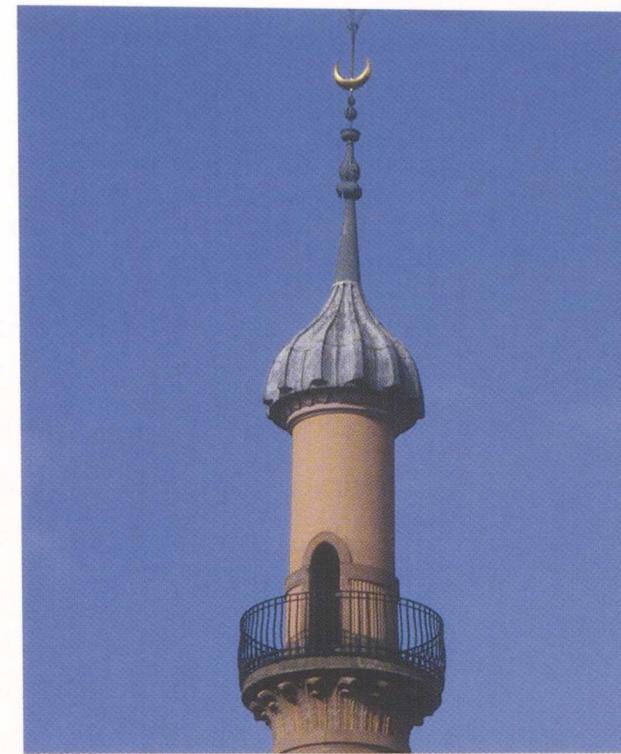
Since open criticism of social and political conditions was not advisable, a favourite technique of French writer-philosophers was to

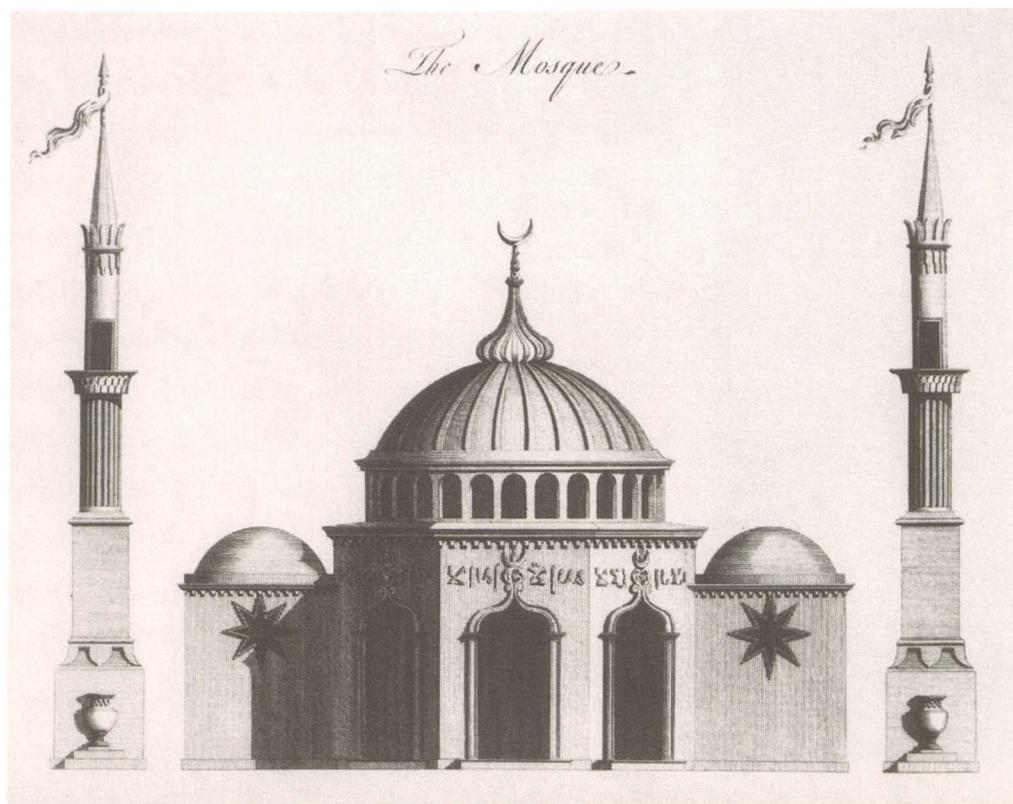
use alienation. Montesquieu had two fictitious Persians express his criticism of society. In letters to their friends and to the women and eunuchs of their harem they told of their adventures in Paris (*Lettres Persanes*, 1721). Voltaire, too, often clothed his didactic pieces in exotic garb. In his drama *Mahomet* (1741) he attacked religious fanaticism and intellectual intolerance. The Catholic Church, too, felt attacked: The play was placed on the Index. In his Oriental tale *Zadig* (1747) sound reasoning triumphs over religious prejudices. Zadig settles a dispute between adherents of different religions by convincing them that every religion can be traced back to the same principle – the belief in a »higher being«. »In other words, you all agree with each other«, concludes Zadig, »and there is nothing to argue about.«<sup>8</sup> In Germany, Lessing in his *Nathan the Wise* (1779) took on the same theme. The wise Jew answers Saladin's question as to which is the true faith with the famous parable about three identical rings. Admittedly, in the West it was not so much a question of tolerating Mohammedans than tolerating Jews or Huguenots. Thus Franz von Dessau, mentioned above, had a synagogue built in the park of Wörlitz Castle (1789) as a sign of his liberal worldview; the synagogue was actually used, but was at the same time a visual focus and an architectonic symbol in the park landscape.

Charles Theodore's »Mosque« had no religious function, however: One would probably have had to search for a long time before finding a Mohammedan in the Palatinate. Thus, if nothing else, this building is a symbol of enlightened rule and religious tolerance. Like many rulers, Charles Theodore, too, flirted with the progressive ideas of his time. Probably he was also familiar with the dramas and stories of Voltaire, who after his quarrel with Frederick II was a guest in Schwetzingen for a few weeks. But it is quite certain that the Schwetzingen Mosque does not owe its existence only to sublime ideas. Sensual pleasure in the exotic, the playful use of spatial »dislocation« or the popular court tradition of role reversal may also have been involved here. For if at other courts people enjoyed slipping into the role of shepherds or hermits (as in the Bayreuth Hermitage), why not try out the role of the »Oriental« here? Perhaps that was the way to respond to the question put to one of Montesquieu's »Persians« in Paris: »Ah! Ah! Monsieur est Persan? C'est une chose bien extraordinaire! Comment peut-on être Persan?«<sup>9</sup> And slipping into the role of the Oriental not only meant praying to Allah but was also the dream of a life full of fairy-tale events and sensual pleasures.

But we do not know why Charles Theodore had really begun this costly building project, whose scale went far beyond the scope of other small garden palaces and »follies«. The domed interior of the Mosque might have been suitable for imaginary religious worship, but hardly for courtly festivities. It is not clear whether the so-called »priest's cabinets« were meant to be inhabited. No one ever got around to furnishing them. By the time the building was completed, Charles Theodore, who had inherited Bavaria in 1778 after the death of the Elector Maximilian III Joseph, had long since moved his residence to Munich. For the time being the question as to why the Palatinate Elector did not give up his construction projects after moving away or at least reduced their size remains open.

Nicolas de Pigage, Mosque in Schwetzingen, ca. 1780 to 1795. Minaret, west façade facing the lake, and east façade.  
»Probably no one likes to leave this part without having climbed one of the two minarets. By a winding staircase of one hundred and twenty-six steps you reach the balcony, which is enclosed by a strong iron grille. The panorama that stretches before your eyes is enchanting. A large number of villages and towns, among them pleasant Mannheim, Heidelberg with its picturesque castle ruins, the ancient towns of Worms and Speyer ...«<sup>26</sup>





William Chambers, Mosque at Kew. From: *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew*, 1763.

In eighteenth-century gardens »Oriental« buildings were comparatively rare. The Chinese architectural forms, felt to be bizarre, were more in line with the stylistic idiom of the Rococo. That is why a very large number of Chinese pagodas and pavilions have been preserved, but only few buildings inspired by Islamic models.

As early as the Baroque era, there were occasional buildings that were exotic, at least in name: One of these was Friedrichsburg (1651–54), a building referred to as »Persian House« in the park of Gottorf Castle near Schleswig.<sup>10</sup> In contrast to many later staffage buildings, this one evoked a concrete event: In 1633 Duke Frederick III. had sent an expedition led by the court scholar Adam Olearius (1599–1671) to Persia by way of Moscow. The purpose of the voyage was to establish trade relations. But the most important result was Olearius' research reports. His travel description,<sup>11</sup> which appeared in 1647, is considered to be quite a reliable report. It contains a series of views of cities, but as yet does not include depictions of individual buildings. From the material that has been handed down,<sup>12</sup> it is impossible to tell to what extent the »Persian« building designed by Olearius was based on models he had seen in Persia. No doubt the three-storey building, which had smaller projecting structures on three sides, had an exotic effect due to its flat terrace roofs and the unusual little turret placed on the roof. However, an obviously Islamic motif was a stream of water that ran through the house and propelled a huge globe of the earth and sky: Inside the copper sphere one could sit and watch the course of the planets.

The exoticism of the »Oriental Building«<sup>13</sup> that Margravine Wilhelmine had built in the garden of Sanspareil near Bayreuth in 1746 was also rather vague: Perhaps Wilhelmine, who never lacked outlandish ideas, merely wanted to justify the unusual appearance of the little castle by calling it »Oriental«. With its façade built of irregular stones it looked like a grotto turned inside out. Originally the exterior walls, like those of the Neues Schloß (New Palace) in

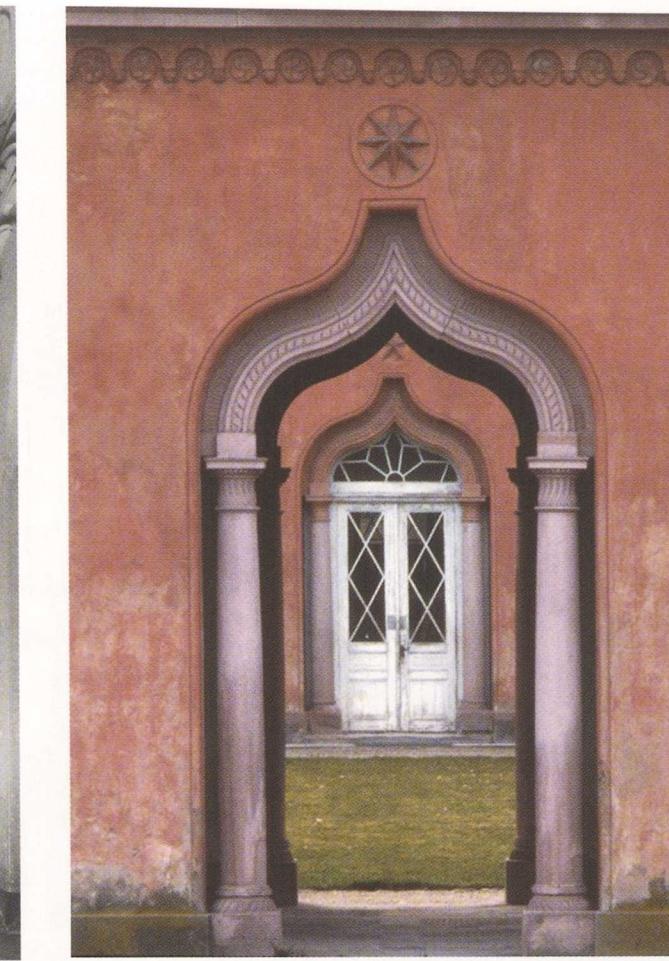
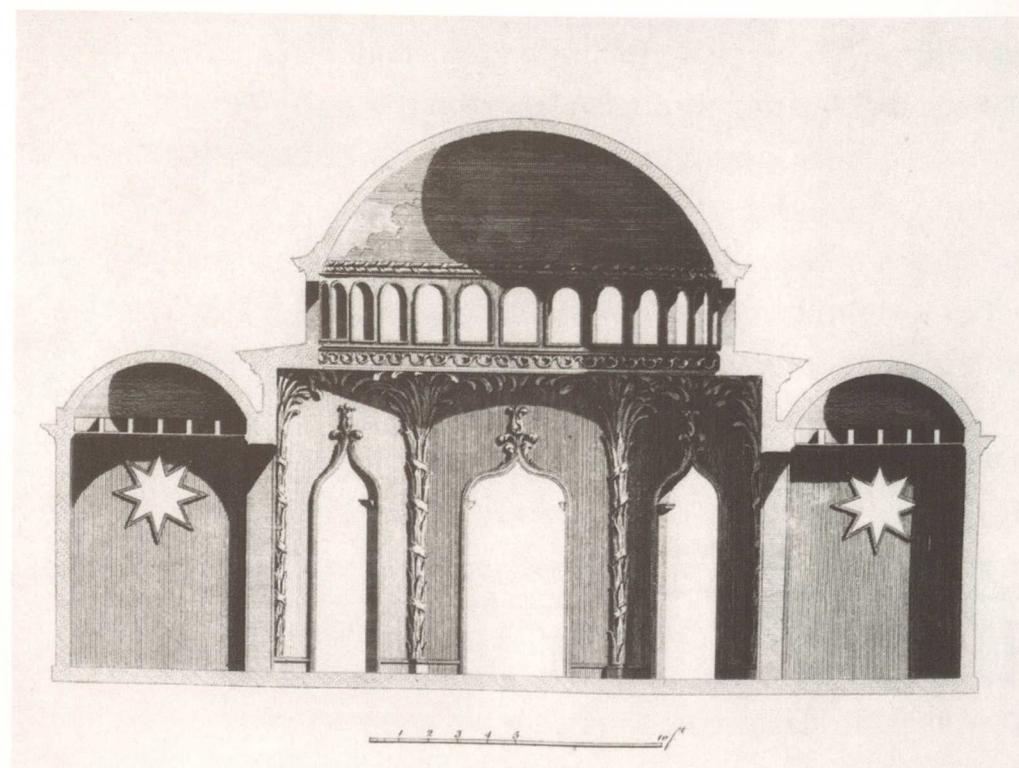
the Eremitage, were decorated with colourful stones and pieces of glass. Above the main hall there was a tent-like roof flanked by two dome-shaped cupolas. It is easy to imagine that the building, which has since been altered, looked fantastic enough to appear to be a convincing example of Oriental architecture to uninformed contemporaries.

Little is known about the appearance of the »mosques« that stood in Kremsmünster (Austria)<sup>14</sup> and in the park of the hunting lodge Friedrichsruhe (in the district of Hohenlohe, Southern Germany). In both cases, »mosque« was probably merely a welcome name for a fantasy building people had no idea what to call. In Friedrichsruhe »mosque« probably referred to the building Carolinenlust, a two-storey garden structure whose cupola may have been intended as an allusion to Islamic domes.<sup>15</sup>

The crucial ideas that would inspire the development of European gardens and their architectural staffages were to come from England. Since 1757, William Chambers (1723–96) had been appointed to transform the royal property at Kew into a landscape park for Princess Augusta, the grandmother of George IV. Scattered here and there in the bucolic setting, where cows and sheep were grazing, were calculated surprise effects – many little Classicist temples dedicated to Pan, Aeolus and Bellona. Through the ruin of an ancient gate one would enter a part referred to as »Wilderness« in which in addition to an Alhambra and the Pagoda there was also a »Mosque« built in 1761. Here, for the first time, a concise image was found for the idea of »Oriental architecture«: Chambers reduced the complex building mass of Turkish mosques to a few typical characteristics. With minarets and domes he called to mind the memorable silhouettes of Oriental cities. However, in contrast to his Chinese buildings, Chambers was unable to fall back upon studies of his own. He had not travelled in the Near East.

The form and structure of the two minarets was fictitious; he might have borrowed the rather flat dome on the low tambour, terminated above by an onion shape, from Fischer von Erlach's view of the

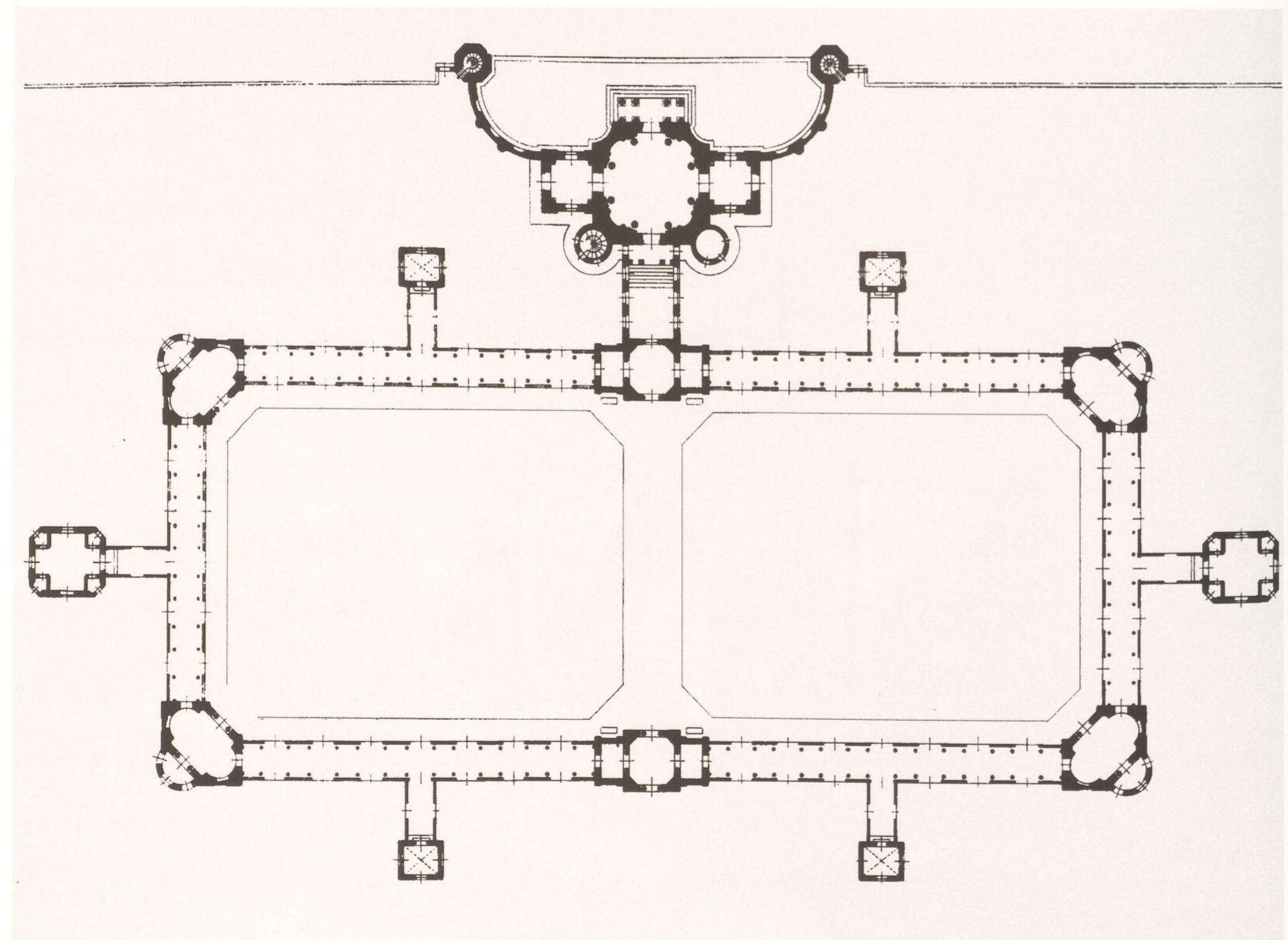
William Chambers, Section of the Mosque at Kew.



Nicolas de Pigage, Mosque in Schwetzingen, ca. 1780 to 1795. Interior of a corner pavilion in the courtyard, Entrance gate to the courtyard and view from the east.



Nicolas de Pigage, Mosque in Schwetzingen, ca. 1780 to 1795. View with the covered walk, and ground plan.



Hagia Sophia. The keel arches, too, which are not found in Turkish buildings, point to Fischer's book. In contrast to the Schwetzingen building, the »Mosque« with its roughly 10-metre-high minarets was still »garden-scale«. It consisted of an octagonal centralized building and two low, rectangular wings that also had semicircular domes. In Chambers' book about his buildings at Kew (*Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew*, 1763), two sections have been depicted in addition to the elevation and ground plan: The sections show that the entablature under the tambour's series of windows is supported by palm tree columns. The type of mosque created by Chambers was disseminated not only by his own publication but also by Georges Louis Le Rouge's *Jardins à la mode*, which had been appearing periodically since 1770.<sup>16</sup> The magazines contained copperplate engravings and descriptions of the latest gardens of European aristocrats. Le Rouge also offered his subscribers a few alternative designs for »mosques« and »Moorish temples«, variations of Chambers' models on different ground plans.<sup>17</sup>

In Germany the English and French suggestions were adopted verbatim in several gardens: in Hohenheim near Stuttgart, in the neighbouring Fasanenhof, in Steinfurt near Münster, in Kassel and in the Neuer Garten (New Garden) of Potsdam. One of the first to build a mosque was Duke Charles Eugene of Württemberg (1728–93), who, immediately after a journey to England during which he had also toured Kew, began building an »English park« at his Hohenheim estate.<sup>18</sup> In his park Charles Eugene created a remarkable picture of political and cultural transience: On the ruins of an ancient Rome he built the rustic idyll of a peasant village which on his birthdays he even populated with supernumeraries. The decline of his own rule and his retreat into private life and into the illusory world of art found their expression here. In 1778 he also built a »mosque« whose square courtyard surrounded the barns of his pheasant-breeding farm. Chambers' design had been adopted except for a few minor

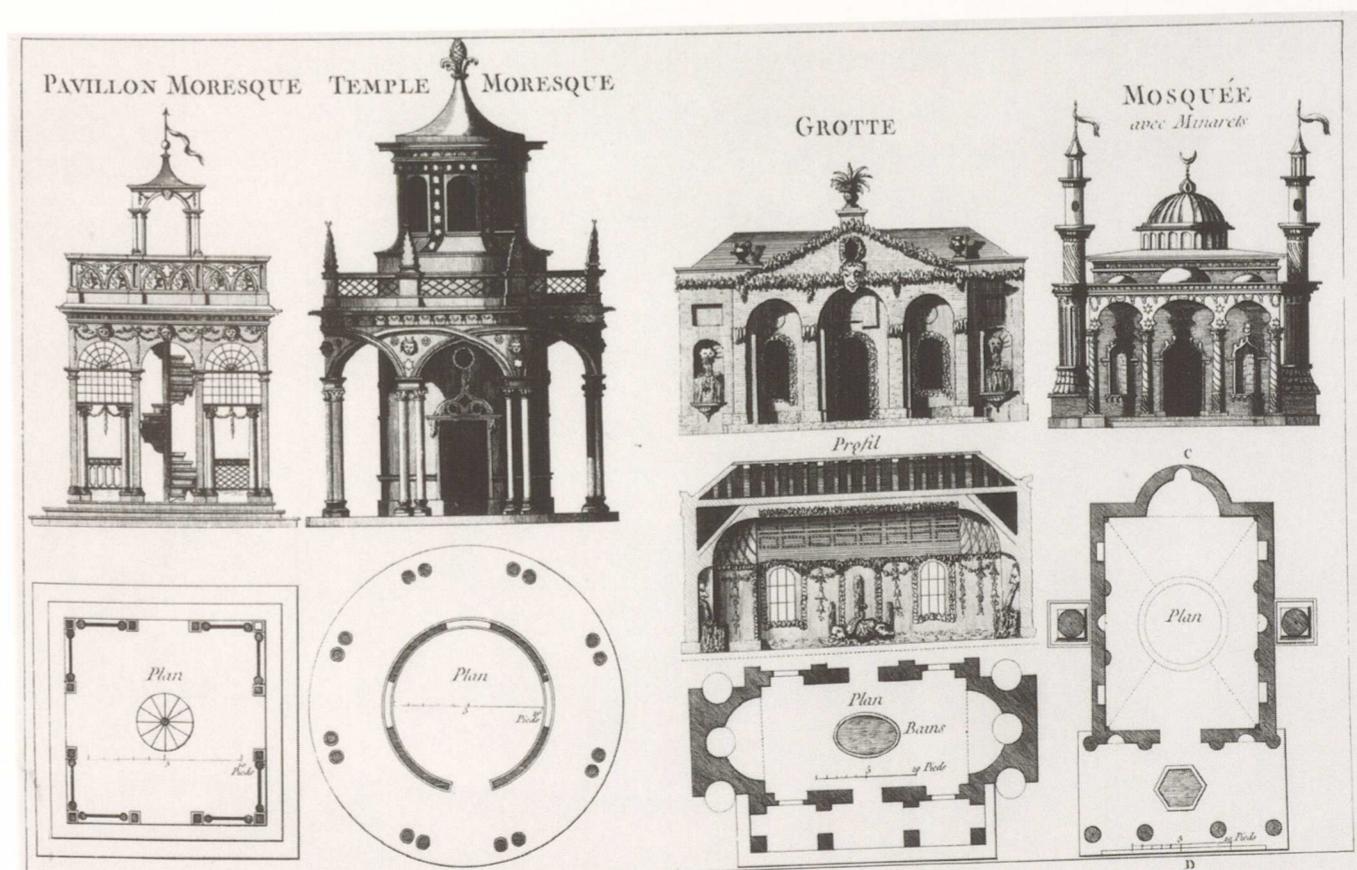
changes of details and proportions. The individual component parts of the English mosque – central building, lateral pavilions and minarets – were merely moved apart and distributed over the length of the courtyard wall.

In Fasanenhof, in 1796, Duchess Sophie, the wife of Frederick Eugene, also created an English park that she called Floride. The name referred to a temple of Flora. The misleading designation concealed nothing less than yet another mosque, located on a small island in the lake.

In the park of Schloß Weissenstein near Kassel (Wilhelmshöhe), too, a mosque was built above the Chinese village of Mulang between 1777 and 1780. The building, long since vanished, was almost identical with that at Kew in ground plan and elevation. Instead of keel arches, however, the Kassel mosque had only plain round arches. Mottos in golden letters decorated the outside walls. The mosque was furnished and was perhaps even used as a music pavilion: This is indicated by expenditures for instruments for »the Turkish music«.<sup>19</sup>

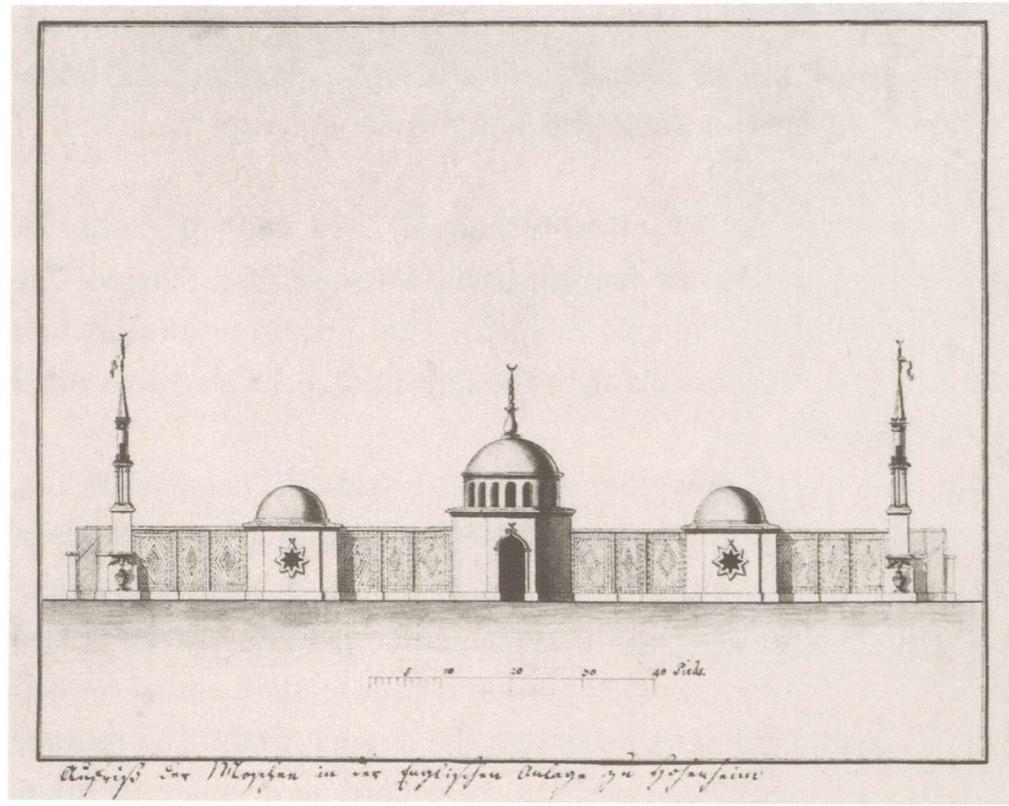
In the garden of Prince Ludwig von Bentheim in Steinfurt near Münster (1780–87), to which Le Rouge dedicated a large edition of his *Jardins*, there was also a scenery comprising a Chinese pavilion, a »kiosk« used as a dining hall and a mosque.<sup>20</sup> The star-shaped windows in the lateral wings, the keel arches and the cupola with the onion dome clearly show that here too Chambers supplied the model – just as the Chinese pavilion evokes the building in the *Désert de Retz*, made familiar by Le Rouge (cf. p. 12). The sectional view, too, refers to the same model. The Steinfurt mosque, however, served totally secular purposes. A four-poster bed had been placed in the central room, and the lateral wings were furnished with divans: an indication of the erotic component of such Oriental fantasies.

As late as in Krafft's collection of the most important English, French and German gardens, published in 1810, there is a mosque of the same design, which the architect Renard had drawn up for the

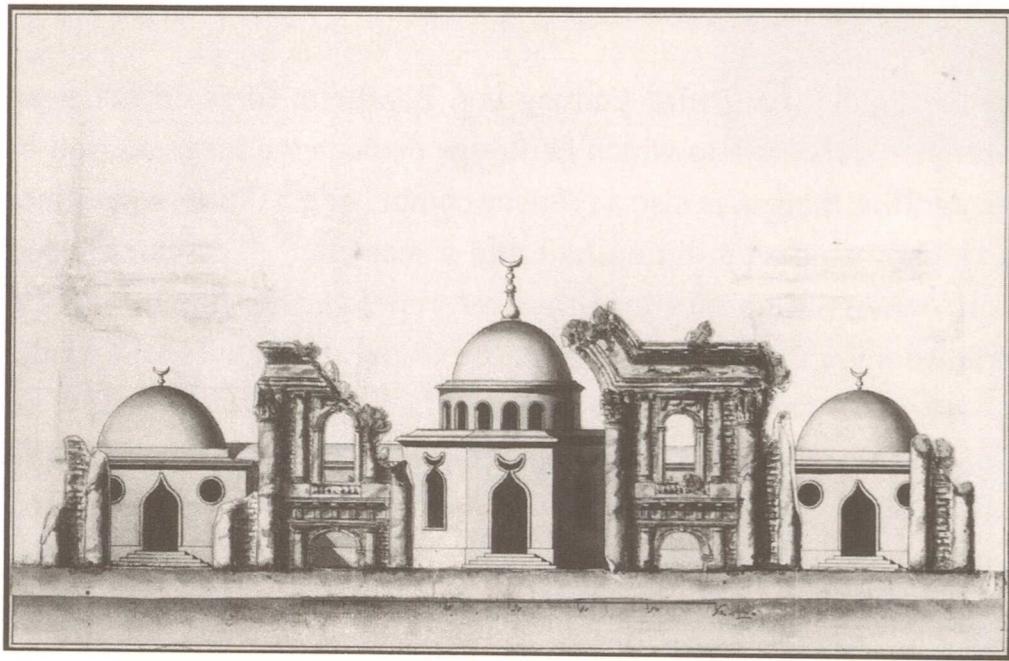


Georges Louis Le Rouge, Designs for various garden structures. From: *Jardins anglo-chinois à la mode*, issue no. 4, 1776.

The Temple Moresque was the model for a structure of the same name by Carl Gotthard Langhans in the Neuer Garten (New Garden) of Potsdam, 1791/92.



Opposite page:  
Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, Karlskirche  
(St. Charles' Church), Vienna, 1715–22.  
From: *Entwurff Einer Historischen Architectur*, 1721.

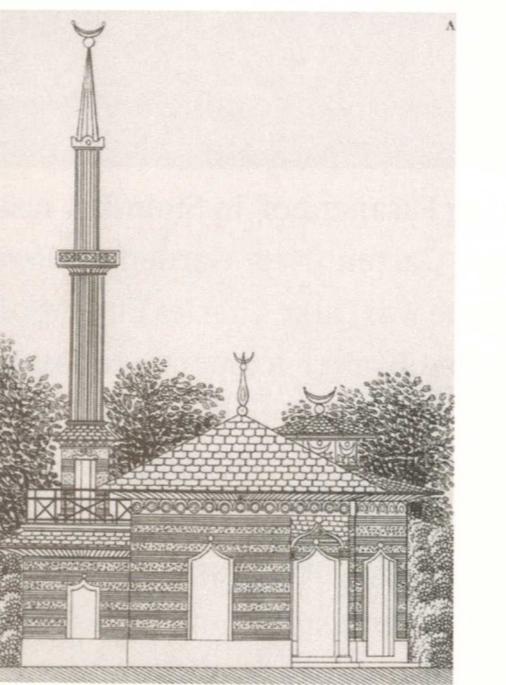


Immanuel David Dillenius, Elevation of the Mosque in Hohenheim, 1780.

R. F. H. Fischer (?), Elevation of a mosque with Roman fragments, 1795 / 96. Possibly this is a draught for the mosque of Fasanen Hof.

»Turkish Temple« in Montbéliard. From: Jean Charles Krafft, *Plans des plus beaux jardins*, 1809 / 10.

View of Floride. Etching by Georg von Massenbach, 1799. Floride was the name of the English park of the Fasanen Hof hunting lodge near Stuttgart.



The mosque in the garden 38

Duc de Penthièvre in Armainvilliers.<sup>21</sup> Krafft, too, proposed a few alternatives. But in his designs the minarets have the cone-shaped tip of Turkish mosques. As these examples show, the mosque motif had already become a tradition when it was decided in Schwetzingen to lay out a Turkish garden. A few of the motifs introduced by Chambers can also be found again here: the keel arches, which come from the Indian and Persian region, the palm tree columns in the corner pavilions as well as the onion dome on the cupola. It is possible that Pigage knew Chambers' building not only from depictions but had seen it himself when visiting England in 1776 in order to familiarize himself with the new garden style. Pigage, born in Lunéville in 1723, had also since his youth been familiar with two early exotic garden pavilions. His father had been architect at the courts of Stanislaw Leszczyński in Nancy and Lunéville, and he himself first got his training with Emmanuel Héré de Corny, who constructed Place Stanislas in Nancy. It was Héré who also designed a Turkish »kiosk« and a Chinese pavilion on a cloverleaf ground plan that later served Büring as a model for his Chinese Teahouse in Potsdam.

In 1749 Charles Theodore appointed the young Pigage to serve as the »director of landscaping and waterworks«,<sup>22</sup> and in 1752 he promoted him to the position of Oberbaudirektor (chief architect). In addition to the Schwetzingen buildings he also designed Schloss Benrath near Düsseldorf.

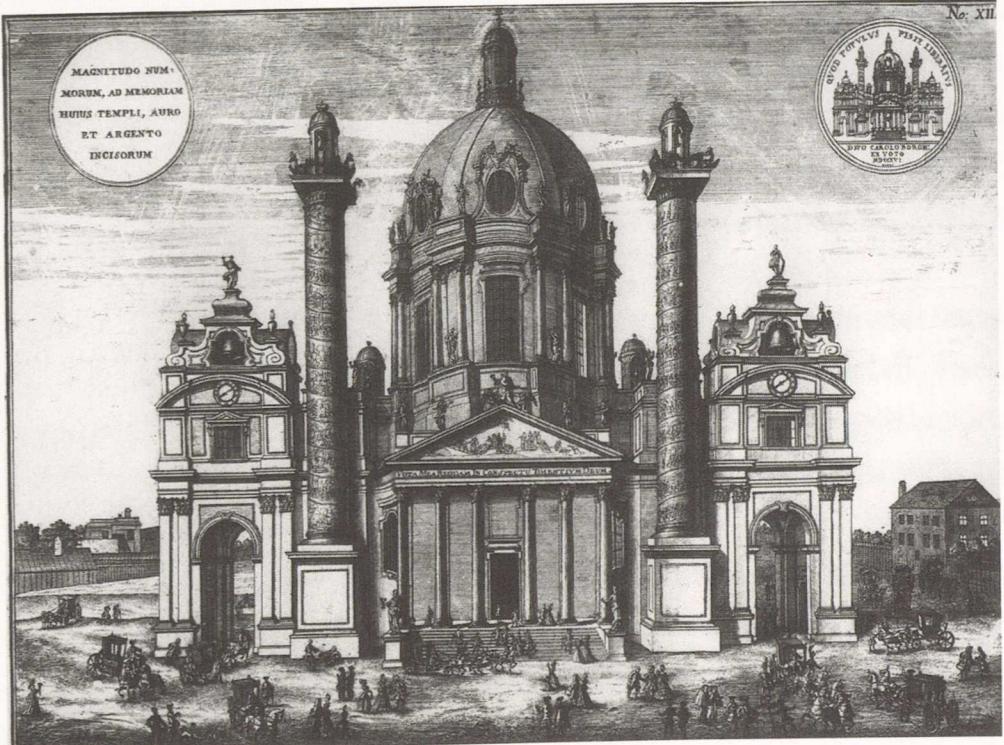
With his mosque, which was one of his last designs for Schwetzingen, Pigage went far beyond the still undeveloped exoticism of Héré's allegedly Turkish pavilion. A contemporary even claimed that »this glorious temple of Mahomet ... was built so faithfully in the Oriental style« that »even Orientals were pleasantly surprised at the sight of it and bowed down before the name of the Most High, whose radiance met their eyes in gilded Arabic lettering as an exterior decoration.<sup>23</sup> That sounds highly unlikely, for if one looks more closely at the Schwetzingen building, one realizes that it has little to do with the kind of mosque Pigage presumably knew from Erlach's depictions. Rather, Pigage's design combines popular notions of a mosque with Baroque and Chinese-style characteristics to create his very own vision of the »Orient«. The large, rectangular courtyard with its »cloister« and portal into the park recalls the fact that the Islamic mosque had developed from an often fortified courtyard that had porticoes all around it. Even in the later structures from the Ottoman period one would first enter a courtyard before reaching the mosque itself. The slate-roofed »cloister« in Schwetzingen, however, is a more advanced form of the pergola. The light wood construction did not completely close off the courtyard toward the outside but was open in both directions thanks to lattices and passageways. The lightweight construction as well as the wooden lattices are reminiscent of Chinese pavilions and garden seats of the period. Again, the keel arches of the passageways, due to the inserted trefoil, resemble the »Gothic-Chinese« Rococo publicized by the Halfpenny brothers (cf. p. 156). The tent-shaped roofs of the large »priest's cabinets« could just as well belong to a little »Chinese« house.

The mosque itself is situated outside the courtyard and connected to it by another portal and a corridor. In contrast to the Islamic mosque

it turns its splendour outward: The front of the building faces the lake and fits well into the designed landscape as an impressive point de vue. Although the building suggests the Orient with obvious motifs – dome, minarets and crescents – it has little in common with a mosque. To the conventional characteristics, Pigage added new forms of his own invention, such as the unusual combination of lancet windows and triangular pediments in the tambour or the multifoil gables above the portico, which contemporary observers might have felt to be »Oriental«.

Its high tambour gives the building not Oriental, but Baroque proportions. If we imagine the building without its Oriental elements, the mosque becomes a church. As we continue to look through Fischer's *Entwurff Einer Historischen Architectur*, we find, after the Turkish, Persian and Chinese buildings in the 4th book, an overview of the author's designs and note that there are striking similarities with his Karlskirche (St. Charles' Church) in Vienna (1716–37): The Schwetzingen building, which like the Karlskirche seems like an ensemble of independent structures, repeats the church's silhouette of dome and free-standing columns. Although there are no minarets, but rather replicas of Trajan's Column in front of the Karlskirche, the Schwetzingen design is simply about the transfer of a new iconographical meaning to the same architectural concept, for which there are no other parallels in European architecture. In Fischer's work the motif of the columns placed in front of the cathedral can be traced back to his knowledge of Islamic mosques.<sup>24</sup> The Trajan columns of the Karlskirche, derived from minarets, became minarets again in Schwetzingen. Fischer himself shied away from too obvious an exoticism: While there is a preliminary design »in the new Persian style«<sup>25</sup> for his garden structure (depicted on plate XIX in the 4th book) which also closely resembles Ali Kapû in Isfahan, also pictured in *Entwurff Einer Historischen Architectur*, there is not a trace of the Persian model in the final version.

Pigate's strange synthesis of Baroque church and mosque becomes significant when you translate the Arabic inscription in the tympanum of the portico: »There is only one true God«. That was exactly what Lessing had in mind when he wrote his *Nathan*.

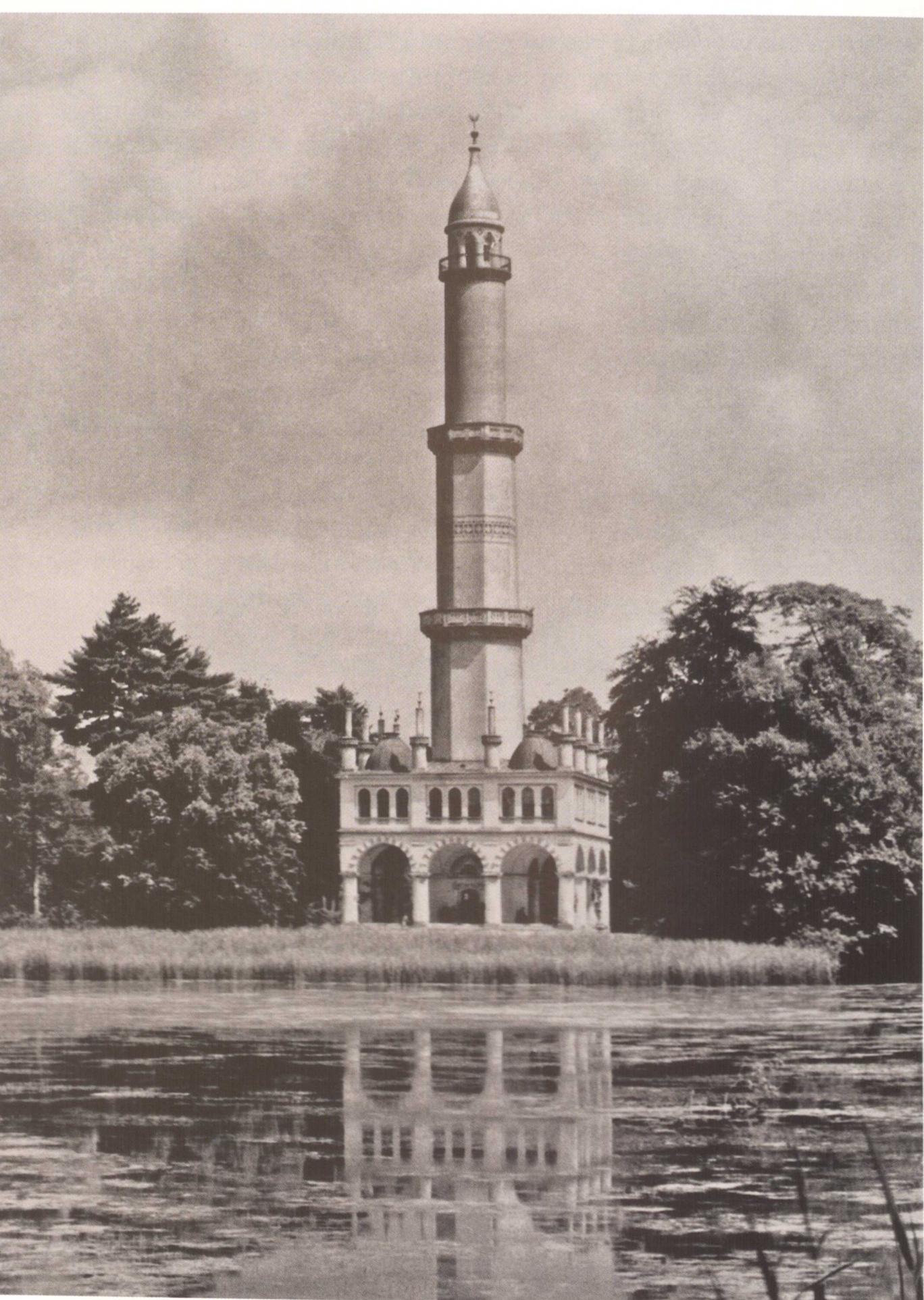


39 The mosque in the garden



Joseph Hardtmuth, Minaret in the park of Schloss Liechtenstein in Lednice (Eisgrub), Czech Republic, 1797–1802.

Around 1800, the estate of the Princes of Liechtenstein was turned into one of the largest European landscape parks. Dating from that period are numerous garden structures such as the Minaret, an obelisk, an artificial castle ruin and the Pavilion, based on a Turkish well house. The Minaret is 68 metres high. The rooms of the substructure were furnished in the »Oriental« style.

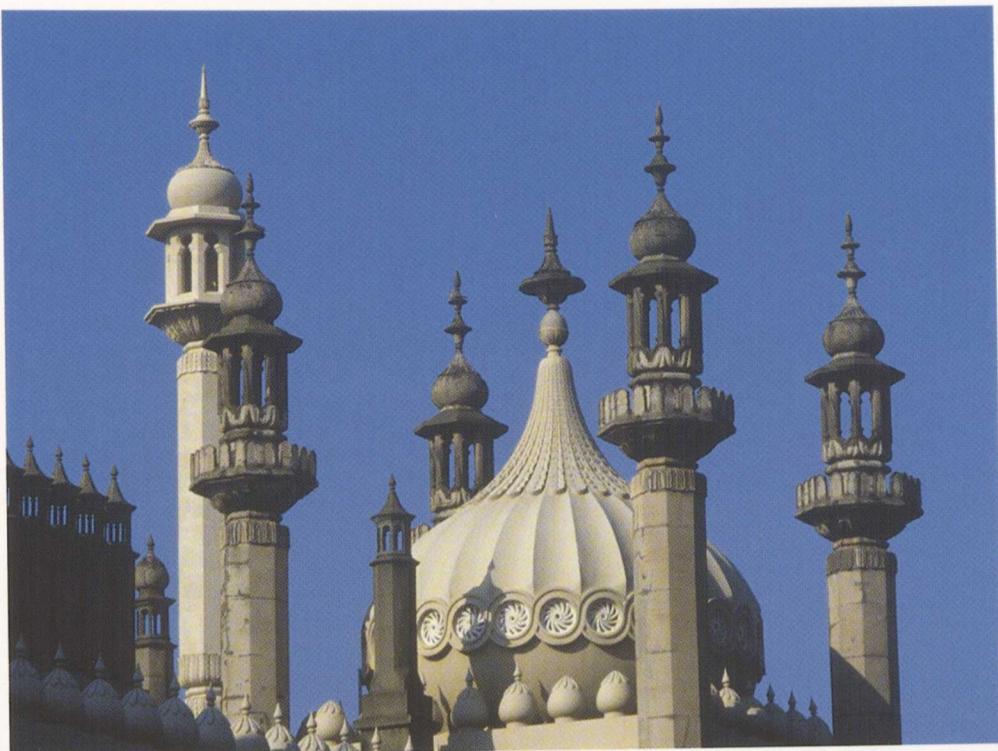


## The palace of the Crown Prince: Indian style in England

As late as the beginning of the eighteenth century one could in all innocence call a building »Indian« that obviously insisted it was »Chinese«. Only little was known about India and its architecture when King August II (»the Strong«) of Saxony built his »Indian« summer residences in Pillnitz on the River Elbe. In the European perspective the distant cultures of the East moved close together and became one. No distinctions were made between »Chinese«, »Indian« and »Japanese«. But even in England, which had had trading posts in India since the beginning of the seventeenth century, no architect would have known better. Even in the microcosm of the gardens of Kew, where in addition to numerous little Classicist temples there were quite an authentic pagoda and a not very credible Alhambra, India was omitted. One important reason for this was that at this time there were no models that could have been used as a basis for such buildings.

The artistic and scholarly discovery of India began around 1770. In contrast to the eighteenth-century fascination with all things Chinese, the British interest in things Indian had a scholarly basis from the start: Even the first experiments by English architects in the newly discovered style reflected an exact knowledge of Indian architecture. Within only a few decades, material for a picture of India was assembled that no longer allowed fanciful projections. For England the situation in India had begun to change radically. Thus far the East India Company had merely owned a series of trading establishments. Europeans had settled primarily in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. With the armed conflicts in Bengal, the protracted process of occupying Indian territories began. Originally private, the East India Company now became an agency of the British government. The administration of the expanding British possessions made it necessary for more and more government officials and troops to be sent to India. Nevertheless it was not until 1858 that the trading company was dissolved and India was officially declared a Crown colony.

With the growing number of British citizens who settled in India came artists as well, who found a new market here. They painted portraits for the Indian princes and landscapes for the British. From their travels they brought back sketches and drawings that often supplied material for their pictures for decades to come.<sup>1</sup> Among the first painters who set out for India was William Hodges (1744–97). The most important result of his three-year stay was the *Select Views in India*, a series of hand-coloured aquatint etchings that he published between 1785 and 1788. They remained unrivalled for a decade. Hodges' etchings for the first time conveyed a reliable picture of Indian landscape and architecture. His preference, and that of many other travellers, was for the architecture of the Islamic Moghul rulers, their palaces, mosques and tombs. His depictions focused on pictorial effect. Hodges was not a documentalist but



John Nash, Royal Pavilion, Brighton, 1815–22.

a landscape painter with an eye for »picturesque« situations and unusual moods. His painterly style of etching slurred over the architectural details of the buildings he portrayed.

Precise details could not be discerned until later, in the works of Thomas Daniell (1749–1840) and his nephew William (1769–1837), who began their voyage when Hodges was already publishing his first etchings. They stayed for nine years, crisscrossing the Indian subcontinent in all directions. They were interested not only in Hindu and Islamic architecture, but also in the Palladian buildings of the British in Calcutta. Beside paintings they produced a huge number of drawings and sketches, which supplied the Daniells with subject matter to the very end of their artistic career. Following the example of Hodges, they began publishing their *Oriental Scenery* in 1795. The last of 144 colour-printed aquatints, distributed over several volumes, did not appear until 1808. The pages were impressive not only because of their unusually large format, they were also based on painstaking detailed studies and were practically asking to be used for other purposes. The buildings that had been publicized by the Daniells were found not only on contemporary stoneware but also on the scenic wallpaper of the Alsatian firm Zuber & Cie., which produced a hand-printed »Hindustan« wallpaper in 1806.<sup>2</sup>

The first European structure to invoke an Indian model was a garden temple designed by Thomas Daniell at Melchet Park (1800). The owner of Melchet Park, John Osborne, had served as an officer in the East India Company. He dedicated the little temple to his former superior and friend Warren Hastings, who as governor-general had been the absolute ruler of India for thirteen years and upon his return had been accused of »acting with tyrannical despotism in East India, of having extorted inordinate amounts of money and of having promoted the downfall of several rulers.<sup>3</sup>



Thomas and William Daniell, Eastern gate of the Jama Masjid in Delhi. From: *Oriental Scenery*, 1795–1808.

After years of lawsuits, he was finally acquitted. Osborne's temple, in which there was a bust of Hastings, was not only the expression of personal admiration, but also a monument to British colonial policy. Like many nabobs, Hastings had successfully combined his service in the East India Company with private business transactions and had returned to England with a large fortune to spend his remaining years there.

Although he had to bear the substantial costs of the lawsuits himself, he still had enough money to have Samuel Pepys Cockerell (1754–1827) build him a large Classicist house on his property in Daylesford, Gloucestershire. While it contained a great deal of Indian furniture and artworks, the lifelong association of its owner with the foreign culture was outwardly shown only in the Indian form of a shallow dome.<sup>4</sup>

Cockerell was to be given more opportunities to commemorate the British fascination with India more explicitly: His older brother John, a former colonel in the Indian army, had purchased the Sezincote estate in the Cotswolds after his retirement.<sup>5</sup> Like many other

Britons he had made his fortune in India and could now consider building a retirement residence befitting his social status. However, he died too early, and the property went to his two younger brothers, Charles and Samuel Pepys. Charles, an official in the East India Company, had also spent the major part of his life in India. Only Samuel, the architect, who had learned his profession together with John Nash, did not know India from personal experience.

It is no longer possible to ascertain which of the three brothers had the idea of building an Indian country house in the green hills of Gloucestershire. At any rate, the biographies of the two older brothers provided the reason for the extravagant project.

The project was first mentioned by the garden designer Humphry Repton (1752–1818), who was much in demand at the time and whom the Cockerells had presumably consulted in 1805. Thomas Daniell, whom Sir Charles had met in India, was also called in. Repton was surprised by the unusual plan. Moreover, Daniell's drawings revealed to him a built environment he had hardly known up to that point.<sup>6</sup> Shortly thereafter Repton came to Brighton, where Crown

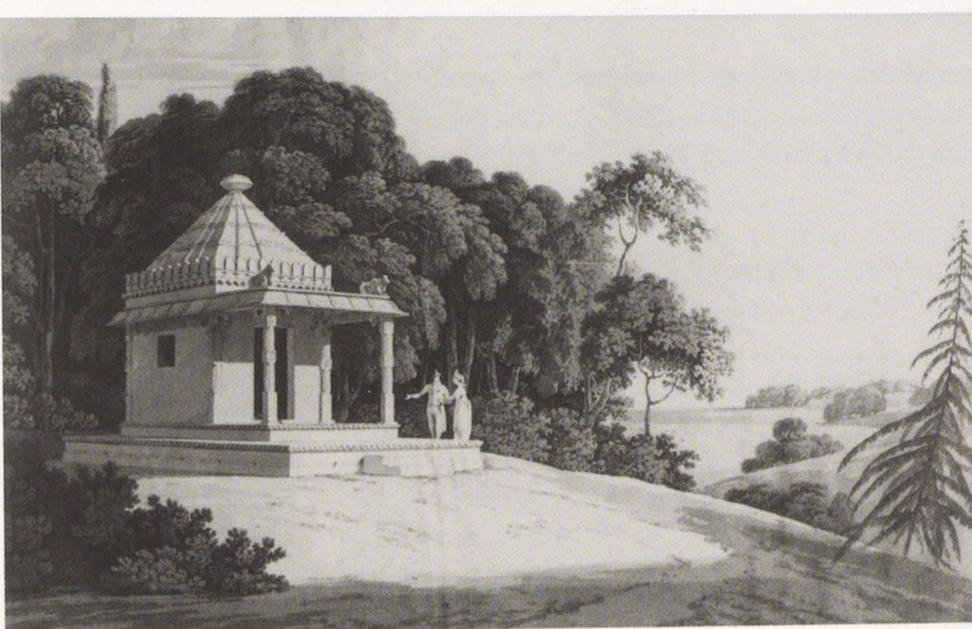
Prince George IV had his summer residence. On the grounds of the Marine Pavilion, stables and a riding hall were being built in the Indian style based on plans by William Porden (ca. 1755–1822). Repton quickly took up the new ideas: As early as 1806 he presented to the Prince of Wales a project for the renovation of the Marine Pavilion – also in the Indian style. At Sezincote, however, Repton was not involved in further plans. By the time his Designs for the Royal Pavilion were published in 1808, the residential house at Sezincote had probably already been completed. In 1817, Charles Cockerell had Sezincote portrayed by two artists: Thomas Daniell painted seven oils, and John Martin created a series of coloured etchings representing the country seat with its farm outbuildings, which were built in a style adapted to that of Sezincote House. Approaching the manor, whose dome could already be seen gleaming behind the trees, by winding paths, like the pedestrians in one of Martin's etchings, one immediately got the first surprise: In a small valley cut out of the slope, hidden behind a dense growth of trees, was a framed pond. At its edge there is still a small temple with a figure of the sun god Surya. As in the sacred bathing places of India, steps lead down to the water. Farther down the slope a road crosses the valley on an Indian bridge. Under it, a watercourse leads to another pond. The designs for the Indian garden had been supplied by Thomas Daniell. In John Martin's etchings the bright yellow stone building with its dome, originally painted white and gold, gives the impression of a symmetrical layout. Perhaps Martin considered such symmetry, which never existed, to be desirable. Sezincote here seems to be a variation of a type of ground plan characteristic of Baroque orangeries, such as that used by Charles Fowler in the greenhouses at Syon House (1820–27).<sup>8</sup> Adjoining a central structure are two curved wings that frame a semicircular garden. The wings end in small pavilions. At Sezincote, however, the central structure projects quite far, and the curved wings grow out of the rear of the building and bound two garden sections that are separated from each other. The Baroque schema was disassembled, and its elements were reassembled in a new pattern.

The south wing of Sezincote, however, never had a mirror image as suggested by Martin's etching: The two wings described different curves. Today the only reminder of the north wing is the pavilion that used to terminate it – the Tent Room, which served Sir Charles as a bedroom. Possibly the topography of the land was to blame for the fact that the architect had to deviate from a ground plan that called for symmetrical perfection: The rear of the house was built into the hill. Thus the reason for Sezincote's irregular shape presumably lies in coincidences related to the building's construction rather than a wish to alter a classical design in a »picturesque« way.<sup>9</sup>

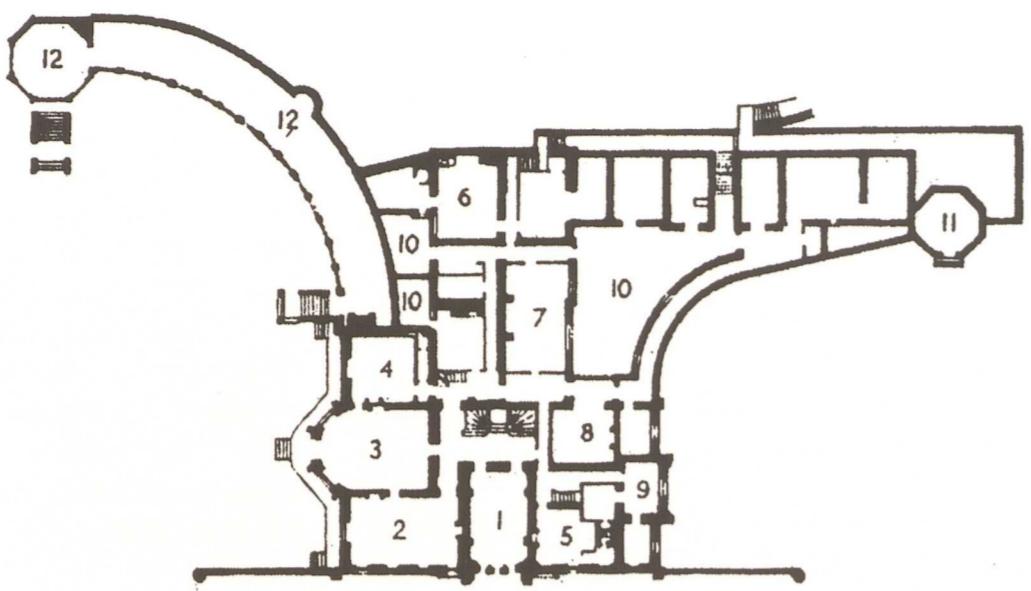
The classical, representative tenor of the building is supported by the formal design of the pleasure ground that forms the transition between the manor and the »naturally« designed landscape. Such an approach was in line with the formal principles prevalent at the time that were espoused by Humphry Repton. Not without reason the Indian landscape garden therefore has no direct relation to the house. Strict symmetry is also typical of the buildings that provided

Thomas Daniell, Hindu Temple at Melchet Park, 1800. The garden structure, which no longer exists, is modelled on a Hindu temple from *Oriental Scenery*.<sup>10</sup> With this building, the author of *Oriental Scenery* at the same time provided the first example for the practical implementation of his depictions of Indian architecture. This process is paralleled in James Stuart's Doric temple at Hagley Park (1758), the »incubulum« of Greek Revival: Stuart was at the same time the publisher (together with Nicholas Revett) of the famous *Antiquities of Athens*.<sup>11</sup>

Thomas Daniell, Surya Temple, Sezincote, Gloucestershire.



the models for the characteristic stylistic elements of the façades. But we must not look for an individual model for Sezincote in Indian architecture. The image of Indian architecture conveyed by *Oriental Scenery* was primarily based on the mosques and mausoleums of the Moghul rulers. At Sezincote the goal was to give an Indian character to a European building type. It was necessary to meet a wealthy landowner's requirements that the house be both comfortable and representative, and at the same time to create a symbol for his particular biography. The Indian shell therefore also contains a »modern« Regency interior: In the end what mattered was European comfort.



Samuel Pepys Cockerell, Manor house in Sezincote, Gloucestershire, ca. 1803 to 1808. Ground plan, view from the east and aviary.

Legend for the ground plan:

1 entrance hall, 2 billiard room, 3 library, 4 small dining room, 5 breakfast room, 6 kitchen, 7 servants, 8 beer cellar, 9 pantry, 10 service area, 11 bedroom of Sir Charles, 12 orangery.



Samuel Pepys Cockerell, Manor house in Sezincote, Gloucestershire, ca. 1803 to 1808. Aquatint and view from the south. John Martin's aquatint, dated 1817, shows the east side of the manor house with the no longer existing north wing and the Tent Room that served Sir Charles as a bedroom. On the south side is the orangery wing. The pavilion at the end contained an aviary.



This discrepancy between inside and outside was by no means felt to be unusual: Even Richard Payne Knight's Downton Castle (1774–78), a pseudo-castle with fortified towers and battlements, had a Classicist interior based on Roman models.<sup>12</sup>

Part of English country life was always a greenhouse: At Sezincote it takes up the entire south wing. The slanting roof and the arcade with its Indian multifoil arches are glassed in. Although the façade is not completely dissolved in glass and iron glazing bars, it looks like filigree: The multifoil arches and the flower-shaped merlons break up the stone surfaces at the edges and thus relieve their heaviness. The wing ends in an octagonal pavilion originally used as an aviary for exotic birds. Its roof is crowned by a chhatri, a baldachin on columns, which as a purely decorative form is a typical characteristic of Moghul architecture. Chhatris can also be found on the main building – as an extension of the polygonal corner pillars. The cantilevered eaves, supported on corbels, have Indian models. But the predominant motif of the entrance front is the flat niche of the liwan in the median risalit above which rises the onion-shaped sheet copper dome. Other factors that contribute to the overall »Indian« impression, other than the colourful stone, are the surfaces, frequently subdivided by frames, blind arches and ornaments.

Although the details are correct, the result is no Indian building. Aside from the fact that it is impossible to adapt an Indian house to the requirements of a different lifestyle and climate, such a transfer was not intended. Sezincote was intended to be no more than an English manor house in an unusual garb, a reminder of a foreign culture in an unexpected place.

The Indian style was chosen not least because it had become available thanks to the Daniells' publications and still had the charm of novelty. The Cockerells may have speculated that with their extravagant project they would initiate a new style or at least a new fashion. Repton had immediately recognized the potential of *Oriental Scenery*. It offered him a plethora of new forms. At the same time he also saw an opportunity here to make his mark as an architect with a distinctive new style: »I was pleased at having discovered new sources of beauty and variety...«.<sup>13</sup> »Variety« was one of the most important key words of the theory of the »picturesque«. This theory, which had arisen during the debates related to garden design, so important in the eighteenth century, had led to the view that judged the design of a landscape garden, and all buildings pertaining to it, first and foremost from the standpoint of whether it would be worth painting. Natural and built elements were components of a composition that was considered as a picture, but that, unlike the painted image, offered new and surprising views depending on where the onlooker was standing. A new concept of beauty, which made a distinction between »the beautiful« and »the sublime« and placed the picturesque somewhere between the two, also conceded that everything that was irregular and bizarre had an aesthetic value of its own. Even nature as yet untouched by human beings was judged according to aesthetic categories and seen as capable of improvement. William Gilpin, one of the theorists of the »picturesque«, had developed a new theory of the art of travel in his *Essay on Picturesque*

Travel.<sup>14</sup> Travel experiences received their value only subsequently as elements of a subjective visual memento. Similarly, the art and architecture of another culture also was given importance only because it could be utilized for one's own intentions. Thus Sezincote appears as an architectural realization of travel memory and world experience according to a selective principle: Only the most suitable and meaningful elements of the foreign architectural style were selected and reassembled into a new picture. In turn, the house itself is part of a larger picture, a surprising and calculated punch line in the designed landscape. While painted landscapes had been associated with the beginning of the landscape garden (Claude Lorrain, Nicolas Poussin), Charles Cockerell took a landscape that was laid out like a picture back to its origin, and had Sezincote portrayed in paintings and etchings. The fact that the plan made a good picture proved that it had picturesque quality. At the end, as though after a voyage, here was the picture again, giving reality its meaning.

The most famous monument of Indian Revival is John Nash's Royal Pavilion in Brighton. There, it becomes apparent that the architect's treatment of his sources was completely different. The architectural history of the Royal Pavilion shows how, in contrast to Sezincote, style was understood merely as an interchangeable masquerade. In Brighton there was a choice of »Chinese« and »Indian« solutions when an existing Classicist building needed to be redesigned. In contrast to Sezincote there were no personal motives on the part of the owner that could have been the decisive factors in choosing one style over another.

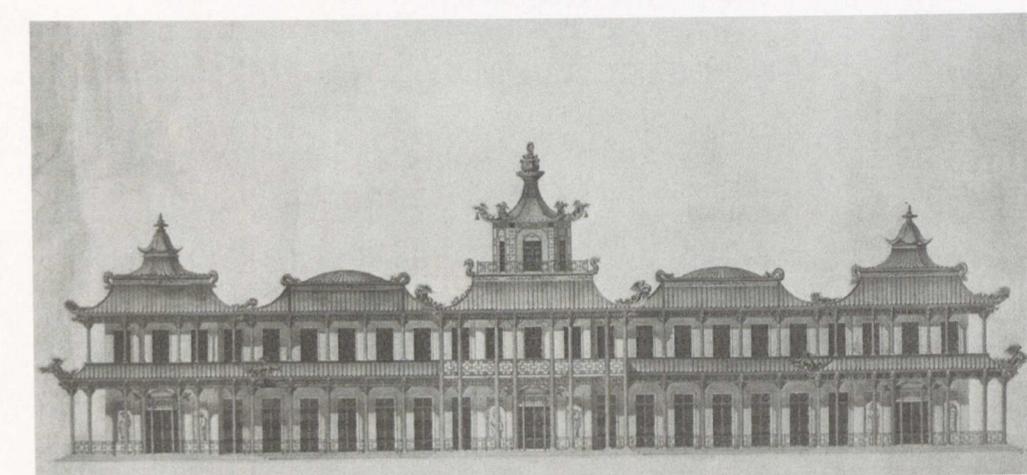
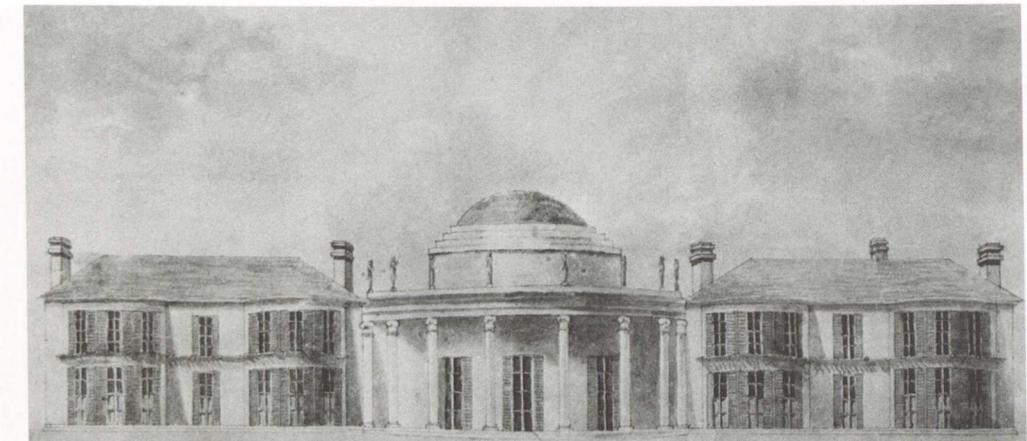
The owner of the Royal Pavilion was George IV (1762–1830), the contender for the English throne. He had first come to Brighton in summer at the age of 21 when it was just beginning to turn from a fishing village into a fashionable seaside resort. George's pronounced inclination and talent for all worldly pleasures not only incurred him the censure of his father but also the moral indignation of his contemporaries: »A gambler, wastrel and libertine, he also, after a few short liaisons, secretly married the beautiful Miss Fitzherbert, a Catholic. Hardly had Parliament approved the sum of 161,000 pounds to cover part of his debts, which 3 years after he reached majority already amounted to over 200,000 pounds sterling... than G. again indulged in the wildest debaucheries, thus forfeiting any respect the people still had for him.«<sup>15</sup>

In 1786 George rented a modest two-storey house with bay windows. However, since the building could hardly meet his sumptuous requirements, George had his architect Henry Holland (1745–1806) come down from London, who then converted Carlton House for him.

Holland made the old house into a component part of a symmetrical complex that consisted of a domed rotunda and two lateral adjoining wings. He rounded the bay windows, provided the rotunda with a portico of Ionic columns and placed a few classical statues on them. The rustic home had become an elegant Classicist country house. The building was named Marine Pavilion (later Royal Pavilion). Its form determined John Nash's later conversion: In the east façade of the pavilion, Henry Holland's structure can still be discerned.

However, another fifteen years were to go by until the conclusive conversion by Nash. In 1801 Holland delivered plans for an expanded ground plan as well as a sketch for a change in the building's outward appearance: The Classicist building was to be turned into a Chinese palace.<sup>16</sup> Holland's idea was not implemented; the conversion did not go beyond an expansion that added two oval pavilions on the east side. The Chinese theme was adopted for the redesign of all interior rooms, however. The »interior designer« John Crace and his son Frederick bought huge amounts of Chinese furnishings from the East India Company: bamboo chairs, sofas, porcelain figures and pagodas, lacquered furniture, and wallpapers. English firms delivered furniture made of imitation bamboo. The walls were painted with Chinese scenes, the ceilings with cloudy skies. While the interior of the building was given a more and more fantastic appearance, the exterior kept its classical face for the time being. But apparently the Prince of Wales already had the intention to find an exotic solution for it as well.

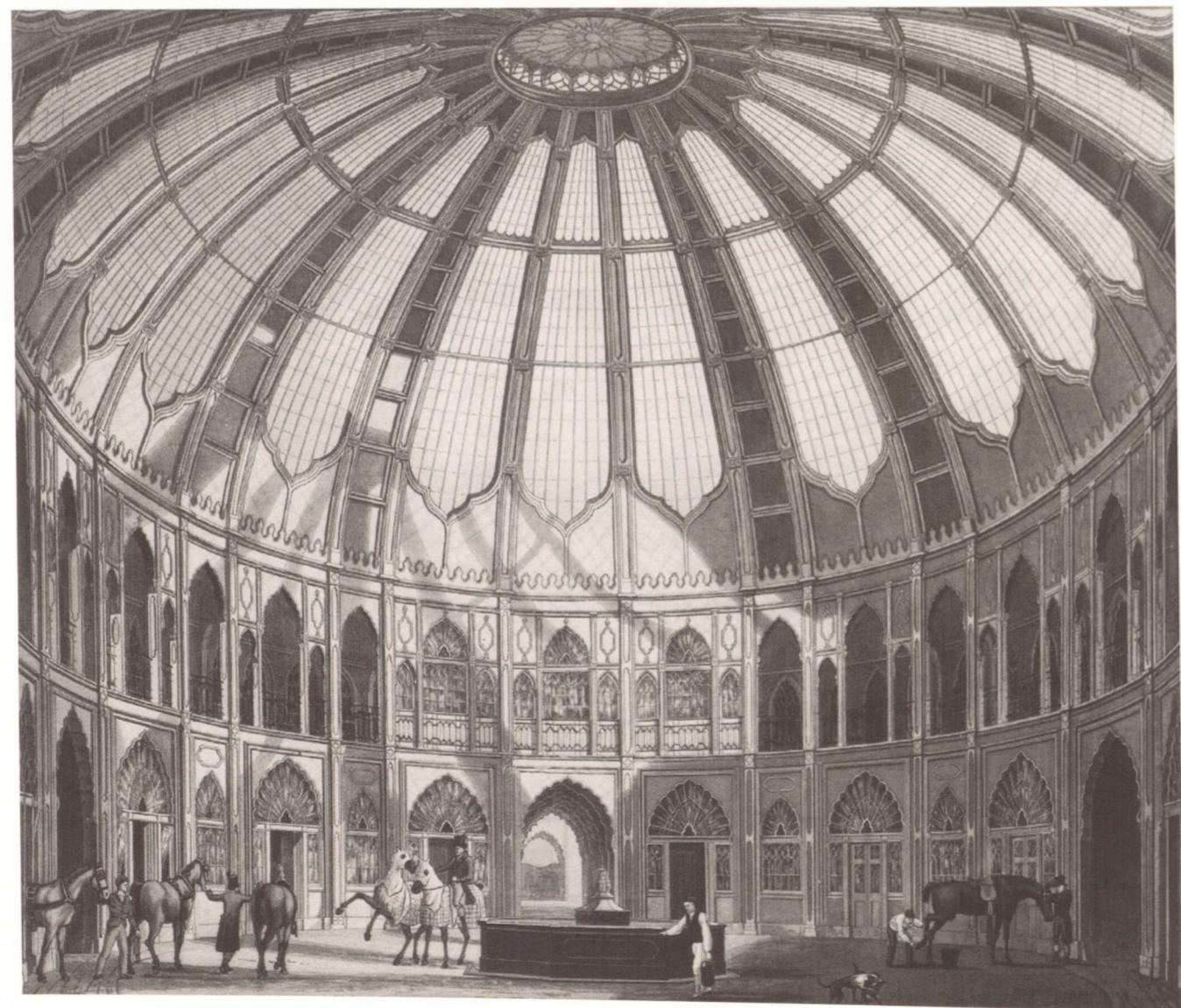
In 1802 William Porden took the place of Holland. Porden had already demonstrated his love for exotic architectural styles: In 1797 he had exhibited a project titled »Design for a place of Public Amusement, in the style of the Mahometan Architecture of Hindustan«.<sup>17</sup> But before a decision was made about the future appearance of the building, George commissioned his architect with the design of new stables and a new riding house.<sup>18</sup> Northwest of the Royal Pavilion, on Church Street, he had bought new plots of land in 1803. Construction began that same year. The garden side of Porden's three-part building is dominated by the rotunda of the former stables (now a concert hall). In the interior of the circular building there was a courtyard around which 44 loose boxes for the royal saddle horses were arranged radially. This inner courtyard is roofed over by a glass dome. It was modelled on the wooden construction erected above the Paris Halle au Blé in 1783. When, in November 1804, the scaffolding under Porden's dome was removed,<sup>19</sup> it was not only the architect who was relieved that his construction had proved to be self-supporting: It was still a risky undertaking to span almost 25 metres with a construction made of wooden ribs. Admittedly, for a dome of this span, wood was the most obvious material: Rolled iron sections in the dimensions required would hardly have been available and affordable.<sup>20</sup> Cast iron was ruled out because of its heavy weight and low tensile strength. But in its filigree effect Porden's structure already anticipated the principle of later iron and glass domes. In spite of the ample use of Indian details – multifoil arches, merlons and decorative minarets – the Royal Stables strike one as being rather sober. Because of its brick façades the stable complex is clearly revealed as a utilitarian building. The stables were an unusual experiment both stylistically and technically. The use of a novel architectural style on a large scale was combined with what was probably the earliest glassed-in dome-shaped structure. It was Porden who also produced the first designs for adding exotic face work to the Pavilion. Corresponding to the interior decoration, the building was to look like a Chinese palace outwardly as well. Unfortunately the designs cannot be dated with certainty.<sup>21</sup>



Henry Holland, Marine Pavilion, Brighton, ca. 1787. East view.

William Porden, Project for the conversion of the Marine Pavilion, Brighton, before 1806. East view.

William Porden, Riding House of the Royal Stables, Brighton, 1803–05. Church Street façade. The building was later used as a Corn Exchange.



William Porden, Royal Stables, Brighton, 1803–05.  
Interior view from: John Nash, *Views and Illustrations of His Majesty's Palace at Brighton*, 1826.

The building, which has since been converted into a concert hall, had charming views through its four gates: »The southern arch opens to the pleasure grounds, and the view through the arches, from the entrance gateway across the rotunda is singularly striking.«<sup>21</sup>

Since the gates of the circular building and of the coach yard that was located on the street lay on one axis, there was a view from the street to the garden, whose depth effect was further intensified by the staggering of the multi-foiled arches in the gateways. Adjoining the stables on the left is a rectangular hall (first a riding house, then the Corn Exchange, now an exhibition hall); on the right the Queen Adelaide Riding Stables were built in 1832, symmetrically to the Riding House (today: Brighton Museum).

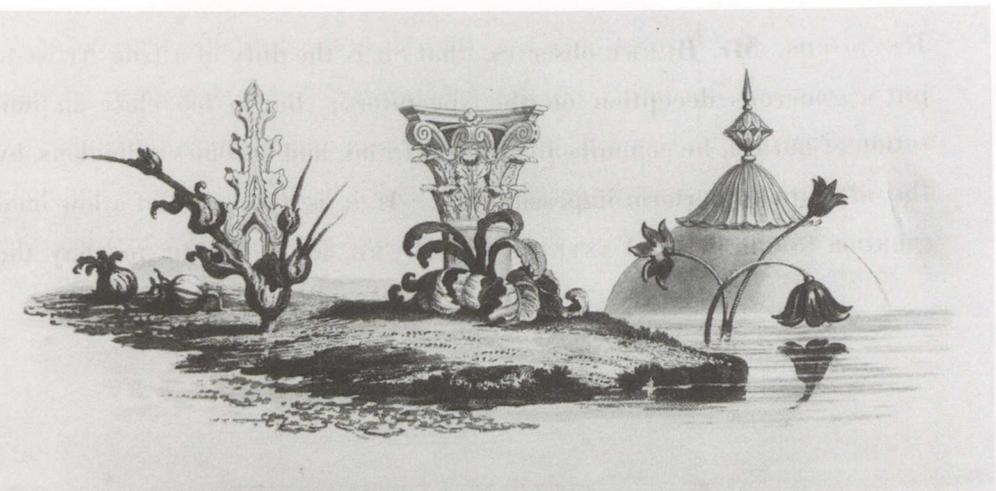
»I found in the gardens of the Pavilion a stupendous and magnificent Building, which by its lightness, its elegance, its boldness of construction, and the symmetry of its proportions, does credit both to the genius of the Artist, and the good Taste of his Royal Employer. Although the outline of the Dome resembles rather a Turkish Mosque than the Buildings of Hindustan, yet its general character is distinct from either Grecian or Gothic, and must both please and surprise every one not bigotted to the forms of either.«<sup>22</sup>

In 1806 Porden exhibited them at the Royal Academy. It would be interesting to find out whether a Chinese solution was still being seriously considered at this point – now that the stables had been built, after all, it made more sense to give the pavilion, too, an Indian appearance.

Porden's design gave the existing building an alienated appearance: With curved eaves and green glazed tiles the roofs of the pavilion would have had an unmistakably »Chinese« silhouette. In front of the façades he placed roofed-over galleries on red columns behind which the old structure can easily be recognized. Because of the stables, however, the stylistic direction of the conversion was a given.

In February 1806 Humphry Repton presented the Prince of Wales with the album containing designs for the conversion of the pavilion and its gardens, which he published two years later under the title *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton*. As in his famous Red Books, with the help of which Repton usually effortlessly convinced his clients, it was possible, by folding back individual parts of the picture, to compare the appearance of the site and the buildings before and after the planned changes. His plan provided for an extension of the Royal Pavilion by a wing joined at an angle to its east side.<sup>24</sup> However, the adjacent properties, which he would have needed for the addition, were built-up. The Prince of Wales lacked the funds to purchase them – presumably one reason why Repton's project was also not implemented. His elevation for a new west side shows a building with added towers, onion domes and arcades, which in the smallest of spaces contains a large number of different Indian motifs that Repton had taken with barely any changes from the etchings of the Daniells.

The entire design looks as though Repton had wanted to broach as many themes of Indian architecture as possible. Whole sections of buildings are borrowed almost unaltered from *Oriental Scenery*: The »Hindu Temples in Bindrabund«<sup>25</sup> (Brindaban), massive stone structures, provided the model for a gossamer aviary. The octagonal pavilion that terminates the new wing is taken from the »Northeast view of the Cotseha Bhaug«<sup>26</sup> (Qudsia Bagh, Delhi). Repton has merely



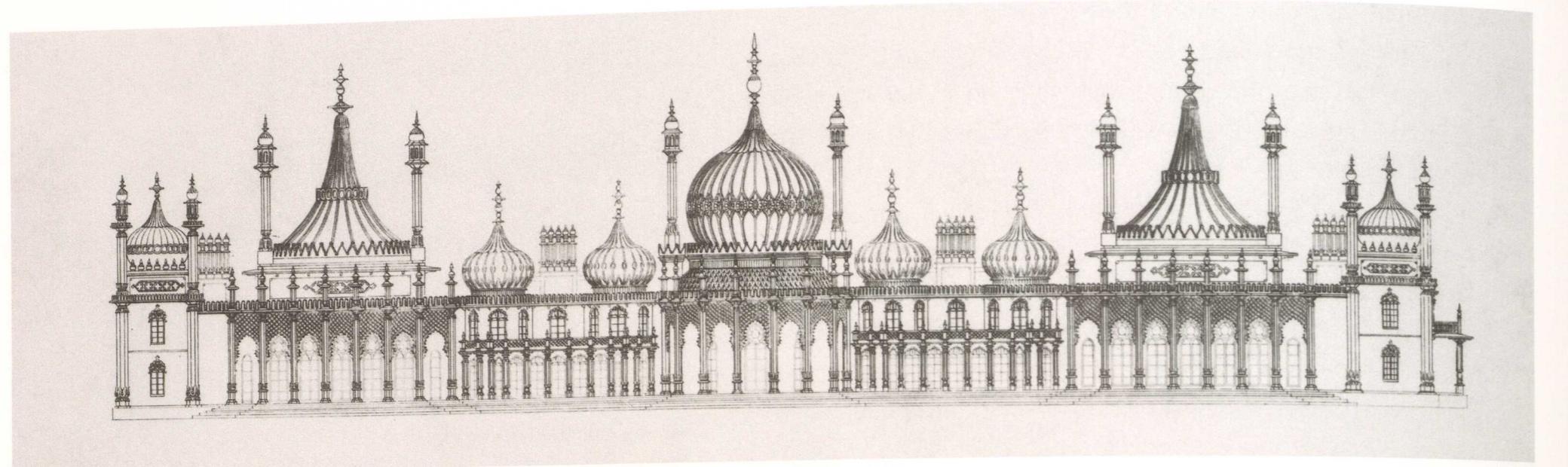
Humphry Repton, »Gothic, Grecian, Indian«

Humphry Repton, project for the conversion of the Royal Pavilion, Brighton, north side with new wing.  
From: *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton*, 1808.

shortened the Indian model by one storey. The list of examples could easily be continued.<sup>27</sup>

George was thrilled to see Repton's scholarly collage and promised that the plan would be implemented without cutbacks. But to the architect's disappointment there was soon no more mention of it. The costly publication of the designs could not change anything either. The aquatint etchings of the book were accompanied by detailed texts in which Repton justifies his project and at the same time tries to respond to his client's question as to »which style was the most appropriate for the pavilion«.<sup>28</sup> Repton apparently feared his design would be criticized. In order to refute every imaginable objection in advance, he developed his own theory of architecture, which puts the »Indian« style on the same level as the dominant styles of the period, the »Greek« and the »Gothic« style. He felt the »Indian« style was the best choice for feudal country seats. »Having already seen the difficulties of adapting either the Grecian or Gothic Styles to the character of an English Palace, this newly discovered Style of Architecture seems to present a new expedient for the purpose ...«<sup>29</sup> In order to further support his thesis Repton did not even shy away from the argument that it was cheaper to build in the »Indian« than





in the »Gothic« style: Many ornamented structural elements could be efficiently produced from cast iron. According to a tried and tested method he justified his reduction of world architecture to three principal styles from which all others can be derived: He derived their essential structural and ornamental parts from nature: »The Gothic are derived from the BUD or GERM, the Grecian from the LEAF, and the Indian from the FLOWER.«<sup>30</sup> Here Repton varied the method of existing theories that compared the Gothic structural system with the tall trees of a forest, whose branches form a »vault« at the top.<sup>31</sup> Repton's elaborate justification gives the impression that he was not very confident of what he was doing. Presumably the result was that he lacked freedom in dealing with the models. In order not to expose himself to accusations, he made sure his details were verifiably correct. The result is an academic design that lacks the »boldness« that Repton had praised in Porden's buildings.<sup>32</sup>

The degree of authenticity had in fact been a criterion of contemporary criticism. A favourite reproach directed at John Nash's design, which had finally been implemented, was lack of correctness: »If the architect ... aimed at an imitation of oriental architecture, it is to be lamented that he trusted so implicitly to conjecture, for there is no feature, great or small, which at all accords with the purity, grandeur, and magnificence that characterise the genuine Oriental Style.«<sup>33</sup>

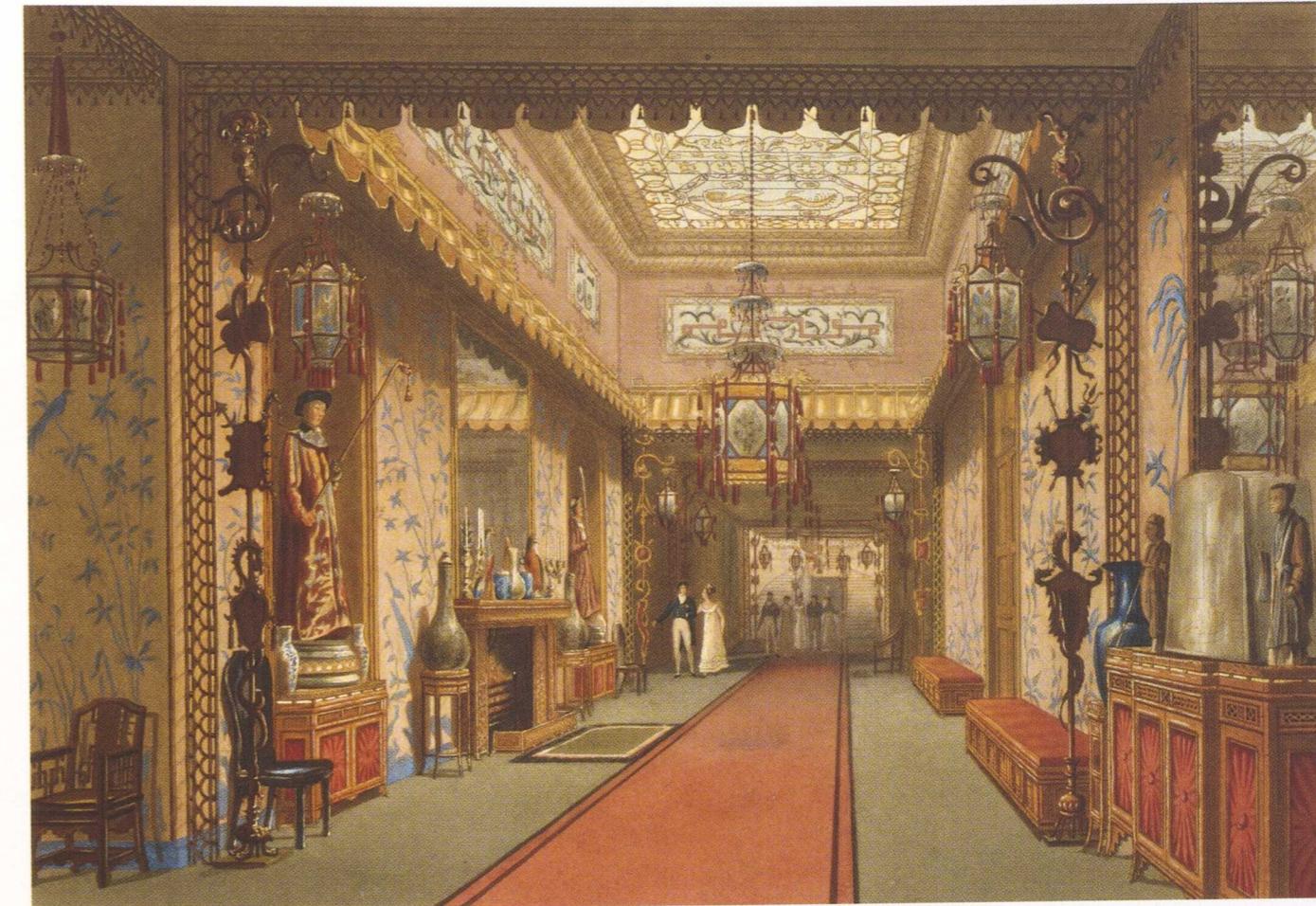
John Nash (1752–1835)<sup>34</sup> was already over 60 years old when, in 1815, he received the commission to redesign the Royal Pavilion. In the meantime the financial situation of his client had improved: George had been named Prince Regent, since his ailing father could no longer manage the affairs of state. It was no longer possible to deny him the funds for the conversion.

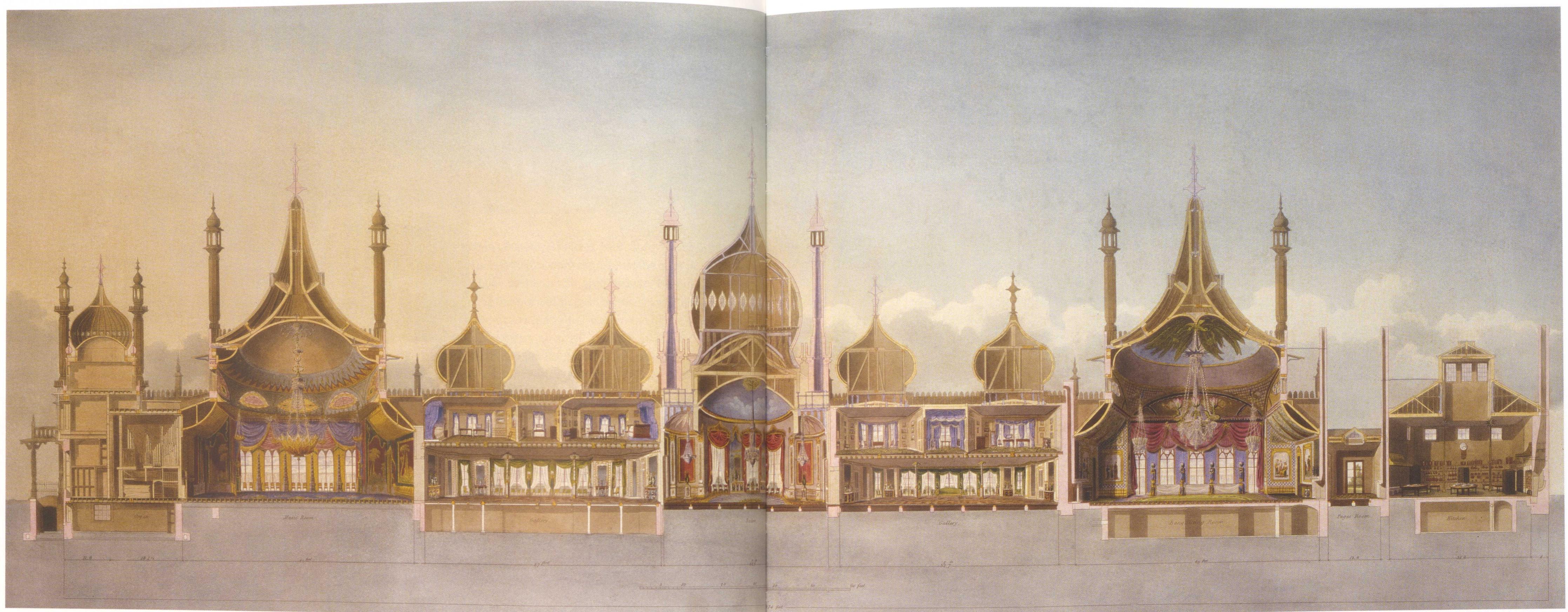
Nash had already been enjoying the protection of the Prince of Wales for a long time. He owed the most important commission of his career to him: the planning of Regent's Park and Regent Street (1812–27). However, he was not an orthodox classicist, as one might conclude from the appearance of his semicircular Park Crescent or the »terraces« (row houses) along Regent's Park. The classical guise was merely the only one appropriate for the solution of an urban architectural project. His own residence and office building on Dover Street<sup>35</sup> also presented itself as an eclectic mixture of classical forms. On the other hand, anything was permitted when it

Left page:  
John Nash, Royal Pavilion, Brighton, 1815–22.  
East view.

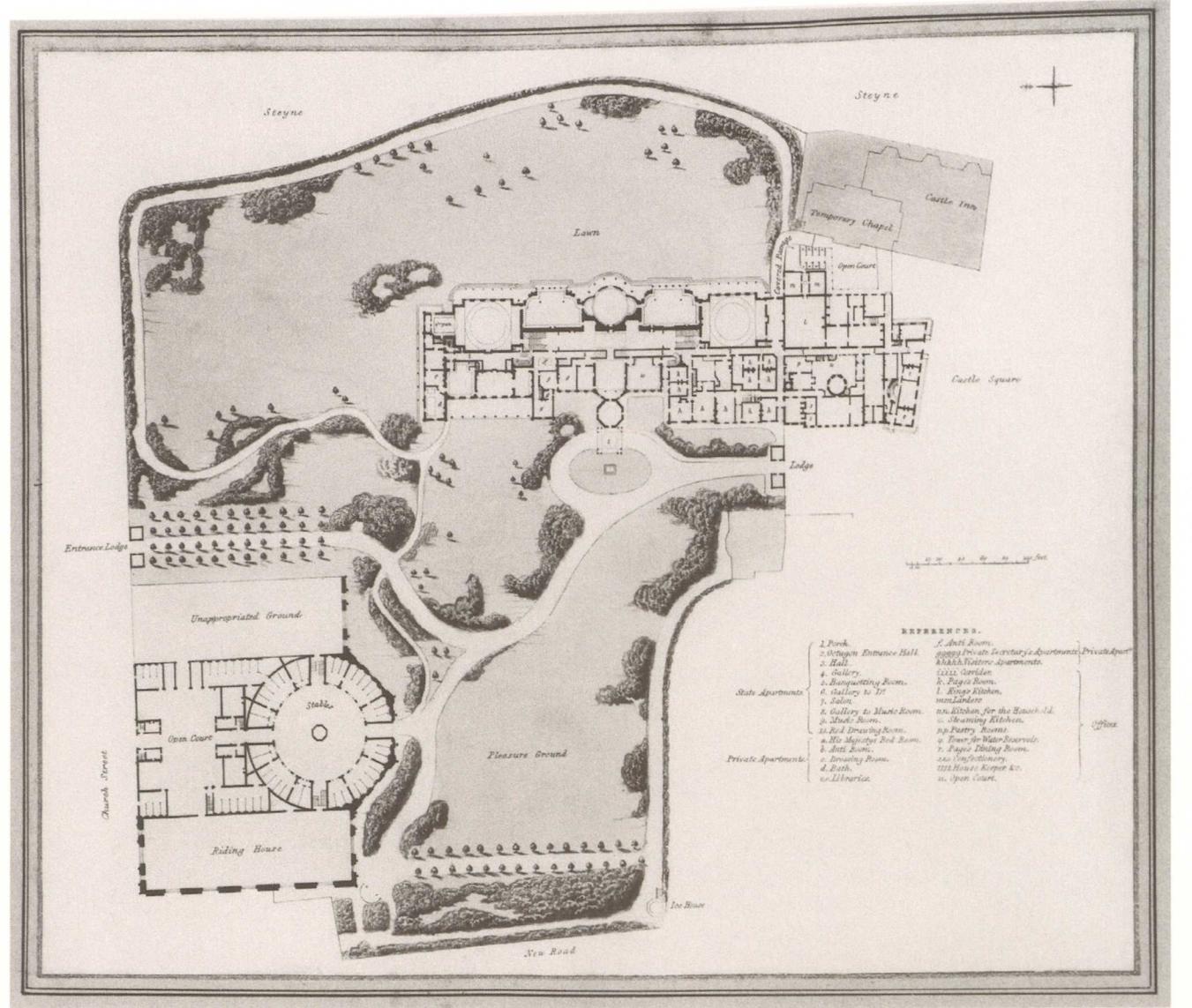
The corridor of the Royal Pavilion, Brighton, ca. 1820. From: John Nash, *Views and Illustrations of His Majesty's Palace at Brighton*, 1826.

Royal Pavilion, Brighton, east view.





Royal Pavilion, Brighton, 1815-22. Sectional view with the music room, saloon and banqueting room (from left to right). From: John Nash, *Views and Illustrations of His Majesty's Palace at Brighton*, 1826.



Opposite page:  
Royal Pavilion, Brighton, 1815–22, Saloon on the east side

Royal Pavilion, Brighton, Layout plan.

Royal Pavilion, Brighton. Kitchen.

All from: John Nash, *Views and Illustrations of His Majesty's Palace at Brighton*, 1826.

The effect of the corridor is all the more overpowering, transporting visitors unexpectedly into the interior of a fairy-tale Chinese palace. Even today the room, lit by skylights during the day and by Chinese lamps at night, has the most unreal ambience in the entire house. The props of the Chinese stage setting are imported and imitation bamboo furniture, vases, pagodas and porcelain figures of Chinese people. A light-blue bamboo grove is painted on the pink wallpaper. The architect and the interior designers were particularly taken with the bamboo: There were not only beech-wood but also cast-iron imitations of it. Nash had had the staircases at both ends of the corridor cast in London together with their »bamboo banisters«. The corridor is more than a mere hallway connecting all the

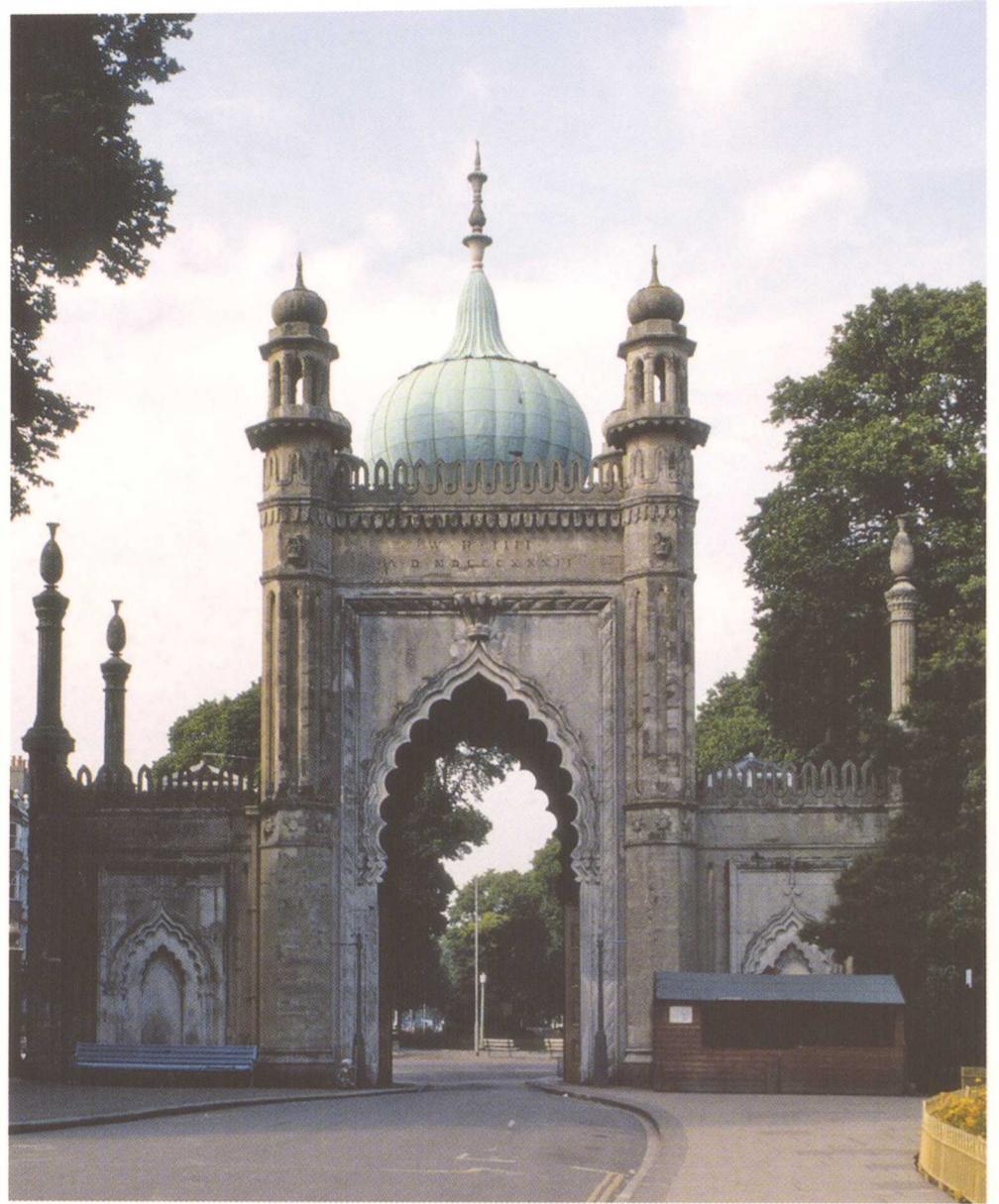


rooms. It was used as a hall in which all the guests assembled before meals, and at the same time prepares one for the high point of the dramatic architectonic composition. Even more magnificent, even more disorienting due to the opulence of sumptuous details is the large dining room (cf. p. 52/53). In spite of the Chinese subjects of the wall paintings the exoticism predominant here is rather vague. The shallow dome above the long table is almost filled in with the leaves of a banana plant painted in an illusionistic style. Under the roof of foliage soars a silver dragon that holds the huge chandelier with its flower-shaped gas lamps in its claws.

The dining room at the north end of the building corresponds to the no less grandiose music room, on which Frederick Crace worked, with up to 44 assistants at times.<sup>37</sup>

Nash began the conversion in 1815. But the definitive alteration of the external outlines did not start until 1817. Little by little the Clas- sicistic building now disappeared behind an Indian façade. Nash broke up the firm contours of the building on the east side by placing open arcades in front of the dining room, the round projecting salon and the music room. The capitals and bases of their columns were closely based on the type of Indian models familiar from the etchings of the Daniells. Between the columns are net-like lattices carved from stone in which bud-shaped arches are recessed. They are reminiscent of the jalis that in the hot Indian climate protect from the sun and at the same time constantly provide ventilation. The forms of the windows, which go down to the floor, show that Nash by no means slavishly stuck to Indian models. He freely varied the keel and multi- foil arches of Indian buildings. His windows appear to be »Indian« without being Indian.





Above the salon rises a tall, onion-shaped dome with small window apertures that originally illuminated a billiard room. The dome is flanked on the east side by slender minarets, and on the west side by cylindrical fortress towers. The construction of the dome involved difficult structural problems: The salon on top of which the dome was to be placed must not be damaged. But at the same time its walls were not strong enough to support the new roof. That is why Nash had a »cage« of iron supports built around the outside walls of the room on which the onion could be placed.

During the long and complicated genesis of the Royal Pavilion, which had begun in 1786 with a modest residence, Henry Holland's first conversion continued to be a defining factor – not only for the unrealized projects of Porden and Repton, but also for the final conversion by Nash. Nash countered the Classicist formality of Holland's concept by transforming the roof landscape into a picturesque forest of cupolas, towers and minarets and by breaking open the smooth exterior surfaces by means of arcades, merlons and balustrades.

The criticism of his design quoted above judged the pavilion by the standards of a »genuine Oriental style« and thus drew attention to the building's actual quality. This lies precisely in the fact that while the architect used authentic details, he integrated them in his own, fantastical vision of the Orient. To many of his contemporaries, Nash's masterful treatment of the models, which couldn't have cared less about credibility, must have seemed frivolous. In contrast to Cockerell's Sezincote or Repton's scholarly design, Nash's pavilion appears to be a gigantic »folly«, an extravagant feudal whim.

Here, middle-class moderation was provocatively exploded. If Sezincote reflects a highly cultured upper-class lifestyle that appropriated the world scientifically and aesthetically, the Royal Pavilion appears rather to be an expression of its owner's pursuit of pleasure, which his contemporaries felt to be offensive, and of his excessive extravagance.

The Prince Regent's summer residence, however, provoked not only moralizing criticism but also derision. Prince Pückler compared the edifice with a gigantic game of chess and said he would not be sorry if it were all torn down again.<sup>38</sup> After the death of George IV, his brother William at first continued the Indian tradition. In 1832 the large stable building was given the still missing east wing (Queen Adelaide's Stables), and a year later, based on Nash's design, the big North Gate was built. Between the North Gate and Porden's stables there was still an older residential building, which was also given an Indian exterior. When, in 1837, William died as well and Victoria ascended the throne, the Royal Pavilion was sold to the town of Brighton for 53,000 pounds. This was only a fraction of the construction costs, which were said to have been 700,000 pounds. A large part of the furniture and decorations were taken out before the sale, and many wallpapers were removed, only to be reinstalled in Buckingham Palace. This is where a considerable part of the original furnishings is kept today.

Not until after World War II was work begun, directed by Clifford Musgrave, on a historically faithful reconstruction of the interiors fundamentally based on the coloured aquatint etchings in *Views and Illustrations of His Majesty's Palace at Brighton*, which Nash published in 1826.

Today the pavilion presents a picture that comes close to the original condition. Part of the old furnishings were returned, and the gaps were closed with pieces that blend in stylistically.

The Oriental ensemble of pavilion, stable buildings, riding house and gates was the inspiration in Brighton for additional exotic buildings and projects. In 1825 Henry Philipps promoted the project of an Oriental Garden<sup>39</sup>: A gigantic building with three onion-shaped glass domes was to house a public winter garden and a »cultural centre«. The project failed, however, due to its high cost. At about the same time a few urban residential houses were built with Indian façades based on designs by Amon Henry Wilds (1790–1857). Among them was his own residence at 9 Western Terrace.

Such projects were in keeping with the architectonic »climate« of a seaside resort. During the course of the nineteenth century special building types – casinos, pump rooms and piers built into the sea – that fitted in with the needs of the guests to relax and enjoy themselves developed in the spas and seaside resorts. The fact that visitors had left workaday life behind them was to be expressed in the architecture as well.

Thus it made sense for the pavilions and ballrooms on the piers to be given an Oriental atmosphere. With his West Pier (1863–66; destroyed by fire in 2003) Eusebius Birch began the tradition of highly imaginative Oriental-style piers. Palace Pier, begun in 1891, which is still being used today, continued this tradition.

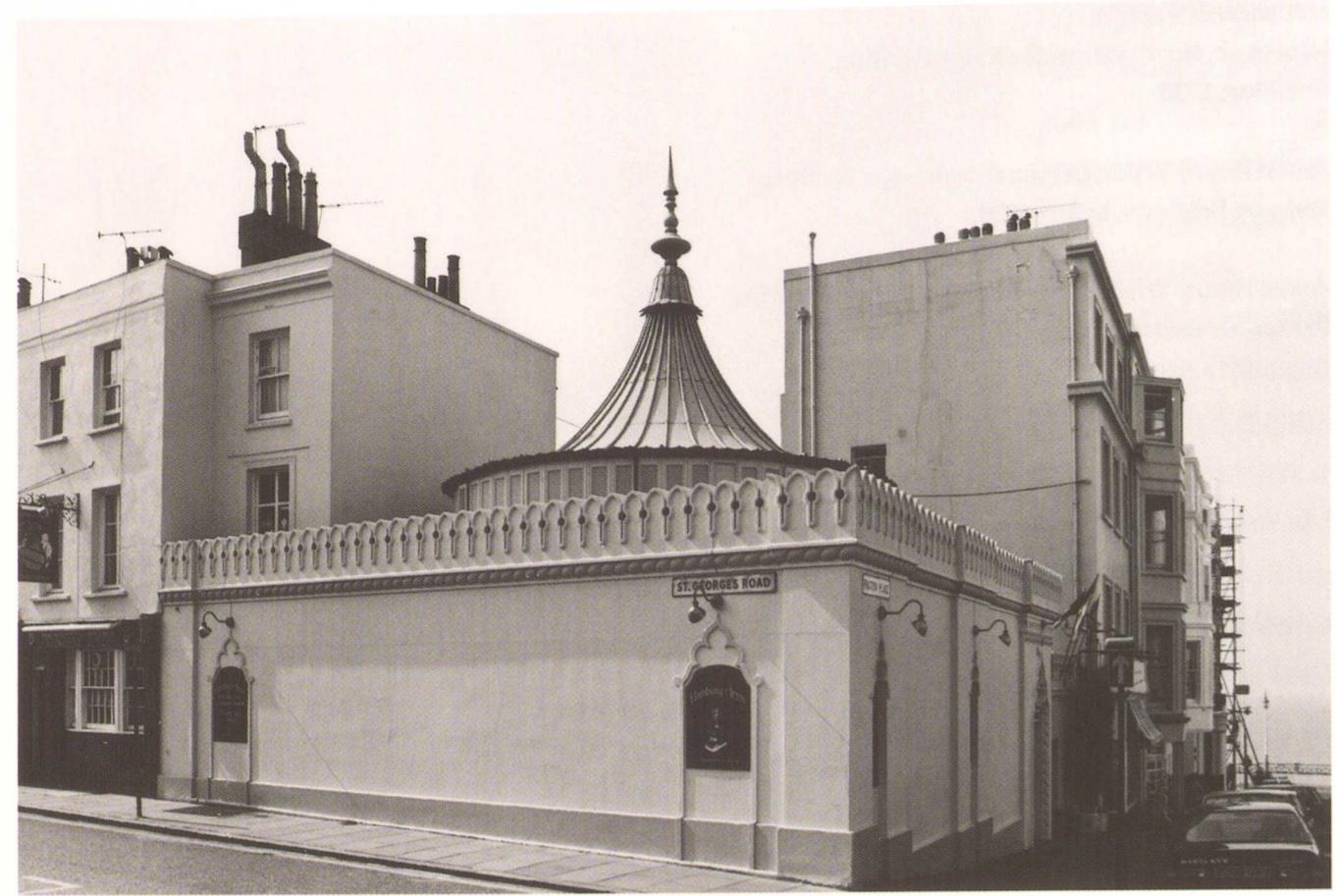


Left page:  
John Nash, North gate of the Royal Pavilion,  
Brighton, 1833.

Amon Henry Wilds, personal residence, Western  
Terrace, Brighton, before 1830.

Amon Henry Wilds, Clifton Baths on Clifton Marine  
Parade, Gravesend, 1836.





Mausoleum for Sir Albert Abdullah Sassoon, Paston Place, Brighton, 1880.

Albert Sassoon had a trading empire with headquarters in Bombay. It was therefore quite appropriate to allude to the origin of the Sassoon fortune with an »Indian« mausoleum, the form of whose roof the architect had borrowed from the Royal Pavilion. In 1896 Sir Albert was actually buried here. Today the building serves the living: For some years this even was the home of the »Bombay Bar«; later a less exotic pub moved in.

Minaret, Herefordshire

A Turkish minaret, a gateway with a »cupola« and the minaret-like columns of the wall that surrounds the courtyard of the former stable building are reminiscent of the country seat, razed in 1875, near Ledbray, Herefordshire.

A citizen of the town, Sir Albert Abdullah Sassoon, even had his mausoleum built in the Indian style. In the rest of England, until the end of the nineteenth century, isolated examples of the Indian influence can still be found. However, there was rarely interest in the kind of »scientific« use of Indian motifs found in the work of Thomas Daniell and Humphry Repton. Country seats such as Hope End or Radcliffe lack the unequivocal quality of those designs, which made it possible for cognoscenti to recognize original details they knew from the books. Frequently, rather than choosing the academic use of Indian stylistic characteristics, people preferred an indeterminate Orientalism in which Indian elements could mix with Moorish ones, as in the building of Blackfriars Station (1870) in London.

In a museum context efforts were made to create credible reconstructions of Indian architecture: Thus Matthew Digby Wyatt's design for the arcaded court of the East India Company's museum in Leadenhall Street (before 1858) was supposedly based on the private audience chamber of a Moghul ruler in Agra.<sup>40</sup>

Almost always the Indian style was used in the sense of an »architecture parlante«: It was either meant to signal entertainment, luxury and extravagance or to refer to a specific biography, as at Sezincote, Hope End and Redcliffe.

Among the Oriental country seats there is one that does not call to mind the wealth of the colonial rulers, but rather the story of those who had lost their power and riches as a result of British rule. In 1848 the British used a Sikh uprising as a pretext for annexing the Punjab and for ousting the Maharaja Duleep Singh from power. As remuneration for his empire, the Maharaja, who was then ten years old, received from the East India Company a lifelong pension that was not too lavish in proportion to the riches he had left behind in India. Duleep Singh later went to England and there purchased Elveden Hall in Suffolk, which he had converted in 1863–70.<sup>41</sup> On the outside, the »Italian« style of the manor house was retained; inside, the most important reception rooms, however, were transformed with stucco

and paint under the direction of the architect John Norton. Norton based his work on photographs of Indian buildings and studied the objects in the Indian collection of the South Kensington Museum. But the Indian interior was furnished with Victorian furniture. The next owner of Elveden Hall was impressed by the Indian ambience: After the Maharaja's death (1893) Edward Cecil Guinness, the Earl of Iveagh and great-grandson of the founder of the brewery, purchased the Indian's house and had it converted and expanded once more. A huge hall was added to the already existing Indian rooms; its eclectic style was a mixture of features characteristic of Moghul and Hindu architecture.

In 1984 the collections and the entire furniture of Elveden Hall were sold at auction. Now (2015) the »Maharaja's Castle« stands empty, aside from its occasional use as a film location.<sup>42</sup>



Robert Smith, Redcliffe, near Paignton, Devon, 1855–65. The building, which still exists and has in the meantime been transformed into a hotel, had belonged to the military engineer Robert Smith (1787–1873), who had spent a large part of his life in the service of the East India Company. In India Smith had not only begun to paint, but had also been in charge of restoring a few important architectural monuments from the Moghul period.<sup>43</sup> After retirement he lived in Italy for almost 20 years before returning to the land of his birth in 1850. In 1852, Smith, now over sixty years old, began planning his retirement residence. In an exposed location, on a cliff above the sea, the implementation of a concept that was as eccentric as it was romantic began three years later. In the core of the complex there is a three-storey circular building that calls to mind not only fortified medieval towers but also circular Roman tombs (Tomb of Caecilia Metella, Mausoleum of Hadrian) or Lequeu's project for a castle by the sea.<sup>44</sup>

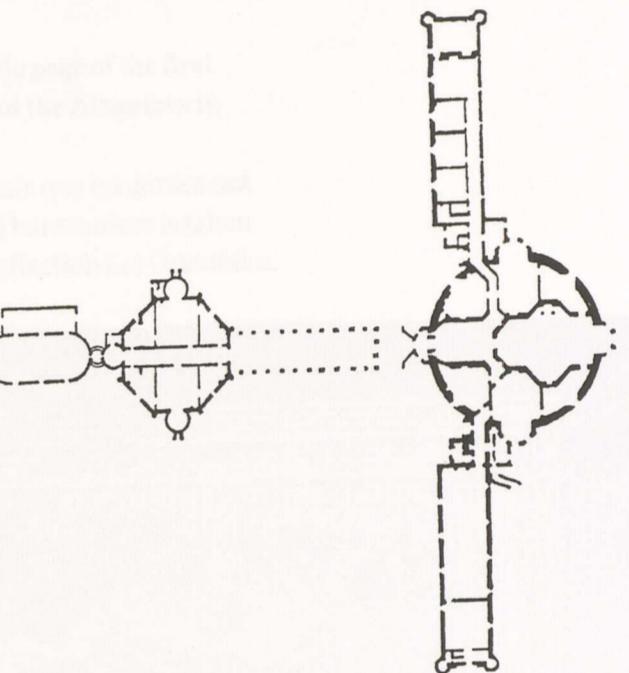
As his next project, the castle called Château de l'Anglais on a peninsula near Nice, which Smith started building in 1858, also shows, the former colonel was obviously obsessed with the idea of building fortresses. In India the planning of fortifications had been one of his tasks; he was also familiar with the famous fort of Rohtasgarh. Since there are many possible iconographic interpretations, Smith's residence appears to be both a symbolic fortress and a cenotaph. At the same time the circular building, to which three long rectangular wings are attached like a hinge, is reminiscent of late eighteenth-century ground plan experiments. It was not only »Revolution architects« like Ledoux who were fascinated by the possibilities of the circular building. The architectonic freedom offered by Anglo-Chinese gardens had also made possible not only the playful use of exotic styles but also experimentation with ground plans that are not derived from functional requirements but are based on the combination of

basic geometric forms. A well-known example of such an experiment is the »truncated« Doric column in the »Desert« of Retz, a French garden created in the decade before the Revolution. It contains a four-storey house. Every floor is a new variation on the circular ground plan.<sup>45</sup>

In Redcliffe an extravagant ground plan is combined with exotic flair. Freely interpreted Indian details (the windows shaped like keel arches, the battlements, the onion-shaped cupolas of the minaret turrets) refer to a fictitious model that seems to justify the overall plan. The »Indian« fortress of Colonel Smith contained not only 23 bedrooms, but also a greenhouse, a billiard hall, a studio and two exhibition rooms in which the master of the house was presumably able to find room for only a part of the more than three hundred pictures he had painted in India.

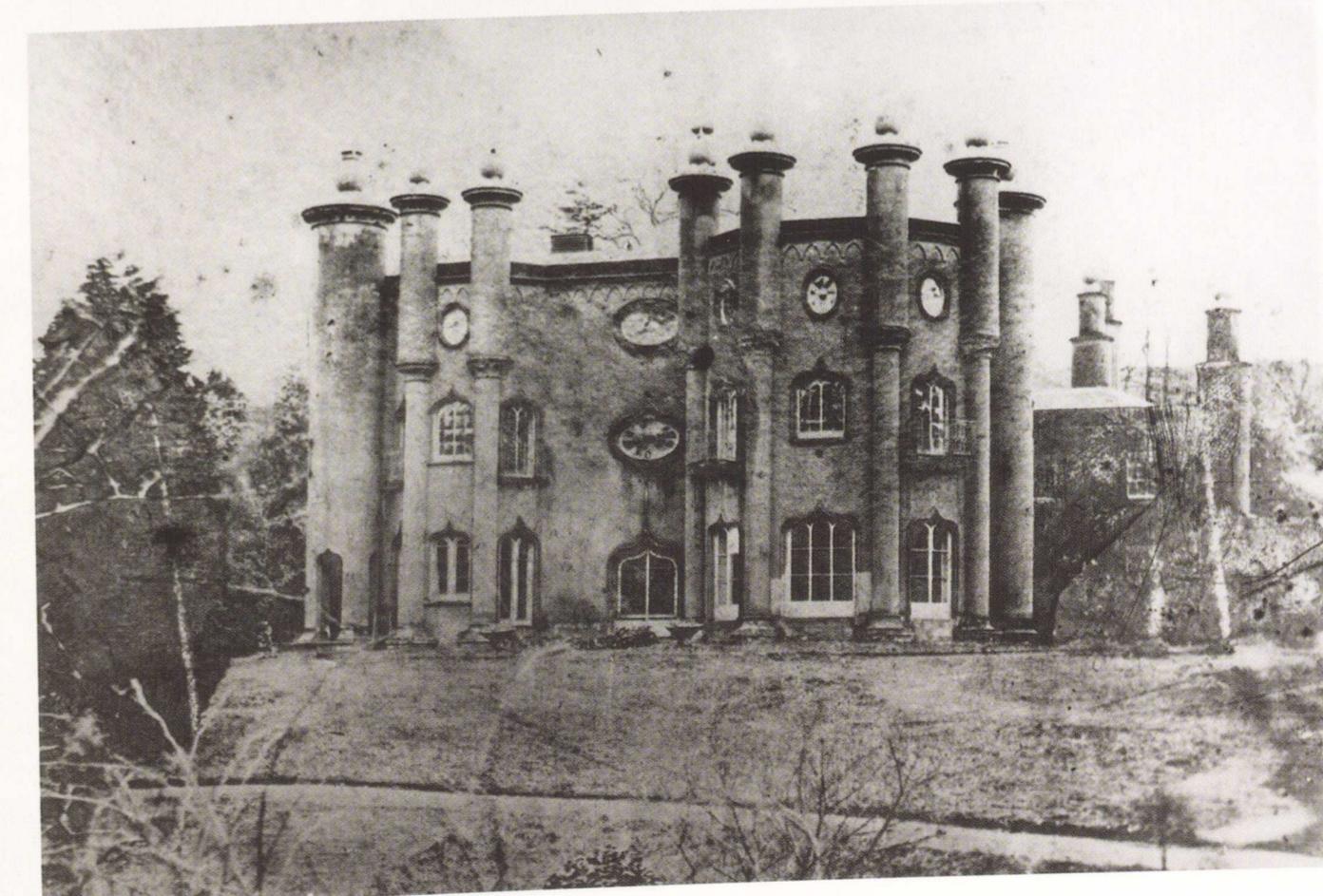


Paignton, Hotel Redcliffe.



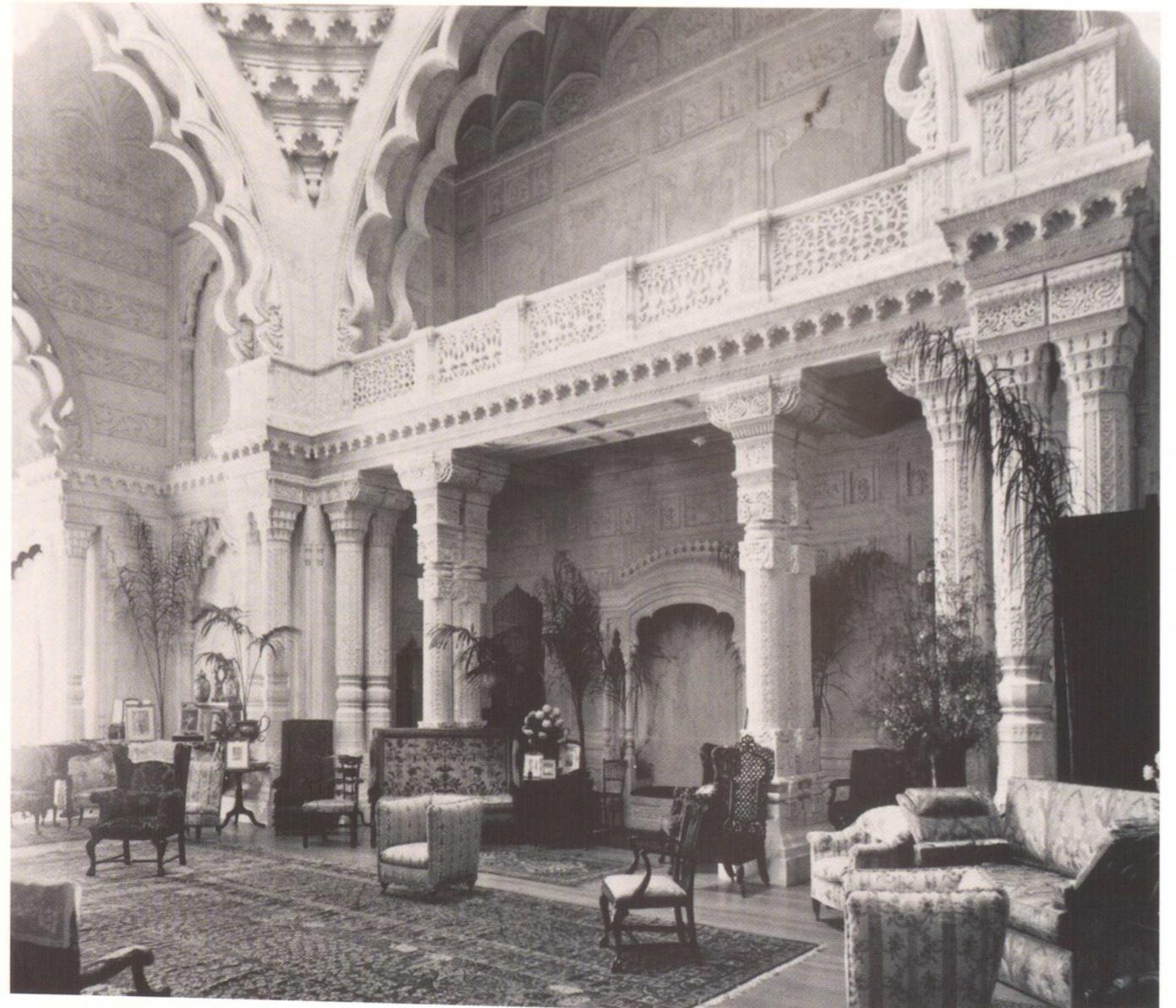
Hope End, Herefordshire, 1810–15.

The bizarre building had a large glass dome – not visible here – above the central stairwell. The unacademical »Oriental« details and the awkward composition confirm the assumption that Edward Moulton-Barrett, the owner of Hope End, had designed the house himself. Edward was born in Jamaica, where his family had extensive sugarcane plantations. The Moulton-Barretts had moved to England in 1794 so that Edward and his siblings could have an English education. The wealth of British plantation owners was based on the labour of more than half a million African slaves, who had been transported to the Caribbean during the eighteenth century. When slavery was finally abolished in the British colonial territories (1833), this marked the beginning of economic decline for many plantation owners: The Moulton-Barretts had to sell Hope End.<sup>46</sup>



Station of the Metropolitan and District Railways in Blackfriars, London, 1870.

William and Clyde Young, and Caspar Purdon Clarke, Indian Hall, Elveden Hall, Suffolk, 1900-03.



## The fascination of the Alhambra: Academic Orientalism

»The Alhambra seems to be the dwelling place of genies, it is one of those buildings from One Thousand and One Nights that seem to have sprung not so much from reality as from a dream. One can hardly imagine the cast and openwork stucco decorations, this lace architecture, the baths and fountains, the gardens in the interior in which wild orange and pomegranate trees stand among graceful ruins. Nothing can match the elegance and the variety of the arabesques of the Alhambra. The ornament-covered walls resemble those Oriental fabrics embroidered by slave girls in the seclusion of the harem.«<sup>1</sup>

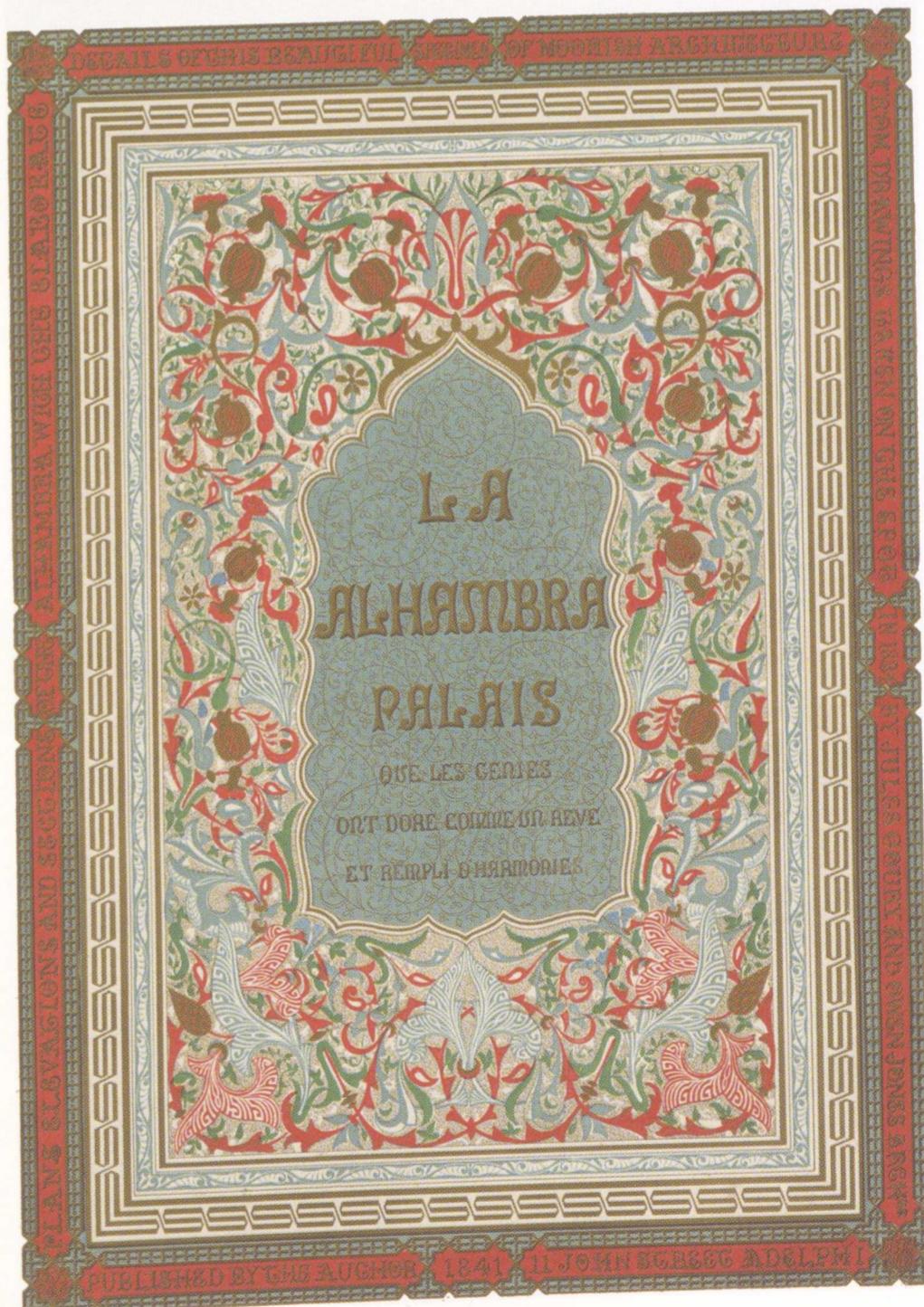
»Something that is both voluptuous, religious and warlike seems to breathe in this magical building, which was a monastery of love and a mysterious refuge of the Moorish kings, who tasted every pleasure here and forgot all of life's duties.«<sup>2</sup>

The last stage of his voyage around the Mediterranean, »from Paris to Jerusalem«,<sup>3</sup> had taken the French poet Chateaubriand to Andalusia in the spring of 1807. After he had walked in the footsteps of the medieval Crusaders in the Holy Land, he once more entered significant historical terrain in Spain: It was in Granada that the last great confrontation between Christendom and Islam had taken place on Spanish soil. The Alhambra, a fortified complex situated high above the town consisting of palaces, gardens and fortified towers, was considered to be the scene of the last flowering of Arab culture in the West. Here the romantic ideas of »love and loyalty, war and chivalry«<sup>4</sup> seemed to be heightened, putting travellers in touch with the almost eight-hundred-year epoch of Spanish history that had begun with the Arab conquest in the eighth century and ended in 1492 with the reconquest of Granada. For Chateaubriand this romantic place became the scene of his own story of »love and loyalty«: In Granada, Nathalie de Noailles was already awaiting him; the history of the two of them became the biographical occasion of the story of the »last Abencerrage«,<sup>5</sup> which Chateaubriand began soon after his journey. Spain had not become the newly discovered destination of »pictoresque travel«<sup>6</sup> until the last decades of the eighteenth century. For the literary exploitation of his own journey Chateaubriand could fall back on material that a number of other authors had already gathered before him.<sup>7</sup> Incidentally, Alexandre de Laborde, the brother of the Countess de Noailles also began publishing a multi-volume *Voyage pittoresque de l'Espagne*.<sup>8</sup> The legends that surrounded the Arab rulers and the heroes of the Christian Reconquista, however, had already inspired novels and plays ever since Corneille's drama *Le Cid* (1637). The fate of the Abencerrages was even the theme of an opera by Luigi Cherubini that premiered in 1813.<sup>9</sup> The hero of Chateaubriand's story, the Mohammedan Aben-Hamet, the descendant of the Moors who had

been driven out of Granada by the Spaniards, goes on a melancholy journey to remember the past glory of Arab rule in the places where his forebears lived; there he falls in love with the Christian Blanca, a descendant of the victorious Cid. For lack of enlightened cosmopolitanism, however, their love is doomed because of their conflicting religions. Although the story is set in a long-gone era, Aben-Hamet already sees the Alhambra from the romantic perspective of the early nineteenth century. As he walks with his beloved through the old palace district by moonlight, he is particularly touched by the aesthetics of transience: In its decay the Alhambra appears more beautiful to him than it ever was before.<sup>10</sup>

Jules Goury and Owen Jones, Title page of the first volume of their publication about the Alhambra in Granada.

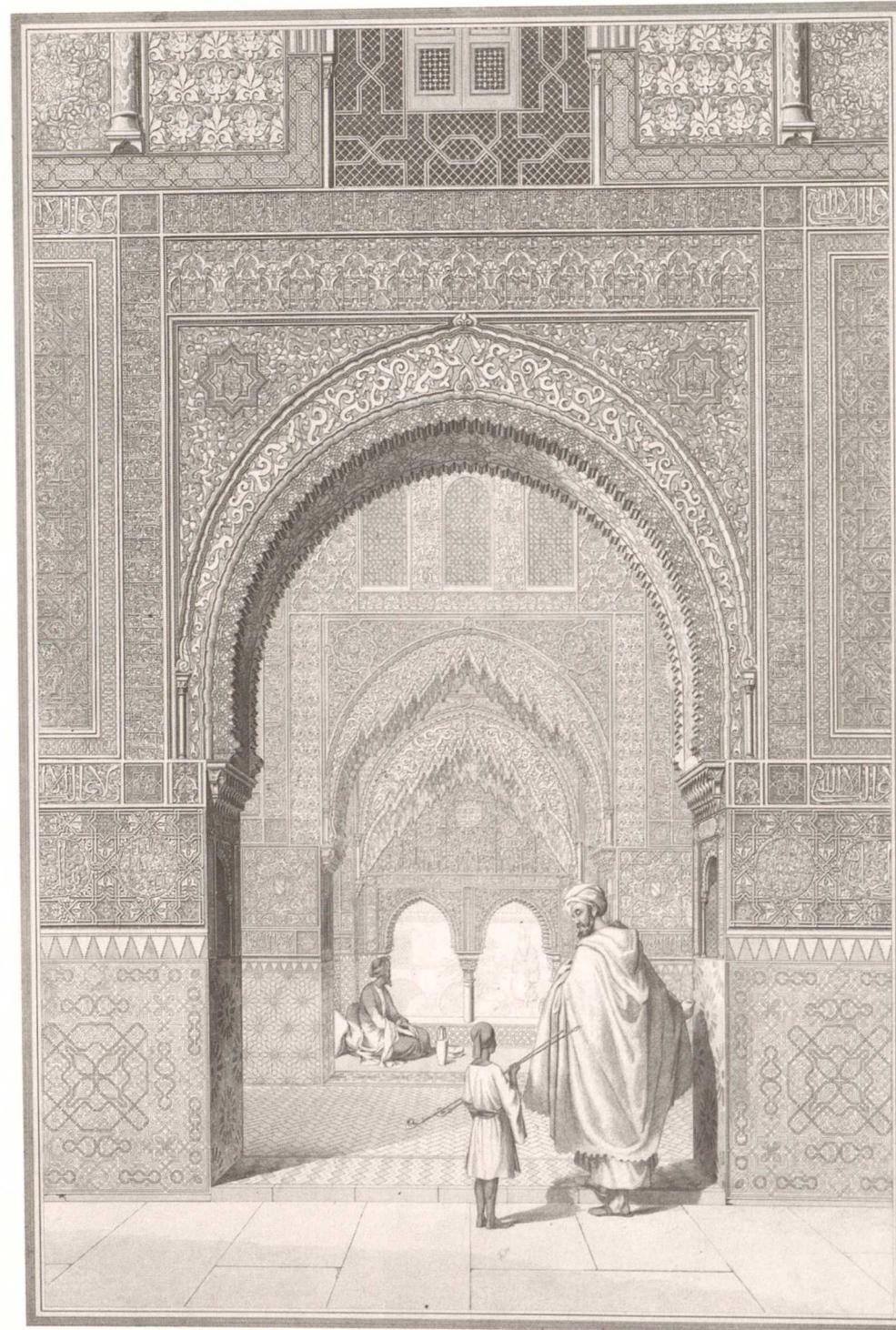
The title line »La Alhambra, palais que les génies ont doré comme un rêve et rempli d'harmonies« is taken from a poem in Victor Hugo's collection *Les Orientales*.



As least as much as the French tale, Washington Irving's *The Alhambra* (1832), a loosely connected collection of travel sketches and old legends that was widely circulated in Germany as well, contributed to the popularity of the Moorish palaces.<sup>11</sup> Irving, who had spent a couple of months there in a few abandoned rooms he had comfortably furnished, found the famous buildings in a badly neglected condition. Travelling architects thus had a special obligation to preserve the building at least by means of drawings and surveys.

Among the first to study the Moorish buildings in Granada and Cordoba closely was the Irish architect James Cavanah Murphy (1760–1814), who came to Spain in 1802. The result of his years of work was published in 1815 under the title *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, a magnificent volume with 90 large-format copperplate engravings based on Murphy's precise drawings and measurements. It was the author's intention to show the reader to what level the Arabs had raised the fine arts during a period when »... the rest of Europe was overwhelmed with ignorance and barbarism.<sup>12</sup> The high regard in which Moorish architecture was held was based

Jules Goury and Owen Jones, *Sala de las dos hermanas*.  
From: *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra*, 1842.



not only on the idealization of its creators, whose expulsion by the Christians was generally regretted. Rather, it was the contrast with the ruthless changes Christian architects had made in the Islamic buildings that made people think highly of the culture of the losing side. Like all later authors Murphy condemned the disfiguration of the mosque of Cordoba inside whose columned hall had been placed a Gothic church like a foreign body. In the Alhambra, too, there had been attempts to trump the Moors: A huge Renaissance palace built under Charles V has ever since marred the ancient group of buildings.

A rather academic motive for the interest in Moorish architecture was Sir Christopher Wren's thesis, still debated among historians and theorists; as early as 1750 he had maintained that the origin of the Gothic style was to be found in the architecture of the Saracens.<sup>13</sup> While Wren regarded the Crusaders as the mediators between the two cultural spheres, other theories assumed that Islamic influences had reached the north by way of Moorish Spain. Jakob Ignaz Hittorf (1792–1867), who during a prolonged stay in Sicily produced evidence of the polychromy of ancient classical buildings, also studied Arab-influenced architecture there. In his *Architecture moderne de la Sicile* (1835), which he published together with Ludwig Zanth, he traced the Gothic style, whose main characteristic he considered to be the use of the pointed arch, to the Saracen-influenced architecture of Norman Sicily. In Spain such comparisons were virtually thrust upon travellers, since there the Moorish architecture in the mosques of Cordoba or Seville was intermingled with later Gothic additions, a mixture to which Washington Irving also referred in the preface to his *Alhambra*. In reference to the Alhambra, Chateaubriand, aware of such theories and observations, spoke of »columns that supported a series of Gothic arches«.<sup>14</sup> The frequency of such comparisons is attested to by the fact that a design by the English architect William Porden for the conversion of Eaton Hall (1804) was described as »Morisco-Gothic« by a contemporary – a comparison which incidentally was hardly accurate.<sup>15</sup> Such deductions were related to a widespread attempt to explain complex phenomena on the basis of a linear development and to trace them back to unequivocal origins, as Rousseau, for instance, tried to do in his social theories.<sup>16</sup>

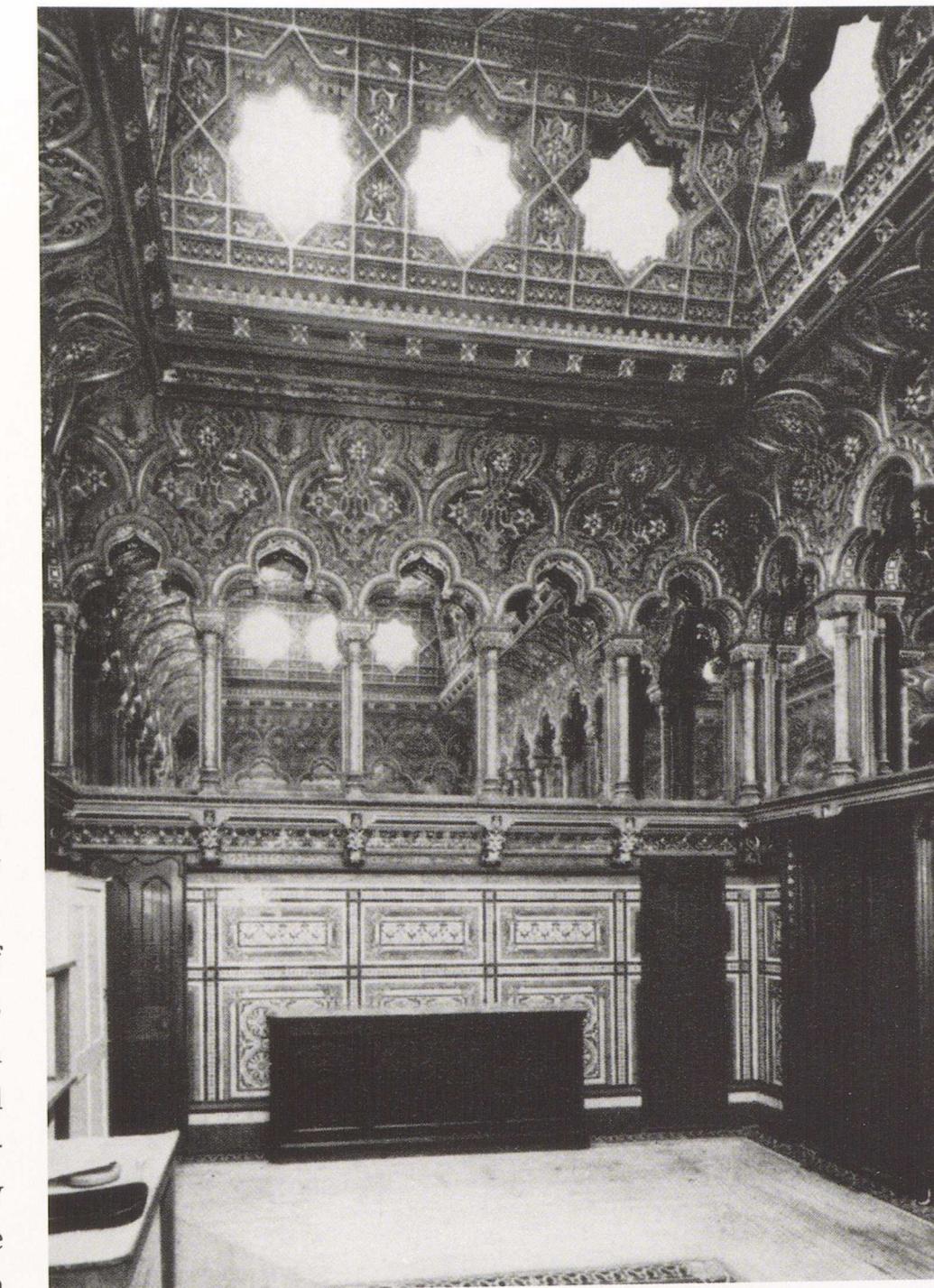
In addition to the »Saracen« theory, others were in circulation about the origins of the Gothic style. Perhaps the most popular one since Laugier<sup>17</sup> was the one based on a visual comparison of the Gothic nave with an avenue of tall trees whose branches meet at the top to form a vault. As a serious theory that people even tried to support by practical experiments this thesis had its followers as late as the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup> Such theories of origin were attempts to explain an architectural style that was felt to be bizarre and outlandish. Therefore it seemed obvious to seek the origins of an architecture that appeared to be an aberration in comparison with the buildings of Greek and Roman antiquity and of the Renaissance in a non-European cultural sphere. For such explanations people drew not only upon the Arabian architectural style, but on other exotic styles as well, such as Chinese and Indian architecture.

In each case, these explanations were based on formal analogies, which were also demonstrated in practice in actual new buildings such as the »Gothic-Chinese« garden pavilions of the Halfpenny brothers (cf. p. 14). Schelling, on the other hand, discovered similarities with Indian temples and pagodas in the Gothic cathedrals: »The extravagant taste of the Orientals, which everywhere avoids what is limited and aims at the limitless, can be clearly recognized as inherent in Gothic architecture ...«<sup>19</sup>

More than twenty years after Murphy's publication, other comprehensive depictions of the Alhambra were published. Beside the popular *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra* by John Frederick Lewis (cf. p. 25), who cared more about the monks, Spanish women and guitar players with which he embellished his pages, it was primarily the large-format volumes of Joseph Philibert Girault de Prangey (1804–92) and Owen Jones (1809–74) that were able to supply those who were interested in art with new details.<sup>20</sup> Admittedly, in the work of Girault precise depiction was possible only within limits, due to the reproduction technology: The drawings were drawn with lithographic crayon on stone. Far more precise was reproduction by means of steel engravings, one that Jones had chosen for his publication. In 1834, together with his colleague Jules Goury, who died of cholera while working in Spain, Owen Jones had produced surveys of the Alhambra and moulds of many ornaments. Despite their claim that their work was scholarly, however, Girault and Jones enlivened their drawings with figures. It was not until 1842 that *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra* appeared, published by Jones himself and followed in 1845 by a second volume of what were still not very perfect chromolithographs, devoted solely to the rich ornamentation of the Alhambra. After Hessemer's volume about *Arabische und Alitalienische Bauverzierungen* (Arabic and Ancient Italian Architectural Ornaments),<sup>21</sup> there was now an additional publication that concentrated entirely on the depiction of exotic ornamental forms.

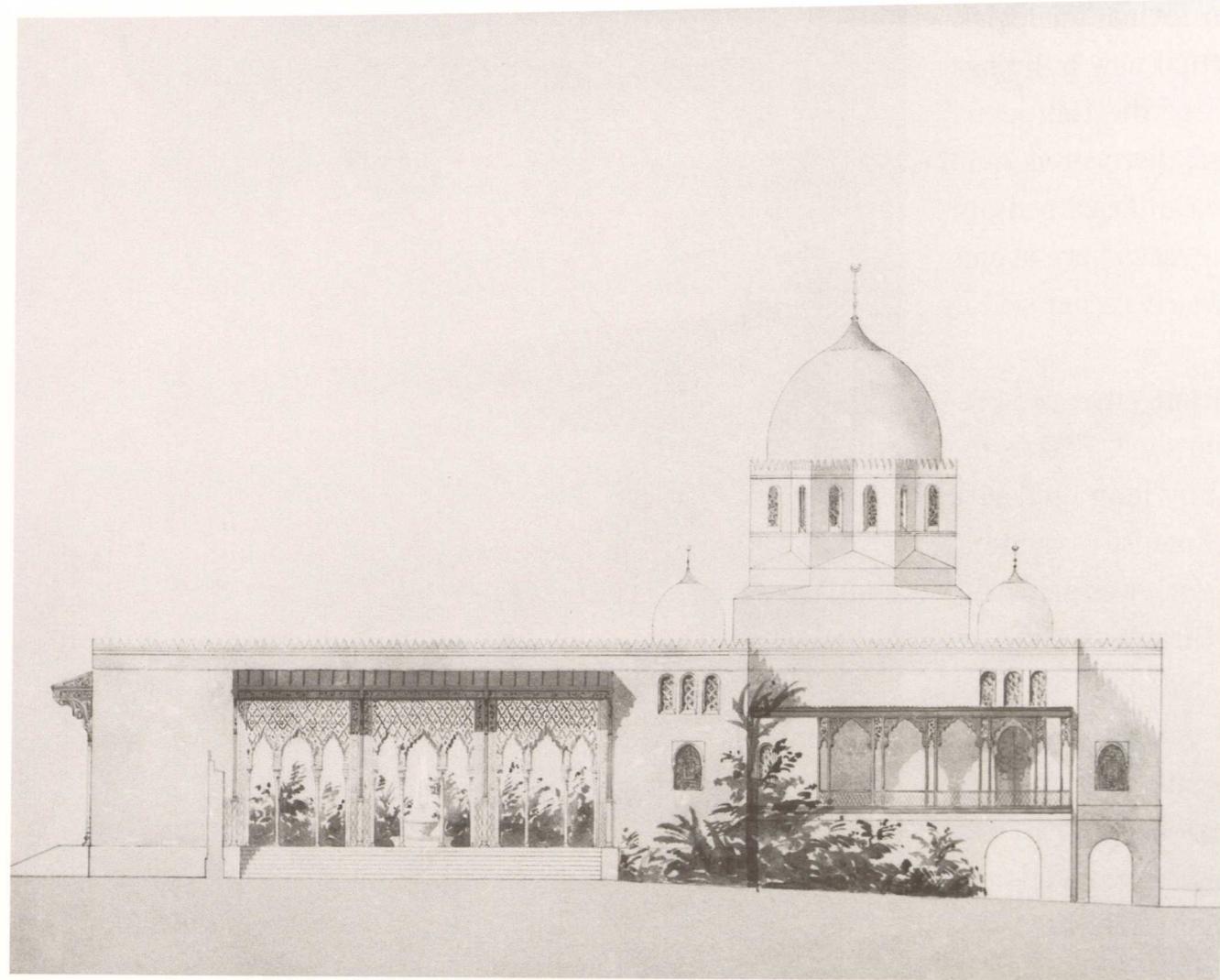
All these books, however, were intended not only for historians or lay people interested in art, but also for craftsmen and architects who were to be provided with new ideas. In the work of Jones himself, the scholarly study of Moorish architecture was linked with the attempt to put into practice what he had seen.

From this point of view, the second volume of Jones' Alhambra publication in particular appears to be purely a book of patterns, comparable to his later *Grammar of Ornament* (1856). Based on existing traces of colour, Jones reconstructed the coloured version of the Alhambra and came to the conclusion that the primary colours red, yellow and blue predominated. For his own work, the study of Oriental use of colour and ornamentation was particularly momentous. He hoped that from his insights he would be able to gain general design principles that in conjunction with new building materials and techniques would lead to a new, contemporary style. After a number of competition submissions that were rejected because they were modelled too closely on the Alhambra, Jones was finally able to test his ideas in a larger project: On a new street, Kensington Palace Gardens, there were plans to build a series of palatial townhouses.



Matthew Digby Wyatt, Moorish Billiard Hall,  
12 Kensington Palace Gardens, 1864.

Owen Jones, 24 Kensington Palace Gardens, London,  
1845.



Owen Jones, Project of a summer palace for the Egyptian khedive, 1861. Longitudinal elevation. Jones drew various elevations and sectional views for this project, which was not realized.

Jones received the commission for numbers 8 and 24. He gave both buildings the appearance of Italian villas, except for the fact that small onion cupolas lend house no. 24 a subtly exotic character. But he designed the interior décor entirely in the Moorish style.<sup>22</sup> In 1851 Jones caused a sensation with his colour concept for the Crystal Palace. The ironwork was painted in the primary colours red, yellow and blue. He felt that the colour scheme, which was initially the subject of controversy and was later greeted with enthusiasm, was historically justified by the polychromy of Islamic, Egyptian, and ancient Greek and Roman buildings. After the Great Exhibition the Crystal Palace was dismantled and rebuilt in an enlarged form in the suburb of Sydenham as a permanent exhibition building. Together with his friend Matthew Digby Wyatt (1820–77), Jones created a whole series of museum displays that represented the most important world cultures in architectural backdrops made of wood and plaster.

These »Fine Arts Courts« included not only a Gothic and an Egyptian courtyard, but also an »Alhambra Court«, a reduced-scale copy of the famous Courtyard of the Lions.<sup>23</sup>

It was thanks to the knowledge of Islamic architecture he had demonstrated in Sydenham that Jones received not only an additional museum commission (the installation of the »Oriental Courts« in the South Kensington Museum) but a series of private commissions as well. Jones made a name for himself in the decades that followed primarily as an interior decorator and as a »designer«. He not only designed costly Moorish interiors for the houses of wealthy citizens (16 Carlton House Terrace, 1865–70), but also provided business premises and St. James's Concert Hall (1858) with Oriental splendour. He achieved his universally admired effects by his lavish use of stucco and colour, mirrors and coloured glass. The fascination with

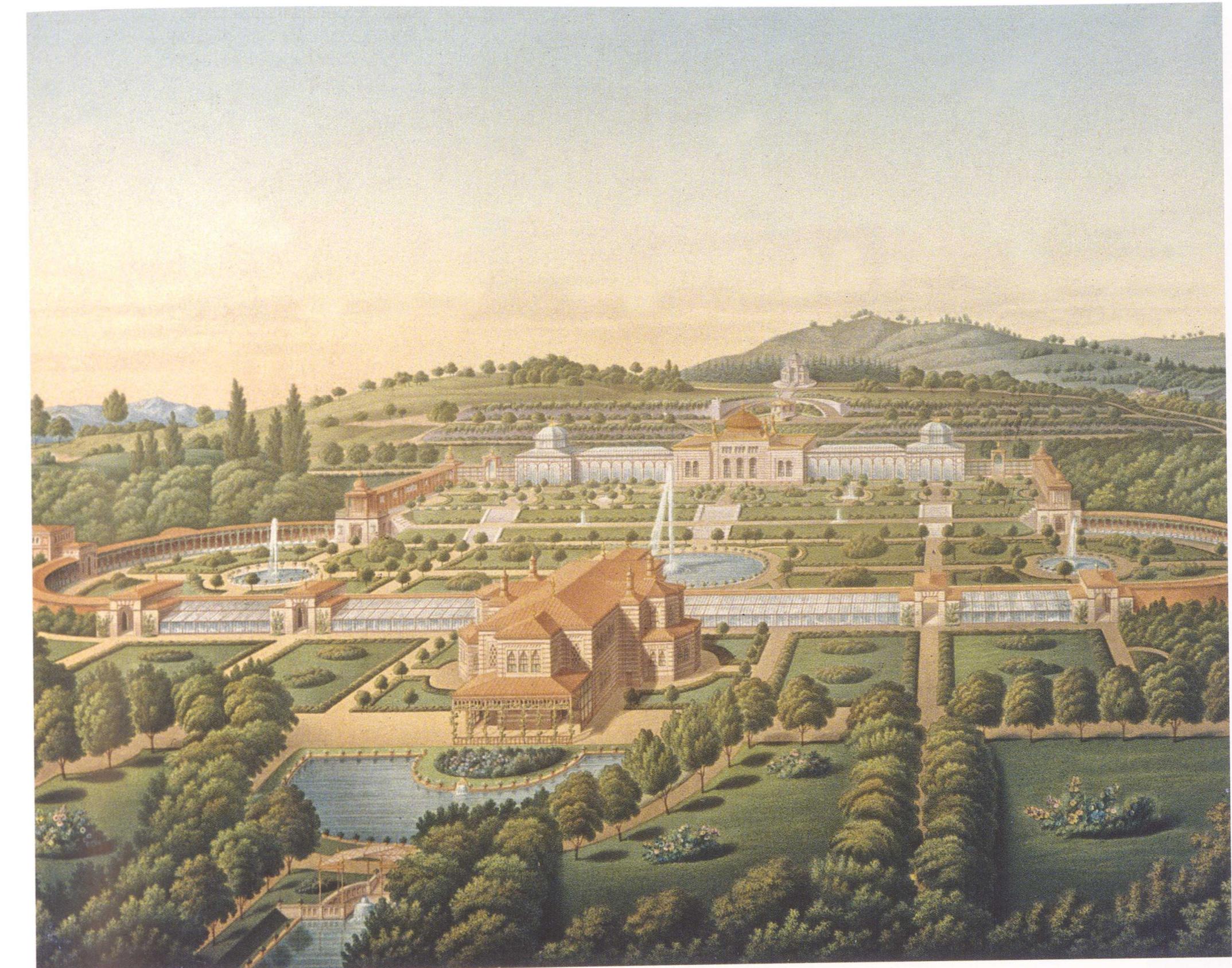
the Alhambra had also infected the younger Wyatt, who had already tried his hand at all sorts of historical styles: For the house of the cotton merchant Alexander Collie, 12 Kensington Palace Gardens, he designed a Moorish billiard hall that is still in existence.<sup>24</sup> At the 1862 International Exhibition Collie had already acquired a fireplace designed by Wyatt made of coloured ceramic tiles (cf. p. 142).

Owen Jones developed into one of the most versatile designers of the Victorian age. He designed not only packaging and book covers, but also supplied industry with many hundreds of designs for ceramic tiles, textiles and wallpapers whose patterns were strongly influenced by Islamic models.

Beside his personal experience of Moorish architecture, the work of a little-known German architect may also have contributed to Owen Jones' Orientalism: In 1838 the Institute of British Architects had an exhibition of the drawings of Karl Ludwig Wilhelm Zanth (1796–1857).<sup>25</sup>

At the time Zanth had just produced the first designs for an ambitious building project for the king of Württemberg, to be carried out entirely in the Moorish style. Since the projected »Moorish villa« was to have extensive additions – greenhouses and orangeries – William I (1781–1864) had sent his architect to England to study the most recent iron and glass structures on site. Zanth saw not only Joseph Paxton's greenhouses in Chatsworth, but is also said to have been given a tour led by Charles Fowler of the large winter garden of Syon House.<sup>26</sup>

Perhaps in London Zanth had also met Owen Jones, whose Alhambra publication was to be so useful to him for the detailed designs of the Württemberg Alhambra. At any rate, King William had both John Nash's magnificent book about the Royal Pavilion and a copy of the Alhambra in his library.<sup>27</sup>

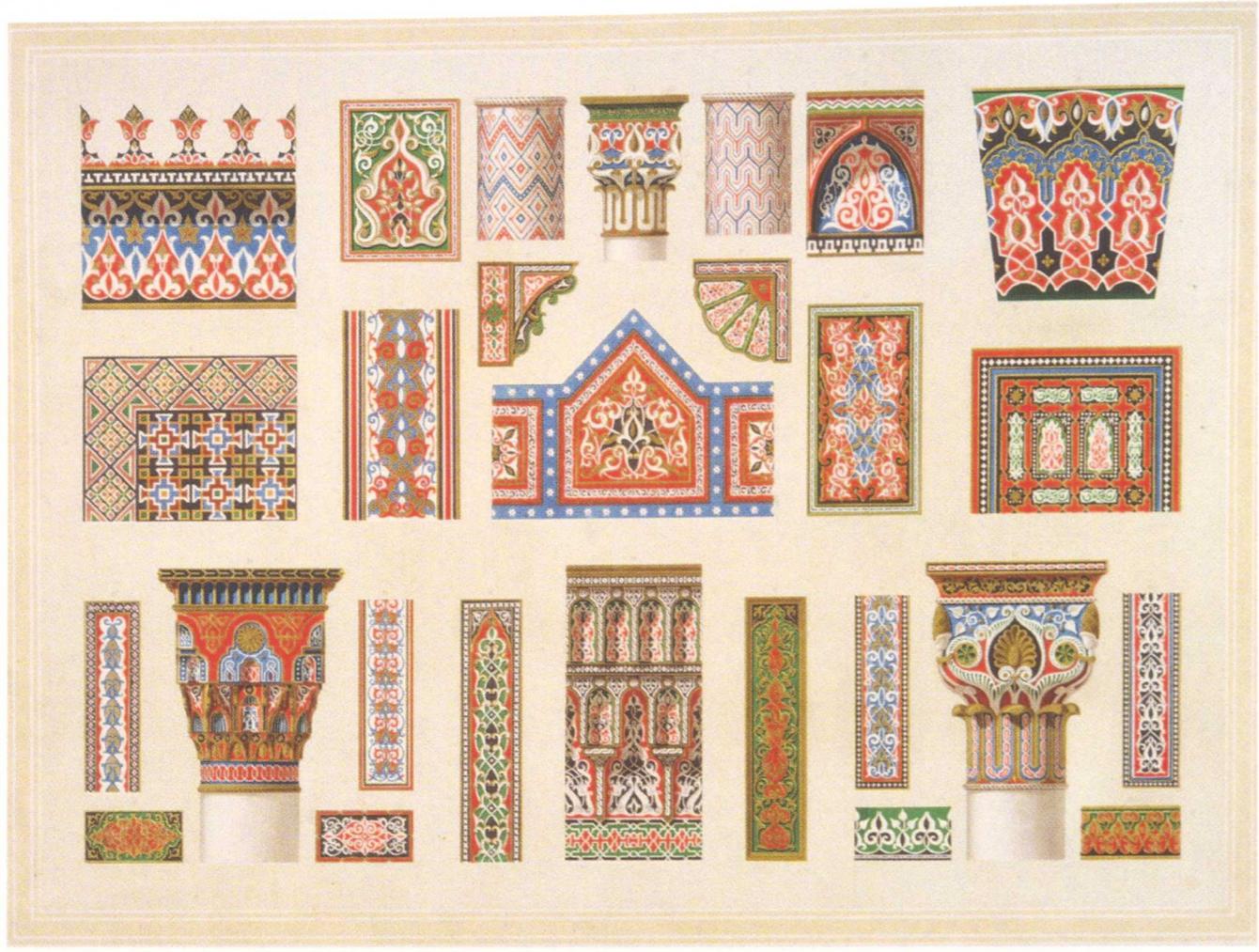


Ludwig Zanth, Wilhelma, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1842–64. From: *Die Wilhelma, Maurische Villa seiner Majestät des Königes Wilhelm von Württemberg*, 1855.

»On fait très bien l'architecture arabe en Allemagne.«<sup>28</sup>

»In Germany no city deserves the name Bakhchisaray, garden city, more than Cannstadt near Stuttgart; not only because of the garden's beautiful and ingenious water-arts, but also because of the Moorish construction of the royal summer palace, Wilhelma, which transplants the Oriental marvels of the Alhambra into the magic valley of the Neckar River, and as far as beauty and originality are concerned surely surpasses the beauty and romance of the palace of Bakhchisaray, which is highly praised by all those who have described the Crimea.«<sup>29</sup>

Modern visitors can only guess at the former splendour of the Wilhelma: In World War II almost all the buildings were badly damaged; much that remained was removed after the war, and none of the sumptuous interiors exist anymore. The entire complex was transformed into a zoological garden. Wilhelma, which was so enthusiastically described by the Viennese Orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, has a long and complicated architectural history.



Ludwig Zanth, Wilhelma, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, Moorish Villa and Ballroom Building. Architectonic details from: *Die Wilhelma*, 1855.

It began when mineral springs were discovered in the park of Rosenstein Castle in 1829. The construction of a »bathhouse«, which would enhance the English-style garden, seemed desirable. However, the first designs supplied by Giovanni Salucci (1769–1845), the architect of Rosenstein Castle, already went beyond the usual dimensions of a garden building. Salucci proposed a representative complex with peristyles, porticos and cupolas that would call to mind ancient thermal baths. In this design the main building was already combined with two symmetrically aligned winter gardens. But the client felt that the »Greek taste« favoured by Salucci was not sufficiently picturesque. Some distance away from the castle, a private refuge was to be built: Its exterior was to reflect very personal preferences; there was no need for chilly representation here. The king imagined a building »in the Gothic or, better still, in the Moorish style«.<sup>30</sup> But even the efforts of a second architect did not produce an acceptable design. While the project was being delayed from year to year, however, the king's ideas about the building programme became more precise. In the end, Zanth, an architect who was barely known in Stuttgart at the time, was commissioned with the task in 1837; shortly thereafter he was also asked to propose designs for the bathhouse. Zanth seemed to be suited for the new tasks not only because of an unrealized project for the Stuttgart Hoftheater (Court Theatre) but probably also because of his cosmopolitanism: Born in Breslau (Wroclaw) the son of a physician, he had spent part of his early youth in Paris, then began his training as an architect in Stuttgart and subsequently went to Paris again for a few years, where he worked together with the only slightly older architect Hittorf, who was originally from Cologne.<sup>31</sup> During a prolonged study trip through Sicily the two architects had for the first time come into contact with Islamic types of construction. They published the results of their work in *Architecture antique de la Sicile* (Paris 1827)

and in the already mentioned volume about the postclassical buildings of Sicily. Zanth also seemed to have the necessary historical prerequisites for William's plans.

Over the years the originally projected bathhouse was to develop into a lavish country seat with numerous outbuildings; Zanth later described it as follows: »This villa, intended to be in the style of princely country seats in Italy, comprises a residential building, greenhouses, colonnades, kiosks, a belvedere, ballroom, theatre and service buildings, connected by gardens in which flowerbeds, pools, fountains and plantations of trees alternate, arranged in a regular manner.«<sup>32</sup>

Zanth was confronted with the task of adapting the Moorish architectural style prescribed by his client to European needs and a different climate. Since he was convinced that the »valid laws« for such a task could be found only in the »principles of Greek arts«, he was faced with the challenge of reconciling a classical design with Islamic ornamental forms. In other words, he had to tame an exotic architectural style and reduce »unfettered inspiration« to an acceptable level: »Thus what was actually involved was to avoid the aberrations of this style without giving up the advantages offered by its ornamentation, which is often seductive, but generally capricious ... The image that is usually associated with the Moorish style is generally based on descriptions of the type that Orientals weave into their stories, which, however, do not exactly correspond to reality: Nonetheless they often seem to justify the expectations of something wonderful ... ; but even though this fanciful expectation cannot be satisfied completely, yet it ought not to remain completely unappeased: that is why it was necessary to exert a powerful effect on the imagination through the typical stimuli of this architectural style without resorting to those means that run counter to common sense and the test of good taste.«<sup>33</sup> Although a considerable

Ludwig Zanth, Wilhelma, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, Moorish Villa, 1842–46. On the left and right are the adjoining wings of the greenhouse. The 1932 photograph was taken through the portal of the ballroom building opposite.



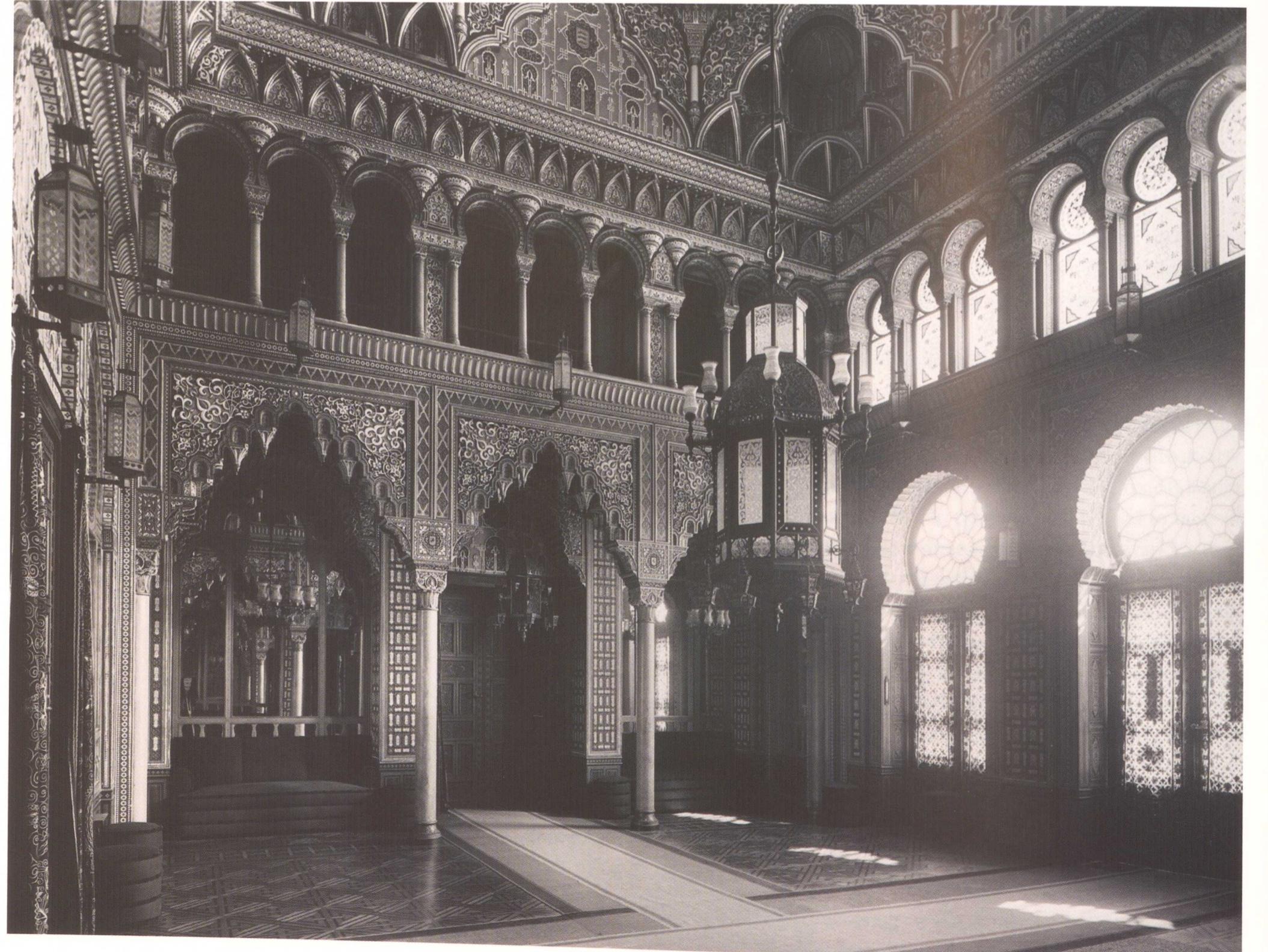
number of publications about Islamic architecture already made it possible to make an exact distinction between the various Islamic cultural spheres, terms such as Oriental, Moorish or Saracen were still frequently confused. The builder of the Wilhelma was probably primarily interested in a vague »Oriental« effect. However, his architect produced this effect by predominantly Moorish means.

The term »Moorish«, which in the nineteenth century was frequently used for anything »Oriental«, in the strict sense applies only to the Islamic culture of Spain and North Africa, the so-called Maghreb. The Islamic influences Zanth and Hittorf had observed in Sicily, on the other hand, were dependent on the »Saracen« architecture of Egypt and Syria.<sup>34</sup>

In 1837, Zanth came up with his first designs for the desired »Pavillon de bains ... accompagné de serres«.<sup>35</sup> Yet construction did not begin until 1842. In the meantime Zanth had again revised and at the request of the king, who constantly reminded him that unnecessary expenses must be reduced, scaled back the project. However, because of the extensive decoration work to which German craftsmen were unaccustomed, the actual construction costs were virtually unforeseeable. One year later the structural shell of the »Moorish country

house« was finished; the two greenhouse wings manufactured by the iron foundry in Wasseralfingen had also been erected. But until the ceremonial opening three more years were to pass, spent on the extravagant interior decorations. In the meantime work was begun on the construction of the Ballroom (1844–51), situated at the foot of the slope, on the central axis of the overall complex. All the later buildings were also placed in relation to the central axis: the Belvedere above the »Villa«, the cast-iron covered walks and kiosks, the Hall of Pictures and the »Damascene Hall« built after Zanth's death, and the kitchen building with the »Oriental collection«.

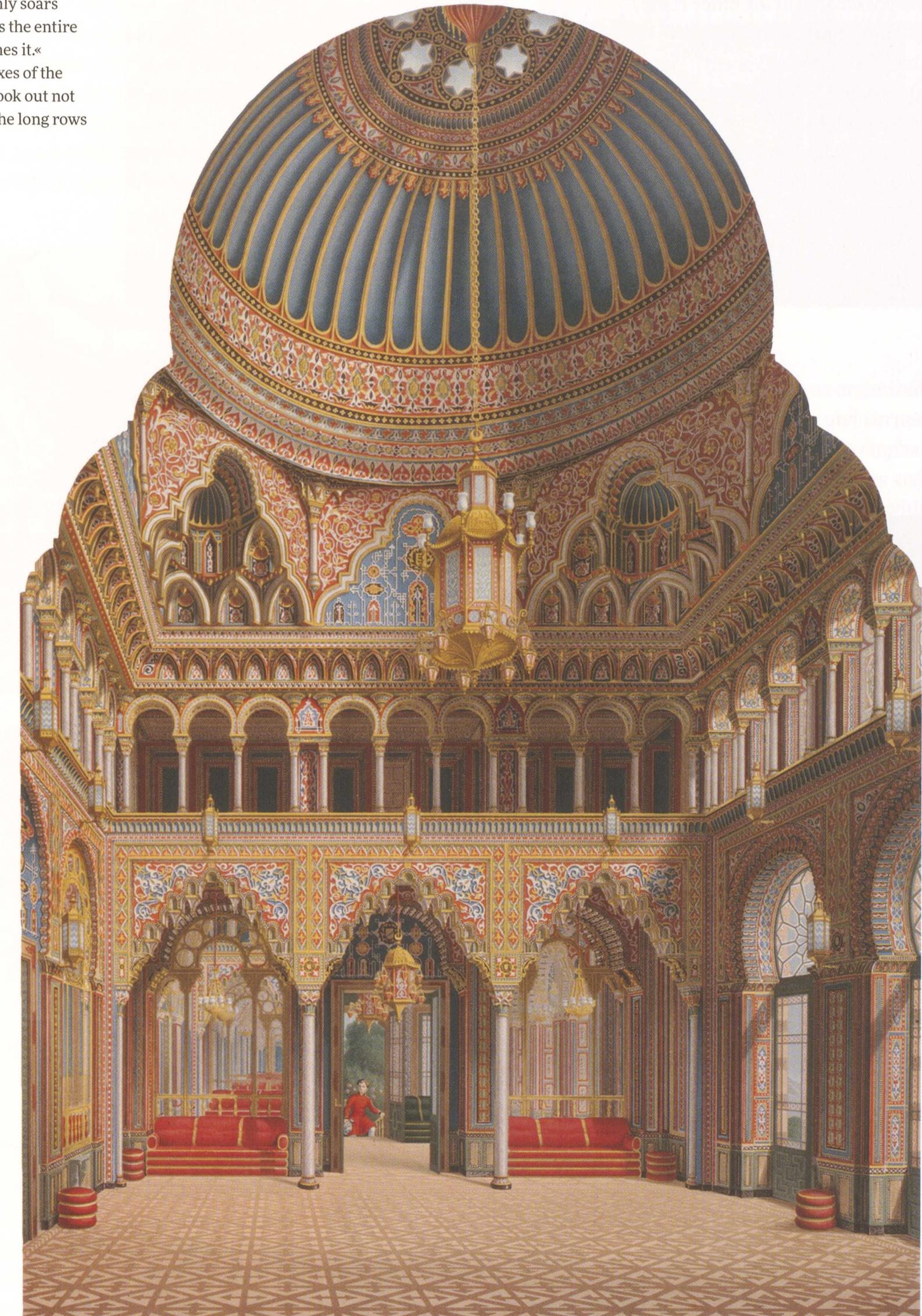
The heart of the entire complex was the residential building with the greenhouses. It was originally intended to be a bathhouse, but that function had been scaled down to a generous-sized bathroom. One entered the house on the side that faced the hill. From the foyer one entered a two-storey inner courtyard illuminated by a glass roof. In the middle was a splashing fountain; from galleries on the narrow sides, doors led to the rooms in the mezzanine. Arranged around the courtyard on the ground floor, in addition to a few ancillary rooms, were the bathroom, a bedroom, the hall of pictures, a living room and study, a dining room and the main hall, overarched by a tall dome.



Left page:  
Ludwig Zanth, Wilhelma, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt,  
Moorish Villa, 1842–46. Main hall. 1932 photograph.

Ludwig Zanth, Wilhelma, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt,  
Moorish Villa, 1842–46. Main hall. From: *Die  
Wilhelma*, 1855.

»As the largest room, this hall occupies the most important place of all, and this distinction also characterizes the exterior, where it not only soars higher than the others, but also dominates the entire building thanks to the dome that overarches it.« At the same time it is here that the main axes of the building intersect: From here one could look out not only at the open landscape, but also into the long rows of permanently green hothouses.



This hall was the centre and the high point of the complex: In the middle of it intersected the main axes of the building; from here one not only looked out over the gardens into the Neckar Valley, but one also overlooked the inner courtyard with its fountain and, toward the sides, the long rows of the greenhouses. Large mirrors on the opposing walls expanded the room into infinity and increased manifold the splendour of the decorations, which even without this effect surpassed that of the other rooms.

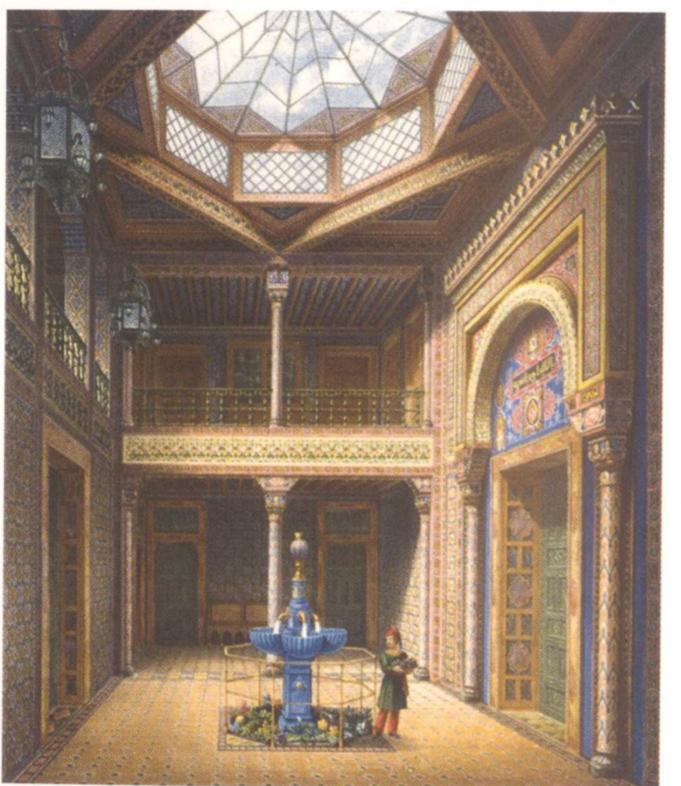
Coming together in the narrowest of spaces, here is a plethora of the most varied elements, not to be found in this combination in any Islamic building. Many details are authentic, while others were merely felt to be »Oriental«. The Oriental symbol that dominates the exterior is the dome, which is reminiscent of Turkish and Persian mosques; in the Alhambra we find domes only above the baths.

Wilhelma, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, Fountain Court-yard and King William's bedroom in the Moorish Villa. Historic photographs and lithograph from: Ludwig Zanth, *Die Wilhelma*, 1855.

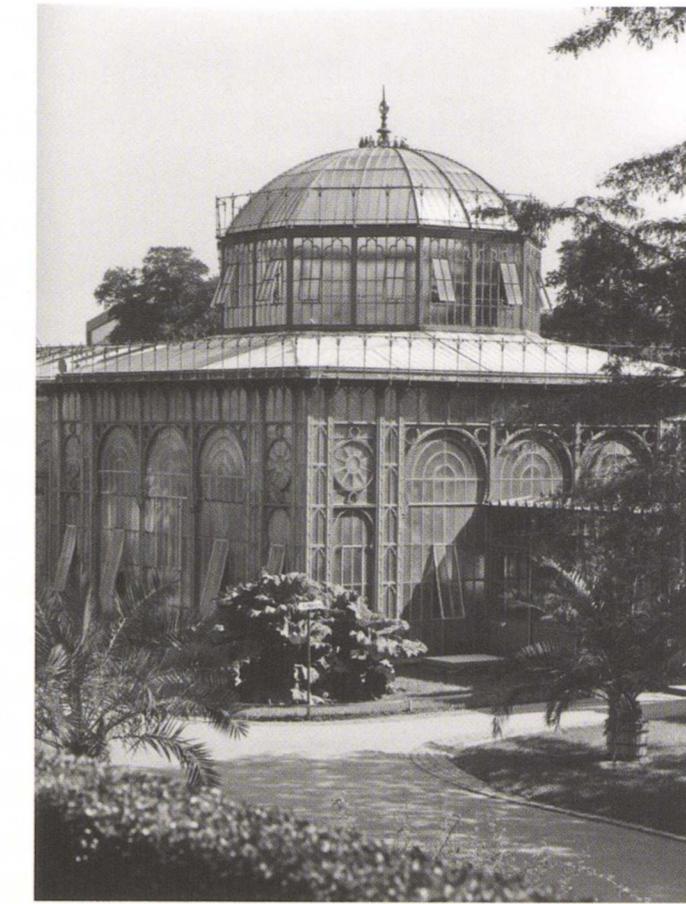
»Modelled on the courtyards in Moorish houses, this courtyard, too, gives access to the rest of the rooms and obtains its light from the centre of the ceiling through an opening which Orientals drape with plenty of fabrics, to provide shade; the latter have here been replaced by glass panes patterned like fabrics.«



The star-shaped apertures left open at the top of Zanth's dome are borrowed from those baths: There, however, the entire firmament of the dome is strewn with stars. A typical feature of Islamic dome structures are the squinch arches that Zanth also used – niches above the corners of the room subdivided into many smaller squinches or decorated with stalactites. By means of such squinch arches Islamic builders provided a transition from a square substructure to the circular form of the dome. Clearly Moorish are the horseshoe arches of the windows and doors on the garden side of the hall. But only the stalactite arches framed by rectangular fields, on their slender columns, were clearly quotations from the Alhambra. While Zanth here chose a capital form that closely followed the arabesque capitals of the Courtyard of the Lions, in the ballroom building opposite he used the stalactite capitals of the Court of the Myrtles.



Wilhelma, Stuttgart. Corner pavilion of the cast-iron hothouses. The structural elements were manufactured in 1843/44 by the royal iron foundry in Wasseralfingen.



But his arcades did not achieve the lightness of the model: By a cube-shaped block with side-mounted brackets that is placed between the capital and the tympanum he emphasized the statical function of the pillars, which in the Alhambra tended to be disguised.

However, it was the colour scheme and the ornamentation which covered every surface that really gave the room its disconcerting Oriental splendour. As far as the colours are concerned Zanth seems to have followed the opinion of Owen Jones: He let red, yellow (gold) and blue predominate. Frames, bordures and cornices subdivide the wall surfaces into fields each of which is filled with a different type of ornament. Arabesque scrollwork alternates with geometrical band decorations. For the decoration of ornament fields and bordures Zanth found a rich selection of precisely drawn patterns in the publications of Murphy or Jones. Only very rarely, however, did he adopt such details verbatim; he altered most of them and combined them in new ways.<sup>36</sup>

Zanth consistently applied his reformulated Moorish style in every one of the rooms. The furnishings, corresponded to popular ideas of an Oriental house: There were comfortable sofas, small tabourets (round cushions to sit on), luxurious carpets and curtains. The smallest object had to conform to the Moorish scheme: Even the lamps designed by Zanth, the furniture with its complicated inlays, the vases and candelabra were inspired by Oriental models. The writing desk in William's study was even a reproduction of the Alhambra en miniature.

Of course, such consistency meant that the fantastic effect Zanth aimed for had a touch of academic pedantry. It was not only the detailed knowledge of the models that kept the architect from dealing with his material with less restraint, but also his declared intention to tame the »extravagant taste of the Orientals« with »common sense« and »the test of good taste«.

Outwardly the Moorish villa, with its adjoining greenhouses on

the left and right, presented itself as a complex that was organized strictly symmetrically: The arrangement of side wings and corner pavilions around an elevated central building that was even emphasized by a dome corresponded to the scheme of Baroque castles and orangeries. The details, however, are »Oriental«: the dome with a spire and crescent, whose hat-shaped profile is freely invented, the corner pillars terminating in pinnacles and crescents, and the horseshoe arches with the row of wedge-shaped blocks suggested above them, whose form resembles the Puerta de la Justicia in the Alhambra. The crenellated roof ornamentation and the striation of the façade have Islamic models. The colour scheme of the building was based on the layered red and yellow stone façade, the gilded dome and the bronzed ironwork of the greenhouses.

The greenhouses are by no means subordinate to the residence: Rather, they appear to be components of equal importance, not merely »ancillary« extensions. Of course, they served a horticultural or botanical purpose only to a lesser extent: First and foremost they extended the living areas, and visually elongated them into the perpetually green distance of an illusionary landscape.

There was already a feudal tradition for this kind of combination of living spaces and indoor garden spaces: It was characteristic of Baroque orangeries and orangery castles. But buildings such as the Orangerie built at the beginning of the eighteenth century in the Karlsau of Kassel, which the rulers of Hesse used as their summer residence, were not suited for housing tropical plants. They served only the overwintering of orange and myrtle trees. It was not until the introduction of hot-water central heating and the almost total glazing of exterior walls and roofs made possible by novel iron frameworks that the technical prerequisites for an artificial tropical ambience were created. But even where the new industrial construction methods were already used, builders still stuck to the organization of volumes predefined by the Baroque orangeries.

On the way toward the palm house, which was glazed on all sides, transitional forms were created where builders did not want to dispense entirely with traditional architectonic elements. Zanth had seen examples of such buildings at Syon House during his journey to England and presumably also in Kassel-Wilhelmshöhe.<sup>37</sup>

As its outward appearance gradually changed, so did the social function of this type of building: The plant houses of the princes developed into the large palm houses of the botanical gardens and into public winter gardens. In Paris Zanth had gotten to know one of the new glasshouses: For a few years already the Jardin des Plantes had had buildings designed by Charles Rohault de Fleury that consisted only of iron and glass. Zanth adopted the principle of prefabrication, which Rohault had used for the first time on a large scale. For the walls of the wings and the corner pavilions Zanth designed a cast-iron frame reinforced by a horseshoe arch. These standardized elements could be added together to any desired length. They were manufactured by the iron foundry in Wasseralfingen and assembled on the building site. Zanth utilized the potential of cast iron to ornament the structural elements sparingly with Oriental forms: Above the horseshoe arch there is a series of multi-foil arches, and in front of the vertical supports there are thin coupled columns with a modified Moorish capital.

In spite of the high production costs, William I insisted that his greenhouses be built of iron. A wood construction would have been considerably cheaper, but would probably hardly have caused a sensation. But the iron construction had a symbolic value as a commitment to a new technology: It not only showed that people in Württemberg attentively followed the industrial development in France and England, but at the same time conspicuously demonstrated that they were able to follow the same path. The prestige associated with using iron made it easier to accept the unaccustomed technical aesthetic. It is surely no coincidence that in the Wilhelma advanced construction engineering was combined with the attempt

to try out an exotic architectural style. Thus the »Moorish villa« is a double testimony to its builder's love of experimentation. In the Indian buildings of George IV, too, an exotic style was tried out at the same time as new materials and structural forms. John Nash had the »Bamboo Staircase« in the Royal Pavilion cast in iron, while the large glassed-in dome over William Porden's Indian stable building anticipated the form of later iron frameworks.

The greenhouses were a further step in the staging of the Orient with architecture, furniture and pictures: »A Mediterranean vegetation flourishes here in the greatest abundance and in a blaze of colour; enchanted, the eye gazes at the tropical plants with their gigantic leaves, at the slender palm trees whose proud fan-shaped crowns rise high into the air.«<sup>38</sup> The few visitors whom the ruler of Württemberg allowed into his private realm entered a self-contained artificial world that, in concentrated form, conveyed the illusion of a kind of Orient that could exist only in the Western imagination. This imaginary Orient was the result of an eclectic process. It was composed of the elements of various exotic worlds: of the best suited forms of Islamic architecture and the plants of tropical landscapes that could thrive only in an artificial hothouse climate. Paintings with exotic motifs, including a version of Ingres' painting »Odalisque with Slave« (1842), provided even more food for the imagination.

It was obvious that an Orient which had been condensed to such an extent must surpass everything that the real Orient had to offer. It was no surprise therefore that Hammer-Purgstall thought the Wilhelma was far superior to the Oriental palaces he had seen himself. Only here, far removed from the authentic experience, could reality be so completely subjugated to imagination. Neither Zanth nor his royal client had ever travelled in the Orient. William I also had a bond with the Orient because of his love for Arabian horses. Thus, in 1846, the aristocracy of Württemberg experienced not only the official opening of the Wilhelma, but also an exotic



»Interior of the royal riding house with the view of the Arab camp«. Lithograph from: Friedrich Wilhelm Hackländer, *Das Caroussel*, 1846.  
On the occasion of the wedding of Crown Prince Charles, a tournament between »Saracens« and »Crusaders« took place in the riding house on Neckarstraße, built in 1836–39 by Giovanni Salucci.

Wilhelma, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, Ballroom Building, 1844–51. Interior view and historic photograph. Interior view from: Ludwig Zanth, *Die Wilhelma*, 1855.

The Ballroom lay in the central axis of the entire complex. Today, the aquarium of the Zoological Garden is on its former site. Only the porticus was preserved.



spectacle that should have actually taken place on the 25-year anniversary of the king's accession to the throne. Now the wedding of Crown Prince Charles and the Russian Grand Duchess Olga provided the reason for celebration. During a voyage to the Orient by the writer Friedrich Wilhelm Hackländer and Baron von Taubenheim, the two had come up with the idea of reviving the tradition of medieval tournaments at the court of Württemberg. Before 1,000 invited guests, a tournament between »Crusaders« and »Saracens« took place in the royal riding house on Neckarstraße. »The romantic soil of the Orient, for whose liberation from the hands of the Saracens his forebears, too, had bled, was chosen as a setting by the young chivalrous prince«.<sup>39</sup>

With palm trees, sand and backdrops, the camps of the opposing knights were got ready. Facing the tents of the Christian knights »a dilapidated Moorish castle« had been erected. The memorable event was recorded in a series of coloured lithographs: The princes and the young men from the aristocratic families are depicted as »rulers of the desert« or as German knights on their horses.

Such extravagances seemed to be quite unlike King Wilhelm, whom a contemporary described as a man of »a sober disposition,

moderate passions, unwavering, tenacious strength of mind, indeed even »an enemy of pomp and ostentation«. This characterization even denies that he had »feeling and imagination«.<sup>40</sup> During his entire reign, the monarch, who was described as arrogant, lived in conflict with the liberal endeavours of his subjects. It's true that he was one of the first German rulers to consider his subjects' demands for a constitution, but he did so not so much out of conviction than for pragmatic reasons. Thus this »patron of the constitutional principle«<sup>41</sup> regularly dissolved the assembly of estates if the latter was unable to come to an agreement with the government: Liberties were »granted« at will or repealed again. In spite of uncontested services to his country, William I was never popular with his »subjects«.

His costly building projects in the Rosenstein park were not accepted without criticism in the restless period before the March revolution of 1848. Particularly during years of economic crisis the monarch was in conflict with his own sense of duty because of the high expenditures for his fairytale palace, as indicated by his constant appeals to his architects to economize. In 1848, for a short time, even a plan to stop further construction completely was considered.<sup>42</sup> Not least so as to escape public criticism, the king kept the Wilhelma

hidden as best he could from the outside world. He allowed access only to select visitors. Although something of the spirit of courtly life was expressed in the Wilhelma as a whole, William seemed rather to associate the need for a bourgeois private life with his Moorish villa.

Presumably it was a refuge for him where like the Moorish kings in their Alhambra he was able to forget »all the duties of life« and evade the tension between claims to absolute power and liberal demands in a time of social upheaval.

Out of the conflict between political responsibility and the wish for a display of Oriental splendour had sprung an architectural structure that for all its costliness avoided excesses. Zanth's endeavour to meet standards of scholarly seriousness, visible in all his designs, shows that the justification for this late-feudal project was seen not least in its contribution to the debate about style and to the development of art. The new palace was said to represent »a valuable means to promote design and prosperity for all« – that, at any rate, was what Zanth wrote in the preface to his magnificently illustrated book about the Wilhelma.

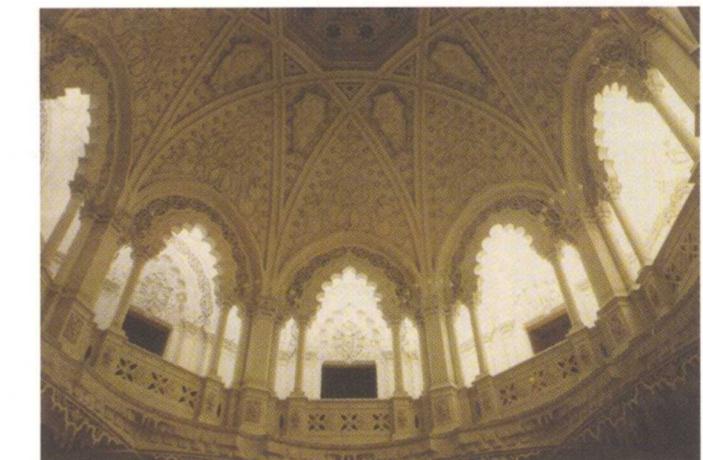
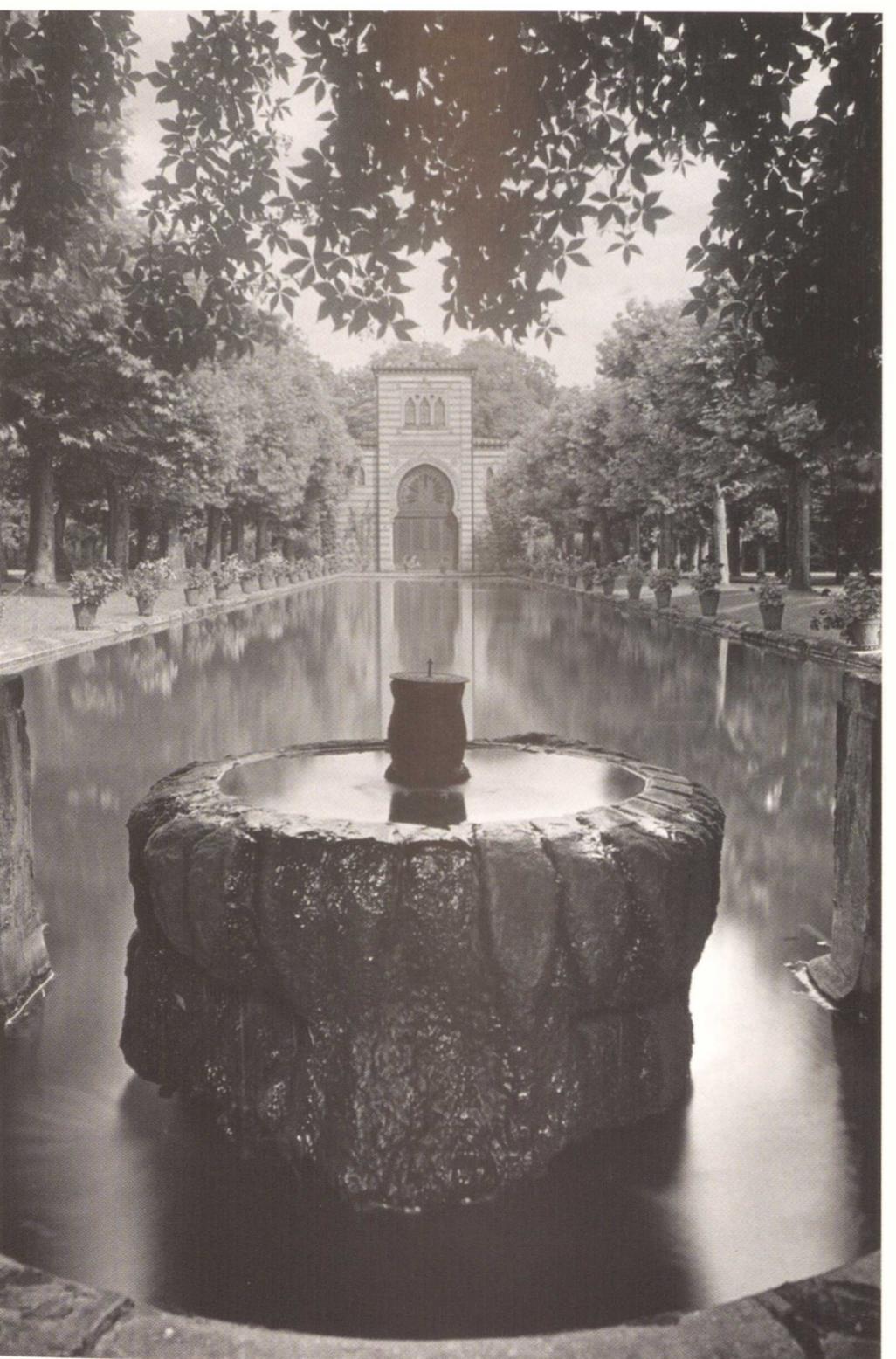


Ludwig Zanth (?), Project for the development of the east side of the Schloßplatz in Stuttgart next to the Hoftheater.



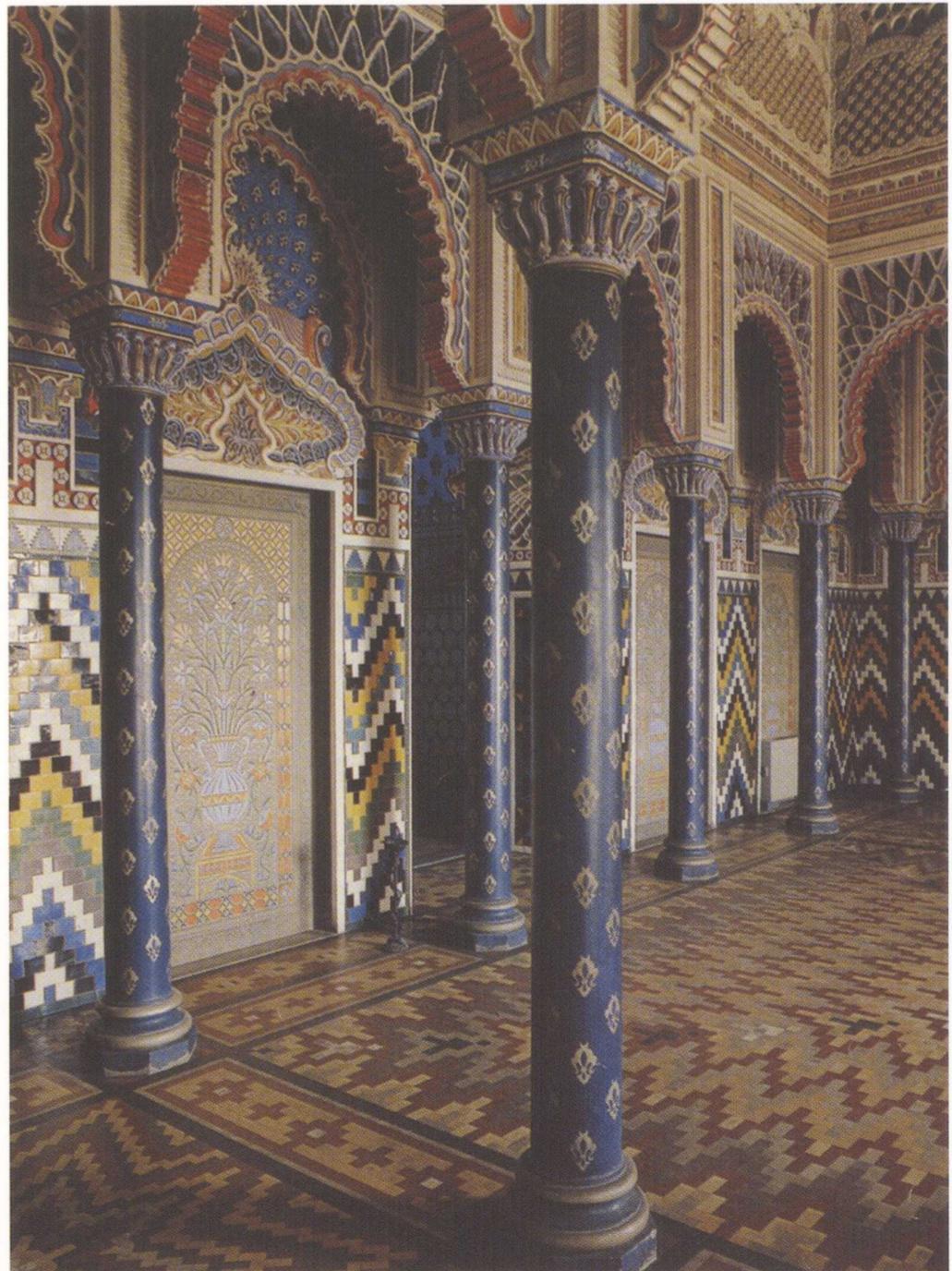
Wilhelm Baeumer (1829–95), Wilhelma, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, Damascene Hall, 1863/64. Photograph taken before the restoration and historic photograph from the other end of the pool.

The Damascene Hall is the only one of the Wilhelma buildings in which the original interior décor has been restored.



Castello di Sammezzano near Rignano in the Arno Valley, conversion dated ca. 1843 to 1873.<sup>43</sup> Dome of the Sala Blanca (1863) and the Hall of Lilies decorated with stucco and coloured faïences.

Over a construction period of almost thirty years, the Tuscan aristocrat Ferdinando Panciatichi Ximenes d'Aragona transformed the villa he had inherited from his uncle into an imaginary Moorish palace – perhaps in order to do justice to the name of his forebears. Panciatichi, who was also the architect of the conversion, was able to base his designs on the relevant Alhambra books of James Cavanah Murphy to Owen Jones. He not only created a consecutive series of halls and corridors decorated in the Moorish style, but also transformed the façade in a Moorish fantasy style.



## Café Turc

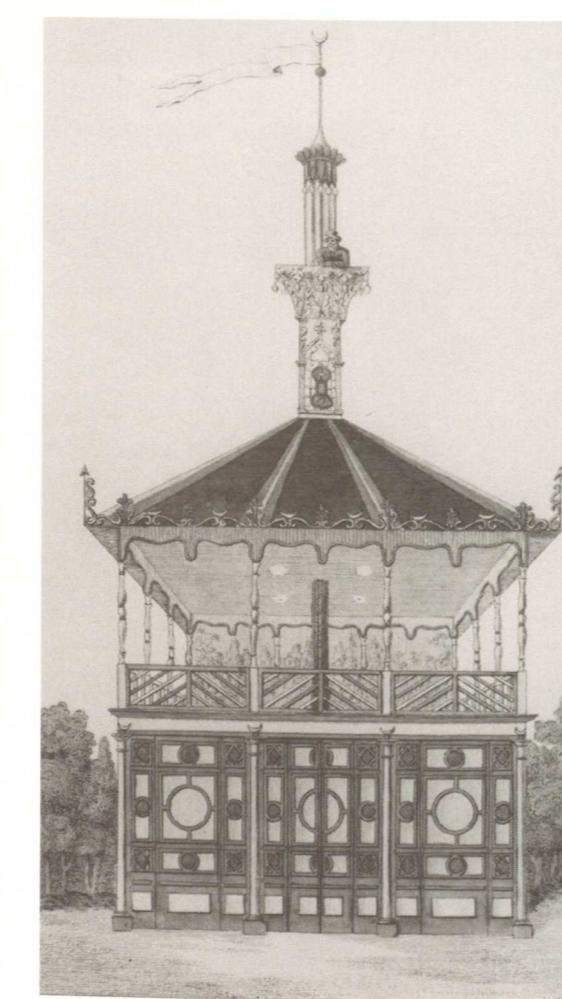
»The Turkish café on the Boulevard du Temple has given many Parisians the wrong ideas about the luxury of Oriental coffeehouses. In Constantinople one is far removed from the splendour of heart-shaped arches, little columns, mirrors and ostrich eggs: Nothing is more unpretentious than a Turkish coffeehouse in Turkey.«<sup>1</sup>

When Théophile Gautier wrote those sentences, the coffeehouse on the Boulevard du Temple had long since been the relic of a past epoch and of an outdated image of the Orient. For him and his travelling contemporaries the Orient was no longer as magical as it still was for Parisians living in the Marais who frequented the Café Turc in the late eighteenth century. When it opened in 1780, the Boulevard du Temple, whose many attractions in addition to the booths of showmen and street vendors included waxworks, menageries and other coffeehouses, was one of the most popular promenades in Paris.<sup>2</sup> The fairground atmosphere of the boulevard was continued inside the Turkish Café: Here you were served by turban-wearing waiters, and at the doors stood servants in caftans and Turkish trousers who wore tall fur hats. The architecture of the café was in keeping with the vague ideas its guests, too, had of the Orient. The most important elements of the imaginative but not very Turkish masquerade were colourful awnings, a roof lantern that was probably supposed to call to mind a dome, an Arabic inscription and the windows with their timid suggestion of keel arches. Toward the end

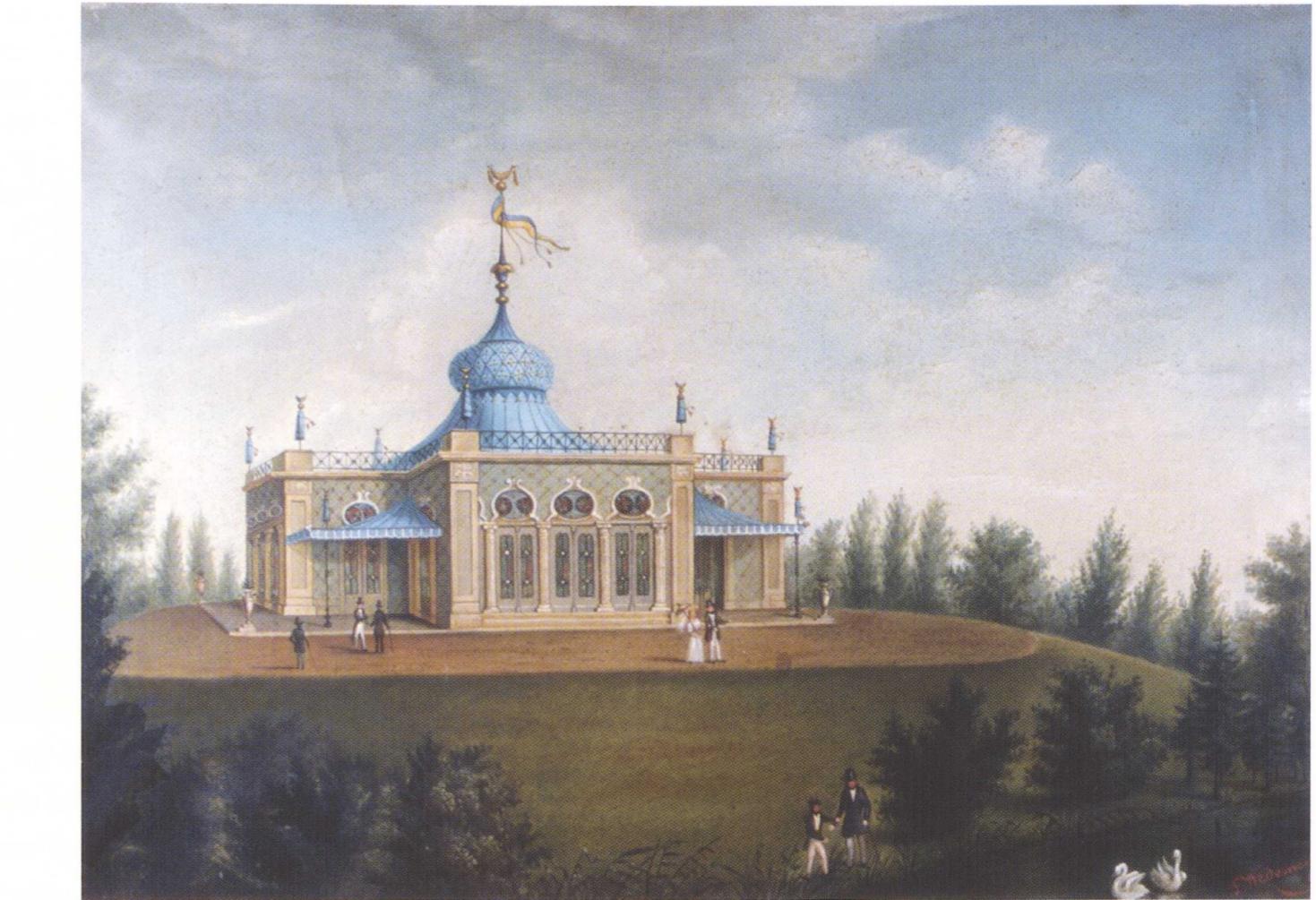
of the century the adjacent garden was also stylistically adapted and transformed into a Jardin Turc with a Chinese pavilion and a »minaret«. Such gardens were in fashion: All over the city amusement parks sprang up, called Vauxhall and Ranelagh after the English model, or Tivoli, like the picturesque garden with cascades, grottoes and climbing poles that opened in 1795 in Rue Saint-Lazare.<sup>3</sup> It almost seems as if the »Anglo-Chinese« parks of the wealthy aristocratic landowners had been plundered to decorate these public gardens: Parc Monceau, which Carmontelle had designed not twenty years earlier for the Duc de Chartres, had, like its owner, fallen victim to the Revolution. Here, too, there had been a minaret, a Chinese pavilion and Turkish tents, and servants dressed as »Tartars« and »Hindus« led camels about (cf. p. 12).<sup>4</sup>

The Café Turc, which had had its heyday before and during the Revolution, when the opposition was still playing politics in the coffeehouses, had another upswing during the Restoration and was renovated at great expense in 1824. However, it does not seem to have had any imitators in Paris. It's true that Paris had a Café Chinois and a Café Égyptien with ancient Egyptian décor (1805), an expression of the Egyptomania that erupted after Napoleon's campaign, but there were no other »Turkish« coffeehouses. In many cafés, however, the memory of the Orient still lingered in the upholstered benches that were placed along the walls like Oriental divans. One café, opened in 1837 in the Rue Lepelletier, even called itself the Café du Divan.

The Café Turc on the Boulevard du Temple, Paris.  
Minaret in the garden of the Café Turc.



Carl Theodor Ottmer, Turkish Coffeehouse, Wolfenbüttel, 1839. Painting by L. Wedemeyer.



It became one of the most important meeting places for literary figures and artists, frequented by Théophile Gautier, Gérard de Nerval, Hector Berlioz and Charles Baudelaire. Almost at the same time, far from Paris, deep in the German provinces, there appeared a successor to the old Café Turc which a Parisian public would probably have considered hopelessly out of date. But the occasion for building this coffeehouse was timely: On 1 December 1838, one of the first German railway lines, the barely twelve-kilometre-long line between Braunschweig and Wolfenbüttel had been opened. Initially there seems to have been little enthusiasm for this new means of transportation.

Moreover, as a travel destination Wolfenbüttel did not have much to offer. Ever since the dukes of Braunschweig and Lüneburg had moved their residence to Braunschweig, the small town had fallen into a deep sleep. That is why the Ducal Railway Administration decided to create a special incentive for the 20-minute trip to Wolfenbüttel: Based on a design by court architect Carl Theodor Ottmer (1800–43) a coffeehouse, soon known as the Turkish Coffeehouse, was built on the wall promenade outside the town.<sup>5</sup> Often it was also called Café Turc – perhaps the café on the Boulevard du Temple had been the sophisticated model for the Wolfenbüttel building. It is at least probable that Ottmer, who had spent a prolonged period in Paris during his two-year grand tour,<sup>6</sup> had become acquainted with the Café Turc, which must have been particularly impressive after its costly renovation.

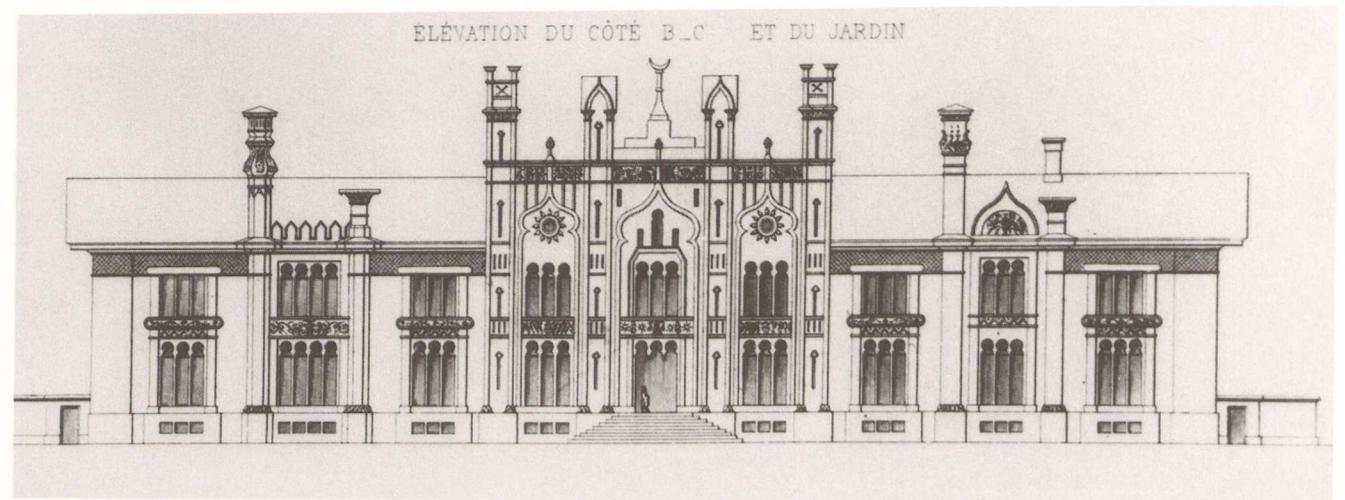
The official opening was in May 1839 – a banquet given by Duke William for the members of the Landtag (regional parliament). The Café Turc quickly became an attraction and contributed considerably to the financial success of the railway line: Already in the first year of its existence there were over 300,000 passengers.

Even from afar the coffeehouse could be recognized by its unusual shape and striking colour scheme. The idiom of its architecture was easy to understand: Not only the pale blue cupola, whose spire was decorated with blue-and-yellow pennants, red »horsetails« and a crescent, but also the blue-and-white striped canopies were symbolic elements that everyone associated with the Orient. Also contributing to the vague impression of Oriental splendour was the façade with its filigree ornamentation and coloured glass windows and doors whose forms remotely recalled horseshoe arches.

Built next to the slope of the old fortification wall, the coffeehouse consisted of a masonry basement and wooden upper storey on a cruciform ground plan.

One could see that the coffeehouse, thanks to its special form, could at once take on a symbolic function by the way it was actually reduced to a logo, publicizing Sunday concerts and balls in small newspaper adverts: The easily remembered architectural style was the best advertisement for the coffeehouse.

However, the overall appearance of Ottmer's building did not really fit in with the dawning age of railways: Not only the use of less than authentic stylistic elements at a time when the reliable depictions of Islamic architecture were already available, but also the flimsy construction and the park-like surroundings made the Café Turc look like an oversized eighteenth-century garden pavilion. This bourgeoisieification of an aristocratic model came at a time when progressive garden designers had long since abandoned Classical, Gothic, Chinese or Turkish backdrops. Thus, while the coffeehouse seemed like a relic from a past era, it fit quite well into the work of a romantically inclined classicist who not only had a good command of the classical idiom of forms but also knew how to build in the Gothic and Renaissance style.



Adam Idźkowski, Design for a coffeehouse and restaurant in Skierniewice, Poland.

Idźkowski published the project in a volume that contained numerous designs for country houses, palaces and churches – all in a highly imaginative Orientalist style. The coffeehouse was built with minor changes in 1845 directly by the railway line and temporarily served as a station. The illustration shows the side that faces the Kaisergarten.<sup>27</sup>

Theodor Ottmer had begun his career in Berlin, where he designed the Singakademie (now known as the Maxim Gorki Theatre), Berlin's first concert building. After the construction work was completed, he went on a two-year journey that took him via Paris to Italy (1827–29). Upon his return he settled in his native town of Braunschweig, where he was immediately appointed to the position of court architect. He designed buildings as different as the theatre in Wolfenbüttel »in the Gothic style«, the neo-Gothic Richmond Castle and the cavalry barracks in Braunschweig »done in the Florentine style«, as well as a few neo-Gothic forester's lodges and the »picturesque Gothic station buildings occasioned by the building of the Harzburg railroad«.<sup>7</sup> The contemporary reviewer of his Wolfenbüttel theatre was amazed by »the agility and creative abundance of a mind capable of simultaneously carrying out such extensive and varied enterprises«.<sup>8</sup>

By 1863 Ottmer's coffeehouse had become so dilapidated that it was torn down except for the ground floor, which had two new storeys built on top of it.<sup>9</sup> The exotic fascination of the coffeehouse was obviously a thing of the past. Also there was no more need for special incentives to get people to use the railway. The train had become an everyday mode of transportation. But the Café Turc had held a promise that was finally fulfilled by a network of railways that constantly kept expanding: In 1883, for the first time, the Orient Express travelled from Paris to Constantinople. Even for Wolfenbüttel the »Orient« thus came close enough to be tangible.

The Café Turc marked the intersection of two epochs: The poetic image of the world prevalent in the Biedermeier period was here confronted with the scientific experience of the world heralded by a hesitantly beginning industrialization. The opening of the short railway line stood at the start of a communication network that encompassed the world and of an altered conception of the world. The Orient, too, now had new dimensions. The old idea of the Orient had been primarily defined by the buzzword »Turkish«, which recalled the long-gone period of the Turkish Wars. How »Turkish« was the Wolfenbüttel coffeehouse really? In spite of its name it had little to do with a Turkish or Arab coffeehouse, though more with the construction type of a kiosk, a wooden pavilion of the kind one could find in the elegant gardens of Turkey, Persia and India. The kiosk was incorporated in European gardens and became part of an architectural programme whose tradition was also followed by the Café

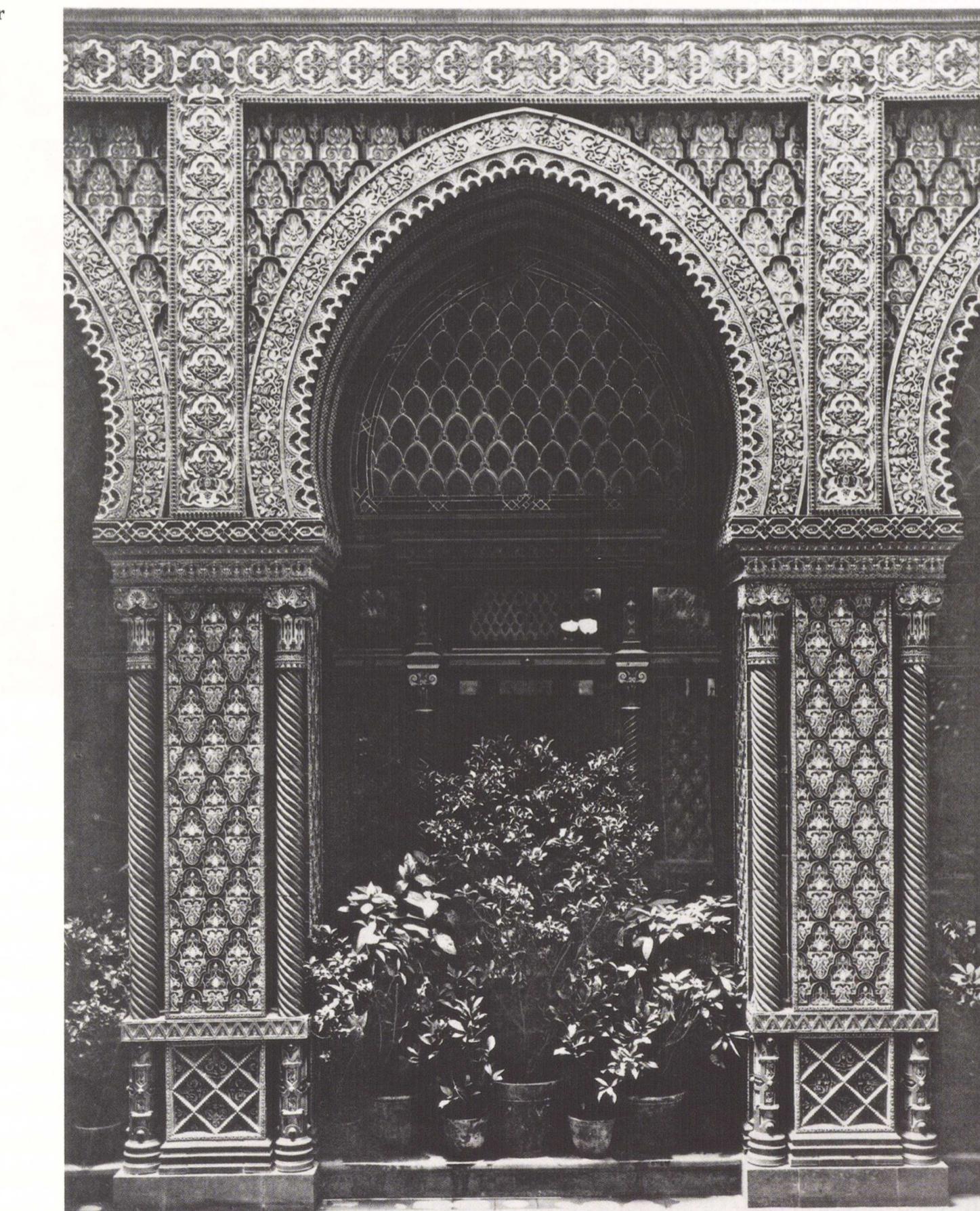
Turc. Even though no authentic models can be found for its external appearance, at least the institution of the coffeehouse can be traced back to Oriental traditions: The first coffeehouses sprang up during the early sixteenth century in Cairo and Constantinople. From the very start they were the meeting places of educated people, and since »in them debates and earnest reflections about affairs of state and of the government were customary«, under their influence »the mosques became emptier from day to day«.<sup>10</sup> This led to repeated attempts to forbid the drinking of coffee and to close the coffeehouses. However, the new drug gained acceptance and soon the first coffeehouses opened in Europe as well: in Venice in 1647, in London in 1652, in Paris in 1671, in Vienna in 1683.<sup>11</sup> The new custom reached southern Germany by way of Vienna, and northern Germany from England and Holland. In Braunschweig, the first coffeehouse was founded in 1714. Just as in the Orient, the coffeehouses here too were at first meeting places for men only. Townspeople, court officials and aristocrats came here to play billiards, to read the newspapers and to talk politics.

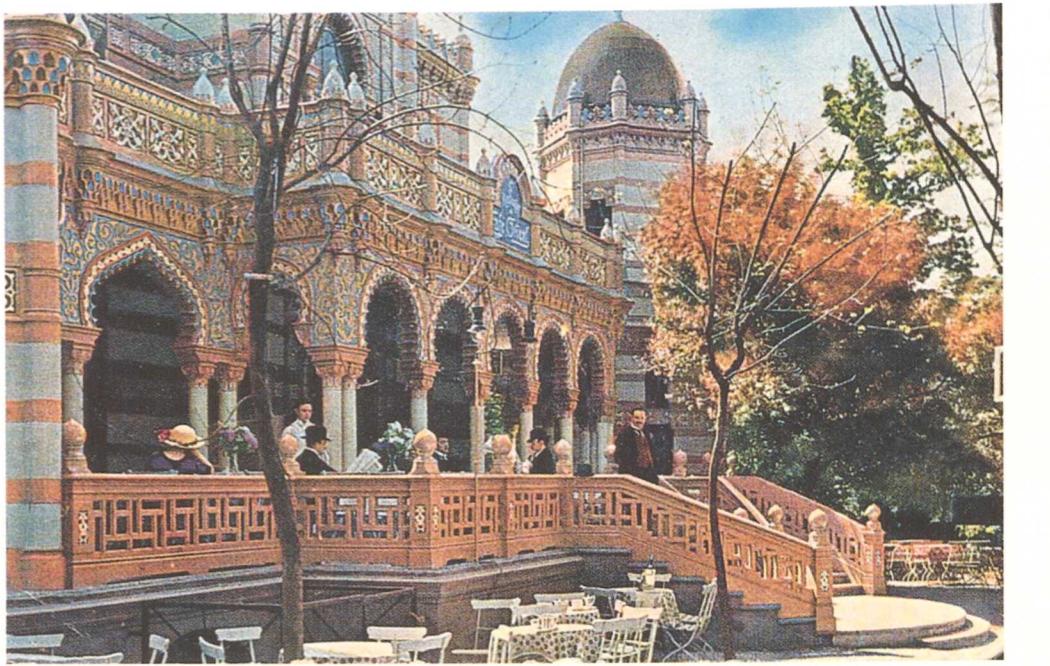
In France, lovers of the new beverage learned that the enjoyment of coffee and the existence of coffeehouses were actually considered to be subversive. During the Regency it was forbidden to discuss the king and the policies of the government in the cafés. Police informers made sure the law was observed. That the coffeehouses (and not the taverns) became the meeting places of critical minds was due to the particular effect of coffee. Unlike alcohol it is a »sober« drink<sup>12</sup> that animates and stimulates the mind. In the positive characteristics ascribed to it, the ideals of the age of reason were virtually expressed in symbolic form. Coffee became the drink of the middle class, and coffeehouses became the intellectual centres in which business transactions were concluded, news was disseminated and political opinions were formed. Shortly before the Revolution, there were close to 2,000 cafés in Paris, many of which were known to be meeting places of the opposition.

Many European coffeehouses were founded by Turks: A house opened in Munich in 1710, which belonged to a former prisoner of war, was therefore called Zum Türken (At the Sign of the Turk). Zum arabischen Coffee Baum (The Arabian Coffee Tree) was the name of a restaurant that opened in Leipzig in 1694 above whose portal the relief of a coffee-drinking sultan can still be seen. In the names of the coffeehouses, however, the attribute »Arabian« appeared far

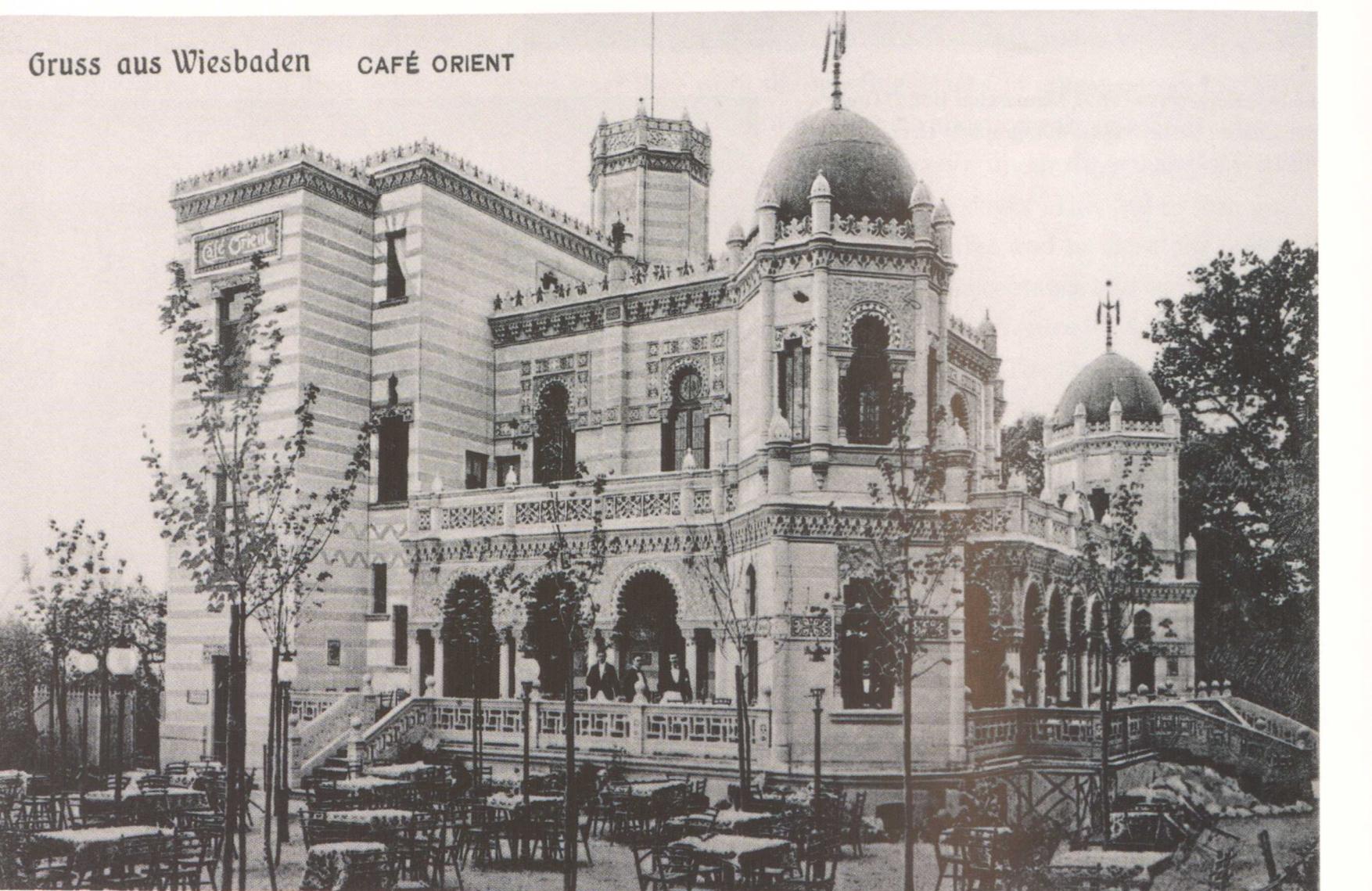


Café Algérien below the Trocadéro, Paris, built for the 1878 World's Fair.





Café Orient, Unter den Eichen, Wiesbaden, ca. 1895. The building was demolished in the 1960s. A contemporary guidebook (*Griebens Reiseführer*, 1912/13), praises the café: »Magnificent view. Dinner starting from 1.50 marks, supper 1.50 marks«



more seldom than the word »Turkish«. In London alone, after the middle of the seventeenth century, over fifty coffeehouses were known to exist, all called The Turk's Head.<sup>13</sup> Painted on their signs was the head of a Turk. Initially the heads were supposed to represent Suleiman the Magnificent, the first besieger of Vienna, but later other Turkish rulers inspired people's fantasies: The Great Turk Coffee House, founded in 1662, advertised with the portrait of Murad IV, who had achieved sinister fame as a cruel ruler and had perished due to excessive consumption of alcohol. An anonymous poem titled »The character of a Coffee-House« (1665) showed the extent to which in London the Turk's head and a coffeehouse had become synonymous: »And if you see the great Morat / With Shash on's head instead of hat, / Or any Sultan in his dress, / Or picture of

a Sultaness, / ... / And certain signs (with many more) / Would be too long to write them ore' / Which plainly do spectators tell / That in that house they coffee sell.<sup>14</sup> But Turkish merchants had established not only the coffeehouse, but also the steam bath in London. In the late seventeenth century a large number of establishments were founded that were called bagnios and were both a coffeehouse and a bathhouse. The first business of this kind was founded in Newgate Street in 1679 and was called Royal Bagnio Coffee House. About 1720 it was described as »neat contrived building after the Turkish mode ...«.<sup>15</sup> Little is known about its appearance. Its most striking characteristics were a dome and the walls, which were clad with Dutch tiles.<sup>16</sup> The coffeehouse, felt to be Turkish by contemporaries, was one of the

first European buildings to be built in a foreign style or at least to claim by its name that it had a foreign model. The bagnios became more and more popular. The Turk's Head Bagnio in Chancery Lane was one of many that all had the same name. Its services were described in newspaper advertisements as »Sweating, Bathing, Cupping«. Ladies and gentlemen were welcome. At the same time, private rooms were offered. The bath became an (hourly) hotel. While in London the Oriental pleasures of bathing and coffee drinking were mingled with a pleasant shudder at most, when people thought of the bloodthirsty and lascivious sultans who reigned in unimaginably distant lands, the country of the Turks had a very different reality on the Continent: Since the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, which began in the fourteenth century, everything »Turkish« had become a Western obsession. Luther in a number of his writings had warned against the Turks, who in 1529 were laying siege to Vienna for the first time. A plethora of handbills reflected the »fear of the Turks« that seized all of Europe and persisted until well into the eighteenth century. Not until after the second siege of Vienna (1683) had been successfully fended off by German and Polish armies did the feeling of menace begin to abate. In additional campaigns the Turkish armies were repelled and Hungary was liberated from Ottoman rule. The confrontation between Christians and Mohammedans, which continued for centuries, had produced many pamphlets about the Turks (»Türkenbüchlein«), and novels, dramas and musical comedies with Turkish themes. In Austria and Bavaria, the Turkish plays are said to have been popular until the nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup> The Turkish-themed literature already contained all the Oriental motifs: pashas, harem ladies, eunuchs and viziers were their main characters. Turbans and veils, divans and hookahs were the visual equivalents of the literary clichés. The representation and reception of Islamic architecture were based on the simplistic conciseness of identifiers like the minaret and the dome, the horse-shoe arch and the crescent.

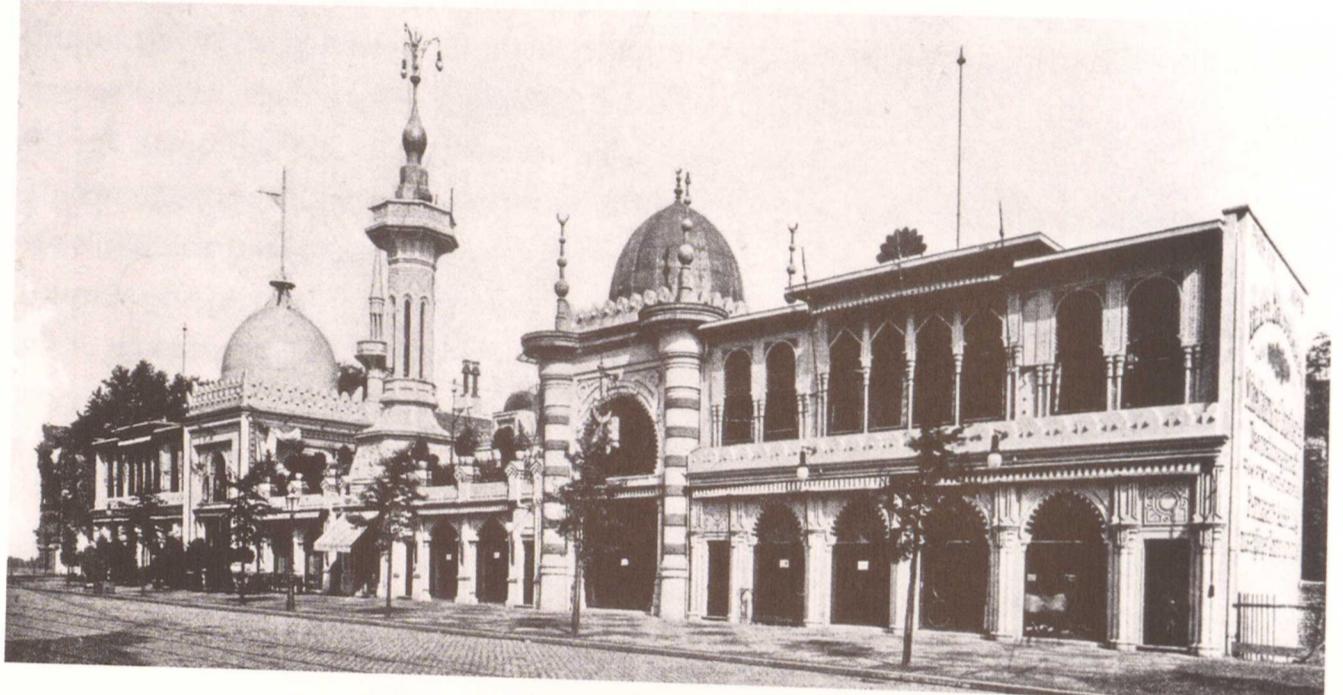
Once there was no longer any danger of a military invasion, another image of the Ottoman Empire was able to form: the image of a magical, carefree world of a type portrayed since the eighteenth century in innumerable operas and plays. When the coffeehouse in Wolfenbüttel opened, the warlike events had long been a thing of the past. When they saw the colourful Oriental pavilion, the guests who arrived from Braunschweig were presumably reminded of the Abduction from the Seraglio or Wilhelm Hauff's Oriental fairytales rather than spine-chilling figures like Murad IV.

In the nineteenth century, the coffeehouse culture began to change. The Café Turc in Wolfenbüttel, which had also been a family restaurant at least at weekends, was still sometimes described as a tobacconist's (»Tabagie«) and thus recalled the times when only the men met at the coffeehouse to smoke and read the paper. In Paris, since the Revolution, coffeehouses had been admitting women as well, who until then had frequented only the café gardens. In Germany the change began with the confectionery cafés, which first appeared in Berlin in the 1820s. A new spatial arrangement met the different needs of the sexes. In addition to the actual »coffee hall«, which was

also referred to as the ladies' salon or conversation room, there were smoking and reading rooms.<sup>18</sup> The golden age of café culture, however, did not come until the Gründerzeit (the 1870s) with the fashion of »Viennese cafés«, which many Berliners had become familiar with when they visited the Vienna World Fair in 1873. Unlike the old cafés, Viennese cafés were deliberately designed as open-plan cafés that could often accommodate up to a thousand guests in several halls. One could meet there for breakfast in the morning, but also late at night for coffee or punch. Important for these cafés' success were luxurious furnishings – expensive woods, wall paintings and painted stucco, for which French styles like Louis XV or Empire were clearly preferred to the heavy »German Renaissance«. But the »Moorish style«, too, was considered suitable for a Viennese café. The emergence of the large Berlin cafés coincided with a boom of the restaurant trade that followed, with some time lag, the economic upturn of the Gründerzeit. Many restaurants were specially planned as multi-purpose buildings, whose several storeys contained beer cellars, wine taverns and ballrooms. For the most part in the style of the »German Renaissance« or the neo-Baroque, generally using a great deal of wrought iron and bull's-eye panes, they established a tenacious tradition in the restaurant trade. There was also room for the exotic in the stylistic confusion of the Gründerzeit: The Friedrichshof had »... a beer hall that almost reminded one of Indian buildings«<sup>19</sup> inside it; the Kaiserhallen, a large pub opened on Unter den Linden in 1885, contained a courtyard furnished in accordance with Moorish models. With a mixture of criticism and admiration it was described in *Berlin und seine Bauten* (1896): »While perhaps it is basically a caprice created by the need to advertise, the restaurant by no means lacks artistic significance. At any rate the attempt to create a rich, colourful effect by means of the majolica technique is commendable.«<sup>20</sup>

Hotel owners, too, demanded Oriental splendour: Beside the Monopol Hôtel (1887/88) on Friedrichstraße, the Grand Hôtel Alexanderplatz (1883/84) also had a café in the Moorish style whose décor, praised as being »sensual and at times dazzling«,<sup>21</sup> the periodical *Deutsche Bauzeitung* described as follows: »While the artistic forms of the three rooms mentioned earlier are in the stylistic tradition of the German Renaissance, the interior of the coffeehouse is designed in a style that is probably generally referred to as Moorish but which upon closer scrutiny reveals Arabian and Indian motifs fused with Renaissance ones in a most interesting way. The column shafts are sheathed with shiny brass sleeves, while the walls and ceilings are clad with flat stucco reliefs which, painted in delicate colours – red, blue and yellow-brown on a pale grey ground and with black depths – produce a carpet-like effect. Pictures by Messrs. Grätz & Thiele, of Frankfurt/Main, appear in the upper fields of the longitudinal wall, showing beautifully executed scenes from *One Thousand and One Nights*. All this combined with the olive-coloured plush of the sofas along the walls, the mirrors and the light fixtures makes for an extraordinarily atmospheric room; unfortunately under the influence of the gas lighting its colourful charm should probably not survive too long.«<sup>22</sup>

The interior of the Café Orient in Wiesbaden may have looked much the same. Built around 1895 on a fairground lined with oak trees, the café on the outskirts of town was an easily accessible »excursion destination« for the guests of the resort. Here too the architectural style advertised the business. The architecture fulfilled the promise made by the name. The Oriental effect was created first and foremost by the accumulation of generally familiar details: horse-shoe-shaped and saddleback multifoil arcades, stalactite moulding and crenellations. The impression was reinforced by the striped façades and small cupolas. But the silhouette of the »picturesquely« articulated building with its octagonal towers could also have been that of a neo-Gothic »castle«: What made this the Café Orient was solely its décor. On the other hand, the Arabian Café on Graf-Adolf-Straße in Düsseldorf, built in 1895 on a site only eight metres deep,



The Arabian Café in Düsseldorf, 1895. Exterior and interior views.



had a typically Oriental silhouette.<sup>23</sup> The »Industrial, Trade and Art Exhibition« that took place in Düsseldorf in 1902 also had Oriental cafés and a »Cairo« Street.<sup>24</sup> The Paris international expositions had already had this type of exotic backdrops for some time. In Germany designers of trade shows followed French models: Even before »Cairo Street«, at the »Berlin Trade Show« that took place in Treptow in 1896 there had been a »Special Cairo Exhibition«.<sup>25</sup> It made sense that »Arabian« and »Turkish« cafés were always set up at all these exhibitions, where huge numbers of visitors had to be fed. In Paris, among a large number of exotic cafés, »Algerian« and »Moorish« cafés were always included as a rule; in Vienna in 1873 there were only »Turkish« ones, and as late as 1911, at the Dresden »Hygiene Exhibition«, an Arabian Café was built next to the »Morocco Theatre« that wooed visitors with its »Oriental dances«.<sup>26</sup>

»Our sister city of Potsdam is unusually rich in such recently built architectonic fictions.«<sup>1</sup>

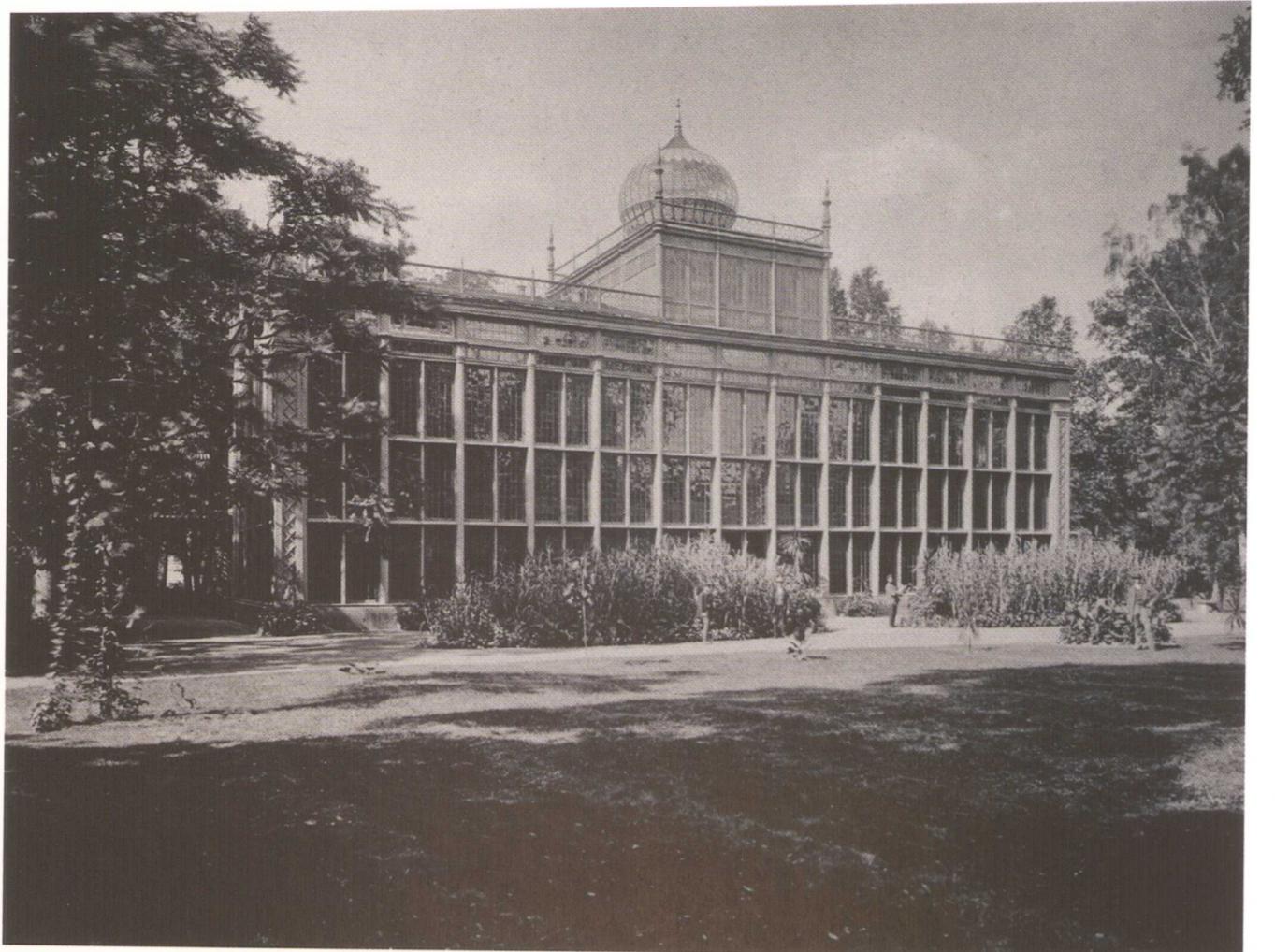
This remark by the Berlin art historian Franz Theodor Kugler, in 1848, refers to a long-forgotten industrial building designed by the court architect Ludwig Persius (1803–45). The »Damm-Mühlen (Dam Mills)«<sup>2</sup> built on the other side of the Spree River had been given a Norman exterior at the express wish of Frederick William IV: By the addition of towers and battlements a simple utilitarian building became the fiction of a medieval fortress. »Norman« was equivalent to a style referred to as »castellated gothic«, or castle style, in England. Frederick William liked to see it used in military buildings, city gates or factories. The artificially produced historical semblance served to fit unprepossessing buildings harmoniously into an old cityscape and to give the latter an additional highlight. Even today the appearance of Potsdam and its surrounding area is characterized by a large number of »architectonic fictions« in the most diverse historical and exotic styles. Ever since it became the summer residence of the Prussian kings under Frederick II, the small town, whose inhabitants largely consisted of court and state officials as well as military personnel, had always provided a favourable climate for architectural experiments. Initially, however, playing with novel architectural forms was limited to the royal gardens. Only Frederick William IV's expanded concept of landscape design made it possible to add picturesque architectural accents in the broader environs of the park or to treat utilitarian buildings outside the park like garden buildings.

The Rococo of Frederick the Great had still limited its interest in non-European cultures exclusively to China. Based on a French model, the famous Chinese Teahouse was built in an irregularly shaped area of the park of Sanssouci – an expression of a view of China characterized by fantastical notions. Only the Dragon House, built in 1770, reflects an authentic Chinese architectural style in its pagoda form. The corrected view of China was due largely to the publications of William Chambers, who had even designed a Chinese bridge – never realized – specially for Sanssouci. The New Garden laid out by Frederick's successor near Heiliger See in the new landscape style no longer contained any chinoiseries. Instead we find Gothic and Egyptian features here: Beside sphinxes, obelisks and pyramids there was also a »Temple Moresque«, which, however, merely documented an ignorance of Islamic architecture that was typical of the period. During the same epoch, nearby Pfaueninsel was purchased and transformed into a landscape garden full of countless small architectural features. Here, a building was erected that was exotic in two respects: The Palm House, which burned to the ground in 1880, contained not only tropical plants, but also an exotic trophy that had been incorporated in the planning at the instigation of the Crown Prince (and later King Frederick William IV):



Ludwig Persius, Steam Engine House in Potsdam, 1841-43. Detail of the brick facade.

In the form of a screen, openwork marble slabs that originally came from an Indian structure were placed in an apse whose design was inspired by Indian models. The painter and architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841), who supposedly made the original concept for the palmhouse was familiar with Indian architecture through the works of the Daniells (cf. p. 42). He had already referred to their *Oriental Scenery* when he designed the sets for Spontini's opera *Nurmahal*, performed in Berlin in 1822. One of the backdrops was a veritable architectural capriccio that brought together all the motifs of Indian architecture in a vast landscape.



Albert Dietrich Schadow, Palm House on Pfaueninsel, Berlin, 1830–31, cupola added in 1845 by Heinrich Häberlin. Historical photograph (c. 1875) and painting by Karl Blechen, 1834. Pfaueninsel, an island in the Havel River near Potsdam, was a favourite destination of excursions under Frederick William II. Often the king landed on the island with large parties and had his Oriental tents pitched on the meadow.<sup>43</sup>

In 1793 he purchased the island and had it transformed into a romantic landscape park. Gradually, many staffage buildings were created here. One of the first was a small castle built largely of wood in the form of a ruin, which contains the »Otahitisches Kabinett« (Tahitian Cabinet) in one of its towers – an allusion to the discovery of Tahiti by Bougainville and at the same time a possible motto for the entire island: Pfaueninsel as a South Seas paradise with palm trees. Palm trees did not reach Pfaueninsel until the reign of Frederick William III, who in 1830 purchased a collection of full-grown palm trees in France. One year earlier the crown prince had bought at an auction fragments of a mughal building: perforated screens (jalis) and doorway arches made of white marble. It was decided to have a structure built on Pfaueninsel which was to house the Indian »pagoda« as well as the palm trees. It is likely that the first concept of the building was by Schinkel who while designing the sets for Nurmahal had become familiar with Indian architecture through the works of the Daniells and who already had designed a planthouse for the Botanical garden. The detailed planning, however, was done by Albert Dietrich Schadow.<sup>44</sup>

The palm house was a simple rectangular building with a brick-built north side, while the rest of the sides had glass façades subdivided into many small fields by wooden columns and horizontal beams. The roof was not continuously glazed, as can be clearly seen from the views of the interior painted by Karl Blechen. In the centre of the building the rectangle of the interior widened toward the rear to create a semicircular apse. The apse was subdivided into two storeys. By way of winding staircases one reached an open gallery from which one could look down on the palm trees from above. This apse had been especially created to house the Indian fragments which were positioned in a semi-circle, following the ground plan. Through his colour scheme and the unobtrusive use of Indian details (the multi-foil window arches and the flower-shaped capitals of the cast-iron columns) the architect succeeded in creating a space which was in keeping with the Indian »pagoda« and whose exotic atmosphere was even intensified by the tropical plants. Karl Blechen further increased the exoticism of the room by adding a few odalisques languidly posed on a red carpet.

Schadow's building was remodelled in 1845 by Heinrich Häberlin: In the meantime, the tallest palm tree was hitting the ceiling. So as not to prevent its further growth, Häberlin placed an onion-shaped glass cupola on top of the Palm House. In the night from 18 to 19 May 1880 the Palm House with all its plants burned to the ground.



Prussian Orient 84

But Schinkel mostly limited his exotic ambitions to painted architecture. For built architecture he relied almost exclusively on models from classical antiquity and the Gothic era. The expansion of the stylistic repertoire after Schinkel's death was closely connected with the romantic visions of Frederick William IV, who succeeded his father on the throne in 1840. At the very beginning of his reign he had declared to his director of gardens Peter Joseph Lenné (1789–1866) that, following the example of Prince Franz of Dessau, he wished to transform the entire surroundings of Berlin and Potsdam into a large garden.<sup>3</sup> Potsdam, Sanssouci and the parks of Princes Charles and William in Glienicker and Babelsberg were to transition seamlessly into a man-made landscape that would stretch along the Havel River as far as Tegel. Surrounded by woods and gentle hills, the Havel lakes were best suited for creating the illusion of a timeless Mediterranean landscape like those Frederick had seen during his Italian voyage. But it was not until the addition of the carefully placed architectural accents that the Havel Valley became a man-made artificial landscape. The longing for the South and a classical age far removed from the present was first discernible in Charlottenhof, which Schinkel had once designed for the Crown Prince on the periphery of the old Sanssouci. Even more pronounced than in this fiction of the ancient Roman country house, the southern theme appears in the ensemble of gardener's villa and Roman Baths that Schinkel created together with his collaborator Persius.

Here the models were not the buildings of classical antiquity but country villas and farmhouses Schinkel had seen and sketched in Italy. In the case of various churches that were built in Potsdam and at selected points on the banks of the Havel River, the architects went back to early Christian or even Russian models. All these churches, especially those on the banks of the Havel, primarily fulfilled an aesthetic and sentimental function: They were important components in the composition of a landscape that was experienced as a picture and at the same time established a mood. Thus they are clearly in the tradition of the kind of staffage structures with which we are familiar from early landscape gardens.

Here too, as Prince Pückler had done in Muskau,<sup>4</sup> the architects incorporated industrial buildings into the landscape concept. The king was particularly interested in beautifying the factory and warehouse buildings on the Potsdam bank of the Havel. Persius created a whole series of technical buildings which, while they can be assigned to totally different styles, have all been composed according to the same principle, which was first formulated in the Roman Baths. The chief characteristic of the »Italian villa style« that Persius developed further in numerous designs after Schinkel's death was the asymmetrical staggering of volumes of different heights to create a picturesque silhouette. The composition principle of the »Italian« villas became the distinctive feature of Persius' other buildings as well, even where the details have been borrowed from other styles. For the long-distance effect of his buildings, the type of style desired by the king in each case was only of secondary importance. Thus the »Italian« engine house in Glienicker and the »Norman« one in Babelsberg, and the many »Norman« mill and warehouse buildings

all seemed to be merely differently designed members of the same family. Since the style in most cases was selected arbitrarily and could hardly be justified as regards content, it was also interchangeable: In the case of one warehouse Frederick William vacillated between the Moorish and the Norman style. Finally he chose the latter.<sup>5</sup>

The »mosque« on the bank of the Havel, too, can only be explained from an architectural philosophy that regarded the selection of style as a selection of costume. It was built<sup>6</sup> in connection with the building of the fountains in the park of Sanssouci, the king's first major project after his accession to the throne. The fountains had already been a favourite idea of Frederick the Great. Despite years of extremely costly efforts, the planners had never succeeded in pumping water into the reservoir on the Ruinenberg. The problem could finally be solved only through the means of the industrial age, with steam power and pressure-resistant cast-iron pipes.

In the spring of 1841 work was begun on the steam engine house and the installation of the pipelines. Already in the following autumn, the final rehearsal could take place. Although many spectators were drenched because of the strong wind, the king was thrilled: He had succeeded where his famous forebear had failed. With the 80-hp engine designed and manufactured by August Borsig, the reservoir could be filled with water from the Havel in a matter of 19 hours.

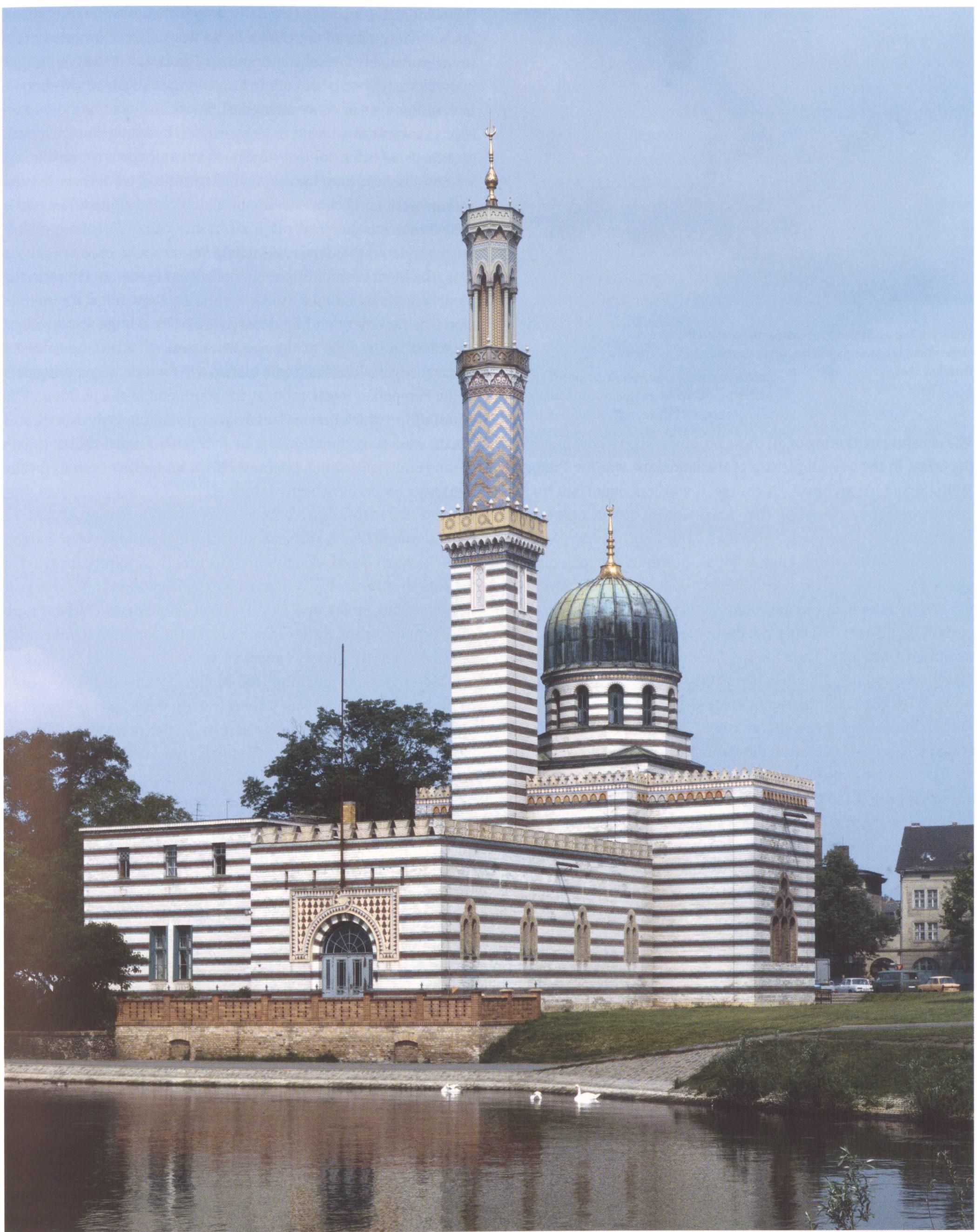
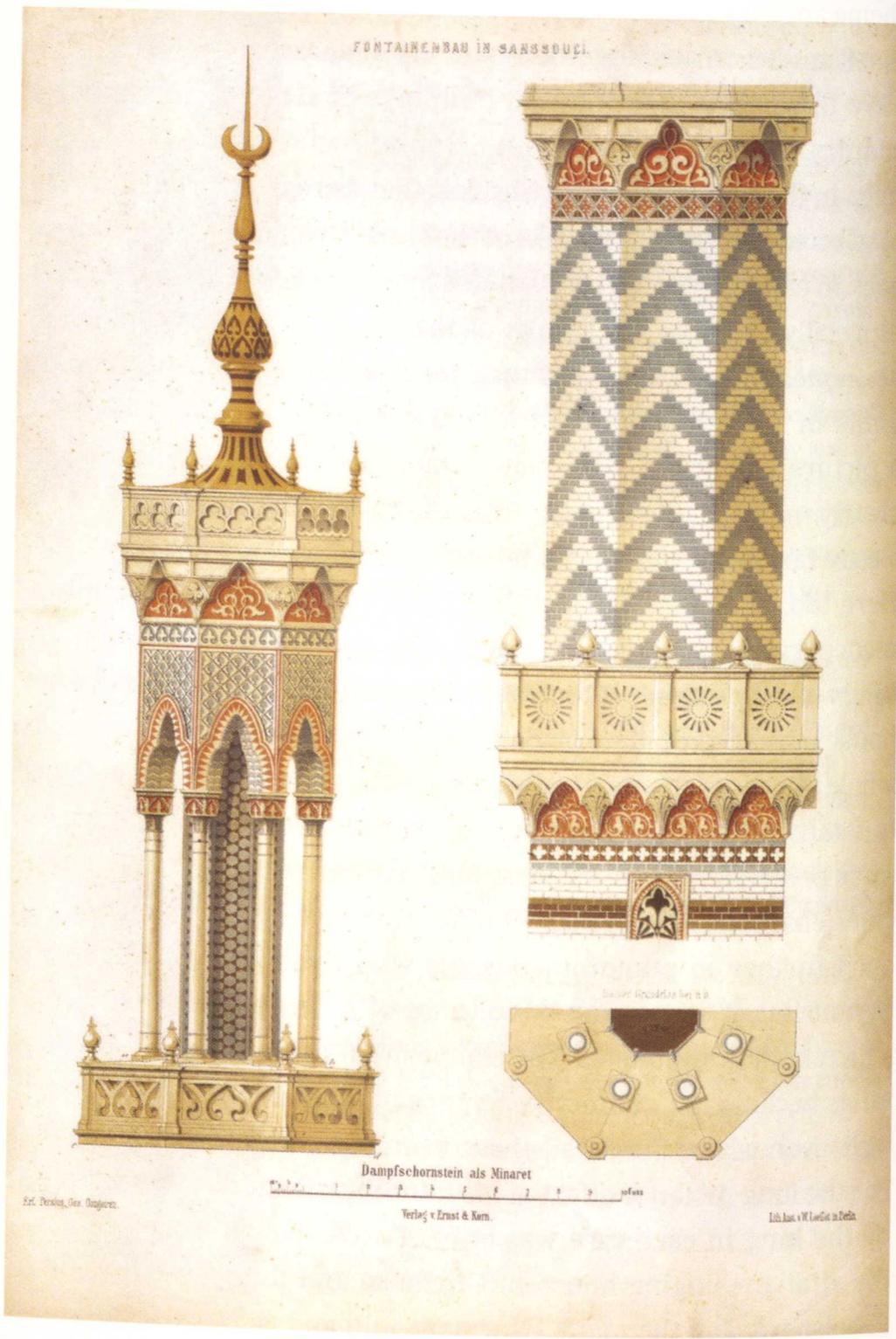
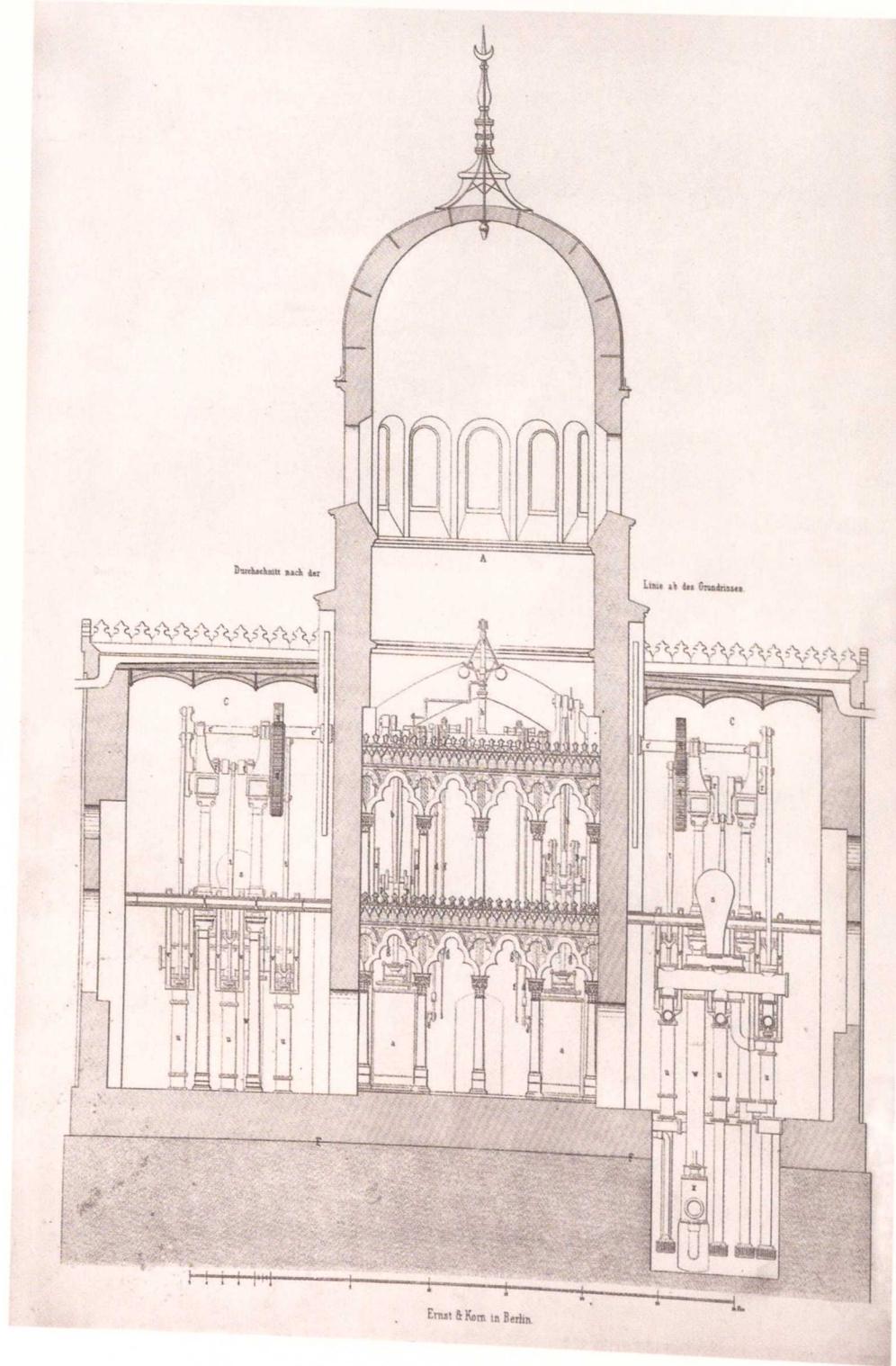
The engine house had been built at the behest of Frederick William »... after the manner of Turkish mosques with a minaret as smokestack«.<sup>7</sup> The wish to conceal the function of the smokestack had been the decisive factor in selecting the style: Because of its tall, slender form the minaret was ideal for this project. But the smokestack designed by Persius had little to do with Turkish mosques. Rather, the minaret, with its change from a square to an octagonal shaft, with its surrounding balconies and the richly ornamented slender »pavilion« at the top, is reminiscent of the minarets in Mamluk Cairo. The zigzag pattern produced by alternating blue and white bricks also goes back to Mamluk models.<sup>8</sup>

But the Oriental character of the steam engine house could also be experienced without the knowledge of such models. It was not so much detail forms such as mouldings and battlements or the golden crescents that produced this effect as the combination of the dome and the slender tower, as well as the conspicuous stripes of the façades, which were visible from a great distance. Thus the effect of the building comes from reduction to a few elements, felt to be typically Oriental.

In Babelsberg, two years later, Persius was again faced with the same task. To match the neo-Gothic castle, however, the »Norman« style was chosen there.<sup>9</sup> But in the grouping of volumes and in their silhouette, Moorish and »Norman« structures are amazingly similar. Only the different ornamentation turns the Babelsberg engine house into a medieval fortress. Moreover in both cases Persius had intensified his picturesque composition by placing the buildings partially on terraces built into the water. The unusual effect of his Church of the Redeemer (Heilandskirche) in Sakrow comes from the fact that it projects far into the water.

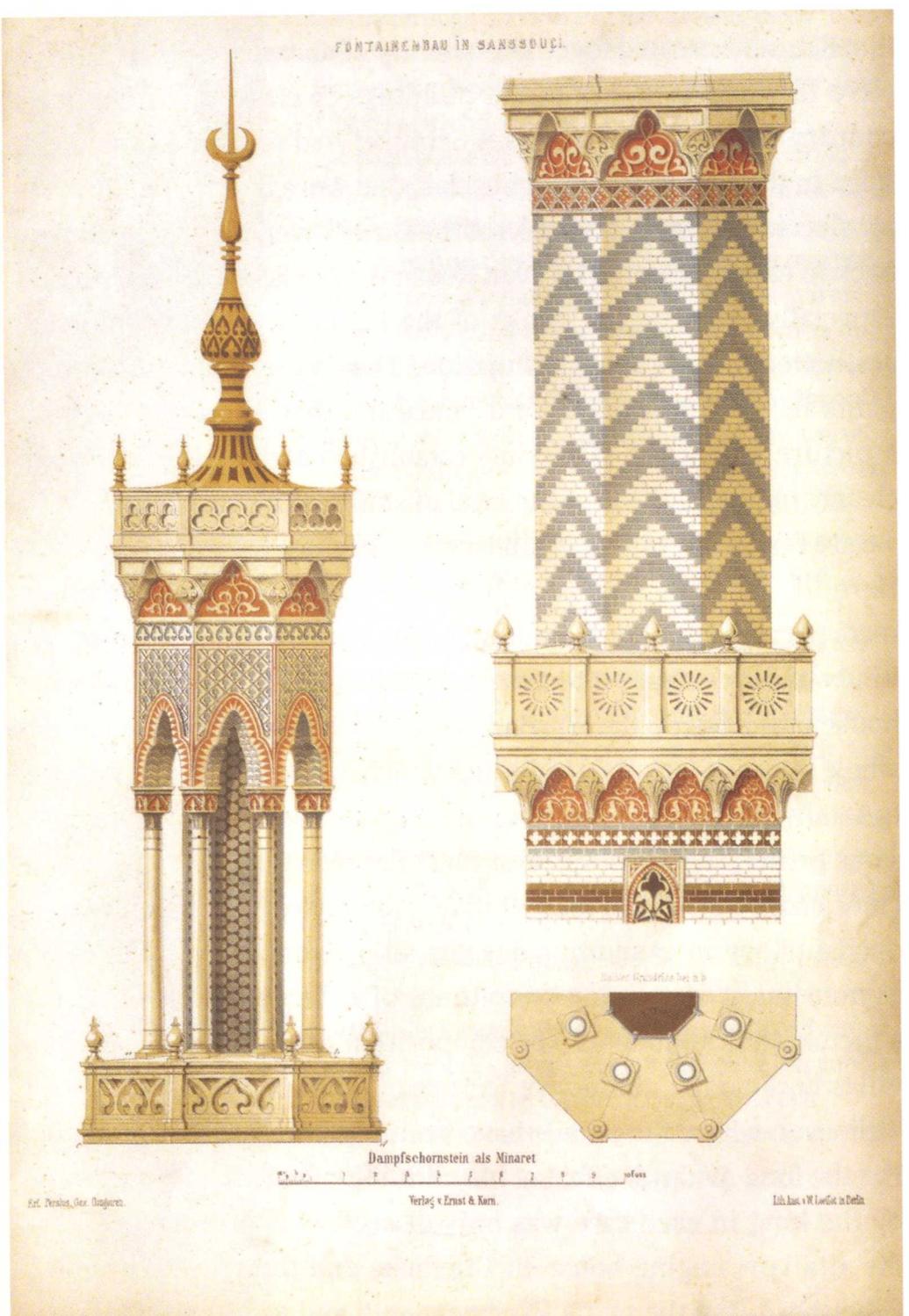
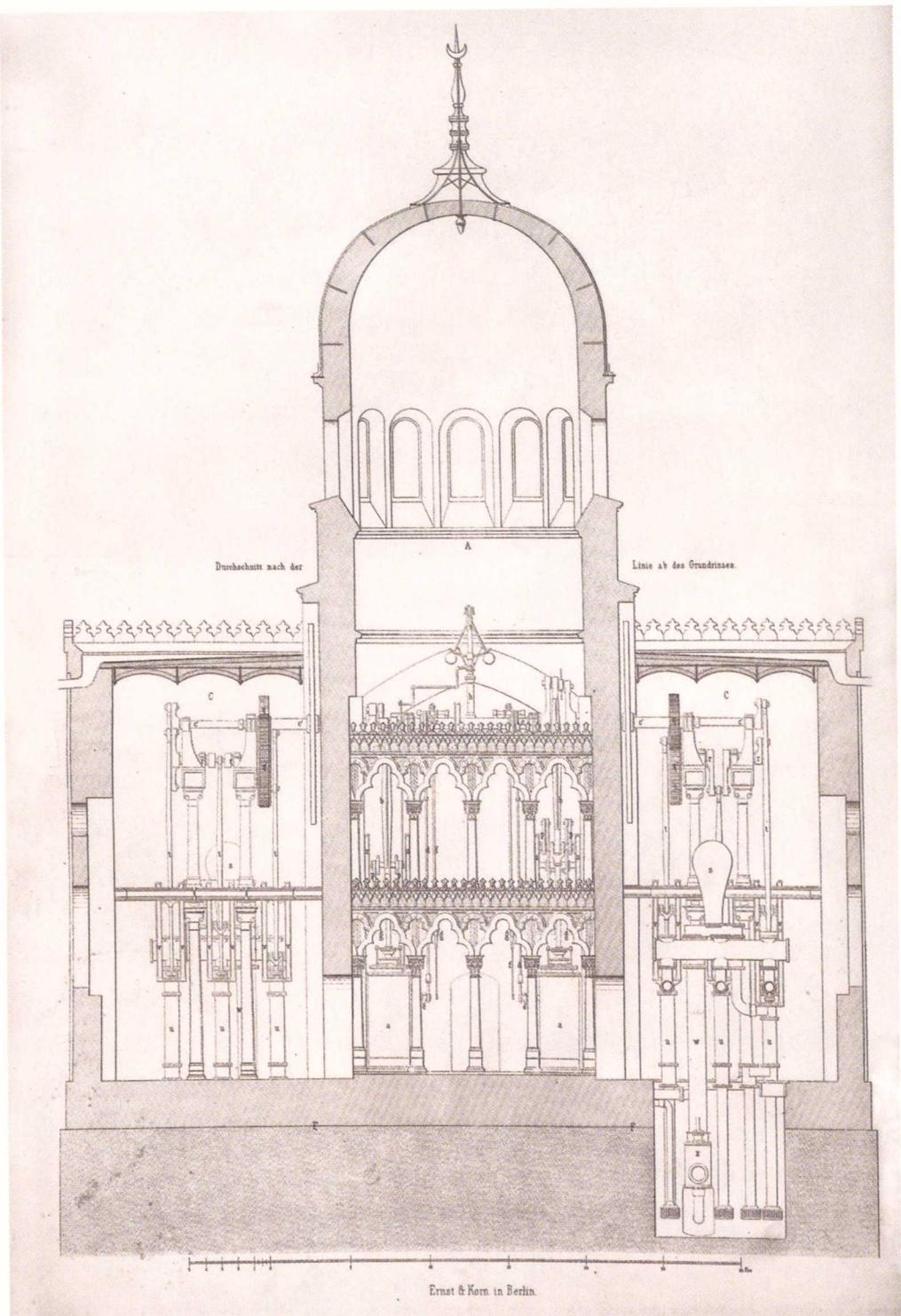


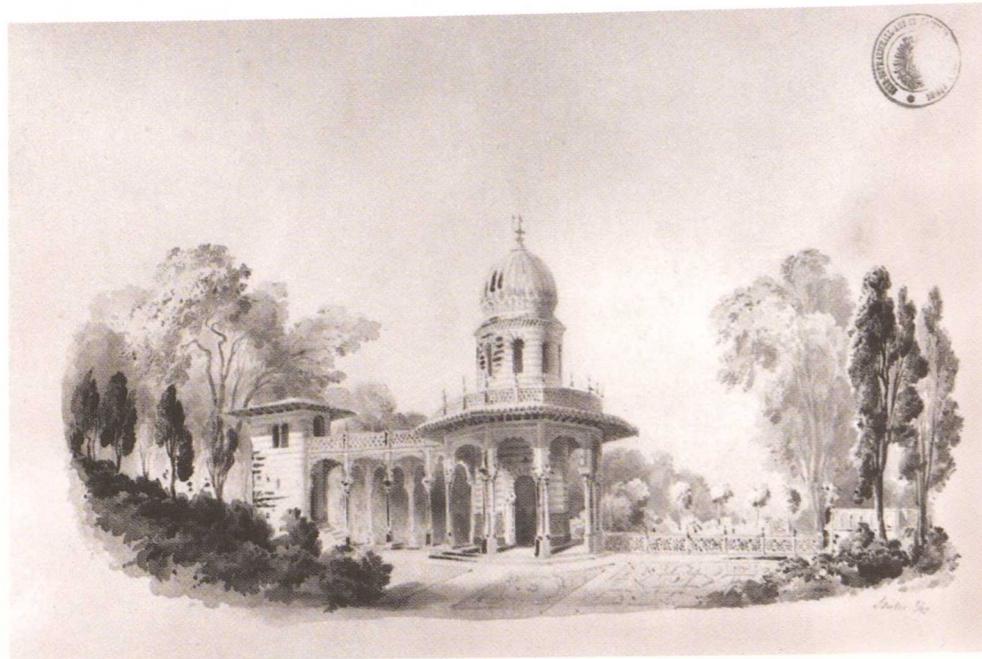
Ludwig Persius, Steam Engine House in Potsdam, 1841–43. View facing Havel River (next page), entrance door. Section and detail of the chimney from: Martin Gottgetreu, *Der Fontainen-Bau zu Sans-Souci*, 1854. The building, situated on the bank of the Havel River, still contains the 80 hp steam engine manufactured by August Borsig in Berlin, which pumped Havel water into a basin on the Ruinenberg above Sanssouci Castle through an almost two-kilometre-long pipeline. The reservoir supplied water to several fountains in the park. The design of the engine house, which at the behest of King Frederick William IV had been given the appearance of a »Turkish mosque«, was the work of court architect Ludwig Persius, a student of Karl Friedrich Schinkel. The construction of the building and the blueprints were carried out by the royal court building inspector Martin Gottgetreu.





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Friedrich August Stüler, Proposal for the conversion of the »Temple Moresque« in the Neuer Garten, Potsdam, 1843.

The careful positioning of all these buildings shows how important the effect in the overall picture of the landscape was for Frederick William and his architect. Of course, it was less important for this effect whether the building that was involved was a church or an engine house.

In the case of the steam engine house, however, the long-distance effect was not the only concern. A great deal of care was devoted to the details as well. But in the choice of materials we are struck by a certain thriftiness that does not quite seem to match the splendour promised from afar. Thus for the façade the builders did not use glazed white stones, simply applying the stripes with oil paint.

More care was taken in the interior design of the engine house: »When one enters ... the engine room, the eye is surprised by the abundance of the riches of the Arabian design, while one's first thought cannot grasp the magnificence of the beautiful engine. Up to the very top of the richly ornamented dome, which like the pump rooms is brightly lit by windows with colourfully patterned panes, everything in these rooms is in architectonic harmony and so richly developed that its like has probably seldom, and perhaps never, been seen before. All the walls are painted in Arabian patterns with oil paints, partly multicoloured, partly in two colours, and even the individual component parts of the engine, and of the machine frame, are in the same style.<sup>10</sup>

Sure enough, the steam engine – which still exists today – had been surrounded with two cast-iron arcades placed one on top of the other, which combined the artfully interlaced arches of the Mosque of Cordoba with columns from the Alhambra. The work drawings for the capitals and the arches had been produced by a member of Persius' staff, Martin Gottgetreu (1813–85), who also later brought out an elaborately illustrated publication about the construction of the fountains.<sup>11</sup> In the early days of industrialization it was not unusual even for the machine to be decorated with architectonic forms. Frequently classical column forms were used for the engine mounting stands, which could be manufactured simply in cast iron.

But manufacturers did not even shy away from Gothic steam engines. Such enhancement of the engine into a work of art expressed pride in the unusual technical achievement. The fact that the engine was manufactured locally and not in England made it even more important in the eyes of contemporaries. Borsig's steam engine was an object that was also meant to be shown off. It was obvious that such an expensive technical marvel demanded an expensive setting. As is often the case, here too open-mindedness toward technical innovations went hand in hand with the stylistic experiment: The exotic appearance was justified not least by the novelty of the architectural project. In the oeuvre of Ludwig Persius, who died as early as 1845, the Moorish building remained an exception. In Potsdam the Moorish style was used only one more time, though just for an interior: The Belvedere on Pfingstberg (1849–52), a huge architectural backdrop in the style of the neo-Renaissance,<sup>12</sup> which remained a fragment, had a Moorish room in its north tower – as a counterpart to the Pompeian tower room at the south end of the building. The building, for which Persius had drawn up plans as early as 1841, was constructed according to plans by Friedrich August Stüler (1800–65) and Ludwig Ferdinand Hesse (1795–1876). Hesse's designs for the two tower rooms have been preserved.<sup>13</sup>

The already mentioned »Temple Moresque« in the Neuer Garten (New Garden), which still embodied the inexact ideas of the eighteenth century about Moorish architecture, was to be converted at the behest of Frederick William: Its exterior was to reflect current insights. Both Stüler and Hesse suggested changes.<sup>14</sup> Using typically Islamic means, Stüler tried to make the Moorish temple truly Moorish: The pavilion was given an onion dome, while the façades became striped. In addition, the temple, connected to a second pavilion by an arcade, was provided with arches and windows in multifoil and horseshoe form. Neither of the projects was implemented, however; around 1869 the temple was razed completely. These few Moorish examples show that most architects did not believe that an exotic style was appropriate for serious and major architectural projects. In accordance with tradition, it seemed to be suited only for interiors and garden structures in the broadest sense.

In the early fifties of the nineteenth century, however, a young Berlin architect who would have loved to rebuild all of Berlin in the Moorish style first drew attention to himself. Since his unconditional devotion to this style met with little understanding in Prussia, his life would not have been successful if his career had not taken an extraordinary yet completely logical turn. Carl Wilhelm Valentin von Diebitsch (1819–69)<sup>15</sup> had first entered upon a military career as was customary in his family, but soon had to cut it short because of a hearing problem. After studies at the Bauakademie (Building Academy), Diebitsch set out on a tour of Italy, obligatory for a young architect. His encounter with Arab architecture in Sicily seems to have determined the rest of his itinerary: From Italy he continued the journey to Spain and North Africa. Like so many architects before him, he was interested first and foremost in the Moorish architecture of Andalusia.

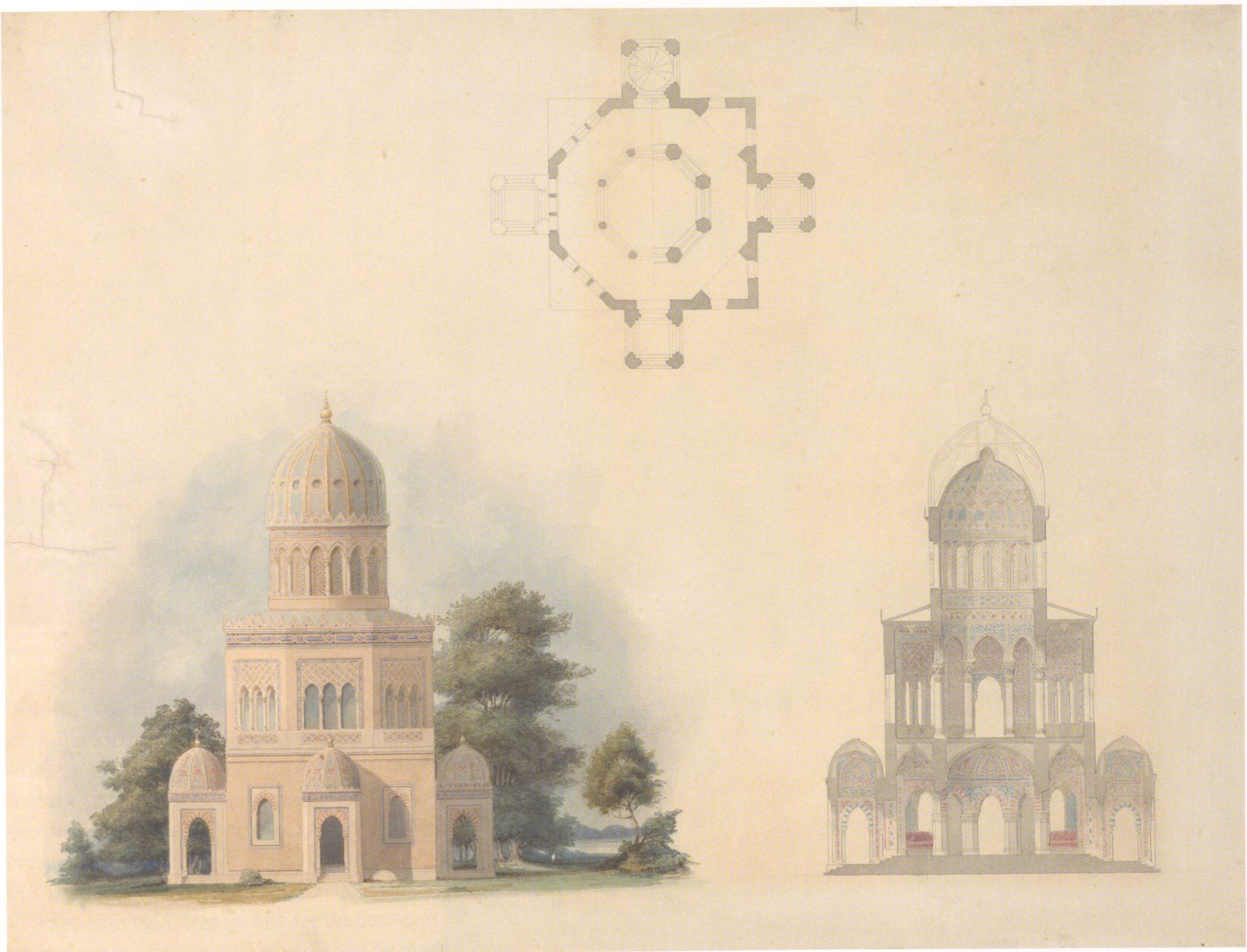
In the Alhambra alone, he spent half a year doing detailed studies and surveys. His folder full of watercolours, he returned to Berlin in 1848. With the knowledge gained during his journeys, he became a specialist on Moorish architecture. For the time being, however, his practical activities were limited to the furnishing of interiors, including a Moorish cabinet in Schloß Krafftshagen in East Prussia and a room in Villa Reichenheim in Berlin. But Diebitsch did not want to be limited to working as an interior decorator. He was convinced that the Moorish style was suited for large public buildings as well. With an exclusivity that reminds us of his British colleague Owen Jones, whose career had also been decisively influenced by his personal experience of the Alhambra, Diebitsch sent out designs in the Moorish style to a large number of competitions: In the 1853 Schinkel competition, he even won the second prize with his stock-exchange design, the motto being »Greek [architecture] did not develop without the Arabs and therefore met with much acclaim«.<sup>16</sup>

However, as far as concrete projects were concerned, unlike in the case of the Schinkel competition, he and his Moorish designs did not have a chance: neither in the competition for the Berlin town hall

(1858) nor with his cathedral designs or the plans for the bank in Altenburg. Although his colourful watercolours were admired, he and his entries remained »hors concours from the very beginning«, as his colleague Hubert Stier concluded in his obituary.<sup>17</sup>

The use of an exotic architectural style for stock exchanges or town halls violated all the rules and could not be justified as regards content. What was associated with the Oriental style in architecture hardly seemed to befit the dignity expected of representative public buildings. In the stylistic repertoire of historicism the areas where the various historical and exotic styles could be used were clearly defined. The use of Oriental styles was thematically justified only for coffeehouses, baths or garden structures, and, in exceptional cases, for private homes.

Carl von Diebitsch, Design for a garden pavilion. In the unrealized »mosque«, Moorish and Indian motifs intermingle. The small black eagle in the central axis recurs on the design of the bathroom. Possibly the garden pavilion was also intended for Prince Albrecht.



The special atmosphere of coastal resorts and spas was frequently also regarded as a qualification for the liberal use of exotic styles. Perhaps precisely because it was not possible for him to implement major architectural projects in Berlin, Diebitsch focused intensely on the craftsmanship and the technical aspect of the style he promoted.<sup>18</sup> The question whether German craftsmen were capable of carrying out his designs and producing effects that were comparable to the complicated ornamentation of Islamic design or even to the stalactite vaults of Moorish architecture was of crucial importance for Diebitsch's designs. In order to find simple and inexpensive solutions, he began to experiment with plaster, wood and paint. It soon turned out that completely untraditional techniques such as cast zinc or iron were suitable for the efficient manufacture of iterative ornamental forms, but especially for columns and arches. The first major project during which Diebitsch was able to put his ideas into effect was his own home. Here he installed workshops

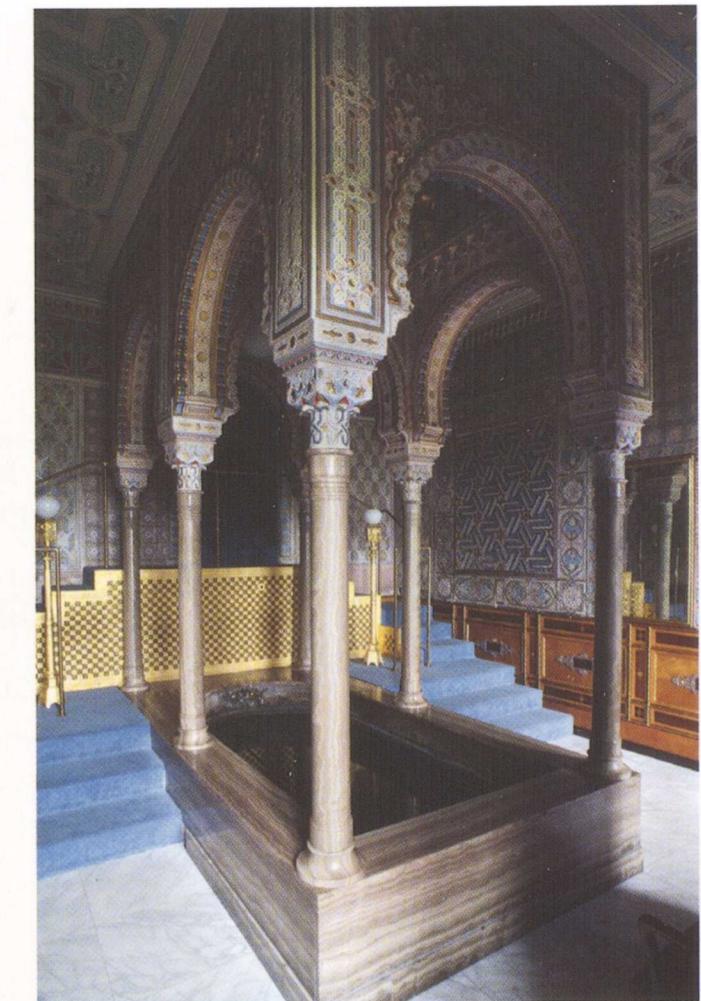
in which he could not only work himself but also employ cabinet-makers, painters and stucco plasterers. But before he built his house he designed and built the bath cabinet in Schloß Albrechtsberg, Dresden.<sup>19</sup> For the interior design of an extravagant bathroom it was typical to choose the Moorish style: Baths were among the most frequently described buildings in the reports of Europeans travelling in the Orient. Also, in the idea Europeans had of the Islamic bath, fantasies of Oriental splendour and sensuality were typically linked. In the Alhambra Diebitsch had seen how important the bath was in Islamic culture: A series of lavishly decorated bathing and relaxation rooms occupies a central position within the palace. In the castle of Prince Albrecht this type of extensive suite of rooms needed to be reduced to bourgeois moderation. In the middle of a large room there is a basin of green marble roofed over by a baldachin on slender Alhambra columns. A watercolour by Diebitsch shows the room with a bathing odalisque.



Carl von Diebitsch, Design for the bath cabinet in Schloß Albrechtsberg, Dresden.

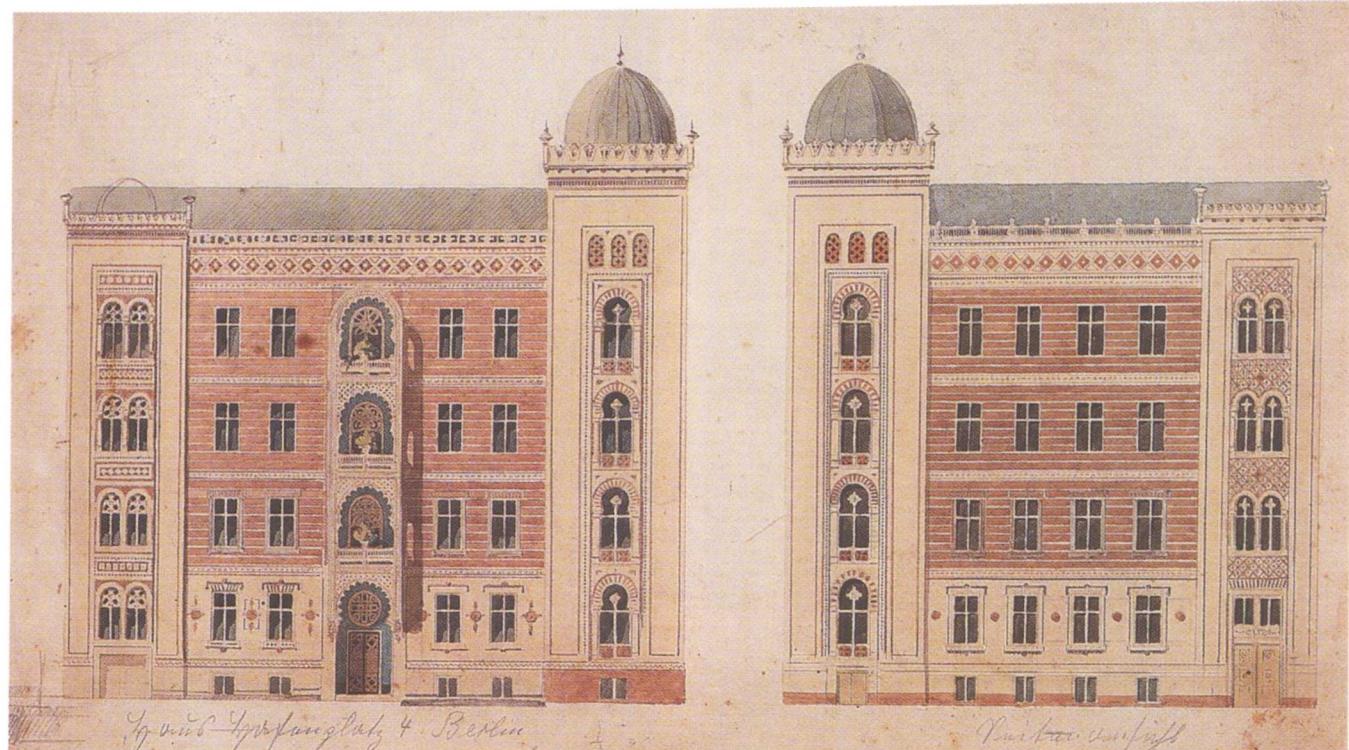


Diebitsch's own house – destroyed in World War II – attracted much attention among his contemporaries, and Berliners were familiar with the name of its architect as late as in the 1880s, when Theodor Fontane published his novel *Cécile* (1886): However, *Cécile* did not live in the »house with the Alhambra dome«, as her admirer noted, presumably with regret.<sup>20</sup> Diebitsch had received the authorization to build on his property on Hafenplatz in 1856.<sup>21</sup> One year later the house, which contained flats, studios and workshops, was more or less finished.



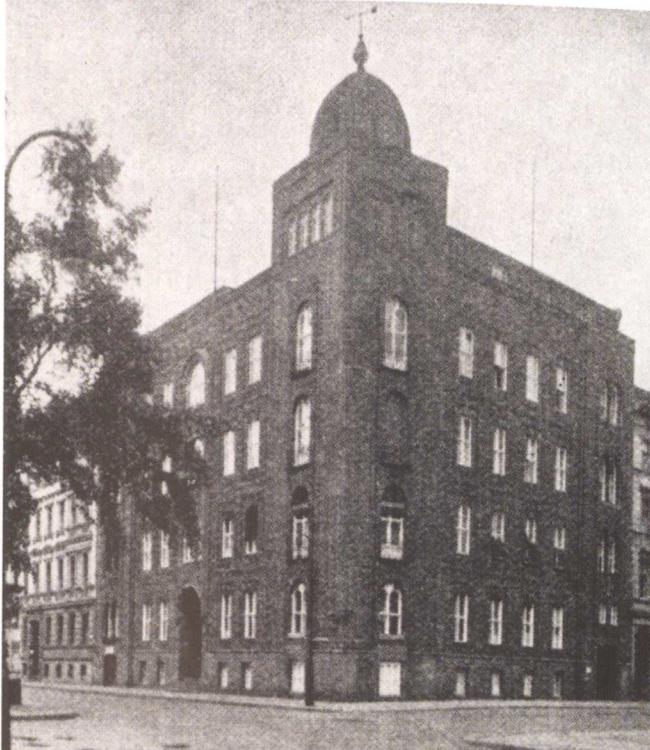
Carl von Diebitsch, Bath cabinet in Schloß Albrechtsberg, Dresden, 1855.

In its neighbourhood it was conspicuous because it lacked a plaster coat: The writer Theodor Fontane mentioned that the architect had succeeded in »creating the Moorish friezes, arabesques, and mosaics in red clay and combining them with Brandenburg bricks.«<sup>22</sup> However, the outward appearance of Diebitsch's house cannot be precisely reconstructed from the sources. A description from 1857 – when the house was still in construction – mentions the colourful alternation of red and yellow-white bricks, thus corresponding to Diebitsch's drawing.



Carl von Diebitsch, House of the architect, Hafenplatz, corner of Dessauer Straße, Berlin, 1856-57.

»... I'm sure they live in the Diebitsch House. A bit of Alhambra, how well that suits my lovely Cécile. Truly, she has the almond eyes and the deeply melancholy expression of a Zoë or a Zuleika. Only the Colonel, with all due respect, is not a descendant of the Abencerrages, and even less the last of them, as in the poem.«<sup>40</sup>



If I am to place him à tout prix in those Moorish regions, then he is either Abd el Kader in person or a pirate off the coast of Morocco.

While he was still rattling on like this, he stood in front of the St. Arnaud's house, which, however, as the number now revealed, was not the house with the Alhambra dome but an adjacent one, scarcely less elegant, as his entrance into it would soon show him.<sup>40</sup>

It is not known whether Diebitsch actually later added colourful stucco shapes to the ornamenteally arranged bricks and the decorative terracotta forms, or whether he left it at a few experimental attempts.<sup>23</sup> In contrast to the contemporary sources, a photo published in 1933 shows a sober building with a monochrome façade, presumably of red bricks only.

The interior of the house is said to have looked magnificent: Many rooms, »... thanks to the Arabian decorations, had been given a character of glamour, wealth and above all comfort designed with artistic elegance ...«<sup>24</sup> The Moorish style of the flats was already apparent in the stairwell due to the horseshoe-shaped entrances. The decoration of ceilings and walls with colourfully painted stucco was complemented by furniture, rugs and curtains designed by Diebitsch in keeping with the style of the house. »Everywhere here, however, he was not merely an imitator of something that already existed, but was able directly to create new things according to that style.«<sup>25</sup>

The Dresden bathroom gives an impression of the highly craftsmanlike quality of Diebitsch's decorations. To get an idea of the possible appearance of the Hafenplatz house, we need only look at an ensemble of smaller buildings Diebitsch had designed in Neuruppin, north of Berlin. It was here that Knobelsdorff had laid out the »Temple Garden« for Frederick II. In 1853-56 the small park was redesigned. Diebitsch designed a »Turkish villa«, a gardener's house and the surrounding wall, which had a high gate. Here we encounter the same materials he later used on Hafenplatz: bricks of various colours and pierced, look-through surfaces created by

adding star-shaped terracotta elements. Formal allusions to Oriental types of construction tend to be restrained. The Oriental theme is most distinct on the little cupola-topped turret on the »villa« and in the horseshoe shape of the high gate with its richly decorated door leaves.

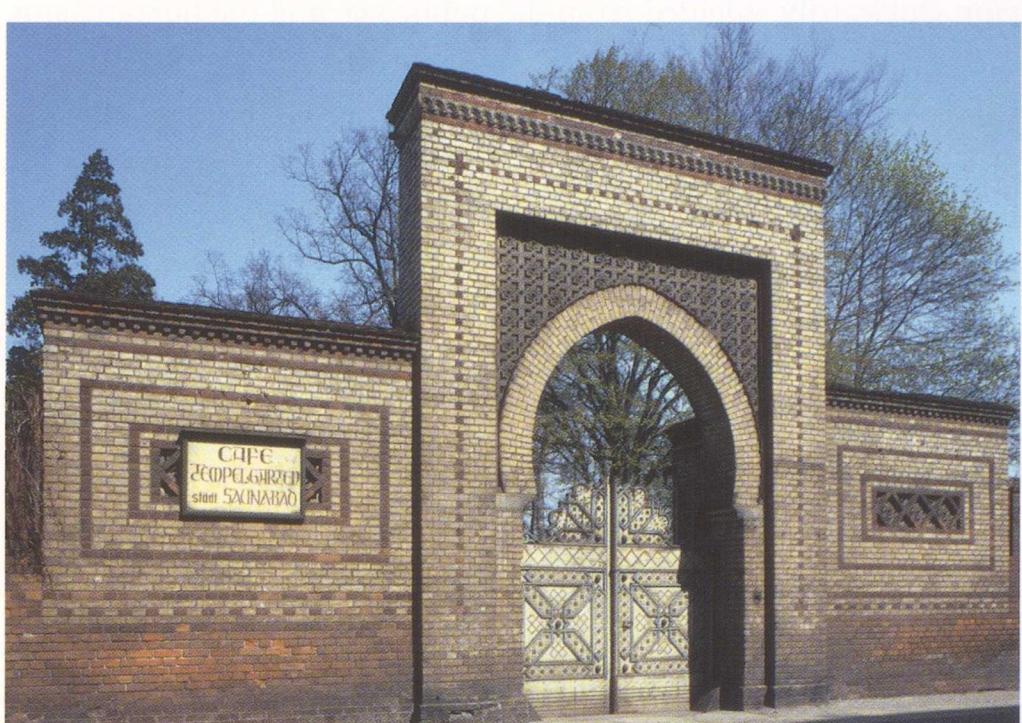
Both in Neuruppin and on Hafenplatz Diebitsch's Orientalism looks anything but extravagant. It is precisely the use of unplastered brick masonry, which at the time was hardly regarded as the material for more sophisticated building projects, that gives his buildings a somewhat sober character. Limited funds or Prussian thriftiness seemed to keep Diebitsch from fully developing his Oriental fantasies. Soon, however, he was to find the right clients for his ambitions: In 1862 Diebitsch, who for lack of better opportunities also worked on crafts designs, took part in the second London International Exhibition. Perhaps it was his Moorish-style »colossal vase«<sup>26</sup> that sparked the interest of the viceroy of Egypt, or perhaps Diebitsch sought his acquaintance quite deliberately. Be that as it may, this was where he made contact with the Egyptian ruling dynasty. Only one year later – Isma'il Pasha (1863-79) had just succeeded Said Pasha – Diebitsch was travelling back and forth between Berlin and Cairo: »Based on designs by the local architect von Diebitsch, who built the well-known Moorish house on Hafenplatz, several cast-iron pieces in the Moorish style have been manufactured at the Lauchhammer Iron and Steel Works in Saxony: various stairs, platform railings, pilasters and a portico that is 170 feet long and 40 feet wide. They weigh a total of roughly 1,000 metric hundredweight (ca. 50 tons) and are

shortly to be transported via Trieste to Cairo. Fitters who will install the cast-iron pieces there are accompanying them to Cairo.«<sup>27</sup> Diebitsch was not the only European architect in Cairo. Isma'il, who had been educated in France, was very interested in attracting European architects and artists to Egypt. Since the construction of the railway line from Alexandria to Cairo, the Egyptian capital had come within reach of European travellers. But the project that was to be of more momentous significance for Egypt was the building of the Suez Canal (1859-69), which was to make Egypt more and more dependent on the economic and strategic interests of France and England, finally leading to the complete disempowerment of the khedive (1879). For the moment it seemed as though a new Golden Age had dawned for Egypt. Foreign capital streamed into the country, and cotton export was at a peak. Isma'il intended to transform El Qahira, the Victorious, into a modern, Western-style metropolis.<sup>28</sup>

In 1867 Egypt was represented at the Paris World's Fair by several buildings that recalled the glorious epochs of Egyptian history. Immediately next to an ancient Egyptian temple made of wood and plaster was the information pavilion of the Suez Canal Company (cf. p. 147). Isma'il came to France for a prolonged stay and had Baron Haussmann take him on a tour of the new Paris. The wide boulevards that had replaced the old districts of the city, the large municipal parks and the modern sewage system made a deep impression on Isma'il.

When the pasha, who had in the meantime been promoted to khedive<sup>29</sup> by the Sublime Porte, returned home, the pace of modernization accelerated: Isma'il wanted to present a new Cairo to the world on the occasion of the official opening of the Suez Canal, which many crowned heads were expected to attend. Following the French model, the destruction of the old Islamic city now began. Wide streets and new squares were laid out. Around the Esbekiya Garden, designed by a French architect, the European Cairo sprang up with hotels, palaces and an opera house, in which at the opening of the canal Verdi's *Rigoletto* was to be performed. Like most of the city's new buildings, the opera, too, was the work of a European architect. To be sure the Rococo building, finished in a few months, was only the converse of what Egypt had had built for the World's Fair: the copy of a European theatre made of wood and plaster.

The genuine had to give way to copies. Oddly it was precisely the Europeans who had helped build the new Cairo who at the same time also »painfully regretted the loss of the former characteristic houses«.<sup>30</sup> It was thanks to architects like Julius Franz (1831-1915)<sup>31</sup> that at least part of the old urban culture was saved – though only for the Islamic Museum, of which he was a co-founder. Franz Pasha, who in later years was in charge of the restoration of important historical monuments such as the Mosque of Ibn Tulun, had begun his career as court architect of the viceroy at roughly the same time as Carl von Diebitsch. In the 1860s the two men were among the busiest architects in Cairo. Beside the viceroy their clientele included not only members of the Egyptian upper class but also European diplomats and bankers.



Carl von Diebitsch, Design of a stock exchange, 1853. The interior view is one of several designs Diebitsch submitted to the annual Schinkel Competition and the earliest known design in his »Moorish« style. The semi-circular arches on the tall, slender columns are reminiscent of the Alhambra.

Carl von Diebitsch, Entrance gate to the Temple Garden in Neuruppin, ca. 1855.

One of Diebitsch's first projects in Cairo was the cast-iron tomb of a relative of the khedive. This was followed by the villa of the banker Oppenheim and the palace of a minister. Admittedly, often Diebitsch was consulted only on the interior décor and furnishings.

In addition, he designed kiosks, covered walks and fountains for the royal gardens in Giza and on the Nile island of Gesira. Diebitsch directed the execution of his designs in person and soon employed »a whole colony of German craftsmen« in his Cairo house.<sup>32</sup>

Frequently, Franz and Diebitsch worked together, with Diebitsch always designing the interior décor. Both of them »... tirelessly endeavoured ... to restore the honour of the country's almost forgotten style ...«.<sup>33</sup> The »Arabian« style developed by the two German architects consisted not so much in the historical reawakening of traditional Islamic architectural styles as in the Arabization of European building types. The detached »country houses« and palaces with their representative façades and large rectangular windows were in keeping neither with the traditional lifestyle nor with the climatic conditions of Egypt. For ancient Cairo, high-density and therefore shade-providing construction was typical. The quality of old Islamic houses could be experienced only in their interior. Outwardly shielded from the public eye and the burning sun, they often looked unwelcoming and unadorned. The adoption of European types of building marked the upper classes' commitment to Western progress, but at the same time meant a break with the traditional lifestyle. No doubt the best-known building project with which the names of Diebitsch and Franz are associated in Cairo is the palace of Isma'il on the Nile island of Gesira that today, in remodelled form, houses the Marriott Hotel. The actual palace (1863–68) was the work of Franz, with Diebitsch presumably responsible not only for the interior design but also the cast-iron arcades and banisters. The building is situated in a park designed by Bariillet-Deschamps. The portico mentioned in the news release quoted above was intended for this park.<sup>34</sup> It was part of an elongated building that contained baths and living and reception rooms. The centre of the building was accentuated by an elevated pavilion that was open to both sides.

The models for Diebitsch's portico are not found in Cairo but in Granada. The semicircular arches on their thin columns, and the sharply chiselled relief of the surfaces are reminiscent of the arcades in the Courtyard of the Myrtles in the Alhambra. In cast iron, Diebitsch had discovered the ideal material for producing the weightless look that was comparable with the model. At the same time, the serial manufacture of the decorations was perfectly compatible with Islamic ornamentation.

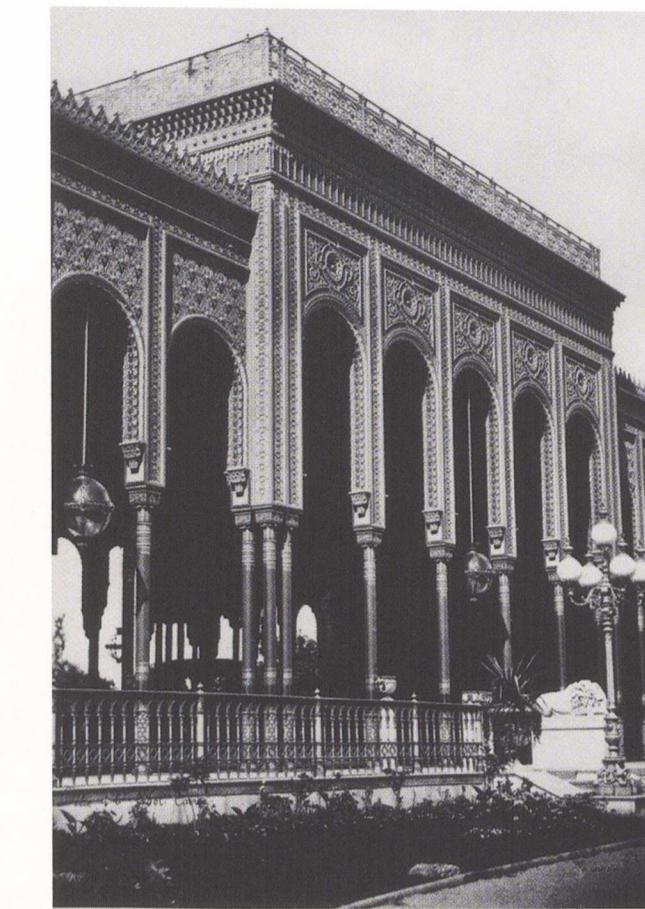
While Diebitsch avoided problems with local Egyptian craftsmen by having the building elements industrially prefabricated by the iron foundry in Lauchhammer, he also missed an opportunity to familiarize himself with traditional Islamic construction methods. In Egypt Diebitsch's neo-Moorish style, which in Europe evoked vague ideas of a fairytale Orient, was supposed to assume the role of a historically based national style: Probably, however, it looked exotic rather than familiar here, since it merely represented the transfer of an exotic concept that had evolved in the imagination of

Europeans to the culture that was the object of these fantasies. While the transfer of an imaginary Orient to the actual Orient may have been inspired by the desire to »restore the honour« of the old Islamic culture, it was nevertheless merely a particularly subtle form of cultural domination. The fact that Diebitsch's style was universally applicable and could assume a number of various roles in different locations is apparent from the transportable »Moorish kiosk«<sup>35</sup> he built at his own expense in the Prussian section of the 1867 World's Fair. He had obviously expected Isma'il to purchase the kiosk for one of his gardens when he visited Paris. But the khedive was clearly annoyed that Diebitsch had erected his work in the Prussian and not in the Egyptian section.

In the end it was the legendary »Railway King« Bethel Henry Strousberg who purchased the kiosk for 100,000 francs in order to place it in the park of Zbirow Castle in Bohemia. The wealthy entrepreneur had thus forestalled two interested royal parties: Both the Prussian king and Ludwig II of Bavaria had been interested in the kiosk. Ludwig II owed the fact that Diebitsch's building finally did fall into his possession to the collapse of Strousberg's railway company: In 1876 he was able to purchase the kiosk from the bankruptcy assets for the sum of 100,000 guilders. Under the supervision of court architect Georg Dollmann it was dismantled in Zbirow and presumably sent to Bavaria on one of the railway lines founded by Strousberg. Once the building had finally been reassembled in the park of Linderhof Castle, it had already travelled across Europe several times: from Berlin to Paris, from there to Bohemia and now back westward again.

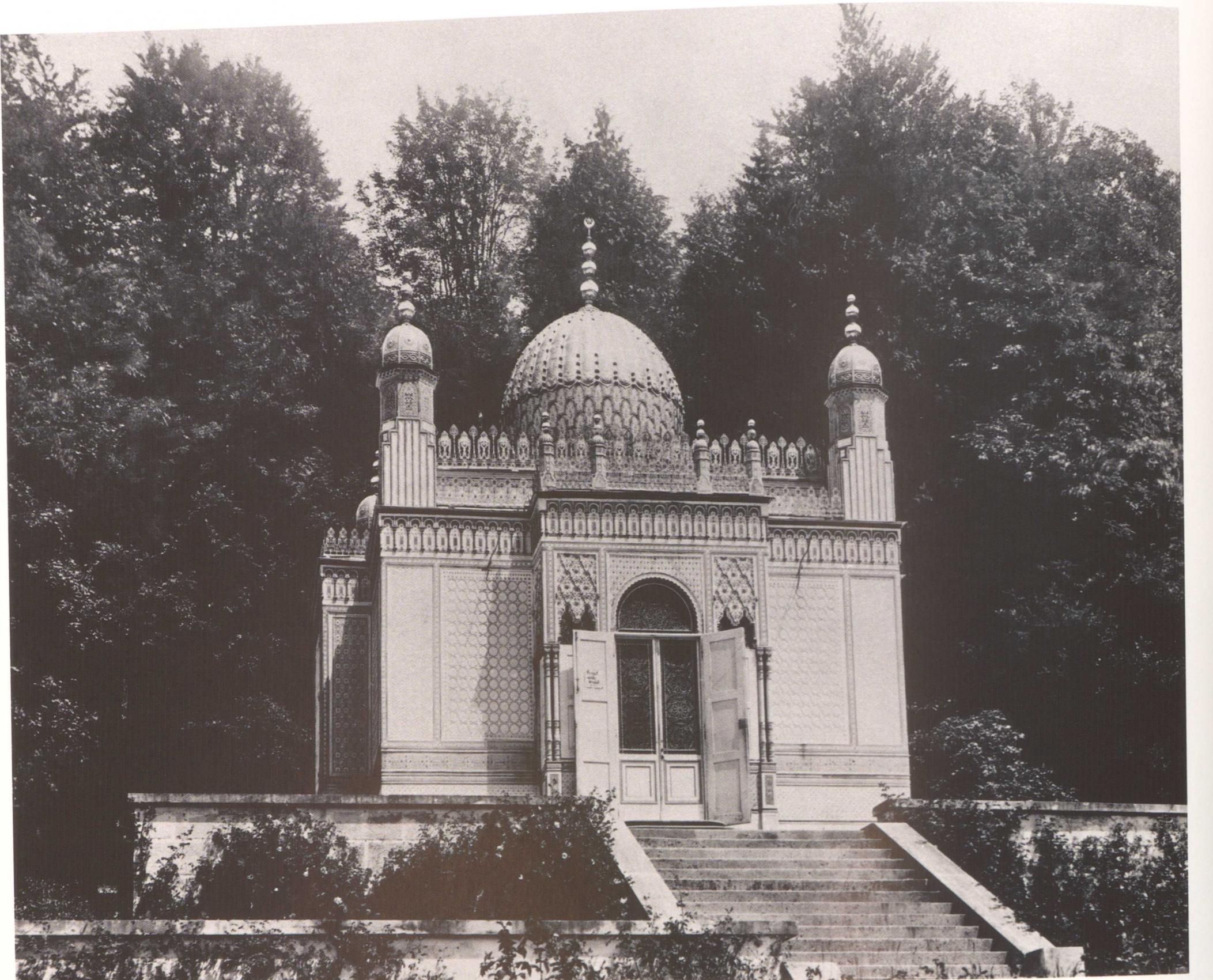
It was a good thing that the construction was »designed in such a way that it was easy to take the whole thing apart and ship it«<sup>36</sup>: The skeleton was made of iron, and the richly decorated walls were cast zinc sheets and plasterboard panels on wooden frames. At the World's Fair the kiosk had been admired by most of the visitors: »Beside the Imperial Pavilion there was nothing quite as rich or effective on the entire Champ de Mars as this building with its five domes. The kiosk even surpasses the Imperial Pavilion with the blaze of its colours and magical effect.«<sup>37</sup> Some even felt it was far more beautiful than the »... often extremely crude designs ... that the real Orient had displayed there with the help of the French.«<sup>38</sup> Of course there were also those who judged the mobile Oriental kiosk more soberly: »A Moorish pavilion by the architect Diebitsch is quite graceful and executed by one who knows the style; of course, it is another question whether this type of bagatelle will meet our architectural needs even halfway.«<sup>39</sup>

Diebitsch continued his work in Berlin and Cairo. His last building, which he did not complete, was the country house for Count Gerbel in Cairo. In Berlin his last, vain attempt to introduce the Moorish style was his entry for the cathedral competition. Carl von Diebitsch died in Cairo in 1869.



Carl von Diebitsch, »Kiosk« in the garden of Gesira, Cairo, 1863. Historical photographs.  
The colonnades and the elevated central pavilion consisted of prefabricated cast-iron sections manufactured in a Saxon iron foundry.





Carl von Diebitsch, Moorish Kiosk, 1867. Today in the park of Schloß Linderhof. Photograph dated 1867. The kiosk was built according to Diebitsch's plans and exhibited at the 1867 Paris International Exposition. In 1876 it was purchased by Ludwig II and erected in Linderhof in a specially laid-out section of the garden. »The building contains only one room, which in turn along the four walls has recessed niches separated from the rectangular main room by lightweight columns. Red, gold, blue and silver are the predominant tones, intermingled with the greenish neutral hue of the matt golden columns. There is not one square inch that is not a recognizable component part of larger arabesques or an independent ornament. Everything sparkles and shimmers like a jewel, and since the light can softly enter from all four sides through windows and doors, though always interrupted by coloured glass obstacles, silk curtains or delicate arabesques, an indefinable sheen streams over the plethora of colours and forms that surrounds us on all sides. The light even whispers in, so to speak, from above, round about under the dome; it is suspended along the

stalactite-shaped interior parts of the dome and rocks back and forth on the quivering gold plates, glass parts and jewel-like globes and pendants of the great chandelier. At the same time, compared to the sharply contrasting chandelier, the interior parts of the dome have been kept so mild and in various metal and stone colours that as one looks up in the semi-darkness one remains uncertain as to its height.<sup>41</sup> In 1877 the Moorish Kiosk was altered according to designs by Georg Dollmann: On one side the interior was expanded by adding a semi-circular apse to make space for the costly Peacock Throne. The Peacock Throne consists of a wide divan-like seat and three peacocks displaying their wheels on gilded pedestals: »The peacock, whose feathers were considered to be the mandarins' badges of rank in China, which was venerated as divine in Buddhist art, and like the eagle was the sacred bird of Hera, became the symbol of the resurrection and of heavenly glory for early Christians ...«<sup>42</sup> Ludwig's ascension to the Peacock Throne marked the beginning of his reign in an exotic fantasy realm he expanded from that time on according to plan: On

the roof of the Munich residence he built a huge steel and glass winter garden under whose roof the Orient staged by Ludwig was combined with exotic tropical plants; on Schachen in the Wetterstein mountain massif he created the »King's House« with its Moorish Hall, and at the 1878 Paris International Exposition he took the opportunity to purchase yet another kiosk: This time it was a »Moroccan House« that was erected the very same year near Linderhof.



Carl von Diebitsch, Moorish Kiosk, 1867. Today in the park of Schloß Linderhof.

## Synagogues in the Moorish style

»Even today, we do not have a synagogue style of our own, and there is merely a preference for using the elements of a colourful Moorish style for the architectural structures of Jewish houses of prayer and temples, a style created by a people of Oriental origin like the Jews and sharing, like them, a love for glorious colour; it is a style, moreover, that must be appropriate for such structures, since the religion of the Moors, like that of the Jews, forbids the use of figural decoration. It would be a great mistake, however, to consider this style as the general synagogue style from this point on. In France, and especially in Paris, where the Moorish style is especially preferred for certain secular buildings of an expressly frivolous type, a synagogue built in the Moorish style, calling to mind – often with negative associations – buildings of the above-mentioned kind, would give the impression of being a profane building.«<sup>1</sup>

The question as to what style was best suited for synagogues, which was discussed in a report by the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* on the synagogue in Glockengasse, Cologne, consecrated in 1861, was one that first confronted the Jews in the nineteenth century. At the same time they were also concerned by the problem of an entire era; in the face of a large selection of historical and exotic styles the question arose: »In what style shall we build?«<sup>2</sup>

While the synagogue was not one of the new types of buildings for which no historical model could be found, it was a type of building that was no longer able to develop any representative forms after the destruction of Jerusalem and the expulsion of the Jews from Palestine. It was only in the tolerant intellectual climate of Moorish Spain that the Jews could develop their own architectural culture. This is evidenced by the synagogues built in the Mudéjar style still standing in Toledo and Seville. In the rest of Europe, however, the Jews lived as an isolated minority in a mostly hostile environment. Until the nineteenth century the Jews were viewed not as adherents of a particular religious faith but as members of an alien nation who were neither granted the freedom to pursue a trade or profession nor to choose their place of residence. Their insecure and constantly threatened social situation was also expressed in their synagogues: They were hardly conspicuous architecturally, were adapted to regional types of construction and were rarely visible from the street.

The social status of the Jews did not begin to change until the French Revolution: In 1791 the National Assembly recognized the Jews of France as citizens with equal rights. Almost all Western European countries followed the French example during the nineteenth century. However, this development took place neither continuously nor consistently. In Prussia, Jewish emancipation began with the Hardenberg Reforms, but full legal equality was only contained in the German Constitution of 1871.

For the first time in the history of the Diaspora the Jews had rights guaranteed by constitutions and were no longer dependent on privileges granted at a ruler's discretion. The new freedoms produced

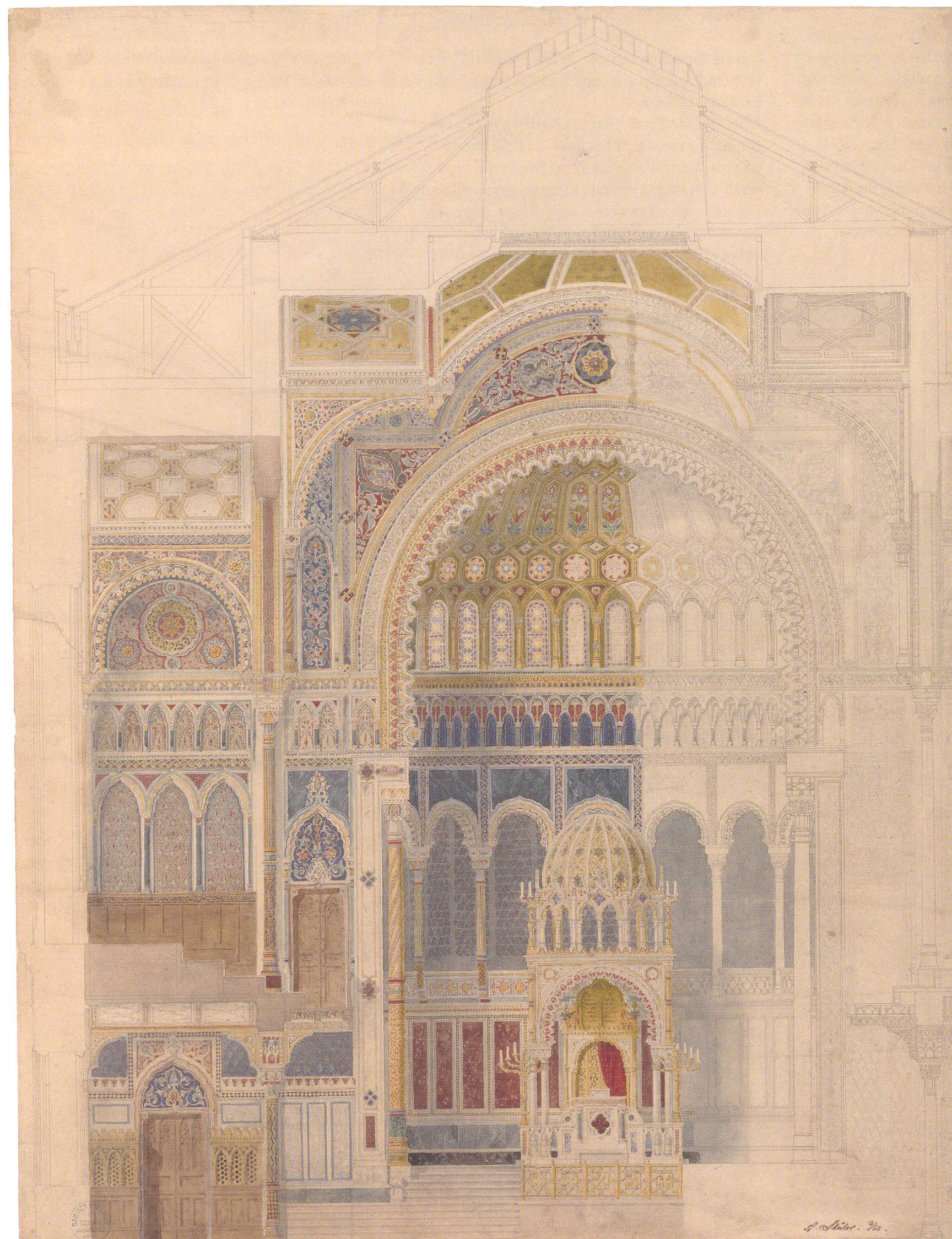
migrations and social changes. Many Eastern European Jews moved to the West. Especially in large cities like Vienna and Berlin the percentage of the population that was Jewish increased. The ghettos were dissolved. For the first time Jews could work in professions from which they had hitherto been excluded: For many this marked a rapid economic and social advancement. Middle-class Jews in particular aspired to full social integration. Their adaptation extended to the form of their religious worship. Reformers tried to liberate liturgy from traditional rituals: They adapted religious services to those of the Protestant religion by introducing the organ and choral singing and by holding prayers in the German language. In the second half of the century the innovations became almost generally established. Only a smaller group of Orthodox Jews still strictly adhered to the old traditions. Differing views were expressed even in differing architectural forms: While the Orthodox continued to place the *almemor*, the elevated pulpit at which the rabbi reads aloud from the Torah, in the centre of the synagogue according to tradition, and therefore preferred centralized spaces, the ground plan of Reform synagogues was brought into line with the schema of the three-nave basilica. Here the *almemor* moved to the east wall in front of the Holy Shrine in which the Torah scrolls were kept.

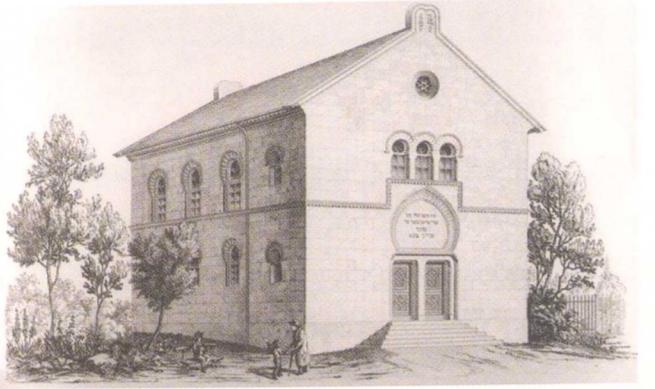
Jewish emancipation was soon reflected in the European cityscape. The second half of the nineteenth century marked the beginning of the great era of synagogue construction. Among the first important new buildings was the synagogue that Gottfried Semper designed for the Jewish community in Dresden.<sup>3</sup> The great public interest at its consecration (1840) confirmed many Jews in the belief that with the erection of a representative building their new social position had become unshakable. However, their growing self-confidence soon sought a clearer expression than could be conveyed by Semper's neo-Romanesque structure. Which style was best suited to give a distinctive architectonic form to the specific nature of the Jewish faith? Since the significance of most historical styles was determined by a building's specific purpose, an exotic style was a way out. Since the 1830s a few small synagogues in the Palatinate had already been built in a simple Orientalist style.<sup>4</sup> In Dresden the use of Moorish stylistic forms was still limited to interior decoration.

For the – almost always Christian – architects and their Jewish clients this »Moorish« style suddenly seemed to be the ideal solution of the problem of style. Otto Simonson's Leipzig synagogue (1854/55) was the first of the metropolitan Oriental synagogues. For almost half a century Oriental forms were to play a major role in Jewish religious buildings. As late as 1895, the New Dammtor Synagogue in Hamburg was built in the Oriental style.

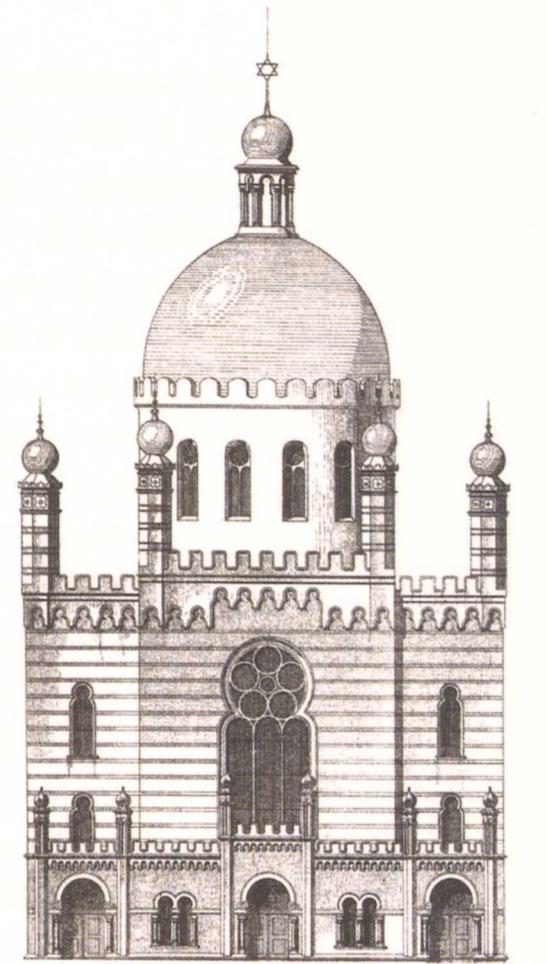
Although in most of these buildings clear stylistic borrowings from the Alhambra can be demonstrated, the term »Moorish« was not intended to be an allusion to Moorish Spain. Nor were the old Spanish synagogues taken into consideration as models, presumably for lack of detailed knowledge.

Friedrich August Stüler (1800–1865), New Synagogue, Berlin. Section through the apse, 1863





Eduard Bürklein, Synagogue in Heidenheim, ca. 1851. Bürklein was of the opinion »that the purpose of every building must be as distinctive as possible and hence recognizable in its outward form«.<sup>6</sup> In order to characterize the simple building for the small Jewish congregation in Heidenheim as a synagogue, he gave all the windows a horseshoe shape and set a large blind arch in the shape of a tapered horseshoe above the portal that had separate entrances for men and women. The pediment ends in two tablets of commandments.



Ludwig Förster, Synagogue on Tempelgasse, Vienna, 1853–58. Front elevation and interior. Watercolour by Emil Ranzenhofer.

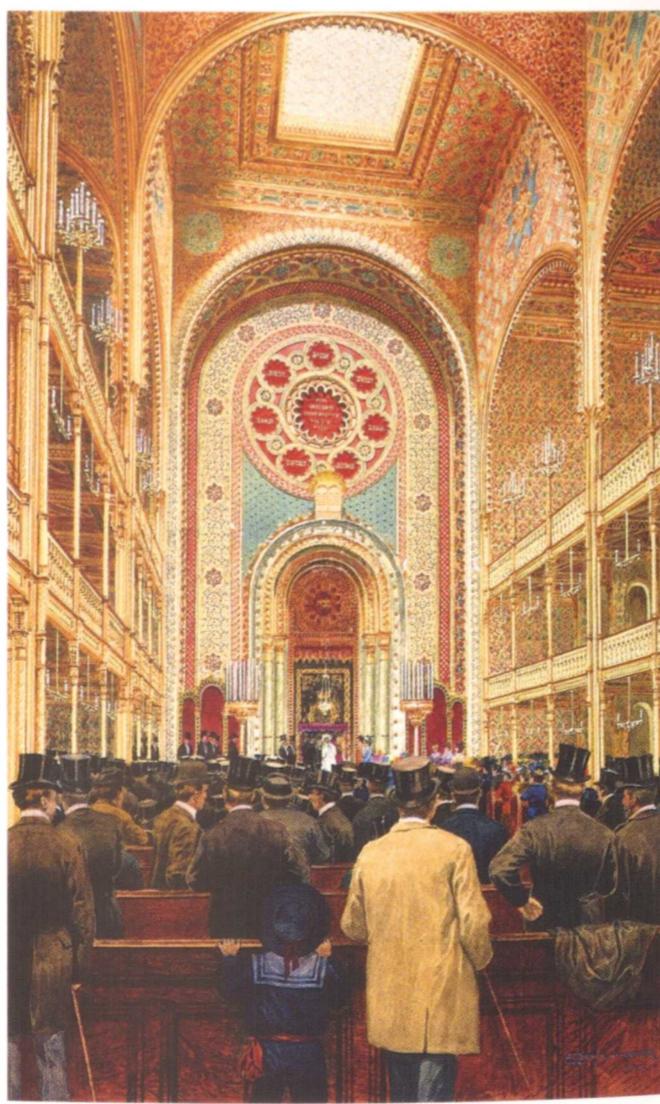
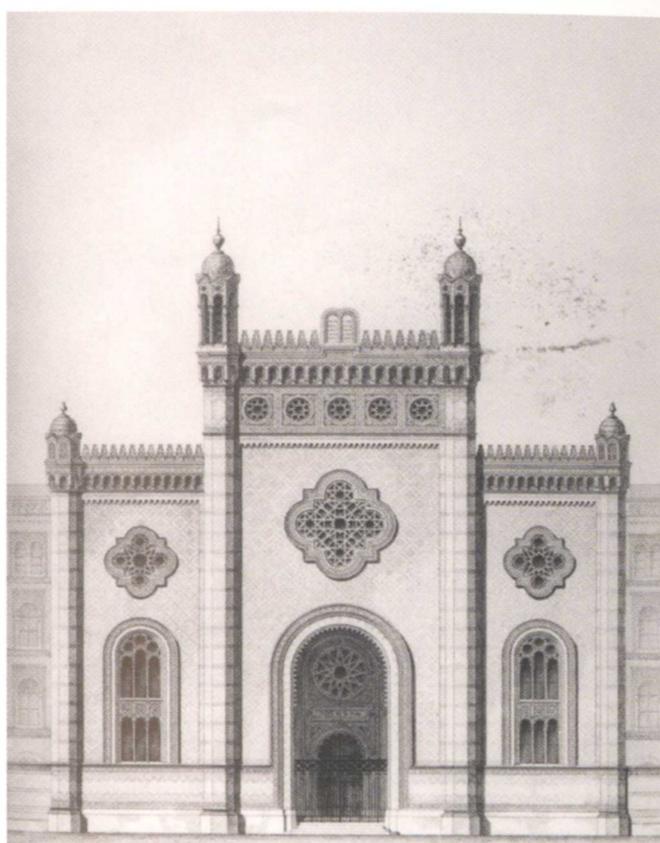
After the 1848 Revolution, the Austrian Jews were granted the same rights as their Christian fellow citizens. The new right granting freedom of residence resulted in a rapid increase of the Jewish population. The old synagogues were soon no longer adequate.

One of the first new buildings in which the new social status of the Jews was manifested was the Great Temple in the Leopoldstadt District. The Jewish congregation commissioned the prestigious architect and publisher of the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, Ludwig Förster (1797–1863), to design the building. Förster, who had already built a villa for Baron Pereira in a vaguely »Byzantine-Arabian« style,<sup>7</sup> felt that it was »the relatively most correct way, when building an Israelite temple, to choose those architectonic forms that have been used by the tribes that are related to the Israelite people, particularly the Arabs ...«.<sup>8</sup> Förster subdivided the façade of the synagogue, in correspondence to its three-nave interior, into three risalites, which were flanked by striped polygonal pillars. However, he used only few Islamic elements and decided against such explicit forms as horseshoe arches. Apparently he felt the sole use of the still »young« Islamic architecture was not suitable for the much older Jewish culture. In his comments he correlates his design not only with the legendary Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem but also with the buildings of ancient Assyria that were just being excavated in Ninive. Since little was known about the appearance of the temple, Förster could only allude to it symbolically: »The pillars, crowned with lanterns at the corners of the central nave in the façade, are supposed to be reminiscent of the pillars in the Temple of Solomon, of which it is written: 'and he raised up two columns before the temple, one on the right, the other on the left; and the one of the right was called Jachim and the one on the left Boaz'.<sup>9</sup>

From the appearance of the Assyrian buildings Förster believed he could also draw conclusions about the Jewish temple: By referring to the colourful faience framework of ancient Oriental architecture he gave his façade, which was richly decorated with bricks and terracotta elements in various colours, additional historical legitimization. Concealed behind the Orientalist façade was a modern ironwork frame. In the cross section of the central nave Förster repeated the high round arch form of the portal. The flat roof with its skylight openings was supported by multi-foiled round arches on tall, slender cast-iron columns. The lateral galleries consisted of a visible iron framework. Ceilings and walls were clad with painted stucco.

In the night of 9 to 10 November 1938, the synagogue was set on fire by the National Socialists. Only an adjoining building that had formerly housed the Israelite Theological School survived. This building, where rabbis once received their training, today contains a Jewish cultural centre.

Of the ca. 60 synagogues that existed in Vienna around the turn of the twentieth century, only one survived the Third Reich and World War II. Among the 60 there were two others that were also built in an Orientalist style: the Turkish Temple on Zirkusgasse (Hugo von Wiedenfeld, 1885–87), which belonged to the Sephardic congregation, and the Polish Shul (Wilhelm Stiassny, 1893), where services were held according to the Polish rite.



Almost all architects gave the Oriental origin of the Jews as the reason for their choice of style. Since hardly anything was known about the appearance neither of the Temple of Solomon nor of its successor, which was destroyed by the Romans in 70 CE, the Moorish style was a replacement for a tradition that had never been able to develop further after the expulsion from Palestine.

But even though the tradition alluded to by the new synagogues was fictitious, the Moorish style nevertheless fulfilled the intended purpose: It made the synagogue into a distinctive building that confidently emphasized the unique nature of the Jewish faith. The attention attracted by many of the new buildings through their unusual style and their high architectonic quality – the congregations often commissioned renowned architects – significantly contributed to the growing public recognition of Jewish culture.

At the same time, however, the Moorish style of the synagogues gave rise to an almost insoluble dilemma: It conflicted with the social assimilation that the majority of Jews strove for, since by stressing their Oriental origin it confirmed the ancient prejudices that Jews were an alien »nation« and added fuel to the fire of an anti-Semitism that since the 1870s was on the increase again.

Furthermore the valuation of Islamic architecture was subject to similar prejudices. In the eyes of many art historians this architecture could not compete with the »greatness and majesty of Gothic architecture«. Others missed »architectonic gravity« in the Islamic buildings.<sup>5</sup> But many critics may have found it easy to appreciate the Oriental synagogues, since the choice of a »second-class« style subordinated the significance of the synagogue a priori to that of Christian churches and thus could not invite a comparison between them.

The comment by a contemporary quoted above, who feared that the Oriental exterior of a synagogue could cause it to be taken for buildings of a »secular, frivolous character« was unfounded, however. The strict symmetry of the façades, the frequently used two-tower schema and the infilling of round-arched windows and rosettes, reminiscent of Gothic tracery, emphasized the religious character all too clearly. The Islamic forms, which were used neither exclusively nor excessively, never predominated, never became independent, explicit symbols.

For architects like Ludwig Förster or Eduard Knoblauch, Islamic architecture was only one of several historical points of reference. It offered them a plethora of details that they integrated into an autonomous and multivalent language of symbols.

Hardly anything in Germany and Austria today recalls the rich Jewish architectural tradition: With few exceptions, the synagogues that were not completely destroyed during the »Reichskristallnacht« (Night of Broken Glass), the coordinated pogroms from 9 to 10 November 1938, or in the air raids of the last years of the war, but survived as ruins, were levelled in the post-war years. Of Knoblauch's synagogue on Oranienburger Straße the impressive entrance building survived the war as a ruin. The building was reconstructed with its golden cupola and reopened as a museum in 1995.

Philipp Hoffmann, Synagogue on Michelsberg, Wiesbaden, 1863–69.

Philipp Hoffmann (1806–89), who had already given the urban landscape of the resort town an exotic accent with his Greek Chapel on Neroberg, designed the synagogue as the central building on the ground plan of a Greek cross. The surfaces of the façades were clad with colourful faïences.<sup>16</sup> The building was burnt down during the »Reichskristallnacht« in 1938.



Eduard Knoblauch and Friedrich August Stüler, New Synagogue, Oranienburger Straße, Berlin, 1859–66. Photograph of staircase by Hermann Rückwardt and exterior view, from: Hans Licht, *Architekten der Gegenwart*, 1892.

Following the Hardenberg reforms, an emancipation edict was enacted in 1812 which made the Jews Prussian citizens with equal rights and lifted all previously existing restrictions of the freedom to choose one's profession and residence. However, the state continued to bring its influence to bear and supported the resistance of the Orthodox Jews against the reformation of religious services practiced by Israel Jacobson. In the two Reform synagogues Frederick William III ordered to be closed in 1823, religious services had been adapted to Protestant church services by introducing an organ and choral singing. For the first time, the sermon and prayers were held in the German language. But in the long term reform efforts were carried through, and the Orthodox became the minority. In the majority of the synagogues built in the latter half of the nineteenth century, Reform services were held.

The Jewish community of Berlin had increased substantially, primarily thanks to the large number of Jews who had immigrated from the East. Existing synagogues soon became too small. Even the remodelling and expansion of the Baroque synagogue on Heidereturgasse could not solve the problem. That is why the community commissioned Eduard Knoblauch (1801–65), who had been in charge of the work on Heidereturgasse, to design a new synagogue for a site on Oranienburger Straße. However, the irregular and angular shape of the plot presented great difficulties for the design, so that at Knoblauch's suggestion an open competition was held in 1857. The Berlin Architects' Association proposed that Knoblauch's design be implemented. Construction began in 1859.<sup>11</sup>

The symmetrical front façade of the synagogue gave no inkling of the complicated ground plan that resulted from the shape of the building site. In contrast to what is suggested by the façade, the main hall was in the rear of the building. In front were the rooms of the community administration and the entrance hall, whose position was marked on the outside by the large dome. Knoblauch gave the entrance hall a dodecagonal ground plan and thus cleverly concealed the change of direction caused by the bend of the site. Although Knoblauch, like Förster in Vienna, freely varied Islamic elements in designing his façade, all contemporaries felt the building was distinctly Oriental: »The architect has taken the Moorish-Arabian style as the basis for his design, 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.«<sup>12</sup> Already in Vienna and Cologne, the use of iron structural elements had attracted attention. Knoblauch, too, used the most modern techniques in roofing the large prayer hall and in the construction of the dome. His dome was the first practical application of a structural principle developed by Johann Wilhelm Schwedler (1823–94).

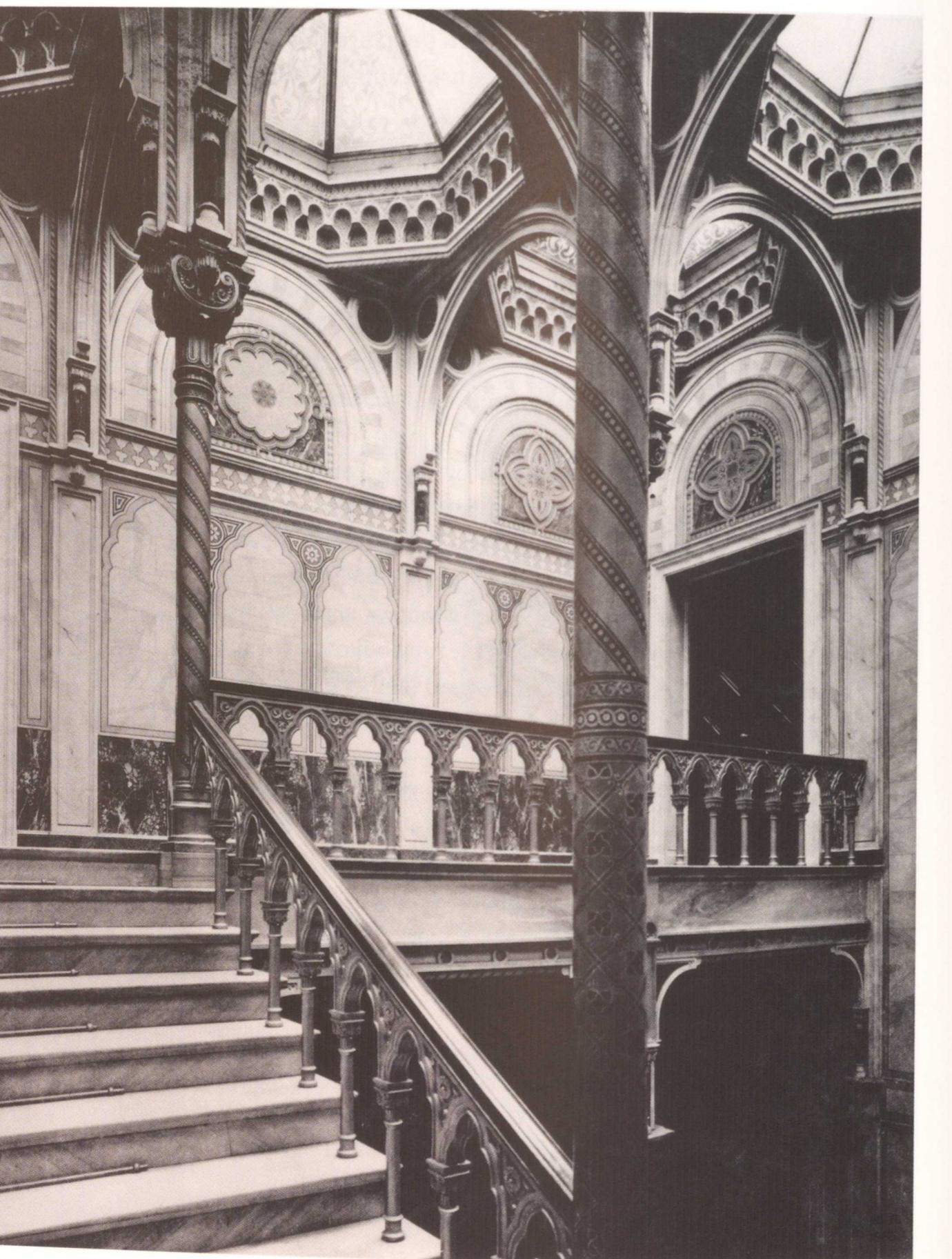
Schwedler reinforced the ribs and horizontal rings of his domes with diagonal braces and calculated the dome as a homogeneous shell.

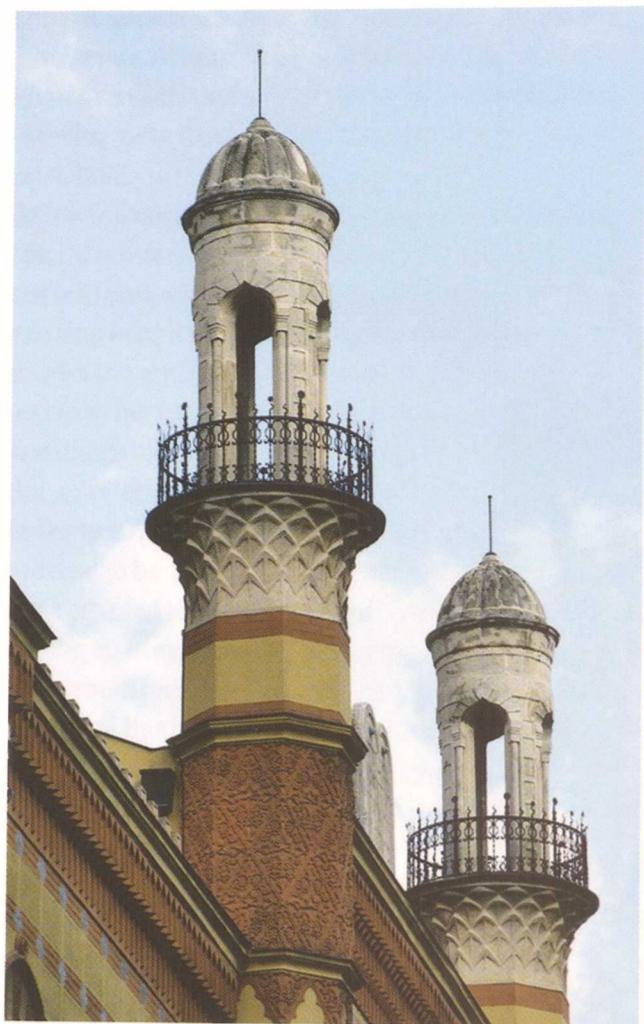
The connection with the Alhambra remarked upon by all contemporary commentators was first and foremost a reference to the rich colours of the interior rooms designed by Stüler. Indeed, the forms of the arches and columns here indicate distinct borrowings from the architecture of the Moorish castle. On the outside of the synagogue it was actually only with the three arches of the large portal that Knoblauch quoted specifically Moorish forms.

The reason why the building was nevertheless felt to be Oriental was first and foremost the polychromy of the façade attained by the use of coloured bricks, terracottas, and various kinds of stones, an effect even intensified by the gilded ribs of the domes, which were clad with zinc sheets. The lateral projections of the façades, which gave the effect of towers, were

presumably meant to be reminiscent of the two columns of the Temple of Solomon, as in the Tempelgasse synagogue in Vienna.

In the night of 9 November 1938, members of the SA (the paramilitary wing of the Nazi Party) tried to set fire to the synagogue, but the police managed to put out the fire. In February 1943 the major part of the building was destroyed during an air raid. The main synagogue was demolished after the war. The section of the building facing the street with the two towers, the vestibule and the weekday synagogue were preserved as ruins and reconstructed in the 1990s.<sup>13</sup>

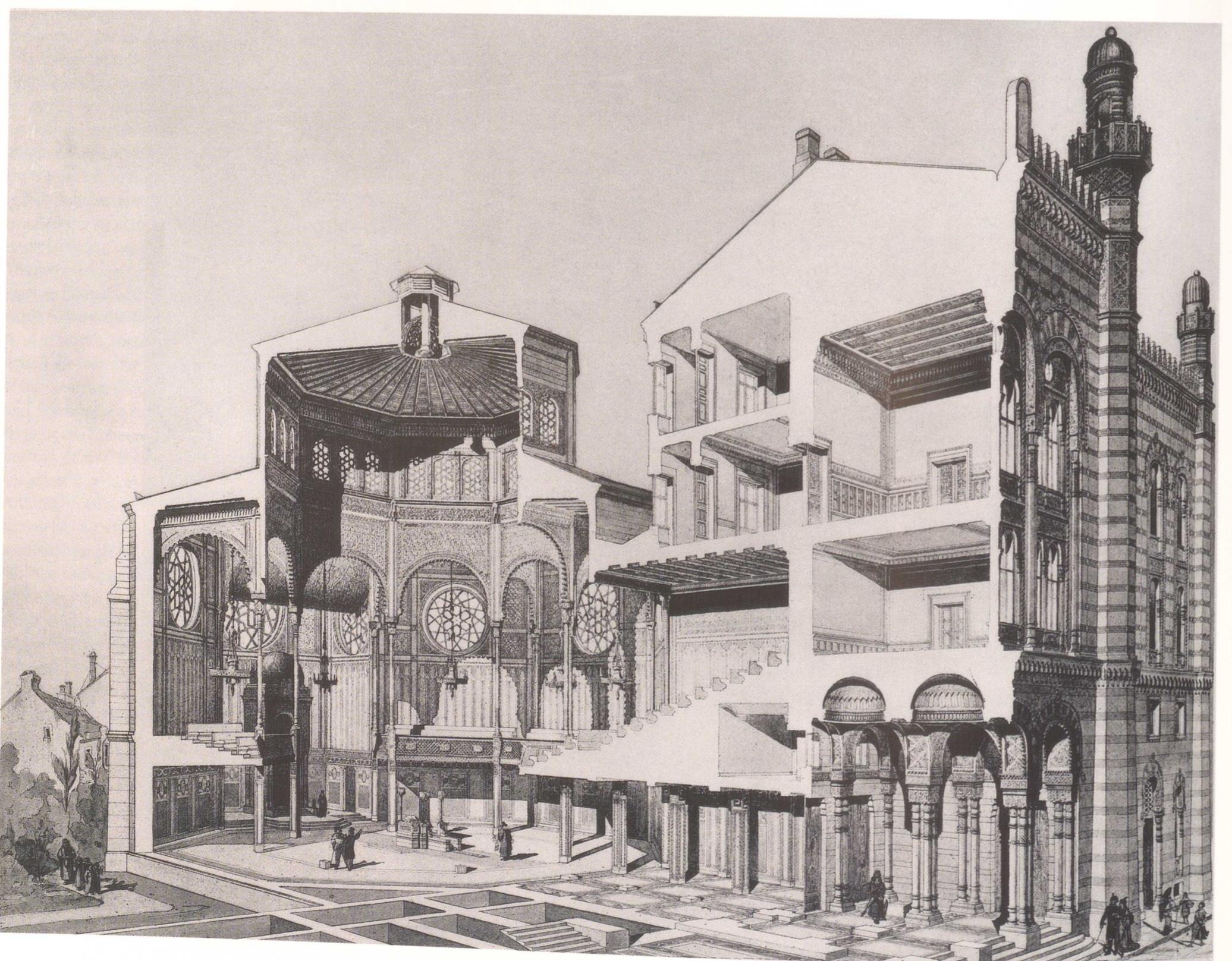




Otto Wagner, Synagogue in Rumbachgasse, Budapest, 1870–73. Detail and perspective section from: *Projekte und ausgeführte Bauten von Otto Wagner*, 1891.

Budapest already had the synagogue on Dohány Street, designed by Ludwig Förster for the Reform congregation (1854–59)<sup>14</sup> when the Orthodox Jews decided to invite several architects to participate in a competition that would provide them with a design for a building of their own.<sup>15</sup> Wagner, who was 28, had possibly been asked to submit an entry thanks to Förster's intervention. Unlike Förster's synagogue, whose spatial concept corresponded to the Tempelgasse building in Vienna, Wagner designed the building, which was situated behind an entrance building, as an octagonal centralized space, thus varying ground plan solutions familiar from Zwirner's synagogue in Cologne or Gottfried Semper's synagogue in Dresden.

The centralized space made it possible to set up the almemor in its traditional place in the middle. In Reform congregations seating had been brought into line with that of Protestant churches and the almemor had been placed against the east wall of the synagogue in front of the Torah shrine.



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## The Orient of Ludwig II

In July 1867 the 21-year-old King Ludwig II of Bavaria travelled to Paris to see the World's Fair. Here Ludwig, who was never to tour the Orient himself, encountered a spectacular staging of the Orient that was much more in line with his taste than any authentic experience could have been. Here his imagination, which since he first saw Lohengrin had fed primarily on the materials of Wagner's operas, found a new subject that held enormous fascination for him.

In French art the depiction of the Orient had developed into a genre of its own, practised by countless specialists. The 1867 Salon listed in its catalogue a significant number of paintings whose subject was not only North Africa, which had been colonized by France, but also the ancient, mythical Orient. Slave markets and the death of Cleopatra were among the constantly recurrent themes. Ludwig saw a painting here that he found particularly fascinating: Louis XIV, whom he so admired because of the French king's theatrical display of splendour, receives the ambassadors of the king of Siam, who kneel before him.<sup>1</sup> In France this picture had tangible political significance, since it was intended to give historical sanction to French hegemonic ambitions. For the Bavarian king, on the other hand, who later had the Siamese envoys painted for his bedroom at the residence,<sup>2</sup> the identification with the Sun King served only to establish his own, imaginary rule over the Orient.

But Ludwig experienced the World's Fair Orient even more vividly thanks to the countless architectural backdrops that were scattered across the Champ de Mars. Carl von Diebitsch's Moorish Kiosk in the »Jardin Prussien« was only one of countless interpretations of Oriental architecture by European architects.

But here Ludwig experienced not only the representation of non-European cultures as staged by Europeans. In the sharpest contrast to the handicraft products of the Orient were the inventions of the industrial age. There were seemingly no limits to the potentials of modern engineering demonstrated by the gigantic elliptical iron and glass exhibition building. The steam engines and cannons inside the hall were the means by which the West subdued the Eastern world to whose culture it attached only museum value. Visitors were overwhelmed by more and more new technical inventions: In a lift one could rise above the roof of the exhibition building in order to observe everything from above; at night the exhibition park glowed with electrical light.

At the World's Fair Ludwig II not only found the motives for future projects but also the technical means for implementing them. The new possibilities stimulated his imagination: Soon after his return from Paris he commissioned proposals for an expansion of the small winter garden he had had installed only recently on the roof of the Munich residence. However, the first projects proposed by his architects fell far short of what Ludwig wanted; in implementing his fantasies he accepted neither technical nor financial limitations.

It was only when Eduard Riedel proposed to build a 70-metre-long steel and glass hall covering the entire surface of the roof of the ballroom that the king was satisfied. Instead of a winter garden of bourgeois proportions, a synthetic, exotic landscape was created that was kept going not only by its glass shell but also by an expensive technical plant: The tropical vegetation could survive only with the aid of steam heat and artificial overhead irrigation.

But it was only the architectural backdrops and the murals in which it continued as far as the painted horizon that made the garden with its winding paths, grotto and lake into the mirage of an Indian landscape. Part of the technology of illusion was gas lighting by means of which it was possible to produce various colour moods. For Ludwig II the sight of his exotic landscape by night and with artificial lighting must have been at its most perfect when the ironwork that stood out against the sky by day could no longer destroy the illusion. For him the framework had no aesthetic intrinsic value, being merely one of the many technical aids without which his staged productions would not work: After a later remodelling of the winter garden Ludwig ordered new photographs from his court photographer Joseph Albert in which the glass roof would not be visible.<sup>3</sup> In painted views of the winter garden, too, there is not the slightest hint of the devices to which the Indian landscape owed its existence.<sup>4</sup>

When the winter garden was installed, the same techniques were used as those with which Ludwig was familiar from the theatre. In contrast to the many operas and plays that the king watched alone in »separate performances«, the winter garden was a stage in which he himself was the actor. It is possible to deduce what roles the king, who liked to wear the costumes of the plays staged for him, rehearsed here in thought, judging from the books and operas that preoccupied him. During the 1867 World's Fair Jules Massenet's opera *The King of Lahore* was performed with great success, possibly providing the impetus for the Indian theme of the roof garden landscape. Since the publication of Thomas Moore's verse narrative *Lalla Rookh* (1817), Indian themes had found their way into the theatre. Gasparo Spontini's opera *Nurmahal*, for whose Berlin premiere Schinkel had designed the stage sets, was also based on an episode from *Lalla Rookh*.

Ludwig II had implored Wagner in 1870 to compose an opera with an Indian theme: »For me there is something inexpressibly attractive about India and Buddhism – something that awakens longing and blissful delights.«<sup>5</sup> To his disappointment, Wagner declined.

At the Munich Hoftheater (Court Theatre), however, various performances of operas with exotic themes were staged in the years that followed, and were often performed for the king in several separate presentations: *The King of Lahore* (1879), Karl Goldmark's *Queen of Sheba* (1880), *Lalla Rookh* (1876), but also classical Indian dramas such as Kalidasa's *Shakuntala* and *Urvashi*.

Ludwig had liked one stage setting in *Lalla Rookh* depicting a Kashmir valley so much that he ordered that a copy of it should be installed in the grotto near Linderhof Castle. If desired the picture was to be exchangeable for an already existing scene from *Tannhäuser*.

The Bavarian king, who after the political commitment of the first years of his reign had been withdrawing more and more from political and financial realities, loved to retire into a fantasy world based entirely on literary experiences and themes from the stage. Almost in all his architectural projects there are reminiscences of opera scenes that were of importance to him. First and foremost, we keep encountering motifs from Wagner's operas: Neuschwanstein was to be both the castle of the swan knight Lohengrin and that of *Tannhäuser*. It is therefore no surprise that the decisive preliminary designs for Neuschwanstein were the work not of an architect, but of the stage designer Christian Jank, who had also designed the Oriental kiosk in the Munich winter garden. At Ludwig's express desire, the castle courtyard designed by Jank was to be a reference to the stage set in Act II of *Lohengrin*, »Courtyard of the palace, Antwerp«. It was not only here that theatre backdrops became inhabitable architecture. The smaller buildings Ludwig had built at lonely spots in the woods or mountains were also frequently related to his beloved Wagner operas. Hunding's Hut, to which the king is often supposed to have withdrawn »to read in seclusion« on a couch of bearskins, was the reproduction of a stage set from the *Walküre*.<sup>6</sup> Reading is constantly mentioned, not only in connection with Hunding's Hut but also in descriptions of the Moroccan House or the King's House on Schachen, a mountain in the Bavarian Alps. Apparently Ludwig's imagination was in need of pictorial support in the form of built staffages and costumed extras. His servants had to wear costumes that matched the setting and the particular reading matter: ancient Germanic in Hunding's Hut, Turkish in the King's House.

The dreams in which Ludwig may have seen himself in changing roles, as a German knight, a Turkish sultan or – on Herrenchiemsee – as Louis Quatorze, seemed to flourish only in the artificial ambience. The slightest disruption could destroy the illusion. Thus the king attached the greatest importance to historical accuracy. Again and again he urged the artists and architects who carried out his ideas to adhere very closely to the sources and models he had indicated. The most insignificant historical discrepancies could cause his fantasy building to collapse. That Ludwig only rarely tolerated guests in his private stage productions seems understandable: In his fantasy worlds, his most intimate longings and mental torments were revealed, and a visitor who showed no understanding for Ludwig's creations must soon become a spoilsport. It was only from devoted servants that he could demand submission to the rules of his game. With such role plays Ludwig continued a feudal tradition with which he must have been familiar from books. Not only at the French, but also at the German courts of the 18th century, members of the nobility liked to switch roles with shepherds, peasants and hermits. But even the hermits in the »cells« of the Bayreuth

Hermitage only practised their solitude as a coquettish game. Such switching of roles was always part of an often frivolous social pastime. Ludwig's solitary games, on the other hand, worked only with supernumeraries, not with fellow players. The spatial staging of literary models, too, has its origins in the Rococo era. Based on her own ideas Margravine Wilhelmine, who built the Hermitage, had had a whimsical garden with a literary theme laid out in a rocky part of the woods near Bayreuth. The walking path through the rock garden Sanspareil led to numerous stations that reminded educated visitors of the various adventures of Telemachus, the protagonist of Fénelon's eponymous *bildungsroman*.

Ludwig would presumably not have enjoyed the educational and entertaining tone of Telemachus' adventures: His projects aimed not at insight but at escape from reality.

There is no doubt that Ludwig had most perfectly realized the artificial ambience that deceived all the senses in his winter garden. Here he had intensified the combination of exotic architecture and tropical vegetation with which we are already familiar from Frederick William's Palm House on Pfaueninsel and from the Moorish Villa of the king of Württemberg, William I; in the winter garden it turned into a private theatrical performance with artificial moonlight and concealed musicians.

In Berlin and Munich, the builders' similar literary propensities had provided the impetus for giving the winter garden an Indian theme. Frederick William IV, who had attended the Berlin premiere of *Nurmahal* (1822), was also an enthusiastic reader of Thomas Moore. At times, *Lalla Rookh* is said to have been his favourite bedtime reading.<sup>7</sup>

**The Winter Garden at the Munich residence, 1869–71.**  
The eastern section of the winter garden with the lake, bridge and Indian royal tent in front of the illusionistic mural by Christian Jank in a painting by Julius Lange, 1872, and a photograph of the winter garden by Joseph Albert, ca. 1871.

»Smiling, the king moved aside the curtain. I was amazed; for I saw a huge garden lit in the Venetian manner with palm trees, a lake, bridges, huts and castle-like buildings. 'Go', said the king, and I followed him fascinated, as Dante followed Virgil into Paradise. A parrot swung in a golden hoop and greeted me by shrieking 'Good evening!', while a peacock solemnly strutted past. We crossed an illuminated lake on a primitive wooden bridge and between chestnut trees saw an Indian city before us ... We came to a blue silk tent. In it was a chair supported by two carved elephants, with a lion skin spread before it. The king led us along a narrow path to the lake in which was reflected an artificial moon, magically illuminating flowers and water plants ... Then we came to an Indian hut. Fans and weapons of this country were suspended from the ceiling. I stopped mechanically until the king urged us to continue walking. Suddenly I felt I was magically transported to the Alhambra. A small Moorish room with a fountain in its centre, surrounded by flowers, took me back to my homeland. In an adjacent round pavilion behind a Moorish archway supper had been prepared.

The Winter Garden at the Munich residence with a panorama of the Himalaya pictured in the background. Painting by Julius Lange, 1871.



The king showed me to the central seat and softly rang a table bell ... Suddenly a rainbow appeared. »My God, I exclaimed involuntarily, I must be dreaming!«<sup>8</sup> This description is by the Spanish infanta María de la Paz, whom the king had invited for supper in his Winter Garden in 1883 together with her husband, Prince Ludwig Ferdinand of Bavaria. The couple were thus among the favoured few whom Ludwig II allowed access to his private exotic world.

In 1867, three years after ascending the throne, Ludwig had had his apartment in the ballroom building of the Munich residence remodelled by the architect Eduard Riedel (1813–1885). A small winter garden accessible from the king's study was also part of Riedel's plans.<sup>9</sup> Already Ludwig's predecessor Maximilian II had had an extensive roof garden installed at the other end of the residence, roofed over by a three-span iron and glass hall (1854).<sup>10</sup> In comparison, Ludwig's first winter garden was more than modest. However, as early as 1867, after visiting the Paris International Exposition, the king decided to enlarge his winter garden. After various proposals that Riedel worked out together with August von Voit (1801–70), the architect of the Munich Glass Palace (1853–54) and the Palm House in the Old Botanical Garden (1860–65), it was decided to adopt the maximum solution proposed by Riedel: The roof of the ballroom building was to be topped over its entire length with a barrel-shaped iron and glass hall framed at both ends by the raised corner buildings. Ludwig's apartment in one of the corner projections was thus located on the same level as the planned roof garden.

Construction of the winter garden began in 1869. Its ground plan was determined by the layout desired by Ludwig and planned by his court garden director Carl von Effner (1831–84): In order not to have to place an already commissioned kiosk in the middle of the hall, a glass bay was inserted in the barrel. In order to extend the width of the landscape, a short transverse section was added to the winter garden: The three-storey substructure therefore had to be expanded at this point. The hall consisted of vaulted steel lattice trusses with a span length of about 17 metres manufactured by the Cramer-Klett Company in Nuremberg. The total length of the winter garden was just 70 metres.

The arch trusses, glazed on both sides, were presumably held together under the soil spread on the roof by means of tie rods so that the shearing action would not be transmitted into the outside walls of the substructure.

Based on Effner's plans, a landscape garden with winding paths, a lake and a grotto was now laid out under the glass roof. The exotic landscape with its palms, banana trees, bamboo, rhododendrons and camellias was illusionistically extended at both ends of the winter garden by large murals. The painting on the east wall, by the stage designer Christian Jank (1833–88), depicted an Indian landscape. In the distance rose the snow-covered peaks of the Himalaya. This picture could be exchanged for an even more fantastic architectural prospect: Indian palaces were reflected in a painted lake that extended the length of the artificial lake of the winter garden.

As in 18th century landscape gardens, here too there were small buildings: a »Moorish Kiosk« on a square ground plan with a semicircular apse, an »Indian Fishing Hut«, and the »Indian Royal Tent«.

The kiosk, which was by Jank, was the end result of numerous designs Ludwig had had drafted by various artists. Ludwig had even had a design by Franz Seitz implemented, but the building was then erected in the park of Berg Castle. Jank's design necessitated the collaboration of numerous specialized craftsmen, who not only had to carry out complicated cast zinc and stucco work but also make coloured glass windows. A contemporary described the building as follows: »To the right of the path ... a splendid large kiosk rises with its gilded cupolas and minarets surrounded by magnificent shrubbery and ornamental plants; [it is] richly ornamented with gilded arabesques and carving, and its windows, decorated with suitable glass paintings, spread a magical light in the interior of the kiosk.«<sup>11</sup> With similar stage technique as that used later in the Venus Grotto at Linderhof Castle, the illusion of an Indian landscape could even be enhanced: In addition to the lights placed everywhere by night, there was also an artificial moon shining through a crevice in the rock of the grotto. Sunrises, sunsets, or rainbows could also be simulated. Through the splashing of the waterfall and the sounds produced by a hidden orchestra, the winter garden became the stage of a »son et lumière« show in which Ludwig was probably usually the only performer.

Ludwig's death put an end to the expensive operation of the winter garden. In 1897 it was dismantled and sent back to Nuremberg, where, as late as World War II, it was used as the production hall of the MAN Engine Factory.

#### The King's House on Schachen, 1870–72.

»Here, between the two windows, Ludwig II sat reading in Turkish garb, while a group of his servants, dressed as Moslems, lounged around on rugs and cushions, smoking tobacco and slurping coffee as their royal master had ordered; frequently smiling a superior smile, the latter gazed over the edge of the book at the stylish group. Meanwhile censers of incense sent out their fragrance, and large peacock fans were waved through the air to make the illusion more convincing.«<sup>12</sup>

In order to view the house on Mount Schachen near Garmisch-Partenkirchen, which is 1866 metres high, one must be prepared to hike for several hours.

From the outside the wooden house, high up in the Wetterstein mountain massif, hardly gives an inkling of the Oriental splendour that unfolds inside it. It is hardly possible to imagine a bigger contrast than that between the simply furnished living- and bedrooms on the ground floor and the great hall that is reached by a winding staircase. The model for the lavishly furnished hall was the reception room in the palace of Esma Sultan in Eyüp, at the end of the Golden Horn, pictured in Thomas Allom's *Constantinople and the scenery of the seven churches of Asia Minor*.<sup>13</sup>

At Ludwig's wish, the model as well as its colour scheme were copied with pedantic accuracy. But Ludwig felt that the room depicted in Allom's book, whose sole furnishings consisted of sofas placed along the walls, was too empty: He had a fountain placed in the centre of the room, taken from the picture of a coffee-house in the same book, as well as large winged vases, small tables and stools.<sup>14</sup>

The model Ludwig had chosen had been built by Esma Sultan's cousin Selim III (1789–1807) at a time when Ottoman architecture was already clearly influenced by Europe. The fact that Ottoman architects were beginning to turn towards the West since the middle of the 18th century was signalled not only by mosques influenced by the European Baroque but also by such interiors whose stylistic idiom was obviously influenced by the Rococo.

By the time Ludwig built his King's House and dreamed himself into the role of Turkish sultans, the latter had long since moved out of the famous Topkapı Saray and into the baroque Dolmabahçe palace on the Bosphorus.<sup>15</sup>

The origin of Ludwig's model suggests that Turkish models must be sought for the outward appearance of the house, which looks far from exotic: Possibly Ludwig had been inspired by yalis, the wooden summer houses on the Bosphorus that had also been drawn by Thomas Allom. Except for the material, however, these had little in common with Ludwig's mountain house. Their unadorned appearance was primarily characterized by upper storeys cantilevered like bay windows and wide overhanging roofs. At best, the openwork wooden arcade above the balcony on Mount Schachen may be regarded as an attempt to Orientalize a local house type.



The King's House on Schachen, 1870–72. Exterior view and the Turkish hall on the upper floor.





The Moroccan House, 1878. Watercolours by Heinrich Breling, 1881.

»True sultan splendour holds sway in the Moroccan House, 1½ hours distant from Linderhof Castle. Here, now and then, the king had his staff, dressed in colourful African robes, lounge on cushions and carpets, smoke chibouks and nargilehs and slurp sorbet so that he could get to see a genuine Moorish scene. For Ludwig loved to translate his fantasies into reality.«<sup>16</sup> In 1878 Ludwig did not travel to the International Exposition himself as he had in 1867 when Strousberg had beaten him to the purchase of the Moorish Kiosk. This time he sent his architect, Georg Dollmann, to Paris with instructions to buy the most beautiful of the countless foreign pavilions and to send it to Linderhof.<sup>17</sup>

For 25,000 francs, Dollmann bought the »Maison du Maroc«, a little house that in comparison to Diebitsch's kiosk was fairly modest, with a striped façade and horseshoe-shaped arches, which after a few structural alterations was erected in the vicinity of Linderhof. Inside it was furnished with vases, candelabra, sofas and small tables that had also been purchased in Paris. As in the Moorish Kiosk, the interior was illuminated from above here as well. Exactly as in the kiosk, there was a fountain below the lantern supported by the columns. But the Moroccan House, which was to serve Ludwig as a place »where he could read undisturbed for a few hours«,<sup>18</sup> hardly compares with the elegance of Diebitsch's design. After Ludwig's death, the Moroccan House passed into private ownership and was used as a summer house in Oberammergau. In 1980 the Bavarian Palace Department was able to buy back the building. After restoration it was given a new home in the park of Linderhof Castle.



## A bourgeois Orient: Villas, salons and studios

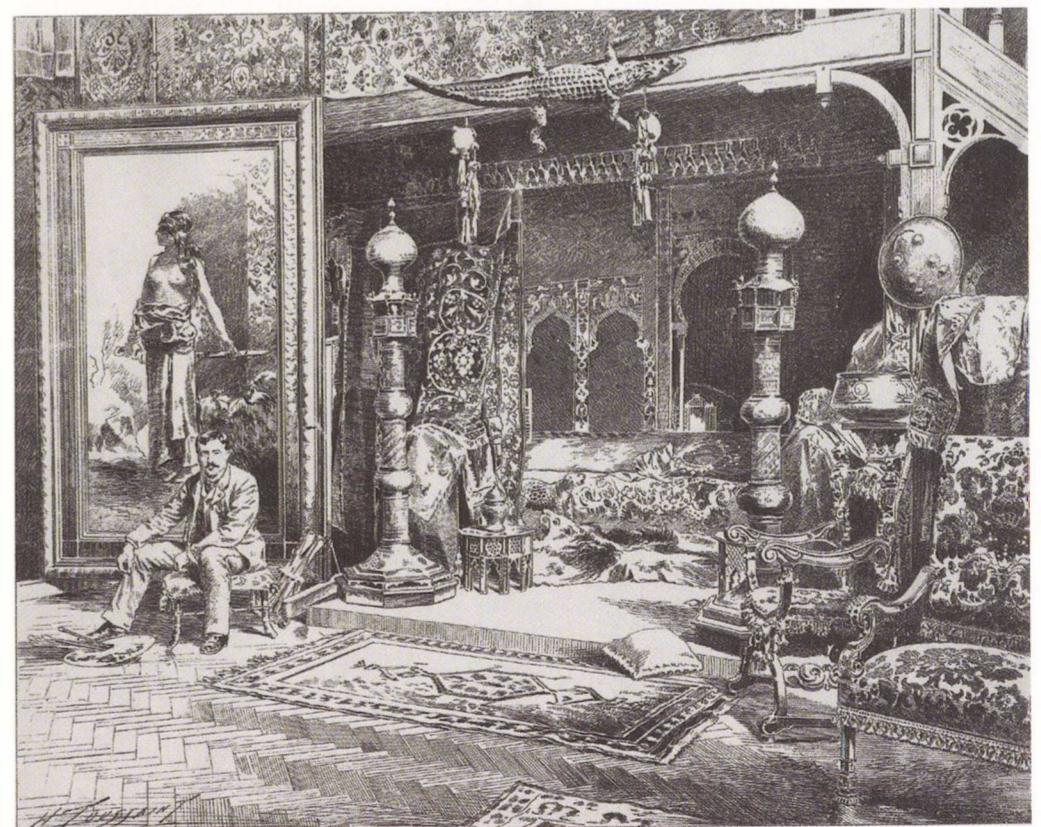
»Far more interesting than the Oriental landscape in detective novels is the opulent Orient in their interiors: the Persian carpet and the ottomans, the hanging lamp and the noble Caucasian dagger. Behind heavy gathered kelim draperies the master of the house celebrates his orgies with stocks and shares, can feel like a Near Eastern merchant, a lazy pasha in the Khanate of Mumbo-Jumbo, until one fine afternoon that dagger in its silver scabbard above the divan puts an end to his siesta and his own life.«

Walter Benjamin's list of the typical props of an Oriental interior brings to life before our eyes that crepuscular atmosphere found not only in the homes of Wilhelminian Germany but, during the late nineteenth century, in France or England as well. The late-feudal display of exotic splendour of George IV or William I of Württemberg lived on here on a middle-class scale. The possession of Oriental »valuables« had long since ceased being an aristocratic privilege. Since the international expositions in London, Paris and Vienna had familiarized millions of visitors with the Orient, the market for genuine (i.e., manufactured exclusively for the European market) and fake Oriental crafts had grown enormously. That Orient, staged by means of genuine and faux ingredients, no longer reflected a feudal lifestyle: The dominant passions of the bourgeois Orient were practical acquisitiveness and social ambition. The »lazy pasha« was the metaphor for an attitude towards life that was probably just as alien to newly prosperous businesspeople as to rich industrialists. In accordance with the different social classes, the »Orient« was available in all price ranges, for the middle class as well as the haute bourgeoisie, from the modest block of flats of the architect Carl von Diebitsch to the Indian »palace« of the French perfume and soap manufacturer. But the tradition of princely collections of rare objects and porcelain cabinets lived on in the most banal Oriental living rooms just as it did in such exquisite interiors as the »Japanese« Peacock Room furnished by the painter James McNeill Whistler for a London shipowner (1876).<sup>2</sup> In the worst case, the objects displayed were no longer rare pieces acquired with difficulty, but merely easily replaceable props alluding to trips one had never taken. Initially travel »souvenirs« had often formed the basis for a room furnished in Oriental style. Thus, in memory of his journey to the Orient (1836), Crown Prince Maximilian of Bavaria had had a rather Biedermeier-like »Turkish Room« furnished in Hohenschwangau whose charm consists precisely in the fact that its details lack authenticity. The two Arabian salons Alexandre Dumas had furnished for him in his Monte-Cristo Castle in Marly-le-Roi near Paris (1844–45) after a trip to North Africa were quite a different matter. The writer, whose books had made him wealthy, had brought back with him two experienced Tunisian craftsmen who spent two years doing the complicated stucco work.<sup>3</sup> Dumas was one of a growing number of writers,

painters and tourists who, since the conquest of Algiers (1830), felt drawn to North Africa. They all returned home with sketches, paintings and, since the middle of the century, photographs, along with rugs, costumes, weapons and all sorts of objets d'art with which they decorated their salons and studios. Among the earliest collectors of Islamic crafts was the wealthy amateur painter Jules-Robert Auguste, in whose house Eugène Delacroix made detailed studies for his first Orient pictures.<sup>4</sup> However, Delacroix had little interest in the correct depiction of details. On the other hand, younger painters such as Jean-Léon Gérôme and his successors based their great success on a style of painting that was almost photographically accurate. But the verifiable exactness of all the details in their portrayals of Oriental life only simulated objectivity: Most of their Orient paintings were created in Paris. Scenes posed in the studio had details and backgrounds added to them, selected from a stock of travel sketches and photographs. In the course of many journeys, Gérôme had collected all the accessories he needed for his arrangements. Admittedly his studio, crammed with Oriental furniture, tapestries, countless chests and vessels,<sup>5</sup> and even containing a fountain, was not so much a workroom as a reception room and a collection of props that was intended to enhance the image of the competent »Orientalist«.

»Princes among painters« like Lenbach and Makart were also aware how much publicly displayed pretension contributed to commercial success: Makart's publicly accessible »studio«, in which historical and exotic props were presented in carefully arranged confusion, primarily served to cultivate his image. Also, by the furnishings

The studio of the Orientalist Jean-Joseph Benjamin-Constant (1845–1902).

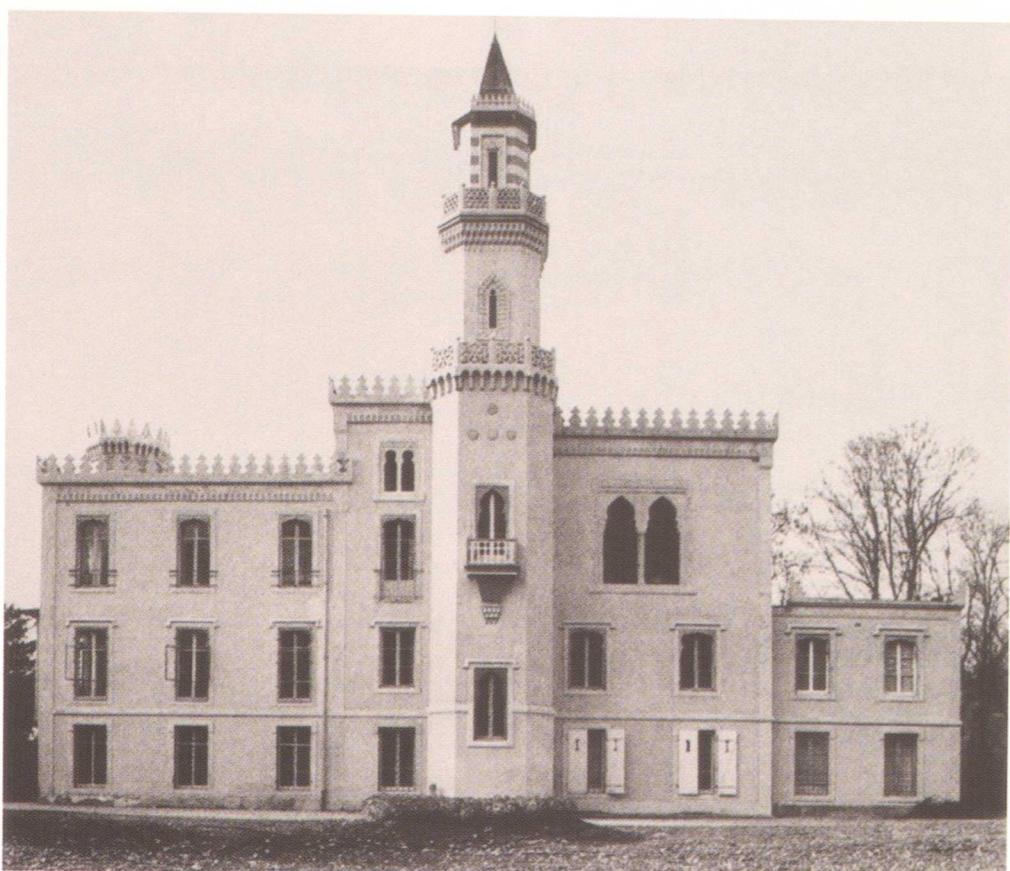


of the studio every visitor could tell the artist's area of specialization: Knightly suits of armour indicated a historical painter, while Oriental props pointed to a painter of the Orient.<sup>6</sup> The sculptor Charles Cordier, who had been turning out a large volume of coloured portrait busts of Arabs, Africans and Chinese even lived in an outwardly »Moorish« villa – as did the painter Charles Courtaul, who around 1850 Orientalized his house in the vicinity of Nancy and renamed it »La Douëra«.<sup>7</sup>

Since it was precisely the best-known painters and writers who were also trendsetters on matters of taste and furnishings, there was great interest in better circles in finding out what the interior of an artist's house looked like. A wide public knew about Hans Makart's lifestyle thanks to depictions of his studio and reports about his parties in the feature pages. Edmond de Goncourt, who was among the most important collectors of Japanese art, successfully published a two-volume description of his house in which each individual object was listed as if in a museum catalogue (*La maison d'un artiste*, Paris 1881). Of course, in his »boudoir de l'Orient« he displayed not Persian carpets or damascene daggers, but Chinese porcelain and Japanese lacquerwork, netsukes, and samurai swords.

The elegant house of the painter and president of the Royal Academy, Sir Frederick Leighton, was featured not only in professional periodicals but in popular magazines as well. Leighton had brought back from his numerous journeys in the Orient not only ideas for his paintings<sup>8</sup> but also a large collection of old earthenware tiles and carved woodwork that were to be given an architectural setting: Between 1877 and 1879, as an addition to his house, he built Arab Hall, based on the blueprints of George Aitchison (1825–1910). In the décor of the hall old tiles from Iznik and mashrabiyyas from Damascus are interspersed with the columns and mosaics designed by Aitchison and Walter Crane. However, the hall, into whose fountain many

La Douëra, the house of painter Charles Courtaul in Malzéville near Nancy, ca. 1850.



a careless guest is said to have stumbled, was not used as a studio, but as a museum-like reception room, a (still existing) memorial that Sir Frederick at the same time set to his own life.

But it is an oversimplification to call the hall »Arab«: Actually, its structure and decoration are the result of a highly eclectic process in which the expertise of the building's owner and the architect is revealed. Aitchison himself had stated that its model was the Zisa Palace in Palermo, built for the Norman kings in the twelfth century by Saracen architects. The fountain hall on the ground floor of the Zisa<sup>10</sup> actually does show striking similarities, but also important differences, with Arab Hall: Thus Aitchison adopted the cruciform ground plan and the motif of columns set at the corners of niches, as well as a double colonnade in the entrance, but for the roof of the room, instead of the cross vault, he chose the typically Islamic squinch arch dome, which he additionally Orientalized by alternating light and dark stripes. However, in comparison to its model, the decoration of the hall turned out to be far richer, since a large number of ancient tiles needed to be displayed on the walls. In Arab Hall genuine elements of various cultures and elements inspired by them mingle in a museum-like European synthesis. Incidentally, the Norman architecture of Sicily had been well known since the 1840s thanks to the publications of Girault de Prangy and Henry Gally Knight.<sup>11</sup>

The example of artists like Leighton definitely played an important part in popularizing »Moorish« interiors among broad sections of the middle class. Of course, for special rooms such as bathrooms, smoking and billiard rooms the Moorish style had long since been acceptable. Even before Turkish steam baths came into fashion in England and France, Carl von Diebitsch had already created his Moorish bathroom in Dresden. In 1867 the *Moniteur des Architectes*<sup>12</sup> publicized a small Turkish bath that a private individual had installed in his Paris home, and in the Pac Palace in Warsaw, too, there is still a Moorish room that was once used as a bathroom.<sup>13</sup>

After meals, male guests used to retire to billiard rooms (cf. p. 63) and smoking rooms: Tobacco smoke was not welcome in the salons and boudoirs of the haute bourgeoisie. Smoking rooms often had special ventilation systems or had windows that could be opened to the winter garden.<sup>14</sup> Smooth, preferably ceramic materials to which smoke would not cling were recommended for wall surfaces. In the smoking rooms, however, people smoked not long-stemmed pipes but fat cigars, which had become more and more popular over the course of the nineteenth century and were soon seen as marks of an elegant lifestyle: The smoking of cigars reflected the faster pace of the modern era. The Oriental décor, the little Arabian smoking tables and water pipes, and the comfortable upholstered furniture suggested a lifestyle that was the diametrical opposite of the hectic hustle and bustle of city dwellers.

Just as the smoking of cigars gave one the illusion of a high, Oriental comfort expressed a longing to spend one's days in reveries and sensual pleasures: »The low and comfortable furnishings invite us to calm down, to enter that semi-somnolent state in which the mind, weary of thinking, drifts off into the vague world of dreams.«<sup>15</sup>

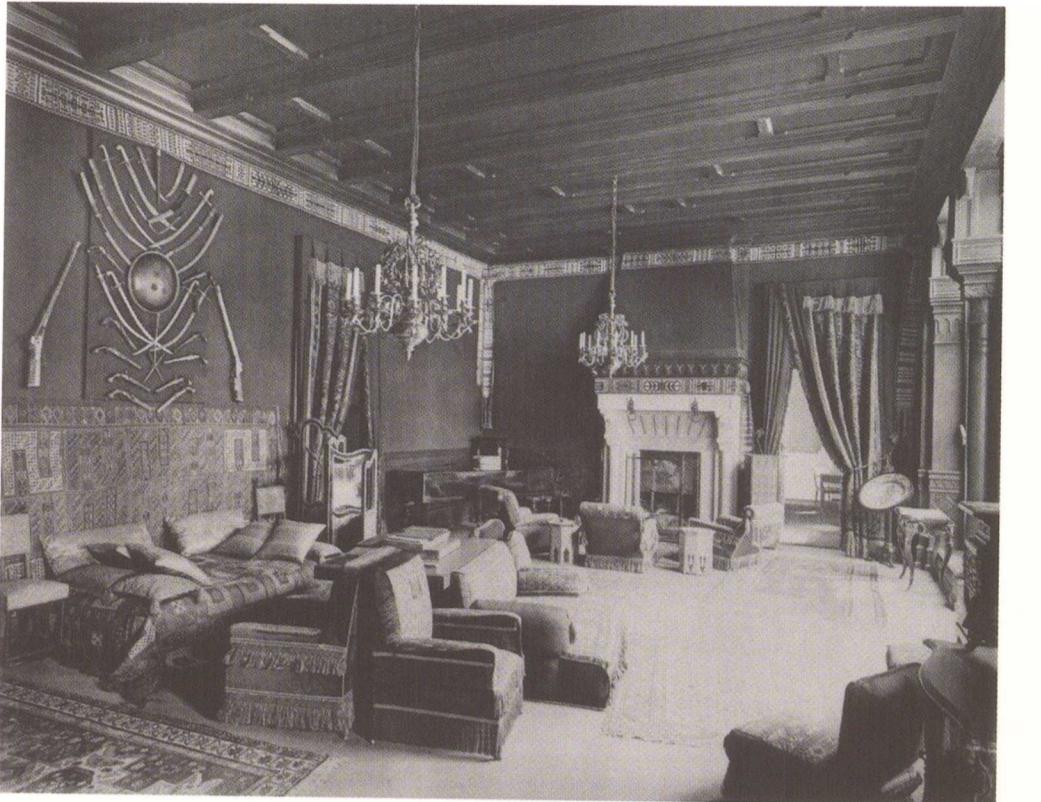


George Aitchison, Arab Hall, Leighton House, London, 1877–79.

Smoking rooms became fashionable in the 1880s. Examples can be found in the palaces of Polish aristocrats (Palais Scheibler, Lodz) as well as in English country seats (Rhinefield House, Hampshire, ca. 1890<sup>16hh</sup>) and hotels (Hotel Cecil, London<sup>17</sup>). Gaudí's famous Casa Vicens (1883–88) also has a »fumador« – with a stalactite ceiling and ceramic-clad walls. Even if these smoking rooms were not consistently furnished in the Moorish or, as in the Hotel Cecil, the Indian style, there were generally a few props that alluded to the Orient. Of course, the water pipes we also discover in the Oriental interiors of Ludwig II had a purely decorative value in the middle-class milieu. In Parisian literary circles, on the other hand, hashish and opium were also consumed: Baudelaire, Gautier, Nerval and many others who frequented the »Club des Hachichins« preferred the artificially produced Orient of drugs to intoxication with cigars in a Moorish smoking room.

The motif of intoxication and dreamy contemplation can be discovered even behind the European enthusiasm for Oriental colours

and ornamentation. An enraptured German visitor of the 1867 Paris World's Fair described the interior of a »Turkish kiosk«: »Compared to the Orient, Europe has nothing to equal this beauty, the effect of this serene and gentle harmony of colours. In each group of ornaments the entire range of colours is addressed fully and purely; in brilliant, alternating play, shades of colour intertwine only to dissolve in mild, restful harmony thanks to delicate nuances and gradations ... Nothing expresses the essential feature of the Oriental character more clearly than this interplay of colours. All of one's senses are sated by this rich impression; one's imagination is driven back into itself, somnolent and dreaming; the soul is not agitated in any way, totally absorbed in itself and in this play, which cradles it in harmony with itself and the world, free of drudgery and stress. Of course, we Europeans lack the leisure and the mood for such a state of being, and our sense of colour is rushed, unsettling, vehement, chaotic, torn apart by more than one dissonance, like our lives.«<sup>18</sup> This interpretation reminds us what an important contribution



Opposite page:  
Pierre Loti in the Turkish Salon of his house in  
Rochefort.

H. Schorbach, Kelim Hall in the palace of Count Wilhelm von Redern in Görsldorf near Angermünde. From: Hermann Rückwardt, *Innen-Architektur und Dekorationen der Neuzeit*, 1884. Oriental weapons and carpets, upholstered furniture and heavy portieres are the most important props of the Oriental hall. The column on the right by the window has an Alhambra capital.

the study of Islamic as well as of Far Eastern colour schemes made to the development of architecture, arts and craft, and painting in the nineteenth century. As early as the 1830s young, romantically inclined architects like Hittorf and Semper, in opposition to the classical doctrine, had started the so-called polychromy dispute.<sup>19</sup> The traces of colour observed on the buildings and sculptures of classical antiquity were enlisted as arguments for the historical justification of a new, polychrome architecture. Owen Jones, who reconstituted the colour scheme of the Alhambra based on such traces, searched history looking for support for his own novel use of colour (cf. p.63). In 1851, efforts to create a new colour culture received a large boost through the extensive collections of Indian, Persian, and Turkish textiles and decorative vessels that were exhibited at the World's Fair. Until the end of the century reports about the international expositions are full of praise of the craftsmanship and artistic achievements of the Orient: »First and foremost, the Orient is the school of surface decoration and related to this, naturally, that of surface ornamentation with colour.<sup>20</sup>

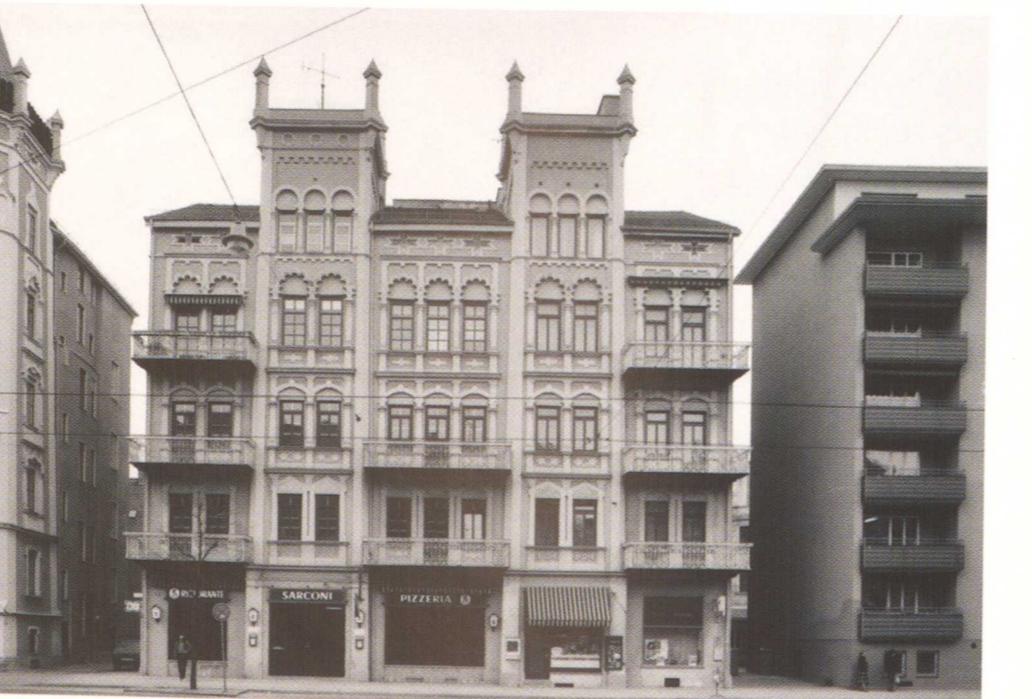
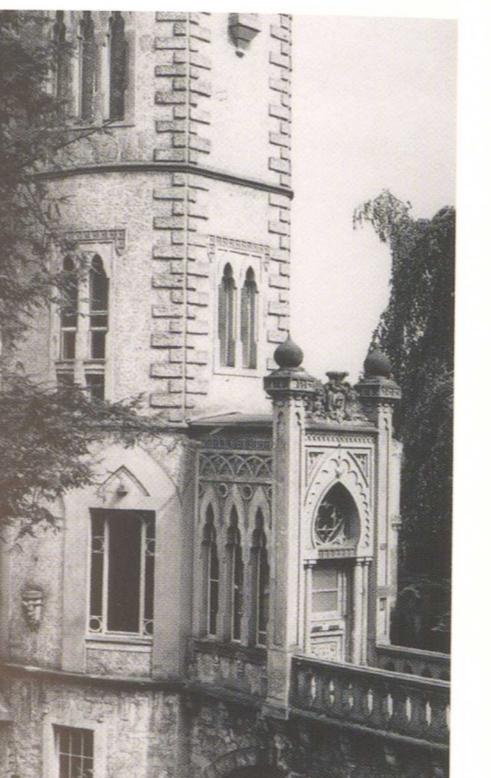
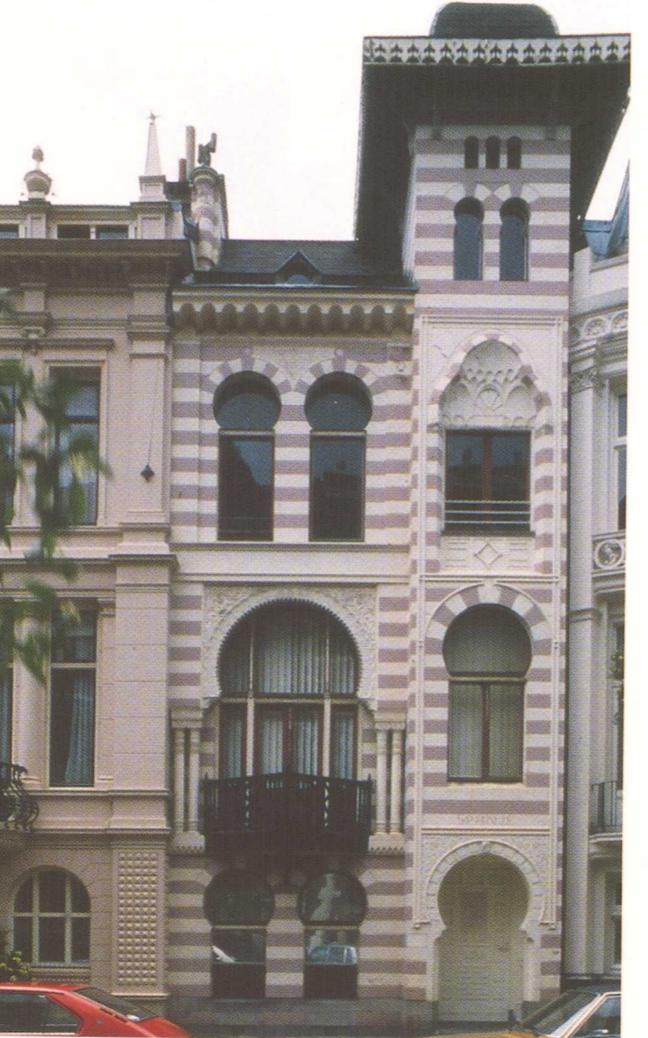
In his book *Die vier Elemente der Baukunst* (*The Four Elements of Architecture*), published in 1851, Semper justified the use of ornament and colours in space as due to the fact that »the nature of the earliest architecture was to clothe«: Linking the German word for »wall« (Wand) with the word for »apparel« (Gewand), he traced the origin of masonry walls to woven mats and carpets.<sup>21</sup> This theory of the evolution of the wall, which reduced the wall to a tapestry – naturally with a colourful pattern – gives preference to a purely decorative colour scheme over one that is determined by construction. How such ideas were implemented in everyday situations was shown by Dolf Sternberger in his analysis of the »inner Orient« that prevailed in late-nineteenth-century interiors.<sup>22</sup>

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, both in Germany and in England, there were increased efforts to break away from the French model of taste and to replace the styles of Louis XIV, XV, and XVI or the newly launched Empire style with a national style. To this end, the »German Renaissance« was invented in Germany<sup>23</sup> – a style

that with its massive furniture, with rich (machine-made) carvings, dominated Wilhelminian homes. The thing that nevertheless gave those interiors an Oriental, sultry atmosphere was not so much the colour scheme – brown as the »colour of colours«,<sup>24</sup> gold and green set the tone here – as the twilight. The windows were covered with drapes, heavy curtains and artfully draped lambrequins, as though to protect oneself from the merciless brightness and heat of the Orient. The copious use of textiles in the form of rugs, upholstery covers, wall hangings, velvet portieres and senseless draperies, whose patterns moreover competed with those of the wallpapers and painted ceilings, must have sent occupants into a state of ornamental intoxication. Every surface was filled with colourful patterns or reliefs, and rooms were crammed with furniture, indoor palms, bouquets of dried flowers and grasses, knickknacks, decorative weapons and bearskins – testifying to an almost neurotic fear of empty and unadorned surfaces. At the same time the exotic décor was a sign of nouveau riche pretension, and an attempt by people who did not belong to the more established social class to compensate for a rapid social rise by fabricating their history or feigning sophistication.

The Orient can also be held responsible for the development of upholstered seating. From the divan (the Turkish word divan referred to the reception room of an aristocratic home, furnished with bolsters and cushions), which in the Islamic house was always incorporated in the architecture and stood parallel to the wall or was fitted into niches, freestanding sofas (Arabic: suffa) and ottomans developed in Europe. Upholstered chairs were superseded by armchairs that consisted of nothing but upholstery. More and more new types of furniture from Paris moved into European homes: One of the most common ones was the so-called »borne«, an upholstered island whose conical backrest was crowned by a palm tree.<sup>25</sup> Just as the structure of the room disappeared behind textiles and ornaments, so here upholstery, cushions, tassels and fringes concealed the skeleton of the piece of furniture. With these developments of the divan, memories of the Orient were presumably soon lost.





Top left: »Spanish« House, Roemer Visscherstraat, Amsterdam, 1894.

Top middle: Tower of Villa Lobstein, Baden-Baden.

Top right: Villa Suminski, Tharandt near Dresden.

Left: Johann Friedrich Weinsperger, House in the Eschenheimer Anlage, Frankfurt, 1856–60.

Right: Karl-Albert Gollwitzer, House in Volkhardtstraße, Augsburg, 1899.

Bottom: House on Kreuzstraße, Baden-Baden.

But beside the stereotypical »poufs« and the little octagonal tables, European types of furniture whose décor was derived from Islamic architecture were also available: The Italian Giuseppe Parvis regularly sent his wardrobes and sideboards, decorated with precious inlay work and carvings »in genuine Egyptian style«, from Cairo to the international expositions in Paris.<sup>26</sup> Parvis may be regarded as the predecessor of Carlo Bugatti, who at the turn of the 20th century elevated the Orient to fantastic levels with his furnishings and interiors.<sup>27</sup>

The Oriental interiors of middle-class townhouses and villas were more than simply stylistic variations in the repertoire of historical styles. Here too, perhaps less obvious than in the winter gardens that had their heyday as a luxurious extension of living quarters during the same period, the Orient in all its manifestations is an expression of European yearnings. Today the winter gardens almost look like metaphors for a paradise that is lost forever – a paradise that could be recreated only by artificial means in a world that was becoming industrialized. In the middle of the bleak, noisy and smoke-filled cities, these green oases expressed the desire for the pre-industrial conditions and Edenic way of life that Europeans, from Bougainville to Gauguin, assumed existed in the South Seas. Admittedly this longing for paradise, like the longing for the Orient, no longer had an object: On the map of the world, the last blank spots had disappeared, and because of European expansion even the most distant cultures had long since been in danger of extinction: The Orient the European soul yearned for had long since become a thing of the past. Thus the »inner Orient« is a construct that is just as artificial as the winter garden. It is a composite of the ahistorical image conveyed by Orientalist painters, centuries-old clichés and projections, and a reality that tourists would have found impossible to penetrate even if, like Richard Burton or Pierre Loti, they tried to conform to it in the way they dressed and lived their lives.

Oriental stage settings in the homes of middle-class citizens, artists or kings are part of a picture in which the Orient appears as the antithesis to Western civilization. Almost all the details of this picture have their counterparts in the deficiencies, longings and obsessions of the European soul. There was hardly a single description of Oriental interiors of the type that visitors to international expositions got to know in many versions which did not stereotypically equate »Orient« and »harem«. The male dream of the unlimited availability of female bodies expressed in Ingres' »Bain turc« (cf. p. 124) is even still present in the smoking rooms in which gentlemen could abandon themselves to dreams of bayaderes and houris as they relaxed with a smoke.<sup>28</sup> At the same time Oriental interiors, like Turkish baths, stand for the deeply felt need for the kind of mental and physical relaxation and recreation that was unknown in the West. Illusion becomes part of this regeneration, based on an Oriental model: By shutting out the light, reality too is shut out. Relaxing on the divan or in the bath is not part of day-to-day life, but in contrast to it. The interior becomes a refuge, just as many villas with their towers and battlements take the form of refuges that can only be entered by way of a drawbridge. The interior becomes the

illusionary space of imagination or the stage for private appearances in other roles. Not only Ludwig II, but Pierre Loti, who had a whole wardrobe full of exotic costumes, also liked to disguise himself: not only in the house he had rented in Eyüp on the Golden Horn, but in Rochefort in Brittany as well, where in remembrance of his time in Turkey and his love for Azyadé (his diary novel *Azyadé* appeared in 1879) he installed a Turkish salon and a »mosque«. Loti transformed his entire house into a museum of remembrance. For Ludwig II on the other hand the Oriental rooms and kiosks were a substitute for experiences he had not had, aids in self-deception. This playing with other roles, and the longing for a different identity, another life, for which the interior provided the stage, can be observed throughout the entire nineteenth century: Lord Byron, Thomas Hope, Richard Burton and David Roberts had their portraits painted as Orientals. Toulouse-Lautrec had his photograph taken in a kimono, Loti in a burnoose and Karl May as »Kara Ben Nemsi« under the ornamental palm.<sup>29</sup> The triteness of Dr. May's adventure novels had its counterpart in his study, which was done up to impress the public (photos of the author in various costumes and of his study were marketed by various firms toward the end of the nineteenth century): petit-bourgeois cosiness along with roaring lions, heads of elks, rifles and the skins of beasts of prey.

Such role plays and stage productions were merely another expression of an identity crisis that set in in the arts as well, where the search for a contemporary form of expression led into all kinds of historical and exotic directions.

The Arabian and Moorish decorations that were so much in keeping with contemporary taste were more than trivial in the eyes of the cultural avant-garde: When Des Esseintes, the protagonist of Joris-Karl Huysmans' novel *À rebours* (1884), furnished his house, he tried »to use Oriental fabrics and carpets as little as possible: Since all nouveau-riche tradesmen could now buy them on sale in the department stores, they had become vulgar and ordinary.«<sup>30</sup> The artistic elite in Paris and London was inspired by Japan, like Edmond de Goncourt. People collected the coloured woodcuts of Hokusai and Utamaro and admired the elegant simplicity of Japanese furniture and utensils, which was in such sharp contrast to the decorative profusion of historicism. To be sure, there was also a superficial fad for all things Japanese – the cheap fans, umbrellas and kimonos that found their way into middle-class homes by way of the department stores;<sup>31</sup> however, the result of the encounter between Europe and Japan that continues to have an effect to this day was that historical form and superficial exoticism in architecture and design were overcome. Toward the end of the century there were already many people who preferred well-lit rooms and simple furniture to homes crammed with historicist furnishings.<sup>32</sup>

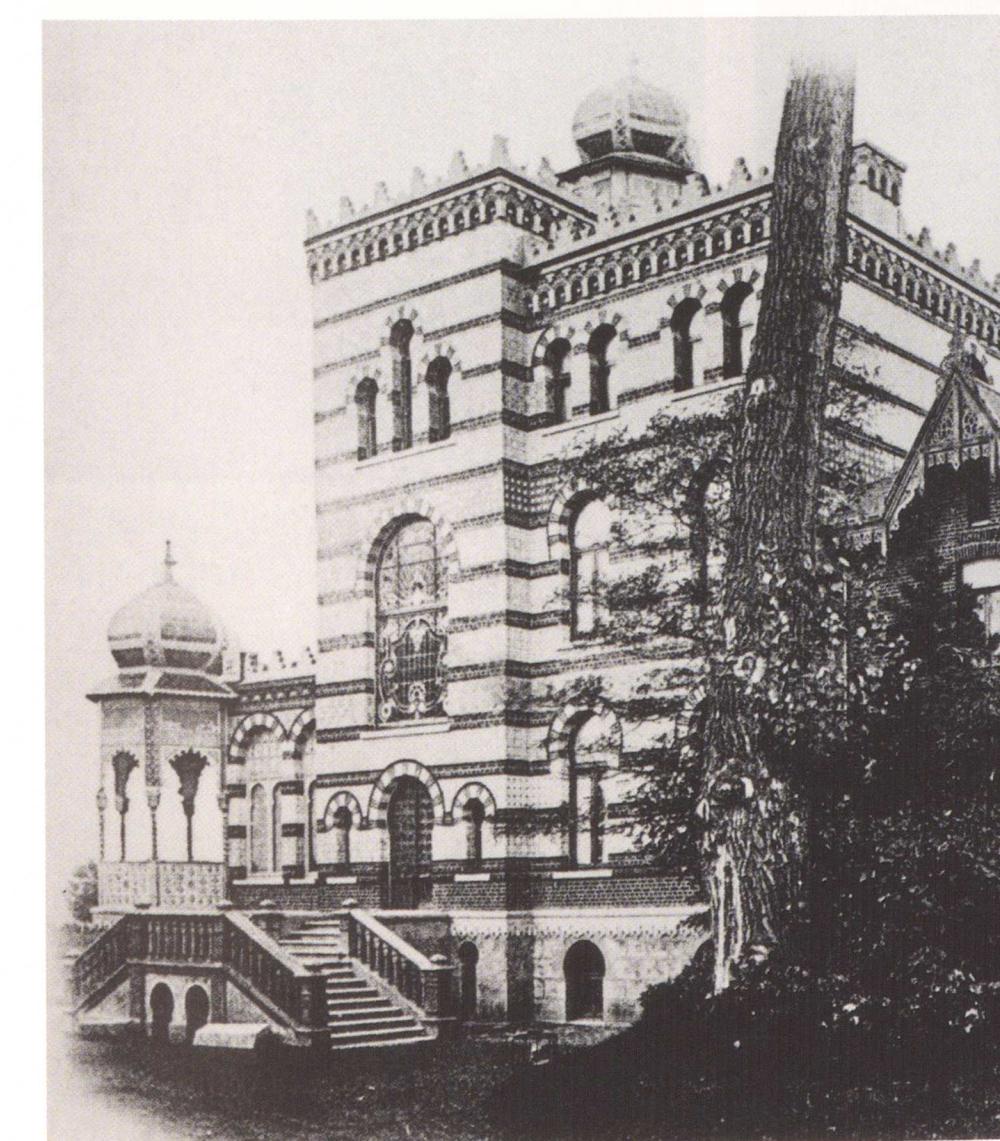
While in the eighteenth century the use of exotic styles was still limited to experimentation in the gardens, in the nineteenth century the rules began to relax: non-European building styles became socially acceptable for elegant summer residences and country seats as well. To justify such styles one could always point out that after all these buildings, too, belonged in the context of a park or like

the Royal Pavilion were located in a seaside resort where the usual architectonic rules had been suspended. Of course, the special status of country seats could also be applied to villas in the garden suburbs of the cities, for here the motto was »Beatus ille qui procul negotiis«. Far from business affairs also meant far from reality: Where could one be farther from daily routine than in an Oriental villa? The recreation promised by spas and resorts also implied distance from daily routine, an exceptional situation; the often fantastical eclecticism of casinos, hotels, villas, pump rooms, baths and covered walks had a great deal of advertising appeal. The fact that Diebitsch gave an urban block of flats an exotic exterior was therefore quite unusual. A more appropriate location for so exotic a structure was Eschenheimer Anlage in Frankfurt, where the master mason Johann Friedrich Weinsperger built a Moorish villa (1856–60). Quite early on, the cosmopolitan atmosphere of a spa like Baden-Baden favoured exotic fantasies: One of the many English people who settled here was Colonel Syng, who had served in the East India Company. In 1833 he purchased a piece of land and had an Indian bungalow surrounded by a veranda, with an overhung roof, built there.<sup>33</sup> In 1967 a three-storey Moorish house on Kreuzstraße, built in 1860,<sup>34</sup> was demolished; like the former Villa Lobstein<sup>35</sup> on the Schloßberg and the (no longer extant) Moorish Hall in the Palais Hamilton it had presumably been designed by Weinbrenner's pupil Friedrich Mäler (1799–1875). Mäler had become familiar with Moorish architecture during an extended Spanish voyage and had also published a study about Spanish architectural monuments. From 1843 until 1860 he lived in Baden-Baden. Originally he had probably wanted to build the house on the Schloßberg for himself; however, he sold the land in 1860 to Baron von Lobstein, who then built the strange »Moorish fortress« according to Mäler's plans: The actual residence is concealed behind an elongated terrace-like projecting structure on tall arcades which is inserted between two rectangular red brick towers. The Moorish effect was due to the multi-foil arches and the intersecting trefoil arches of the terrace windows and of the (no longer extant) pergolas. Inside there were both a Moorish salon and a smoking room. How much such buildings preoccupied people's imaginations is shown by the rumours that arose about the men who built them: Either people invented an Oriental mistress for whom the Oriental theatre performances were staged or, in the case of Baron von Lobstein, a Turkish wife he was supposed to have brought with him from Constantinople. No wonder the baron also wore a fez and kept Arabian stallions.<sup>36</sup>

In contrast to the lavish structure on the Schloßberg, the Kreuzstraße house was rather plain: Above ordinary rectangular windows, there was a relief-like frieze of intersecting blind arches. The round corner tower was somewhat more luxurious: Here there were interlaced trefoil arches. On the façade of an Augsburg block of flats built in 1899 by Karl-Albert Gollwitzer (1839–1917)<sup>37</sup>, we also find Moorish décor, consisting only of a flat relief, painted in a light colour, of multi-foil and horseshoe-shaped blind arches; the window apertures themselves are rectangular. At the same time (1894) a series of residential houses designed by the Kuipers brothers was

built in Amsterdam, with the poetic name »The Seven Countries«: Each country was represented by its own particular style. Beside a Russian, an English and an Italian house there was also a Spanish one with horseshoe arches and a striped plaster façade. Such a juxtaposition of different styles had already been seen in the »Avenue des Nations« at the 1878 International Exposition in Paris (cf. p. 149). Increasing freedom in dealing with history also expanded the scope for using exotic motifs. In order to upscale the better class of blocks of flats, Venetian forms were frequently used as well as Moorish ones: There were two instances of this in Dresden,<sup>38</sup> and on Praterstraße in Vienna the Dogenhof (Karl Caufal, 1898)<sup>39</sup> can still be seen, with its magnificently decorated loggias. However, we owe the most outlandish exotic buildings to the self-expression of eccentric aristocrats and nouveau-riche entrepreneurs: In Tharandt, a mineral spa near Dresden, Count Michal Jérôme Suminski (1820–98) bought a large palatial villa and remodelled it in an eclectic Oriental style (1866).<sup>40</sup> In the northern French industrial town of Tourcoing the manufacturer Victor Vaissier had an »Indian« castle built by Charles Dupire-Rozan (1892) that outshone all exotic villas built up to that time.<sup>41</sup> Both had very personal reasons for their choice of style: Count Suminski was also a painter of Oriental scenes (his painting »Mohammed writing the Quran while fleeing«, 1844,<sup>42</sup> still exists), and Victor Vaissier wanted at the same time to use his spectacular villa to advertise the »Congo soap« he had created. The successful manufacturer of soaps and perfumes was not very particular about the names of styles, or he would hardly have called the building, which was reminiscent of a Moghul tomb, »Palais du Congo«. Perhaps the reason for naming the house and the soap was to give secret homage to the king of Belgium: Leopold II had managed to take private control of the entire Congo region. The proceeds from his private colony flowed into a gigantic exotic project the king was implementing outside of Brussels: In the Park of Laeken he created an extensive labyrinth of palm houses and glass-enclosed paths containing an artificially air-conditioned Congo in its interior.<sup>43</sup>

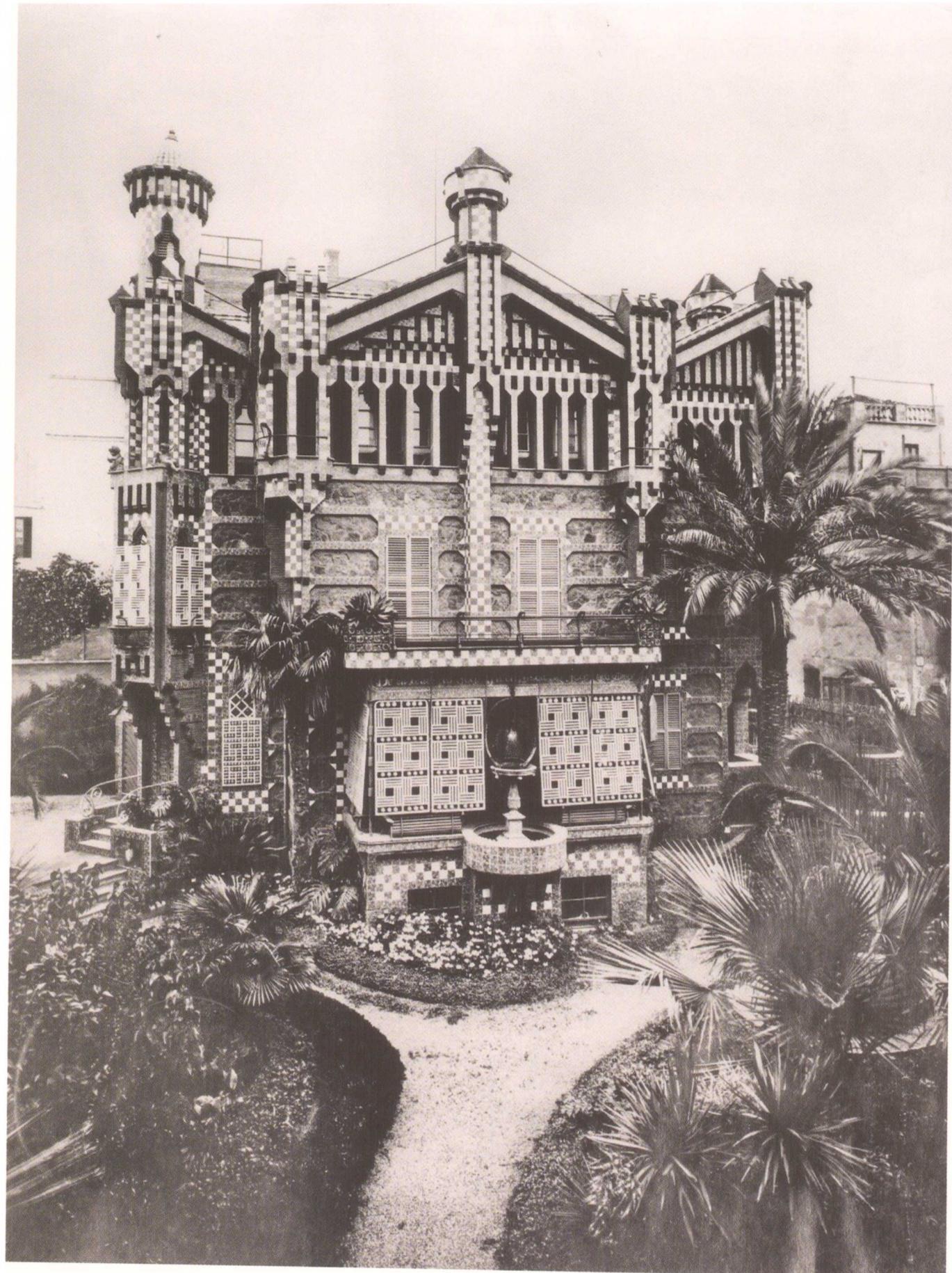
Vaissier had initially planned to place his entire house on the backs of four elephants. But this wish proved not to be feasible. In spite of the deviation from his ideal plan the result was fantastical enough. The dome, glazed with stained glass, could be illuminated and was visible from a great distance. Seen close up, the villa consisted of a bewildering abundance of motifs. Various shapes of windows were cut into the red and yellow striped façade; above the rich openwork arcade of the loggias, based on an Indian model, there was a projecting cornice; Indian chhattris crowned the round watch turrets, and the »porte cochère«, which seemed to have been borrowed from the Royal Pavilion, was flanked by two »minarets«. It is said that the interior looked at least equally fantastical. The magnificently furnished salons included a Japanese boudoir. But Victor Vaissier's love for Oriental splendour went even further: In order to increase the prestige and fame of his products, he organized a number of large processions that attracted thousands of visitors from neighbouring towns.



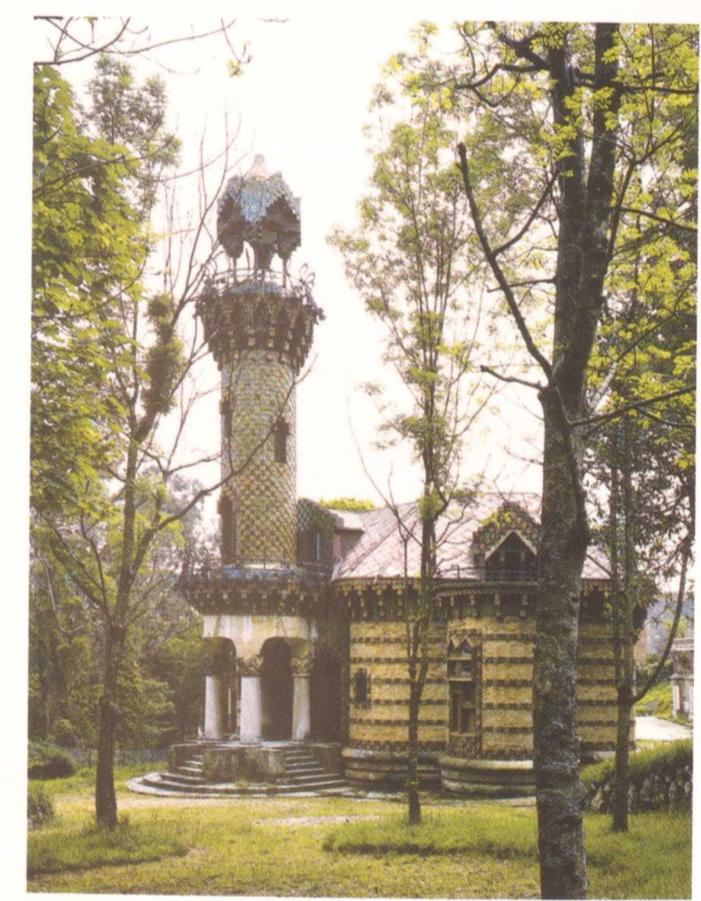
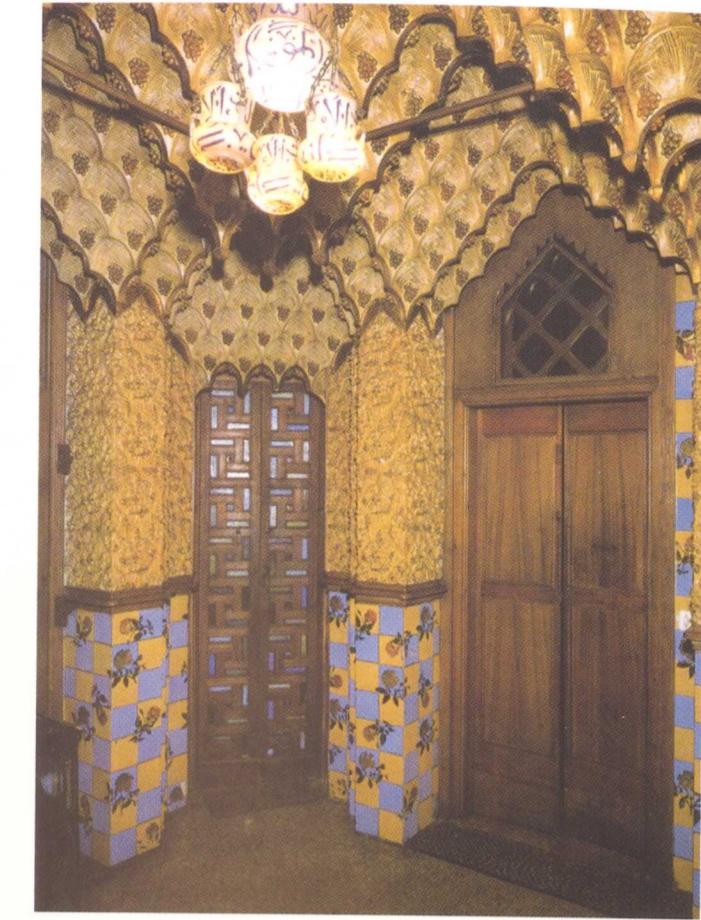
Charles Dupire-Rozan, Villa of Victor Vaissier,  
Rue de Mouvaux, Tourcoing, 1892.

Château Mauresque, Lille.

Pierre Chapoulart, Villa »La Mauresque«, Hyères, 1880.



Antoni Gaudí, Casa Vicens, Calle Carolinas, Barcelona, 1883–88. Garden side (historical photograph) and Fumador (smoking room).



Antoni Gaudí, El Capricho, Comillas, Santander, 1883–85.



Émile Boeswillwald (1815–96), Palacio Xifré, Madrid, 1858–62.



A. J. Dias da Silva, Bullfight arena, Lisbon, 1892.



Emilio Rodríguez Ayuso, Plaza de Toros, Madrid, 1874.

Genuine Africans and Frenchmen with blackened faces, all in exotic costumes, on foot, on horseback and on lavishly decorated wagons, formed the »Cavalcade du Congo« that made its way through Roubaix on 20 March 1887. The »Tutelary Goddess of the Soap Industry« rained down soap medallions upon the crowd. At the end of the day the whole town smelled of soap.

In the neighbouring town of Lille, where eclecticism also flourished in remarkable ways, one might encounter the Orient in several places: in a villa called »Château Mauresque«, in a narrow block of flats with a striped foundation and horseshoe-shaped windows, and in a public bath complex, the Bains de l'Arsenal (1883).<sup>44</sup> Today, hardly any of all this can still be found: The only buildings that still recall Victor Vaissier's Indian palace are two gatehouses, and the »Château Mauresque«, too, has long since vanished.

These types of buildings felt less exotic in the countless French spas and in the holiday resorts along the coasts than they did in the industrial north. In the architecture of the thermal baths and casinos, echoes of the thermae of ancient Rome predominated. But there was also a historical justification for using Oriental stylistic elements. For the Vittel thermal baths in the Vosges Mountains, Charles Garnier (1825–98), the architect of the Parisian opera, designed not only a casino but also the Établissement Thermal with a striped façade and Moorish foyer (1866).<sup>45</sup> In Vichy, where Napoleon III was also fond of staying, there is still a »Tunisian« villa.<sup>46</sup>

Of course, the ideal environment for such villas was on the Côte d'Azur, where in the 1880s were built large numbers of retirement and holiday homes whose very names suggest their architectural agenda.<sup>47</sup> They were called *La Mauresque* and *La Tunisienne*, like the two houses designed by Pierre Chapoulart in Hyères, or *La Petite Afrique*, *El Ouah*, *El Keif* and *La Djenane*. With their Arabic names many of their inhabitants associated personal memories of the French colonies in North Africa, where they had spent a large part of their lives as administrators, business people or army officers. They now spent their sunset years in a landscape whose light and climate offered the best conditions for once again celebrating a colonial lifestyle in whitewashed houses and luxuriant gardens.

However, the Oriental villas in the south of France looked different from those in the north. It's true that here we also find the stereotypical horseshoe arches, merlons and minaret towers, but the effect of the façades comes not from the relief and colours of visible masonry, but from the smooth white plaster coat in which decorative fields, friezes and window frames of colourfully patterned ceramics have been inlaid. The simple means employed in these houses are reminiscent of the residential buildings of North African cities rather than of Moorish palaces and mosques. Of course, the owners were driven not by a romantic educational interest in a historical Orient, but by the direct experience of its colonial present. Their houses express not so much fantasies as realities.

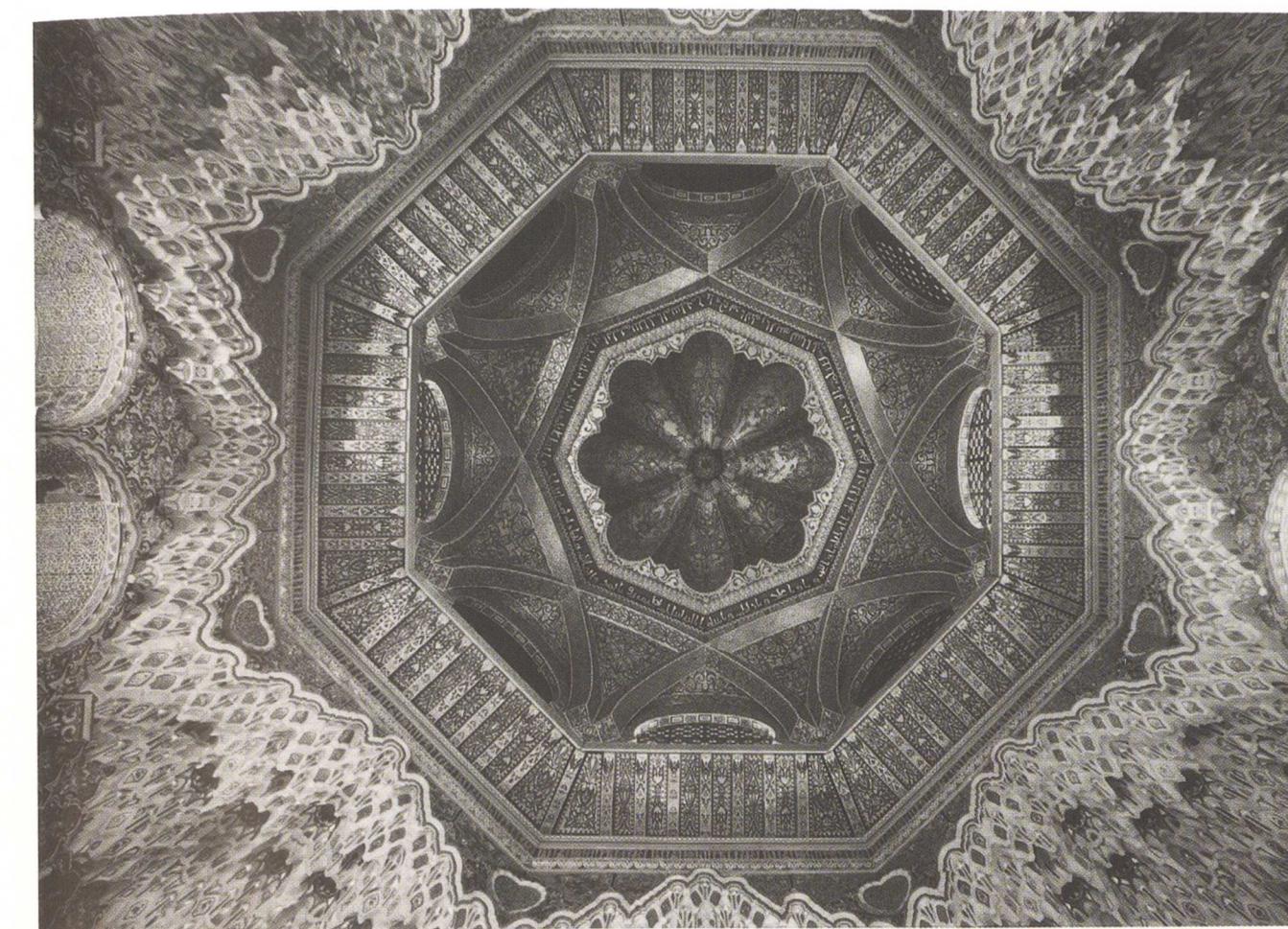
It is striking that here, where the Orient was geographically and politically so close, borrowings from Islamic architecture did not appear until late. Far to the north on the other hand, in England, Germany and Poland, the first country seats in various Oriental styles already

appeared in the early nineteenth century. Far removed from the authentic experience and in an inhospitable climate, the fantasies of the Orient and the longing for the South had been particularly powerful. In Spain, where the Arabian past was still present, the Orient was also unable to exert as much attraction on the imagination. Here the impetus for preoccupation with Moorish architecture presumably came from outside. For it was primarily the English, French and Germans who were fascinated by the Arabian buildings of Granada and Cordoba, who published detailed descriptions of buildings and romantically glorified the Arabian epoch of Spanish history in stories and poems. The restoration, begun in 1828, of an already badly dilapidated Alhambra marked the beginning of a new appreciation of Moorish culture. But in Spain, too, the »neo-Arabian« style was considered appropriate only for buildings of a »frivolous character«.<sup>48</sup> Thus, for instance, in the Palacio de Vista Alegre in Madrid a Salon Arabe (1848)<sup>49</sup> was installed and in the course of time there were more examples of residential houses that evoked the architecture of the Alhambra.

It is perhaps significant that it was a German printing press owner who built a still extant residential and office building referred to as Edificio Alhambra in Barcelona.<sup>50</sup> On the other hand, the Palacio Xifré in Madrid (1862–65), an example of the use of the Moorish style in a representative building, was demolished long ago.<sup>51</sup> At the 1878 International Exposition in Paris it became clear that thanks to its conciseness this style was well suited to represent Spain abroad. Therefore, when in the last third of the nineteenth century the need for a national style was increasingly felt in Spain as well, this movement, which had hitherto not been taken very seriously, took on a new importance. It was given a new name, however: The style was no longer referred to as »neo-árabe« but only as »neo-mudéjar«.<sup>52</sup>

Neo-árabe was too reminiscent of the time of foreign rule and could therefore hardly be used for national purposes. On the other hand, the Mudéjar style, a term that was not introduced until 1859 by the art historian José Amador de los Rios, referred to the stylistic phase after the Reconquista when the »mudéjares«, the subjugated Muslims, worked as builders for Christian clients. But this was about more than ideological distinctions: Particularly in Madrid, a new movement developed that differed from previous Moorish adaptations not because it used substantially different models but because the material was treated differently. Considered to be the incunabulum of the neo-Mudéjar style is the Plaza de Toros, officially opened in 1874, by the architect Emilio Rodríguez Ayuso (1845–91): His ornamental use of plain bricks soon became the accepted thing in Madrid; his bullfighting arena became the model of a number of subsequent buildings all over Spain and Portugal. Here, as in Ayuso's Aguirre School (1884), whose tower by its form and the ornamental relief of its surface calls to mind the towers of Almohad mosques (Giralda, Seville), there appeared an independent interpretation of history that avoided superficial and purely decorative stylistic borrowings. The influence of neo-Mudéjar style and of Madrid brick architecture can be felt in the buildings of Catalan Modernisme as well.

In the work of Lluís Domènech i Montaner (1850–1923) and Antoni



Otto Tafel, Moorish Hall in Castell Castle near Tägerwilen, Thurgau, 1891/92.

In the 1880s, Baron Gonzalvo Maximilian von Scherer had the Stuttgart architect Otto Tafel (1838–1914) remodel his castle in the vicinity of Constance.<sup>54</sup> Tafel was given »complete freedom to set a gem of rich and splendid Renaissance architecture, completely according to his taste, on the dominant hill.«<sup>55</sup> After the main tower had been completed, Scherer decided to install a Moorish hall in it. »At the time the client and the architect travelled to Granada together in person in order to study the models of the Alhambra as exactly as possible on-site, and here the architect was able once more to display his talent for getting into the spirit of an unfamiliar style and of working with it faithfully.«<sup>56</sup>

Except for the dome, Tafel adhered first and foremost to the Sala de las dos Hermanas in the Alhambra. However, he found the structural scheme of the ribbed dome in the mosque of Cordoba.

Gaudí (1852–96) we find a very similar treatment of the material. Of course, Gaudí did not limit himself to plain bricks, but through his highly imaginative use of coloured tiles and pottery shards produced a wealth of colours, which was »Oriental« in a very novel way that was not historicist.

In Gaudí's early buildings – in the Casa Vicens in Barcelona (1883–88), in El Capricho, a small residential house in Comillas near Santander (1883–85), and in the entrance pavilions, gates, and indoor riding arena of the Finca Güell near Barcelona (1884–87) – one can discover many elements that can be traced back to Gaudí's study of Oriental architecture.<sup>53</sup> Gaudí was familiar with the architecture of India and of Islamic Egypt through photographs from the collection of the school of architecture in Barcelona. However, he was not interested in quoting recognizable motifs of Islamic architecture. Only the fumador (smoking room) in the Casa Vicens is clearly Islamic due to its stalactite ceiling. But even here his ornamentation of coloured flowers and grapes, which went against all Islamic principles, shows how little he was dependent upon historical models.

The Orient inspired Gaudí to develop a very personal decorative style whose effect is based on the appealing contrast between visible brick or rough stone masonry and coloured ceramics. His decorative towers, the ventilation towers on the roofs of the Finca Güell or the small corner turrets of the Casa Vicens very remotely recall the small minarets crowned by canopies with which Gaudí was familiar from the architecture of the Indian Moghul rulers. The functionless tower of El Capricho, however, because of the ceramic cladding of its round shaft, looks more Persian. On the other hand, the overhanging brick corbels below the balustrade of the »balcony« look like a simplified version of the stalactite cornices so typical of the ambulatories of the minarets of Egyptian and Persian mosques.



## In the Turkish bath

»A mosque, a kiosk, a bath – there you have all of Turkey.«<sup>1</sup>

Long before the »discovery« of the ancient baths of Cairo and Constantinople by nineteenth century travellers, the public bathhouse was an institution that in Europe was associated either with ancient Rome or with the Orient. In contrast to the Christian West, where public bathing had a fluctuating fate thanks to regularly recurring moral campaigns by the Church, baths were an integral part of daily life in Islamic culture. The great value placed on public baths could already be seen from the architectural expenditure, comparable in the eyes of Europeans only to the building of churches: »Public bathhouses are also counted among the prominent buildings; ... they are built in the most exquisite and splendid manner. They also have their own income ... just as a church or similar foundation has one, and this is used to maintain the building. These bathhouses have tall domes, like a choir in a church.« This description from Salomon Schweiggers' account of his travels,<sup>2</sup> which appeared in 1608, makes the different priorities of the two cultures quite clear. Pictorial representations of Turkish baths

were not circulated until much later. One of the earliest appears in Fischer von Erlach's *Entwurff Einer Historischen Architectur* (A Plan of Civil and Historical Architecture), published in 1721. It represents the imperial baths in Buda. Presumably the fact that these baths were known to the author is closely connected with the Turkish Wars and the liberation of Hungary from Ottoman rule. Possibly Max Emmanuel of Bavaria, whose troops were part of the Holy League which had formed against the Ottoman Empire, had also seen these baths after the conquest of Buda in 1686.

30 years later, in the park of Nymphenburg, Max Emmanuel had two small palaces built by Josef Effner (1687–1745): Pagodenburg (1716–19) and Badenburg (1718–22). Beside a pool in the basement, Badenburg had bathtubs and a steam bath heated by hypocausts.<sup>3</sup> Dining and relaxation rooms made a protracted stay in company possible. Whiling away the time while bathing, eating, drinking and relaxing was totally in keeping with the presumable Oriental model. Outwardly neither Pagodenburg nor Badenburg were exotic whereas the Rococo interiors had a Chinese touch. In Baroque and Rococo gardens there is no building comparable to Badenburg.

Jean-Dominique Ingres, »Le Bain turc«, 1863.

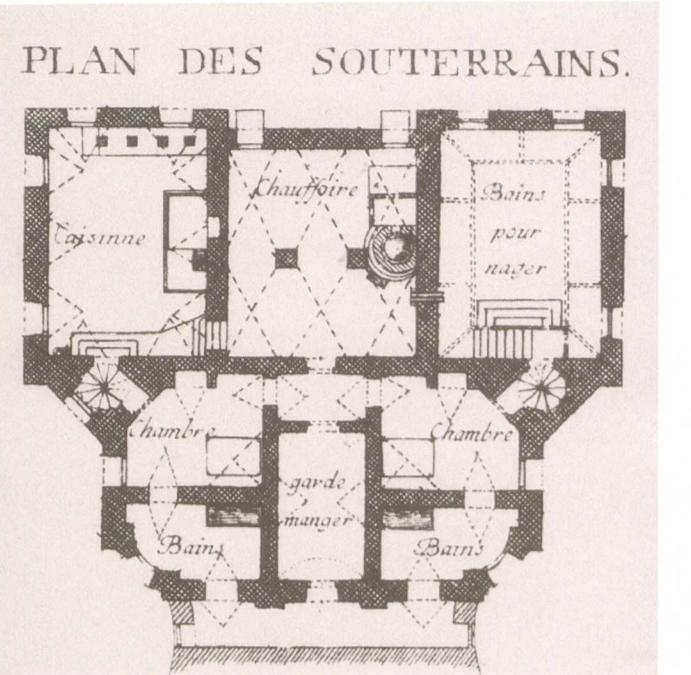
William Klein and Albert Duclos, *Le Hammam*,  
18, Rue des Mathurins, Paris, 1876/77.



Ippolito Monighetti, Turkish bath in the park of Czarskoe Selo, 1852.



Josef Effner, Badenburg, park of Nymphenburg  
Castle, Munich, 1718–21. Ground plan of the basement.



Only in the garden of the king of Poland, Stanislas Leszczynski, Duke of Lorraine as of 1737, there was a small building whose name possibly alluded to the Oriental bathing culture. The »Kiosque, ou Bâtiment à la Turque« by the architect Emmanuel Héré (1705–63),<sup>4</sup> built in 1738 in Lunéville, contained a bathroom in its upper storey. Outwardly the only feature that made the kiosk look exotic was the curved form of the mansard roof: No clear distinction is made between China and Turkey as yet. The Schwetzingen Bathhouse (1766–72) by Nicolas de Pigage is a Rococo building whose interior is furnished with chinoiseries; Islamic models for the layout of the building can be precluded. Only much later, in the park of Czarskoe Selo, which had a complete »Chinese village« from the reign of Catherine II, do we find a »Turkish Bath« whose dome and minaret quite clearly reference the Orient. Wilhelma, built in Stuttgart in the Moorish style, was also often referred to as a bathhouse during its planning stage. In the meantime, however, the bath had already become a public building project, and the term »Turkish bath« was now associated with more precise ideas, thanks to numerous descriptions in accounts by European travellers.

The reason why Europeans were so amazed by the bathhouses of the Orient was that up to the middle of the nineteenth century there was no distinct public or private bathing culture in the West. The British diplomat David Urquhart (1805–77), intermittently an embassy secretary in Constantinople and the author of countless papers on issues involving British policy in the Orient, devoted a section of the account of his travels *The Pillars of Hercules* (1850) to Islamic baths. Vis à vis the ruins of a bathhouse he viewed in North Africa he prophesied that people in later times would find remnants of such monuments to »taste, luxury, or cleanliness« neither in London nor in Paris.<sup>5</sup> It was wholly incomprehensible to Urquhart that in a highly industrialized society such as England there were neither baths in middle-class homes nor public baths for the working population: »The filthiest population exists, with the most extensive means of cleanliness. A nation that boasts of its steam, does not know how to use steam to wash the body, even when it may be had gratis.«<sup>6</sup>

To him, Europe looked like a »black spot of filth« on the map of the world. Europeans were able to justify regular bathing medically at best. They found it hard to accept that the function of the bath might go beyond daily personal hygiene to include the relaxation and regeneration of body and mind, sensual pleasure and pleasant sociability.

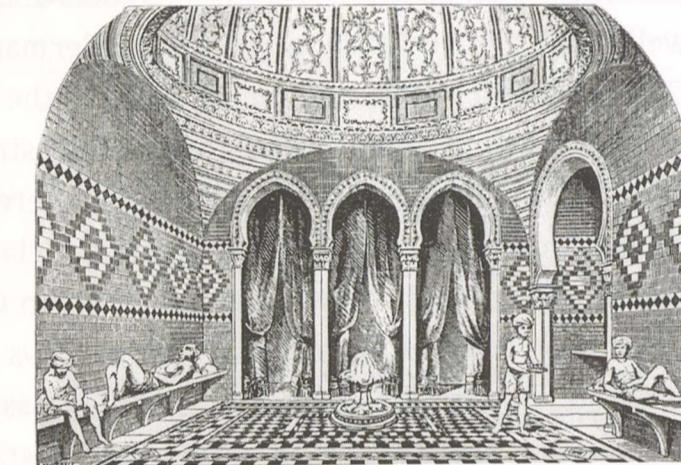
All the authors who spoke up in support of the Turkish bath after Urquhart argued from the medical standpoint and took great pains to refute widespread prejudices such as the belief that the Turkish bath supposedly weakened body and mind. The reason behind this was the cliché that Orientals were given to passive hedonism, and perhaps also the fear that Europeans, too, could succumb to it and deviate from the path of virtue represented by the capitalist work ethic.

At the same time the West had once had a far more uninhibited attitude toward public bathing. In the Middle Ages there had been public bathhouses even in the smallest of towns and in the country.<sup>7</sup> The preparation of the bath was as much a part of hospitality as the »Breutelbad« was of a wedding: Before the wedding feast the whole party, separated by sex, repaired to the bathhouse. Eating, drinking and musical entertainment were an integral part of medieval bathing culture. It soon became standard practice for men and women to bathe together. However, what went on in the bathhouse was anything but innocent, as we know from contemporary depictions and reports. The result was that the public bath fell into disrepute, and at the end of the Middle Ages even the profession of bathhouse owner was considered disreputable. Steam baths, too, were widespread in the Middle Ages. When Dürer made his drawing of a women's bathhouse (1496), there were about thirteen such bathhouses in Nuremberg, comparable to our modern saunas.

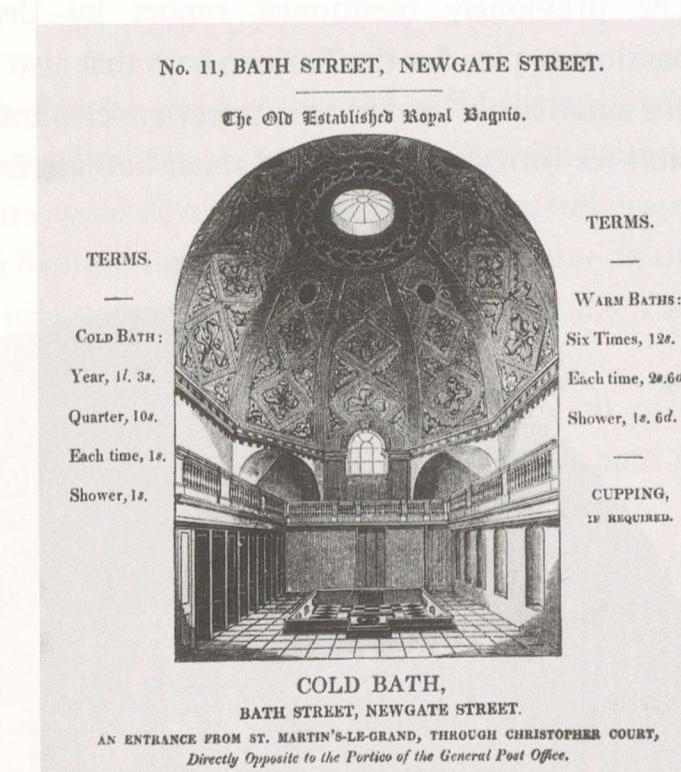
However, despite the popularity of public bathhouses, no sophisticated building style comparable to Roman or Oriental examples evolved in the West. Most of the medieval bathhouses were presumably modest wooden buildings. That might explain the fact that hardly one of the old bathhouses has survived.



**George Somers Clarke, Turkish baths, 76 Jermyn Street, London, 1862.** Relaxation room and tepidarium with a view of the relaxation room in the background.



**The Sultan's Bath, Manchester.** Frontispiece of:  
William Potter, *The Roman or Turkish Bath*, 1859.



Royal Bagnio, Bath Street, London, 1679.  
Business card, ca. 1845.

Moral revival movements during the Reformation, and the devastation of Central Europe caused by the Thirty Years' War may have contributed to the decline of this bathing culture.

Even daily personal hygiene fell into oblivion: From now on nudity was considered a sin, and bathing along with it. Even as late as during the time of Goethe, open-air bathing was considered unchristian and immoral. Hostility toward the body, which had existed for centuries, and the absence of daily hygiene, particularly striking in the sophisticated culture of the Rococo, stood in the way of a renaissance of bathing culture. It was not until the 19th century that compelling medical and social reasons led to the introduction of public baths. A cholera epidemic that claimed thousands of victims in the English industrial cities in 1832 alarmed the middle-class public and drew attention to the catastrophic hygienic conditions under which most people lived.<sup>8</sup> Still, it took another ten years until the first baths and public wash house were opened in Liverpool. A law passed by Parliament in 1846<sup>9</sup> made the building of public bathhouses a task of general public interest. Gradually public baths sprang up in all the cities, with bathtubs, swimming pools and often steam baths as well. After a period of delay France and Germany followed suit. Most German public baths were not built before the 1870s, however.

In 19th century public baths, there was a strict separation of the sexes. Men and women bathed either on different days or in separate rooms. Moreover, there was segregation by class: There were 1st and 2nd class dressing and relaxation rooms. In German public baths, there were special lower-class bathing days (Volksbadetage) at a reduced rate. On the other days, middle-class bathers were among themselves. Since as a rule these public institutions did not offer much comfort, club bathhouses and privately run steam baths soon appeared in England.

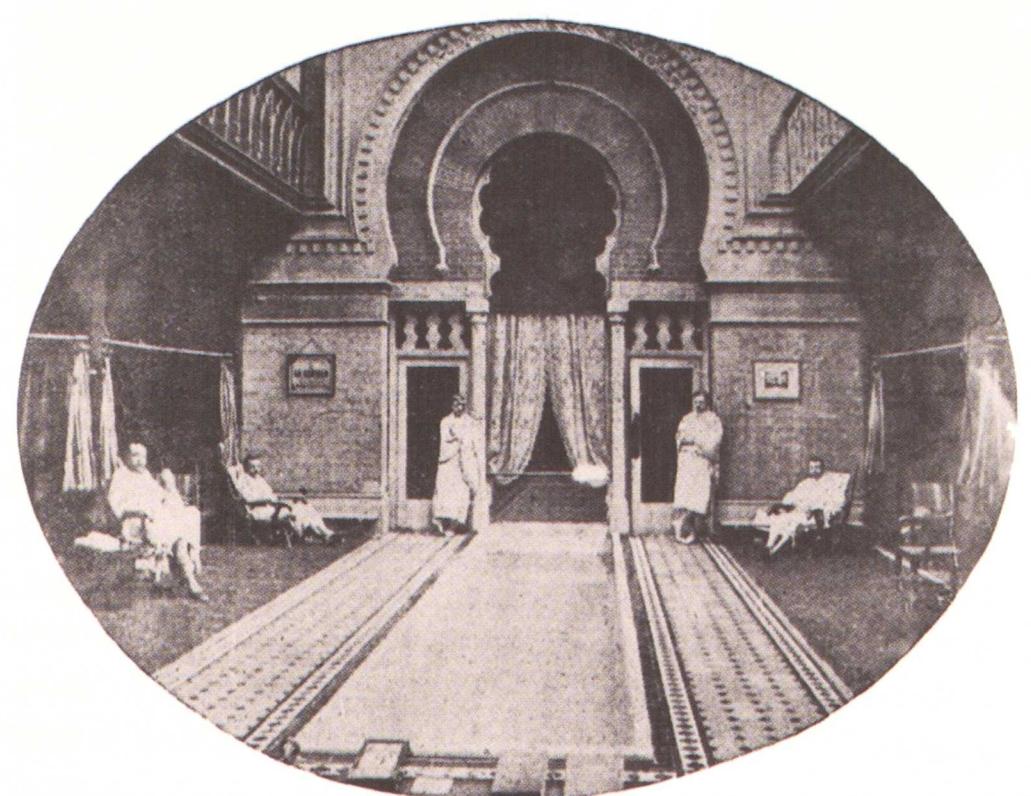
The previously mentioned report by Urquhart contained a passionate plea for the Turkish bath that also appeared in the form of a small book<sup>10</sup> and in newspaper articles and was directly responsible for introducing oriental steam baths in England. But he did not

mention that there had already once been a large number of Turkish baths in England. Many of these establishments had had a bad reputation and seemed only to confirm the risqué associations people had with such institutions. Even Lady Montagu's classic report had already stimulated her contemporaries' erotic fantasies.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762) was the wife of the British ambassador at the Ottoman Porte. In a letter written on 1 April 1717 she described a bathhouse in Sofia visited only by women. Lady Mary immediately recognized the picturesque potential of the scene and wished her friend, the painter Charles Jervas,<sup>11</sup> had been there: »I fancy it would have very much improved his art, to see so many fine women naked, in different postures, some in conversation, some working, others drinking coffee or sherbet, and many negligently lying on their cushions, while their slaves (generally pretty girls of seventeen or eighteen) were employed in braiding their hair in several pretty fancies. In short, it is the women's coffee-house, where all the news of the town is told, scandal invented, &c – they generally take this diversion once a week, and stay there at least four or five hours, ...«<sup>12</sup>

A hundred years later, Ingres, who was familiar with Lady Montagu's book, visualized this scene in his famous painting of the Turkish bath. Halil Bey, an Ottoman diplomat, art collector and owner of the painting, may have imagined himself in the role of a pasha at the sight of his harem. The male fantasy of gazing at and possessing so many nude bodies, however, proved to be a projection onto ways of life whose essence remained hidden to Europeans. The voyeuristic sight that Ingres granted the viewer of his picture was one even Oriental men were denied.

Around the middle of the 17th century, in London, Turkish merchants had popularized not only coffeehouses but also baths. Of the »hammams« and »bagnios« that were established up to the end of the 18th century, as many as over thirty are known by name.<sup>13</sup> Often they were a bathhouse and coffeehouse rolled into one, and the range of their services consisted of »sweating, rubbing, shaving,



Turkish baths at Brighton.

For the layout of the rooms the architects Goult and Gibbons took the baths on Jermyn Street as a model. The picture, taken from an advertisement, shows the relaxation room with the plunge pool, which through the large horseshoe arch led into the hot rooms. The baths, opened in West Street in 1868, had a street-facing façade that looked like »... some Moorish temple, resplendent with crimson and gilt, encaustic and terra-cotta ...«<sup>34</sup> The residents of Brighton had already been familiar with Oriental bathing culture for some time: In 1786 an Indian by the name of Sake deen Mahomed had opened a steam bath and massage practice that became very popular. Mahomed counted even George IV among his clients.<sup>35</sup>

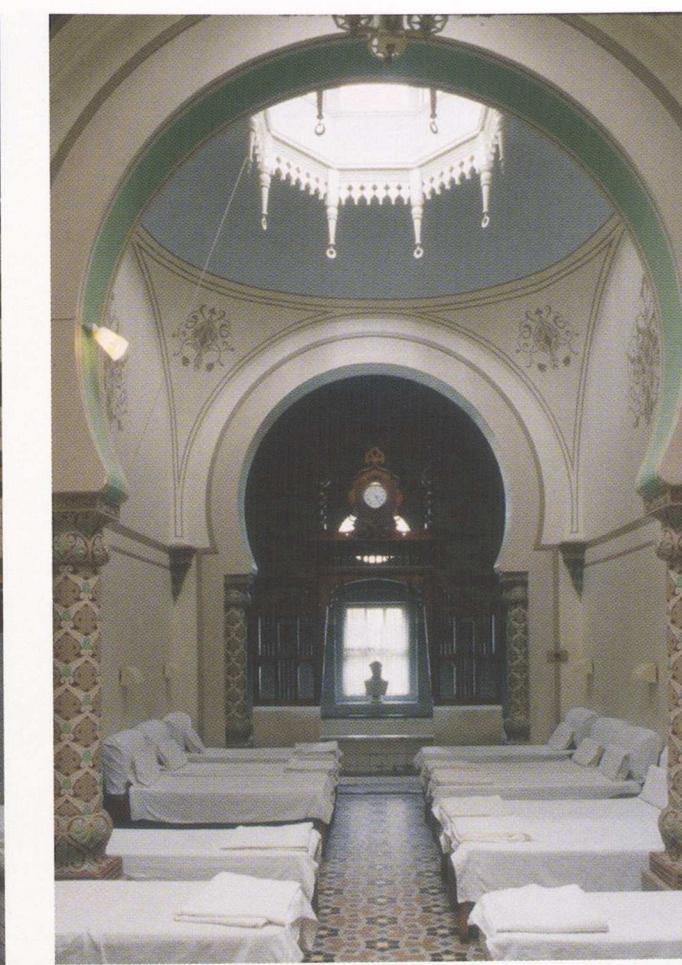


Turkish Bath, Bishopsgate Churchyard, London. In the middle of the banking district, the entrance kiosk of the bath, opened in 1895, still stands. Today, there is a restaurant in the basement. Nevill's Turkish Baths Ltd. operated several other baths in London, including The Charing Cross Turkish Baths. »Another Turkish bath has been erected in the City by Messrs. J. and H. Nevill in the same luxurious style which has been generally adopted by them ... Being in close proximity to the Stock Exchange and Lloyds, it will be a great acquisition to City men. The design is by Mr. G. Harold Elphick, architect, and the style is Moresque. Entering by a pavilion conceived on



moorish lines, the visitor descends by a winding staircase ... to the vestibule or office, and thence to a saloon decorated in thoroughly an Alhambra fashion, with couches and mirrors in each divan ... from the saloon three hot rooms are entered, having marble mosaic floors, and the walls and ceilings lined with tiles. Marble seats and stained-glass windows, and wall alcoves in faience give a comfortable and luxuriant air to these rooms ...«<sup>37</sup>

Turkish Baths in Harrogate, near Leeds, 1897. The baths were built as part of the Montpellier Baths (today: Royal Baths Assembly Room).<sup>36</sup>

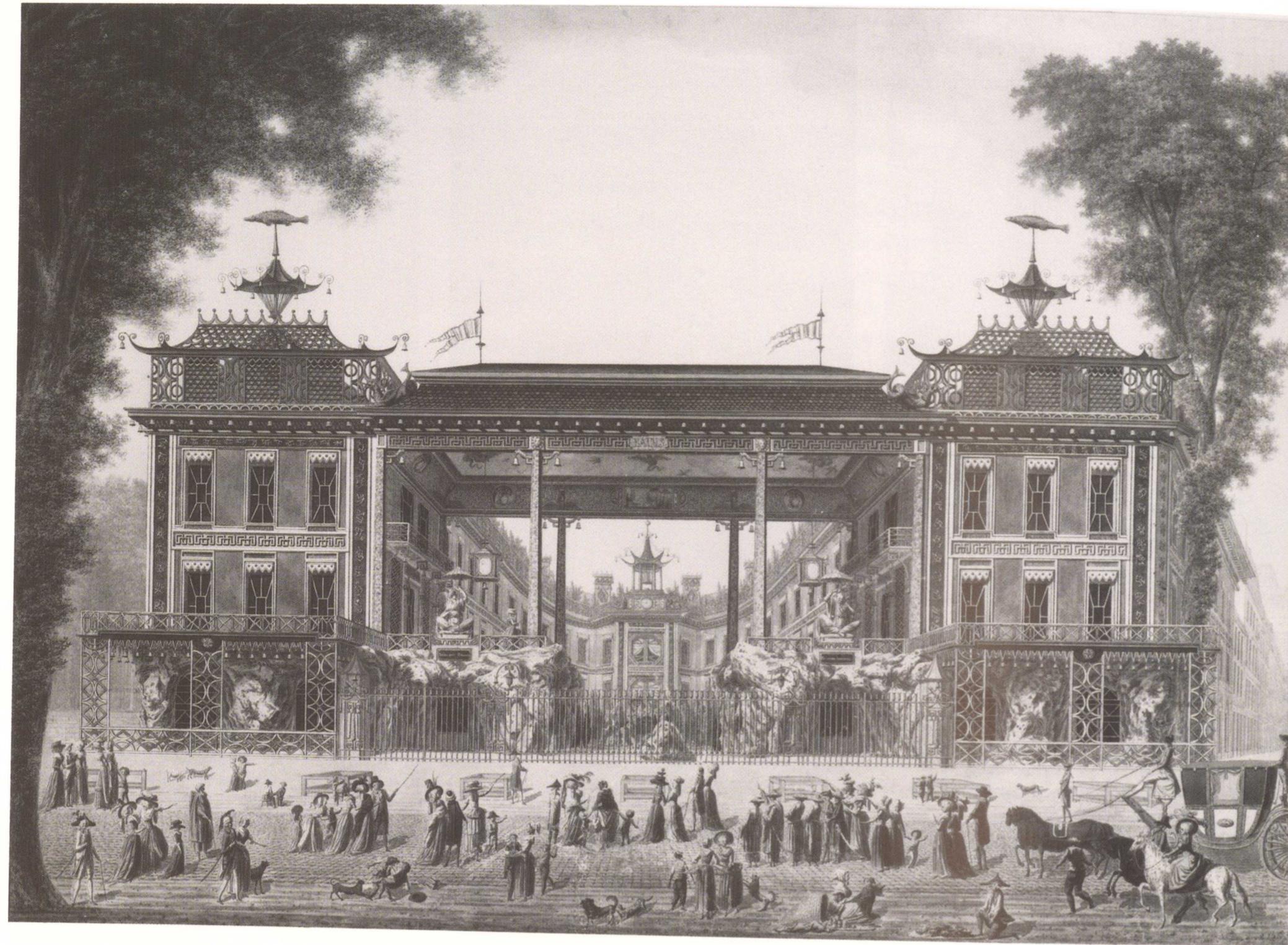


Beside a pump room, winter garden, assembly and relaxation rooms, the elongated complex of buildings contains many different bathing facilities. The architects were Frank Baggallay and Fred Bristowe. While the Turkish Baths do not have the »classical« ground plan, they do also have the series of hot rooms at different temperatures, a steam bath, a relaxation room and a large plunge pool. In the hot rooms, the Oriental atmosphere is created by horseshoe arches and colour-glazed bricks. The domed relaxation room, which is painted in light colours, is a blend of the Orient and Art Nouveau.

hot-bathing, and cupping, after the turkish model«.<sup>14</sup> Thus, at any rate, read the advertisement of the oldest of these baths, the Royal Bagnio Coffeehouse, located on Bath Street with an entrance on Newgate Street.<sup>15</sup> It had been built and opened in 1679 by Turkish merchants. All that is known about its outward appearance is that it was based on Oriental models. In the London cityscape the effect of the building, which had a dome and a façade clad with Dutch tiles, must have been very striking.<sup>16</sup> A picture on an old business card gives an impression of the interior as it looked around the middle of the 19th century. The picture shows the resting and dressing room, which had a dome based on the Oriental model and a central fountain basin. This is where the visit to the baths began and ended. In contrast to the supposedly Oriental exterior, the interior pictured here looks somewhat Baroque. London's Turkish baths were open to ladies and gentlemen alike, sometimes even around the clock, like the Turk's Head Bagnio at Chancery Lane, one of many bath- and coffeehouses of the same name. For two shillings and sixpence one could even spend the night here, and a newspaper advertisement expressly referred to a discreet side entrance: Presumably this was already one of the houses that finally gave Turkish baths a bad name

and that were responsible for the fact that the word »bagnio« was later equated with »bordello«. That is why the new Turkish baths of the nineteenth century were devoted exclusively to hydrotherapy. In 1856 the physician Richard Barter installed a steam bath – in the neo-Gothic style – in his sanatorium at St. Anne's Hill, near the Irish town of Cork.<sup>17</sup>

Dr. Barter's therapeutic methods became well known all over Europe, and it is presumably thanks to him that the steam bath in Germany gained currency under the name »Irish-Roman« bath.<sup>18</sup> Of the countless Turkish baths that were established in almost all English cities in the latter part of the nineteenth century, many were inspired by Oriental models not only in their ground plan, but also in the architectural details, and in the choice of materials and colours. Their exotic appearance held out a promise that went beyond their medical benefit: that of physical enjoyment. An additional characteristic of the Turkish bath was that one took it not alone, but in company. It was not only a place for the cleansing and washings that Islam prescribes for the faithful. Here people met to do nothing, to relax and to chat with others. After the bath a servant brought coffee or the nargileh, or water pipe.



Left page:  
Nicolas Lenoir, Bains Chinois on the Boulevard des Italiens, Paris, 1787. Contemporary watercolour.

Alexandre Marcel (1860–1928), design for a public bath, 1880.



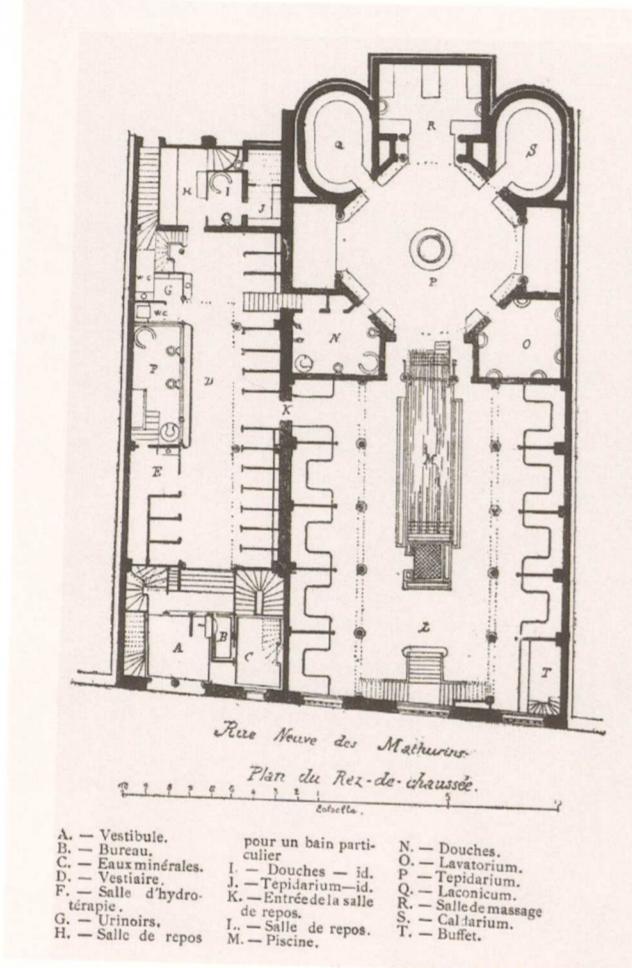
The Islamic bath, the »hammam«<sup>19</sup> (hammam essentially means »spreader of warmth« and comes from the Arabic »hamma« = heat) is a combination hot air and steam bath and differs from its predecessors in classical antiquity primarily because it lacks a frigidarium (cold plunge basin) or piscina, and a palaestra (room for the practice of sports). The hammam basically retained the classical sequence of rooms familiar to us from Roman steam baths. Outwardly the hammam inconspicuously blended with its surroundings. At best, the portal of the narrow street façade was designed as an eye-catcher. As is the case with many Islamic buildings, the actual architectural design concentrated on the interior. Coming from the street, through an angled corridor that kept passersby from looking inside the building, you first entered a small cashier's room and then a large, round or octagonal room, the apodyterium (Arabic: maslak). The latter was overarched by a dome up to fifteen metres high that let in daylight from above. In the middle there was a fountain, and in side recesses there were beds partitioned off by curtains. Here you could dress and undress and rest. Coffee was also served in the »maslak«. Wrapped in a linen towel, wearing a turban and wooden sandals that kept your feet from being burned by the floor, which was heated by hypocausts, you were now taken to a moderately

warm room, the tepidarium (Arabic: bet-el-ael). Here you warmed up, quickly started sweating and were given a light massage. After this preparation you were taken to the heart of the facility, the sweat bath (sudatorium, Arabic: harara). This room was also overarched by a high masonry dome that let in only dim light through coloured glass panes. The entire room was filled with steam. In the centre the bather lay down on a marble-clad table-high platform. The high temperature caused more intense perspiration. The tellak, or bathing attendant, now used the weight of his whole body to massage the bather thoroughly and to loosen up all his limbs. In recesses along the periphery of the room or in adjoining small rooms there were water basins. Here, warm or cold water was poured over you. The tellak now began to rub the bather's skin thoroughly with a camelhair mitt. Only then was the bather lathered with soap. After being rinsed again you wrapped yourself in dry sheets and went to your divan in the cooling room, where you could order drinks or even a regular meal.

Many travellers describe the delights of such bathing. In 1777, Claude Savary wrote: »You feel a hitherto unknown suppleness and ease; you feel as if you had just been born and as if you were alive for the first time. A strong sense that you exist spreads to your extremities.

Opposite page:  
Cuthbert Brodrick, Design for the Oriental Baths in  
Leeds, 1866. The baths opened in 1867 and were demol-  
ished in 1969.

William Klein and Albert Duclos, *Le Hammam*,  
18, Rue des Mathurins, Paris, 1876/77.  
Ground plan and historical photograph. The building  
still exists, but the baths are no longer in operation.



During the time that your body has the most flattering sensations, your mind, which is aware of them, expands with the most pleasant of thoughts. Your imagination, which roams through the world it enhances, sees the most charming paintings everywhere, and the scene of bliss.<sup>20</sup>

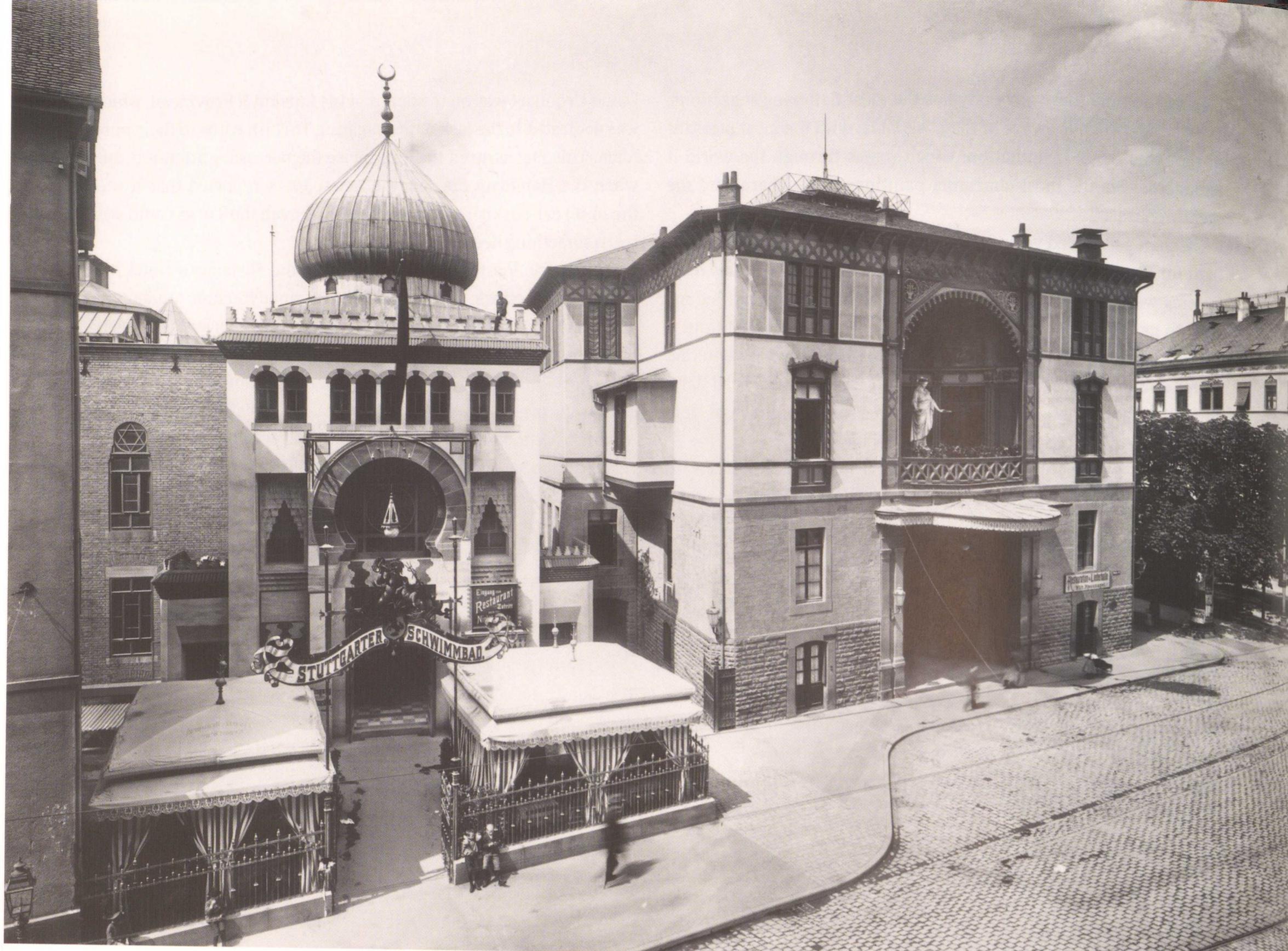
More than a hundred years later, Théophile Gautier visited a steam bath for the first time in Constantinople: »After these various ceremonies were finished, they wrapped me in dry cloths and led me back to my bed, where two small boys massaged me one last time. – I remained there for about another hour in sleepy reverie, drinking coffee and lemonades with ice; when I left the baths, I was so light, so well-balanced, so supple, so recovered from my fatigue that I thought heavenly angels were walking by my side.<sup>21</sup>

Already a decade after Urquhart's first journalistic efforts to promote Turkish baths, England had a »Turkish Bath Movement«.<sup>22</sup> One of those best documented in the press<sup>23</sup> was the bathhouse on Jermyn Street, London, which was frequently referred to as the first. When it was opened in 1862 by the London & Provincial Turkish Bath Company under the name The Hammam, a number of entrepreneurs had already followed Urquhart's suggestion. In Manchester, William Potter had opened his second establishment in 1859: The Sultan's Bath in the Albert Club, which had luxurious Oriental furnishings. In Brompton, too, there was a Turkish bath, and Charles Bartholomew, yet another enthusiastic adherent of the movement, had already established the first of a whole »chain« of baths.<sup>24</sup>

David Urquhart was on the board of the London & Provincial, which was dedicated to the task of propagating Turkish baths in their pure form. This fact assured the enterprise the necessary attention, and when the Hammam opened, the newspapers reported that it was the first real Turkish bathhouse, and that even the Turks could still learn something here.

The bath was located in the building of the St. James's Hotel.<sup>25</sup> It contained the classic sequence of rooms – apodyterium, tepidarium and sudatorium. The tepidarium adhered to Oriental models: Between the arms of the cruciform ground plan there were two even warmer rooms as well as two rooms where you could pour warm and cold water over yourself. The central massage platform had a cellar under it: A staircase went down to the showers. In the layout of the relaxation room the architect, George Somers Clarke, had no longer followed traditional models. The open wooden structure roofed over a central nave and two lateral naves that were divided into small relaxation rooms. The pool extended into the tepidarium under a glass partition wall. Thus one could swim from one room to the other. The wooden structure of the relaxation room was reminiscent not so much of Turkish models than of the forms of Chinese lattice-work popular since the publication of William Halfpenny's book. The lamps, too, looked somewhat Chinese and contributed to the overall vaguely exotic impression. But the »tellaks« who had been hired in Turkey and who mastered the Oriental bathing ritual down to the last detail more than made up for this lack of authenticity.





Wittmann and Stahl, Swimming Pool on Büchsenstraße, Stuttgart, 1889, 1892.

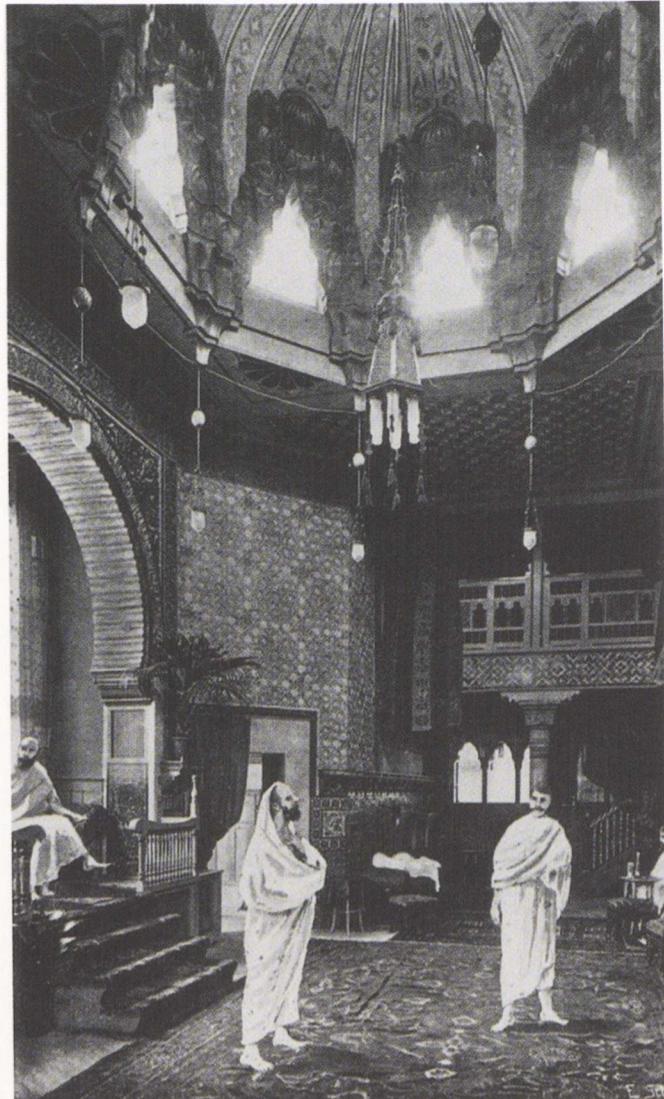
Public baths were among the new architectural projects of the nineteenth century. Around the middle of the century there were eleven public baths in England. But only a few of them had swimming pools. In 1855 the first German »Volksbad« (Public Bath) opened in Hamburg. The building of such facilities was soon recognized as a social necessity in the large cities: The flats of the »classes without financial means« had a toilet and running water at best, there was no question of a bath. Very soon, public baths and swimming pools were combined, for instance, the Aktienbad in Magdeburg (1860) or the Sophienbad in Leipzig (1864), which as a »more elegant private institution« was reserved for a middle-class clientele. Baths such as the one in Hanover (1867) or the Stuttgart Swimming Pool were intended for all walks of life, for only a large number of visitors could justify the large investments. The pricing policy in Stuttgart intended »the moneyed classes to pay higher entry fees, thus making up for the lower fees paid by those without financial means«.<sup>38</sup> Middle-class bathers could avoid running into the lower classes if they

avoided the »Volksbadetage« (days when entrance fees were lowered to allow poorer bathers to come). In the generously designed steam baths, the »1st class« visitors enjoyed the privilege of a luxuriously appointed relaxation room. The building of the Stuttgart Indoor Swimming Pool was preceded by the founding of a joint-stock company proposed by Privy Councillor Leo Vetter that was sponsored primarily by the royal house and the city of Stuttgart. Its goal was to enable broad segments of the population to use the swimming pool, steam bath and tub baths. The first building, based on plans by the architects Wittmann and Stahl and completed in 1889, contained only a swimming pool for men. Encouraged by the unexpectedly large number of visitors, work was begun on an annex building, which now also included a »ladies' swimming pool« as well as an extensive series of hot air baths and steam baths. The main entrance had now moved almost to the boundary of the elongated building site and was located, set back somewhat, next to the Liederhalle on Büchsenstraße.<sup>39</sup>

In his book *Moderne Bäder*, Leo Vetter, who played a key role in planning the building, advised »this kind of

bathing facility should be given an artistic character as far as possible ... « What lay behind this was the conviction that a spoiled middle-class public could be attracted only by providing the appropriate comfort; at the same time there was probably the desire that the baths would be a social institution whose function did not remain limited to the trite benefit of keeping the body clean and strengthening it. The generous décor, in a »Moorish-Tunisian« style, was already noticeable in the striking entrance building. The onion dome and crescent moon signalled: »This is where the Orient begins!« In the interior, one encountered the entire repertoire of Oriental stylistic clichés – striped horseshoe arches, wooden carvings of the type found in the mashrabiyyas of Arab houses, coloured tiles and Persian carpets. The Orient painter Max Bredt was commissioned to decorate the baths artistically.<sup>40</sup>

Swimming Pool on Büchsenstraße, Stuttgart.  
Interior view of the »ladies' swimming pool«.  
The colourful décor – the pool framed with blue tiles and red marble, the colourfully embroidered curtains, and the horseshoe arches, presumably striped red and white – made the bathers feel they had been transported to another world, »in which nothing reminds them of the ordinary, stressful day-to-day life«.<sup>40</sup>



Swimming Pool on Büchsenstraße, Stuttgart.  
In contrast to the hot air rooms and steam rooms this room was reserved for 1st-class bathers. Here, too, the décor was magnificent. The light fell through light-blue stained glass panes into a room that created homelike comfort by Oriental means: Persian rugs, a »Moorish« candelabra, a gilded »Arabian« arch and the obligatory indoor palm tree. The wall base was clad with old Tunisian tiles.

Ludwig Eisenlohr and Carl Weigle, Lounge in the Eberhardsbad, Bad Wildbad, Black Forest, 1898.

In 1897 the Stuttgart architects Ludwig Eisenlohr (1851–1931) and Carl Weigle (1849–1932), who were also the publishers of the *Architektonische Rundschau*, were commissioned to create a heatable lounge in the »Large Bath Building« in Bad Wildbad (Black Forest) where spa guests could relax before and after swimming. The »Bath Hotel« and the »Large Bath Building« had been built in 1839–47 according to plans by the architect Nikolaus Friedrich von Thouret (1767–1845). The interior of Thouret's unconventional building, which had round arches and large thermal windows, had already set the Oriental theme with individual ornamental forms.<sup>41</sup> Eisenlohr and Weigle covered an existing courtyard that had a portico of columns with a double iron and glass roof.<sup>42</sup> Access to the hall was through a newly created entrance with a vestibule.



In the waiting hall the architects' job basically consisted of re-cladding what was already there. They were inspired by various models: While visitors felt reminded of Indian Moghul architecture on seeing the multi-foiled arches in the entryway, the details of the colonnaded courtyard came from Moorish Spain. On columns of yellow marble stucco are capitals taken from one of the relevant publications about the Alhambra. The arabesques of the tympanums, the central fountain and the plaited-band ornament of the mosaic floor complete the Moorish effect. Of course, the climate here is not Mediterranean: The glass roof, painted with Art Nouveau motifs, protects the Moorish courtyard from the northern weather, and upholstered benches, potted plants and, as a classical addition, an Aphrodite from the studio of Thorvaldsen give the exotic ambience a touch of European hotel lobby atmosphere.





The rocks, too, were a reference to China: Those who were familiar with contemporary travel literature knew the pictures of bizarre rock formations and the descriptions of Chinese gardens with their artistically laid-out miniature mountain ranges. Additional motifs that contemporaries would easily identify as Chinese were the concave roofs with the raised eaves at whose ends little bells were attached, as well as the abundant decorative latticework. Later the exotic effect was reinforced by two obelisks which, placed at the roadside, drew attention to the baths from afar.<sup>27</sup>

But the Bains chinois remained an exception among the public baths: The choice of style could hardly be derived from the building's purpose, but was the expression of a general enthusiasm for all things Chinese that primarily took the form of the pavilions in the »Anglo-Chinese« gardens. There were even at least two garden pavilions that their owners referred to as »Chinese baths«. Both had been designed by the architect and landscape gardener François-Joseph Bélanger (1744–1818), who was also the creator of the cast-iron dome (1811) over the Halle au blé: one for his own garden in Santeny, the other, Le Bain Chinois, for the garden of the Château de Bagatelle in the Bois de Boulogne. In both cases, however, the name did not seem to reflect an actual function: The small wooden pavilions seemed hardly suited for that. But it is conceivable that they had inspired Lenoir and his client to choose the style and name of the baths on the Boulevard des Italiens.<sup>28</sup>

After the International Exposition of 1867, at the latest, it was clear that an Islamic architectural style was more appropriate for such a task: Included among the numerous exotic buildings that had already been erected on the Champ de Mars was a »Turkish Bath«, a building characterized as Oriental by a dome decorated with crescents, if nothing else.

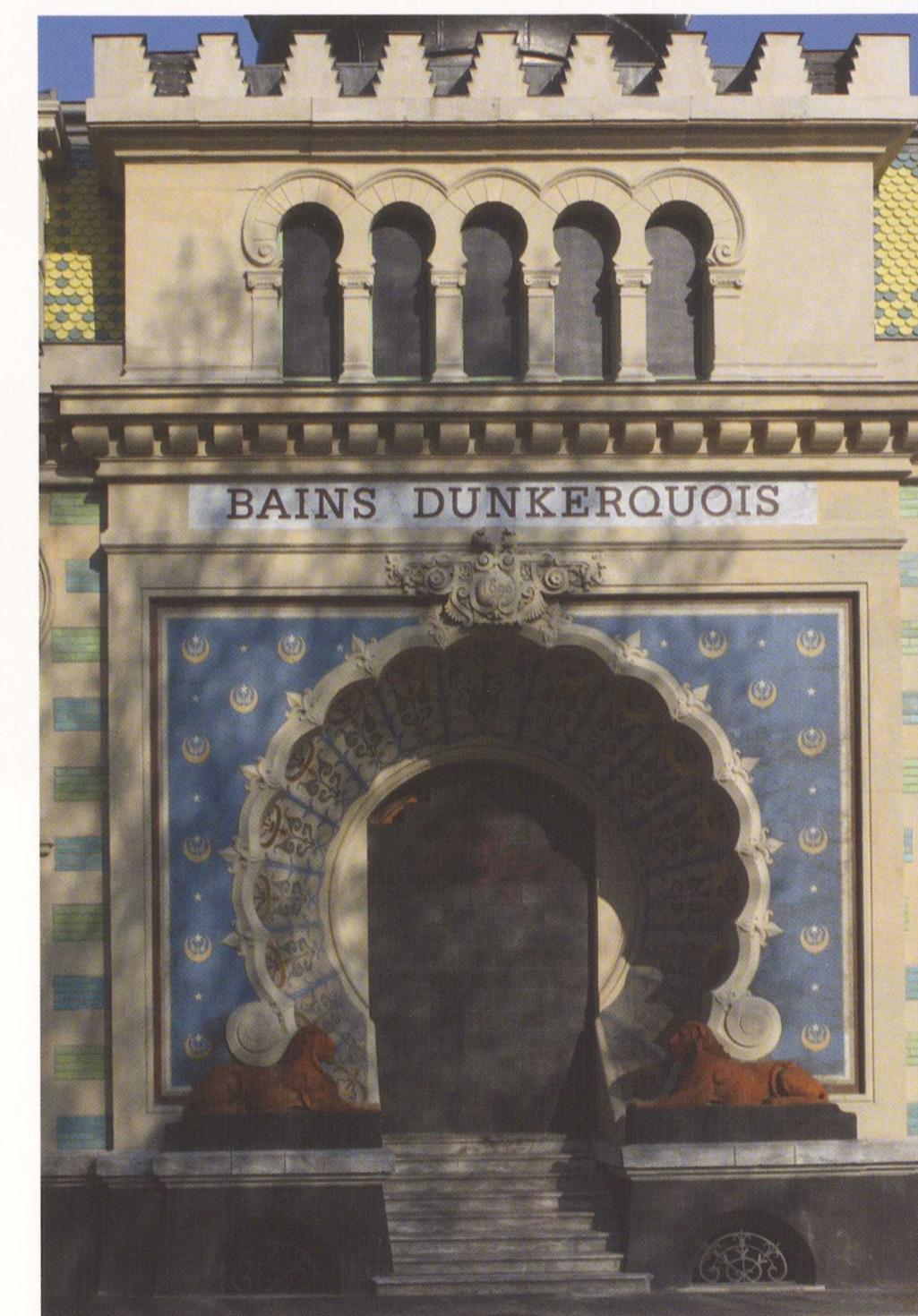
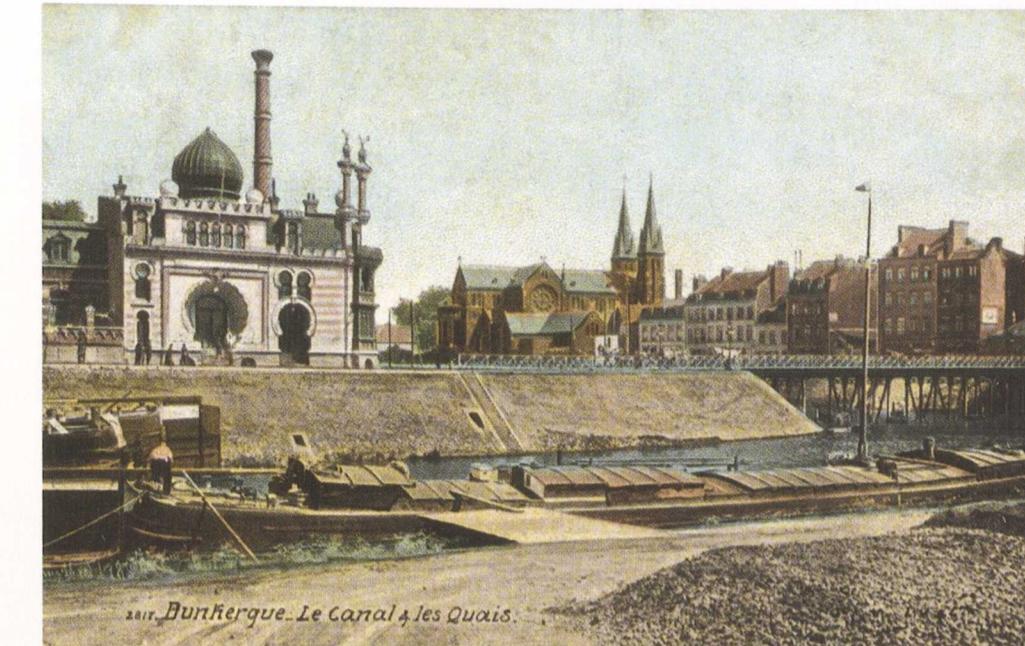
When the next international exposition took place in 1878, the hammam on Rue des Mathurins was already advertising for visitors. The luxuriously furnished baths had opened for business in 1876/77. They occupied two storeys of a block of flats. The architects Klein and Duclos had obviously taken the baths on Jermyn Street, London, as their model: They had adopted not only the ground plan, but also sophisticated architectural details, such as the swimming pool, which connected the relaxation room with the tepidarium under a horseshoe arch where a glass partition came down to the surface of the water.<sup>29</sup> But the interior design surpassed its English model in splendour, and even on the outside an Oriental façade wooed passersby to visit the »Bains Turco-Romains« – as the hammam was called in the subtitle.

The use of Oriental stylistic elements, however, was not limited to steam baths. Even in the case of large public baths, the Oriental theme was popular. The only plausible alternative here was the model of the Roman thermae. Orientalist architecture was also best suited for the fantastical ambience of elegant spas and seaside resorts.

In Vittel, for instance, there were the above-mentioned »Moorish« thermal baths of Charles Garnier with horseshoe arches and walls clad with coloured tiles.<sup>30</sup> But the Orient did not stop with the baths.

Left page:  
J. Hatchard Smith, *Dalston Junction Turkish Baths*,  
London, 1881/82.<sup>43</sup>

Louis Gilquin, Georges Boidin and Albert Baert,  
*Bains Dunkerquois*, Dunkerque, 1895–96.  
Contemporary postcard and actual view.



The permanent guests of the spas and seaside resorts also wanted to live in Oriental splendour: A number of villas in Vichy and on the French Riviera bear witness to this fashion.

An Oriental bathhouse must have looked far more exotic in an English industrial town like Leeds than it would have done on the Riviera, which was not too far removed from North Africa: In 1867 the Oriental Baths opened on Cookridge Street.

The Oriental character of the symmetrically designed building – a central projection and lateral wings – was due to its colourful stripes, its crenellations and domes, and a Turkish minaret, which was also striped. The creator of the baths was the architect Cuthbert Brodrick (1822–1905), to whom Leeds owes important buildings such as the Town Hall and the unusual Corn Exchange. Incidentally, the design for the baths had been preceded by an unimplemented project, a customs house in Bombay – »in a mixture of Hindu and Mohammedan style«.<sup>31</sup> In 1882 the Oriental Baths were unfortunately given a new Gothic façade, and in 1969 they were demolished altogether.

Toward the end of the 19th century, there were magnificent Oriental-style public baths even in provincial towns like Reims<sup>32</sup> or Dunkerque. The Oriental baths in the French seaport Dunkerque had been damaged in two world wars but were still in use until 1975. After a long period of decay a thorough restoration is under way but the future use of the baths is still unclear.

The Centralbad in Vienna which opened as a private steam bath in 1889 still occupies three storeys of a residential building in Weihburggasse. From the dressing room to the indoor pools in the basement it was consistently decorated in the Moorish style by its architects Adolf Endl and Honus & Lang.<sup>33</sup>

In the once Austro-Hungarian, today Slovakian, resort town Trenčianske Teplice a large Thermal Spa named Hammam was opened in 1888. It is still in use and well preserved. Its architect Frantisek Schmoranz (1845–1892) first encountered Islamic architecture when he worked in the office of Karl von Diebitsch in Cairo on projects for the Khedive (cf. p. 92). When Diebitsch died in 1869, Schmoranz continued his work for Ismail for another year. The Khedive hired him some years later to design a group of Egyptian buildings for the Vienna world fair in 1878.

Even the little roofed-over coffee bar had been imported from Constantinople complete with all accessories and with its owner: Here coffee, sherbet, fruit and water pipes were available.

In Paris the history of public baths had its beginnings on the Seine: The first »bath boat« began to operate in 1765. The water for the tub baths was taken directly from the river. In the first half of the 19th century there was also a swimming school, the École Royale de Natation, on the Quai d'Orsay: Floating platforms with covered arcades surrounded a large rectangular body of water. Changing cubicles, cashier's office and a café-restaurant were distributed over several platforms. The café was located in an Oriental kiosk with stained-glass windows.<sup>26</sup>

Quite a lot more exclusive and better suited for social gatherings were the »Bains chinois« on the Boulevard des Italiens, built in 1787. The architect of the bizarre structure was Nicolas Lenoir, known as Le Romain (1726–1810), who designed several theatre buildings, such as the Théâtre du Vaudeville and the Vauxhall (later known as the Panthéon d'Hiver).

On a foundation of artificial rocks arose a two-storey building. The ground plan had the shape of a horseshoe open toward the boulevard. On the terraces above the grotto-like entrances squatted Chinese figures under parasols – a popular motif that was used in combination with Chinese pavilions in the eighteenth century. The Chinese house in the »Desert« of Retz (cf. p. 12) had also had similar figures.

## The worldview of the international expositions

»Like something unheard-of from a fairytale, the news spread to the four corners of the earth that a glass and iron palace was being built which would cover eighteen acres of land.«<sup>1</sup>

The fairytale news was based on facts: However, the palace that was being planned was not intended to serve the representation of a ruler but to house the first international industrial exposition. In 1851 an exposition committee chaired by Prince Albert had organized a competition in order to obtain designs for the building of the »Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations« that would open on 1 May 1851 in Hyde Park, London.

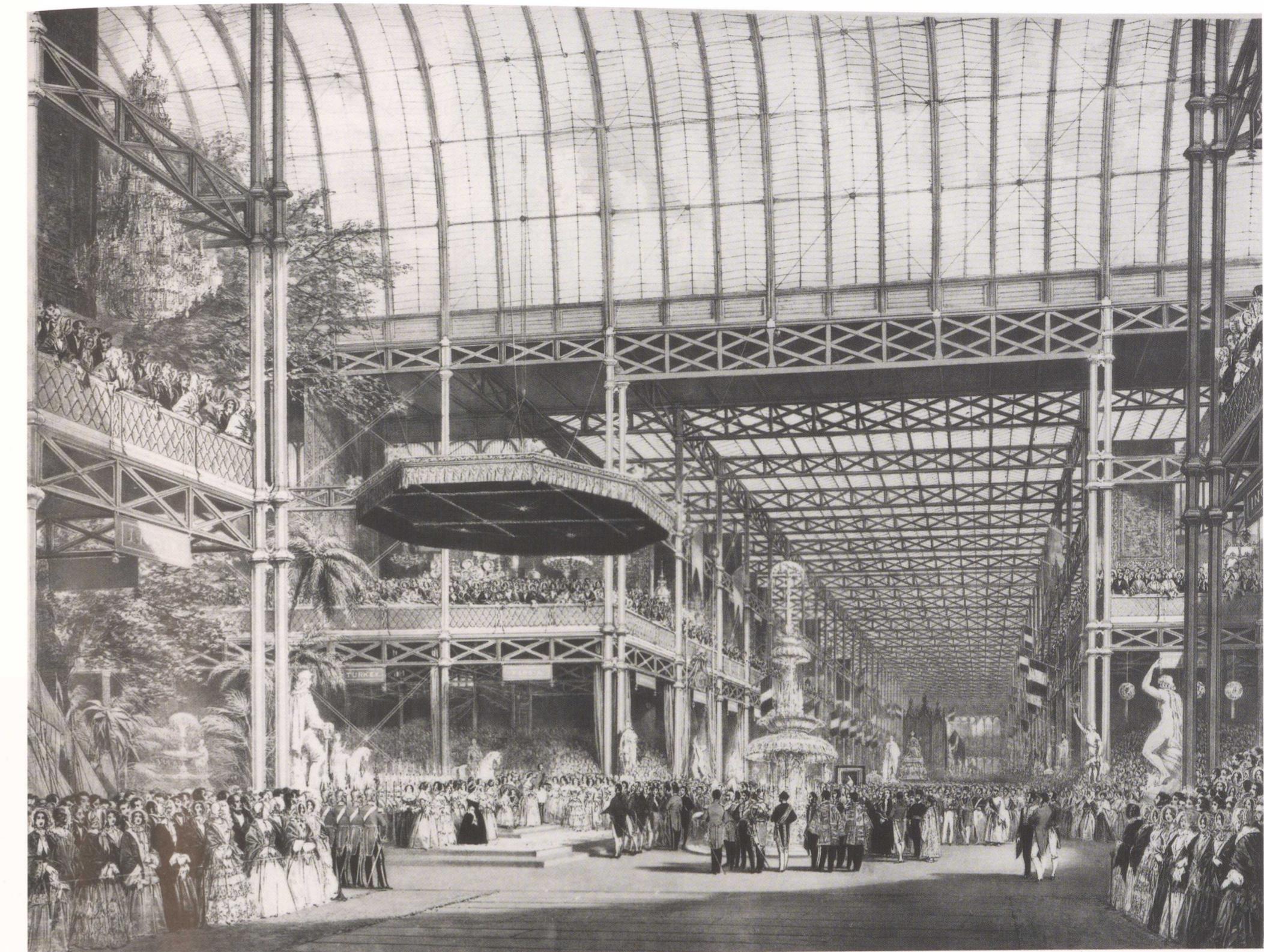
The building became a triumph of British industry and capacity for innovation. The solution proposed by Joseph Paxton drew on his experience in building hothouses. His sober design was successful,

The stuffed elephant in the Indian section of the 1851 International Exposition in London.



although it contradicted all traditional expectations vis-à-vis such a representative building. Since it was impossible to complete a building of this size (the footprint of Paxton's »Crystal Palace« measured 563 x 124 metres) with traditional materials within such a short period, Paxton developed his design from a limited number of standardized and prefabricated structural elements made of cast iron, laminated wood and glass that were only assembled on the building site.

With a large number of novel machines and industrial products, Great Britain emerged as the uncontested winner among all the exhibiting countries. Furthermore, for the first time, the exhibition presented the raw materials and products of the overseas colonies. As the most important among the colonies, India occupied the central place in the transept of the Crystal Palace. In addition to the raw materials and products of the country, there were numerous models illustrating Indian architecture and everyday life in India. Though these were portrayed soberly, this section made a deep and momentous impression on visitors. For sensitive visitors such as Théophile Gautier, the Indian section was the culmination of the unreal impression that even the glass and iron building had evoked in him because of its novelty.<sup>2</sup> The exposition, intended to be didactic and meant to give the British people an idea of Indian society and of the economic benefit of colonial involvement, stimulated Gautier's imagination, reminding him of fantastic ideas of a mythical India that was considered to be the cradle of all philosophy and art. The particular effectiveness of this fascination was due to its contrast with the steam-driven »monsters« of the adjacent world of machines, which Gautier hastily left. But the Indian world was also in contrast with the modern metropolis, whose lack of mysteries could be compensated for only by the imagination: »Ah, how often, as our feet walked down the asphalt path that leads from the Obelisk to the Arc de l'Étoile, our thoughts roamed through the jungle, where the tiger, in the pose of a sphinx, licks its velvet paws...«<sup>3</sup> But even less imaginative visitors to the exposition were impressed by the extravagant splendour that demonstrated the wealth of Indian princes in the form of carpets, tents, clothes, jewellery and weapons. An eye-catcher that could not easily be overlooked was a stuffed elephant that was fitted out with a sumptuous harness, embroidered saddlecloths, howdah and canopy – the gift of a subservient regional prince to Queen Victoria. Artistically sensitized observers could not fail to see something more crucial: the high quality of the handcrafted products, the assurance with which Indian craftsmen worked with colours and ornaments, in crass contrast with the products of the British »art industry«. In two magnificently illustrated volumes published by Matthew Digby Wyatt after the exposition, there is therefore a strikingly large number of Indian examples.<sup>4</sup>



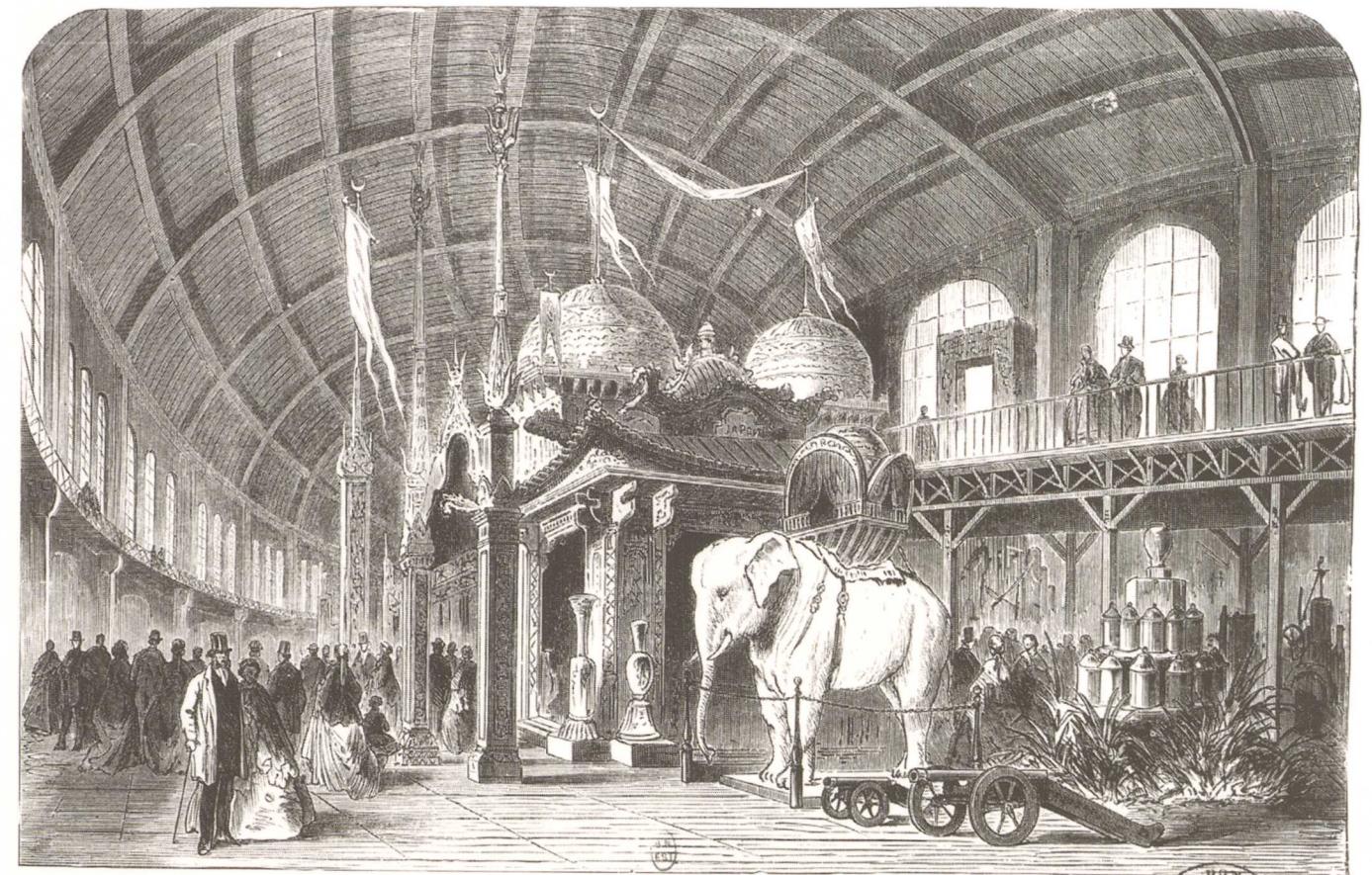
Joseph Paxton, Crystal Palace, London, 1851.

A sizeable number of Indian exhibits were purchased for the newly established South Kensington Museum; these were catalogued by the painter and architect Owen Jones, who enthusiastically commented: »In the Indian collection we find no struggle after an effect; every ornament arises quietly and naturally from the object decorated, inspired by some true feelings, or embellishing some real want.«<sup>5</sup> In addition to colourfully enamelled metal vessels and lacquerwork, Indian textiles were particularly admired – from carpets to cashmere shawls.

On the other hand, the products that British industry supplied for daily use and for the decoration of middle-class homes were of a low standard of design. Gottfried Semper, who had personally designed several sections of the international exposition, gave his opinion: »The high development of modern practical science has no counterpart in a corresponding progress of the arts, in a general artistic feeling and taste.«<sup>6</sup> The German architect believed that one cause of a situation generally regarded as deplorable was an »overabundance of means.«<sup>7</sup> New processes such as galvanoplasty and iron casting, new materials and substitute materials encouraged manufacturers

to use them thoughtlessly. It was now possible to imitate expensive traditional handicraft techniques by mass production; the forms that were used in the process originated in history. Industry had deprived handicraft of its economic foundations and now itself mimicked the uniqueness of handcrafted goods and their valuable materials.

The consequence of the crisis diagnosed by international critics was a series of attempts at reform. Sir Henry Cole, the organizer of the »Great Exhibition«, had long since realized that it was necessary to improve arts and crafts education and at the same time to set new standards with sample collections of exemplary arts and crafts and industrial products. One result of Cole's efforts was the establishment of the South Kensington Museum, whose collection was later to form the core of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The British example led to the founding of museums of decorative arts on the Continent as well: in 1864 in Vienna, in 1867 in Berlin. A significant part of the collection was acquired at the international expositions and at regional crafts shows. While Cole was confident that high-quality design would develop only from a close collaboration



The 1867 International Exposition in Paris.  
Interior view and bird's-eye view of the Champ de Mars (opposite page).  
The exposition building was erected under the direction of the engineer J. B. Krantz. The concentric arrangement underlying the architectural structures is ascribed to the general commissioner of the exposition, Frédéric Le Play. With a lift located in the outer ring visitors were able to go up on the roof and view the roof landscape of glass and corrugated iron from there.

between artists and industry, other attempts at reform were based on the rejection of industrial ways of life and forms of production: The theories of John Ruskin and the activities of William Morris and his circle looked for a solution to the problem in a return to painstaking craftsmanship and in a rejection of historicizing or naturalistic decoration. In a process that took decades, there were a large number of efforts not only to find a form appropriate for industrial manufacture, but also to arrive at design in arts and crafts and architecture that was in keeping with the modern age. Since the 1862 London Exhibition, the encounter with Japanese culture contributed significantly to clarifying this debate. The Japanese example hastened the emerging process of shedding historical ballast and confirmed efforts to create the »modern« form. But in 1851 India was still the focus of interest. Despite general admiration, many visitors felt Indian handicrafts were the expression of a »barbaric splendour«<sup>8</sup> that was difficult to reconcile with the archaic conditions of production conveyed by the exhibited model scenes of crafts and agriculture. »The different stages of development of science and technology«<sup>9</sup> were the criteria for gauging the superiority of Western industrial nations over the cultures of the East. This superiority, which was taken for granted, served as the ideological justification of colonial policy. Allowing the subjugated peoples to share universal progress was regarded as the obligation of Western civilization. In fact, however, the Europeans were creating new markets for their expanding industry. Since they liked to learn from other cultures, they gratefully accepted Indian suggestions. But at the same time they were destroying the economic foundations of this culture: By importing cheap industrial goods and rational manufacture in the country itself they were driving local producers from the market.

In 1862 the London public was confronted with a large exhibition of ancient and contemporary art objects from China and Japan. Even though such publications as Waring's *Masterpieces of Industrial Art*

and Culture<sup>10</sup> often combined objects from both cultures on the same plate, accurate distinctions between them were actually made. The different aesthetical evaluation of Japanese and Chinese products coincided strikingly with the different political evaluation of each particular culture: »On the whole people here are pretty fed up with the Chinese and would show more interest in the Japanese,«<sup>11</sup> was a comment made as early as 1851. The frequent disparagement especially of contemporary Chinese artefacts reflected a new image of China: that of an ancient culture in a state of political and cultural decadence. The Chinese rejection of Western »progress« and voluntary isolation vis-à-vis the Western powers was seen as proof of this decadence. For a long time, the Chinese government had steadfastly resisted all British diplomatic efforts to expand trade with the Europeans, which was limited to a few harbours such as Macao and Canton.

»To all intents and purposes, Mr. Cobden<sup>12</sup> declared that it was one of the most important tasks of civilization to get each of the 300 million Chinese to buy a cotton nightcap from Manchester; to all intents and purposes, the Opium Wars were started ...« in order to »... force British products upon the Chinese.«<sup>13</sup> Since China was not willing to open its own market to British industrial products, the British began illegally importing opium in order to offset their negative trade balance. This led to two wars that demonstrated European military superiority. The Second Opium War (the Arrow War, 1856–58) culminated in the joint occupation of Peking by the British and the French. The Convention of Peking (1860) forced the Chinese to give up all trade restrictions, to open new ports and to tolerate political representatives in Peking. The Chinese collection at the international exhibition of 1862 was the direct result of this aggressive policy. The troops led by Lord Elgin and Baron Gros had set on fire and plundered the imperial summer palace. »And what does the Chinese section of the exhibition consist of? Of artworks from the summer palace that British officers pocketed and their wives

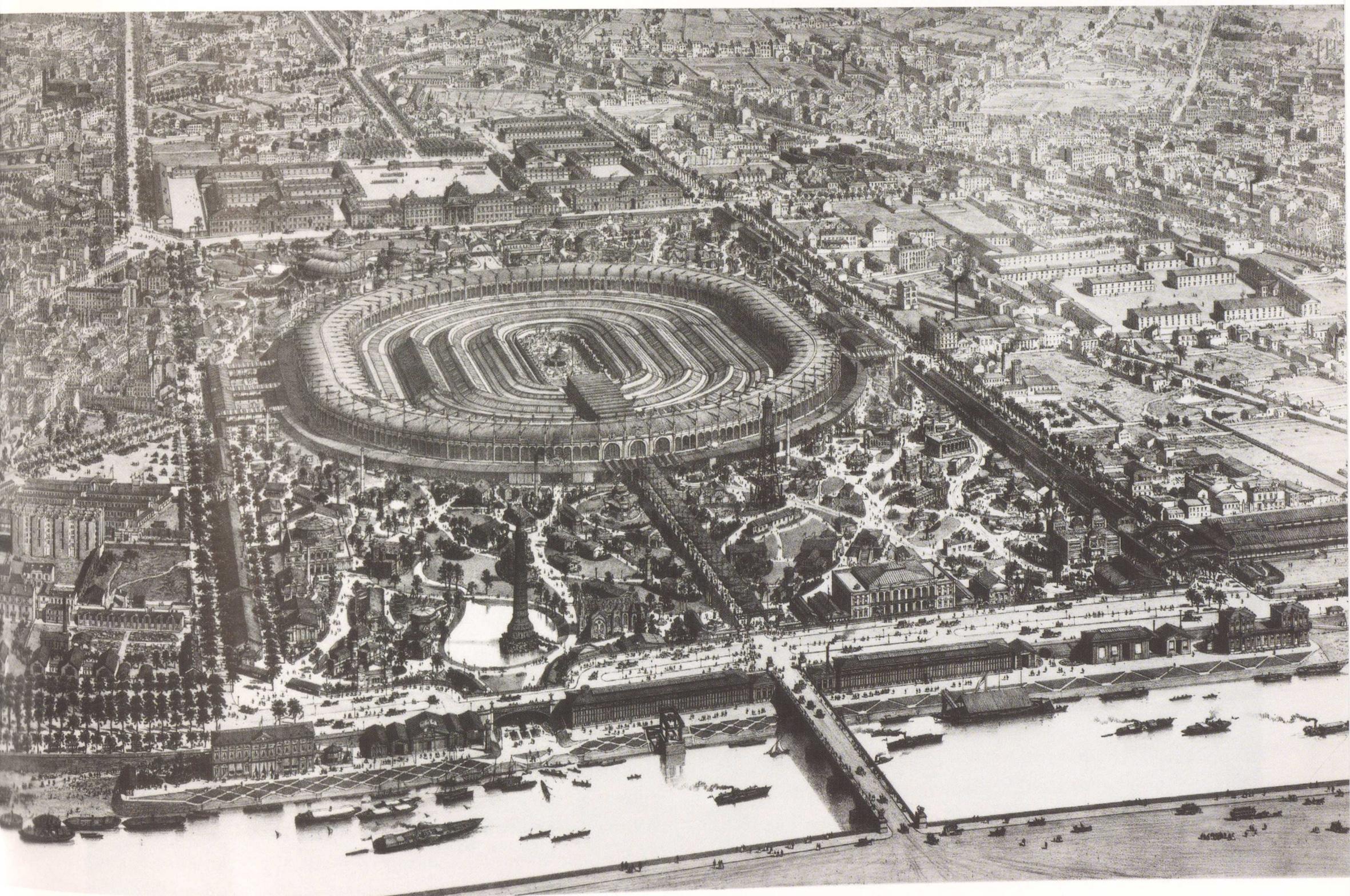
exhibited here.«<sup>14</sup> Against this background, it is only too clear why the Chinese government refused to participate officially in subsequent international expositions as well.

Japan, on the other hand, which the U.S. had forced by military means in 1854 to give up its politics of isolation, was only too willing to adopt Western ideas and to go down the path toward a modern industrial society.

The 1862 exposition of Asian art, which consisted of more than 1,000 catalogue items, was initiated by Sir Rutherford Alcock. Alcock had been consul in China and Japan and later became ambassador in Peking. The exposition displayed not »fine arts«, but objects from Japanese daily life: lacquer work, porcelain and stoneware, silks, kimonos and bronze castings. Like the products of Indian arts and crafts, they represented a craft tradition that was still intact. The simplicity and functionality of the forms, the absence of superfluous decoration and the perfection of the craftsmanship made a deep impression on everyone who was weary of Victorian arts and crafts. An unavoidable effect of the Japanese products was their uncritical reception. This took the form of a frequently trivial Japonism, as, for instance, in a room displayed in Paris in 1878 by the house of

Christofle, which thus exploited the French enthusiasm for all things Japanese. Lothar Bucher, a critical observer of the 1862 exposition, had already predicted it all: He had »a stomachache at the thought of the artworks in »improved Japanese taste« that clever traders would soon put on the market.<sup>15</sup>

However, the creative assimilation of Japanese principles of composition and design led beyond Japonism to Art Nouveau. Personally, too, both movements were connected in many ways: For instance, Samuel Bing, who represented the new direction in his gallery *L'Art Nouveau* at the 1900 Paris World Fair, had started out as a dealer in Far Eastern art and had been publishing the exclusive journal *Le Japon artistique* since 1888. The fact that Japanese stimuli were assimilated in original ways shows that this was less about speculation with superficial exotic allure. While fascination with the Orient based on Islamic models was part of the historicism of the era, Japonism, on the contrary, was not yet another variant in the repertoire of an eclecticism that drew upon historical and exotic styles but helped overcome historicism. The high point of this development was the triumphant appearance of Art Nouveau at the 1900 World Fair.





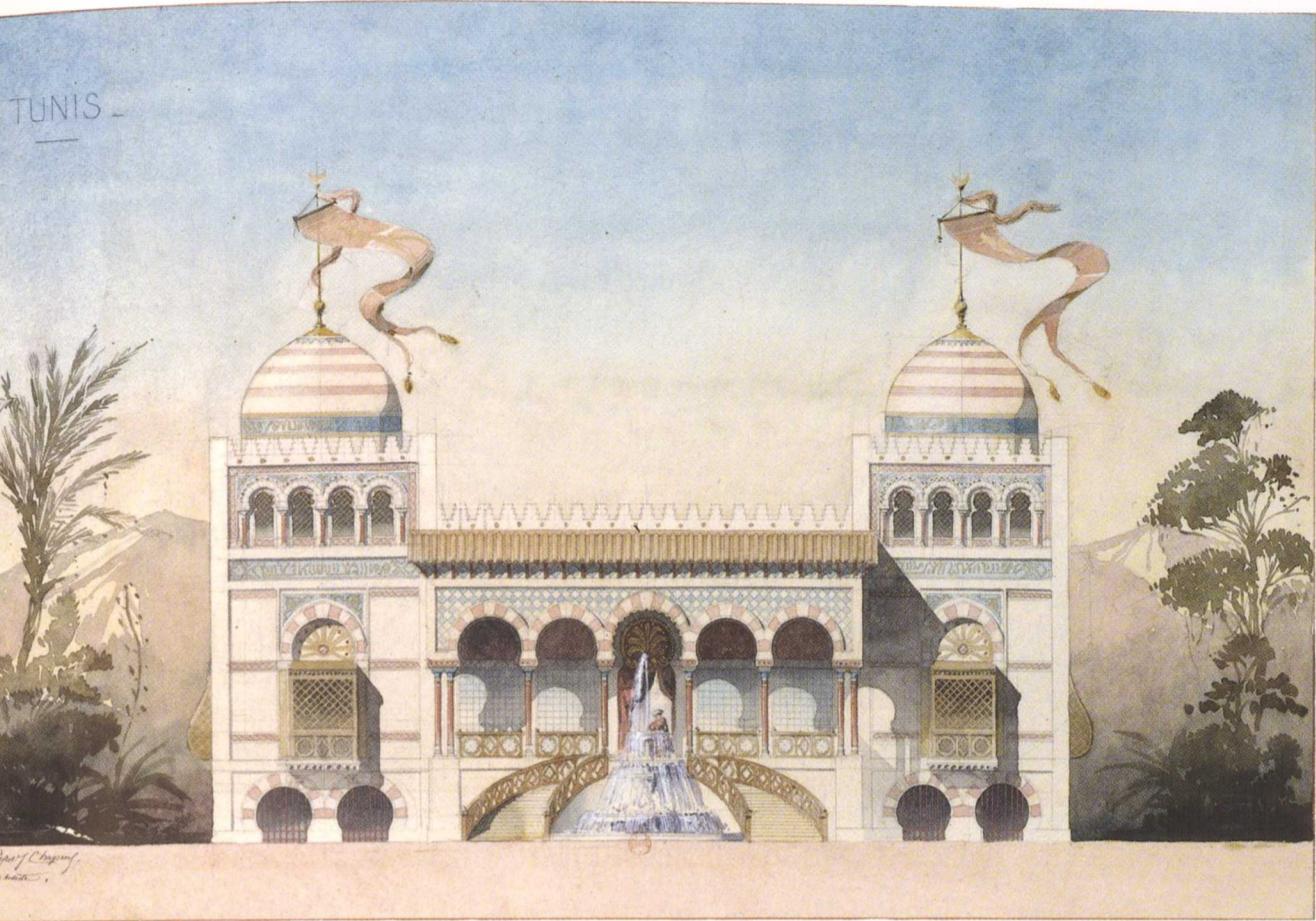
The Oriental buildings at the 1867 International Exposition in Paris.

»Basically of minor importance, as we noted above, are the buildings erected in the park. Architecture is not one of those things you can carry around like a little box and for which you can find a spot somewhere for half a year. As soon as buildings appear in large numbers, though there is no intention of founding a place that will be a lasting memorial to a great human purpose, all that architecture knows how to do is play with its forms in common or imitation material. Moreover, Europe is still helplessly searching for an architectural style in which it could design buildings that are characteristic and apt, and that instantly meet the need of the moment.«<sup>43</sup>

In 1862 there were as yet no products in »improved Japanese taste«. But the effect of the publications of Owen Jones on the Moorish architecture of Spain<sup>16</sup> and Jones' *Grammar of Ornament*, published in 1856, was already evident: A silver, mirrored sideboard by Elkington & Co., whose structure was clearly derived from the Alhambra, made a deep impression. Wyatt exhibited a fireplace of coloured tiles, again in the »style of the Alhambra«.<sup>17</sup> Wyatt, whose publication about the first exhibition has already been mentioned above, in his architectural practice tried his hand at a variety of styles. In 1855, for an expansion of the East India Company Museum on Leadenhall Street, he had designed an »Indian« inner courtyard. Also among his works is a Moorish billiard hall (cf. p. 63). Jones, on the other hand, remained consistently committed to the Moorish style. But since he had only little success with his many architectural projects in the Alhambra style, he soon concentrated exclusively on interior decoration and the design of tiles, wallpapers and fabrics.<sup>18</sup> Jones had hoped that via his analysis of Islamic ornamentation and colour schemes he would arrive at a new and modern style. But the material he had accumulated in the *Grammar of Ornament* – the *Grammar* showed, in coloured lithographs, numerous examples of ornaments from a variety of epochs and cultures – hardly ran counter to the Victorian taste. Rather, it appears as though contemporary arts and crafts designers, in their tendency to cover all surfaces evenly with ornaments, were only too happy to be inspired by Oriental ornamentation and polychromy.

Only four years after the Great Exhibition, France, too, opened its first world exposition. The interval between it and the preceding one was too short; also, the architectural concept was not spectacular enough to come even close to replicating the British success.

But for the empire of Napoleon III, barely three years old, it was obviously a matter of national prestige to present itself to the world as the most important competitor of British industry. France was already able to look back on a long tradition of national industrial expositions. As early as 1798, only a few years after the dissolution of the guilds, the first exhibition of machine-made goods had taken place on the Champ de Mars. It took the form of an open market, and the number of participants was still small. Other expositions followed. In 1834 and 1844 special exhibition buildings were already built; in 1849, elongated iron and glass halls were already erected around an inner courtyard. Henry Cole and Digby Wyatt were sent to Paris by the British government in order to learn from the experience of the French. In other words, the organizational form of the industrial exhibition had already been developed by 1851. The crucial conceptual leap had been to make the national exposition an international event. This was only possible once a network of railway lines connected the most important cities. As recently as at the beginning of the century it would hardly have been possible even to transport the many visitors from the inland and from abroad: At least 6 million people came to London in 1851. In Paris, traffic-related problems that were foreseen when large numbers of visitors overran the city led to the building of new railroad stations and hotels. The first line of the Métro was built for the 1900 World Fair. It was not until the 1867 International Exposition that France set new standards. Eleven million visitors are a sign of its success. This success was due to a change of approach: Art and arts and crafts became the brilliant focus of the exhibitions; the sober industrial fair became an international social event, accompanied by spectacular parties and banquets.



Alfred Chapon, *Le Bardo*, Paris, 1867. Preliminary design and 1935 photograph.

The architect Alfred Chapon (1834–93) had designed numerous exotic buildings for the International Exposition: a pavilion for the panorama of the Suez Canal Company, two Chinese and one Siamese building,<sup>44</sup> and the Bardo. The name referred to the palace of the bey of Tunis, the layout of which Chapon imitated on a small scale. However, the decoration was »infinitely more luxurious and reminiscent of the monuments of Spanish-Arabian art of the 14th century ...«.<sup>45</sup> After the exposition the building was moved to the park of Montsouris; it burned down in 1991.

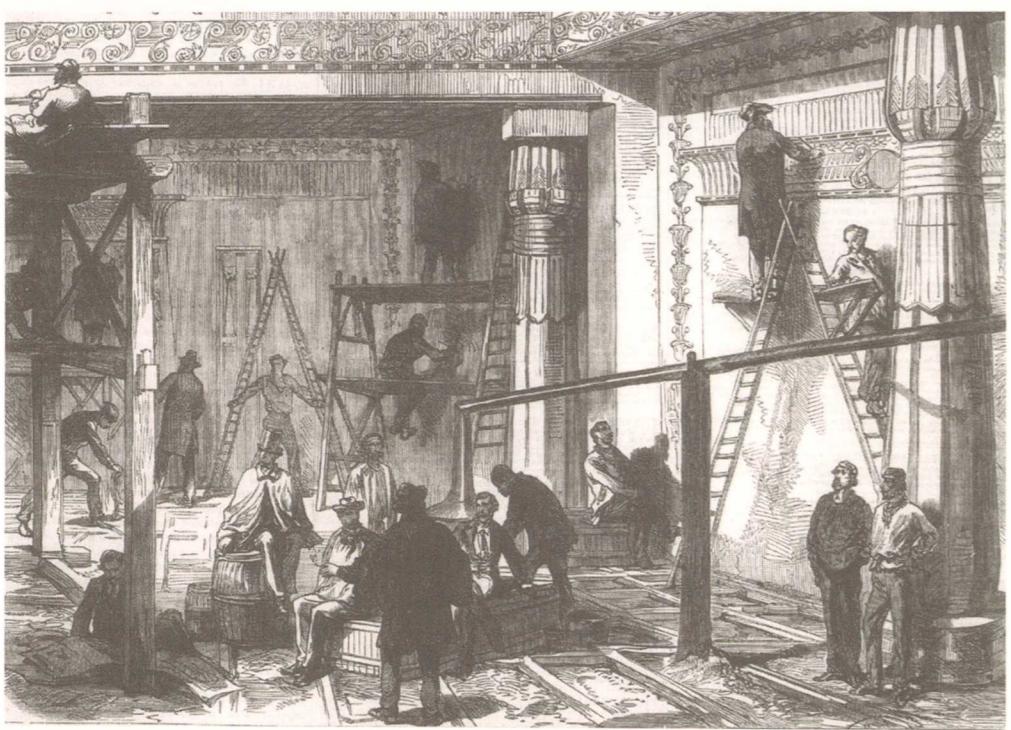




and larger concentric circles. Division into different categories corresponded to the concentric galleries: artworks, furniture and objects for the home, clothing, food, machines ... A tour of one of the galleries thus made it possible to compare all the countries within a class of products. The arrangement of the countries cut this system radially: If you followed one of the aisles from the periphery into the centre, you could get to know a single country in terms of its various products. The image used to describe this generally admired system was the circumnavigation of the Earth: »A walk through the exhibition palace, which is as circular as the equator, is like travelling once around the Earth ...«<sup>19</sup>

Outside the exhibition building the idea of a world tour was reiterated even more clearly: For the first time, planners had the idea of housing the various nations in individual pavilions whose architecture would give an idea of the architectural style regarded as typical of each nation: »From an ethnographic point of view, the individual sections are most interesting ... Russia has sent a group of its muzhiks (peasants), who have built a log cabin faithfully modelled on those found in the forests by the Ural and the Dnieper rivers. The Egyptian section places the architecture of the pharaohs next to the newer Turkish style; anchored on the Seine is a vessel manned by fellahin and Nubians ... Thus a walk through the Industrial Palace and its gardens almost becomes a world tour, which will not fail to create a perfect illusion.«<sup>20</sup>

In the centre of this exotic world were the North and West African cultures. Since the conquest of Algiers (1830), France had been methodically expanding its African colonies and creating the base for a world empire. »Near the banks of the Seine, domes and minarets, Africa and the Orient, the palace of the viceroy of Egypt and the pavilion of the sultan call out to you: Stop!«<sup>21</sup> The »Parc Égyptien« designed by the Egyptologist Auguste Mariette comprised, in addition to the »Avenue of the Sphinxes«, a caravanserai, the palace of the viceroy and a building modelled on the western temple of Philae. Mariette claimed that his reconstruction was scientifically accurate: However, this was true at most of the details and colour scheme only, for the building itself simultaneously combined three different epochs of Egyptian history. The inner hall was furnished in the style of the Old Kingdom, the outside walls were in the style of the New Kingdom and the circular colonnade was Ptolemaic.<sup>22</sup> The viceroy could afford such extravagance only because he »swam in the monies of the Suez Canal.«<sup>23</sup> Another temple served as the information pavilion of the Suez Canal Company. This is where Lesseps held press conferences to keep people informed about the progress of the construction work. Like the Suez Canal, the Cairo opera house, which opened in 1869, was a symbol of the Egyptian king's intention to transform his country based on the Western model. Soon thereafter, Mariette, the founder of the Egyptian Museum, became the middleman between the khedive and Giuseppe Verdi. The khedive wanted to commission Verdi to compose a lavish opera. Mariette himself supplied the ancient Egyptian plot for *Aïda* and designed costumes and sets for the premiere, which took place in Cairo in 1871. The audience consisted predominantly of Europeans.



For the masses of paying visitors the international expositions were gigantic amusement parks. The intention of the planners was a mixture of entertainment and instruction. Exotic architectural backdrops and special historical exhibitions turned the international exposition into a universal museum of human history that displayed more than just the raw materials of the planet and the products of its peoples. »Retrospective exhibitions« on the *History of Labour* (1867 and 1889) or the *History of Habitation* (1889) and the ethnographic exhibitions in the Trocadéro (1878) directly influenced the form of the Museum of Ethnology that had been in the making since the middle of the century. The external appearance of the zoological gardens also owed a great deal to the illusion technology of the international expositions: In Antwerp, Berlin and Cologne a number of exotic buildings still proclaim the spirit of the era of world exhibitions. Here, the microcosm of the old landscape gardens lived on in a new form. What they both had in common was trust in a reason that gains access to the world encyclopaedically.

In an original way, the concept of a world-in-miniature is also expressed in the main exhibition building of 1867: Around an oval inner courtyard, iron and glass galleries were arranged in larger

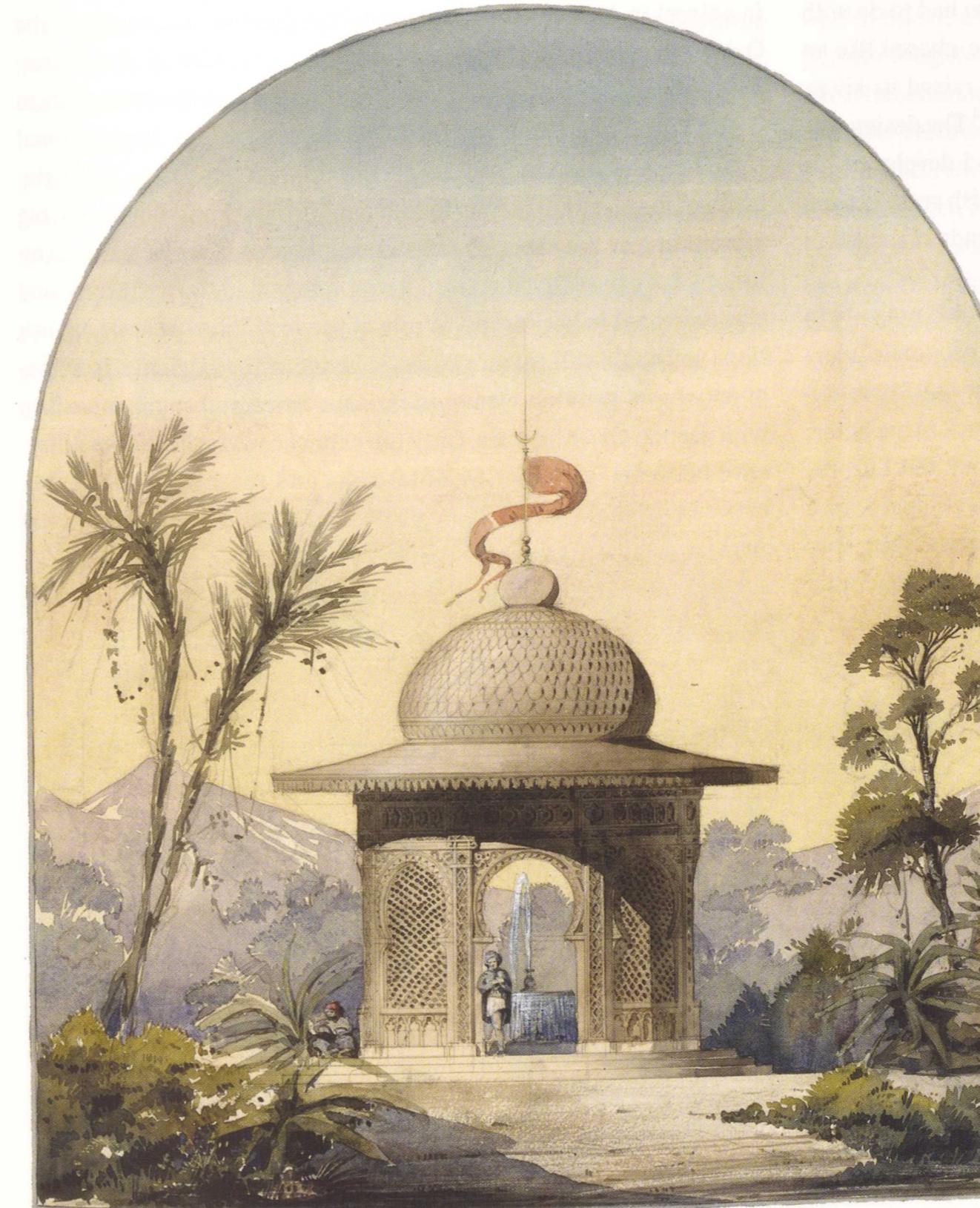
Left page:  
Auguste Mariette, Egyptian Temple at the 1867 International Exposition in Paris.  
The interior during construction work and exterior view. »It is amazing and strangely disconcerting to stand unexpectedly face to face with one of those monuments you would otherwise look for by the Nile in a sandy plain shimmering with heat. The illusion is perfect – that's how faithful the copy is to the original. You might imagine you are in front of a temple from the time of the pharaohs if you did not see the French decorators busy painting the contours of the pre-stamped reliefs ...«<sup>47</sup>

The German critic Julius Meyer was less enthusiastic than his French colleague: »But especially the polychrome treatment is of highly dubious authenticity and so gaudy that it would have deeply offended the eye of every ancient Egyptian.«<sup>48</sup>

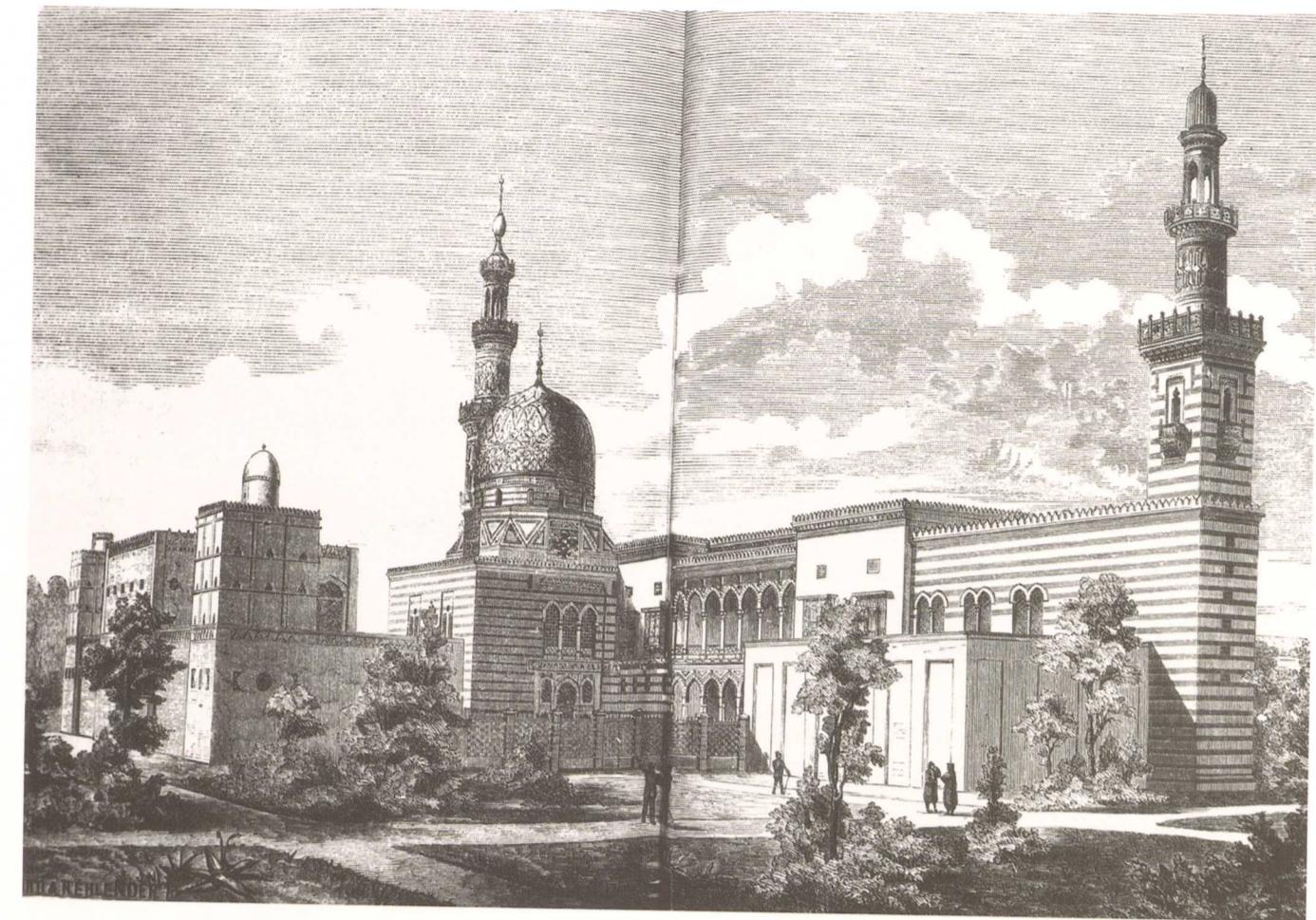


Alfred Chapon, Information Pavilion of the Suez Canal Company, Paris, 1867.

In the front part, the building contained a large relief map of the isthmus between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, and in the rotunda there was a panorama of the same region.<sup>46</sup>



Alfred Chapon, Design of a kiosk for the Tunisian section of the 1867 International Exposition in Paris.



Franz Schmoranz, »Palace of the viceroy of Egypt« at the 1873 International Exposition in Vienna.

Opposite page:

The Rue des Nations at the 1878 International Exposition in Paris – here, among others, »Siam«, »Spain« and »China«. From: Glucq, *L'Album de l'Exposition Universelle*, 1878.

Furniture and vases of the House of Christofle in the »Japanese style« at the 1878 International Exposition in Paris.

One pavilion in the Prussian section (Cf. p. 96 f.) also had to do with Egypt: »A magical kiosk in the purest Arabian taste, chased like an incense burner, as colourful as a cashmere shawl, raised its silver dome in these so far from Oriental surroundings.«<sup>24</sup> The design was by the Berlin architect Carl von Diebitsch, who had developed his personal Oriental style from his knowledge of Moorish architecture. With his vision of Islamic architecture, he had already managed to become the court architect of the viceroy.

These examples illustrate that the Europeans succeeded not only in subjecting other cultures to their own political and economic interests, but also in dominating them culturally. Even the European view of the non-European culture was transferred back to the latter: It was not Egypt itself that discovered its own history, but Europe. Pictures, buildings, novels and opera subjects were created whose exotic charm could actually fascinate only Europeans. Yet they were accepted by the Egyptian upper class, which thus submitted to the exotic view of its own culture. In North Africa, building in Arabized styles became an important factor of colonial policy after the turn of the nineteenth century.<sup>25</sup>

In the park of Montsouris in Paris a relic of that international exposition existed until 1991 when it burned down: A copy of the Bardo, the palace of the bey of Tunis, created by the architect Alfred Chapon. The wood and stucco building had been purchased by the city of Paris after the international exposition and for a long time was used as a meteorological observation station. During the international exposition, of course, the interior was likely to inspire the unequivocal fantasies of the visitors: Through coloured panes, the light fell on an interior that basically consisted of magnificent carpets, divans, incense burners and hookahs. All that was needed to complete the Oriental dream were the harem ladies, whose absence one visitor lamented. The Oriental life continued in bazaars and coffeehouses right in front of the door: »You might think you were

in a street in Algiers.«<sup>26</sup> From now on the illusionistic staging of the Orient became the most important component of almost all the international expositions. In Germany the organisers of the trade fairs in Berlin (1896) and Düsseldorf (1902), and even of the International Hygiene Exhibition in Dresden (1911) laid their money on the popularity of the Oriental theme. In 1896, in Treptow Park, Berlin, the big attraction was the »Special-Ausstellung Kairo« (Special Cairo Exhibition). But even »Old Berlin« had exotic charm in the meantime, and was recreated in backdrops. While at the first international expositions you could still get an authentic image of the »Orient«, in subsequent shows genuine elements became more and more mixed up with pseudo-Oriental ones. Only the expert could still tell the difference between »genuine« Oriental rugs and machine-made copies, between valuable Far Eastern arts and crafts and the Japanese and Arabian adaptations by companies such as Christofle in Paris or Lobmeyr in Vienna. Also, all the »Turkish«, »Persian« or »Chinese« buildings could only rarely convey an accurate idea of the architectural style the builder had had in mind. Frequently they were »a caricature instead of an exact imitation«,<sup>27</sup> for as a rule, as at the 1873 Vienna World Fair, they were built by local builders and craftsmen. But even when an authentic building was used as a model, the product remained only a theatre backdrop, if not because the scale had been altered, then because the builders had used substitute materials like wood, plaster or roofing paper, and the building was generally torn down once the exposition was over. This was also true of the pedantic copy of the Sophia Fountain from the square in front of the Hagia Sophia: »Only what is gleaming Marmara marble there is cement plaster here, and instead of lead plates, the roof here is a tarpaulin«.<sup>28</sup> Moreover the Oriental buildings, which belong in an urban context, had now been placed in a park-like environment. In Vienna, after centuries of confrontation, active trade relations had developed with the Islamic world. They were manifested in countless

buildings like the »Turkish Bazaar«, the »Pavilion of the Shah of Persia« or the huge palace of the Egyptian viceroy, which the architect Franz Schmoranz is supposed to have modelled on the Mosque of Qaitbey in Cairo. Even the still extant building of the Zacherl Company in Döbling (cf. p. 173) documents these trade relations. The »Cercle oriental«, an association that worked to promote economic relations with the Near East and East Asia, also had a pavilion »in purely Oriental style«<sup>29</sup> at the Vienna World Fair. It is thanks to the »Cercle oriental« that the Oriental Museum was founded. The museum's collection later became the property of the Austrian Museum of Applied Arts (Museum für Angewandte Kunst).

A few years before the Vienna world fair, the Austrians had established trade relations with Japan as well. The Japanese government sent not only a comprehensive collection of the best crafts and industrial products but also a large delegation of various experts who had been instructed to give detailed reports about European industrial production. Japanese craftsmen laid out a garden on the exhibition grounds, built a series of shops, a temple gate, an arched bridge and a Shinto shrine.<sup>30</sup>

In the eyes of the critics, meanwhile, Japan seemed the clearly superior culture when compared to China. Next to the simple Japanese utensils, those that came from China were felt to be »bizarre« or »baroque«. »One can hardly imagine a simpler elegance. It is this impression of elegance and sophisticated technique in the simplest and most ordinary things that characterizes all Japanese products.«<sup>31</sup> This characterization by Émile Zola explains the continuing fascination that Japan had for the progressive artists. The simple wooden building (»La ferme japonaise«) at the 1878 exposition in Paris was experienced by many as a peaceful and contemplative antithesis of the loud Oriental hustle and bustle. For the majority of visitors, however, the »Orient« proved to be the biggest attraction.

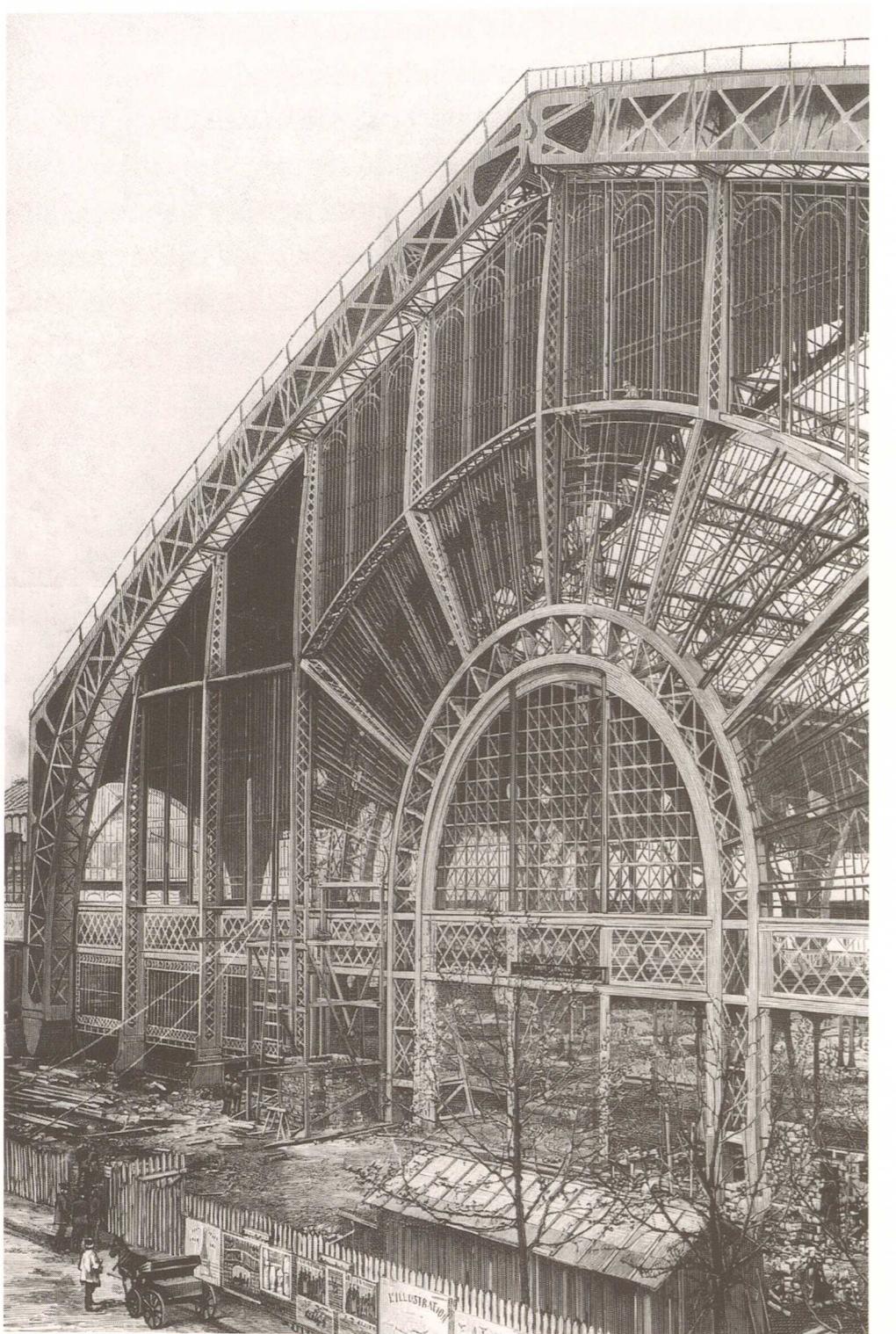
From the French perspective it was identical with North Africa. In 1878 the exhibition grounds had been expanded by the hill opposite the Champ de Mars on the other side of the Seine. Based on designs by the architects Davioud and Bourdais, a permanent building for exhibitions and events, the Palais du Trocadéro, was built, which was replaced by a new international exposition building in 1937. Its eclectic architecture reflected the varied stylistic alternatives of the period. Because of its red-and-white striped façade it was frequently described as Moorish or Arabian. However, it could not be unequivocally assigned to any particular style. One critic felt it was truly modern because it was Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Arabian and Florentine at the same time.<sup>32</sup>

Below the Trocadéro were the pavilions of non-European countries. A group of buildings consisting of the Algerian palace, cafés, bazaars, tents and the houses of European settlers was intended to give an insight into the life of the French colony. Particularly impressive were the Arabs who lived in tents and whose function was not so much to guard the Algerian section than to provide the French with living evidence of »that productive and warlike race of the Kabyls«.<sup>33</sup>

Those warlike tribes had been »pacified« 30 years earlier. In 1855 Abd El-Kader, who together with insurgent Berbers and Kabyls had fiercely fought against French rule for many years, appeared at the Paris International Exposition as a guest of honour. This visit, which was also recorded in a contemporary painting,<sup>34</sup> was of particular significance, since it proved to the international public that even the most stubborn opponents of French colonialization must in the end recognize the superiority of Western civilization.

On the other side of the Seine there was yet another exotic attraction, the »Street of the Nations«, located on the axis of the Trocadéro in the open inner courtyard of the main building. Each nation faced this »street« with a typical façade whose width exactly corresponded





Opposite page: The Rue du Caire at the 1889 International Exposition in Paris.

All the senses were addressed: The illusion of the naturalistic backdrops was complemented by the presence of Arab merchants and craftsmen, by the smells of exotic dishes and by Oriental music and dancing. »La Rue du Caire« became the big attraction of 1889. It even provided the setting for a satire by the Berlin writer Franz Held. In a sequel to Alphonse Daudet's novel, he had Tartarin of Tarascon visit the international exposition accompanied by a camel. After the adventurous ascent of the Eiffel Tower, Tartarin sets out on his »African voyage through Champ de Mars«.<sup>36</sup> The »Rue du Caire« with its merchants and teenage donkey drivers becomes the background of turbulent amorous adventures and intrigues.

The narrow street consisted of a fictitious agglomeration of backdrops replicating typical houses in old Cairo. Many details, such as the doors and the carved wooden mashrabiyyas, were even genuine: Baron Delort, the French deputy in Cairo and an impassioned collector of Islamic art, thanks to whose initiative the »street« had been created, had salvaged them from houses condemned for demolition that had to give way to broad streets based on the French model. Thus, parallel to the destruction of the old Cairo and its modernization patterned after the Western model, the museal conservation of Arab culture was taking place.

This simultaneity was not an exception but an unchallenged principle of imperialist policy. Much earlier, Lothar Bucher had made this clear when, vis-à-vis the imminent destruction of Polynesian culture, he urged his contemporaries to »collect what still remains of the industry of this island world.«<sup>37</sup> Many people certainly regarded the destruction of ancient traditions as regrettable, and yet contemporaries presumably felt it was an unavoidable stage on the way to an advanced world culture.

Thus, while people did admire the old Islamic culture, they were at the same time convinced that it was obviously regressive: »In the cramped little shops the craftsmen sat in front of their antiquated tools. Goldsmiths were hammering, a potter made his wheel whirr. This primitive manufacture was given a sharply contrasting frame by the fact that it was directly next to the large machine hall, whose steam valves and vents occasionally whistled and puffed into the din of the fair.«<sup>38</sup>

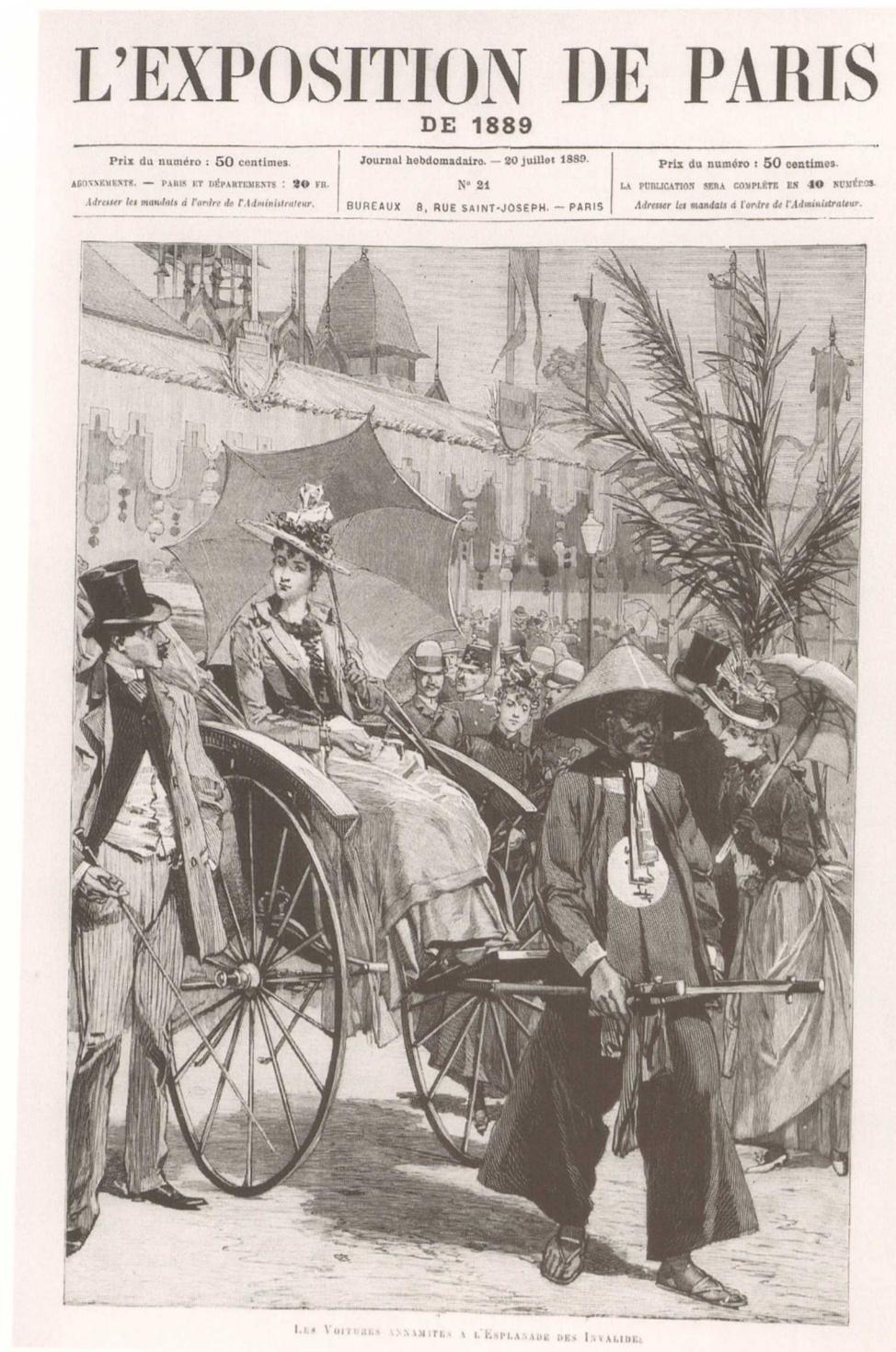
Thus not only the French, but also those whom they had colonized, came to Paris for the exhibition, were overwhelmingly persuaded of the power, wealth and »moral superiority« of France. This feeling of superiority was linked to a conviction of their civilizing mission, which had replaced the Christian missionary calling. The fact that they were bringing the blessings of enlightened thought to the »savages« concealed the true interests of colonial policy.

The French colonial empire had grown considerably in the meantime. Not only Algiers, Morocco and Tunisia were now under French control; Senegal, too, had been one of the »children« of the French mother country since 1854. After the turn of the century they were joined by all of West- and Equatorial Africa.

to the size of the area it had rented inside. Except for the Chinese façade, which had allegedly been prefabricated in China, the »Rue des Nations« was the work of French architects. However, the buildings were not filled with life, but were empty backdrops that merely concealed the iron structure of the hall that lay behind them. Yet the curious ratio between the various buildings made most of these specimens of architecture look ridiculous from the outset: While Belgium had a share of 60 linear metres along the street, Annam had only 10 metres, and other, poorer countries did not even have three. Stylistic characterization was limited to conventional notions: A North African façade could be recognized by its striping, and the architecture of the Alhambra had to do duty for Spain. It was almost impossible to tell true from false.

The architectural staging, which here was rather pedantic and boring, was brought to perfection in subsequent international expositions. In 1889 a visitor found the »street in Cairo« so genuine that it was less difficult for him to imagine that he was on the banks of the Nile than to imagine he was still in Paris.<sup>35</sup>



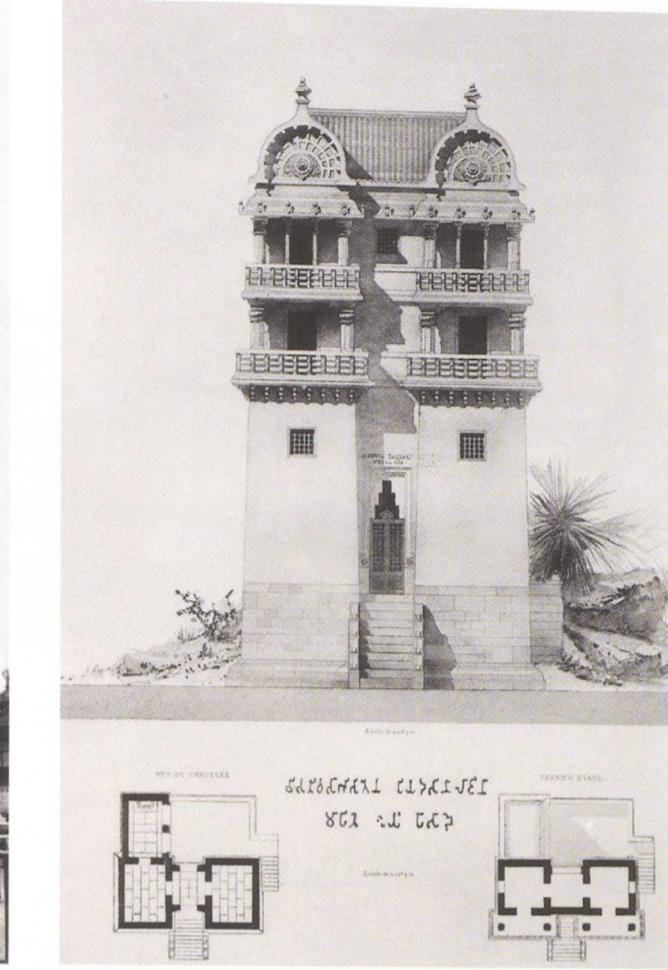


By 1889 the conquest and colonialization of Indochina had also almost been concluded. On the centennial of the Revolution, the French republic could thus present itself as a mighty world empire and a leading industrial power. The Galerie des Machines with its formidable span of 110 metres and the Eiffel Tower exceeded the limits of what had been possible hitherto. The increasing expansion of the colonial expositions corresponded to the expansion of the colonial empire: More and more cultures needed to be represented. Thus in 1889 beside the »Rue du Caire« and Charles Garnier's exhibition about the history of human habitation there was a special colonial exhibition on the Esplanade des Invalides. Located in their centre was the Palais des Colonies. In addition to the by-now-usual Algerian and Tunisian palaces there were a replica of the pagoda of Angkor, an Annamite palace and a pagoda from Tongking. They stood for the various cultures that in the meantime were all subject to the unified administration of French Indochina.

But more popular than these wood and plaster memories of distant advanced civilizations were the various »villages« with natives from Gabon, the Congo, Senegal and New Caledonia. Separated from the crowds of visitors by a fence, several hundred people were forced to expose their everyday life to the prying eyes and intrusive remarks of the Parisian populace. While the more educated visitors showed a

mixture of sympathy and ethnographic interest for the »Kanakas«, the sight of the »savages«, some of whom were at least fluent in their second »mother tongue«, gave the uneducated petits bourgeois the exhilarating feeling of »racial« and cultural superiority. The »illusory activity«<sup>39</sup> and the enforced idleness of the »Kanakas« sharply contrasted with the hectic hustle and bustle of the townspeople. Apparently the »zoological« exhibition of human beings did not come under criticism. In Germany this idea had already been successfully practised by Carl Hagenbeck since the late 1870s: With his »Nubian caravans«, Hottentots and Eskimos, whom he also frequently exhibited in zoological gardens, he would often attract up to 100,000 people on a single day.<sup>40</sup> Such exotic spectacles were merely the popular expression of the theories of Joseph de Gobineau, who in his *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (1853–55) tried to prove the superiority of the Aryan »race« above all the others. The justification of imperialist policies was derived from this assumed superiority.

At the 1900 international exposition, the exhibition area of the French colonies had again doubled in size. Exhibit techniques remained virtually the same up to the 1931 colonial exhibition: exotic scenarios, merchandise and people. But automobiles, which were first exhibited at this time, were the harbingers of an era when it would no longer be necessary to bring foreign countries to Europe: Modern means of transport would make it possible to experience the foreign cultures »on site«. In general, in the year when the Métro first opened, people were fascinated by mechanical means of transport: On a moving walkway visitors could effortlessly cross the huge terrain of the exposition at two different speeds. Even the power of illusion of exotic scenarios could be intensified by mechanical means: In a building that claimed to be a combination of all Asian architectural styles, there was a panorama called »Le Tour du Monde«. It had been funded by the Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, which promoted its sea voyages here. The world tour panorama consisted of a moving canvas that unwound before the eyes of the visitors, showing them scenes from around the world (mostly from the perspective of the harbour).

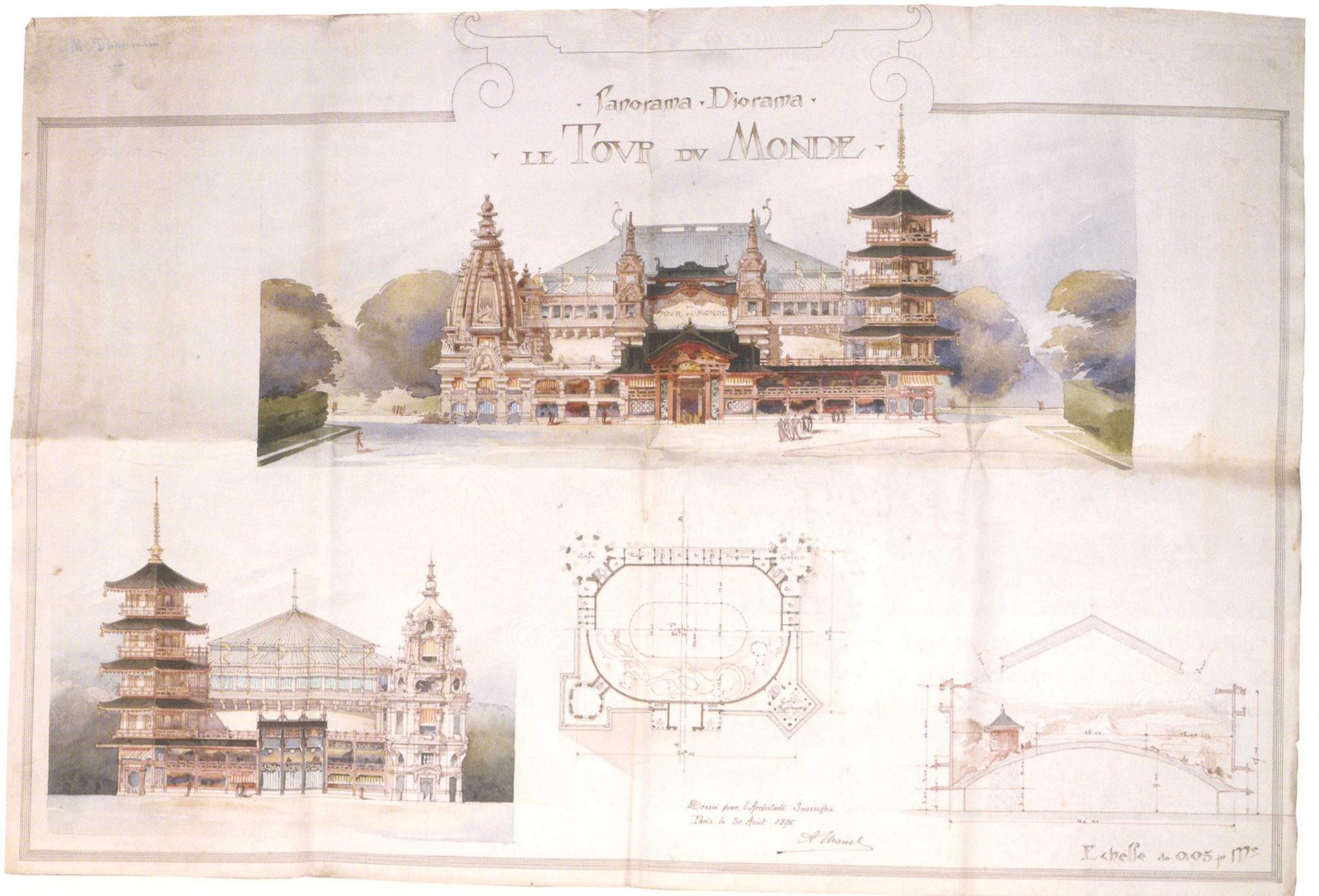


Left page:  
A rickshaw driver from Annam and the inhabitants of the »Kanaka village« at the 1889 International Exposition in Paris.

The replica of a pagoda in Angkor at the 1889 International Exposition in Paris.

Charles Garnier, *L'Histoire de l'Habitation*, Paris, 1889. Elevation of the Maison hindoue and photograph of the street with the Hindu House and the Palais persan.<sup>49</sup>

With his fictitious outline of the history of habitation of all countries and periods, Garnier, the architect of the Paris opera house and embittered opponent of Eiffel's construction of the tower, defends tradition against the building technologies of the industrial age. On both sides of a street were lined up the strangest buildings – highly dubious reconstructions, with very few exceptions. Garnier's exhibition began with Stone Age dwellings, showed the houses of Egyptians, Phoenicians, Assyrians, Teutons and Gauls, and ended with contemporary Chinese and Japanese houses.

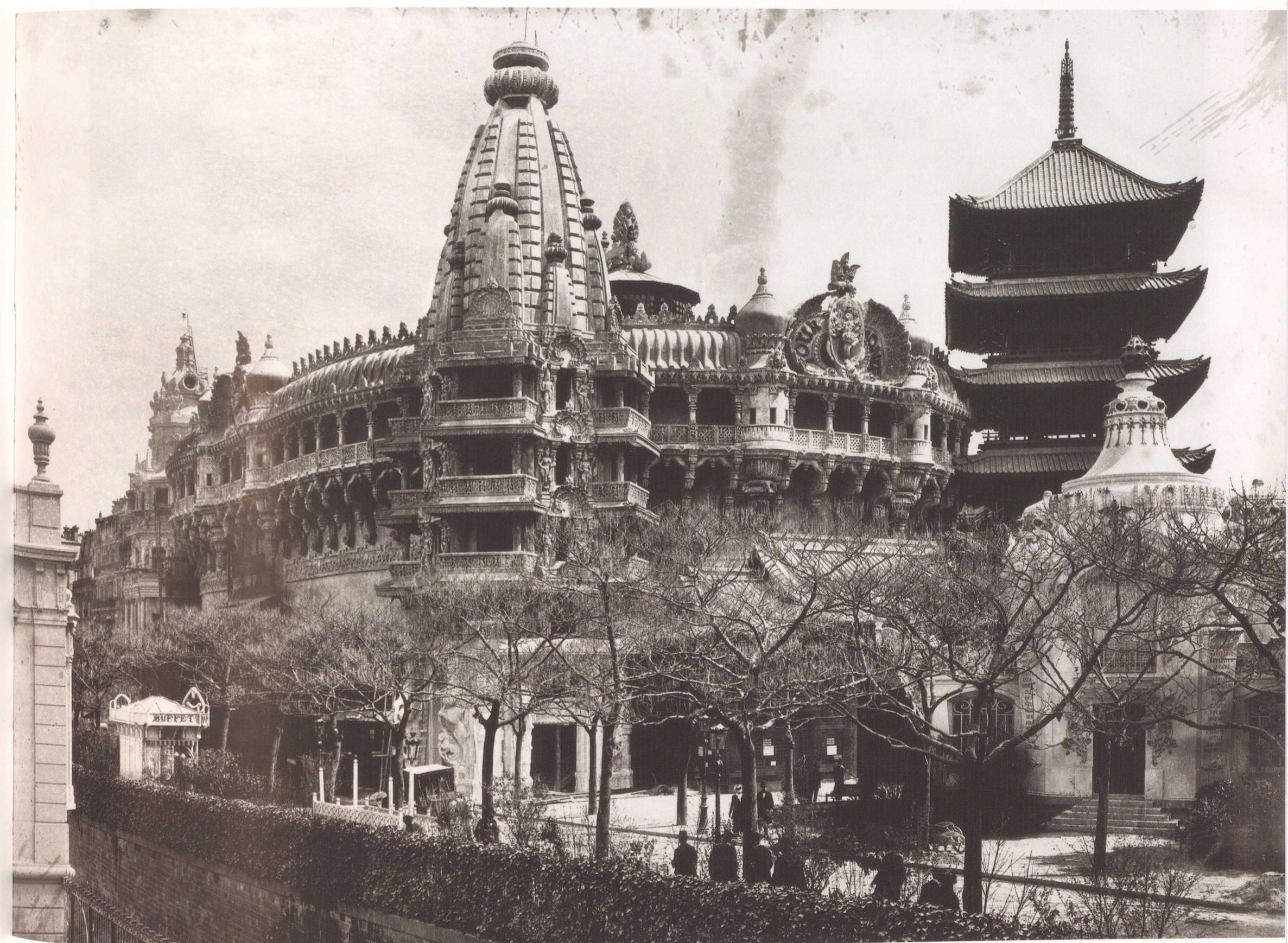


In the foreground there were the familiar folklore presentations: »The Indians beat their drums from time to time ..., the Spanish women beat the tambourine and dance. The Chinese do nothing at all.«<sup>41</sup> By means of similar mechanical tricks, in another pavilion, there was an attempt to simulate a ride on the trans-Siberian railroad.

The age of mass tourism, which would make such productions superfluous, was approaching. And yet the antiquated illusionism of the international expositions is still popular today: The success of Disneyland is based on the same fascination with modern means of transport and naïve pleasure in exotic backdrops. But beside such ideas, some of the buildings of the era of world expositions have also survived: In addition to Diebitsch's pavilion from 1867 and the Moroccan House which the Bavarian King Ludwig II had acquired in 1878 – both stand in the park of Linderhof – a Japanese pagoda that was originally part of the »Tour du Monde« and which was purchased by King Leopold II of Belgium still exists in the park of Laeken. A Chinese pavilion from the 1878 International Exposition was moved to the Bois de Boulogne, where it was used as a café and restaurant.

On the occasion of France's last big colonial exhibition in 1931, more and more visitors felt the unpleasant aftertaste that the exoticism of international expositions had had from the very beginning. The socialist Léon Blum remarked: »Don't forget the reality that is concealed behind this façade of art and joy ... Here we build a replica of the wonderful staircase of Angkor and have the sacred dancers appear before us, but in Indochina people are being shot and killed, imprisoned and deported.« Breton, Éluard and Aragon were even more radical. In a pamphlet they urged: »Do not visit the colonial exhibition!«<sup>42</sup>

Alexandre Marcel, *Le Tour du Monde*, Paris, 1900.  
Preliminary drawing (1896) and historical photograph.  
The gigantic building, which combined in one structure the architecture of Indian temples with that of Japanese pagodas, contained within it three cafés and a moving panorama in front of which visitors had the illusion of travelling around the world by ship. The architect Alexandre Marcel (1860–1928) had specialized in exotic structures: In 1896, for the director of the Bon Marché, he had built a private ballroom from original Japanese components on Rue de Babylone; today the building, known as La Pagode, is used as a cinema. On the same street he built baths in the Moorish style (1893; no longer extant), and for the Maharaja of Kapurthala he built a palace. The Japanese tower of the panorama building today stands in the park of Laeken Castle on the outskirts of Brussels. For the king of Belgium he also designed a pavilion whose decorations were manufactured in Shanghai. Marcel is also the originator of a project for a public bathhouse in the Moorish (cf. p. 131).



## Alhambra, Eden, Tivoli: The promises of the entertainment industry

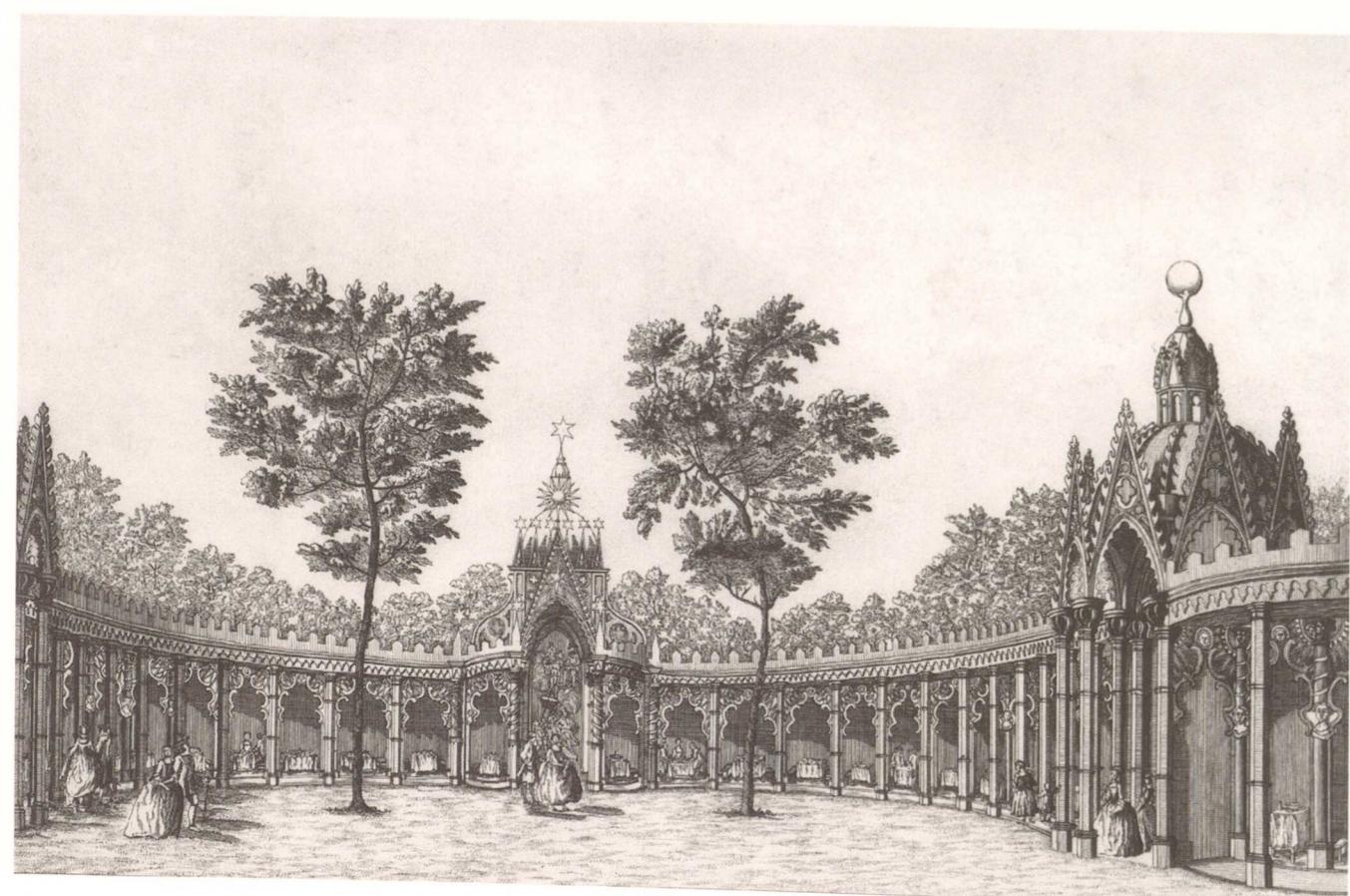
»While the social pleasures of the large majority of the population in the era of absolutist rulers had been primitive, they were all the more richly structured in the bourgeois era, for since, like everything else, they followed the law of economic development, they had now also become the very particular object of capitalist exploitation. Because capitalism in all areas becomes profitable only as a result of mass consumption, enlisting the masses now became the main object and primary goal of those who exploited social life commercially.«<sup>1</sup>

In the course of the nineteenth century more and more cafés and restaurants in the big cities developed into large, well-organized and sales-oriented firms that could meet the most diverse gastronomic needs in one single establishment. Similar changes took place in the entertainment industry. The entertainment of the urban population was increasingly organized and marketed by entrepreneurs and corporate enterprises. New forms of entertainment began to compete with theatre, opera and concerts: The old vaudeville acts became established as variety shows and revues on the stages of the cafés-concerts and music halls. Here, entertainment and refreshments were profitably combined. The new concept produced new and specific building types. There developed an unprecedented plethora of public »places of amusement«<sup>2</sup> that were often hard to differentiate from each other and kept cropping up in ever new combinations: ballrooms, concert halls, variety theatres, »public amusement parks«, banqueting halls, circus buildings, hippodromes, winter gardens, casinos, panoramas. In addition to such specific »places of amusement«, multipurpose buildings sprang up

in almost all major European cities after the 1860s, called »Flora«, »Winter Palace«, »Palm Garden«, »Crystal Palace« and also, in England, »Aquarium«. Here the intention was to exploit commercially the greatest possible number of public needs at one and the same time: Around a spacious winter garden there would be a cluster of restaurants, cafés, clubrooms, dance halls, theatres and art galleries. The Crystal Palace (Kristallpalast) in Leipzig even contained a circus arena and a diorama.

As late as the eighteenth century, the major part of popular entertainments had taken place outdoors. When the Café Turc opened in Paris, the Boulevard du Temple, which had hardly been built up, was still a free zone for actors and musicians. Tightrope artists and sword-swallowers performed here, exotic people and animals were exhibited, and in booths and tents there were shadow plays and puppet theatres. These unorganized activities took place in makeshift buildings. The street spectacles did not disappear until the Second Empire. They were not only in the way of the broad transport axes planned by Haussmann, but could also not be systematically exploited commercially. Since there was a profitable market for the entertainment that had until then been offered on the street or in the cafés, the logic of the economic upswing dictated that this type of activity should be commercially organized on a bigger scale.

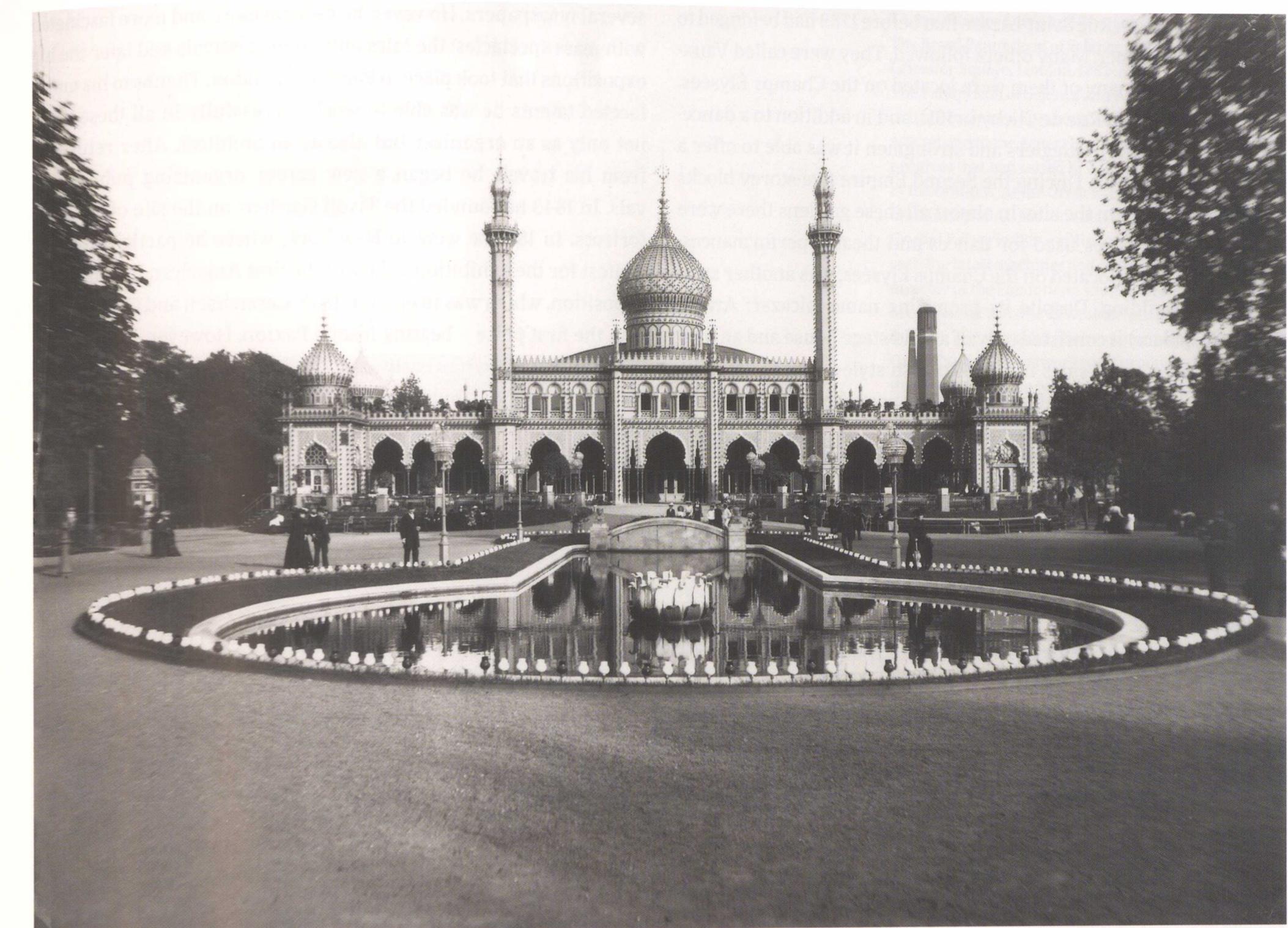
Long before urban amusements were permanently housed in winter gardens, cafés-concerts, dancehalls and circus buildings, the British pleasure gardens had already exploited the entertainment of the masses. The history of the Vauxhall Gardens (London), planted in Baroque geometry, began as early as the seventeenth century. In the first half of the eighteenth century began the architectural



The »Gothic-Chinese« arcade in Vauxhall, ca. 1750. From: Georges Le Rouge, *Jardins anglo-chinois à la mode*, no. 4, 1776.

The stylistic idiom of the building followed a fashion that was promoted by the architects William and John Halfpenny. In various books they published pattern designs for garden pavilions, bridges and gates that are a mixture of Gothic and Chinese elements. One, published in a new edition, was titled *Rural Architecture in the Chinese Taste* (1755).

Opposite page:  
Arne Petersen, Concert Hall in Tivoli, Copenhagen, 1902. The concert hall was destroyed in World War II.



decoration of the park that became a model for all its successors. This consisted of decorative gates, grottoes, cascades and lightly constructed wooden buildings. In addition to the »Gothic« orchestra pavilion, there was a structure consisting of kiosks and curved arcades in the popular »Gothic-Chinese« style, where tables and chairs were set up. Tens of thousands of people often thronged to the concerts and masked balls that took place in Vauxhall in the summer. The visitors came from all walks of life: In the Ranelagh Gardens in Chelsea, which opened in 1742, one might encounter princes and dukes at every turn, according to Horace Walpole, who was himself one of the regular guests here.<sup>3</sup> In Ranelagh there was a pantheon-like circular building into which visitors flocked on cool days. Here, an orchestra would play; in partitioned-off spectator boxes food and drinks would be served, anticipating the nineteenth-century music hall. Among the attractions in the garden was a pavilion referred to as »Chinese« and sometimes also as »Venetian«, which bridged a manmade canal.

Fantasy buildings, which were given melodious exotic names, were erected in the amusement parks at the same time as aristocratic and middle-class landowners were laying out the first landscape gardens with meandering paths, manmade hills and lakes, and

putting up Greek temples, Gothic ruins and Chinese pagodas in them. The shareholders of the Ranelagh Gardens also came from the same social circles.<sup>4</sup> Aristocrats and wealthy citizens had invested in them. In return for thousands of entrance fees, the taste of the ruling class was democratized in the amusement parks.

In France it took a revolution for comparable public parks to be established. But the repertoire of the British pleasure gardens had already found its way into the »Anglo-Chinese« gardens earlier on; these were very fashionable among the members of the nobility and the royal house during the last two decades of the ancien régime. Here there were not only buildings and scenery that recalled times long past and distant lands or alluded to literary and philosophical knowledge, but also gondolas, swings and roundabouts. One of the most famous lavish amusement parks was La Bagatelle in the Bois de Boulogne, which was laid out in 1777 in only three months as a result of a 100,000-franc bet between Charles-Philippe, the brother of Louis XVI, and Marie Antoinette. The architect François-Joseph Bélanger designed many »follies«: »Chinese« tents, bridges and swings, a »Gothic« pavilion, artificial cliffs and waterfalls. After the Revolution the park belonged to the public for a few years and was renamed Ranelagh. The Tivoli, one of the first Parisian amusement parks,

opened on a site on Rue Saint-Lazare that before 1789 had belonged to a wealthy tax farmer. Many others followed. They were called Vauxhall or Frascati; many of them were located on the Champs Élysées. The Tivoli moved to Rue de Clichy in 1811, and in addition to a dance-hall and the booths of jugglers and strongmen it was able to offer a roller coaster as well. During the Second Empire five-storey blocks of flats were built on the site. In almost all these gardens there were temporary structures used for dances and theatre performances. The Alcazar d'Été, located on the Champs Élysées, was another such temporary building. Despite its promising name (alcazar: Arabic for castle, palace) it consisted only of a solid stage house and an iron structure open to all sides in the »Moorish style«,<sup>5</sup> which could be covered with a tarp in bad weather. The spectators sat on wooden benches.

The Parisian amusement parks, which equally owed their concept to English models and to the »Anglo-Chinese« gardens of the ancien régime, in turn became the models for the Tivoli in Copenhagen, a facility that has survived all its predecessors and is still in existence. Its founder was Georg Carstensen (1802–57), a Dane born in Algiers who had become familiar with the Tivoli on Rue de Clichy during an extended journey that took him to Spain and North Africa by way of France. Later he also travelled to England and the United States: In London, no doubt, he saw Vauxhall. Following his graduation, he had initially begun a career in journalism and had founded

several newspapers. However, he became more and more fascinated with mass spectacles: the fairs and public festivals and later the big expositions that took place in Paris and London. Thanks to his multi-faceted talents he was able to work successfully in all these areas not only as an organizer but also as an architect. After returning from his travels he began a new career organizing public festivals. In 1843 he founded the Tivoli Gardens on the site of a former fortress. In 1851 he went to New York, where he participated in a contest for the exhibition palace of the first American international exposition, which was to open in 1853. Carstensen and Gildemeister won the first prize – beating Joseph Paxton. However, their Crystal Palace burned down as early as 1858.<sup>6</sup> Carstensen's next project was to found a second amusement park in Frederiksberg, a suburb of Copenhagen. However, he died before the Alhambra, an octagonal theatre building in the centre of the park, was completed.

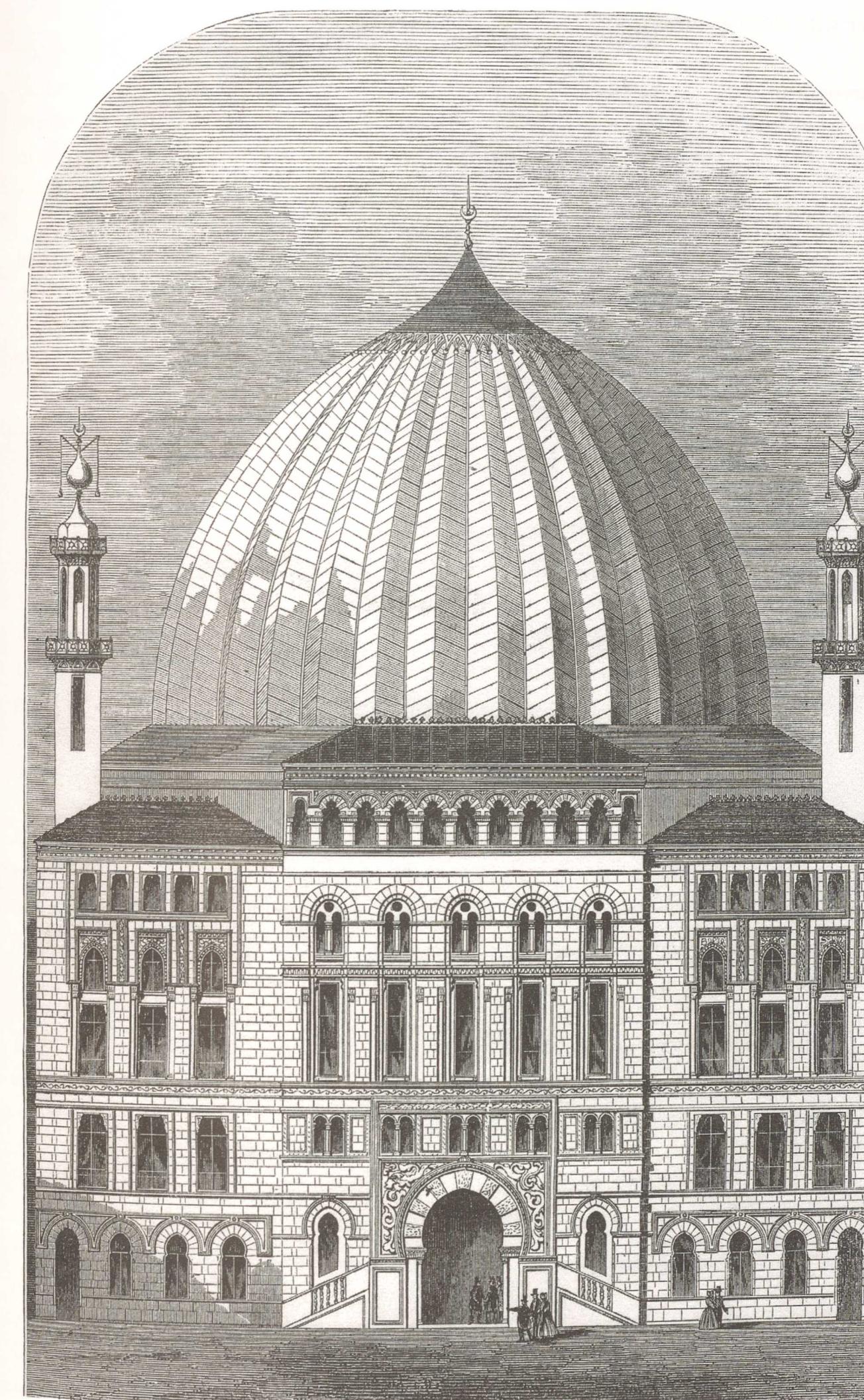
In Tivoli, gradually, many buildings were erected: concert and theatre halls, cafés and restaurants, music pavilions and slides. Most had a short life. Many were remodelled several times and expanded, others burned down. They were not intended to be permanent. Even the larger buildings, because of their lightweight construction, had the temporary character of fairground stalls and circus tents. The fact that without too great an expense it was possible to tear down and rebuild could not fail to be good for an amusement park: It could be adapted to the changing needs of the public.



Arne Petersen, Bazaar in Tivoli, Copenhagen, 1908/09.  
Historical photograph.



The Alhambra in the park of Frederiksberg.  
The park, Carstensen's second venture after the Tivoli, existed from 1857 to 1869. The curved arcades are strikingly similar to those in Vauxhall.



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Thomas Hayter Lewis and Thomas Finden,  
The Royal Panopticon of Science and Art,  
Leicester Square, London, 1852–54.

The Panopticon of Science and Art, founded by a private company, opened in March 1854. Its founding was related to the general enthusiasm for industrial progress that had seized Britain around the middle of the century. At the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations that took place in Paxton's Crystal Palace in 1851, millions of people had already seen the latest machines and industrial products. The director of the Panopticon sought to familiarize a broad public with the newest technical developments through popular exhibitions and lectures. As at the Great Exhibition, artworks and products of the »art industry« were also to be displayed. The programme was a mixture of entertainment and instruction: For concerts an enormous organ was installed in the rotunda under the domed roof. Two years before the opening the project was already announced in the Builder: »All the buildings are designed in the Saracenic style, after models and details, chiefly from existing remains in Cairo. The contour of the dome is taken from a daguerreotype of a dome at Cairo. It will be formed of glass and iron on the ridge and furrow principle.<sup>13</sup>

Except for the dome, the building was essentially implemented as the Builder had pictured it. The tall dome with its surface folded in a zigzag pattern (Paxton had already tried out the system several times) may have presented problems for the architects.

The sixteen-sided pyramid with which they finally roofed over the central hall seemed like an emergency solution vis-à-vis the »Oriental« effect of the original design. In the first months the Panopticon had a large number of visitors. Very soon, however, the general interest had been satisfied for good. Apparently the operating company was not capable of filling the new facility with an attractive programme. In 1857 the building was sold for a fraction of the construction cost to an entrepreneur who had experience in the entertainment business.<sup>14</sup>

After the sale of the building the Panopticon was remodelled, to open again in April 1858 as the Alhambra Palace with an American circus performance.



Because its appearance was constantly being altered, it became attractive over and over again. The modest concert hall (architect: Harald Stilling) from the park's beginnings was already replaced in 1865 by a larger building designed by Johann Stillmann (1822–75). Through a highly imaginative »Oriental« entrance visitors came into an octagonal wooden hall that stood on the level ground like a tent. After the turn of the nineteenth century Arne Petersen designed an even larger and more representative building, which replaced the Stillmann building: A decorative façade with domes, minarets and an open arcade of horseshoe arches was placed in front of a large, rectangular hall with a flat curved roof. The visible side of the new concert house was »peppered« over and over with electric light bulbs.

The Bazaar, originally a café and restaurant, was the second building Petersen had designed for Tivoli; it is still in use today – as a luxury hotel. All these buildings were variations on the popular Oriental stereotypes.

Designed in the same style, the Alhambra in Frederiksberg at the same time called to mind an English model: The curved wings with their elevated kiosks at the ends are strikingly similar to the »Gothic-Chinese« arcades in Vauxhall that antedate them by a good hundred years.

A disadvantage of the amusement parks and the summer stages was that they flourished only in summer and even then only when the weather was good. In Paris the tendency to replace or complement seasonal operations with year-round establishments was initially specifically emphasized by adding »winter« to the name: Jardin d'Hiver, Alcazar d'Hiver, Cirque d'Hiver.

The fact that many of the novel »places of amusement« became more and more resplendent in the latter half of the nineteenth century was due to the demands of the middle classes, which had grown as prosperity increased: In France, since Napoleon III had come to power, in Germany, since the founding of the Empire. The festivals and amusements became an important part of middle-class representation. In their social and architectonic self-representation, members of the bourgeoisie often went back to feudal models: Not only in France but in England and Germany as well it was precisely the decorative styles of the *ancien régime* that were particularly popular when furnishing private salons or public cafés. This longing for the feudal splendour of a transcended past, which seemed so paradoxical, found its pathologically exaggerated expression in the person of King Ludwig II of Bavaria, who tried to blind himself to the present by identifying with Louis XIV. His staged productions, and the illusion they created, differed from those of his wealthy fellow citizens only because he had spent more money on them.

Instead of the splendour of absolute monarchs, it was just as easy to stage Oriental luxury. Ba-Ta-Clan, which opened in Paris in 1865, was not called simply a theatre or café-concert, but rather Palais Chinois. The public winter gardens were also often called »palaces«. On the occasion of the opening of Ba-Ta-Clan, a French journalist wrote that one must admit that »modern democracy often enjoys a luxury which under the same circumstances was unknown in the

old aristocratic society; today, for 30 centimes, a simple workingman can have a cup of coffee and watch himself in mirrors that Louis XIV would not have been able to obtain ...«<sup>7</sup> The old cafés of Paris, in which musical or mime performances had been offered only irregularly, had become cafés chantants and later cafés-concerts, a name that somewhat underrated these establishments, which focussed on daily shows and upscale food. Whether an establishment became a café spectacle depended on its license. For a long time performances with costumed singers were restricted to theatres and opera houses.<sup>8</sup> With dance revues and ballet performances, the owners of the cafés-concerts tried to expand their limited scope as far as possible.

Part of the attraction of the new places of amusement was due to the fact that they were considered socially acceptable for women and even for »ladies«. The men demonstrated their traditional privileges only by smoking fat cigars, which was permitted here. That is why in Berlin the cafés-concerts were called not only »Spezialitätentheater« (variety theatres) but also »Rauchtheater« (smoking theatres).

»What an atmosphere! What a smell of tobacco, spirits, beer and gas! It was the first time I had entered this place, the first time I had seen women in a smoking café; around us sat not only women, but ladies.«<sup>9</sup> However, this description referred to a visit to a Parisian variety theatre, perhaps the Alcazar or the Eldorado, the foremost competitors of the Ba-Ta-Clan in 1870, and all designed by Charles Duval, an architect specialized in the design of theatres. The visitors of the cafés-concerts wanted above all to be diverted and lightly entertained: »It's easy to understand that art has no place in this establishment, where people smoke and get drunk while a gentleman in black tails and white gloves sings a disgusting romance.«<sup>10</sup> The succession of many short acts – songs, dance interludes, acrobatic numbers, melodramatic one-act plays – did not require constant attention but made it possible to come and go during the show, to stroll about in adjacent rooms or go to the bar. This type of pastime was expressed in special ground plans. The level of entertainment was reflected in the decorations.

Open-plan designs prevailed: Frequently visitors were able to see the stage area as soon as they entered (Apollo Theatre, Berlin; Eden Theatre, Paris). In the Eden Theatre the auditorium was bordered by open arcades on three sides. From their seats visitors could look into the tropical vegetation of the winter garden and into the »Indian courtyard«. Promenading there you could see what was happening onstage. The performance was only a pretext. The main object was strolling about, seeing and being seen. Like the ground plan, the building's style and decoration were crucial in making the »places of amusement« a success. The more extravagant the style, the more distinctive the enterprise. The very façade had to reflect the entertainment the visitors were promised in a blatantly obvious way. The style and the fine-sounding names that promised paradise (Eden) or Oriental splendour and sensuality (Alhambra, Alcazar), could hardly keep what they had pledged with such exaggeration. Soon, however, such names became common stereotypes: There was hardly a town that did not have an Alhambra or an Eldorado.



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W.M. Brutton, The Alhambra, London, 1897. East façade facing Charing Cross Road. The new owner of the old Panopticon originally wanted to open a theatre. Since he only received a license for music and dance presentations, the Alhambra became a music hall. Under changing owners, in subsequent decades, the Alhambra was gradually remodelled and adapted to changing requirements. A deep stage was built in the rear of the building, and boxes and rows of seats were installed in the galleries. In the stalls, tables were placed at which drinks were served. An innovation that was in line with the more relaxed entertainment programme was the promenade laid out in the auditorium around the circular seating area, connecting it with the adjacent bars. At the same time openings were created to adjoining rooms. The permeability of the auditorium in all directions made it possible for visitors to come and go and to walk around during performances. In its first decade the Alhambra became famous for its ballet performances. But in 1870 the license was revoked due to an offence against »public morals«: Five ladies had danced the infamous cancan on the stage. The Alhambra was then transformed into a theatre, until, after a fire and the subsequent reconstruction (1883), a permit to operate a music hall was granted once more. In 1897 the building, which in the meantime extended as far as the newly built Charing Cross Road, was given a representative façade on its rear side as well. The builder kept the design faithful to the style of the old building. In 1936 the Alhambra was purchased and demolished by the owner of a chain of cinemas. The Odeon Cinema was built in its place.

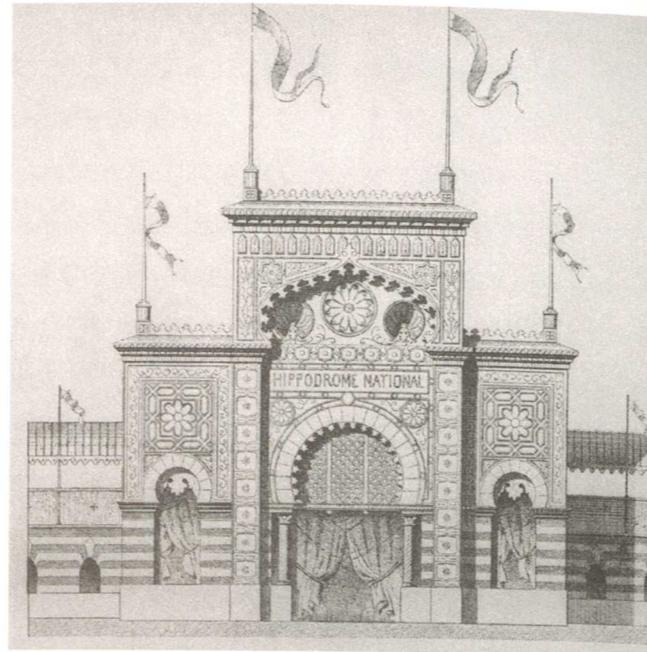
Even today many cinemas still recall this tradition. In the interior, the lavish decorations and the »fairylike« lighting created an atmosphere that actually promoted the illusion that you were in an Oriental palace. In the Eden Theatre the waiters and waitresses wore exotic costumes, continuing a coffeehouse tradition that went back to the eighteenth century.

Stylistic features that harked back to the pleasure-loving Rococo, or excursions into exotic fantasy worlds best reflected the lack of »seriousness« characteristic of the cafés-concerts and the music halls. Since Oriental styles promised happiness, they were the obvious first choice in such building projects. When designing a »serious« theatre, it would rarely have occurred to an architect to decide on a »Chinese«, »Moorish« or »Indian« style. Intermingled with the »Indian« decorations of the Eden Theatre was an unmistakable erotic element. Even more than the all-too-familiar Near East, which was the setting of European harem fantasies, India – with the carved stone pairs of lovers on its temples – embodied the Western desire for a sexuality freed from all constraints.

The architecture of amusement businesses was not subject to the criteria of good taste and of professional criticism. Here, architects could give free rein to their imagination: »It would indeed be a gross error ... to compare works that are destined to elevate the rigorous taste of art with those whose aim it is to speculate on existing public taste. People go to the cafés-concerts to be entertained, not to learn.«<sup>11</sup>

R. St. George Moore, Theatre and concert building on Palace Pier, Brighton, 1891–99.

The Palace Pier was Brighton's second pier. The structure in front of the concert hall (opened in 1901) continued the »Indian« architectural tradition of the seaside resort.



Charles Rohault de Fleury, Hippodrome National, Paris, ca. 1850.

Like the circus, the hippodrome (Greek: hippodromos, racecourse for horses) was an institution known since antiquity that was rediscovered in the nineteenth century and given a new architectonic form. Among the earliest »modern« circus buildings were Hittorf's Cirque d'Hiver and Cirque d'Été (1838–40) in Paris. The majority of the massive circus buildings and hippodromes, however, were built in the latter third of the nineteenth century and in almost all large cities: in Paris, Brussels, Berlin, Frankfurt, Leipzig. At the end of the 1870s Rouault's initially open-air hippodrome was given a huge iron and glass roof that could be opened when the weather was good: The lantern (54 x 17 metres) could be pushed up in a longitudinal direction, creating an opening of the same size. The choice of the Moorish style for the hippodrome seems unusual, since for this type of building classical models would have been the first option. In 1893 the hippodrome was razed and replaced by a new building. Pictured here is the entrance building.<sup>12</sup>



Charles Duval, Ba-Ta-Clan, Boulevard Voltaire, Paris, 1864–65. Photograph ca. 1920.

The Ba-Ta-Clan, Palais Chinois, was one of the numerous cafés-concerts created during the Second Empire. Contemporaries described the café-concert as a place where »spectators are offered both acceptable music, and food and drink that isn't always acceptable ...«<sup>15</sup> The onomatopoeic name of the establishment came from the title of a musical »chinoiserie« by the operetta composer Jacques Offenbach whose very successful premiere took place in 1855, and was celebrated by critics as a major work in the comic genre. The interior looked much like that of the London Alhambra: An elliptical auditorium surrounded by

galleries, with tables and chairs instead of fixed rows of seats. The Chinese theme, strikingly announced in the façade by curved eaves, figures of Chinese men and women, and dragons, continued inside. On the left and the right, the stage was framed by small cascades whose water was tinted blue and yellow. In lieu of a curtain there was a large fan that unfurled at the beginning of the performance. The walls were painted with Chinese motifs. The profusion of decorations felt like »the shrieking of colours and figures. Red and yellow engage in bitter struggles; along the ceiling, on the galleries, around the columns and the mirrors framed in blue and green, dragons with crooked wings and sphinx busts writhe and twine around each other.«<sup>16</sup>

The total effect was best suited »to seduce the masses, which of course is also the goal of the capitalists who are the shareholders of the company.«<sup>17</sup>

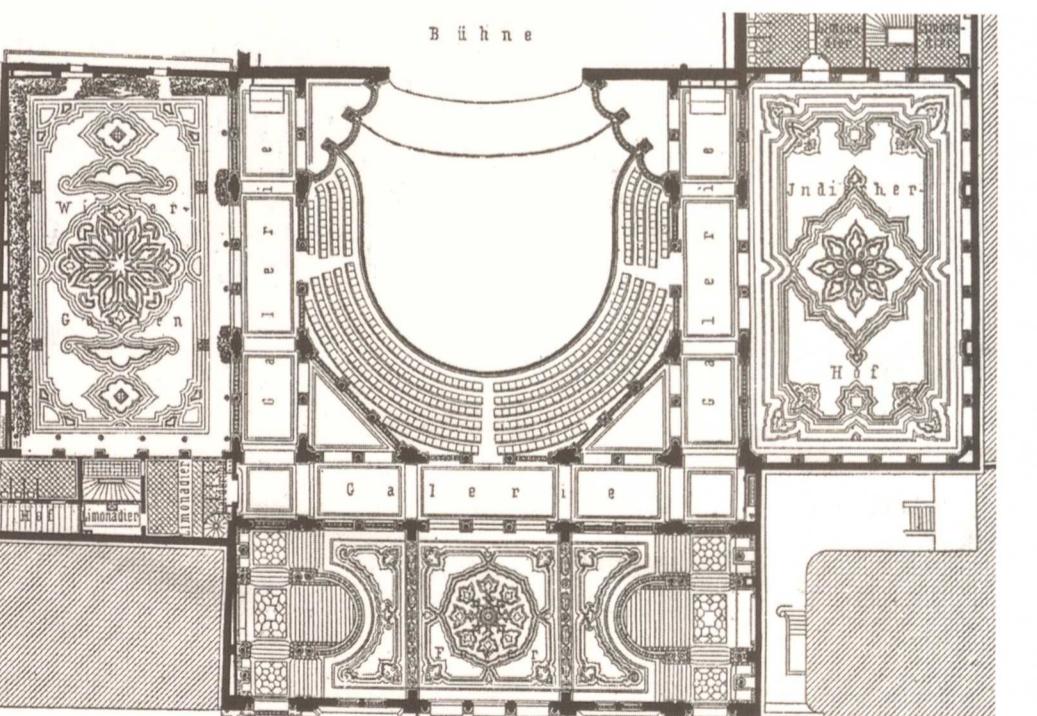
Charles Duval (1800–76) already had considerable experience designing all kinds of »places of amusement«. In Paris he had furnished several cafés (including Le plus Grand Café du Monde), and for the coastal resort Cabourg-sur-Dives he had designed a concert hall, casino and hotel. The Ba-Ta-Clan's two main competitors, the Eldorado and the Alcazar, were also by him. He had experimented with the Chinese style previously: In 1852, based on his design, a cast-iron Chinese pavilion was manufactured for the garden of the viceroy of Egypt, Mehmed Ali.<sup>18</sup>

William Klein and Albert Duclos, *Éden-Théâtre*, Rue Boudreau, Paris, 1882-83. Detail of the hall decoration, ground plan of the main floor and historic photograph (opposite page).

»For some time now the passion for grandiose, dazzling shows has gripped ever widening circles and increased substantially. In connection with this popular taste, new theatres, ranked between the musical comedy halls and cafés-concerts, and actual opera houses and theatres, have been created and further developed. In these, more or less every form of the theatrical art is being practised. The pantomime-ballet, a type of stage play but little cultivated formerly, is also presented there. In addition to the actual dancers, this requires a cast of hundreds of ladies whose synchronized rhythmical movements ... in combination with the fabulous luxury of the production at times make the performance a brilliant success. Theatregoers are also offered diversions and pleasures that at one time used to characterize other places of amusement. The actual auditorium of the theatre is ... surrounded by a winter garden, foyers, buffet and smoking salon which together with the theatre itself virtually form a single room, furnished with Oriental splendour. It is thus left up to the visitors whether they decide to enjoy the performance in the theatre, or relax, indulge in the pleasures of the table etc. in the adjoining rooms.«<sup>19</sup>

The *Eden* was an attempt to provide the traditional café-concert with new attractions. The great width of the building site made it possible to do something that had not succeeded before: to open the auditorium to the adjoining rooms on all three sides. On the left was a winter garden with »plants, rocks and waterworks«, on the right the Indian Courtyard, whose glass roof could be pushed open in summer. Both courtyards and the foyer were separated from the auditorium only by open arcades. As soon as they entered the building, visitors saw »the overall view of brilliantly lit halls, foyers, gardens and the stage. Polychromy was used extensively; entire walls are lined with mirrors that reflect the exotic plants, the many fluted columns and arcatures with their strangely curving lines and decorations, in short, the entire fantastic world of forms associated with Indian interior décor, replicating them seemingly to infinity. Up to 4,000 persons are supposed to be able to use the rooms without feeling crowded. If you imagine this festive throng, you will have a rough impression of the whole thing.«<sup>20</sup>

In the lavish exotic décor Hindu, Islamic-Indian and freely invented elements intermingled. The main supporting columns of the large hall were decorated with scantily clad white-and brown-skinned caryatids standing on the heads of elephants. Bulbous columns with blossom-shaped bulges and capitals supported multi-foil keel arches typical for buildings of the Moghul period. Similar elements were used on the exterior as well. But here a classically articulated façade was concealed behind the lavish stucco décor. Two pyramid-shaped towers were reminiscent of the sikhara of Hindu temples.<sup>21</sup>



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Palais de la Jetée, Nice, 1890.

The »palace«, which was built into the sea, is long gone. It is a conglomeration of structures of different origins. The dome, crowned with a sea goddess, is reminiscent of buildings at the Paris International Exposition, while the towers seem to have been borrowed from the Taj Mahal, and the winter garden of the restaurant might come from the Botanical Garden. In the interior (the photograph shows the hall under the large dome) the Oriental atmosphere is created by the eclectic combination of numerous structural and decorative forms that are Islamic in origin: keel arches, multi-foil arches, intersecting trefoil arches above the gallery, stalactite cornices and the half-dome above the passage to the winter garden, recalling the mihrab niche of a mosque.



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## Architecture as advertising

»The German word for advertising comes from the French *réclame*, an endorsing announcement, in which, unlike in simple advertisements, the use of more or less cleverly calculated means to awaken public interest is crucial. In spite of the excesses of the advertising industry and the way it encourages fraud, it is an important cultural factor of our times, a force that affects modern trade both beneficially and disastrously and that is exploited not only for commercial but also for political and intellectual interests.«<sup>1</sup>

The old-fashioned German word *Reklame* very aptly describes the early history of a phenomenon which we today call »advertising«. Although its etymology (clamare, Latin = to call) reminds us of the days before the invention of printing, when town criers still announced travelling bands of actors, menageries and faith healers, the word was not yet listed in the 1866 edition of *Meyer's Encyclopaedia (Lexikon)*. For the editors of the *Encyclopaedia*, the advertisements in newspapers and the still predominantly typographically designed posters on the advertising pillars that Ernst Litfaß had introduced in Berlin in 1855 were obviously not an »important cultural factor«. Further development of polychromatic lithography soon made the poster into the most important medium of modern advertising. It came into its own in the 1880s. It even became »culturally acceptable«: More and more artists were fascinated by the new advertising medium and were not ashamed to work for the industry. As yet, advertising tended to be a question of art rather than strategy.

Targeted advertising only became necessary when industry began to take the place of cottage crafts. As long as a product was still predominantly made by hand, only very few entrepreneurs could supply the needs of more than a local market. Supply and demand were still in equilibrium.

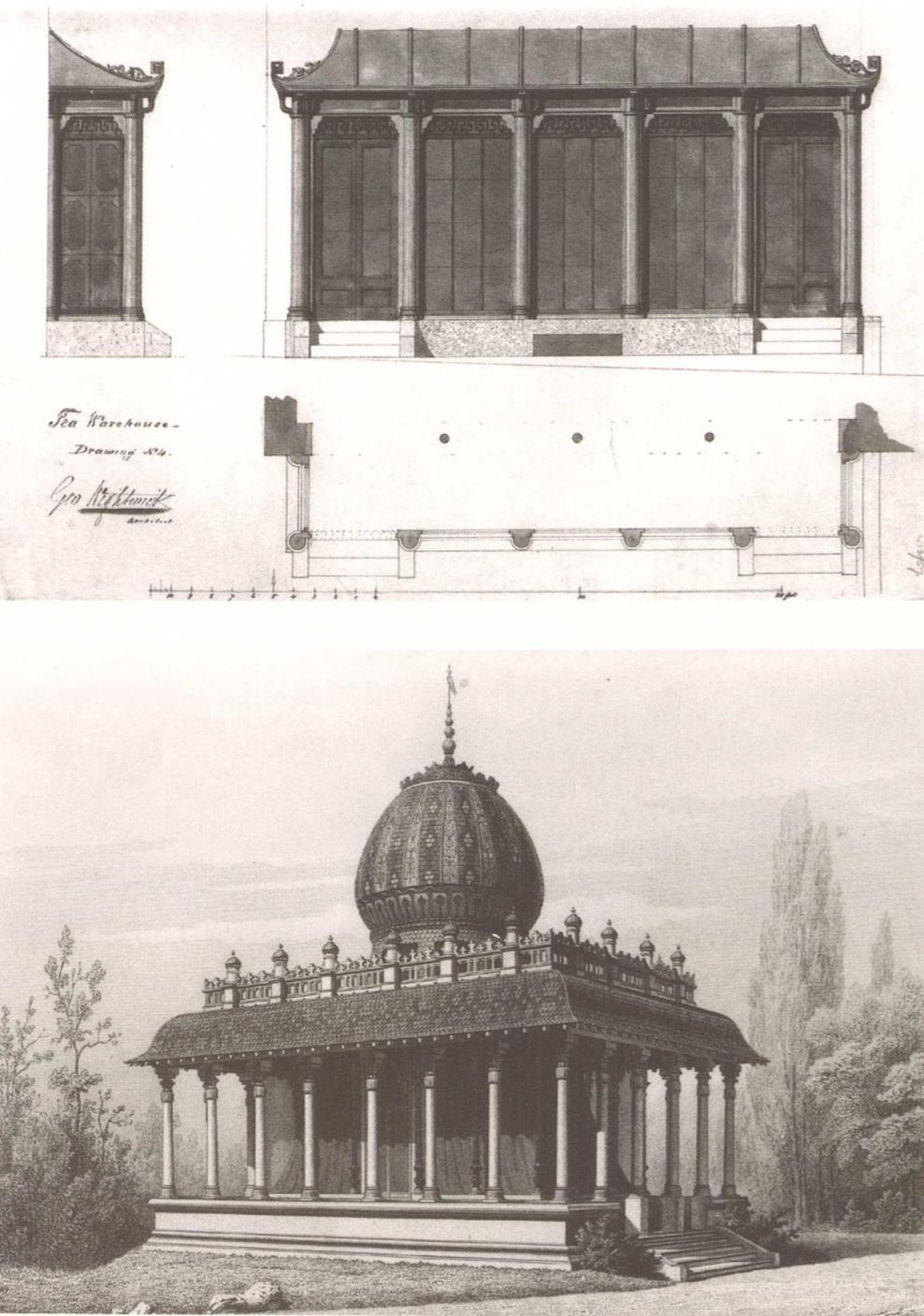
Thus, for instance, in the tobacco-processing industry, for a long time, there were a large number of micro-businesses that manufactured cigars and cigarettes by hand or with few machines. If a skilled workman could make between 120 and 150 cigarettes an hour, the number could be increased almost indefinitely by using specialized machines. At the 1867 Paris International Exposition a machine was presented that ejected 3,600 cigarettes per hour. In 1909 machines were installed in the new building of the Dresden company Yenidze which could each manufacture 120,000 cigarettes daily. This development finally led to the concentration of production in a small number of large concerns. In 1910, there were over a thousand cigarette manufacturers in the German Empire; today they can almost be counted on the fingers of one hand.<sup>2</sup>

The constant growth of production capacities upset the balance of the former ratio of supply and demand. In order to utilize the machines to capacity, the market had to be expanded. It became necessary to advertise nationwide and at the same time to increase the demand. For a product to become well known and distinctive, posters, advertisements and packaging had to be consciously planned and designed, as did the advertising in shop windows.



Peter Frederick Robinson, Egyptian Hall, Picadilly, London, 1811/12.

Behind the Egyptian façade was concealed a commercially run »museum«. Here its owner, William Bullock, continued the tradition of the cabinets of curiosities. His collection comprised over 15,000 exhibits: objects from natural history, exotic curiosities, artworks from antiquity to the present day. After Napoleon was sent into exile, Bullock organized an exhibition of imperial relics, with which he attracted large crowds of people. After the collection of curiosities was sold, a wide range of events took place at the hall, all of them speculating on the public's craving for sensation. Exhibitions of Egyptian and Mexican art alternated with the display of Siamese twins, dwarfs and monsters, or Sami (Lapp) families with their tents and reindeer. Bullock's museum was torn down in 1905. The photograph shows »England's Home of Mystery« during the Victorian period.



George Wightwick, Design for a tea merchant's shop in Plymouth, Devon, 1848.

Georges Dieterle, Pavilion of the Compagnie des Indes at the 1867 Paris International Exposition.  
Cashmere shawls were displayed in the small »temple«.<sup>8</sup>

Brand-name articles replaced the anonymous product that had held its own chiefly because of its utility value. Instead of the variety made at the corner shop, people now smoked Salem, Josetti or Manoli, at the same time purchasing a little prestige or participating in a particular hedonistic culture, as the advertisement suggested. Familiarity with the product replaced the direct relationship between the producer and the customer, which had still been possible in a local market. In order to create confidence in specific merchandise among a large number of consumers it was important that the manufacturer himself should shed his anonymity. For a long time, it had been customary to depict the company or factory on letterheads and labels<sup>3</sup> – the more impressive the depicted buildings were, the more importance the products manufactured there had. The effectiveness of this type of entrepreneurial self-representation soon wore off, however: Most factories were as like as two peas in a pod, and their picture could not be used to create a striking label. It's true that early on businesses had begun to »nobilitate« sober

factory buildings and warehouses by giving them the architectonic insignia of feudal castles and fortresses, but it was only rarely possible to establish a clear connection between the architectonic appearance of an enterprise and the products manufactured there. When historical types of construction were employed, people were using a traditional means of representation. The fact that it looked like a fortress said nothing about what was manufactured in a factory. It could at best indicate allegorically the power of a business enterprise and the reliability of its products.

An exotic style could also fulfil this function: The Egyptian temple façade of a British flax mill alluded to the tradition of processing flax that went back to ancient Egypt. The monumental character that was borrowed from the Egyptian buildings not only falsely implied historical continuity, but also looked forward to the future: Marshall's Mills in Leeds would survive the passage of time just like the pyramids and temples of Egypt. At the same time such assertions gave the yarns produced here the aura of mythical quality.

Moreover John Marshall's idea of giving his factory an Egyptian appearance was so spectacular that he could be sure of public interest: Hundreds of curious people wended their way from Leeds to the suburb of Holbeck to admire the new temples. But in this case the architecture did not directly promote sales. Rather, it was part of an overall image conveyed to the public in a number of different ways: by letterheads, adverts, brochures and packaging.

Practised here in a rudimentary form was what modern advertising language refers to as a corporate identity: a systematic portrayal of a company that comprises all its aspects. Long before the entrepreneurs of the industrial age began methodically to exploit the potentials of advertising, individual business people had realized how well suited a striking looking building was to draw attention to their goods or services. One of the earliest examples of buildings with advertising appeal was the Royal Bagnio Coffee House (cf. p. 129), which opened in London in 1679 and was able to offer its customers two Oriental pleasures at the same time: It was a coffeehouse and steam bath rolled into one. Its appearance, which the dome identified as »Turkish«, guaranteed that no one could confuse it with one of its competitors, which soon sprang up by the hundreds.

Soon, merchants began to create easily understandable icons for all the exotic goods that had been coming on the European market in increasing amounts starting in the seventeenth century; these linked products with their countries of origin. Correspondingly costumed figures were representative of their cultures and their specific products: Turks or Arabs stood for coffee, the Chinese for tea, Indians and Moors for chocolate. However, such a correlation was not exclusive: Chinese, Turks and American Indians could as well be brought into association with tobacco smoking. In late-nineteenth century advertising, a boom of Oriental motifs began on posters, packaging and in adverts. This boom would continue until the 1930s: Moors advertised chocolate, coconut oil or – on the posters of Ludwig Hohlwein – Munich cafés. Arabs and Turks, desert landscapes with pyramids or caravans, Oriental bazaar scenes and city skylines, sphinxes and harem ladies advertised cigarettes, but also had to serve to promote



Joseph Bonomi and James Combe, John Marshall & Company Flax Mill, Holbeck, Leeds, 1838–41. View of the office building (the factory building adjoins it on the left).

The plan of the flax mill was the collaborative effort of the engineer James Combe and the sculptor and Egyptologist Joseph Bonomi (1796–1878). Bonomi had spent ten years in Egypt where he had drawn and surveyed the temples in Karnak, Edfu and Philae. In 1853 he was involved in designing the Egyptian Court in the Crystal Palace of Sydenham. Later he became curator at the John Soane Museum.

Around the middle of the nineteenth century Leeds was one of the centres of the British textile industry. In addition to Marshall's Mills there were forty other factories here in which flax was processed into linen. With 2,300 workers, Marshall's factory was one of the largest of its kind in Europe. In 1886 the mill was forced to close: Cheap cotton fabrics had driven linen from the market.

The fact that flax had already been grown by the ancient Egyptians may have impelled Marshall to give both buildings the appearance of Egyptian temples,<sup>7</sup>

and the no longer existing chimney the form of an obelisk. Associated with the romantic and promotionally effective invocation of ancient Egyptian traditions was architectonic innovation. Concealed behind the sloped façade of the elongated factory building is an unusual hall: The floor space, measuring 396 x 216 feet (ca. 120 x 66 metres), is a grid of squares with a side length of 36 feet (ca. 11 metres). Each square is spanned by a cross vault made of brick on thin cast-iron pillars. The pillars are interconnected via their lotus capitals by double tension rods, thus forming a rigid framework. In the crowns of the arches large circular apertures have been left open, and perched on these are glass domes.

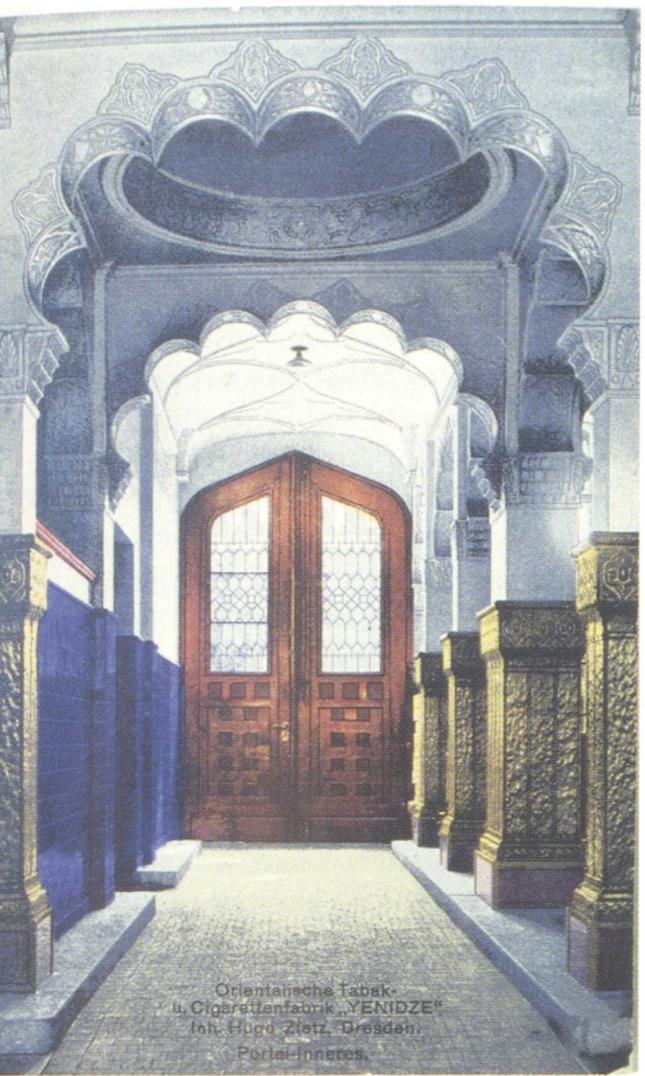
The 66 skylights ensure good lighting even on cloudy days. In order to bring under control fluctuations of temperature, a layer of soil 20 centimetres thick had been spread on the roof and seeded with grass. Rainwater was drained off through the hollow pillars. Initially Marshall even had sheep graze on the roof. But after the first sheep crashed through a skylight, the idyllic custom was stopped. The grass roof no longer exists today.<sup>7</sup>

Martin Hammitsch, Yenidze Cigarette Factory, Dresden, 1907–09. Historical photograph. Since the 1860s, thanks to its convenient railroad connections with the Balkan countries, Dresden was able to develop into the centre of German tobacco processing and the most important trade centre for Oriental tobaccos. The most well-known German cigarette manufacturers had their headquarters here: Compagnie Laferme, Georg Jasmatzi, Josetti, Louise Wolff (Sulima). In 1886 Hugo Zietz founded his company, which he named Yenidze, after a village now known as Giannitsa in Macedonia, the then Turkish region where tobacco is cultivated. His best-known brand of cigarettes was Salem Aleikum. Others were called Mohamed and Kalif von Bagdad. A factory he built in the 1890s soon became too cramped for the expanding business. That is why in 1907 Zietz purchased a piece of property along the railway line in Dresden-Unterneustadt. In 1909 the factory moved into the new building. Twelve machines had a daily production capacity of 120,000 cigarettes each. More exclusive brands continued to be made by hand. Zietz employed 1,200 male and female workers.

The spectacular factory building, which announced their imminent arrival in the main station of Dresden to all rail travellers who came from Berlin, Leipzig

or Görlitz, was part of Zietz's advertising strategy: Reduced to an icon, the building advertised the products of the house of Yenidze on posters, packaging and company stationery. The six-storey factory consists of a concrete skeleton infilled with brick masonry that is plastered at the top and whose base is clad with strips of red and white cement bricks. The silhouette of domes and minarets repeated a visual stereotype that was very familiar to all smokers: There was a real inflation of mosques on the packets of the oval and round Oriental cigarettes. Hammitsch, who later described the Yenidze as a »youthful folly«,<sup>9</sup> stuck to concrete models when he designed his »mosque«. In proportion and structure the tall dome corresponds to the domes of Mamluk mosques and tombs in Cairo. From them Hammitsch borrowed the solution for the transition from the cubic block to the circular base of the dome: Grouped around a dodecagonal mezzanine floor are obliquely cut prisms leading up to the corners of the foundation.<sup>10</sup> Unlike its Egyptian models the Dresden dome is glazed with stained glass and can be illuminated at night. Below it were located the »welfare services« for the workers: »On the second storey of the dome, where there is a magnificent panoramic view, there are rest halls for men and women with around sixty

comfortable chairs and divans«, reported a Dresden newspaper on the occasion of a visit by the king of Saxony for the company's 25-year anniversary. The red-and-white striped chimney and the pencil-shaped minarets are also inspired by models from Cairo. Hammitsch relieved the monotony of the long rows of windows by alternatively using keel arches, round arches and trefoil forms. The Oriental impression is intensified even more by the openwork battlements of the roofs that were originally covered with green-glazed tiles. When Dresden was bombed in 1945, the Yenidze factory was also hit. In 1966 the dome was glazed again and until the 1990s cigarettes were manufactured here.<sup>11</sup> In 1996 the missing storeys of the side wing were rebuilt and the building, which today houses offices and restaurants was restored to its former splendour.



Martin Hammitsch, Yenidze Cigarette Factory, Dresden. Inside of the entrance gate (postcard) and horseshoe arch over one of the doors.

the sales of Faber's Caravan pencils or Staedtler's Full Moon pencils. The Chinese man and the Turk, the palm tree and the pyramid, the pagoda and the mosque were all symbols whose conciseness was affected neither by the coarsening of early woodcuts nor by reduction in size on the packaging. Even when they appeared only in outline and without any details, they could be unmistakably deciphered. Even at night, when its silhouette was outlined against the sky, the Yenidze factory in Dresden proclaimed its message, one that everyone could understand.

However, none of these symbols could clearly pinpoint a specific product. Their purpose was to create a general field of associations in the observer's imagination and to give the promised pleasure the aura of something exotic and exclusive. A façade identified as »Turkish« or »Moorish« might conceal a coffeehouse, a steam bath or a place of amusement. In any case an »Oriental« architectural style promised physical pleasures, relaxation, distraction, a chance to get away from daily routine, to be immersed in the illusion of another culture. As a rule, the architectonic icon for »Orient« was a composite of several individual features that were often borrowed from different Islamic architectural styles. As shown above, often even the outlines of domes, minarets or tents were sufficient. If the Far East rather than the Islamic Orient was intended, then silhouettes of Chinese houses or pagodas were used; their curved roofs were equally unmistakable.

The outline was filled in with details, some of which were so popular that they conveyed the desired meaning even when isolated, as a pars pro toto: horseshoe or multi-foil arches, serrated merlons, stalactite cornices, Alhambra capitals. In addition there were characteristic decorative shapes and materials: the striping of arches and façades, complicated arabesque ornaments, faience and mosaic cladding.

Many Oriental-style buildings also stood out against their surroundings because they were colourful: The preferred colours for the stripes were red and white, domes were gilded whenever possible, faïences were predominantly the turquoise colour of Persian mosques. Turquoise, originally merely a term used to describe the gems found in Turkey and Persia, was considered to be the Oriental colour as such: A manufacturer of Oriental cigarettes even used the name of the colour as a brand name.

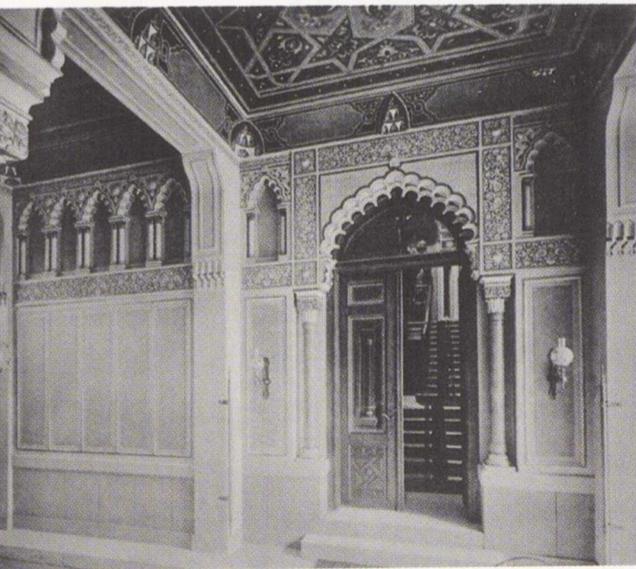
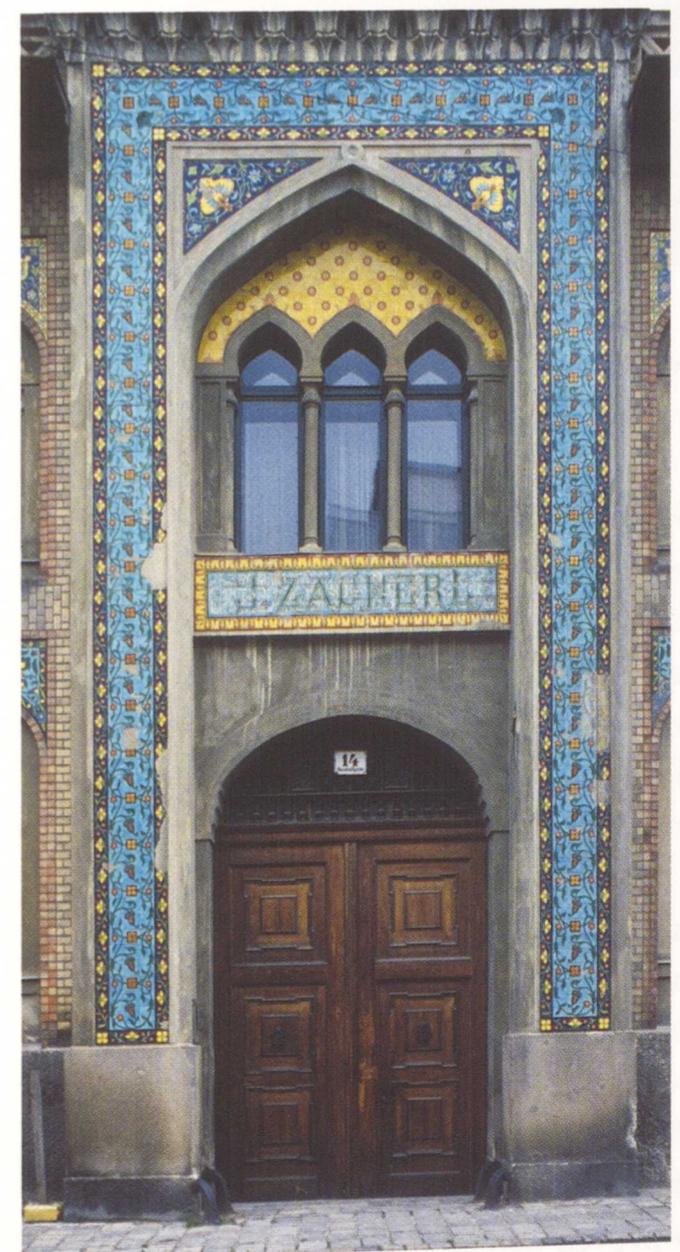
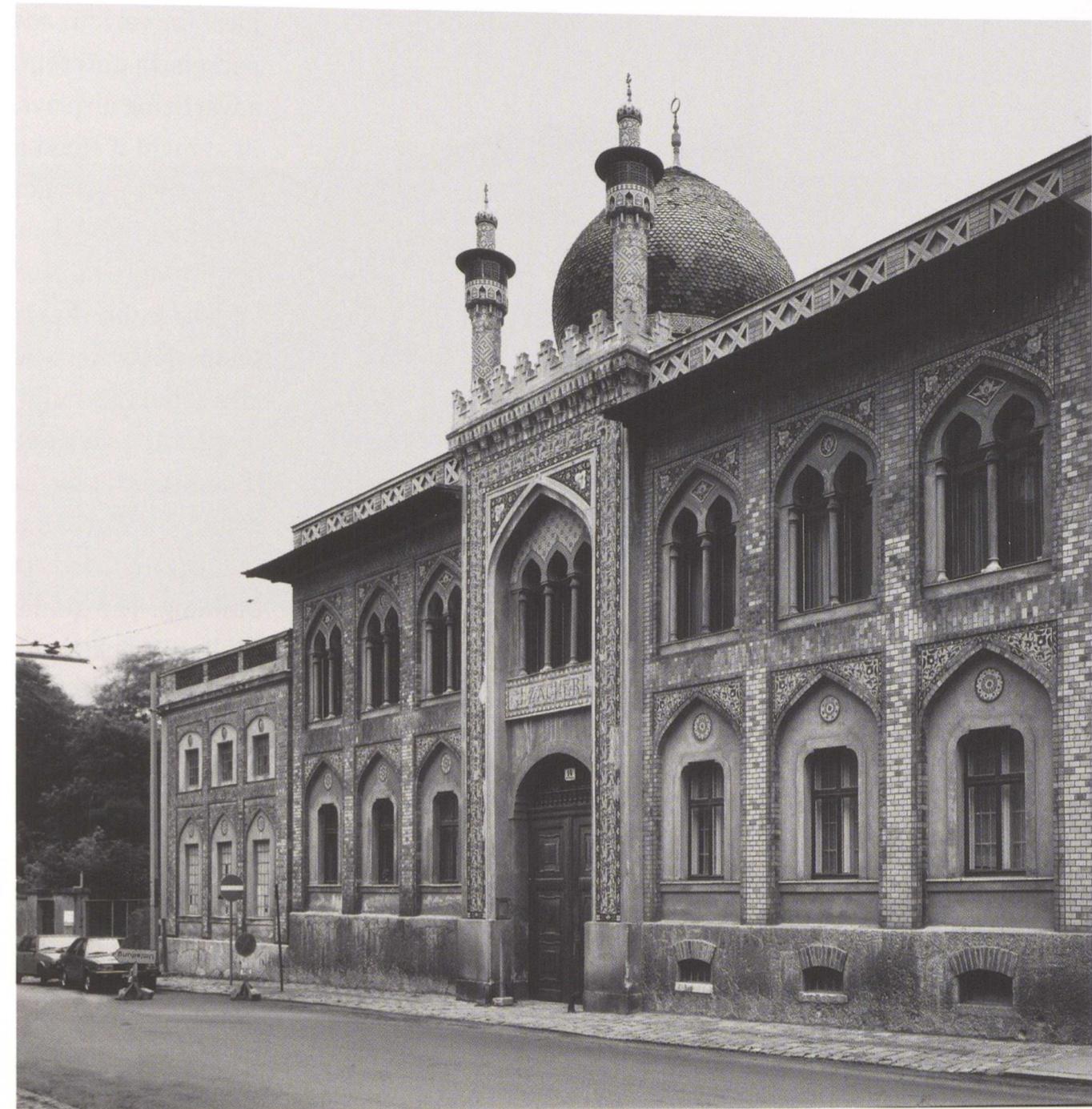
It seemed obvious for the cigarette manufacturer Hugo Zietz to build his new factory in Dresden in Islamic forms. Equating smoking and the »Orient« was relatively new, however. Originally tobacconists had drawn attention to their shops with American Indian figures, the »cigar store Indians«: The smoking of tobacco had reached Europe from the New World as pipe smoking. The pipe was replaced by the cigar, the cigar by the cigarette. The reason why the smoking of cigarettes, which did not spread in Europe until the latter part of the nineteenth century, was considered »Oriental« and not American was the origin of the tobaccos: The tobaccos that were processed were almost exclusively the light-coloured Macedonian and Turkish varieties. Later, when the Egyptian-made oval cigarettes with gold mouthpieces began to compete with the German products, it became all the more important to emphasize that the local types were also »Orient cigarettes«.

In search of catchy brand names almost all names and terms that sounded Oriental to European ears were patented: »Sulima« and »Sardanapal«, »Moslem« and »Minaret«, »Kairo« and »Khedive«. Also exploited to the full was the stock of visual stereotypes. It was striking how often architectonic motifs appeared on cigarette packets: It was hard to improve on pyramids and mosques for succinctness. Often depictions went beyond simple symbolism:



Karl and Julius Mayreder, Johann Zacherl Insecticide Factory, Vienna-Döbling, 1892/93. Office building on Nußwaldgasse. After finishing his apprenticeship, the pewterer Johann Zacherl, who was born in Munich, had »taken to the road« and, by way of Vienna, had travelled as far as the Caucasus. In 1842 he began trading between Tbilisi and Vienna: He imported tea, carpets and insecticide and exported European industrial goods. His insecticide sold very successfully all over Europe. Zacherl finally settled in Vienna, where he founded a business. In the 1870s he built a factory in Döbling, in which he now himself produced insecticide (Zacherlin) and mothballs from Persian pyrethrum flowers; he soon sold these worldwide. In 1880 his son took over the business and expanded it by adding a special service: the cleaning and mothproof storage of carpets and, later, furs. In 1892 Zacherl junior commissioned the Mayreder brothers to remodel and expand his factory. Based on a scheme by Hugo von Wiedenfeld, the brothers built not only the firm's exotic main façade but also the new manufacturing and storage facilities in the rear section of the property. Business was so good that in 1903 the owner was able to commission the architect Josef Plečnik with the construction of an office building (the Zacherl House) in the centre of town. With the Nußwaldgasse building Zacherl left a memorial to the family tradition, while at the same time creating a striking architectonic symbol of his business activities.

The most important motifs of the façade are of Persian origin. The elevated central projection is emphasized by a two-storey liwan niche which is framed by a band of turquoise ceramic tiles. The form of the liwan is repeated in the blind arches of the lateral projections, which on the top storey frame coupled windows with bud-shaped arches. On the ground floor the almost rectangular windows sit in their arched recesses without really being connected. The central projection terminates in stepped merlons above a stalactite cornice. Above it rises a dome covered with coloured glazed shingles. The onion shape of the dome deviates from its Persian models, however. It is flanked by two ceramic-clad turrets which in reduced form replicate the typically Persian minarets. It is primarily the façade decoration and the form of the liwan that are reminiscent of Persian mosques. For the design of individual details and ornamentation, the architects possibly relied on Pascal Coste's stunningly illustrated *Monuments modernes de la Perse* (Paris 1867). Inside the building we encounter an Islamic culture that is far removed from Persia: The portals in the vestibule with their Alhambra columns and multi-foil arches quote the Moorish architecture of Granada and Seville. It seems as though there was an attempt to demonstrate, as if in a textbook, various Islamic styles in a single building.<sup>12</sup>





On a tin box of the Dresden firm Sulima the expert eye could discern the typical form of a Cairo mosque in the background of an animated street scene.<sup>4</sup>

Martin Hammitsch, the architect of the Yenidze factory, did not sketch a naïve fantasy image, but stuck to concrete models: The dome with the tall, straight shaft that he set on top of the six-storey factory building was modelled on mosques and tombs of Mamluk-era Cairo. The pencil shape of the octagonal pillars placed in front of the façades resembled Ottoman minarets. But for the readability of this architectural icon such faithfulness to the original was without significance. A similar effect would have been achieved with other forms of domes and minarets. More important was the fact that they gave a semblance of authenticity. With the »mosque« Hammitsch created a most effective advertising image: He could hardly have improved upon fulfilling popular expectations of what an »Oriental Tobacco and Cigarette Factory« looked like. The fact that in spite of the sophisticated rendition of details the building had all the characteristics of an easily recognizable icon proved that it was

ideal for various advertising purposes: As a vignette it was used on packets, in different variants it was the central motif on posters and advertising displays, and as a scale model with a glass dome that was lit at night it stood in the shop windows of tobacconists. The public image of the company was based on the distinctiveness of its factory building. The Oriental-style architecture became a guarantee for the quality and origin of the tobaccos processed here.

Of course the Yenidze factory did not embody what contemporaries understood by a progressive industrial building. What was progressive about this building was something that was not visible from the outside: the skeleton construction, the industrialized production. To the rational structure were added exotic set pieces that were pure signifiers. The dome quoted an archaic solution for spanning space that contradicted the structural techniques used in the very same building. The Yenidze was not one of those buildings that Walter Müller-Wulckow described as »the most striking manifestations of the modern creative drive that goes beyond what has existed heretofore«, but rather one of the »dubious masquerades«.<sup>5</sup>

Constructed at almost the same time as the Dresden cigarette factory were industrial buildings as varied as Richard Riemerschmid's Deutsche Werkstätten (German Workshops) in Dresden-Hellerau (1909), Peter Behrens' turbine factory for the AEG in Berlin (1909) or the Fagus factory in Alfeld an der Leine by Walter Gropius and Adolf Meyer (1910/11). Despite their »structural objectivity« these buildings were still »architecture parlante«, whether like Riemerschmid's Workshops they spoke of the »beauty of old manor houses«, embodied »force and energy«<sup>6</sup> like the Behrens factory or, with an aesthetics derived from construction, demonstratively professed a commitment to the technological potentials of the times – as in Gropius' and Meyer's factory.

However, Hammitsch's design cannot be measured in terms of these examples. The task of giving architectonic form to an easily understandable message must necessarily lead to a solution in which a long since surmounted 19th century conflict still survived: the separation between structure and decoration, between civil engineering and architectural façade that the above-mentioned flax mill in Leeds embodied in an exemplary way.

Passers-by were not aware of the features of the mill, concealed behind the Egyptian façade, that were advanced for the period: the original lighting system, the separation of the processing of raw material and the generation of power into two levels (the drive assemblies were located under the hall, which had a full basement, and the energy was transferred to the top by transmissions), and the experimental grass roof. The concept of the engineer James Combe had no adequate external expression: The façade spoke a completely different language. It guided fantasies in a different direction – from the industrial age back to a long-gone era of archaic forms of production.

Left page:  
East Asia House, Rathausstraße/corner Schmiedestraße, Hamburg, ca. 1900.  
In the business premises with the pagoda tower, Theodor Maass sold tea, coffee and presumably also East Asian specialties. The building was destroyed in World War II.

Thomas Ambler, St. Paul's House, Leeds, 1878.  
The office and factory building belonged to the textile manufacturer Sir John Barran. The canted corner of the building is framed by octagonal pillars that extend above the crenellation to become Indian minarets. The multi-foil arch of the portal also looks Indian, while the superimposed arcades on the top floor have Moorish models. The façade is made of red brick and terracotta.<sup>13</sup> In the 1970s St. Paul's House suffered inconsiderate changes while it was converted into an office building.



Alfred Zweifel Malaga Winery, Lenzburg, Switzerland, 1889.

Zweifel, who had travelled through the Near East and Palestine as a young man, had started trading in southern Spanish wines in 1877. Soon he was the leading importer. A good decade later he could think of building his own business premises and storage facilities, and, in the immediate vicinity, his »Villa Malaga«. From his frequent journeys to Spain, he was familiar not only with Andalusian courtyard buildings but also ancient Moorish architecture.

The winery consisted of one-storey storerooms with roofs that sloped to the inside courtyard. On the outside they appeared to be a closed surrounding wall. Only Zweifel's office was oriented outward, acting as the face of the entire complex. The Malaga Winery looked Spanish not so much because the patio scheme was used but rather as a result of the decoration of the outside walls and office façade. The façade was subdivided into numerous fields by flat projecting cornice bands and window frames with horseshoe-shaped blind arches. The colourful ornamentation was based on Moorish models. Under the shallow arch of the tympanum was mounted the company's trademark: Two griffins flank an oval medallion showing the picture of a lighthouse (Zweifel's brand name was El Faro). On the labels of the wine bottles the winery, surrounded by Mediterranean vegetation, is depicted in addition to the lighthouse. Here Zweifel was following a customary tradition: Many nineteenth-century business people used a picture of their factory as a vignette on their company stationery. The architectonic image of the Malaga Winery was not only a sentimental monument to the owner's voyages but at the same time referred to the origin of Zweifel's wines. With his products Zweifel promised to satisfy, in liquid form, the longing for the South evoked by the architectural style: The consumption of the Spanish wine became a substitute for Southern joie de vivre.<sup>14</sup> The winery was demolished in 1991, only the façade was conserved and integrated in a new building.



## Zoological gardens: Exoticism and instruction

The precursors of modern zoological gardens were the menageries that existed well into the nineteenth century at European courts. Often their holdings of animals became the property of the zoos of the bourgeois age: The menagerie of Versailles became the basis of the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle, founded after the Revolution, and its botanical and zoological garden, and the Pfaueninsel animal collection of King Frederick William III of Prussia was presented to the newly founded Berlin Zoo in 1842 at the bequest of his son.

Of the royal menageries, the one in Schönbrunn, Vienna, still exists. The park, established in the mid-eighteenth century, was the most recent to be created by the imperial court. The first collections of animals were formed in Neugebäu and Ebersdorf (near Vienna) as early as in the reign of Rudolf II. The purpose of the Schönbrunn menagerie collected for Francis I and Maria Theresia was to divert the court and serve scientific interests. Radially arranged around a pavilion in which the imperial couple breakfasted in summer were twelve enclosures that were visible only from the centre.<sup>1</sup> The nineteenth-century zoos adopted the design principles of British landscape gardens. The Jardin des Plantes in Paris was laid out on an inner-city site on which the royal medicinal herb garden had previously been located. Meandering paths led visitors to a raptor aviary, a monkey house, a bear pit and various other buildings.<sup>2</sup> Initially borrowings from Anglo-Chinese gardens were limited to the landscape concept: Architectonic frivolities would have run counter to the serious nature of what was primarily a scientific institution.

The first public menagerie that called itself a »garden« was opened in Regent's Park, London, by the Zoological Society in 1828. The society, which collected not only living but also stuffed animals, was financed by the contributions of its members. The next zoological gardens were created in Amsterdam (1838) and in Antwerp (1843). In Germany it was Berlin that made the first move (1844). Many other cities followed its lead until well into the 1870s: Frankfurt, Cologne, Hamburg, Munich, Breslau (Wroclaw), Düsseldorf.

Unlike their foreign models, the German zoological gardens were usually joint stock companies. The high maintenance costs and the funds for new animals and new buildings had to be covered by the visitors' admission fees. As a result of the economic pressure to succeed, many zoological gardens increasingly began to resemble fairgrounds and amusement parks.

At the end of the 1860s, because of declining revenue, the Berlin Zoo, which had been founded with a scientific purpose, was forced to adopt a new policy. The zoologist Heinrich Bodinus, who had until then successfully directed the Cologne Zoo, was appointed as the Berlin Zoo's new director. The popular design concept thanks to which Bodinus made the zoo into a flourishing enterprise within the space of a few years had already been tested in Cologne. Before Bodinus took over the direction of the Cologne Zoo in 1860, he had

already looked at the longer-established facilities in Amsterdam and Antwerp. Here, planners had had the idea of displaying the exotic animals in exotic buildings. The style was determined by the origin of the particular animal species or by superficial analogies: The Antwerp elephant house was given the form of an ancient Egyptian temple, since it was believed that the monumental architecture of Egypt best corresponded to the elephant's massive body.<sup>3</sup>

When, in 1869, Bodinus became the director of the Berlin Zoo, the share capital was increased, for a start. Then construction began: First, a new restaurant and an orchestra pavilion were built. The architects Hermann Ende (1829–1907) and Wilhelm Böckmann (1832–1902) then gradually replaced the modest houses of the early days with spectacular large-scale buildings: The »Moorish« Antelope House, a combination plant and animal house, was followed by a new Elephant House whose tall, colourfully painted towers were meant to be reminiscent of the sikhara of Indian temples. In this case the style actually did correspond to that of the animals' country of origin. Admittedly it is questionable whether visitors to the zoo got an idea of what Indian temple architecture was like from looking at the new building. Regarding their goal of »harmonizing the animal houses with their animal residents«, the two architects said the following: »The character of these structures must take into account two demands. Viewers are to be stimulated by the external appearance of the buildings and they are to be presented with structures that make them imagine they are seeing the animal which is enclosed there on its native soil.«<sup>4</sup>

When in the early 1880s revenue decreased once again, the response was new capital expenditure. Electrical lighting, a hippo house and a stepped-up concert programme soon showed their impact. The *Deutsche Bauzeitung* noted that the numbers of visitors »are closely connected with the constructional development of the garden«.<sup>5</sup>

In 1897 Wilhelm Böckmann was elected as managing director. He initiated the second major reorganization phase of the Berlin Zoo and commissioned several younger colleagues to design new buildings. After the turn of the century, among all its competitors, the Berlin Zoo probably had the largest collection of architectonic curiosities: an »Elephant Gate« in the »Japanese« style, a lookout tower, a Chinese and a Russian music pavilion, a »Waldschänke (Forest Tavern)« and a large café-restaurant on Kurfürstendamm. Added to this there were many new animal buildings and enclosures: a small and a large Deer House, one of them half-timbered, the other a picturesque group of log cabin-style buildings, a »Moorish-Arabian« Camel House, an artificial rock landscape for chamois, a »Moorish« Bird House and a »Japanese« house for wading birds.<sup>6</sup> When the planners adapted sacred and residential building types, they may have speculated on the fact that many visitors had a sentimental attitude toward the animals exhibited at the zoo.

Charles Servais, Elephant House in the Antwerp Zoological Garden, 1856.  
The »Egyptian Temple« is the earliest example of an animal house in an exotic architectural style. The Antwerp Zoo, founded in 1843, also had a Ruminant House and an Ostrich House – both in an Oriental fantasy style. The Belgian example was imitated in many European zoos. From Amsterdam to Berlin, for the entertainment and instruction of visitors, animal houses were built in exotic architectural styles. Frequently the animals' country of origin determined the choice of style. Of the exotic buildings in Antwerp, only the Elephant House still exists.



Heinrich Kayser and Karl von Großheim, Ostrich House in the Berlin Zoological Garden, 1899.

»The new Ostrich House of architects Kayser & Großheim continues the well-established tradition of the garden, begun by the architects Ende & Böckmann, which consisted in elevating the animals' stable to an artistic level and giving it the forms of its residents' home country. Thus the new Ostrich House was built in the style of Egyptian temples and tombs ...«<sup>10</sup> In an annex of the hot-water heated temple, there was a diorama by Prof. Eugen Bracht ... representing the Memnon columns in the evening light, in a flooded Nile landscape.« A hieroglyph inscription dedicated the building to Emperor William II. Kayser and von Großheim had already designed several exotic buildings for the Berlin Zoo: a »Moorish« bird house (1895), a house for wading birds »copied from Japanese models« (1897), a camel house in the »Moorish-Arabian« style (1898) and the Chinese Music Pavilion. Like most of the zoo buildings, the Ostrich House, too, was destroyed during the air raids in November 1943.

People explained the behaviour patterns of animals, still largely unexplored at the time, by attributing human behaviours to them. A contemporary critic scoffed: »Thus they no doubt had elephants living in a mosque with a minaret that only lacked a muezzin. Speaking of Leipzig, the outward appearance of the Deer House, built in 1897, fully met the requirement for cosy living quarters, and one would have supposed that it was inhabited by a cultured pensioner rather than by a German red deer.«<sup>7</sup> In the Berlin Zoo there was also an Egyptian temple. Unlike the one in Antwerp, however, it housed not elephants but ostriches. The arbitrariness of the style that was chosen – Egyptian fauna included neither elephants nor ostriches – indicated that such structures served not so much to teach the visitors about foreign cultures, as was often claimed, but rather to entertain them. As at the international expositions, architecture in the zoological gardens, too, was part of a panoptic spectacle. The exotic buildings not only served the animals exhibited here as an illusionistic backdrop: Since the late 1870s, more and more frequently, Carl Hagenbeck's travelling *Völkerschauen* (anthropological displays) and »animal caravans« stopped at the Berlin Zoo.<sup>8</sup>

The initial reservations of the zoo administration were forgotten when it became apparent how great was the financial success of such events: In a single day in October 1878, Hagenbeck's »Nubian Caravan«, which consisted of 17 Nubians, five elephants, four rhinoceroses and several camels, drew over 60,000 visitors to the zoo. After the Nubians came Eskimos from Greenland, Laplanders with their reindeer and sleds, a »troupe of Singhalese« from Ceylon, North African Bedouins with their horses, Samoans and Circassians. Such anthropological displays were staged until well into the 1920s. Even if people from the newly established colonies were not displayed, as they had been in 1896 at the Berlin Trade Exhibition, all such exotic spectacles also promoted the colonial enthusiasm of the Wilhelminian era. The people from Samoa or »German Southwest

Africa«, degraded into objects on popular display or objects of scientific study, confirmed contemporaries in their conviction that their »race« and civilization were superior. From this presumed superiority they derived the »natural« justification of their own imperial claims.

Thus structures such as the East Asian »Elephant Gate« on Kurfürstendamm (the modern-day Budapester Straße) did not have only a playful and decorative character. Even if we cannot assume that such architectural structures were intended as propaganda, they reminded many Berliners of a concrete colonial adventure: In 1897, units of the East Asia fleet had occupied the Chinese port city of Tsingtau and compelled the Chinese government to accept a »contract of lease« for the region of Kiauchau, limited to 99 years.

The concept of zoological gardens met a need for three-dimensional illusionistic productions that was characteristic for the entire century. In their layout and their architectonic design, the zoos were not only similar to the international expositions, but like the latter they could be traced back to the tradition established by the eighteenth-century Anglo-Chinese gardens and pleasure gardens. From these they inherited not only the landscape design of the terrain but also their architectonic microcosm. With their historical and exotic programme the landscape gardens that had served as a pastime for their aristocratic owners were at the same time a symbolic expression of world appropriation, one that also took place in nineteenth-century zoos – though there it involved the urban masses.

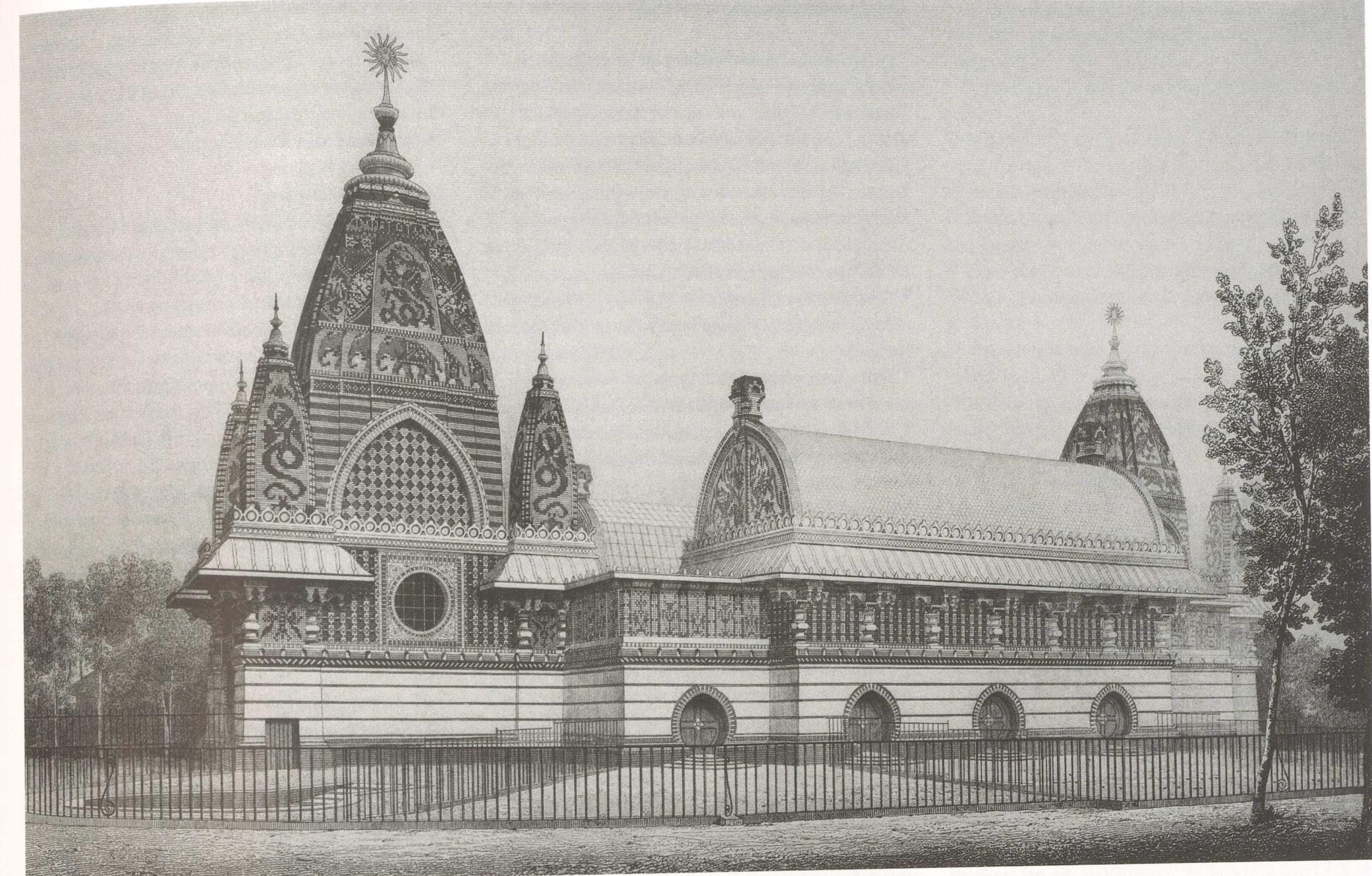
A similar mixture of entertainment and instruction was offered to city dwellers in all sorts of different institutions: in the Egyptian Hall of London's Piccadilly (cf. p. 167), in Castan's Panopticon<sup>9</sup> on Friedrichstraße in Berlin, in the Crystal Palace of Sydenham, where a three-dimensional museum of architecture was established under the direction of Owen Jones and Matthew Digby Wyatt, or in the panoramas and dioramas that had existed in almost all major towns.

Carl Zaar and Rudolf Vahl, Main entrance of the Berlin Zoological Garden, ca. 1900.

The design for the administration building, the »Elephant Gate« and the gatekeepers' lodges was the result of a competition announced in the spring of 1899 in which the architects Zaar and Vahl won the first prize. The architect Bernhard Schäde had also entered a Far Eastern design. His motto was »Kiauchau«: an allusion to the region around the Chinese port of Tsingtau occupied by the German East Asian fleet two years earlier.

Writing about the competition, the periodical *Berliner Architekturwelt* reported: »But for a modern administration building in keeping with our Western conditions, which does not house exotic showpieces but in which a modern business is run and which contains the living quarters of German civil servants, the choice of East Asian stylistic forms does not seem appropriate to us.«<sup>11</sup>

Except for one of the gatekeepers' lodges, the »Japanese« buildings were destroyed in World War II. In 1985 a new Elephant Gate was built, modelled on the old one.<sup>12</sup>



Hermann Ende and Wilhelm Böckmann, Elephant House in the Berlin Zoological Garden, 1873.

»Most of these pachyderms belonged to Asian India. Thus it made sense to borrow the motifs for the architectural forms from the sphere of ancient Indian temples and palaces. Since these buildings are characterized by a plethora of sculptural ornamental decoration and the means at our disposition were not sufficient for this, ... it was decided in lieu of this to use painting to decorate the building.«<sup>13</sup> The bricks of the »sikharas« were painted in different colours and in part had little silver and gold tiles glued to them. The Elephant House was destroyed in World War II. The exotic architectural tradition of the Berlin Zoo had begun with Ende and Böckmann. Their »Moorish« Antelope House (1872)<sup>14</sup> was rebuilt after the war.

## Notes

### The attraction of the foreign culture: An introduction

1 Jan Nieuhof, *Die Gesellschaft der Ost-Indischen Gesellschaft in den Vereinigten Niederländen / an den Tartarischen Chnam / und nunmehr auch Sinischen Keyser / ...*, Amsterdam, 1669, Preface.

2 From the preface of: Alexander von Humboldt, *Kosmos, Entwurf einer physischen Weltbeschreibung*, Stuttgart 1845–58, quoted from: Peter Hahlbrock (Ed.), *Alexander von Humboldt und seine Welt 1769–1859*, Exhibition catalogue, Berlin, 1969, p. 11.

3 Gerard de Nerval, *Le Voyage en Orient*, quoted from the preface of the Garnier Flammarion pocket edition, Paris, 1980, p. 30.

4 From the preface by Paul Valéry to: Roger Bezembe, *L'exotisme dans l'art et la pensée*, Paris, 1953, p. VII.

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6 Louis Carrogis Carmontelle, *Jardin de Monceau, près de Paris*, Paris, 1779, p. 4.

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### The mosque in the garden: Early Oriental fantasies

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#### The fascination of the Alhambra: Academic Orientalism

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18 Cf. for instance, Rousseau's *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (1754), in which he gives a description of the origin of private property that is as vivid as it is hypothetical.

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#### The worldview of the international exhibitions

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17 »Ouverture du Ba-Ta-Clan ...«, op. cit., col. 300.

#### Zoological gardens: Exoticism and instruction

1 Cf. Wilhelm Stricker, »Geschichte der Menagerien und der zoologischen Gärten«, in: Rudolf Virchow, Freiherr von Holtzendorff (Eds.), *Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge*, issue 336, Berlin, 1879, p. 20.  
2 Cf. Charles Rohault de Fleury, *Das Naturhistorische Museum in Paris*, *Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle à Paris*, Wien, 1837.  
3 Cf. Hellmut Heinsdorff, *Bauten und Anlagen zoologischer Gärten*, diss., TU München, 1968, p. 71f, ill. 14.  
4 *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 36, 1902, p. 139.

5 Ibid.

6 A compilation of all the buildings was published under the title »Berliner Neubauten. No. 102. Die Umwandlung und die Neubauten des Zoologischen Gartens« in: *Deutsche Bauzeitung* (Berlin), 36, 1902, Nos. 22, 24, 26, 28, 29, 80, 85, 86.

7 Quoted from: Hellmut Heinsdorff, *Bauten und Anlagen zoologischer Gärten*, op. cit., p. 202.

8 Cf. Sibylle Benninghoff-Lühl, »Die Ausstellung der Kolonisierten: Völkerschauen von 1874 bis 1932«, in: Volker Harms (Ed.), *Andenken an den Kolonialismus*, exhibition catalogue, Tübingen, 1984, p. 52ff. Heinz-Georg Klös, *Von der Menagerie zum Tierparadies*, 125 Jahre Zoo Berlin, Berlin, 1969, p. 78f, 104f.

9 Posters of Castan's Panopticon and similar establishments in: Klaus Popitz, Axel von Salder (Eds.), *Das frühe Plakat in Europa und den USA*, vol. 3, Berlin, 1977, p. 27ff, plates 22f.  
10 »Berliner Neubauten. No. 102. Die Umwandlung und die Neubauten des Zoologischen Gartens«, op. cit., 36, 1902, p. 545.

11 »Wettbewerb: Zoologischer Garten in Berlin«, *Berliner Architekturwelt*, 1, 1899, 1, p. 35ff. See also: »Berliner Neubauten. No. 102. Die Umwandlung und die Neubauten des Zoologischen Gartens«, op. cit., p. 137ff, 549.

12 Cf. *Bauwelt* (Berlin), 31 / 32, 1985, p. 1240f.

13 Ende & Böckmann, »Elephantenhaus im zoologischen Garten in Berlin«, *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, 26, 1876, col. 149ff, plates 21, 22.

14 Cf. *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, 25, 1875, col. 3ff, 127ff., 451f, plates 5–7

15 Cf. »Wie die Moschee nach Dresden kam«, *Sächsisches Tageblatt*, 23. 3. 1981, p. 6.

16 Cf. »Bureau-Gebäude des Etablissements 'Zacherl' in Wien ...«, *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (Wien), 60, 1895, p. 24, plates 30–32. Salamma Al-Madhi, *Einfluss der islamischen Architektur auf die Wiener Bauten im 19. Jahrhundert*, diss., Universität Wien, 1973, p. 136ff.

17 Cf. »Wie die Moschee nach Dresden kam«, *Sächsisches Tageblatt*, 23. 3. 1981, p. 6.

18 Cf. »Bureau-Gebäude des Etablissements 'Zacherl' in Wien ...«, *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (Wien), 60, 1895, p. 24, plates 30–32. Salamma Al-Madhi, *Einfluss der islamischen Architektur auf die Wiener Bauten im 19. Jahrhundert*, diss., Universität Wien, 1973, p. 136ff.

19 Cf. »Wie die Moschee nach Dresden kam«, *Sächsisches Tageblatt*, 23. 3. 1981, p. 6.

20 Cf. »Wie die Moschee nach Dresden kam«, *Sächsisches Tageblatt*, 23. 3. 1981, p. 6.

21 Cf. »Wie die Moschee nach Dresden kam«, *Sächsisches Tageblatt*, 23. 3. 1981, p. 6.

22 Cf. »Wie die Moschee nach Dresden kam«, *Sächsisches Tageblatt*, 23. 3. 1981, p. 6.

23 Cf. »Wie die Moschee nach Dresden kam«, *Sächsisches Tageblatt*, 23. 3. 1981, p. 6.

24 Cf. »Wie die Moschee nach Dresden kam«, *Sächsisches Tageblatt*, 23. 3. 1981, p. 6.

25 Cf. »Wie die Moschee nach Dresden kam«, *Sächsisches Tageblatt*, 23. 3. 1981, p. 6.

26 Cf. »Wie die Moschee nach Dresden kam«, *Sächsisches Tageblatt*, 23. 3. 1981, p. 6.

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